

# PUBLIC EXECUTIONS IN PENNSYLVANIA: 1682-1834

*In this original and exhaustive research study, Dr. Negley Teeters, an outstanding criminologist and author, describes capital punishment in the early days of Pennsylvania.*

## AUTHOR'S PREFACE

The social historian has the same obligation to investigate the mean, the tawdry, the tragic and the violent in human activity and relationships as well as the brave and the heroic. Crime, including murder, is an integral part of the *warp-and-woof* of our culture the same as industry, agriculture and religion. All are worthy of research on the part of the scholar. It is because of this basic premise that no apology need be made for this study of executions.

We believe this is the first time a list of those publicly executed in the Province and Commonwealth of Pennsylvania has been published. It is, in reality, an endless task; so for this reason we must label our study *tentative*. The writer has spent many hours of investigation and research, has received assistance from hundreds of persons, but even at this date of publication he is convinced that some cases — perhaps many — have not been brought to light. Nor are we certain of the actual execution date of several on our list.

We are especially indebted to the editor of the Lancaster County Historical Society Journal and to the officers of the Society for accepting this material for publication. It is not of the common grist of the mill in historic research and some may think it gruesome and too earthy for publication; yet, as we stated above, it is an integral part of life and therefore worthy of being chronicled. Certainly the death penalty concerned and disturbed some of our greatest public servants and leaders — Dr. Benjamin Rush, William Bradford, and Edward Livingston.

We are also particularly indebted to the Faculty Research Committee of Temple University for funds to assist in this study.

Among the many who have assisted we must mention almost one hundred undergraduates of the compiler's criminology classes at Temple University who searched through newspapers and meticulously examined the sixteen volumes of the Colonial Record as well as the ten volumes of the Ninth Series of the Pennsylvania Archives. Several graduate students also assisted materially in specific tasks such as collecting data from Philadelphia libraries, as well as from county historical libraries and of checking news accounts when and where available.

Thanks are also extended the librarians of these historical libraries as well as some city and private libraries who assisted materially in searching for and verifying many cases listed in the study. Special thanks are also recorded to Mr. Elkan Buchhalter, reference librarian of the Sullivan Memorial Library of Temple University, together with members of his staff for their courteous services.

We have attempted to give sources in each case so we may state that every execution has been verified if at all possible. Some are problematical due to inaccuracies in some of the material examined, even though official. Newspaper accounts seem to be the most accurate of all our sources. It must be stated that court dockets were not examined. Few from the colonial period survive and time made it impossible to scrutinize those remaining. Even dockets establishing a conviction and a death sentence are no guarantee that such criminals were executed. On the other hand, many were executed without petitioning the Colonial Council or later, the appellate courts or the governor for pardon.

Our lists include 252 publicly executed; 138 sentenced to death were pardoned or reprieved. Again, we must caution, these are tentative figures.

## Table of Contents

Early Penal Legislation in the Colony .....	87
Techniques and Places of Executions .....	92
Some Interesting Random Cases .....	97
Executions During the Revolution .....	103
Female Executions .....	106
The Ann Carson Smyth Story .....	108
Horse Thieves—None Executed .....	109
The Demoralization of Public Hangings .....	110
Efforts in Pennsylvania to Abolish Public Executions .....	114
Murder and Hanging Ballads .....	118
Statistical List of Executions by Periods .....	119
Notes .....	120
Annotated List of Those Publicly Executed in the Province and Commonwealth of Penna., 1682-1834 .....	129
Unverified and Problematical Executions .....	147
Executions in Chronological Order .....	148
Annotated List of Delays, Pardons and Reprieves of Persons Sentenced to Death in Penna. from 1682 to 1834 .....	153
Chronological List of Pardons, Reprieves and Delays by Name, Date of Pardon, County and Offense .....	160

### EARLY PENAL LEGISLATION IN THE COLONY

On March 15, 1688, Judith Roe of Kent County — now a part of Delaware but at the time one of the "Lower Counties" of the Province of Pennsylvania — was publicly hanged for murder — victim, motive and weapon unknown. William Penn, president of the Provincial Council, but out of the country at the time, refused her a pardon because she was a "murtherous woman and her crime notorious and barbarous."<sup>1</sup> Her brother, Joseph Richardson, had begged for a pardon but without success.

Whether this woman was the first person to be executed in the Province cannot be accurately ascertained but so far as the data available indicate, she holds this dubious distinction.<sup>2</sup> From that date down to April 10, 1834, when public executions were abolished, slightly more than 250 persons were taken from county jails to some local spot and hanged before large crowds of spectators.<sup>3</sup> One hundred thirty-eight others were spared this degradation through the favor of the governor's pardon.

Much has been written of the humane features of the Great Law of William Penn adopted on December 7, 1682 at Upland. As is well known, premeditated murder only was labeled capital. Penn's code, so unusual in the colonies at the time, was regarded as the wonder of the age. But only in a few years it was deemed necessary to draw up another much more drastic. Thus the Newcastle Code, created by Penn himself in 1700 and ratified in 1701, introduced such penalties as mutilations, brandings, floggings and even castration for certain offenses.<sup>4</sup> Commenting on this amazing metamorphosis in penal philosophy, Professor Lawrence Gipson, long a student of colonial Pennsylvania writes:

From prosecuting cases of larceny, slander, swearing, Sabbath breaking, assault and battery, drunkenness, the selling of rum to the Indians, and immorality . . . the authorities at the close of the century and from then on were called upon to deal with burglaries, counterfeiting, highway robbery, petit treason, horse stealing, rapes, homicides, infanticides, and murders.<sup>5</sup>

As early as May 1697 Penn wrote to the Colonial Council from London that persistent rumors reaching him complained not only of crimes in low places but even among those who were charged with serious responsibilities in the colony. He wrote: "There is no place more overrun with wickedness, Sins so very Scandalous, openly Committed in defiance of Law and Virtue; facts so foul I am forbid by common modesty to relate ym."<sup>6</sup> And, as Professor Gipson records: "Pennsylvania was called in 1698 'Ye greatest refuge and shelter for pirates and rogues in America.'<sup>7</sup>

Another facet of the ambivalence of the provincial fathers was the concern they felt for crimes committed by Negroes. As early as 1693 the courts of Quarter Sessions were empowered to direct constables

. . . against the tumultuous gathering of Negroes whom they should find gadding abroad . . . without a ticket from their Mr. or Mrs. [sic] or not in their company, or to carry them to gaole, there to remain the night & that without meat & drink to cause them to be publicly whipped next morning with 39 lashes well laid on their bare backs for which their said Mr. or Mrs. should pay 15d to the whipper.<sup>8</sup>

Presumably following the example of the southern colonies in dealing with crime among Negroes, the Pennsylvania Council, in 1701, passed an act which placed the trials of Negroes in the hands of two specially designated justices of the peace before a jury of freeholders who had power to "hear, try, and determine" the offenses of "murder, manslaughter, buggery, burglary, rapes, attempts of rapes, and other high and heinous enormities and capital offenses."<sup>9</sup> All of these offenses, when committed by Negroes, were made capital. None of the records of these special courts remains so we can only surmise what penalties were imposed and enforced.

Surprisingly enough our own records show no Negroes subjected to the death penalty until "Joe" and "Caspar" were executed in Philadelphia some time in November 1762, and one "Phoebe" in Chester County in March 1764, all for burglary. The owner of Phoebe, one Joseph Richardson, was compensated £55 for the loss of his slave since an act passed on March 5, 1725/6 called for an appraisal "value" of slaves executed, with owners to be paid out of the public treasury.<sup>10</sup> No doubt the owners of "Joe" and "Caspar" were also compensated for their losses. It is difficult to believe that some Negro slaves were not executed prior to the above dates especially since legislation to compensate owners was enacted so many years earlier. In addition, in neighboring Quaker West Jersey several Negroes were executed for assaulting their masters as well as for the commission of serious felonies.

The drastic code of 1701 proved to be so repugnant to the Mother Country that its repeal was ordered by the Crown within a few years. As Herbert Fitzroy writes:

The more extreme punishments were permitted to be continued for but a few years, since in 1705 we had the rather unusual spectacle of the English Privy Council disallowing laws of the Quaker province because of their unusual cruelty — the laws involving castration because it was “a punishment never inflicted by any law of Her Majesty’s dominions,” and the laws providing enslavement because “selling a man is not a punishment allowed by the Laws of England.”<sup>11</sup>

We have no way of knowing whether castration was actually resorted to by the courts since, of the dockets surviving, no case has thus far been revealed.

In 1718 the colony went all out in setting up a sanguinary code. On May 31 “AN ACT FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF JUSTICE AND MORE CERTAIN ADMINISTRATION THEREOF,” designating thirteen capital crimes, was passed. These were: various degrees of treason, murder, manslaughter by stabbing, serious maiming, highway robbery, burglary, arson, sodomy, buggery, rape, concealing the death of a bastard child, advising the killing of such a child, and witchcraft.<sup>12</sup>

With a few additions to the list of capital offenses<sup>13</sup> there were no significant changes made in the penal code until a reforming era was ushered in by the passage of the Act of September 15, 1786. This act reduced the number of capital offenses and provided for the placing of most convicted felons on the public streets and highways to perform public works. The era reached its zenith in the famous Act of April 22, 1794. This progressive piece of legislation recognized only one capital offense, that of premeditated murder. *It is significant also because it was the first to be adopted in this country to distinguish between first and second degree murders.*

Provincial Pennsylvania, to enhance further its reputation for “mildness,” made provisions for softening the draconic sentences of the courts. These were, first, the pardoning power vested in the governor save for murder and treason which were in the hands of the Crown, and second, the *benefit of clergy*. The pardoning power was delegated by the governor in most instances to his council, aided often by the recommendations of the courts where the culprits were convicted. The governor also had the power to stay an execution until the case was adjudicated by royal instruction.

In our list of pardoned persons condemned to death, many were granted the grace provided they would leave the colony. Some, however, were not apprized of their good fortune until they were “under the gallows.” For instance, Isaac Bradford, doomed to die on July 2, 1737, along with two others, one a woman, was pardoned provided he “did the office of executioner” on his companions in misery. This “very hard choice,” so stated by the local newspaper, apparently did not bother Bradford too much because he escaped the noose. Another case, that of John Benson, condemned to death for robbery was reprieved “under the gallows” in Philadelphia when two companions in crime were executed May 12, 1764. The local paper stated:

Benson seemed particularly affected not knowing any Thing about his reprieve till the others were turned off, having gone through all the solemnity of that dismal scene, being blind-folded, tied up, as he imagined and about to step into Eternity . . . His Concern, it was thought, was the greater, as all along, we hear, he flattered himself with being saved, always declaring his Innocence of the Crime for which he was ordered to die; but his Behavior in going to, and at the Tree, showed that he had lost all Hopes of that Kind.<sup>14</sup>

Several persons were pardoned during the Revolution to go into the army or to serve on frigates. A few who were pardoned, provided they left the colony, neglected to do so and were picked up and again sentenced to death. We know of two such cases. One, Jacob Dryer of Philadelphia, received a second pardon; the other, Robert Elliott of Chester County, was executed.<sup>15</sup>

Perhaps the most bizarre case in which a pardon intervened was that of Thomas Wilkinson, convicted of piracy at Philadelphia on April 23, 1781. The execution was set for May 23 on Windmill Island in the Delaware and, furthermore, it was ordered that "the body . . . be taken down to Mud Island . . . and hanged in chains." However, he was reprieved, due largely to the intercession of several influential citizens, among whom were two famous captains of privateers, Stephen Decatur and Thomas Truxton. The gibbet-iron designed for Wilkinson may still be seen in the Philadelphia Atwater Kent Museum. On October 16, 1781 one David Henderson was paid seventeen pounds sixteen shillings for making the gibbet.<sup>16</sup>

A few offenses carried the *benefit of clergy*. This venerable instrument of mitigation, established for the first time in the Province in 1718, is described by Fitzroy as follows:

Originally designed in England to save clerics from being punished by the temporal courts, it was soon seized upon as a device for relieving the common law of some of its rigor, and the early clerical test of requiring the one who pleaded his clergy to read a verse from the Bible soon degenerated into the recitation of a so-called "neck verse" from a Bible, advertently opened at the proper place . . . The absurdity of a double standard for the literate and the illiterate was apparent to the colonists and the Act of 1718 merely required a person convicted of a felony of death, for which the benefit of clergy had not been denied, plead the benefit of the statute, whereupon he was branded upon the thumb, with M for murder and with T for all other felonies, and then incarcerated for a period of not less than six months or more than two years. The statute, however, could be pleaded but once, and the branded thumb was an indelible record of those who had claimed its benefits.<sup>17</sup>

Crime and criminals were of serious concern to the early fathers of the Province and especially so in the largest city, Philadelphia. There was the problem of dealing with the "transported" or banished criminals from the Mother Country. While most of these were sent to the southern colonies, there were some who found their way to Philadelphia, either directly from England, or by wandering away from their responsibilities as "forced laborers" further south, or by terminating their sentences. Other persons

who sometimes got into trouble were indentured servants of which there were many in Pennsylvania. Benjamin Franklin was especially outspoken regarding the transported felons who were "dumped" into the colonies. When told by a government official in London that it was necessary "to remove them from England and therefore the colonies must take them, he replied by asking the British ministers if the same reasoning would not justify the Americans in sending their rattlesnakes to England."<sup>18</sup>

In our list of those executed we find some who were obviously "transported" as well as some who were indentured. One of the most despicable crimes (and there were many) recorded in our list was committed by a 17-year-old indentured servant, William Battin. He was convicted, to use the language of the Colonial Record, of "divers horrid, complicated crimes" — actually arson and the resulting burning to death of the three small sons of his master while he, Battin, was "baby sitting." He was executed at Chester on August 15, 1722. At the scaffold he asked to have read his last statement in which he related episodes in his early life in England. Upon his arrival in Philadelphia he was indentured to John Hannam of Concord, Chester County who later sold him to Joseph Pyle of Bethel in the same county. It was Pyle's home and sons that were burnt by this irresponsible youth. His last words and a lengthy confession were published in the *American Weekly Mercury* (Philadelphia, August 16-23, 1722). Battin's lament was that he had been enslaved by the Devil. He was probably the youngest of the victims of hanging in the colony.

Speeches or last minute sermons or confessions were prevalent in all of the colonies. We have found several. There is a long one read at the gallows in Philadelphia by Edward Hunt, executed for "treason" but, in reality, for counterfeiting, on November 19, 1720. Then there is the last speech, as well as the "letter from the criminal to the father of his murdered son" written by Henry Halbert who was executed in Philadelphia on October 19, 1765. This miserable wretch begins his lament with the following words:

**Attend, good people, see my fatal end; Take warning by your sinful dying  
Friend;  
I am condemned to die, and die I must; I die for Murder, and my Fate  
is just.  
I beg that God my Sins may now forgive, And die in Peace with all good  
Men that live.**

Halbert requested the "Lutheran School Boys in the City to attend and sing a Hymn at the place of Execution in the German Language."<sup>19</sup>

Other last minute "confessions" or "dirges," allegedly published, were by John Whatnell, executed for burglary (with Michael McDeirmatt, perhaps the first persons hanged for that offense) at Philadelphia, May 5, 1736, in the *American Weekly Mercury* and announced in the issue of April 26 - May 6; by William Crawford, executed at Washington, Pennsylvania, on February 21, 1823 for the murder of his 27-year-old son for "taunting" him. Crawford, an elderly man of 70, wrote an "autobiography" while in jail which was presumably published in the *Examiner*, the

local paper;<sup>20</sup> and that of John Lechler, executed at Lancaster on October 25, 1822 for the murder of his wife and another woman who was accidentally shot when Lechler was attempting to kill her husband. The Lancaster *Journal* advertised special supplements of Lechler's dying words.<sup>21</sup> The editorial in the local paper for October 25 is worth recording:

This day is the last which dawns upon the unfortunate John Lechler. Ere the sun has long passed the meridian he will in expiation of his guilt, have suffered, in the presence of assembled thousands, a violent and ignominious death — the victim of his passions and his crimes. Let those who may be disposed to indulge their licentious passions beware of the awful consequences which may follow their gratification. Let those of suspicious tempers and fiery passions mark the melancholy fate of this unfortunate man. Warned by this awful example, let us all, with a firm reliance upon the aid of A DIVINE PROVIDENCE, earnestly endeavor to keep our desires and passions within proper bounds, to love one another, and to do unto all as we would that they should do unto us.

Aside from Philadelphia, where slightly over 100 of our victims were executed, hangings were rather infrequent affairs, especially in the hinterland counties. Several of the western counties experienced no public executions in their early histories. The Lechler execution was the first at Lancaster since "Negro York" was executed in 1781 (December 15) for rape, a period of 41 years. A few counties had only one public hanging: Adams—James Hunter on January 3, 1818; Fayette—John McFall on March 7, 1795; Lebanon—"Jimmie" Quinn, February 9, 1827; Montgomery—John Brown on April 12, 1788; Somerset—Noel Hugues, February 27, 1807; and Susquehanna—Jason Treadwell on January 13, 1825.<sup>22</sup> The hysteria and psychological catharsis, more prevalent in rural counties than in Philadelphia when a person was hanged, may have been due to some extent to their infrequency.

## TECHNIQUES AND PLACES OF EXECUTIONS

Most of our victims were taken from the jail to the scaffold or "tree" in a cart accompanied by one or more ministers as well as by those officials who were required to attend. Who they were, aside from the sheriff or the executioner, we do not know. This writer has found nothing in the statutes of the Commonwealth that stipulates how an execution should be conducted or who should be present until the Act of April 10, 1834 was enacted into law. Nor do news accounts throw any light on this matter. We find no record of a physician being present or of an autopsy performed. Newspapers of the day related the bare facts of a public execution and, in Philadelphia, many were executed with no news story whatsoever. Later, when journalism began to be "refined," such notorious events were reported in detail and even editors began to comment on the occasional bungling of the executioner or of the victim's sufferings.

Overholtzer, the Philadelphia historian, states that victims "were taken to the gallows tree seated on their coffins in carts surrounded by jeering crowds amid tolling of bells."<sup>23</sup> A few of our cases did actually sit on their coffins although most of them either stood up in or walked before or after the cart. We found no record of tolling bells. Generally the crim-



inals were blindfolded with their hands shackled behind them. Not infrequently relatives and friends walked alongside the cart.

Samuel Rowland Fisher, a Quaker who was sent to gaol for "disloyalty" during the Revolution and who kept a journal while he was incarcerated in the Old Stone Prison (southwest corner of Third and Market Streets) in Philadelphia, made entries when persons were taken out to be executed.<sup>24</sup> He writes of the executions of David Dawson (for treason) and Richard Chamberlain (for passing counterfeit money) which took place in Philadelphia on November 25, 1780:

They were taken out midst a Crowd of Spectators — they walked after a Cart in which were two Coffins a Ladder &c, each had a Rope about his Neck & their Arms tied behind them — Dawson walked first accompanied by a Brother, two Sisters & another Woman. Chamberlain was only accompanied by one of his Relatives — they were both hanged on the Commons abt. 1 O'Clk.<sup>25</sup>

Gallows of more ancient vintage consisted of either the limb of a good stout tree or a crude contraption of two posts in the ground with a cross-piece from which the rope would swing. The victim and the hangman might climb a ladder, the noose thrown around the neck of the former and then the hangman — or the sheriff — would simply push the victim off the ladder. In many instances, however, a cart would be pulled under the gallows, the rope placed around the neck of the victim who stood in the cart and, at the appropriate moment, the cart pulled from under the criminal. The first record we were able to find of a more sophisticated mechanism comes from the Lechler execution in Lancaster, mentioned above:

Instead of a gallows, a platform was erected about 9 feet from the ground, the floor of which was divided in the middle, and swung upon hinges like folding-doors supported at each end by a broad wedge; when the signal was given, the wedges were drawn out in an instant by a cord passed through a pulley.<sup>26</sup>

Lewis [Loui] Miller, who went from York to see the Lechler execution, describes it thus: "The gallows had a tremendous trapdoor on the platform. And when the Sheriff give [*sic*] the word the trapdoor fell. Lechler was setting [*sic*] on a chair upon the door. Oh! What a crowd of people to see a poor sinner of a creature hung at the gallows."<sup>27</sup>

A strange ritual occurred at the hanging of John Monks, Bellefonte, Centre County, January 23, 1819, for murder. At the gallows a William Armor, a fifer in the War of 1812, played the "Death March." For some time after Monks's execution it was believed his apparition haunted the neighborhood and became a spook.<sup>28</sup> This kind of superstition was prevalent in the early days and, in some areas, persisted for years. For instance, "Captain" Thomas Taylor, executed at Lancaster on June 5, 1779, is supposed to have been revived by friends and was alleged to have returned to town periodically. An Easton paper of the vintage of 1835, relating the execution of "Negro" Bob on October 25, 1795, comments: "The spot where Bob paid the forfeit of his crime is the scene of many fearful

tales of ghosts, sprites [*sic*] and hobgoblins. The school boy hastens to pass it on his return from the out lots before the shadows of the night present to his terrified vision the body of Bob swinging stiff, and black, and stark in the wind, or standing with his bloody axe over his victim ["Negro" David] as he did thirty-eight years ago. But that spot will be remembered in history and tradition as the spot where was atoned the only murder committed in old Northampton for half a century." <sup>29</sup> [until that of Charles Getter in 1833].

In Carlisle, Cumberland County, it was long believed by some that Edward Donnelly, executed on February 8, 1808, for killing his wife, still spoke to the curious. From the "Old Home Week Letters" [1909—No. 5] we read: "Did you ever go down to the eastern end of Main Street at the Fork of the Trindle Spring and York Roads and call out 'Donnelly, what were you hanged for?' 'Nothing' comes back the reply." <sup>30</sup> When the mail-coach robber, James Porter, was executed on July 2, 1830 (at what is now the corner of 17th Street and Fairmount Avenue, in Philadelphia) the young inmates of the House of Refuge, an institution opened in 1828 for delinquents, were assembled in chapel and "addressed with reference to the case of the unhappy man and vice in general." <sup>31</sup>

It is only recently that anyone has attempted to collect (if not to analyze) the last thoughts and actions of the condemned. The noted German criminologist, Hans von Hentig, has made a study of these in his work *Von Ursprung der Hankersmahlzeit* (concerning the victim's last meal, etc.) He covers items as the "last favor" such as a meal, a drink, a last kind word, or a flower. He also refers to the condemned asking for forgiveness or for punishment, uttering praise for or imprecations upon the hangman. One of his cases murmured (perhaps apocryphal) as he was led to the gallows: "This is going to be a lesson to me." <sup>32</sup>

It is of interest to ponder what the news accounts had to report about the decorum of the condemned either while in prison awaiting execution or at the scaffold itself. Of John Whatnell and Michael McDeirmatt, mentioned above, the news report stated: "During their imprisonment they appeared Penitent bewailing their Sins, and desirous of Instruction. At the place of Execution they seemed very earnest in their Supplications to Heaven for Mercy and cautioning the Spectators to take warning of their miserable and shameful end." <sup>33</sup>

Of Henry Wildeman, executed at Philadelphia on July 2, 1737 for burglary, and his companion in crime, Catherine Connor (once pardoned for a similar offense but now paying the extreme penalty) the paper stated: "At the Place of Execution as well as in Prison, they neither behaved so concerned as might have been expected of Persons in their circumstance." <sup>34</sup> Many of our victims showed remorse at the gallows and called on the crowd, especially of the youthful spectators, to avoid strong drink and riotous living.

In Lancaster, once again, Samuel Brandt, convicted of killing his younger brother, Valentine, is said to have "feigned insanity after his conviction; and on the way to the gallows filled the air with unearthly

screams and yells.”<sup>35</sup> The reverse of this emotional demonstration was occasionally registered. We find a casual, calm, even contemptuous demeanor in that of William Crawford, mentioned earlier, executed at Washington in February 1823. Earle Forrest, one of the historians of that county, tells us that Crawford, indicating nothing but contempt for courts, witnesses, jury, judge, and even his relatives, went peacefully to his death. In fact, he even peeled and ate an apple on the way to Gallows (Thornbury) Hill and actually told the minister to “mind his own business” when he was asked if he wished prayers said for him.<sup>36</sup> Another, James Hunter, executed at Gettysburg on January 3, 1818, went to his death calmly, according to the *Sentinel* of January 7:

Agreeably to his own request he was permitted to walk. During the whole procession, his soul seemed occupied with deeply-felt reiterated and continued importunities with Heaven, in relation to his approaching fate. But when the decisive period had arrived, after prayer offered up by one of the clergy who accompanied him, he, with great apparent fortitude, and resignation, and in expression of hope founded only on the merits of the Son of God, yielded up his life.

Many county-seats had their “Gallows Hills” — Easton, Washington, Reading, and Lebanon. According to S. P. Heilman, “some counties purchased a tract of ground around and including their Gallows Hill . . . the reason being that the concourse of spectators at public executions was so great that the property of private individuals was necessarily trespassed upon.”<sup>37</sup> We find this problem in the execution of John Brown, at Norristown, Montgomery County, on April 12, 1788, convicted of burglary:

Brown was executed in the rear of the jail on Airy Street. This affair, for some time after, was the occasion of considerable controversy, if not excitement, between the sheriff (Francis Swayne, of Trappe) and several citizens. It originated chiefly through the execution having been performed on the highway and in the most public manner. The sheriff . . . defended himself on the ground that he could not get permission of any holders of land in or near the place to permit him as an officer, to fulfill the performance of that which was required of him by law.<sup>38</sup>

On occasions the sad and gruesome story of a murderer’s execution is related in pamphlet form, usually well underlined with a heavy moral overtone. Such is the case of the execution of James (Jimmie) Quinn on Gallows Hill in Lebanon on February 9, 1827. A pamphlet, printed in German, was published by *Der Pennsylvanischer Beobachter*, the only paper in the county at the time. The pamphlet is embellished with a picture of a coffin and a sad poem, allegedly recited (in phantasy) by the victim:

O, thou gruesome gallows-tree; Built, O horror, built for me;  
Lord of Heaven, on bended knee, Do I cry in fear of Thee.  
Gallows-tree! Thy timbers strong Feed my anguish all day long,  
Telling me that soon my light Must go out in blackest night!  
When I leave my prison cell Shall I go to Heaven or Hell?  
Lord, in Thee I place my trust, Thou art kind as well as just,  
Terror makes my spirit sore, — How I wish that all were o’erl

Time for me is but a span, Yet I'd warn my fellow-man,  
 Here upon perdition's brink, Warn him 'gainst the curse of drink.  
 Rum, alas! has been my bane, Cause of crime, disgrace and shame!  
 Lord, Thine ear in mercy lend, Help, O, help me face the end!  
 Glad, I'll die on scaffold tree, And atonement make to Thee,  
 Fain to reach that heavenly plain, Washed and cleansed from sin and pain.  
 Soon will come my fearful end! Thou, O Christ, wilt stand my friend;  
 Thee, I feel—Thy power and might! Now, O World, good night! good night!<sup>39</sup>

Quinn, a roustabout Irishman, who had emigrated from Ireland to work on the Pennsylvania canal, killed his wife, Biddy, in a senseless drunken spree. At that time it was the custom to hold an annual Cherry Festival when strong drink was imbibed freely by the large crowds that came into the town to celebrate. Jimmie indulged too freely and his "good time" ended in tragedy.

While it has been traditional to keep the identity of executioners anonymous, we do know that they were usually furnished with "toddy" or "punch" either before or after they had performed their grisly work. We have at least two itemized statements for expenses incurred in executing some Philadelphia victims:

1. For executing "Negroe Peter" October 12, 1782, for murder:  
 William Will, Esq., [sheriff] To John Reynolds [jailer] Dr.

October 11, 1782

To making the Gallows & Putting it up .....	£1.10.0
To a Rope for Negroe Peter .....	0.10.0
To a Coffin for Ditto .....	1.10.0
To Cash Henry Byrnes for Hanging Negroe Peter .....	3.10.0
To Liquor for the Constables .....	0.12.0

2. For executing Dawson & Chamberlain, [mentioned earlier] both on November 25, 1780, and James Sutton, on November 29, convicted of piracy in Philadelphia.

Dr. 1780		Dollars
<sup>40</sup> October 24th	To 3 Bowls of punch at putting up the gallows To Hang Dawson & Chamberlain .....	90
October 25th	To 3 Bowls and a half of Toddy after the Execution .....	70
October 28th	To 3 Bowls of Toddy at putting up gallows on the Island .....	60
October 29th	To Toddy for the Constables for hanging Sutton .....	85

We have one other stray bit of lore regarding an erstwhile executioner, a "free Negro named Benjamin Hall" who, to quote Reynolds, the jailer of Walnut Street Jail in Philadelphia "undertook to execute the Doans," members of a gang of outlaws by that name, and "that he is in danger

of his life if he remains in jail." Reynolds petitioned the Council to pardon Hall.<sup>41</sup>

A few protests were aired from the newspapers against surrounding the executioners with anonymity. The Crawford *Sentinel* (Meadville) for November 5, 1822, in commenting on the execution of David Lamphier on November 1, commends Sheriff Withrow: "The practice of *hiring* a person to officiate in disguise on such occasions is highly improper. A duty so solemn, so important as that of taking life, ought to be performed by the person whom the law has designated; and we highly commend the sheriff for having performed the unpleasant task himself."

Professional executioners usually had their faces blackened or wore masks, some of which were hideous. One person, about to be executed in 1784 — William Welsh, convicted at Reading for stealing nine silver dollars from a farm woman's bundle while carrying it into market for her — on hearing a protest made by the accompanying minister *en route* to the gallows stated "no injury could possibly be done by the hangman's face being blackened, that he needed a disguise for his own protection after doing his duty."<sup>42</sup>

Executioners were sometimes called "Jack Ketch" after a 17th century English hangman. It is probably true that they were held in some contempt in the early days of our country. The executioner of Susannah Cox, of Reading, hanged on June 10, 1809, was actually "beset at 6th and Penn Streets and soundly thrashed" due to general sympathy for the unfortunate young woman who had been convicted of infanticide. Furthermore, the presiding jurist, John Spayd, who sentenced her to death, resigned within a month after the execution.<sup>43</sup> In our list we have at least two cases who attacked their executioners at the gallows (see Magowan and Van Holland).

In England, by contrast, at least four hangmen's names are enshrined in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, according to Arthur Koestler in his *Reflections on Hanging*. These are "Jack Ketch," "Calcraft," "William Boilman," and the incumbent, Albert Pierrepoint. This present hangman runs a "public house" called "Help the Poor Struggler" and his former assistant, one Allenby, once operated a pub which he called "The Rope and the Anchor."<sup>44</sup>

### SOME INTERESTING RANDOM CASES

The case of Derrick Jonson executed at a spot in Lower Bucks County which later became known — because of the execution — as Tyburn<sup>45</sup> is worth recording:

. . . in July 1693 Derrick Jones [sic] (what suggestiveness in the first name) was hanged at Tyburn, an event, which afterwards gave name to the town, but that hardly counted, as there were too few there to make the affair enjoyable. It is even said that the local jail, a temporary ramshackle affair, below where Morrisville now is, was so insecure that the authorities hurried up the hanging for fear Derrick might get away before his allotted time. The job was so unpopular that Sheriff Taylor, a Friend, begged to be excused from acting as executioner, whereby he was relieved of his office.<sup>46</sup>

It is apparently true that Sheriff Israel Taylor resigned after he had executed Jonson. The few facts concerning this case that are available are these:

Jonson was a Swede and a brother of Claus Jonson, and seems to have been a person of some standing . . . He was the man appointed to oversee the King's Highway between the Poquessing and Bristol before the arrival of Penn. It is believed that he lived in a house on the ferry of the Neshaminy Creek, and the murdered man, name unknown, was supposed to have been killed in this house and the body thrown into the creek. The evidence against Jonson was circumstantial and of such a character that today it would scarcely form the basis of a conviction.<sup>47</sup>

The first court held in Bucks County was at "ye new seate towne" on the Delaware below the "Falls" not far from where Morrisville now stands. This area was called Crewcorne or Creekhorne and the court the "Court of Crewcorne at the Falls." The court house (or at least one of the places where court was held) was a public house operated by Gilbert Wheelers and, as symbolic of the county court, was functioning as early as 1680, at least. The exact location of this early court house is known but it has been somewhat blurred by the expansive steel plant that sprawls over this historic territory.

Jonson's victim was never identified. His body was found near the mouth of the Neshaminy on March 8, 1692. The authorities ordered that Jonson's house be searched and streaks of blood were discovered in the bedroom. Jonson and his wife Brigda insisted that the blood was from that of "a man that came to thrash for him three years ago & that he [Jonson] had spoke of it fully" to persons earlier. Jonson was indicted February 14, 1693, eventually convicted and executed. The dates, however, are not known precisely since the court records do not indicate them. From the Colonial Record we are certain that he was executed some time in July 1693.

There are three allusions to the Jonson case in the Colonial Records. The first states that a petition "of divers of the relatns, friends & neighbors of Derrick Jonson a prisoner Condemd to dye" was rejected and that Brigda, the wife, begged for financial support for "hersilfe and poor children"; the second chides Sheriff Taylor for not giving an accurate account of Jonson's estate and authorizes payment to Robert Cole for "saving, reaping and securing the Cropt of Corne" belonging to Jonson's estate; and the third awards the widow one-half of her executed husband's property.<sup>48</sup>

The Catherine Bevan - Peter Murphy case that occurred at New Castle in 1731 is of special interest since the Bevan woman was the only person to be sentenced to "burn" in the Province. Her crime was that she, aided by her servant Murphy, fed her husband "rat poison" and finally choked him to death. Murphy was hanged at the same time. From contemporary news reports here is the sordid story:

On Friday, the 10th inst. Peter Murphy and Catherine Bevan were executed at New Castle. the Man hanged and the Woman burnt . . .

for the murder of Harry Bevan . . . Murphy swore against his mistress at her Tryal. But before his Death he declared that he had wronged her much, that she did not tie the Handkerchief around her Husband's neck . . . but that she was the chief Promoter of all that happened . . . She denied to the last that she acted any part in the Murder and could scarcely be brought to own that she was guilty of Consenting. Neither of them said much at the Execution: The Man seem'd penitent, but the Woman appear'd hardened. It was design'd to strangle her dead before the Fire should touch her; but it first breaking out was in a stream which pointed directly upon the Rope that went round her Neck, and burnt it off instantly so that she fell alive into the Flames, and was seen to struggle.<sup>49</sup>

The servant Murphy's confession is also of interest:

. . . his mistress sent him to New Castle to buy some Rats Bone or, if he could not get that, some Roman Vitriol . . . which she gave her husband dissolved in a Glass of Wine; but the old Man vomiting it up immediately, she feared it would not have the Desir'd Effect, and therefore had him the Servant beat his Master well, especially about the Breast, till he should

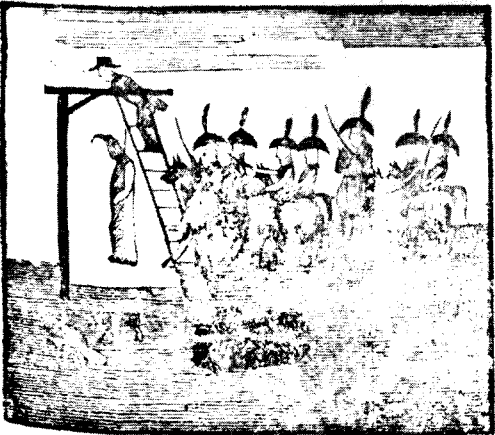
Title pages of pamphlets describing the execution of Elizabeth Wilson and its effect upon her brother. (Story on page 100)  
 Courtesy Library of Congress

Courtesy The Historical Society of Penna.

A  
 FAITHFUL NARRATIVE  
 OF  
**ELIZABETH WILSON,**  
*Who was Executed at Chester,*  
 JANUARY 3, 1786.  
 CHARGED WITH THE MURDER OF  
 HER TWIN INFANTS.

THE  
**PENNSYLVANIA HERMIT.**  
 A NARRATIVE  
 OF THE EXTRAORDINARY LIFE OF

**AMOS WILSON,**  
 Who expired in a Cave in the neighborhood of Harrisburgh (Penn.),  
 after having therein lived in solitary retirement for the  
 space of nineteen years, in consequence of the  
 ignominious death of his sister.



ANNEXED,  
 Is the writings of Wilson while a recluse, and his reasons for  
 preferring a state of Solitude to that of the society  
 of his fellow-beings.

PHILADELPHIA:  
 PRINTED FOR THE PURCHASER.  
 1807.

PHILADELPHIA.

grow so weak as that she might be able to deal with him, and leave the rest to her. Accordingly he beat the old Man till he could not stand, and then laid him on a Couch, when his Wife twisted a Handkerchief round his Neck in order to strangle him . . . (she sent the servant for help and upon his return she said) I have had two hard Struggles with the old Man and he had like to have been too strong for me both Times, but I have quieted him at last.<sup>50</sup>

The news story states that the foul play ending in murder would not have been discovered except that a magistrate of the county happened to attend the funeral and found the coffin already nailed up. Being suspicious, he ordered a coroner's inquest. The coffin was opened and all "were surprised at the dismal spectacle" of bruises on the body.

One of the most poignant cases studied is that of Elizabeth Wilson, a 27-year-old woman of a good farm family in East Bradford Township, Chester County. She was charged, convicted and executed for the alleged "murder of her Two Bastard Male Children" — twins only a few weeks old. The story has all the dramatic appeal of a fictional classic. She was tried on October 25, 1785.

The facts from the Colonial Record indicate that she was reprieved on December 6, 1785 until January 3, 1786. There is no further record but from other sources we know that her brother, William, in a frantic appeal, obtained a further stay from Charles Biddle, then vice-president of the Council. But it came too late to save the unfortunate woman, apparently innocent of the heinous crime.

The story as related by the historian, Ashmead, as well as by Biddle is melodramatic. The girl left home to visit relatives in Philadelphia and while staying at a tavern (Ashmead says the Indian Queen, Biddle says the Cross Keys) where she was a serving-girl, she met a man who seduced her on the promise of marriage. His name (so he contended) was Joseph Deshong, allegedly a former sheriff of Sussex County, New Jersey. If the seducer was a former sheriff of that county, his name was not Deshong as no one by that name ever served in that office.

Elizabeth returned home to prepare for her marriage but soon learned of her pregnancy as well as the false promises of Deshong. After bearing her children Deshong promised to meet her at Newtown Square to discuss the future. As Biddle tells the story:

He persuaded her to take a walk saying he intended to put the children out to nurse; that when they got into the woods he took them from her and laying them down the inhuman monster put his foot on their breasts, and crushed them to death. He then threatened to murder her if she ever mentioned a word about what he had done.

Prior to the discovery of the bodies she was seen "sitting on a rock on the King's Highway, leading to Philadelphia, near the farm of Mr. Cope in East Bradford township." The bodies were found by gunners with dogs in a piece of woods "a little distance from the road leading from Brandywine to the Turk's head [West Chester]" and perhaps more specifically "in woods on the east side of Edgmont Road above Street Road."

As far away as Portsmouth, New Hampshire, the plight of this simple farm girl was related in the local paper, *The Mercury and General Advertiser*, dated Philadelphia, January 25, 1785:



About a week ago a woman was committed to the Chester gaol, on suspicion of murdering her two sucking infant twins, whose bodies were found under some brush. A traveller, passing by, observed his dog scratching among the brush, and presently brought out the head of a child in his mouth. This induced the master to light and examine further, where he found the bodies of the two innocent babes who had been put to death not long before. The woman was charged with the murder which she denies, but acknowledged having placed the children by the road-side in order that any person passing that way, and who had humanity enough, might take them up. The head that the dog brought out had been cut off; and the woman was seen suckling the children near the spot but a little time before the bodies were discovered.

The distraught young woman refused to say a word and apparently was in a state of shock. But her brother, hearing of her plight as he worked on a farm near Lancaster, hastened to the Chester jail where she awaited execution. She told him her story and William tried desperately to save her but to no avail.<sup>51</sup> Only a few words of this sad story may be found in the newspaper of the day:

On Tuesday the 3rd inst. the woman who was tried and convicted at Chester of murdering her Bastard children ten weeks after their birth, was hanged at that place pursuant to her sentence, the respite given by the Honorable Council having expired.<sup>52</sup>

Almost forty years later, in 1821, an obituary appeared in a Harrisburg paper relating the death of a hermit named Wilson — the brother of Elizabeth. It tells something of the tragedy of 1786, especially of his efforts to obtain the pardon for his sister:

Died lately at his lonely hovel among the hills 12 miles southeast of Harrisburg (near Hummelstown) ..... Wilson, who for many years endeavored to be a solitary recluse from the society of men excepting as far as necessary for his support. His retirement was principally occasioned by the melancholy manner of the death of his sister by which his reason was partially affected. She had been condemned to die for murder in the hope of concealing her shame from the world and the day of execution was appointed. In the mean time the brother used his utmost means to obtain a pardon. He had succeeded and his horse foamed and bled as he spurred him homeward. But an unpropitious rain had swollen the stream, (the Schuylkill at Philadelphia) he was compelled to pace the bank with bursting brain and gaze upon the rushing waters that threatened to blast his only hope. At the earliest moment that a ford was practicable he dashed through and arrived at the place just in time to see the last struggle of his sister. This was the fatal blow. He retired to the hills of Dauphin County where he employed himself making grindstones for a livelihood. He was very exacting in his accounts but was observed frequently to be estranged and one morning was found dead by a few of his neighbors who had left him the previous evening in good health.<sup>53</sup>

Charles Biddle, one-time burgess of Reading and, following 1784, a member of the Colonial Council, related his connection with the Wilson case. The brother had come to Philadelphia to procure witnesses against his sister's seducer and had been successful. He appeared at the home of Benjamin Franklin, president of the Council, in hopes he might obtain a reprieve. But for some reason Franklin was not available so Wilson went to the State House where he told his story to Biddle. Acting in his capacity

as vice-president, Biddle scribbled out a hasty reprieve but unfortunately it failed to save the young woman. Biddle, in his *Autobiography*, was convinced of Elizabeth Wilson's innocence. He contended that had not Wilson been delayed at the home of Franklin for four or five hours he might have arrived in time.

The first execution for murder to take place west of the mountains was that of the Delaware Indian, Mamachtaga on December 20, 1785 at Hannas Town, Westmoreland County. He was convicted of killing two men, John Smith and Benjamin Jones in a drunken brawl, on Killbuck Island not far from Pittsburgh. The trial took place in the log cabin home of the sheriff of the county. It was presided over by Chief Justice Thomas McKean. The Indian was represented by Hugh Brackenridge, noted lawyer of the region. The account reads:

When brought into court the Indian refused, at first, to plead "not guilty": for that, he said, would be a lie; he did kill Smith, but said he was drunk at the time and did not know what he was doing. The Chief Justice, however, held that drunkenness was not excuse for murder.

After his conviction and sentence to death, a little daughter of the jailer fell dangerously ill. He said if they would let him go to the woods he could get some roots that would cure her. He went, got the roots, and they cured her. The day before the execution he asked permission to go to the woods to get some roots to paint his face red, that he might die like a warrior. The jailer went with him, he got the roots, returned to jail, and the next day was executed, painted as a warrior.

The gallows was a rude structure, with a ladder leading up to the crossbeam, from which the rope was tied about his neck, and then the sheriff shoved him off the ladder. The first time the rope broke. The poor Indian, strangled and bewildered, supposed that that was all, and he would then be let go. But the sheriff procured another rope, and he was again compelled to ascend the ladder. This time the majesty of the white man's law was vindicated by the death of the red man, for a crime committed in a frenzy fit, occasioned by whiskey the white man had given him.

During the trial the Chief Justice and his associate judge were arrayed in scarlet robes, as was the custom in those days. The grace, demeanor, and glittering robes of the Judges impressed the poor unlettered son of the forest. He could not believe they were mortals, but regarded them as divine personages.

The courts were held in the house of Robert Hanna. Parties, jurors, witnesses, and lawyers were crowded together in a small room, nearly all standing. The Judges occupied common hickory chairs raised on a clap-board bench at one side<sup>54</sup>

Just minutes before the Indian went to his death a "simple-minded white man" who had been tried and convicted in the same court for burglary was hanged. It is quite likely that this person, a Joseph Ross (CR XIV, 588, December 1, 1785) was the first person to be publicly executed west of the mountains. The gallows "was erected on a hill west of Hannas Town known until recently as the Gallows Hill. . . . The executions took place all night" and were witnessed "by a great body of people."

The case of Mamachtaga calls for a statement regarding the strange phenomenon of the "rope breaking." Apparently this often happened. How many such situations occurred, we cannot know. Doubtless some are enveloped in legend. One case, vouched for by Forrest in his *History of*

*Washington County*, is associated with a slave, Christian Sharp, or "Kit," who was being returned to the South by a "Negro Drover" from Kentucky named Carlile. Christian was executed at Washington on November 21, 1828, on the town's Gallows Hill (Thornhill) when the "rope broke."<sup>55</sup> Another case was that of "Jimmie" Quinn at Lebanon on February 9, 1827.<sup>56</sup> A third, most bizarre, was that of "Negro" Dan Byers, executed at Bellefonte, Centre County, December 13, 1802. As Linn, the local historian tells about it, when the rope broke the crowd naturally shouted "Dan's free." They surged forward but were rebuffed by the military. A man, standing nearby, took Byers by the arm and said: "Dan, you've always been a good boy; go up now and be hung like a man." And, as Linn reports, "Dan obliged."<sup>57</sup>

Another case was that of Charles Getter, executed at Easton, Northampton County, October 11, 1833. The news report states: "He had been raised scarcely three feet when the rope broke and he fell. His face was uncovered but he lay without life for half a minute . . . Even this terrible interlude in the solemn scene which chilled the look of almost every spectator, had no effect upon his iron nerve."<sup>58</sup>

A fourth case we have read about is that of Cornelius Jones of Wayne County, executed November 15, 1817 for the murder of his step-father, one Roswell. He poisoned him with a concoction of "white arsenick mixed with cider." At the execution near the court house at Bethany the rope broke. The report reads: "Before it could be readjusted, he recovered his powers of articulation and begged most piteously not to be hauled up again. . . . He was dragged a few inches off the ground where he ended his life in horrible agony, while the crowd turned away appalled at the sickening scene."<sup>58</sup>

Just the reverse was true in the execution of James Fitzpatrick, romantic outlaw and Tory of Chester County which occurred at Chester on September 26, 1778. In this execution apparently the rope was not long enough. Ashmead, writing in the *Chester Evening News* "some years ago," states:

Tradition has it that after the rope was adjusted about his neck and the cart drawn from beneath the gallows, he (Fitzpatrick) fell to the earth on his feet, and that by standing on his toes the strain on his neck was removed. This the hangman saw and springing upon the shoulders of the doomed man, the increased weight forced the body until Fitzpatrick was actually strangled to death.<sup>59</sup>

## EXECUTIONS DURING THE REVOLUTION

We have divided our study of public executions into three periods. The first, or Provincial period, extends from 1682 to 1776 in which 94 persons were identified; the second, from 1776 through 1790, which we refer to as the Revolution period — embracing only a period of 14 years — shows 102 cases, only 11 of which were executed in the interests of "public safety";<sup>60</sup> and the third period, from 1790 to 1834, or the Commonwealth period which indicates only 56 cases. Following is the list of

persons thus far identified who were executed on conviction of a serious charge of impairing "public security," either through courts-martial or civil courts.

1777	March 8	Brint Debadee	Phila.	Desertion to the Enemy (shot)
1777	March 31	James Molessworth	Phila.	Treason (hanged)
1778	August 14	George Spangler	Phila.	Spying (hanged)
1778	September 2	Samuel Ford	Phila.	Desertion to the Enemy (shot)
1778	September 2	Samuel Lyons	Phila.	Desertion to the Enemy (shot)
1778	September 4	Patrick McMullen	Phila.	Desertion to the Enemy (hanged)
1778	November 4	Abraham Carlisle	Phila.	Treason (aiding enemy) (hanged)
1778	November 4	John Roberts	Phila.	Treason (aiding enemy) (hanged)
1780	November 25	David Dawson	Phila.	Treason (hanged)
1780	November 25	Ralph Morden	Easton	Treason (hanged)
1781	November 13	John Moody	Phila.	Spying (probably hanged)

Debadee, a 24-year-old soldier, member of the Tenth Pennsylvania regiment, deserted to the enemy and was shot on the Commons in Philadelphia. The Rev. William Rogers, chaplain of the armed services, delivered "a pathetic address at the melancholy occasion to the soldiers present."<sup>61</sup>

In the Molessworth case we find "the suspicion that General Howe intended to attack Philadelphia by water which was confirmed by the arrest of James Molessworth who had been sent from New York to secure pilots to conduct the British fleet up the Delaware."<sup>62</sup> Molessworth was actually convicted of treason but the Council records indicate that he was executed as a spy.<sup>63</sup>

The cases of George Spangler and Frederick Verner, charged with treason, must have been tense and dramatic:

**Pennsylvania Evening Post**, August 15, 1778: Yesterday morning George Spangler was executed on the Commons near this city (Philadelphia). He was found guilty of serving the enemy as a spy and a guide through the country. The execution of Verner is put off for a few days.

Scharf & Westcott (I,394) are the source for the following story:

In August, 1778, Verner and Spangler were tried by court-martial instituted by Arnold (Benedict) on the charge of being British spies and were convicted and sentenced to be hanged . . . Verner . . . after lying in prison for some time, was exchanged for an American in the hands of the British.

It will be noted that some on our list were executed for desertion to the enemy. In fact, it was not uncommon for some to desert from one army to the other, to collect whatever bounties were obtainable. The news accounts of the foursome, Lieuts. Samuel Ford, Samuel Lyons, John Wilson, and gunner John Lawrence, all convicted of "desertion to the enemy," reveal the following:

**Pennsylvania Evening Post**, August 28, 1778: At a court-martial lately held in Philadelphia, Lyons, late lieutenant of the Dickinson galley, Ford of the Effingham, Wilson of the Ranger, and Lawrence of the Dickinson, were convicted of desertion and sentenced to suffer death . . . The executions will take place on board the galleys in the river nearly opposite to Market Street wharf, Lawrence to be hanged, the other shot.

(same paper) September 2: This day Lieuts. Lyons and Ford, Wilson, and John Lawrence were brought to the place of execution . . . when the two former suffered the law and the others were relieved. The number of spectators was very great and it is hoped the melancholy scene will have a proper effect upon the profligate and thoughtless who do not seriously consider that the crime of desertion is attended with the dreadful consequences of wilful perjury.

The story of their offenses is related briefly by Scharf & Westcott:

They deserted to the enemy during the attack on Fort Mifflin in November 1777. They went off in boats; were taken by the British and sent to Philadelphia. Ford went about the city and sold liquor. After the evacuation he accompanied the British army to Monmouth, deserted it during the battle and went to the American camp . . . The Council pardoned Wilson and Lawrence but refused to extend mercy to Lyons and Ford.

Of the Patrick McMullen case the **Pennsylvania Evening Post**, September 4, 1778, states:

This day Patrick McMullen was executed . . . He was a deserter from the British and had deserted from several Continental regiments. He was so hardened and insensible to his unhappy situation that when the executioner put the rope about his neck he smiled and said it was strong enough to hang any man and behaved the same unaccountable indifference to the last moment.

The historians, Scharf & Westcott, (I,394) state of McMullen: "He defrauded Congress of the enlistment money."

On November 4, 1778, two tragic figures went to the gallows in Philadelphia, convicted of treason. The cases of these two men, John Roberts and Abraham Carlisle, caused great travail in the city and, even at this late date, it is somewhat disquieting to write of their unfair treatment by the frenzied authorities of those hectic days. The story may be gleaned from Scharf & Westcott (I,394):

Carlisle, a house carpenter, charged with having kept one of the gates at the Northern redoubt; Roberts, a miller of Lower Merion, accused of having enlisted with the enemy and attempting to persuade others to enlist, were convicted and sentenced to be hung [sic].

Their conviction, both of whom were Friends, created intense excitement among the Tories and Quakers, who feared it was but the precursor of sanguinary persecutions; powerful influence was brought to bear to secure a commutation . . . Many leading Whigs . . . twelve of the grand jury petitioned for mercy; ten of the petit jury united in a similar appeal . . . Three hundred and eighty-seven Philadelphians . . . came forward and showed that Carlisle had interceded on behalf of prisoners and protected them from being subjected to brutal treatment at the hands of the British and Tories. These appeals, however, had no effect on the Council. Carlisle and Roberts were hung on November 4. Carlisle's body was interred in the Friend's burying-ground, the funeral being witnessed by a large concourse of people. Their execution and the seizure of their property appears to this day (1884) to have been dictated by the desire to satisfy popular clamor rather than a spirit of justice.

Another case that caused considerable concern during this period was that of David Dawson. He was executed on November 25, 1780, convicted

of treason. We find in the **Pennsylvania Gazette**, Philadelphia, for November 29:

On Saturday last, David Dawson, late of Chester County, was executed . . . he not surrendering to the Proclamation under the Act of Attainder — The man had joined the enemies of his country in this city, went with them to New York, and came out twice to pass counterfeit money which led to his detection and apprehension.

Samuel Rowland Fisher, in his **Journal**, was concerned with the Dawson case. We have alluded to this earlier. Fisher was especially distressed because Dawson, with others, was kept in irons "in the Dungeon, day & night" for such a long time and because he was not afforded a trial. He writes:

The taking of the life of D. Dawson seems to me to be a greater act of Cruelty in the present Rulers than anything they have heretofore done for they never gave him even the shadow of a Tryal in their own fashion & they have executed him merely as what they call a proscribed person because he came into the City while the British army lay here, the circumstances of which was [sic] that he was coming from his abode with his Waggon, that being in danger of his life from some of Washington's men, he fled into the city & left and lost his Wagon, Horses, provisions &c. — He never acted in any manner under British, nor had he taken the Test to the present Usurpers, he did not go with the British army to New York, but had secreted himself in various places till he was betrayed by James Reed last Spring & taken prisoner.<sup>64</sup>

Another case of treason is that of Ralph Morden of Easton who was executed on November 25, 1780. He was convicted on October 30 for assisting a Tory, Robert Land, to flee into Canada.<sup>65</sup>

The last on our list — during this period — is John Moody who was executed as a spy on the Commons near Philadelphia on November 13, 1781. The news story states that "agreeable to the usage of nations which adjudges death to every spy" he was executed. Another, Lawrence Marr, allegedly in the conspiracy with Moody, was respited. "One part of the mission of these men who were employed by that blot upon humanity, Arnold, and whom we hear were to receive 500 guineas each if successful, was to rob the office of the secretary of the Congress."<sup>66</sup>

## FEMALE EXECUTIONS

In our list we find twenty-one females, a very small percentage of the total. Of this number at least seven were convicted of infanticide, or for the "killing of a Bastard Child." Two murdered young children: Margaret Sexton of New Castle County killed her four-year-old step-son, a crime described by the Council as a "most barbarous and wilful act"; and Elizabeth Moore of York County, who poisoned her nine-year-old son so he could join his baby sister — whom she had earlier put to death without being detected — in Heaven.

The remainder of the cases were for murder, burglary, and arson. Since we do not know the facts in some of the cases we cannot exclude

infanticide from those convicted of murder. Some women were sentenced to death for the murder of their infants but were pardoned. However, if they failed to register remorse they were less likely to be so favored. For example, the Colonial Council refused to pardon Jane Ewing of Chester County because there was "not a single circumstance in her favour but on the contrary at the Tryal she showed no kind of remorse." <sup>67</sup> She was executed January 19, 1765.

An interesting custom found in colonial times was that, if a female sentenced to death, or, in fact, was being tried for some serious sex offense, a special panel of females was empowered to examine her for possible pregnancy. If she were so found, she might be spared the rigors of the trial or pardoned even though she had been condemned to death. An example is recorded in Chester County in 1689. A young woman was on trial for "carnal intercourse" and a jury of women was empanelled to ascertain whether or not she was pregnant. They reported "that they can not find she is, neither be they sure she is not." Punishment was delayed.<sup>68</sup> A similar case is listed in the Philadelphia *Mercury* (April 29 - May 6, 1736) telling of a New York woman sentenced to death for burglary who "pleaded her belly, upon which a Jury of Women found her Quick with Child and to be reprieved." One of our cases, Catherine Connor, was pardoned once for pregnancy but one year later she was executed for burglary. We mentioned this case earlier.

An amazing case mentioned above, about which we were able to find some details, is that of Elizabeth Moore "a Mulatto" of York County, executed for murder on May 27, 1809. She had been born a slave in Havre-de-Grace, Maryland, but had run away to York where she became a free domestic. In her "gallows-side" speech she claimed to have smothered another child to death earlier but had not been detected. She had a son by another man whom she had placed in an almshouse and for whom she seemed to have had a distorted feeling of affection and concern. She felt that this boy (now nine years of age) should be in Heaven with the child she had smothered, so she purchased some poison, took him into the woods, and disposed of him. She was arrested, tried and sentenced to death. But while in jail she again became pregnant by someone in that establishment and actually bore a child in these surroundings prior to her execution.

The case of Susannah Cox, executed at Reading on June 10, 1809 for killing her newborn child is also of interest. She was a domestic in the home of Jacob Geehr of Oley Township, Berks County. Not until her master found the corpse of a baby in his woodshed was it suspected that Susannah had been pregnant. She admitted that it was her child but denied killing it. However, after being sentenced she freely admitted the crime. She went to the gallows on "Gallows Hill in City Park" clad in a white dress with wide black ribbons. Public opinion was strong in behalf of the pathetic 24-year-old "not very bright" woman.<sup>69</sup> Susannah Cox was probably the last female to be publicly executed in the Commonwealth. Not until 1858 do we find other females executed and then, of

course, within the jails of the counties. In that year, Charlotte Jones was hanged (February 12) in Allegheny County and Mary Twigg of Montour County was executed on October 22, both for murder.

#### LIST OF FEMALES EXECUTED

1688	March 15	Judith Roe	Kent (Delaware)	Murder
1724	July 13	Elizabeth Murphy	Chester	Murder
1731	September 10	Catherine Bevan	New Castle (Delaware)	Murder
1737	July 2	Catherine Connor	Philadelphia	Burglary
*1750	February 1	Elizabeth Robinson	Philadelphia	Burglary
1757	June 4	Margaret Sexton	New Castle (Delaware)	Murder
1759	March 10	Elizabeth Graul	Berks	Infanticide
*1764	March 5	"Negress" Phoebe	Chester	Burglary
1765	January 19	Jane Ewing	Chester	Infanticide
1765	September 26	Elizabeth Erwin	York	Infanticide
1767	December 19	Catherine Krebs	Berks	Infanticide
1768	December 24	Mary Kennedy	York	Murder
1774	April 30	"Mulatto" Elizabeth	Philadelphia	Murder
1779	June 5	Catherine Fisher	Lancaster	Murder
1780	July 7	"Negro" Sucky	Cumberland	Arson
1786	January 3	Elizabeth Wilson	Chester	Infanticide
1799	October 30	Sarah Clark	Cumberland	Murder
1801	July 18	"Negress" Chloe	Cumberland	Murder
1805	August 1	"Black" Hannah Miller	Chester	Infanticide
1809	May 27	Elizabeth Moore	York	Murder
1809	June 10	Susannah Cox	Berks	Infanticide

\* Date of Execution not known; date indicates warrant issued.

#### THE ANN CARSON SMYTH STORY

One of the last persons to be executed publicly in Philadelphia was Lieut. Richard Smyth, a dashing young Irishman, hot-tempered and handsome. He was convicted of killing Captain John Carson, a sea-faring man who had married a beautiful girl many years his junior, one Ann Baker, daughter of a ship captain. Because her husband was away on long sea voyages the coquettish Ann flirted with many young men nearer her own age and, to help support her two children, operated a crockery shop.

Into her shop one day came the dashing lieutenant who shortly thereafter proposed marriage. While Ann coyly considered this offer preposterous, she realized that her life with the older Carson offered her few rewards. In due time, and after she had heard "rumors" that the captain had been lost at sea, she accepted Smyth. The marriage ceremony was bizarre. It took place at an inn in Frankford with a slight element of simulated coercion involved. But apparently both Ann and Smyth lived happily — until Carson, like Enoch Arden, returned to Philadelphia. Immediately he began to make trouble for the young couple and in a subsequent scuffle at Ann's home, he was killed by Smyth. Smyth claimed self-defense.

After a sensational trial, with the city largely partisan to the handsome lieutenant, he was found guilty of murder and sentenced to death. First Ann, in desperation, attempted to bribe the jailers of the Walnut



Street Prison where Smyth was awaiting execution. This failed. Next she, with some accomplices, attempted to kidnap Governor Simon Snyder as he passed by an inn at Selins Grove in his coach en route to Harrisburg. Her motive was, if successful, to extort a pardon from him for her condemned husband. She and her friends were arrested and tried for attempted kidnaping and conspiracy but they were acquitted in Dauphin County court. While awaiting trial her husband was executed on August 10, 1816.<sup>70</sup>

The distraught young widow returned to Philadelphia where she became involved with a ring of counterfeiters. In due time she was arrested and sentenced to the same prison where a few years earlier her husband had been incarcerated. She had trouble not only with the prison matron but also with the female inmates. Eventually she was severely beaten by some of these females in a brawl and was hospitalized. She died within a short time, apparently from her wounds. However, it was more than a rumor that she actually succumbed to typhus which she contracted from infected bedding. This amazing woman died in 1824 in her 38th year. The Ann Carson story was carefully written up, first in a curtailed autobiography and later embellished and brought up to date by a woman friend who was a writer.<sup>71</sup>

---

## HORSE THIEVES — NONE EXECUTED

One of the most serious of all offenses in a new country is horse stealing. Consequently the rule has been that offenders of such a crime should be severely punished and it has not been unusual for the crime to be recognized as capital. Much romanticism has been linked with the swashbuckling highwayman who stole everything he found on the hapless traveler, including his horse. Included in such a category might be a few of our victims — “Capt’n. Fitz” Fitzpatrick of Chester County and Abraham and Levi Doan of Bucks County. They certainly stole horses but were not executed for this crime.

Horse stealing was never a capital crime in Pennsylvania except at common law. Because of its common law connection we find a few persons petitioning the Colonial Council for a pardon or commutation of the death penalty for stealing a horse. Since we do not have access to the indictments or court dockets we can rely only on what is referred to in the Records as “horse stealing.” We have been unable to identify one single case of a person being executed for stealing horses although other investigators have stated that some were hanged.<sup>72</sup>

We know that the Act of May 21, 1718 did not list horse stealing as a capital crime and we also know that beginning in 1767, subsequent acts made penalties for the crime increasingly more drastic. The Act of 1767 (*Statutes at Large*, VII, 91-2) was the first to legislate against horse stealing, the penalties being fines, the pillory, whipping and imprisonment. Later acts increased the severity of the penalties to embrace branding,

ear cropping, and hard labor but no act was ever passed in the Commonwealth providing the death penalty for the offense.

Our list includes only three cases in which the Colonial Council states the penalty for "horse stealing" as death but all were pardoned. These were: Thomas Francis, in 1756.<sup>73</sup> John Scarlet, in 1765,<sup>74</sup> and George Allen, in 1770.<sup>75</sup> all of New Castle (now Delaware). A fourth, John Rookin, of Philadelphia, may have been sentenced to death although it is not so stated in the records.<sup>76</sup> The first three were pardoned, apparently without any other penalty imposed, but Rookin was pressed into service on the frigate **Trumbull**. This was during the Revolution in 1781.

There are many instances of horse thieves being subjected to the pillory, to the whipping post and to ear cropping as well as to fines, restitution and other painful and financial penalties. But, as stated above, we were unable to find one single case of a hanging unless the charge was burglary or highway robbery.<sup>77</sup>

---

## THE DEMORALIZATION OF PUBLIC HANGINGS

Public hangings were grim and ribald spectacles. A massive sheaf of clinical evidence, drawn not only from Pennsylvania but from other states as well as countries, can be produced to indicate how debasing they were. The literary classic often mentioned as best descriptive of these debaucheries is Thackery's "Going to See a Man Hanged" as found in **Fraser's Magazine** in 1850.

Thousands usually turned out to witness the death struggles of those catapulted into eternity. The revelry, at the worst, and the callousness at best, of the crowds that congregated at each hanging are testimony of the community demoralization accompanying the practice.

At the last public execution in Philadelphia — a federal offender named James Moran, convicted of piracy and murder, some 20,000 persons were present.<sup>78</sup> The John Lechler hanging at Lancaster on October 25, 1822 drew a crowd of between 20,000 and 30,000 "with upward of 2,000 from York County and a great many from Dauphin, Lebanon, Berks, Montgomery and Chester — and a number from Northampton and Lehigh Counties."<sup>79</sup>

The execution at Doylestown on June 21, 1832 of the Mexican adventurer, Lino Amelio Mina, drew "at least 10,000." Mina was convicted of poisoning Dr. William Chapman of Andalusia, Bucks County. He met Mrs. Chapman, who was apparently none too faithful to her husband, **en route** from New York to Philadelphia. The Doylestown paper for June 23 rather smugly stated: "We are pleased that there were not more than one hundred females in the vast concourse" at the place of execution. Rather than riding to the gallows in the traditional cart, Mina was permitted to use "an open dearborn." (For details of this case, see our listing of Mina's execution).



A drawing by Lewis Miller showing the public hanging of John Lechler at Lancaster.

Courtesy The Historical Society of York County

An account of conventional executions is one presented in retrospect, before the Lebanon County Historical Society April 18, 1902:

The scenes attending hangings were frequently degrading and disgraceful. They were made occasions for large gatherings from far and near, mostly bent on idle curiosity, or for a grand jollification and some even bent on attempt to rescue the prisoner. They came by wagons, on horseback, and on foot, and the procession continued in constantly increasing proportions down to the moment of the execution. Many came long distances, arriving the night before, crowding the taverns the preceding evening, or sleeping in the wagons in which they had come to town, and in which also they proceeded the following day in gay procession to the place of execution. On the road to that place booths were erected for the sale of confectioneries, eatables and intoxicants . . . The presence of the military was always required to prevent turbulence, or possible rescue of the condemned.<sup>80</sup>

At the execution of Lechler at Lancaster, mentioned above, we read:

. . . The square leading from the court-house to the jail was a solid mass, and the whole distance from jail to the place of execution, about three-fourths of a mile, the road was crowded — and when the procession arrived at the spot it appeared to be already occupied by a body of people more numerous than those advancing. All the rising grounds of the neighborhood, within view, were occupied. Fences, trees, and house tops to a great distance were covered with men.<sup>81</sup>

The mayor had issued a proclamation (see p. 113) petitioning everybody to be calm and prohibiting the sale of strong liquor "on that day, at or near the place of execution" and calling for tavern keepers "for their own honour . . . to prevent gambling, drunkenness, dancing, and all immoral transactions within their houses." The local paper maintained that the "crowd retired without any of that confusion which too often occurs and without a single accident of the most trivial kind. Fears were entertained of the consequences of so great a concourse of people . . . but such was the peaceful and praiseworthy conduct of all, that those who were clothed with authority saw no occasion for its exercise."

But such was actually not the case at all. Wrote one person concerning the consequences in Lancaster on the night of the execution:

. . . fifteen persons were committed to prison, one for murder and one for larceny, the rest for vagrancy, having no doubt been attracted to the scene through the generally prevailing curiosity. The person committed for murder was John Wilson who stabbed Thomas Burns, in a drunken affray at a tavern near the old factory, the parties being on their way home from the execution. Burns was stabbed in the abdomen and died the following day.<sup>82</sup>

The great law-giver, Edward Livingston, wrote of this sordid affair at Lancaster that many "gentlemen" lost their pocket-books "tho' the pickpockets escaped ere the jail would have overflowed." Commenting further on the stabbing, mentioned above, he stated: "Wilson was apprehended and had the same irons put on him which had scarcely been laid off long enough by Lechler to get cold."<sup>83</sup> He also reported on an orgy that took place at Orwigsburg, Schuylkill County where, in 1824, thousands of people had collected to witness an execution that did not take place. According to Livingston the crowd grew impatient as the execution was delayed and "raised a ferocious cry." But when a last minute reprieve was granted the victim (John Zimmerman — see page 160 for account of this case) due to insanity, "their fury knew no bounds; and the poor maniac was with difficulty snatched by the officers of justice from the fate which the most violent among them seemed determined to inflict." He further complained bitterly that "in that state [Pennsylvania] executions are scenes of riot and every species of wickedness; twenty, thirty, and even forty thousand persons are in attendance on such occasions. In the country, two or three days are employed in the merry-making, much after the manners of fairs, in former days."<sup>84</sup>

In contrast to the huge crowds it should be recalled that at probably the second execution in the Commonwealth (of Derrick Jonson at Tyburn, Bucks County in July 1693) it was recorded "that there were too few there to make the affair enjoyable."<sup>85</sup> Further, the historians, Scharf & Westcott comment on the fact that a Philadelphia crowd was more interested in seeing the first balloon ascension in the city than to witness a double execution on the Commons. The victims, John Downie and John Martin, were executed on July 17, 1784 the day set aside for the ascension of Professor Cairns. However, an untoward accident prevented him from

# PROCLAMATION.

## WHEREAS

# Friday,

## The 25th Instant

BEING the day appointed by the Governor for the execution of the unfortunate

### JOHN LECHLER,

(May the Lord have mercy on his soul, and as such an event has not taken place in this county for upwards of 40 years, and that it never may again we most sincerely pray) it is believed that a great concourse of people of all descriptions will resort to the place of execution, to witness the awful and melancholy scene, the execution whereof ought to be conducted amongst civilized, moral and religious people with the utmost solemnity.

### *I, Samuel Carpenter, Mayor*

Of the city of Lancaster, within the limits whereof this solemn and awful execution is to take place, therefore issue this proclamation, thereby forbidding and prohibiting every person and persons from taking in, and vending any liquors stronger than small Beer on that day, at or near the place of execution.

### The Constables

Of the city are directed to be vigilant in the performance of their official duties, to preserve peace and good order in the city, as well on the said day of execution as on the day preceding and the day following the same; to apprehend all disorderly persons without discrimination, and bring them before proper authority, in order that they may be examined and dealt with according to law.

### The Tavernkeepers

Of the city, as well as all other persons, are most earnestly requested, for their own honour as well as the honour of the city, to prevent gambling, drunkness, dancing and all immoral transactions within their respective houses and premises, during the above mentioned days, as well in the day as at night. All gamblers and other disorderly persons will be vigilantly pursued, apprehended and brought to justice by the civil officers of the city and their assistants duly appointed for that purpose.

Given under my hand at Lancaster, the 23d day of October, 1846.

Witness our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-six.

### Samuel Carpenter

Mayor of the City of Lancaster.

going through with his demonstration.<sup>86</sup>

Charles Biddle, in his **Autobiography**, describes the execution of a young soldier named William Welsh whose case we mentioned earlier. Accused and convicted of burglary, the Supreme Executive Council refused to intercede and he was executed on July 17, 1784. Biddle stated that fifteen to twenty thousand men, women and children attended, completely covering the hillside near the gallows. He wrote further: "An old woman walked near seventy miles to see the execution. Being fatigued, a little before the execution, she fell asleep and did not wake up until it was over, when she cried most bitterly."<sup>87</sup>

It seems incongruous that public executions could have continued so long;<sup>88</sup> yet one might ponder the thought that our descendants will probably be puzzled why the death penalty should be tolerated at this date. It seems there may be two reasons why public executions persisted so long. First it was believed by some that decent sensitive citizens would be so horrified at the public spectacles that they would demand the total abolition of the death penalty. While it is true that many such persons did so demand the complete abolition of the death penalty, there was no ground-swell against the penalty.

A second reason may have been because when advocates of such a "partial abolition" attempted to introduce legislation calling for private executions, **total abolitionists** managed to introduce riders to bills demanding all-out abolition. This tactic actually took place in Ohio.<sup>89</sup> Public executions were abolished in that state in 1844.

---

## EFFORTS IN PENNSYLVANIA TO ABOLISH PUBLIC EXECUTIONS

What constitutes a **private** rather than a **public** execution is a moot point. Fortunately, there are no totally private executions in this country since such acts would not be far removed from a police state. The term **private** is relative and as it is understood here, only those may attend who, by law, are so entitled when an execution is held within a jail, prison, or other public enclosure, also specified by law and away from the general public. Executions today may be too public to suit some people — such as "too many" witnesses, reporters, spectators invited by wardens and sheriffs — but nowhere do we find unrestricted public spectacles of hanging so prevalent in early America. Unfortunately, however, too many persons in authority, notably sheriffs, permitted hundreds and even a thousand and more to witness executions within the jail walls of Pennsylvania, even after the law went into effect abolishing public spectacles.

Pennsylvania was the first state to abolish public executions or, rather, to insist legally that they be held within jails or prisons. New Jersey followed soon after with New York and Massachusetts joining soon afterward.<sup>90</sup>

The first person to protest against public punishments, perhaps in the entire country, was the famous Philadelphia colonial physician and signer of the Declaration of Independence, Dr. Benjamin Rush (1746-1813). In 1787 he read a paper at the home of Benjamin Franklin in which he denounced all forms of public punishments as degrading and ineffectual. He was protesting specifically against the law of September 15, 1786 which attempted to implement a new dispensation in penal thought but which, according to Rush and other prominent citizens, represented retrogression. The act called for criminals to be put at "hard labour, publickly and disgracefully imposed," in garish and kaleidoscopic garb "heavily weighted down" with shackles on public streets and highways of the Commonwealth. Persons thus sentenced were referred to as "wheelbarrow men."<sup>91</sup>

While Dr. Rush objected to all forms of public punishments, such as floggings, stocks and pillory, etc., he also had the gallows very much in mind. He actually wrote the "last word" needed in a civilized culture to obliterate all forms of public legalized humiliation of any person, criminals included. After pointing out the shame connected with public punishments — both to victim and society alike — he further heaped scorn on the public hangings:

What has been the operation of the seventy thousand executions that have taken place in Great Britain from the year 1688, to the present day (scarcely one hundred years) upon the morals and manners of the inhabitants of the island? Has not every prison door that has been opened, to conduct criminals to public shame and punishment, unlocked, at the same time, the bars of moral obligation upon the minds of ten times the number of people? How often do we find pockets picked under a gallows, and highway robberies committed within sight of the gibbet? From whence arose the conspiracies, assassinations, and poisonings which prevailed in the decline of the Roman Empire? Were they not favoured by the public executions of the amphitheatre? It is therefore to the combined operation of indolence, prejudice, ignorance — and the defect of culture of the human heart alone that we are to ascribe the continuance of public punishments, after such long and multiplied experience of their inefficacy to reform bad men or to prevent the commission of crime.<sup>92</sup>

It was further his contention that all forms of public punishments tended to result in the opposite attitudes toward crime and criminals by society than those intended by the advocacy of such penalties. In many instances sympathy rather than vengeance for the criminal resulted and, to quote Rush, "Murder is propagated by hanging for murder."<sup>93</sup>

Rush wrote another pamphlet dealing more specifically with the abolition of capital punishment and the following year the brilliant William Bradford, attorney general for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania penned his views on the death penalty.<sup>94</sup>

While the movement to abolish capital punishment went on its discouraging way, from the days of Rush and Bradford — with the objective even now not consummated except in nine states,<sup>95</sup> the "movement with-

in a movement" to abolish public executions had its own history within the Commonwealth. Although many humanitarians recoiled from the barbaric public spectacles of hangings, it was not until 1824, perhaps prompted by the prospect of the execution of a Negro, Benjamin Stewart, at Harrisburg on February 4, that serious action was taken to discourage such public butcheries. On February 3, the day before the execution, a Senate resolution was laid on the table of the Judiciary Committee to inquire into the expediency of prohibiting public hangings<sup>96</sup> and exploring the "propriety of executions in the prison yard of the county."<sup>97</sup>

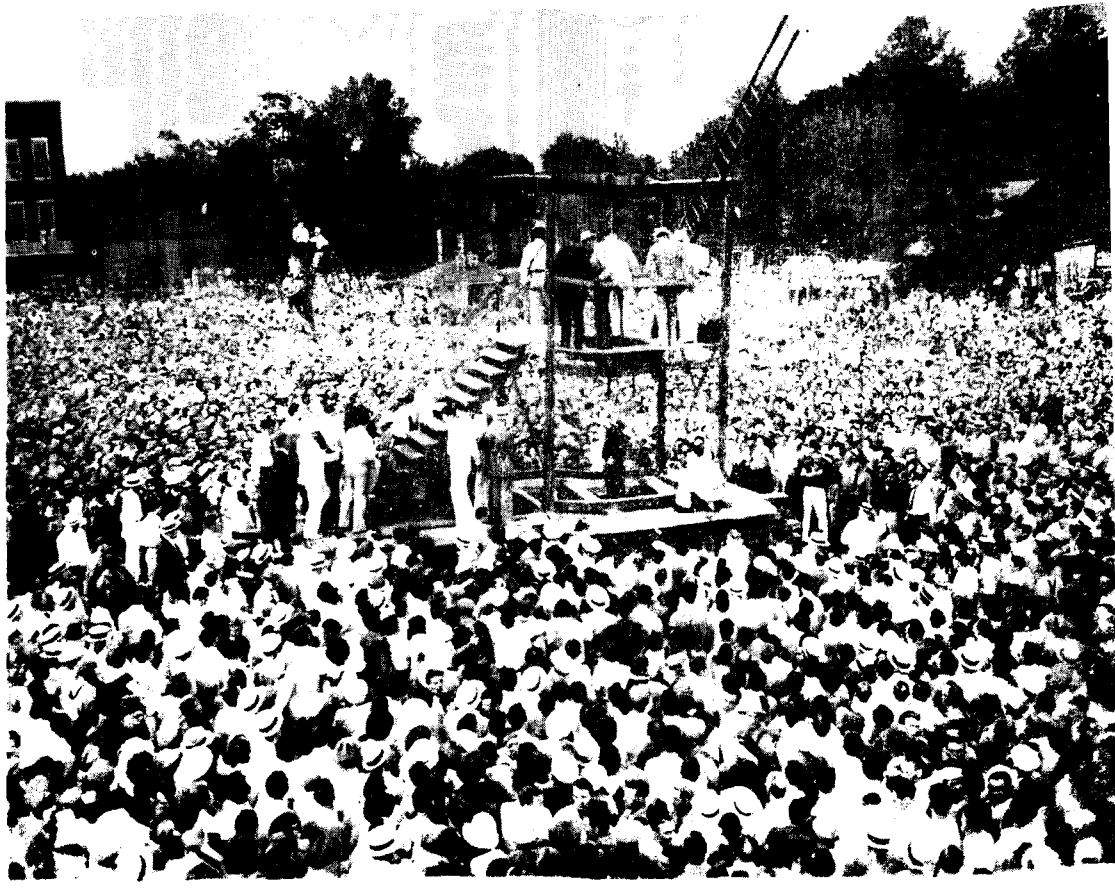
On February 5 a House Resolution was introduced by Representatives Jacob Casset (Adams County) and William G. Scott (Northampton) and passed two days later which contended that public executions should be abolished "as they were inexpedient, highly demoralizing and a great and unnecessary waste of the public's time and labor." The House Committee Report of February 24 favored the measure but it failed to pass on the floor.<sup>98</sup> Four years later, on December 8, 1828, Senator John Hare Powel (Philadelphia) petitioned the Senate to alter the mode of executions but nothing came of his request.<sup>99</sup> In 1831 still another unsuccessful effort was made to prohibit the public feature of executions.<sup>100</sup>

But opposition to public executions slowly gained momentum. The astute Edward Livingston had condemned the practice some years before — as it applied to Pennsylvania — and in other states condemnatory articles appeared. It was only a matter of time, especially in some of the eastern seaboard states. In Pennsylvania another attempt was made when a Senate measure was introduced on December 1, 1832. This was referred to the Judiciary Committee where it was promptly smothered.<sup>101</sup> However, at the same session of the Assembly, a House bill, No. 29, was introduced on December 12, 1833 calling for the abolition of public executions. The committee report (Document No. 57) was favorable and the measure was passed on February 21, 1834 by a vote of 62 to 13. It was then passed by the Senate on April 8, 1834 and signed by Governor George Wolf on April 10.<sup>102</sup>

But the morbidly curious were not all kept away from the spectacle of a hanging merely because of the new law. While the provision was made that executions were to take place within the walls or buildings of county jails or prisons, some early ones were dispatched within the walls only. This made it quite simple for hundreds of persons to witness the gruesome spectacles from vantage points outside the jail walls.

While it is not our purpose to discuss the effects of the law of April 10, 1834, it might be stated that the spirit as well as the letter of the law were violated by those legally responsible for hangings. There were bitter protests from sensitive citizens at these flagrant evasions. The **Journal of Prison Discipline & Philanthropy**, official publication of the Philadelphia Society of Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons, now the Pennsylvania Prison Society, was quite outspoken. We find the following quote from a "religious publication of the city" of Philadelphia reprinted by the **Journal**:





Public hanging of young Negro at Owensboro, Kentucky, is watched by 20,000 persons in August, 1935. Kentucky abolished public hangings in 1938.

Courtesy Wide World Photos

The recent execution of an atrocious murderer (Arthur Spring, executed June 10, 1853) was witnessed, as all the reporters tell us, by a thousand persons. By what authority such a concourse could have been assembled, we know not; but of this there can be no doubt, it could only have been by a culpable evasion of the law. In the olden time, when any body under the impulse of curiosity or any better or worse motive, could at will form one of the crowd at an execution, the spectators were perhaps some four or five thousand in number; and now, even under the restrictions of the new law, the amateurs of the gallows — men who get the privilege of the ghastly sight by help of some official weakness or abuse — are reckoned a thousand. And such is the morbid curiosity which the law was meant to chasten and thwart, that a Grand Jury the other day is reported to have actually presented themselves at Court to inquire whether they were not officially privileged to attend the execution. We should have been glad if the dry negative which the Judge is reported to have given then had risen to the tone of a rebuke. That a body of citizens charged with such high and dignified responsibilities as those of the Grand Jury should have so far forgotten their official, if not personal character, as to make this indecent application, have, we believe, excited but one sentiment — that of disgust — in this commentary.<sup>103</sup>

Capital punishment in the Commonwealth is an issue that is still widely debated and it may be for some time. Eventually, however, the pleas of more sensitive and enlightened citizens will bring about the abolition of the death penalty under any circumstances.

---

## MURDER AND HANGING BALLADS

Murder and hanging ballads are a definite part of American folklore. Throughout the country there is a considerable repository of such ballads and Pennsylvania is no exception. However, inquiry discloses that only one of our public executions is associated with a ballad — that of the case of Mina Lino Amelio Epos. We have been advised of its existence although it has not been brought to light.<sup>104</sup> Mrs. Olive Woolley Burt, author of **American Murder Ballads**<sup>105</sup> sets down the words and events leading up to the composition of the few ballads she unearthed in Pennsylvania all of which were after the era of public hangings. (See page 147 for a ballad dealing with the military execution of James Bird in 1814 at Erie).

They are first, the case of Joshua Jones who killed his wife on a farm near Ellisberg, Potter County (the first murder committed in that county) and hanged on May 29, 1839 — a ballad entitled "The Ghost of Joshua Jones Appears to Doctors Thorp and French and Converses with them"<sup>106</sup>; second, the case of Polly Williams who was murdered at White Rocks near Uniontown in 1810 but in which the defendant was acquitted — the ballad known as "The Ballad of Polly Williams";<sup>107</sup> and a third dealing with a killing that grew out of the Homestead strike in 1892, the title of which is "Father was killed by a Pinkerton Man."<sup>108</sup>

It is quite possible, however, that locally murder or hanging ballads are in circulation. This phase of the subject is outside the purview of this study. But it is possible that ballads associated with some of our cases are available throughout the Pennsylvania countryside.

Our task, as we have seen it, has been to identify those who were publicly executed. In our list, consisting of 252 we have, as stated earlier, divided them into three periods. Our tabulation is as follows:

### LIST OF THOSE EXECUTED BY PERIODS AND THEIR CRIMES

Offense	1st. Period 1682 - 1776	2nd. Period 1776 - 1790	3rd. Period 1790 - 1834	Totals
Murder	33	23	45	101
Burglary	32	19	0	51
Highway Robbery	5	10	1	16
Treason	2	5	0	6
Felony & Burglary	7	3	0	10
Felony & Murder	5	0	0	5
Counterfeiting	4	3	0	10
Infanticide	5	1	3	9
Rape	1	3	2	6
Arson & Murder	1	0	0	1
Robbery	0	8	0	8
Burglary & Larceny	0	2	0	2
Felony & Robbery	0	1	0	1
Robbery & Murder	0	5	0	5
Arson	0	1	0	1
Piracy	0	1	3	4
Piracy & Murder	0	1	0	1
Felony	0	1	0	1
Buggery	0	1	0	1
Spying	0	2	0	2
Desertion to the enemy	0	4	0	4
Outlawry	0	2	0	2
Assault & Murder	0	0	2	2
Crime Not Stated	0	3	0	3
	<hr/> 94	<hr/> 102	<hr/> 56	<hr/> 252

1. A federal offense, mail robbery on the highway: James Porter, Philadelphia.
2. Actually counterfeiting: Edward Hunt, Philadelphia; considered treasonable at the time by the Crown.
3. Counterfeiting used here is a blanket term for coining, uttering, passing, etc.

Note: A federal offender, James Moran, for piracy and murder is not included in the above tally. He was publicly executed in Philadelphia after the Act of April 10, 1834 was passed; May 19, 1837.

### EXECUTIONS IN PHILADELPHIA AND OUTSIDE COUNTIES

Philadelphia	41	58	9	108
Outside Counties	53	44	47	144
	<hr/> 94	<hr/> 102	<hr/> 56	<hr/> 252
	By Sex			
Male	81	99	51	231
Female	13	3	5	21
	<hr/> 94	<hr/> 102	<hr/> 56	<hr/> 252

## NOTES

1. Colonial Records, I, 4th of First Mo. [March] 1688/9, 252. The writer has attempted to learn more of this Judith Roe case but to no avail. Her case does not appear in the Kent County court records which are available from 1680. CR I, 227, states that sentence of death was passed in a "Provl (Provincial court held in Kent County." NOTE: The **Colonial Records**, hereinafter referred to as CR, consist of 16 volumes published at Harrisburg between 1851 and 1853. They are: Vols. I (March 10, 1683) through X (December 9, 1775) known as the **Minutes of the Provincial Council**; Vol. X (June 30, 1775 - November 12, 1776) and Vol. XI (November 13, 1776 - March 17, 1777) are the **Minutes of the Council of Safety**; and Vols. XI (March 4, 1777) through XVI (December 20, 1790) are the **Minutes of the Supreme Executive Council**. In CR I 57 f.n., the Council makes the following explanation: "Bee it enacted . . . that ye days of ye Week and ye Months of ye Year; Shall be called as in Scripture & not be Heathen Names (as are vulgarly used) as ye first, Second & Third dais [sic] of the week and first Second and Third months of ye year, beginning with ye day called Sunday & ye month called March."
2. On Sunday October 19, 1662, a "Turc" was hanged at Lewis Town (Lewes) but this, of course, was prior to the founding of the colony by Penn. At that time this territory was controlled by the Dutch. In a letter from William Beekman to Peter Stuyvesant, dated October 24, we find: "Mr. [Alexander] d'Hinoyossa, on the 19th inst. ordered a certain Turc who was also one of the English servants . . . to be hung [for resisting and wounding his captors] his head afterwards to be cut off and placed upon a post or stake in the Hoerkill." **Penna Archives**, 2nd series, VII, 691; see also Henry Ashmead, **History of Delaware County**, 1884, 157 n. and Samuel W. Pennypacker who, in 1892, stated that he could find only one instance, which he did not name, of the "infliction of the death penalty [in the Colony] and that for murder, prior to 1700"; **Penna. Colonial Cases**, Philadelphia: Rees, Welsh & Co., 1892, 179 n. Aside from the Judith Roe case our records show only one other case, that of Derrick Jonson, hanged for murder in Bucks County in July 1693; see *supra*, ps. 97, 98, also, fns. 45, 46, 47, and 48. Herbert W. K. Fitzroy, in his "Punishment of Crime in Pennsylvania," **Pa. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.**, 60 (1936) 254, states: Though we can establish but a single capital punishment before 1715 [the Judith Roe case] felonies punishable with death appear in the records . . . and, if we are to judge by their tone, there is no reason to suppose that the first colonists were at all reluctant to impose the death sentence for murder." Our records, however, show that the first person to be executed in Philadelphia was Edward Hunt, in 1720, fully 38 years after the establishment of the colony. Since court records prior to that time are non-existent or spotty at best, we are unable to find any cases where the death penalty was imposed not to mention carried out. Apparently no other writer on colonial crime has identified Philadelphia cases earlier than that of Hunt.
3. One person was "burnt"; Catherine Bevan of New Castle, now a part of Delaware, convicted of murdering her husband, aided by her servant Peter Murphy. She was actually sentenced to be burnt and was thus executed September 10, 1731; see *supra* ps. 98, 99. There was one public execution in Philadelphia after the April 10, 1834 date. It was that of James Moran, a 19-year-old federal offender, convicted of piracy and murder in Admiralty Court. He was hanged at "Bush Hill," Philadelphia on May 19, 1837 before a crowd of some 20,000 persons; for the story of the execution, see Poul-

- son's *Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia, March 20; also the thinly disguised fictional account appearing in George Lippard's *The Quaker City, or the Monks of Monk Hall*, Philadelphia, 1845, I, 428-434; see also, Source H, 3-20 for account of his crime, also *infra* p. 141.
4. For rape, second offense; sodomy and bestiality by a married man; *Statutes at Large*, II, 8, 183; III, 202; repealed and re-enacted in 1705 with castration omitted; see Lawrence H. Gipson, "The Criminal Codes of Pennsylvania," *J. of Amer. Inst. of Crim. Law & Crimin.*, VI, 3 (1915) 323-344; citation, 330.
  5. *Ibid.*, 341.
  6. CR I, 527, February 9, 1697/8.
  7. *Loc. cit.*, 341.
  8. CR I, 380, July 11, 1693.
  9. *Statutes at Large*, II, 77-79; see also, Fitzroy, *loc. cit.*, 242-269, especially 254, fn. 47. For a contrast with colonial East and West Jerseys see Henry B. and Grace M. Weiss, *An Introduction to Crime and Punishment in Colonial New Jersey*, Trenton: The Past Times Press, 1960.
  10. Ashmead, *History of Delaware County*, 1884, 165. Later "Negro" Jack Durham's master, Andrew Long of Southampton Township, Franklin County, was compensated \$80 when his slave was executed for rape on July 8, 1788; see I. H. McCauley, *Historical Sketch of Franklin County*, 1878, 58-60; and, following the execution of "Negro" Dan Byers at Bellefonte, Centre County on December 13, 1802, his owner was compensated in the amount of \$214; see John Blair Linn, *History of Centre & Clinton Counties*, 1883, 44-5.
  11. *Loc. cit.*, 250.
  12. As enumerated by Harry Elmer Barnes, *The Evolution of Penology in Pennsylvania*, Indianapolis: Bobbs, Merrill, 1927, 39. This act will be found in *Statutes at Large*, III, 199-214. For an explanation why this drastic code was introduced and adopted, see Barnes 37-8. A word about witchcraft is in order. There were only three cases of alleged witchcraft, all prior to 1718 when the offense was made capital. The first two were those of Margaret Matson and Getro Hendrickson (CR I, December 27, 1683, 94-6) with no decision except that bonds had to be posted to keep the peace; and a third, that of Robert Guard and his wife who were accused of being witches "by malicious persons" (John Richards, Butcher and wife Ann); however the case was dismissed, the evidence being too flimsy (CR II, March 21, 1701, 20). These cases are discussed briefly by John Fanning Watson in his *Annals I*, 265-6, 274-5 (Elijah Thomas edition, 1857).
  13. Counterfeiting was made capital by the Acts of September 21, 1756 and February 21, 1767. Other offenses made capital were riotous assembly, *Statutes at Large* VI, 325-8; refusing to remove from Indian lands, S.L. VII, 152 (1768); going around in disguise, S.L. VII, 350-2 (aimed at "Black Boys" who blackened their faces and roved the frontier robbing, stealing, and rescuing felons from jail; see Fitzroy, *loc. cit.*, 252 f.n. 42); burning the State House, libraries or other public buildings, S.L. VIII, 183. It is important to note that, contrary to general belief, horse stealing was never made a capital crime (see page 109). Robbery was not made capital until 1780 (See S.L. X, 110). For Act of September 15, 1786, see S.L. XII, 280-3; for an analysis of the act, see Barnes, 107. For the Act of April 22, 1794, see S.L. XV, 174-181 and for analysis, Barnes, 107-110.
  14. For news story of the Bradford case, see the *American Weekly Mercury*, June 30 - July 7, 1737; the two executed at the time were Catherine Connor and Henry Wildeman, both for burglary. For the Benson case, see the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 17, 1764, page 2; those executed at the time were Handenreid and John Williams.
  15. The one receiving the pardon was Jacob Dryer; the one executed was Robert Elliott; for the Elliott case, see p. 135.

16. CR XII, 730, May 23; 751, June 11; XIII, 76, October 6. For details of this case see Thorsten Sellin, "The Philadelphia Gibbet Iron," *J. of Crim. Law, Crimin. & Police Sc.*, 46, No. 1 (May-June, 1955) 11-25. The "gibbet iron" wrought to encase the body of Wilkinson hung for over a hundred years in the Walnut Street Jail and Moyamensing Prison (its successor) before being placed in the Philadelphia museum. In the *United States Gazette*, Philadelphia newspaper, dated September 9, 1835, in a reporter's description of the about-to-be-abandoned Walnut Street Jail, we read: "On the wall hangs an iron frame, curiously wrought. Its purpose was to encase the body of the culprit who was sentenced to be gibbeted so that it might not fall to pieces while he 'Hung on high, to poison half mankind.'" This is probably the gibbet made for Wilkinson and never used.
17. Fitzroy, *loc. cit.*, 257; see also, *Statutes at Large*, III, 206.
18. So stated in an article in the *J. of Prison Discipline & Philanthropy*, official publication of the Pennsylvania Prison Society, Philadelphia, October, 1859, 15. Watson, in his *Annals*, I, 310 (1857 ed.) comments on this practice.
19. For the last statement of Edward Hunt see *American Weekly Mercury*, November 24, 1720; the title of the Halbert pamphlet is appended to his name in our list (see p. 137).
20. As stated by Earle Forrest, *History of Washington County*, 1926, I, 374; see also, Alfred Creigh, *History of Washington County*, 1870, 366-9.
21. In the Appendix of *The Manheim Tragedy*, Lancaster, 1858, 58-9, and telling the story of the murders of Ann Garber and Elizabeth Ream by Alexander Anderson and Henry Richards who were executed at Lancaster on April 9, 1858, we find: "Lechler's confession was published for the 'benefit of his children' by S. C. Stambaugh; another was published by August Heinrichs at the request of the condemned, and a warm controversy sprang up in the newspaper as to the respective claims and merits." Lechler was executed on the Old Race Track grounds, now a part of Franklin & Marshall College. See page 111 for etching of the execution made at the time by Lewis Miller, of York.
22. There are several counties organized prior to 1834 in which no public executions took place.
23. E. P. Overholtzer, *Philadelphia: A History of the City and Its People*, 1911, I, 119. One of our cases, Benjamin Stewart, a Negro, executed at Harrisburg on February 4, 1824, actually had his coffin brought into his jail cell (*Pennsylvania Intelligencer*, Harrisburg, IV, No. 19, February 6, 1824, 3rd. page, column 3-4).
24. Joseph Jackson, in his *Encyclopedia of Philadelphia*, II, 510, 1931, states that the Commons was all the unimproved land east of the Schuylkill. The gallows was set up — at least in 1788 — immediately south of Centre Square in the middle of Broad Street. After 1799, when the city's first "water-works" was erected, Centre Square was no longer used. Other places where executions took place were: Lieuts. Samuel Ford and Samuel Lyons, for desertion to the enemy, September 2, 1778, on a "guard boat" moored in the Delaware River near Market Street; James Sutton, piracy, November 29, 1789, "on Windmill Island, opposite the lower part of the city"; Peter Le Croix, Joseph Baker, and Joseph Berouse, May 9, 1800, piracy, on Smith Island in the Delaware; John Joyce and Peter Matthias, for "assault and murder," executed March 11, 1808 at "Bush Hill"; Lieut. Richard Smyth, for murder, executed August 10, 1816, at North West Square (Logan Circle); James Porter, highway robbery, "in the rear of Bush Hill near the junction of Schuylkill Sixth and Francis Lane" (now 17th and Fairmount Streets) July 2, 1830; and James Moran, piracy and murder (last public execution in Philadelphia, and no doubt in the Commonwealth) a federal criminal, at Bush Hill, near the "Old Fever Hospital" now the site of the United States Mint, at Spring Garden and 17th Streets. Executions in Lancaster took

- place on the "Old Race Track Grounds"—now Franklin & Marshall College; in Chester, corner of Providence & Edgemont Avenues, North Ward (in a news story in the old Philadelphia **Public Ledger**, March 5, 1933, Roger Butterfield states that the Chester scaffold in early days was a stout cherry tree with a strong, straight limb on which were executed "Sandy Flash" Fitzpatrick on September 26, 1778 and Elizabeth Wilson on January 3, 1786). In Meadville, Crawford County, the scaffold was set up on Terrace Street.
25. The **Journal** of Samuel Rowland Fisher, undated, privately printed by his great-granddaughter, Anna Wharton (Mrs. Harrison) Morris, Philadelphia, 88-90, 97.
  26. So described in **The Manheim Tragedy**, cited above, fn. 21.
  27. Courtesy, Historical Society, York County; permission granted by Mr. Daniel R. Porter, Director, in a letter to the compiler dated May 13, 1959.
  28. John Blair Linn, **History of Centre & Clinton Counties**, 1883, 58-9.
  29. From the **Easton Evening Free Press**, a reprint from its files of 1835 in issue of July 20, 1871.
  30. See especially the issue of the **Cumberland Register**, February 2, 1808 for details on the Donnelly case.
  31. Dr. John Keagy's **Journal** entry for July 2, 1830; Keagy was the school's first superintendent. The House of Refuge was opened November 29, 1828.
  32. Tuebingen, Germany: J.C.B. Mohr, 1958. Prof. Hans A. Illing reviews von Hentig's work in **Federal Probation**, June 1959, 75, and states that "a wide range of human emotions and situations is covered, both from ancient and modern times."
  33. **American Weekly Mercury**, Philadelphia, April 29 - May 6, 1736.
  34. **Ibid.**, June 30 - July 7, 1737. Catherine Connor had previously been pardoned (April 15, 1736) for another burglary but apparently she couldn't keep away from crime. For her first offense, see CR IV, 47, April 13, 1736; for later offense, see CR IV, 209, June 6; 224, June 24, 1737; she was executed July 2, 1737.
  35. Appendix, **The Manheim Tragedy**, 57, see fn. 21 above; also **Pennsylvania Gazette**, Philadelphia, October 27, 1773.
  36. **Loc. cit.**, 374.
  37. See next fn. for source.
  38. William J. Buck, **History of Montgomery County in the Schuylkill Valley**, Norristown, 1859, 90-1; also, J. Bennett Nolan, **Southeastern Pennsylvania, I**, 1943, 357-9.
  39. From S. P. Heilman, M.D., "The First Trial, Conviction, and Execution for Murder in Lebanon, Pa.," a paper read before the Lebanon County Historical Society, April 18, 1902, II, No. 5; courtesy Mr. Ray S. Bowman, secretary (February 1959).
  40. Reynold's dates do not correspond with those in the Colonial Record. According to it (CR XII 535, November 9) Dawson and Chamberlain were to be executed November 25 and Sutton on November 29. Reynolds, the jailer, may have inadvertently put down October instead of the correct month. News accounts of the executions are dated November. These bills are recorded in the State Records Office at Harrisburg. For information regarding Reynolds as a jailer, see Teeters, **The Cradle of the Penitentiary**, Philadelphia, 1955, 14, 33, 34, 41, 42.
  41. CR XV 516, August 22, 1786: The Doans (Doanes), Abraham and Levi, of Bucks County, were cousins and members of a gang of Tories and outlaws whose exploits have been preserved in **The Doan Outlaws, or Bucks County's Cowboys in the Revolution**, by John P. Rogers, published by the Doylestown Pub. Co., 1897 and in 1952 republished under the title of **The**

**New Doane Book, Bucks County's Bandittiories of the Revolution** [with much new material] by the Bucks County Historical Society, Doylestown. An even earlier story of the Doans may be found in **Annals of the Revolution**, Philadelphia, 1858, 5-82 (see Source G: *infra*, p. 129). A few of our cases, aside from Abraham and Levi Doan, are supposed to have been members of or affiliated with the gang; *viz.*, William Cole, executed in Philadelphia, July 29, 1789; Thomas Richardson, executed at Washington, Pa., October 2, 1784; and James Fitzpatrick, executed at Chester, September 26, 1778. He was from Chester County, the "Sandy Flash" of Bayard Taylor's novel **The Story of Kennett** (1869) and was a close friend of Moses Doan; and John Tomlinson, executed at Newtown, Bucks County, October 17, 1782 for "robbing the county treasury"; other members of the gang who were pardoned or reprieved were: Aaron Doan, pardoned in March, 1785; Robert Steel in October 1785; Jesse and Solomon Vickers, both brothers-in-law of the Doans, September 18, 1782. **The New Doane Book** (376) mentions as accomplices of Joseph Doan (cousin of Abraham and brother of Levi) the following who were executed at Philadelphia, October 11, 1784 for highway robbery and murder: Peter Brown, James Burke, George Crowder, and Richard Williams. This is doubtful, especially as regards Burke who was a mere servant boy; the others were "lone wolves" in crime, not gang members. Joseph Doan, Jr., contrary to Source G. 79 was not executed with the above; rather he was tried in Newtown, sentenced to death, escaped jail, became a respectable school teacher in Mercer County, N.J., and finally wandered into Canada. He died there in 1847 at an advanced age; see **The New Doane Book**, 335-6. The Philadelphia newspaper, announcing the execution of the criminals mentioned above, does not include the name of Joseph Doan.

42. So stated in Charles Biddle's **Autobiography**, published in 1883, 192-4, Biddle accompanied Welsh to the gallows as a protest against the death sentence; later, at the execution of Benjamin Stewart at Harrisburg February 4, 1824, the **Intelligencer** stated: "The prisoner and the audience were spared the disgusting sight of a painted and disguised hangman. The sheriff performed his melancholy duty himself."
43. So stated in the **Reading Times**, June 10, 1959, a new story "A Hundred and Fifty Years Ago: A Hanging in City Park."
44. New York: Macmillan, 1957, 3.
45. In 1832 Thomas Gordon in his **Gazeteer of Pennsylvania** (pub. by T. Belknap, Philadelphia) 456, describes Tyburn as a "village in Falls Township, Bucks County, on the turnpike leading from Bristol to Trenton, 7 miles from the former, and 3 miles from the latter; contains some half dozen dwellings, store and tavern." The spot, of course (and it was probably only a spot in 1693) takes its name from the notorious place of execution near London, prior to 1783 — now in Hyde Park near the Marble Arch. Today there is still a small cluster of houses on the site (on the old Tyburn Road, almost swallowed up by the new Tyburn Road) but it has practically lost its identity although it is marked on some automobile maps.
46. **Proceedings**, Bucks County Historical Society, III, 462, part of a paper written on another much later case (Chapman-Mina of June 21, 1832), by Thaddeus D. Kenderdine, January 16, 1907.
47. **Ibid.**, II, 130-1, the Rev. D. K. Turner, "The Jails of Bucks County," a paper read at Perkasio, Bucks County July 18, 1893. See also II, 601-14 (especially 613) "The Early Courts of Bucks County," paper read at Doylestown by William C. Ryan on January 16, 1900. For sources of places mentioned, see George MacReynolds, **Place Names in Bucks County**, 1st. ed., 60, pub. by Bucks County Historical Society, Doylestown. For other sources, see Wm. W. H. Davis, **History of Bucks County**, Doylestown, 1876, 1st. ed., 724-5; and **The Records of the Courts of Quarter Sessions and Common Pleas of Bucks County, 1684-1700** published in a limited edition in 1943



by The Colonial Society of Pennsylvania for its members only, ed. by J.E.B. Buckenham. The original records are in the **Pa. Hist. Soc. Library**, Philadelphia; (for sources to the Jonson story, see pp. 165, 166, 177, 181, 182, 277). The writer of this study is indebted to Mrs. Paul Niemeyer, librarian of the Bucks County Historical Society for many courtesies in checking information; also to Mrs. Wright, postmistress of Falsington, Pa. for her personal assistance in identifying the terrain and places associated with the Jonson case.

48. First, **CR I**, 378-9, June 26, 1693; second, **I**, 382, July 30, 1693; third, **I**, 442, May 24, 1694. The Robert Cole alluded to — the person who harvested Jonson's grain, was the clerk of the court; see court records, mentioned in above f.n., 277.
49. **Pennsylvania Gazette**, Philadelphia, September 9-23, 1731.
50. *Ibid.*, June 17-24, 1731. This case is mentioned in **Watson's Annals**, Thomas edition, 1857, **I**, 309.
51. Henry G. Ashmead, **History of Delaware County**, 1884, Chap. XVIII, "Crimes and Punishments," 157-178; also, John Hill Martin, **History of Chester and Vicinity**, Philadelphia, 1877, 185; and **The Autobiography of Charles Biddle**, 1883, 199-202. A pamphlet telling the story of this case was published first in 1786 and later, in 1807. The 1807 edition is embellished and as Biddle's editor states; "A rude wood-cut of the final scene ornaments the title page; a troop of light horse surrounds the gibbet; and hard by is an open coffin and the corpse of the children." (reproduced *supra*, p. 99) The 1786 edition is not so embellished. A copy of the earlier edition is in the **Pa. Hist. Soc. Lib.** in Philadelphia; a copy of the 1807 edition is in the Library of Congress. The Wilson case was known far and wide. Roger Butterfield of New York informed the compiler of a record of a phase of the case published in **The New Hampshire Mercury and General Advertiser** (Portsmouth) for January 25, 1785, page 2, column 1 (see *supra*, p. 101)
52. **Pennsylvania Packet**, Philadelphia, January 12, 1786. See also, **CR XIV**, 568, November 1, 1785; 581, November 28; and 591, December 6. Ashmead states that the sheriff hoped that Wilson would arrive in time with a reprieve. He had stationed his deputies outside the crowd, but within sight, each of whom held a handkerchief, to signal the hoped-for approach of the brother's horse which hove into sight just 23 minutes too late.
53. **Harrisburg Intelligencer**, October 13, 1821. Ashmead states that a tradition persists in Chester County that a phantom horse and rider roam the hills on some nights. A pamphlet relating the tragedy of William (sometimes referred to as Amos) Wilson is extant entitled: **The Pennsylvania Hermit: A narrative of the Extraordinary Life of Amos Wilson, who expired in a Cave in the Neighborhood of Harrisburg (Hummelstown) after having therein lived in solitary refinement for the space of nineteen years, in consequence of the ignominious death of his sister. Annexed, Is the writing of Wilson while a recluse and his reasons for preferring a state of solitude to that of the society of his fellow-beings**, Philadelphia, Smith & Carpenter, 1839. This pamphlet has two crude woodcuts in the German almanac style, showing the aged hermit with an open book, full page, and a smaller scene of the hanging, with Wilson bearing down on a horse, waving a paper labeled "A Pardon." (See p. 99) Courtesy Roger Butterfield of New York City. Butterfield has written up the Wilson case in the **Philadelphia Public Ledger**, March 5, 1933. An even earlier pamphlet, dated 1822 published in Boston is entitled: **The Sweets of Solitude or Directions to Mankind how they may be Happy in a Miserable World and Insure a Glorious Inheritance in That Which is to Come** by Amos Wilson. This pamphlet was published for a John Wilkey who claims to have been a friend of Wilson's and who discovered his body in the cave where he expired. (In **Pa. Hist. Lib.**, Phila.)

54. J.W.F. White, "The Judiciary of Allegheny County," *Pa. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, VII, 1883, 147-9; also, A. A. Lambing, *Allegheny County: Its Early History & Subsequent Development*, 1888; also Hugh Henry Brackenridge, "The Trial of Mamachtaga, a Delaware Indian, the First Person Convicted of Murder West of the Allegheny Mountains and Hanged for His Crime," *West. Pa. Hist. Mag.*, I, 27-36, 1918; and John N. Boucher, *Old & New Westmoreland*, 1918 ed., I, 208; and Archibald Loudon, *Indian Narratives*, 1829, I, 38-50; and CR XIV, 585, November 25, 1785.
55. On a small head-stone in an old graveyard in Spruce Alley (Washington) is the inscription: "In memory of Robert Carlile of Woodford City, Ky., who was murdered by his slave Christian near this borough on 1st. of February, 1828, in the 25th year of his age." Forrest, *History of Washington County*, I, 375. The murder occurred near the "Red Barn" on the National Pike one mile west of the borough. See also, Alfred Creigh, *History of Washington County*, 1870, 366-9.
56. S. P. Heilman, *loc. cit.*, 171.
57. *History of Centre & Clinton Counties*, 1883, 44-45.
58. For the Getter case: from a news story as reported in the Penna. House of Representatives "On the Expediency of Abolishing Public Executions," read in the House December 12, 1833; for the Jones story: Alfred Mathews, *History of Wayne, Pike and Monroe Counties*, 1886, 181-2.
59. In *The New Doane Book*, Doylestown, 1952, in section (356-369) entitled "Fitzpatrick, Chester County Outlaw," material taken from Ashmead's article.
60. It is almost impossible to compile such a list, due to scarcity of records and general confusion between military and civil courts, pardoning power, etc. For a careful analysis of these troubled times, see the unpublished doctoral dissertation of Henry J. Young, entitled *The Treatment of Loyalists in Pennsylvania*, Johns Hopkins University, 1955. Professor Young is affiliated with Dickinson College in the Department of History.
61. As reported in the news story, *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, Philadelphia, March 8, 1777.
62. George Smith, *History of Delaware County*, 1862, 297.
63. CR XI, 197, April 4, 1777.
64. See Fisher's *Journal*, 88-90, 106-7 (quote used on page 107); also CR XII, 536, November 9, 1780.
65. John M. Coleman, "The Treason of Ralph Morden and Robert Land," *Pa. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, 79, No. 4 (1955) 439-51; also CR XII, 535, November 9, 1780.
66. *Pennsylvania Packet*, Philadelphia, November 15, 1781; another source supplied by Dr. Henry J. Young of Dickinson College is: *Narrative of the exertions and sufferings of Lieut. James Moody in the cause of government since the year 1776* (2nd. ed. London, 1783). Lieut. James Moody was a brother of our victim of 1781. Through the courtesy of Professor Young we have located the case of a Pennsylvania soldier, one Thomas Smith of "Col. Irwin's Penna. Regiment" who was sentenced to death for "desertion and attempting to go to the enemy." He was shot on June 10, 1777 at "Middlebrook", Washington's headquarters in northern New Jersey (not far from New Brunswick). This case has not been counted as the victim was executed outside the colony. See *Writings of Washington*, Bicentennial Commission, VIII, 114, 210, and IX, 30, 88; Govt. Ptg. Office., Washington, D. C., 1932, John C. Fitzpatrick, editor.
67. CR IX, 236, December 7, 1764; also, January 9, 1765.
68. George Smith, *A History of Delaware County*, 1862, 174.
69. *Reading Eagle*, January 24, 1886; also, Morton Montgomery, *History of Berks County*, 1 vol. ed., 1886, 679-80.

70. For account of Smyth's execution which took place on North West Square (now Logan Circle) before an immense crowd, see Poulson's **American Daily Advertiser**, Philadelphia, August 12, 1816.
71. See **The Trials of Richard Smyth and Ann Carson, alias Ann Smith**, published in Philadelphia by Robert Desilver in 1816; (Pa. Hist. Lib., Wk. 799 I); and **The Memoirs of the Celebrated and Beautiful Mrs. Ann Carson**, by Mrs. E. Clarke, Philadelphia, 1838; also, Source D, 164-174.
72. Fitzroy, *loc. cit.*, 261, fn. 84, states: "Although late in our period culprits were hung [sic] for horsestealing . . ."; and Gipson, *loc. cit.*, fn. 4, 333, states: "five [persons] were sentenced for horsestealing, three of whom were condemned . . . and one suffered death."
73. CR VII, 172, June 28, 1756 "no one heretofore condemned under the Law against horse stealing having suffered Death, the Council advised the Governor issue a Warrant for his [Francis's] Execution . . .; Mr. Chew discovering Error in the Certificate of the record of conviction nothing certain was concluded as to the Execution." No further record; presumed pardoned. We have thus placed him on our list of persons pardoned.
74. Convicted May 26, 1765 [Scarlet] of "feloniously stealing a Mare from Caleb Perkins and on May 23, 1766 of stealing a Gelding belonging to Wm. Shipley and for said crimes received the sentence of death." Pardoned April 24, 1767; CR IX, 384.
75. Convicted of "feloniously stealing a Gelding, property of Robert Wallace, on September 18, 1770"; CR IX, 698, November 7.
76. CR XII, 662, May 17, and 771, July 5, 1781; "the execution of the sentence [not stated] be respited until further order of the Board." No further order except he be pardoned to go on board the **Trumbull**.
77. In the **Appendix of The Manheim Tragedy**, Lancaster, 1858, we find a "Jockey" Jones was executed for horse stealing during the decade 1770-1779, but we have been unable to verify this and thus have not included him in our lists.
78. Poulson's **American Daily Advertiser**, Philadelphia, Saturday, May 20, 1837. Moran's execution took place after the law of April 10, 1834, abolishing public executions, was passed, but as this was a federal offense, it was apparently not regarded as a violation. However, Moran was housed in a state institution, the Eastern Penitentiary at Philadelphia while awaiting execution. For details, see Scharf & Westcott, **A History of Philadelphia, 1884, I**, 649; also Negley K. Teeters & John D. Shearer, **The Prison at Philadelphia: Cherry Hill**, New York: Columbia University Press (a Temple University publication), 1957, 199; see also, *supra*, foot note 3.
79. **Lancaster Journal**, Friday, November 1, 1822.
80. S. P. Heilman, *loc. cit.*, fn. 39, that of James Quinn, executed for the murder of his wife Biddy on February 9, 1827 at Lebanon; II, No. 5, 155-78.
81. **Lancaster Journal**, November 1, 1822.
82. From Appendix, **The Manheim Tragedy**, Lancaster, 1858.
83. Quoted by the Rev. Charles Spear, **Essays on the Punishment of Death**, Boston, 1844, 62, from Livingston's **Remarks on the Expediency of Abolishing the Punishment of Death**, Philadelphia, 1831.
84. *Ibid.* While executions were well attended it would seem that any estimates exceeding 20,000 are exaggerations.
85. See p. 97.
86. Scharf & Westcott, I, 437 n. See also, **Pennsylvania Gazette**, July 21, 1784, and Teeters, **The Cradle of the Penitentiary**, Philadelphia (Penna. Prison Society), 1955, 63-5 for description of first balloon ascensions from yard of the Walnut Street Jail. See also, CR XIV, 157, July 6, 1784.
87. Biddle at the time was burgess of Reading; **Autobiography**, 192-4. See also, CR XIV, 153, June 30, 1784. Another person, George Scheffer was executed at the same time, for "house-breaking."

88. Presumably the last legalized execution in this country was on August 14, 1936 when a 22-year-old Negro named Ramsey Bethea was hanged at Owensboro, Kentucky. He was convicted of criminally assaulting a 70-year-old woman. The news stories stated the affair was witnessed by some 20,000 persons.
89. Albert Post, "The Anti-Gallows Movement in Ohio," **The Ohio State Archeological and Historical Society Quarterly**, LIV, April-June, 1945, 1-9 (see especially page 9).
90. Public executions were abolished; in Pennsylvania April 10, 1834; New Jersey, March 3, 1835; New York, May 9, 1835; and Massachusetts, November 4, 1835 and February 1836. Delaware tardily followed suit on February 24, 1849 but in 1958 abolished the death penalty entirely.
91. For details of the effects of this act, see Teeters, **They Were In Prison**, Philadelphia: Winston, 1937, 21-26. Five persons in our list were "wheelbarrow men." They were executed on Public Square, Philadelphia, October 12, 1789 for robbing and murdering a drover named John M'Farland who lived on the site of the present John Wanamaker's store. See **Pennsylvania Packet & Daily Advertiser**, September 3, for account of the crime and issue of October 13 for account of the execution. See also, item on John Burnett, p. 133.
92. "An Inquiry into the Effects of Public Punishments Upon Criminals and Upon Society," Philadelphia, 1787. This pamphlet and another by Dr. Rush (see f.n. below) on capital punishment, were re-published by the Pennsylvania Prison Society in 1955 and may be procured from that agency in Philadelphia (311 S. Juniper St.) at cost.
93. See Albert Post, "Early Efforts to Abolish Capital Punishment in Pennsylvania," **Pa. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.**, 68 (1944) 38-53, quote on 41.
94. Rush, "Considerations on the Injustice and Impolicy of Punishing Murder by Death," Philadelphia, 1792; Bradford, "An Inquiry How Far the Punishment of Death is Necessary in Pennsylvania," Philadelphia, 1793.
95. Alaska, Delaware, Hawaii, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, North Dakota, Rhode Island, and Wisconsin.
96. Post, *loc. cit.* He cites the **Harrisburg Chronicle**, February 5. However, earlier, on January 22, 1817, Representatives William Powel (Montgomery) and William Rogers (Philadelphia) introduced a Resolution in the House calling for a repeal of that part of the penal code enforcing capital punishment. It is difficult to know whether this meant the complete abolition of the death penalty or merely to eliminate its public nature. The Resolution passed 47 to 44 and was sent to a committee where it was terminated (**House Journal**, 1816-17, 280).
97. **Senate Journal**, 1823-24, 299, 306. This Resolution was adopted but the vote and subsequent action are unknown.
98. **House Journal**, 1823-24, 577, 587, 706-9.
99. **Senate Journal**, 1828.
100. Senate Bill 293 adopted December 19, 1831. It was reported by committee on March 17, 1832 after which no further action was taken. See **Senate Journal** 1831-32, II, 103, 110, 498; also **Pennsylvania Reporter** (Harrisburg) December 20, 1831.
101. **Senate Journal**, 1832-3, 29. Listed as unfinished business, this is actually the continuation of Bill 293. This bill was taken up by the Senate on December 10 and was then sent to the Judiciary Committee where it was killed.
102. **House Journal**, 1833-4, introduced December 12, passed 62 to 13 on February 21, 1834; **Senate Journal**, introduced as Bill 192, February 24, 1834, amended and passed April 8; House concurred on April 9 and the Governor signed it into law on April 10, 1834. The material concerning this matter has been checked and proffered the writer by Dr. Leonard Savitz, formerly of the Department of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania, and now a mem-

ber of the Department of Sociology & Anthropology of Temple University. Grateful acknowledgment is hereby recorded. Thanks are also extended to Mrs. Autumn Leonard of the State Historical Museum for her help in checking references. Responsibility, however, rests with the writer.

103. Vol. VIII, No. 3, July 1853, 147-8. The article continues by describing the crowd present at the "private" execution of Charles Langfeld, also in Philadelphia's Moyamensing Prison on October 30, 1848. And still further the description of the dissection of Spring's body in an anatomical "theatre" of the Philadelphia School of Medicine.
104. In a letter to the writer from Mrs. Olive Woolley Burt, of Salt Lake City, Utah (see next footnote) — in one of William Roughead's crime mystery books (not located by the writer).
105. Oxford University Press, New York, 1958.
106. These physicians took and prepared the body for anatomical purposes; the ballad is actually a protest against this action rather than against the murder by Jones.
107. This case is partial legend; see Burt, *op. cit.*, 34-6.
108. *Ibid.*, 185.

---

## List of Those Publicly Executed in the Province and Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1682-1834

Asterisk (\*) designates Philadelphia County. Dagger (†) designates that date of execution is uncertain or not known at all.

CR designates **Colonial Records** (see footnote 1 of paper for dates and volumes of these records)

Source A: Governor Thomas McKean's papers: "Transcript of Records of Conviction of Murder in the First Degree, under the Act of April 22, 1794"; State Records Office, Harrisburg. This list is not complete; it covers cases from 1795 through 1809 and includes persons who were pardoned.

Source B: Governor George Wolf's papers: "Transcript of Records of Conviction for Capital Crimes — Death Warrants, 1830-1833"; the list ranges from 1806 through 1830; State Records Office, Harrisburg.

Source C: "Report of the Select Committee relative to the Abolishment of Capital Punishment in the Commonwealth" (date not known) but embraces list of death warrants issued from June 30, 1798 through March 29, 1851.

Source D: **Book of Murders containing An Authentic Account of the most Awful Tragedies that have been committed in this country with a Report of the Trial, Judges and the Confessions and Execution of the Criminals** (from the period of the American Revolution to the Year 1823, Inclusive), collected by Henry K. Brooke, Philadelphia: John B. Perry, 198 Market St., 1858; pp. 252.

Source E: **Tragedies on the Land, containing authentic accounts of the most Awful Murders that have been committed in this country, with a Report of the Trial, Judges' Charges and the Confessions and Executions of the Criminals, from 1823 to 1840 inclusive**, collected by Henry K. Brooke, Philadelphia: John B. Perry, 198 Market St., 1858, pp. 241.

Source F: **Book of Pirates, containing Narratives of the most remarkable Piracies and Murders, committed on the High Seas, etc.**, compiled by Henry K. Brooke, Philadelphia: J. B. Perry, 198 Market St., pp. 216, 1841.

Source G: **Annals of the Revolution** (see note below)

Source H: **James Moran: executed at Philadelphia** (see note)

**Note:** Sources A, B and C are referred to only when no other source is available; sources D through H are bound together in a volume entitled **Book of Murders** and may be found in the **Pa. Hist. Soc. Lib.**, Philadelphia; call number: Wy 8312\*. The writer of these stories, Brooke, has never been satisfactorily identified. The name may have been a pseudonym. For further information, see **The New Doane Book**, Doylestown, 1952, 86-94.

## OTHER SOURCES: MISCELLANEOUS

"Statement of Executions, Pardons and Remissions since the adoption of the Present Constitution: Report of the Secretary of the Commonwealth: Read in Convention, Harrisburg, 1837" pp. 4 [includes administrations of Governors Mifflin, McKean, Snyder, Findlay, Hiester, Schulze and Wolf — from December 21, 1790 through December 15, 1835] **Pa. Hist. Soc. Lib.** call number Vw .2\*

**Pennsylvania Archives**, Ninth Series, Vols. I-X, cover the same gubernatorial administrations and include the miscellaneous acts of the Executive. The archives served also as an important source.

Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1882-3 Legislative Documents, Vol. I, (Leg. Doc. No. 5) entitled "Criminal Executions in Pennsylvania" (numbers by years from 1778-1882) 21-22.

**William Crawford's List:** In 1833 William Crawford, the British Commissioner who visited this country to make a survey of the penitentiary systems, compiled a report entitled "Report on the Penitentiaries of the U.S." (London, 1834). In Appendix (page 22) he presents a list of executions in Pennsylvania from 1778 to 1833, by year only, county (but not in all cases) and by offense (but again not in all cases). His list contains 98 for the period. It is far from accurate, consequently this compiler has been unable to identify a few of his cases and conversely has found many cases not recorded by the British traveler. To make this source more frustrating, Crawford does not give us his source. But even with these weaknesses, his list has proved helpful as a guide. (see p. 147)

Francis Shallus, **Chronological Tables for Every Day in the Year**, compiled from the Most Authentic Sources, Philadelphia, 1817 (Shallus was a bookseller in Philadelphia); this source furnished little new information regarding some hangings and, in general, was quite limited in the number listed; in two volumes.

Appendix, **The Manheim Tragedy**, Lancaster, H. A. Rockafield, Evening Express Office, 1858 (the book proper relates the case of a double murder in Lancaster County that occurred in 1858 but the Appendix is historical in scope)

John Fanning Watson, **Annals of Philadelphia**, Elijah Thomas ed., Philadelphia, 1857

Scharf & Westcott, **A History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884**, Evarts, Philadelphia, 1884.

## SOURCES MOST FREQUENTLY USED

**Colonial Records** (mentioned above) see fn. 1.

Newspapers both in Philadelphia and in the Various Counties.

County Histories.

Correspondence with Secretaries and Librarians of the various county Historical Libraries as well as with the state and local municipal libraries.

There are 265 names in this alphabetical list: 12 are listed twice due to aliases; one, that of James Moran, cannot be counted since he was executed after the Act of April 10, 1834 went into effect; he was a federal offender. This explains the number executed as 252.

- Allen, Peter, ex. February 25, 1809; Wayne; for murder of Solomon Tice at Bethany on the evening of October 18, 1808; first murder in county; convicted at December court, warrant issued January 9; executed on public square; see Alfred Mathews, **History of Wayne, Pike and Monroe Counties**, Philadelphia: R. T. Peck Co., 1886, 492-3; **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, IV, 2595.
- Anderson, James ex. July 16, 1774; Cumberland; for murder of William Barnet, his son-in-law; executed same time as Peter Gillespie; CR X, 181, June 27.
- Armstrong, William, ex. November 17, 1792; Northumberland; rape, see **History of Northumberland County**, Everts & Stewart, Philadelphia, 1876, 10; convicted in August; warrant issued October 11; **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, I, 457.
- Bailey, Benjamin, ex. January 6, 1798; Berks; for murder of Josh Falhower (or Vollhaffer) a pedlar; execution "attended by 6,000"; see Morton Montgomery, **History of Berks County**, 1 vol. ed., Philadelphia, 1886, 679-80; case mentioned in *Reading Eagle*, July 9, 1914; warrant issued December 14, 1797; **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, II, 1327.
- \*Baker, Joseph, alias Boulinger, ex. May 9, 1800; piracy, with Joseph Brouse (Brous) and Peter Le Croix (Peterson); mutinied on board the *Eliza* out of Philadelphia August 27, 1799; murdered three crew members, Thomas Croft, Charles Rey, and Jacob Suster and wounded Capt. William Wheland; captain regained possession of ship and brought it to Philadelphia; pirates were executed on Smith Island in the Delaware River; see *Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, May 10; also pamphlet: **The Last Words and Dying Confession of Three Pirates who were Executed This Day**; from Folwell's Press, Phila., 2 pp.; also Source F: **Book of Pirates**, 13-26; also Shallus, I, 227.
- Barclay, Hugh, ex. June 9, 1770; New Castle; Felony & Burglary in home of Richard McWilliam, Esq., CR IX, 671, May 23.
- Bates, Joseph, ex. May 20, 1780; Chester; burglary; CR XII, 335, April 29; also May 2.
- Battin, William, ex. August 15, 1722; Chester; "for divers horrid, complicated crimes"; actually for arson in which three small children were burned to death; CR III, 193, August 3; (see p. 91)
- \*Beard, John ex. December 19, 1778; robbery, with James O'Brien, CR XI, 641, December 11.
- Beatson, William, ex. November 23, 1737; Bucks; burglary; CR IV, 250, October 15; 253, November 12.
- Benson, John, alias John Varnum, ex. November 2, 1784; Chester; burglary, with Chalk and McDunnell; CR XIV, 239-40, October 26.
- Berger, John Adam, ex. July 1, 1769; Lancaster; for murder of Regina Magdalena Berger; CR IX, 601, June 20.
- \*Brouse, Joseph alias Brous, ex. May 9, 1800; piracy with Baker and Le Croix; see Baker item above.
- Bevan, Catherine, ex. September 10, 1731 (only person sentenced to be "burnt" in the Province) New Castle "one of the Lower Counties"; for murder of her husband, aided by a servant, Peter Murphy who was hanged at the same time; no notation in CR; (see page 98; fn. 49, 50).
- Bibb, William, ex. June 21, 1783; York; murder, with Thomas Hiler; CR XIII, 595, June 9.
- Bob "Negro" or "Mulatto" (Robert Waldren), ex. October 25, 1795; Northampton; for murder, with an axe, of "Negro" David, property of Garret Striker of Greenwich, Sussex County (now Warren) New Jersey; crime committed in a brawl; Bob declared "he would split the skull of any fellows who would be saucy"; case mentioned by the Hon. Robert Ralston in "The Delay in the Execution of Murderers," **Penna. Bar Ass'n.**, 1911 (Bedford Springs) 26. A slave witness for defense not permitted to testify;

otherwise perhaps Bob would not have been found guilty. Case heard before Chief Justice Thos. McKean. Bob was hanged on "Gallows Hill," Easton by Sheriff Craig; warrant issued, September 22; see **Penn. Archives**, Ninth Series, II, 1019; (see p. 93; fn. 29).

- Bone, Joseph, ex. May 27, 1778; York; Felony & Burglary; CR XI, 490, May 16.
- \*Boyd, James, ex. December 8, 1779; highway robbery; executed with Fletzer, Patton, and Trout; CR XII, 178, November 23.
- Brandt, Samuel, ex. December 18, 1773; Lancaster; Felony & Murder on his brother, Valentine; also set fire to his family home; CR X, 110, December 6; a book written by the Rev. Helmuth, pastor of Trinity Lutheran Church in Lancaster, relative to the Brandt case, was published but has not been located; (see p. 94; fn. 35).
- †\*Bratelli, Matteo, ex. date uncertain due to many stays; murder with Giacobba and Mesca, of William Pickles; CR XIII, 704, 720, 725 (October 8, 18, 22); 735, 743 (November 5, 13, 1783). The sheriff was ordered to "call forth the **posse comitatus** or a respectable part thereof for the purpose of preserving peace and good order at the said execution."
- †Brown, David, ex. (date uncertain, but possibly around June 4, 1757); New Castle; burglary, with James Coughlin; CR VII, 559, June 4.
- Brown, John, ex. April 12, 1788; Montgomery; burglary, with Philip Hoofnagle, of home of Anthony Crothers; near Trappe; disposition of Hoofnagle not known; CR XV, 423-4, 425-6, 427-8, April 2; only public execution in county; (see p. 95; fn. 38).
- \*Brown, Peter, ex. October 16, 1784; highway robbery; attempted to murder Capt. Tolbert (who commanded a privateer during the Revolution); with "One-Armed" Tom Robinson, alias Richard Williams; executed with Burke, Crowder and Williams all of whom were alleged to be members of the Doane gang of Bucks County; see **The New Doane Book**, Doylestown, Pa., 1952, 376; CR XIV, 227-8, October 11; and **Pennsylvania Packet**, Philadelphia, October 18; see Williams item *infra*; crime discussed in Source D: 19-28; mentioned in Shallus, II, 298.
- \*Bruelman, John, "jeweler," ex. October 22, 1760; murder of Robert Scull; CR VIII, 506, October 15; a lieutenant in the Provincial militia; "was weary of life . . . and resolved to shoot the first person whom he might meet and surrender himself to justice"; passed up the eminent Dr. Cadwalader as "there was something in his manner which made it impossible for him to kill him"; the next person was the unfortunate victim, Scull; see Henry Simpson, **The Lives of Eminent Philadelphians**, 1859, 159; case mentioned by Thorsten Sellin in "The Death Penalty," a report prepared for the American Law Inst., 1959, 66.
- Buchanan, Alexander, ex. January 1, 1774; Northampton; burglary; executed with Thomas Wilson; CR X, 129, December 22, 1773.
- \*Bullock, John, ex. November 7, 1741; murder of his wife "being notorious this Murder was of the blackest and most Barbarous kind"; CR IV, 503, November 4 (**American Weekly Mercury**, Philadelphia, November 5-12).
- \*Burch, Richard, ex. April 30, 1774; burglary; executed with Joseph Price, Thomas Stephens, James Swain, Bernard Repton, and "Mulatto" Elizabeth; CR X, 171, April 22.
- \*Burke, James, ex. October 16, 1784 (same time as Peter Brown, Crowder, and Richard Williams, alias One-Armed Robinson); murdered his employer, Timothy M'Auliffe, merchant on Water St. with "a claw-hammer"; a 17-year-old servant who attempted to leave the country after the crime but was apprehended from a boat bound for Ireland, in Delaware Bay; see **Pennsylvania Packet**, October 18; also Source D: 29-34 and Shallus, II, 298.
- \*Burne, Michael, ex. December 6, 1747; burglary, with Patrick Burne; CR V, 155, 158, November 24, 26. See **Pennsylvania Journal**, Phila., December 14.
- \*Burne, Patrick, see Michael Burne item immediately above.



- \*Burnett, John, also known as Bennett, ex. October 12, 1789; robbery & Murder; with Francis Burns, George Cronen, John Ferguson, and John Logan; no mention in CR; (**Pennsylvania Packet & Daily Advertiser**, Philadelphia, September 22, page 3 for account of crime—murder of John McFarland, a drover; and issue of October 13, for execution); see also, Scharf & Westcott, **A History of Philadelphia**, 1884, I, 456; also Source D: 41-50, and Shallus, II, 285. These criminals were known as “wheelbarrow men” because they worked on the public streets in conformity with the law of September 15, 1786; they broke jail to commit this, their last crime; a broadside describing these criminals and the McFarland crime in detail, as well as the execution may be found in **Pa. Hist. Soc. Lib.** (Ab 1789 17)
- \*Burns, Francis, same as item immediately above.
- Butler, Walter, ex. June 29, 1782; Northampton; murder; CR XIII, 303, June 14.
- Byers, “Negro” Dan, ex. December 13, 1802; Centre; murder of “a free mulatto,” James Barrows, near Bellefonte on October 15; warrant issued, November 24, **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, III, 1877; (see p. 103; fn. 57).
- \*Byrnes, James, ex. May 26, 1781, burglary; executed with John Dobbins and Thomas McGee; others in group John Flanagan and Henry McKeever, were pardoned; CR XII, 729-30, May 17; also Samuel Rowland Fisher’s **Journal**, 143 (undated, Philadelphia).
- \*Cannon, James, ex. November 24, 1781; robbery; executed with James Green; CR XIII, 116, November 16; co-defendants, Mary Hall and James Jones reprieved; for former, see CR XIII, 285, May 20, 1782; for latter, CR XIII, 135, December 1, 1781, for fifteen days; no further notice.
- \*Carlisle, Abraham, ex. November 4, 1778 “for aiding the enemy” but actually for treason (Oyer & Terminer Docket, September Session, 1778); executed with John Roberts; CR XI, 600, 607, 614 (October 23, 26, November 3) also, **Pennsylvania Packet**, November 7; for list of signatories to petition for pardon, see **Penna. Archives**, First Series, VII (1778-9) 21-58; (see p. 105).
- \*Carraghan, Denis, ex. May 6, 1780; with Marmaduke Grant and John Hill; CR XII, 329, April 24; see also, Fisher’s **Journal**, 67.
- †\*Caspar “Negro,” ex. some time in November 1762; burglary, with “Negro Joe”; CR IX, 5, November 16; (see p. 88).
- Chalk, Joseph, ex. November 2, 1784; Chester; burglary, with John McDunnell and John Benson, alias John Varnum, CR XIV, 240, October 26.
- \*Chamberlain, Richard, ex. November 25, 1780; passing counterfeit money; executed same time as David Dawson; CR XII, 535, November 9 (**Pennsylvania Gazette**, Philadelphia, November 29; also, Fisher’s **Journal**, 106-7); home, Gloucester County, New Jersey; (see ps. 93, 96; fn. 25,40).
- Charles, John, ex. May 27, 1809; York; murder of his master, Henry Young; a French Creole; executed same time as Elizabeth Moore; Charles left a dying confession; see archives of York County Historical Society; also John Gibson, **History of York County**, I, 238, Chicago: F. A. Batty, 1886; warrant issued, April 21; **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, IV, 2674.
- Chloe “Negress,” ex. July 18, 1801; warrant issued, July 3; Cumberland; murder (Source A) also, **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, III, 1755.
- Clark, Sarah, ex. October 30, warrant issued, October 14, 1799; Cumberland; murder; (Source A); **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, II, 1558.
- \*Cole, William, ex. July 29, 1789; robbery; CR XVI, 118, July 24 (**Pennsylvania Packet**, Philadelphia, August 1; also, Scharf & Westcott, I, 457); allegedly a member of the Doan gang of Bucks County; see Doan item below; robbed D. Supplee, P. Lex, S. Gillespie, & see Shallus, II, 69.
- \*Connor, Catherine, alias Smith, ex. July 2, 1737; burglary; executed with Wildeman; pardoned a year previously — CR IV, 47, April 13, 1736, for same offense; for later offense, see CR IV, 209, June 6; 224, June 24; also **American Weekly Mercury**, June 30 - July 7; (see ps. 94, 107; fn. 34).
- \*Connor, John, ex. November 1, 1783; highway robbery with James Jones and James McGraw; CR XIII, 725, October 22.

- †Coughlin, James, ex. (date uncertain) New Castle, see David Brown item above.
- Cox, Susannah, ex. June 10, 1809; Berks; infanticide; case mentioned in Reading Eagle, July 9, 1914; warrant issued, May 9; **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, IV, 2680-1; (see ps. 97, 107; fns. 43, 69).
- Craig, John, ex. June 6, 1818; Delaware; for murder of Squire Edward Hunter of Newtown Square; due to revenge for testimony Hunter gave at a hearing on litigation of the will of one Worrall in which Craig was interested; "was hung in the widow McIlvain's meadow near Munday's Run close to the old Post Road, now Morton Ave." John Hill Martin, "**History of Chester & Vicinity**, Philadelphia: 1877, 184; description of execution in the Delaware Watchman, date not given but cited in Source D, 196-200; **The Confession of John Craig** . . . Philadelphia: Robert Desilver, 110 Walnut St., 1818, pp. 16; in Pa. Hist. Lib., WK 799\* Vol. I; warrant issued, May 4; **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, VII, 4932.
- Crawford, William, ex. February 21, 1823; Washington; for murder of his son, Henry in "Horseshoe Bottom," Fallowfield Township on July 30, 1822; was angry at son for singing a patriotic ditty "The Blackbird"; the father was born in England and fought against the Americans in the War of 1812; warrant issued, January 16; **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, VIII, 5854; (see ps. 91, 95; fn. 20, 36).
- \*Cronen, George, ex. October 12, 1789; highway robbery & murder; see Burnett item above.
- Crouch, Thomas (or Krouch) ex. June 5, 1779; Berks (Exeter Township); Felony & Burglary; convicted at Reading, May 11; CR XI, 780, May 17; in attempting to rob home of Jacob Hechler, a "third party" killed Hechler and Crouch was blamed for the crime; case mentioned in Reading Eagle, July 9, 1914.
- \*Crowder, George, ex. October 16, 1784; see Peter Brown item above; for burglary of home of Mrs. Turner in Southwark; mentioned in Source D: 28.
- Cunningham, Charles, ex. September 19, 1805; York; murder of Joseph Rothrock; was 19 years of age; see York County Historical Society archives; also John Gibson, **History of York County**, 1886, F. A. Batty Pub. Co., Chicago, Part I, 238; warrant issued, August 31; **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, III, 2159.
- †Davis, William, "to be executed" October 28, 1728; Chester; for murder of his master, William Cloud; no final disposition of case recorded — presumed executed; Source: Supreme Court Docket, Media (Delaware County) via Ashmead's **History of Delaware County**, 1884.
- \*Dawson, David, ex. November 25, 1780; same time as Chamberlain; treason; CR XII, 536, November 9; (see ps. 93, 96, 106; fn. 25, 40, 64).
- \*Debadee, Brint, ex. March 8, 1777; desertion to the enemy, (see p. 104; fn. 61).
- \*Doan, Abraham (and Levi); cousins; ex. in Philadelphia September 24, 1788; these men were outlawed in 1781 and were thus executed without a trial; from Bucks County; CR XV, 505, 515, 535, August 6, 19 and September 16; for a reproduction of a broadside announcing the execution of the Doans, see Joseph Jackson, **Encyclopedia of Philadelphia**, II, 511, 1931; also reproduced in **The New Doane Book**, 115; Charles Biddle in his **Autobiography** (232-4) states: "I met them going in a cart to the gallows, followed by their relations and friends. It was a very affecting sight. They died with great firmness." (see ps. 96, 109; fn. 41).
- \*Doan, Levi, see item immediately above; **The Doylestown Democrat**, retelling the Doan story in its issue for December 31, 1889 (24) states: "Five years after the War had ceased . . . they were hanged. It was an infamous murder as these men were protected by the treaty of peace signed in 1785. The saddest incident of the affair was the attendance of the girl that Levi Doan was to have married. She followed close behind the cart and parted with her lover at the foot of the gallows."
- \*Dobbins, John, ex. May 26, 1781; burglary, with James Byrnes and Thomas McGee; see Byrnes item above.

- Dobbins, William, ex. July 9, 1768; Lancaster; Felony & Burglary of home of Wendel Horning in Warwick Township, with Thomas Hammond; convicted September 6, 1767; CR IX, 513, June 13.
- Donnahy, Cornelius, ex. January 13, 1770; Cumberland; murder of William King; CR IX, 631, December 22, 1769.
- Donnelly, Edward, ex. February 8, 1808; Cumberland; for murder of his wife Catherine after which he burned her body; see **Cumberland Register**, (Carlisle) August 18, November 10, 1807, January 12, February 2, 9, 1808; also Source D, 128-133; warrant issued January 20; **Penna. Archives** Ninth Series, III, 2430; (see p. 94; fn. 30).
- Dougherty, Cornelius, ex. November 12, 1762; Lancaster; burglary, with John Hellar and Anthony Miller; CR IX, 5, November 11.
- Dowdle, John, ex. September 17, 1768; Chester; for murder, with Thomas Vaughan, of Thomas Sharp on March 31; CR IX, 545, September 6; mentioned in Ashmead's **History of Delaware County**, 1884, 165.
- \*Downie, John, ex. July 17, 1784; street robbery; with John Martin (**Pennsylvania Gazette**, Philadelphia, July 21; see also, Scharf & Westcott, I, 437 n.; also, Negley K. Teeters, **The Cradle of the Penitentiary**, Philadelphia, 1955, 63-5) CR XIV, 157, July 6; (see p. 112; fn. 86).
- Drogan, Patrick, ex. June 12, 1779; Northampton; murder, with William McCoy and Dan'l. Monaghan; CR XIII, 5, May 26; convicted May 17; alleged to be soldiers of the American Revolution — members of General Sullivan's army — who were hanged at Easton for the murder of an innkeeper in the Stroudsburg area; statement in a letter from Mr. Russell S. Bayer, secretary of the Northampton County Historical Library but no source furnished.
- Duffy, James, ex. August 27, 1754; Kent, "one of the Lower Counties"; murder, of John Brown; CR VI, 136, August 7.
- Dunn, Dennis, ex. October 23, 1779; Lancaster; Burglary & Larceny; CR XII, 129, October 13.
- Dunning, Thomas, ex. January 26, 1793; Allegheny; murder, of Catherine Worthington; (**Pittsburgh Gazette**, February 2, 1793) first person convicted of murder in county; tried before Judge Addison; hanged on Boyd's Hill; A. A. Lambing, **Centennial History of Allegheny County**, 1888, 103; warrant issued, December 11, 1792; **Penna Archives**, Ninth Series, I, 488.
- Durham, "Negro" Jack, ex. July 8, 1788; Franklin; rape, of Margaret Stall of Southampton Township; convicted June 3; CR XV, 476, June 21, the "execution be made and done"; I. H. McCauley, **Historical Sketch of Franklin County**, 1878, 58-60; (see fn. 10).
- \*Elizabeth, "Mulatto," see "Mulatto" Elizabeth.
- Elliott, Robert (also known as Robert Wilson); Chester; burglary; warrant issued, January 12, 1786; executed, May 12, 1787; this case had many stays; CR XIV, 568, 622, 624 (under Wilson), 635 (November 1, 1785, January 12, 18, and February 7, 1786) and CR XV 205, 207 (April 28 and May 2, 1787); also Scharf & Westcott, I, 445 — his execution was "the last under the old code"; see also, Ashmead's **History of Delaware County**; Elliot was given a pardon (CR XIV, 635) "on condition he transport himself beyond the seas, not to return to the United States" but for some reason, now obscure, this did not happen; so he was subsequently executed; Shallus, I, 234 states he was executed at Philadelphia; (see p. 90).
- Erwin, Elizabeth, ex. September 26, 1765; York; Felony & Murder of her "Bastard Child"; convicted March 1; CR IX, 282, September 10.
- Evans, Joseph, ex. April 20, 1830; Westmoreland; for unintentional murder of an innocent bystander named Cissler who attempted to break up a New Year's Eve brawl at Greensburg; "the first and last public execution in Greensburg"; — but not in the county — see John M. Boucher, **History of Westmoreland County**, 1918 ed. II, 600-2. Evans issued a statement that was published in the **Westmoreland Republican**, April 23; also at

gallows he blamed his plight on drink and gambling; warrant issued, March 15; **Penna. Archives**, IX, 7149.

Ewing, Jane, ex. January 19, 1765; Chester; for murder of her "Bastard Child"; CR IX, 236, December 7, 1764; also January 9, 1765; from **Journal of the Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg**, II, 168 we read: "The Rev. Dr. Wrangel (of Philadelphia) was asked to travel to Chester to give instruction to a poor Englishwoman who is imprisoned because of the murder of a child" (January 14); (see p. 107; fn. 67).

\*Ferguson, John, ex. October 12, 1789; see Burnett item above.

+Fielding, Thomas, ex. between October 12 and 19, 1749; highway robbery, with James Johnson; CR V, 413, October 19; (**Pennsylvania Journal**, Philadelphia, October 12, 19; Scharf & Westcott, I, 217). They state that these highwaymen "made some daring escapes, sawed off their irons and planned to seize the jailer in which they were frustrated but, turned back and unlocked the cells and held the gaol against all comers during the night."

Fisher, Catherine, ex. June 5, 1779; Lancaster; convicted May 4 of murder; CR XI, 780, May 17; executed same time as Thomas Taylor; see Appendix, **The Manheim Tragedy**, Lancaster, 1858, 57.

Fitzpatrick, James, blacksmith, ex. September 26, 1778; Chester; Larceny & Burglary; (romantic highwayman whose exploits have become a legend); \$1,000 reward offered for his capture — divided between Rachel Walker and Capt. McAffie — master and servant in whose house he was captured — see CR XI, 552, September 21; 616, November 6; see also, 600, October 22; depicted as "Sandy Flash" in Bayard Taylor's historical novel **The Story of Kennett**; 1869; case also discussed in Ashmead's **History of Delaware County**, 166-171; Fitzpatrick was close to members of the Doan gang of Bucks County; see **The New Doane Book**, Doylestown, 1952, 172-80; 356-9; (see ps. 103, 109; fn. 59).

\*Fletzer, George, ex. December 8, 1779; murder; executed same time as James Boyd, Nathaniel Patton, and Henry Trout; see Boyd item above.

\*Ford, Lieut. Samuel, ex. September 2, 1778; desertion to the enemy; executed with Lieut. Samuel Lyons; CR XI, 565, September 1; (see p. 104).

Fowler, Thomas, ex. September 7, 1764; Berks; burglary of home of Sarah Drury; convicted and hanged at Reading; mentioned in Montgomery's **History of Berks County**, 1 vol. ed., 1886, 679-80; pardon denied as "he is a great villain"; CR IX, 192, August 23; see July 9, 1914 edition of **The Reading Eagle**.

\*Freeman, Samuel John, alias Nurich, ex. February 15, 1783; crime not stated; with Stackhouse and Lot Subzey; co-defendants Luz Subzey and John Dorset pardoned; CR XIII, 504; February 11; 527, March 7, and 571, May 3 (**Pennsylvania Gazette**, Philadelphia, February 19).

George, "Negro" ex. January 18, 1794; Franklin; rape; warrant issued November 22, 1793; **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, I, 681.

Getter, Charles, ex. October 11, 1833; Northampton; murder of his wife; executed on an island in the Delaware River at Easton; warrant issued, February 7; **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, X, 7863; (see p. 103; fn. 58).

\*Giacoba, Pietro, alias Pietro Simone, ex. October 25, 1783; murder, with Bretelli and Mesca; see Bretelli item above.

Gillespie, Peter, ex. July 16, 1774; possibly Cumberland; for murder of his wife, Bridget; executed same time as James Anderson; CR X, 181, June 27.

Gillespie, William (or Gelaspie), ex. January 29, 1791; Delaware; murder of John Hibbard; executed by Sheriff Nicholas Fairlamb; warrant issued, January 22; **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, I, 20, 23.

\*Grant, Marmaduke, ex. May 6, 1780; burglary; see Carraghan item above.

Graul, Elizabeth, ex. March 10, 1759; Berks; infanticide; convicted at January court session; see item in **Reading Eagle**, July 9, 1914 (no mention in CR).

\*Green, James, ex. November 24, 1781; robbery; see Cannon item above.

Grissbach, Michael, ex. September 24, 1764; Lancaster; Felony & Murder on May Whitmer; convicted September 3; CR IX, 282, September 10.

\*Gross, William, ex. February 7, 1823; for murder of Kesiah Stow, his mistress who "kept a house in Currant Alley, between 10th and 11th, Walnut and Locust Sts." Was adopted son of an employee of Penna. Bank; see Poulson's *American Daily Advertiser*, February 8, 1823; also, Source E (*Tragedies of the Land*, 5-9); also pamphlet, *The Only True Confession of Wm. Gross, executed February 7, 1823 (born January 1, 1796) for the Murder of Kesiah Stow in Phila.*, Sam'l. Roberts, 110 Walnut Street, Phila., 17 pp. (in Pa. Hist. Lib); death warrant issued, January 10 — see *Penna. Archives*, Ninth Series, VIII, 5846.

\*Halbert, Henry (or Henrich Albers) ex. October 19, 1765; for murder of Jacob Woolman on August 30; convicted September 26; CR IX, 286, October 11; from *Journal of Henry Melchoir Muhlenberg*, II, 264-5 (September 1) we find: "A 30 year old German who purposely cut the throat of a 12 year old boy in order that he might lose his own life . . . born Luneberg, Hanover." See pamphlet: *The Last Speech and Confession of Henry Halbert who was executed at Philadelphia . . . for the inhuman murder of the son of Jacob Woolman; to which is added a letter from the criminal to the father of the murdered son.* Phila. Printed by Anthony Armbruster, in Race Street, 1765. (courtesy Thos. M. McDade, Purchase, N.Y.)

Hammond, Thomas, ex. July 9, 1768; Lancaster; see William Dobbins item above.

\*Handenreid, William Frederick, alias Autenreith, ex. May 12, 1764; Felony & Burglary; with John Williams of home of Thomas Clifford on February 28; another accomplice, John Benson, or Brinkloe who was reprieved at the gallows (see list of those pardoned); victim was a chirurgeon and an immigrant from Esslingen, Wurtemberg, Germany; CR IX, 173, April 27; see *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 17, page 2; also *Journal of the Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg*, II, 43, 63, 69, 72, 84, 99; he ministered with victim in gaol; a pamphlet was published anonymously (in German) entitled *Merkwürdige Nachricht von F. W. Authenrieths Ehrlichen Abkunft, gottlosen Leben und gerichtlichen Tode, als einer verlorenen und wiedergefundnen Sohns*; Philadelphia, Anton Armbruster, 1764.

Hanna, John, ex. May 3, 1786; Franklin; murder of John Devebaugh, father of 13-year-old boy who was abused by Hanna; was from Ireland but six months; mentioned in *Autobiography of Charles Biddle*, 1883, 210; hanged at "Gallows Hill," Chambersburg; see I. H. McCauley, *Historical Sketch of Franklin County*, 1878, 58-60; CR XIV, 599, December 17, 1785; Biddle states that "a friend of mine buried Hanna and Ramage [executed at the same time] in his orchard; and that before this he had his orchard frequently robbed, but no robbery was committed after he had these sentinels."

Hauer, John (Howe, Haner), ex. July 14, 1798; Dauphin; with McManus, for murder of Francis Shitz, brother of Hauer's wife Elizabeth, at Heidelberg Township on the night of December 28, 1797; accessories acquitted were Peter M'Donoghgy, Patrick Donagon, Francis Cox, Hugh M'Donoghgy and Elizabeth Hauer; see *Oracle of Dauphin & Harrisburg Advertiser*, June 20, and July 18, 1798; warrant issued, June 30, *Penna. Archives*, Ninth Series, II, 1411.

Hellar, John, ex. November 12, 1762; Lancaster; burglary; see Dougherty item above.

Hiler, Thomas, ex. June 21, 1783; see Bibb item above.

\*Hill, John, ex. May 6, 1780; burglary; see Carraghan item above.

Hugues, Noel, alias, Hugas, ex. April 11, 1807; Somerset; for murder of David Pollock; convicted February 26; Pollock was murdered by two Frenchmen near Bucktown in Shade and Stony Creek Townships near Statler Tavern; a posse apprehended the criminals and one was killed in resisting arrest; it is believed the pair mistook the victim for a drover who was seen flashing money about; See S. J. and Elizabeth Buck, *The Planting of Civilization in Western Pennsylvania*, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1939, 452; also W. H. Koontz & Wm. Welfley, *History of Bedford & Somerset Counties*.

II, Chapter XXIX, New York: Lewis Pub. Co., 1906; also Source D, 101-114; warrant issued, March 19; **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, III 2339.

- \*Hunt, Edward, ex. November 19, 1720; "high treason" (actually counterfeiting) with his wife Martha who was heavily fined; CR III, 109-110, November 5; 9 (**American Weekly Mercury**, Philadelphia, November 24 contains his gallows-side speech) see also, issue of same paper for the 17th.; also mention of the case in Watson's **Annals**, I, 308; and Scharf & Westcott, I, 201n.; a Martha Hunt (perhaps the same) was pardoned of another offense in 1724; see CR III, 244, March 13, 1724/5; this Edward Hunt is the first execution identified for the city of Philadelphia — if there were earlier ones, we could find no record of them; (see ps. 91, 156).
- Hunter, James, ex. January 3, 1818; Adams; for murder of Henry Heagy, June 3, 1817 (see Adams **Sentinel**, Gettysburg, June 25, July 2, November 19, December 3, 17, 1817; also, January 7, 1818); only public execution in this county; tradition has the place of execution at intersection of Emmetsburg Road (US 15 south) and Taneytown Road (Route Penna. 134) south of Gettysburg; warrant issued, December 2; **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, VI, 4783; (see ps. 92, 95). Hunter cut Heagy in the neck with a scythe in Larimer's Meadow at Two Taverns. Defense attorney was Thaddeus Stevens, then a young lawyer. The Gettysburg "Blues" commanded by Capt. William S. Cobean did guard duty the day of execution.
- \*Hurley, Daniel, ex. November 29, 1752; murder; CR V, 602-3, November 22 (**Pennsylvania Journal**), Philadelphia, November 30 bare mention of the execution).
- Jamison, James, ex. January 10, 1807; murder, with James Magowan, of Jacob Eshelman; escaped jail on December 20, 1806 and reward of \$300 was offered for his capture (See **Oracle of Dauphin & Harrisburg Advertiser**, January 3, 1807). ". . . had an iron collar around his neck which he can easily conceal with his handkerchief; by trade a taylor — speaks both English and German languages correctly; part of three toes missing . . . is noted, as a villain, in every state of the Union"; was apprehended in bed in his mother's home at Reading (See **Dauphin Guardian**, January 6; also **Oracle of Dauphin**, January 17) warrant issued, December 16, 1806; **Penna. Archives**, III, 2308; see *ibid.*, 2314 for proclamation concerning his escape.
- \*Joe "Negro," some time in November, 1762; burglary with "Caspar" (see that item above) CR IX, 5, November 16; (see p. 88).
- \*Johnson, James, ex. between October 19 and 26, 1749; see Fielding item above.
- Jones, Cornelius, ex. November 15, 1817; Wayne; murder of his step-father; "On February 6, 1817, Elizabeth Roswell . . . appeared before Squire Spongenberg and swore away the life of her only son who, she said, had poisoned his step-father." "The scaffold was erected about forty rods east of the old court-house, in Bethany"; Alfred Mathews, **History of Wayne, Pike and Monroe Counties**, 1886, 493; see also Source D, 181-2; warrant issued October 6 — **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, VI, 4749; (see p. 103).
- \*Jones, David, ex. May 5, 1770; burglary, with Thomas Jones (**Pennsylvania Gazette**, Philadelphia, May 10, bottom page 3) CR IX, 666, April 23.
- \*Jones, James, ex. May 23, 1759; burglary, with Joseph Powell; CR VIII, 335, May 11.
- \*Jones, James, ex. November 1, 1783; burglary, with McGraw and Connor; see Connor item above.
- Jones, John, ex. June 6, 1759, possibly Lancaster; burglary; CR VIII, 336, May 24.
- \*Jones, John, ex. May 6, 1780; burglary; CR XII, 333, April 29.
- Jones, Joseph Edward, ex. December 20, 1790; Northumberland (Sunbury); murder of Dennis Learey; CR XVI, 535, December 10; "Hanged on gallows erected between the dam and the old ferry . . . buried near two linden trees, and I need not add that a Sunbury doctor stole the bones." See

Northumberland County Historical Society Proceedings, VII, 207 (1935); see Armstrong item above.

\*Jones, Thomas, ex. May 5, 1770; see David Jones item above.

†Jonson, Derrick, ex. July 1693; Bucks; murder — victim unknown; CR I, 379, June 26, 1693; 382, July 30; and 442, May 24, 1694; (see ps. 97, 98, 112; fn. 45, 46, 47, 48)

\*Joyce, John, ex. March 11, 1808; assault and murder of Mrs. Cross who operated a small shop in Black Horse Alley; with Peter Matthias a "fiddler"; see Poulson's **American Daily Advertiser**, March 15; also Source D: 119-127; also Shallus, I, 128; warrant issued, February 25; **Penna Archives**, Ninth Series, IV, 2450.

Kelley, Thomas, ex. December 16, 1752; Chester; murder, with James Rice, of Eleanor Davison, an elderly woman, and John Thomas, on August 1 at Tredyffrin; CR V, 604, December 6; see J. Smith Futhy & Gilbert Cope, **History of Chester County**, 1881, 407.

Kennedy, Mary, ex. December 24, 1768; York; Felony & Murder on body of Baltzer Klotzer of Manchester Township; executed same time as Henry Smith; CR IX, 549-50, October 6.

Kennedy, Patrick, ex. May 2, 1772; Chester; rape of Jane Walker of Thornbury Township; with Thomas Fryer, James Lever, and Neil McCariher, all of whom were pardoned; CR X, 43-4, April 13; also Ashmead, **History of Delaware County**, 1884, 165.

Krebs, Catherine, ex. December 19, 1767; Berks; murder of her "Bastard Child"; CR IX, 402, December 4; mentioned in Morton Montgomery's 1 vol. ed. of **History of Berks County**, 1886, 679-80; also, **Reading Eagle**, July 9, 1914.

Lamphier, David, ex. November 1, 1822; Crawford; for murder of a constable named Smith; see **Weekly Messenger** (Meadville) October 1 and November 5; also R. C. Brown, **History of Crawford County**, 1885, 293; warrant issued, September 16; **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, VIII, 5765; (see p. 97).

\*Le Blanc, Andrew, ex. May 7, 1785; robbery, with Samuel Preston; CR XIV, 449, April 28; (**Pennsylvania Packet & Daily Advertiser**, Philadelphia, May 9); merely a statement that these men were executed for robbing the store of a Mr. Vanuxen.

Lechler, John, ex. October 25, 1822; Lancaster; murder of his wife and, by accident, the wife of Bernard Haag (in attempting to kill Haag) (**Lancaster Journal**, August 23; also issue of November 1); warrant issued, September 16; see **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, VIII, 5765; also *ibid.*, 5704-5 for a proclamation for his capture; (see ps. 92, 93; fns. 21, 26, 27).

\*Le Croix, Peter, ex. May 9, 1800; piracy; see Baker item above.

†Lewis, John, warrant issued, September 8, 1760; Chester; for murder of wife Ann; convicted August 25; CR VIII, 496, September 8 (date of execution not known).

\*Logan, John, ex. October 12, 1789; Robbery & Murder; see Burnett item above.

London, James, ex. August 8, 1818; Dauphin; "a free man of colour"; murder of his wife Jane on March 1; "an extraordinary concourse attended to witness the exit of poor Jim" (**Harrisburg Republican**, August 4); for account of trial, see issues for July 3 and 10; also Source D, 201-5; warrant issued, July 8; **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, VII, 4956.

Lutuk, Andrew, ex. June 8, 1759; York; for murder of his wife; CR VIII, 337, May 24.

\*Lyons, Lieut. Samuel, ex. September 2, 1778; desertion; see Ford item above.

\*Madden, Thomas, ex. December 11, 1779; highway robbery; executed same time as Shocky; CR XII, 178, November 3.

Magowan, James, ex. December 29, 1806; Dauphin; for murder of Jacob Eshelman, with Jamison; see Jamison item above; the **Dauphin Guardian**, Harrisburg, December 30, states: "his behavior was marked with astonishing fortitude"; see Source D: 91 "he was offered a half pint of liquor [at the

gallows] and drained it all. The effects changed the tragedy to a farce. He became enraged at the executioner, tore off part of his mask and knocked him down from the cart"; warrant issued, December 16; **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, III, 2309.

Mamachtaga, a Delaware Indian, ex. December 20, 1785; Westmoreland (**Hannas Town**) for murder of John Smith and Benjamin Jones on Killbuck Island near Pittsburgh in a drunken brawl; CR XIV, 585, November 25; (see p. 102; fn. 54).

Marthers, Freeman, ex. October 24, 1828; Wayne; murder of Col. Jonathan Brooks on June 24 at Mt. Pleasant; convicted August term of court; warrant issued, September 18; Alfred Mathews, **Hist. of Wayne, Pike & Monroe Counties**, 1886, 657; "Marthers sate [sic] on his coffin with the rope about his neck while his funeral sermon was preached . . . He was hanged in what was known as the grove lot of the Scudder farm." **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, IX, 6839.

\*Martin, John, ex. July 17, 1784; street robbery; see Downey item above.

\*Matthias, Peter, ex. March 11, 1808; Assault & Murder; see Joyce item above.

\*McAllister, John, ex. June 3, 1775; counterfeiting, with Alexander Stewart; CR X, 256, May 18 (also 258, May 20, for proclamation of reward for his capture after breaking gaol).

†McCoy, Francis, warrant issued, February 1, 1750; executed probably in February; burglary, with Morris and Elizabeth Robinson; CR V, 506, February 1.

McCoy, William, ex. June 12, 1779; Northampton (Easton); see Drogan item above.

\*McDeirmatt, Michael, ex. May 5, 1736; burglary, with Whatnell; CR IV, 47, April 21 (**American Weekly Mercury**, April 29 - May 6); also issue April 22-29. These two men probably the first to be executed for burglary (see ps. 91, 94).

McDonald, John, alias McDowell, ex. November 9, 1785; Bucks; murder of Catharine Kraemer or Krayman, and her infant son in an attack on her in her farm home; Charles Biddle in his **Autobiography**, 1883, 206 states: "McDonald died game, as it is called by such wretches, that is, like a hardened villain. A gentleman present when he was led pinioned and put in the cart for the execution, observed he had seen him before, wheeling oysters about the streets. 'Yes,' says he, 'you may have seen me before, and if you will wait until Jack Ketch [the hangman] has done with me, I'll turn around that you may see me behind'"; CR XIV, 568, November 1.

†McDonough, John, ex. some time in June 1786; Chester; rape, with Richard Shirliffe who was reprieved; CR XV 31, June 5.

McDunnell, John, ex. November 2, 1784; Chester; burglary; see Chalk item above.

McFall, John, ex. March 7, 1795; Fayette; for murder of one "Shadrack an old man killed in his own home"; see Elizabeth Rose and Elza Custead, **Songs and Stories of Bygone Days in Fayette County and Elsewhere**, New York; printed by E. O. Jenkins Sons, (c-1884) 414-15; warrant issued, January 30; **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, II, 928-9.

\*McGee, Thomas, ex. May 26, 1781; burglary; see Byrnes item above.

\*McGraw, James, ex. November 1, 1783; burglary; see John Connor item above.

McKean, John ex. December 22, 1807; Franklin; murder of his wife in Washington Township, August 30; convicted November 12; see I. H. McCauley, **Historical Sketch of Franklin County**, 1878, 58-60; also Source D: 134-6; warrant issued, December 2; **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, III, 2414.

McMahon, Matthew, ex. June 30, 1770; Chester; murder of John McClester of Middletown; convicted June 11; Ashmead's **History of Delaware County**; CR, IX, 678, June 21.

McManus, Charles, ex. July 14, 1798; Dauphin; see Hauer item above.

\*McMullen, Patrick, ex. September 4, 1778; desertion to the enemy; **Pennsylvania Evening Post**, Philadelphia, September 4; also Scharf & Westcott, I, 394; (see p. 105).



- \*Mesca, Francesca, ex. October 25, 1783; murder; see Bretelli item above.
- Miller, Anthony, ex. November 12, 1762; Lancaster; see Dougherty item above.
- Miller, Hannah, "Black Hannah," ex. August 1, 1805; Chester; infanticide; "executed at Gallows Hill at forks of Philadelphia and State Roads near West Chester"; see Futhey & Cope, **History of Chester County**, 409; warrant issued, July 15; **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, III, 2151.
- Mina, Lino Amelio y Epos, alias Carolino Estradas de Mina, alias Celestine Armentarius, alias Amalia Gregoria Zarrier, ex. June 21, 1832; Bucks; for murder by arsenic poisoning of Dr. William Chapman, operator of a school for stammerers in Bensalem Township (Andalusia or Cornwell Hts.); last person publicly hanged in county; case caused considerable excitement and much publicity; Mina, "a soldier of fortune," met Mrs. Lucretia Chapman who became involved in the crime, was tried, but acquitted; Mina was born in Trinidad, Cuba on December 20, 1809, allegedly son of wealthy parents and came to U.S.; excerpts from contemporary published material: "when she [Mrs. Chapman] threw out the soup the ducks ate it and died"; "Mrs. C. left the country after her acquittal and became a strolling player; the daughter of Thos. Winslow, notorious counterfeiter . . . reported to have died in Florida in 1840." (adapted from note by George MacReynolds, Bucks County Historical Society archives); "Mina escaped jail while awaiting execution but was recaptured"; "executed in a natural amphitheatre on the banks of the Neshaminy on the almshouse grounds"; other sources: J. Bennett Nolan, **Southeastern Pennsylvania**, I, 1943; 357-9; and George N. Thomson, "Sketch of the Life & Confession of Caroline Estradas de Mina, who was Executed at Doylestown, for Poisoning Wm. Chapman," in volume entitled **Confessions, Trials & Biographical Sketches of the Most Cold-blooded Murderers who have been executed in this Country**, Hartford: S. Andrus & Son, 1844 (in Pa. Hist. Soc. Lib., D b 463); warrant issued for Mina, May 16; **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, X, 7549.
- \*Molessworth, James, ex. March 31, 1777; treason; CR XI, 197, April 4; (see p. 104; fn. 62, 63).
- Monaghan, Dan'l., ex. June 12, 1779; Northampton; murder; see Drogan item above.
- Money, John, ex. September 28, 1765; Cumberland; Felony & Murder on Archibald Gray, March 8; CR IX, 282, September 10.
- Monks, James, ex. January 23, 1819; Centre; for murder of Reuben Guild on November 16, 1818; see John Blair Linn, **History of Centre & Clinton Counties**, 1883, 58-9; warrant issued, December 15, 1818; **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, VII, 5035; (see p. 93).
- Monroe, Michael, alias James Wellington, ex. December 24, 1824; Delaware; for murder of William Bonsall while burglarizing the home of Mrs. Mary Warner of Upper Darby; the Upland Union quotes his last words: "I have heard it said that no innocent man was ever executed in this country but it will lose that honor today" from John Hill Martin, **History of Chester & Vicinity**, 1877, 187; see also, **The Village Record**, West Chester, June 2, 9, 16, and December 22, 1824; two alleged accomplices, Abraham Buys (or Boys) and Washington Labbe, were acquitted; see also, Source E, 33-45; warrant issued, November 10; **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, VIII, 6172.
- Moody, John, ex. November 13, 1781; a spy; see **Pennsylvania Packet**, Philadelphia, November 15; "he intended to have seized the books and papers of Congress"; see Shallus, II, 389; (see p. 106; fn. 66).
- Moore, Elizabeth, ex. May 27, 1809; York; murder of her illegitimate young son (about 9 years of age) Isaac Bateman, by poison; executed same day as John Charles; left a confession which may be found in York Historical Society archives; see John Gibson, **History of York County**, 1886, Part I, 238; warrant issued, April 21; **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, IV, 2674; (see p. 107).

- \*Moran, James, ex. May 19, 1837; a 19-year-old Irish sailor, for federal crime of piracy and murder (the vessel **William Wirt**) — victims were Smith, the captain, and Ward, the mate, on high seas; publicly executed in Philadelphia after the Act of April 10, 1834; probably the last public execution in the Commonwealth; was housed in Eastern State Penitentiary prior to execution; Source H, 3-20 (see fn. 3).
- Morden, Ralph, ex. November 25, 1780; treason; Northampton; convicted October 30; CR XII, 535, November 9; see John M. Coleman, "The Treason of Ralph Morden and Robert Land;" **Penna. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.**, 79, No. 4 (1955) 439-51; executed on Easton's "Gallows Hill"; (see p. 106; fn. 65)
- †\*Morris, John *alias* John Morrison, warrant issued February 1, 1750; burglary with Francis McCoy and Elizabeth Robinson; see McCoy item above.
- \*Mulatto Elizabeth, ex. April 30, 1774; murder; executed with Price, Stephens, Burch and Swain; see Burch item above.
- Murphy, Elizabeth, ex. July 13, 1724; Chester; murder; convicted August 27, 1723; source, Supreme Court Docket, Media, via Ashmead's **History of Delaware County**.
- Murphy, Peter, ex. September 10, 1731; New Castle; murder, with Catherine Bevan of her husband, Harry; see Bevan item above.
- Nagle, Philip, ex. July 8, 1788; Franklin; uttering counterfeit money; CR XV, 476, June 21.
- "Negress" Chloe, see Chloe.
- "Negro" Bob, see Bob.
- "Negro" George, see George.
- "Negro" Peter, see Peter.
- "Negro" Sucky, see Sucky.
- "Negro" York, see York.
- Nugent, Benjamin, ex. June 17, 1780; Cumberland; highway robbery, convicted May 22 with James Nugent and John Rosborough (a reward of \$3,000 on their heads); no further note of Rosborough; CR XII, 261, February 26, 375, June 5.
- Nugent, James, same as item immediately above.
- \*Nurich, Samuel, see Freeman item above.
- \*O'Brien, James, ex. December 19, 1778; robbery; see Beard item above.
- O'Neal, Edward, ex. July 24, 1772; Cumberland; murder of James Crowley; convicted on June 5; CR IX, 745, July 1.
- \*Patton, Nathaniel, ex. December 8, 1779; passing counterfeit money; CR XII, 178, November 23.
- Peeves, Samuel, Negro, ex. October 13, 1792; Berks, for rape of Mary Sepley of Alsace Township; Morton Montgomery, **History of Berks County**, 1886, 679-80; convicted at August term of court; case mentioned in Reading **Eagle**, July 9, 1914; warrant issued, September 10, **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, I, 443.
- Perry, John, ex. July 7, 1781; Cumberland; burglary; CR XII, 750, June 8.
- \*Peter, "Negro," ex. October 12, 1782; murder; CR XIII, 382, October 1; (see p. 96; fn. 40).
- Phillips, Henry, ex. December 26, 1772; Chester; a laborer; **Felony & Murder** on Richard Kelley; CR X, 65, December 12.
- †"Phoebe," slave of Joseph Richardson; Chester; burglary of home of Thomas Bernard of "divers goods and Chattels," convicted March 2, 1764; execution date not known; (see p. 88).
- \*Porter, James, ex. July 2, 1830; highway robbery on mail coach, a federal offense; see Poulson's **American Daily Advertiser**, July 3; also Scharf & Westcott, I, 623; "The demeanor of the wretched criminal was humble and submissive . . . an immense multitude assembled to witness this awful scene . . . a decorous and thoughtful silence pervaded the assembly." (Poulson's) The robbery occurred "on the Ridge Road above Turner's

Lane . . . near Girard College . . . by Porter, George Wilson and Pooteet . . ." Poteet turned state's evidence and President Jackson "did not confirm the death penalty against Wilson." (Scharf & Westcott); (see p. 94; fn. 31).

- \*Powell, Joseph, ex. May 23, 1759; see James Jones item above.
- \*Preston, Samuel, ex. May 7, 1785; see Le Blanc item above.
- \*Price, Joseph, ex. April 30, 1774; burglary; see Burch item above.
- Proctor, Thomas, ex. July 7, 1770; Berks; burglary of home of William Neal on July 27, 1769; CR IX, 678, June 21; see Montgomery, **History of Berks County**, 1 vol. ed., 1886, 679-80.
- Pugh, Hugh, millwright, ex. May 9, 1718; Chester; for murder (with Lazarus Thomas) of Jonathan Hayes of Marple (now Delaware County); crime occurred in 1715 but due to obscure points in colonial law the case was delayed for three years — until April 17, 1718; A. S. Bolles in **Pennsylvania Province and State**, 257, states that "judges refused to sit in criminal cases, the administration of justice was suspended, and two atrocious murderers [Pugh and Thomas] remained in jail three years without trial"; petitions for reprieve were denied; see also, Ashmead's **History of Delaware County**, 162-3; also Futhey & Cope, **History of Chester County**, 1881, 406; and CR III, 40, 41, May 18.
- Quinn, James, ex. February 9, 1827; Lebanon; for murder of his wife Biddy; warrant issued, December 18, 1826; **Penna. Archives**, IX, 6538; (see pp. 95, 103; fn. 39).
- Ramage, Josiah, ex. May 3, 1786; Franklin; murder of his wife Mary in Letterkenny Township; mentioned in **Autobiography of Charles Biddle**, 1883, 209-10; an "old man" married for 37 years to the wife he killed; beat her to death with fire tongs; executed same time as John Hanna; see Hanna item above; I. H. McCauley, **Historical Sketch of Franklin County**, 1878, 58-60; and CR XIV, 599, December 17, 1785.
- \*Reid, Charles, ex. March 21, 1789; for murder of a "Boatman at Market St. Ferry," in a provoked quarrel while he was drinking; his "connections were wealthy but he was a wild, dissolute, incorrigible young man"; "his monied connections did all they could to prevent his execution"; see Source D: 35-39; CR XVI, 9, 15, 27, February 19, 28, and March 16.
- \*Repton, Bernard, ex. April 30, 1774; counterfeiting; see Burch item above.
- Rice, James, alias James Dillon, ex. December 3, 1752; Chester; murder of John Thomas and Eleanor Davison; with Kelley; see Kelley item above.
- Richardson, Thomas, ex. October 2, 1784; Washington; burglary; alleged member of Doan gang of outlaws (was horse thief but was convicted of burglary); CR XIV, 203, September 10; Earle Forrest, **History of Washington County**, I, 370, 372; also Alfred Creigh, **History of Washington County**, 1870, 366-9.
- Roberts, James, ex. June 17, 1780; Cumberland; passing counterfeit money; CR XII, 375, June 5.
- \*Roberts, John, ex. November 4, 1778; for "aiding the enemy" but actually for treason; see Carlisle item above.
- +Robinson, Elizabeth, warrant issued, February 1, 1750; burglary; see Morris item above.
- \*Robinson, "One-Armed" Tom, see Richard Williams.
- Roe, Judith, ex. March 15, 1688; Kent County "one of the Lower Counties"; murder; earliest execution identified by this compiler; CR I, 227, March 19; also 252-3; (see p. 87; fn. 1).
- \*Rosikrans, Herman, ex. May 5, 1770; counterfeiting; CR IX, 666, April 23; (**Pennsylvania Gazette**, Philadelphia, May 10, bottom page 3)
- Ross, Joseph, ex. December 20, 1785; Westmoreland; buggery; executed at Hannas Town minutes before the Delaware Indian, Mamachtaga; he is probably the first person to be legally executed west of the mountains; CR XIV, 588, December 1; (see p. 102; fn. 54).

- Ross, Thomas, ex. July 11, 1772; highway robbery; York; CR X, 50, June 20.
- \*Ruth, Thomas, ex. October 20, 1753; murder of Charles Quigg; convicted May 12; CR V, 662, October 16.
- \*Ryall, Abraham, ex. October 18, 1766; highway robbery, with Scanlan; CR IX, 334, October 4; (**Pennsylvania Gazette**, Philadelphia, October 23)
- \*Sailer, John Ulrich, alias Hance Olrick Seiler, ex. November 14, 1750; murder "of his mistress"; CR V, 488, November 6; (**Pennsylvania Journal**, Philadelphia, November 15)
- \*Scanlan, Dennis, ex. October 18, 1766; highway robbery; see Ryall item above.
- Schaeffer, Daniel, ex. April 13, 1832; warrant issued, February 3; Lancaster; for murder of a widow, Mrs. Bowers; see **The Manheim Tragedy**, Lancaster, 1858 (Appendix) 57; **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, IX, 7479.
- Scheffer, George, ex. July 17, 1784; Berks; burglary; mentioned in **Autobiography of Charles Biddle**, 1883, 194; executed same time as William Welsh, see item on Welsh; Biddle states crime of Scheffer was "house breaking."
- Schildt, John, ex. January 30, 1813; Berks; murder of aged father and mother in Alsace Township; referred to as the "most shocking murder in the county"; Morton Montgomery, I vol. ed. **History of Berks County**, 1886, 679-80; case mentioned in Reading **Eagle**, July 7, 1914; warrant issued, December 17, 1812; **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, V, 3292.
- †Sexton, Margaret, possibly of New Castle; exact date not known; for murder of her husband's four year old child by a former wife; CR VII, June 4, 1757; (see p. 106).
- Sharp, Christian, known as "Kit," a Negro slave, ex. November 21, 1828; Washington; for murder of Robert Carlile; warrant issued, October 13; **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, IX, 6849; (see p. 103; fn. 55).
- \*Shocky, Christopher, ex. December 11, 1779; uttering counterfeit coin; see Mad-den item above.
- Smith, Henry, ex. December 24, 1768; York; Felony & Murder on Baltzer Klot-zer of Manchester Township, with Mary Kennedy; see Kennedy item above.
- Smith, John, ex. July 1, 1780; Chester, murder of William Boyd, a tax collector; with Robert Smith; \$20,000 reward offered for their capture; CR XII, 405, June 30.
- Smith, Robert, see item immediately above.
- \*Smyth, Lieut. Richard, ex. August 10, 1816; for murder of John Carson, ship captain; a Philadelphia saga; the governor gave him special permission to ride to the place of execution in a carriage instead of a cart (**Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, VI, 4533); warrant issued, July 6, *ibid.*, 4519; (see p. 108; fn. 70, 71).
- Spangenberg, Cyriacus, ex. October 10, 1795; Bedford; murder; convicted and sentenced April 27; first case of murder "in the first degree" following passage of the Act of April 22, 1794; case mentioned by the Hon. Robert Ralston in "The Delay in the Execution of Murderers," paper read before Penna. Bar Ass'n., Bedford Springs, June 28, 1911, 26; Spangenberg was a German Reform minister who "fatally stabbed one of his parishioners [Jacob Glessner, Sr.] during a church meeting"; see Solon J. and Elizabeth Buck, **The Planting of Civilization in Western Pennsylvania**, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1939, 450-2; see also, Koontz & Welfley, **History of Bedford and Somerset Counties**, II, Chap. XXIX; warrant issued, September 11; **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, II, 1013.
- \*Spangler, George, ex. August 14, 1778; a spy; CR XI, 561, August 22, regarding Frederick Verner who was exchanged; (see p. 104).
- \*Stackhouse, Kemble, ex. February 15, 1783; crime not stated; see Freeman item above.
- \*Stephens, Thomas, ex. April 30, 1774; burglary; see Burch item above.
- \*Stewart, Alexander, ex. June 3, 1775; counterfeiting; see McAllister item above.

- Stewart, Benjamin (Negro), ex. February 4, 1824, in Market Square, Harrisburg, Dauphin; murder, of Mrs. Ann Overholzer; (**Pennsylvania Intelligencer**, Harrisburg, February 6; also **Oracle of Dauphin**, February 7, and **Harrisburg Chronicle**, February 5). "The aggravated circumstances under which the murder was committed, and the insensibility of the convict, prevented the sympathy for his fate, which is usual on such occasions. The weather was fine, and the amateurs enjoyed it." (**Chronicle** account). It was undoubtedly the public execution of this man that spurred the initiation of legislation to abolish such spectacles; warrant issued, January 6; **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, VIII, 6049; (see p. 116; fn. 23).
- \*Subzey, Lot, ex. February 15, 1783; crime not stated; see Freeman item above.
- Sucky (Negro) a female, ex. July 7, 1780; Cumberland; arson; co-defendant Margaret Matthews pardoned; CR XII, 377, June 5.
- \*Sutton, James, ex. November 29, 1780; piracy; CR XII, 535, November 9; see Fisher's **Journal**, 90, 97, 107.
- \*Swain, James, ex. April 30, 1774; murder; see Burch item above.
- Swales, John, ex. May 21, 1753; York; murder of Thomas Reily; CR V, 612, April 14.
- Taylor, Thomas, ex. June 5, 1779; Lancaster, Cocalico Township; convicted May 5 of Felony & Robbery; executed same time as Catherine Fisher; CR XI, 780, May 17; see Appendix, **The Manheim Tragedy**, Lancaster, 1858, 57; (see p. 93).
- \*Thomas, John, ex. July 4, 1772; burglary; CR X, 50, June 20.
- Thomas, Lazarus, laborer, ex. May 9, 1718; Chester; murder; see Pugh item above.
- \*Thompson, John, ex. May 22, 1771; Felony & Burglary in home of Ludwig Kuyn of Northern Liberties, Philadelphia; CR IX, 735, May 6.
- Tiernan, John, ex. March 25, 1818; Allegheny; murder of Pat Campbell at Turtle Creek "on the old Greensburg Pike"; an unprovoked deed; execution took place at head of Fourth Ave., then Fourth Street, near Ross Street; "a small rivulet flowed nearby known as Suke's Run, entering the Monongahela near where the Pan Handle bridge stands"; source: **Western Pennsylvania History Magazine**, I, 4, 1918, 265-6; also, Source D: 185-190 "The Turnpike Labourers." Warrant issued, February 4, **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, VII, 4845.
- Tomlinson, John, ex. October 17, 1782; Bucks; felony; CR XIII, 394, October 14; "robbed the county treasury at Newtown" on October 22, 1781; convicted and hanged at Newtown and is buried on his own farm; member of Doan gang of Bucks County.
- †Toomey, Martin, ex. June 25, 1801; warrant issued, May 30; Bedford; murder; (Source: A) **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, III, 1747.
- \*Tracy, John, see John White.
- Treadwell, Jason, ex. January 13, 1825; Susquehanna; murder on May 11, 1824 of Oliver Harper of Windsor, New York; trial September 1-5; executed "on the only gallows ever erected in Montrose" on west side of public square; see Emily C. Blackmon, **History of Susquehanna County**, 1873, 582; warrant issued, December 4, 1824; **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, VIII, 6186.
- \*Trout, Henry, ex. December 8, 1779; uttering and counterfeiting; see Boyd item above.
- Van Holland, George Speth, ex. July 26, 1817; Crawford; for murder of Hugh Fitzpatrick of Bloomfield Township; item in **Meadville Crawford Messenger**, May 30; place of execution "south of Chestnut Street and east of Grove"; R. C. Brown, **History of Crawford County**, 1885, 292; "knocked down the hangman just before he was hanged" — Shallus, II, 593; warrant issued, June 14; **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, VI, 4706.
- Varnum, John, alias Benson; ex. November 2, 1784; see Benson item above.
- Vaughan, Thomas, ex. September 17, 1768; Chester; murder; see Dowdle item above.

- Warner, Joseph Ramsey, ex. June 9, 1787; Cumberland; for murder of David Musselman on January 7, Sunday; see *Carlisle Gazette*, January 10 and 13, 1787; co-defendant, Sara Williams, pardoned; CR XV, 217-8, May 23.
- \*Webster, John, ex. May 2, 1752; burglary of "a Teapot belonging to Mr. Clemm"; see *Pennsylvania Journal*, Philadelphia, May 7; CR V, 566, April 24.
- Wellington, James, see Michael Monroe.
- Welsh, William, ex. July 17, 1784; Berks; robbery; CR XIV, 153, June 30; this is a case discussed by Charles Biddle in his *Autobiography*, published in 1883, 192-4; (see ps. 97, 114; fn. 42, 87).
- \*Whatnell, John, ex. May 5, 1736; see McDeirmatt item above.
- \*White, John, alias John Tracy, ex. March 3, 1788; piracy and murder with James Thompson, alias James McAlpine who was pardoned; CR XV, 400, February 29; (*Pennsylvania Packet* account, date not verified); execution mentioned in Shallus, I, 105.
- \*Wildeman, Henry, ex. July 2, 1737; burglary; see Catherine Connor item above.
- Williams, Edward, ex. December 15, 1830; Chester; for murder of his wife Sarah; "a man of colour"; "executed in a small hollow about 300 yards northeast of forks of Philadelphia and State Roads near West Chester"; Futhy & Cope, *History of Chester County*, 409; warrant issued, November 23; *Penna. Archives*, IX, 7237.
- \*Williams, John, alias John Hines, ex. May 12, 1764; Felony & Burglary of home of William Johnson on July 1, 1763; convicted April 13, 1764; executed same time as Handenreid; CR IX, 173, April 27, 1764; see also, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Philadelphia, May 17.
- \*Williams, Richard, alias "One-Armed" Tom Robinson, ex. October 16, 1784; highway robbery, with Peter Brown; see Brown item above; waylaid Capt. Tolbert and wife in Neagle's Woods, near Nicetown, robbed and beat Tolbert; at gallows claimed to have murdered a young woman near Gray's Ferry 17 years earlier for which another was executed and whose execution he witnessed [could not be verified]; at gallows "he turned to his accomplice [Brown] . . . and observed, "don't you think after we get there," (pointing downwards), "we can manage to bilk the Old Fellow and get out again?" see Source D: 19-28; also Scharf & Westcott, I, 437 n.
- Willis, James, ex. September 30, 1775; Chester; murder of Daniel Culin; CR X, 265, September 21.
- Wilson, Elizabeth, ex. January 3, 1786; Chester; for the murder of her twin "Bastard Male Infants" ten weeks old; there are many sources concerning this tragic miscarriage of justice; CR XIV, 568, November 1; 586, November 28; 591, December 6, 1785; (see ps. 100, 101; fn. 51, 52, 53).
- Wilson, Thomas, alias John Hurrin, alias John Green, ex. January 1, 1774; Northampton; murder; convicted December 17, 1773; CR X, 129, December 22; executed same time as Alexander Buchanan.
- Wilt, Anthony, ex. July 17, 1784; York, burglary; CR XIV, 153, June 30.
- †Winter, John, warrant issued June 26 and executed July 3, 1728; Chester; murder, with brother Walter, of old Indian Toke Collie, at French Creek, near Warwick Furnace; one Morgan Herbert, co-defendant was pardoned; see Ashmead's *History of Delaware County*; also Futhy & Cope, *History of Chester County*, 407; and CR III, 326-7, August 6, 1728.
- †Winter, Walter, see item immediately above.
- Workeiser, Charles, ex. June 29, 1782; Northampton; murder; CR XIII, 303, June 14.
- \*Wright, Abijah, ex. December 5, 1778; Felony & Burglary; CR XI, 631, November 30; Wright was a loyalist and had entered the mansion house of a Whig, Col. Andrew Knox, allegedly to intimidate or kidnap him; as the judge stated, when pronouncing the death sentence: "You have in the dead of night with a number of desperate ruffians broke and entered into the mansion house . . . it being after midnight and when all the creation except beasts of prey were supposed to be at rest; you attempted to mur-

der him having discharged many loaded muskets at him"; *Penna. Packet*, Philadelphia, December 8, 1778.

York "Negro," ex. December 15, 1781; Lancaster; rape; CR XIII, 137, December 4; (see p. 92).

Note: A Lieut. Michael Roseberry was executed on July 1, 1779 at old Fort Durkee, near the site of the present Wilkes-Barre for "having induced desertions from General Sullivan's army" during the War of Independence. Another, Lawrence Miller, a soldier in the same army, was also convicted of the same offense but at the last minute was pardoned and became a faithful soldier. Source: *History of Wyoming* by Charles Miner, 1845, 265, through courtesy of Mrs. John Coliskey of Tunkhannock, Pa.

Note: John Rickey, a deserter from the American army, was shot at Ft. Mifflin, Philadelphia, December 15, 1812. He belonged to the 16th U.S. regiment of infantry and had deserted on two other occasions; a Benjamin Jackson, who had also deserted, was pardoned; Source: Shallus, II, 470.

In October or November (sources vary as to month) 1814, three men were executed at Erie and buried on the "Sand Beach"; James Bird and John Rankin, marines, were shot and John Davis, sailor, "hung to the yard-arm" of the *Niagara*, all convicted for desertion. A ballad composed by Charles Miner about Bird and consisting of some twenty verses, was published in 1814 and enjoyed a wide circulation. Bird was born in 1785 and came from Exeter, now Forty-Fort, Luzerne County. It is stated that he exhibited great bravery at the Battle of Lake Erie; but later absented himself to "meet a young lady on shore." One historian wrote: "The execution . . . constituted the romance of the war among children and the lower classes. Written in the 'gory' style, rehearsed or rather screeched by a servant girl with a doleful countenance it made a decided impression on a group of children." (*History of Erie County*, by Laura G. Sanford, 1894, 248-9). Other sources are: Mary Elizabeth King, "More Light on the Ballad of James Bird," including a letter from Bird to his parents written presumably on the eve of his execution and dated November 9, in the *New York Folklore Quarterly*, VII, No. 2 (Summer, 1951) 142-4; also Olive Woolley Burt, *American Murder Ballads*, Oxford, Press, 1958, 181-2.

## UNVERIFIED AND PROBLEMATIC EXECUTIONS

From William Crawford's list: (see sources, page 130).

1778 Bedford: Crawford's No. 2: murder; cannot be identified; however, there was a murder of Mrs. Mary Hendrickson Tissue, wife of Captain William Tissue of the militia by a "German redemptioner farmhand" with an axe; he was convicted and sentenced to be executed but "died in jail from filth and vermin." This could have been the Crawford case although the murder probably occurred in 1779; information furnished from "scrap book notes" in possession of Mrs. Nelle Brach Ursina, Somerset County. This county was formed from part of Bedford County in 1795.

1798 Bucks County: Crawford's No. 64: murder; unidentified; Crawford may have confused Bucks and Berks Counties — he did not list the Benjamin Bailey case of murder in that year from Berks County. (Bailey was executed January 6, 1798)

From Appendix, *The Manheim Tragedy*, Lancaster, 1858, 57 — one "Jockey" Jones, executed in Lancaster County in 1778 for "horse stealing"; could not be verified.

A "legend" from Bedford County states that ". . . tradition tells of the execution, by military law, of a German soldier, a tailor with the army at Raystown, in 1760. This man was hanged on a tree near the corner of Richard and John streets. The story was that he sat in the cart on his coffin smoking his pipe nonchalantly. When the cart was driven from under him and the rope snapped in two, letting him fall to the ground, he jumped up cursing the awkwardness that had broken his pipe." From *Souvenir Historical Program, Fort Bedford Bicentennial*, Bedford, "Stockade to Satellites," 1758-1958, printed by the Bedford Gazette, 1958. 47; from material compiled by Annie M. Gilchrist, 1957.

## FROM PUBLISHED PAMPHLETS

"The Life and Confession of John Myrick, who was executed for the murder of his wife and children: Philadelphia, printed by James Chattin, 1755"; listed in Evans, 7494; New York State Library, Albany (but no longer extant). This case could not be identified.

"Narrative of the pious death of the penitent, Henry Mills, who was executed at Galesboro (Penn.) on the 15th of July last (1817) for the murder (on Wednesday, January 29) of his wife and five children . . . Boston: Printed by Henry Trumbull, 1817." (In Harvard University Library) Note: This may have been fictional. The crime, execution and place have not been identified. However, on a Rand & McNally map of 1882 a Galesburgh, Ferguson Township, Centre County, Pennsylvania appears. On later maps it appears as Gatesburg (same location on all maps). Gatesburg is a well-known town in Ferguson Township, southwestern Centre County, near the Huntingdon County line. No records verifying the above crime or execution could be found.

From the **Journal of the Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, II**, 397: Philadelphia, 1958, a German "sinner" apparently awaiting execution was visited in his jail cell by the Lutheran minister in May 1769. Case not identified.

## EXECUTIONS — CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Note: w.i. means "Death Warrant Issued" used when date of execution is not known.

Period I Colonial or Provincial Period 1682 - 1776

94 Executions

1688	March 15	Judith Roe	Kent (Delaware)	Murder
1693	July (?)	Derrick Jonson	Bucks	Murder
1718	May 9	Lazarus Thomas	Chester	Murder
1718	May 9	Hugh Pugh	Chester	Murder
1720	November 19	Edward Hunt	Phila.	Treason (actually counterfeiting)
1722	August 15	William Battin	Chester	Arson-Murder ("for divers, horrid complicated crimes")
1724	July 13	Elizabeth Murphy	Chester	Murder
1728	July 3	John Winter	Chester	Murder
1728	July 3	Walter Winter	Chester	Murder
1728	October 27	William Davis	Chester	Murder
1731	September 10	Catherine Bevan	New Castle (Delaware)	Murder
1731	September 10	Peter Murphy	New Castle (Delaware)	Murder
1736	May 5	John Whatnell	Phila.	Burglary
1736	May 5	Michael McDeirmatt	Phila.	Burglary
1737	July 2	Catherine Connor	Phila.	Burglary
1737	July 2	Henry Wildeman	Phila.	Burglary
1737	November 23	William Beatson	Bucks	Burglary
1741	November 7	John Bullock	Phila.	Murder
1747	December 6	Michael Burne	Phila.	Burglary
1747	December 6	Patrick Burne	Phila.	Burglary
1749	October 19-26	Thomas Fielding	Phila.	Highway Robbery
1749	October 19-26	James Johnson	Phila.	Highway Robbery
1750	Feb. 1 (w.i.)	John Morris	Phila.	Burglary
1750	Feb. 1 (w.i.)	Francis McCoy	Phila.	Burglary
1750	Feb. 1 (w.i.)	Eliz. Robinson	Phila.	Burglary
1750	Nov. 14	John Ulrich Sailer	Phila.	Murder
1752	May 2	John Webster	Phila.	Burglary
1752	November 29	Daniel Hurley	Phila.	Murder
1752	December 16	James Rice	Chester	Murder
1752	December 16	Thomas Kelley	Chester	Murder
1753	May 21	John Swales	York	Murder
1753	October 20	Thomas Ruth	Phila.	Murder
1754	August 27	James Duffy	Kent (Del.)	Murder



1757	June 4 (?)	David Brown	New Castle (Del.)	Burglary
1757	June 4 (?)	James Coughlin	New Castle (Del.)	Burglary
1757	June 4 (?)	Margaret Sexton	New Castle (Del.)	Murder
1759	March 10	Elizabeth Graul	Berks	Infanticide
1759	May 23	James Jones	Phila.	Burglary
1759	May 23	Joseph Powell	Phila.	Burglary
1759	June 6	John Jones	Prob. Lancaster	Burglary
1759	June 8	Andrew Lutuk	York	Murder
1760	Sept. 8 (w.i.)	John Lewis	Chester	Murder
1760	October 22	John Bruelman	Philadelphia	Murder
1762	November	"Negro" Caspar	Philadelphia	Burglary
1762	November	"Negro" Joe	Philadelphia	Burglary
1762	Nov. 12	Cornelius Dougherty	Lancaster	Burglary
1762	Nov. 12	John Hellar	Lancaster	Burglary
1762	Nov. 12	Anthony Miller	Lancaster	Burglary
1764	Conv. March 2	"Phoebe"	Chester	Burglary
1764	May 12	William F. Handenreid	Phila.	Felony & Burglary
1764	May 12	John Williams	Phila.	Felony & Burglary
1764	Sept. 7	Thomas Fowler	Berks	Burglary
1764	Sept. 24	Michael Grissbach	Lancaster	Felony & Murder
1765	Jan. 19	Jane Ewing	Chester	Infanticide
1765	Sept. 26	Elizabeth Erwin	York	Infanticide
1765	Sept. 28	John Money	Cumberland	Felony & Burglary
1765	October 19	Henry Halbert	Phila.	Felony & Murder
1766	October 18	Dennis Scanlon	Phila.	Highway Robbery
1766	October 18	Abraham Ryall	Phila.	Highway Robbery
1767	December 19	Catherine Krebs	Berks	Infanticide
1768	July 9	William Dobbins	Lancaster	Felony & Burglary
1768	July 9	Thomas Hammond	Lancaster	Felony & Burglary
1768	Sept. 17	Thomas Vaughan	Chester	Murder
1768	Sept. 17	John Dowdle	Chester	Murder
1768	December 24	Mary Kennedy	York	Felony & Murder
1768	December 24	Henry Smith	York	Felony & Murder
1769	July 1	John Adam Berger	Lancaster	Murder
1770	Jan. 13	Cornelius Donnahy	Cumberland	Murder
1770	May 5	David Jones	Philadelphia	Burglary
1770	May 5	Thomas Jones	Philadelphia	Burglary
1770	May 5	Herman Rosikrans	Philadelphia	Counterfeiting
1770	June 9	Hugh Barclay	New Castle (Del.)	Felony & Burglary
1770	June 30	Matthew McMahan	Chester	Murder
1770	July 7	Thomas Proctor	Berks	Burglary
1771	May 22	John Thompson	Phila.	Felony & Burglary
1772	May 2	Patrick Kennedy	Chester	Rape
1772	July 4	John Thomas	Philadelphia	Burglary
1772	July 11	Thomas Ross	York	Highway Robbery
1772	July 24	Edward O'Neal	Cumberland	Murder
1772	December 26	Henry Phillips	Chester	Felony & Murder
1773	December 18	Samuel Brandt	Lancaster	Felony & Murder
1774	Jan. 1	Alexander Buchanan	Northampton	Burglary
1774	Jan. 1	Thomas Wilson	Northampton	Murder
1774	April 30	Richard Burch	Philadelphia	Burglary
1774	April 30	Joseph Price	Philadelphia	Burglary
1774	April 30	Thomas Stephens	Philadelphia	Burglary
1774	April 30	James Swain	Philadelphia	Burglary
1774	April 30	"Mulatto" Elizabeth	Philadelphia	Murder
1774	April 30	Bernard Repton	Philadelphia	Counterfeiting
1774	July 16	James Anderson	Cumberland	Murder
1774	July 16	Peter Gillespie	Cumberland	Murder
1775	June 3	John McAllister	Philadelphia	Counterfeiting
1775	June 3	Alexander Stewart	Philadelphia	Counterfeiting
1775	Sept. 30	James Willis	Chester	Murder

## II REVOLUTIONARY WAR PERIOD

### SPIES, DESERTERS, TRAITORS & ORDINARY CRIMINALS

#### 102 Executions

1777	March 8	Brint Debedee	Phila.	Desertion to the Enemy
1777	March 31	James Molessworth	Philadelphia	Spying
1778	May 27	Joseph Bone	York	Felony & Burglary
1778	August 14	George Spangler	Philadelphia	Spying
1778	Sept. 2	Lieut. Samuel Ford	Philadelphia	Desertion to the Enemy
1778	Sept. 2	Lieut. Samuel Lyons	Philadelphia	Desertion to the Enemy
1778	Sept. 4	Patrick McMullen	Philadelphia	Desertion to the Enemy
1778	Sept. 26	James Fitzpatrick	Chester	Larceny & Burglary
1778	November 4	Abraham Carlisle	Phila.	Treason—"Aiding the Enemy"
1778	November 4	John Roberts	Phila.	Treason—"Aiding the Enemy"
1778	December 5	Abijah Wright	Phila.	Felony & Burglary
1778	December 19	John Beard	Philadelphia	Robbery
1778	December 19	James O'Brien	Philadelphia	Robbery
1779	June 5	Thomas Crouch	Berks	Felony & Burglary
1779	June 5	Catherine Fisher	Lancaster	Murder
1779	June 5	Thomas Taylor	Lancaster	Felony & Robbery
1779	June 12	Patrick Drogan	Northampton	Murder
1779	June 12	William McCoy	Northampton	Murder
1779	June 12	Dan'l. Monaghan	Northampton	Murder
1779	October 23	Dennis Dunn	Lancaster	Burglary & Larceny
1779	December 8	James Boyd	Philadelphia	Highway Robbery
1779	December 8	George Fletzer	Philadelphia	Murder
1779	December 8	Nathaniel Patton	Philadelphia	Passing Counterfeit Money
1779	December 8	Henry Trout	Philadelphia	Uttering & Counterfeiting
1779	December 11	Thomas Madden	Philadelphia	Highway Robbery
1779	December 11	Christopher Shocky	Philadelphia	Uttering Counterfeit Coin
1780	May 6	Denis Carraghan	Philadelphia	Burglary
1780	May 6	Marmaduke Grant	Philadelphia	Burglary
1780	May 6	John Hill	Philadelphia	Burglary
1780	May 6	John Jones	Philadelphia	Burglary
1780	May 20	Joseph Bates	Chester	Burglary
1780	June 17	Benjamin Nugent	Cumberland	Highway Robbery
1780	June 17	James Nugent	Cumberland	Highway Robbery
1780	June 17	James Roberts	Cumberland	Passing Counterfeit Money
1780	July 1	John Smith	Chester	Murder
1780	July 1	Robert Smith	Chester	Murder
1780	July 7	"Negro" Sucky	Cumberland	Arson
1780	Nov. 25	Richard Chamberlain	Phila.	Passing Counterfeit Money
1780	Nov. 25	David Dawson	Philadelphia	Treason
1780	Nov. 25	Ralph Morden	Northampton	Treason
1780	Nov. 29	James Sutton	Philadelphia	Piracy
1781	May 26	James Byrnes	Philadelphia	Burglary
1781	May 26	John Dobbins	Philadelphia	Burglary
1781	May 26	Thomas McGee	Philadelphia	Burglary
1781	July 7	John Perry	Cumberland	Burglary
1781	November 13	John Moody	Philadelphia	Spying
1781	November 24	James Cannon	Philadelphia	Robbery
1781	November 24	James Green	Philadelphia	Robbery
1781	December 15	"Negro" York	Lancaster	Rape
1782	June 29	Walter Butler	Northampton	Murder
1782	June 29	Charles Workeiser	Northampton	Murder

1782	October 12	"Negro" Peter	Philadelphia		Murder
1782	October 17	John Tomlinson	Bucks		Felony
1783	February 15	Samuel Freeman	Philadelphia		Not Stated
1783	February 15	Kemble Stackhouse	Philadelphia		Not Stated
1783	February 15	Lot Subzey	Philadelphia		Not Stated
1783	June 21	William Bibb	York		Murder
1783	June 21	Thomas Hiler	York		Murder
1783	October 25	Pietro Giacobba	Philadelphia		Murder
1783	October 25	Francesca Mesca	Philadelphia		Murder
1783	Ex. Uncertain	Matteo Bratelli	Philadelphia		Murder
1783	November 1	John Connor	Philadelphia	Highway	Robbery
1783	November 1	James Jones	Philadelphia		Burglary
1783	November 1	James McGraw	Philadelphia		Burglary
1784	July 17	William Welsh	Berks		Robbery
1784	July 17	George Scheffer	Berks		Burglary
1784	July 17	Anthony Wilt	York		Burglary
1784	July 17	John Downie	Philadelphia	Street	Robbery
1784	July 17	John Martin	Philadelphia	Street	Robbery
1784	October 2	Thomas Richardson	Washington		Burglary
1784	October 16	Peter Brown	Philadelphia	Highway	Robbery
1784	October 16	George Crowder	Philadelphia	Highway	Robbery
1784	October 16	Richard Williams	Philadelphia	Highway	Robbery
1784	October 16	James Burke	Philadelphia		Murder
1784	November 2	John Benson	Chester		Burglary
1784	November 2	Joseph Chalk	Chester		Burglary
1784	November 2	John McDunnell	Chester		Burglary
1785	May 7	Andrew Le Blanc	Philadelphia		Robbery
1785	May 7	Samuel Preston	Philadelphia		Robbery
1785	November 9	John McDonald	Bucks		Murder
1785	Dec. 20	Joseph Ross	Westmoreland		Buggery
1785	Dec. 20	Indian Mamachtaga	Westmoreland		Murder
1786	January 3	Elizabeth Wilson	Chester		Infanticide
1786	May 3	John Hanna	Franklin		Murder
1786	May 3	Josiah Ramage	Franklin		Murder
1786	June	John McDonough	Chester		Rape
1787	May 12	Robert Elliott	Chester		Burglary
1787	June 9	Joseph Ramsey Warner	Cumberland		Murder
1788	March 3	John White	Philadelphia	Piracy &	Murder
1788	April 12	John Brown	Montgomery		Burglary
1788	July 8	"Negro" Jack Durham	Franklin		Rape
1788	July 8	Peter Nagle	Franklin	Uttering	Counterfeit Coin
1788	Sept. 24	Abraham Doan	Philadelphia		Outlawry
1788	Sept. 24	Levi Doan	Philadelphia		Outlawry
1789	March 21	Charles Reid	Philadelphia		Murder
1789	July 29	William Cole	Philadelphia		Robbery
1789	October 12	John Burnett	Philadelphia	Robbery &	Murder
1789	October 12	Francis Burns	Philadelphia	Robbery &	Murder
1789	October 12	George Cronen	Philadelphia	Robbery &	Murder
1789	October 12	John Ferguson	Philadelphia	Robbery &	Murder
1789	October 12	John Logan	Philadelphia	Robbery &	Murder
1790	Dec. 20	Joseph Edward Jones	Northumberland		Murder

### III PERIOD OF THE FOUNDING OF THE COMMONWEALTH TO THE ABOLITION OF PUBLIC EXECUTIONS 1790-1834

#### 56 Executions

1791	January 29	William Gillespie	Delaware	Murder
1792	October 13	Samuel Peeves	Berks	Rape
1792	Nov. 17	William Armstrong	Northumberland	Rape
1793	January 26	Thomas Dunning	Allegheny	Murder
1794	January 18	"Negro" George	Franklin	Rape
1795	March 7	John McFall	Fayette	Murder
1795	Oct. 10	Cyriacus Spangenberg	Bedford	Murder
1795	Oct. 25	"Negro" Bob	Northampton	Murder
1798	January 6	Benjamin Bailey	Berks	Murder
1798	July 14	John Hauer	Dauphin	Murder
1798	July 14	Charles McManus	Dauphin	Murder
1799	Oct. 30	Sarah Clark	Cumberland	Murder
1800	May 9	Joseph Baker	Philadelphia	Piracy
1800	May 9	Joseph Berouse	Philadelphia	Piracy
1800	May 9	Peter Le Croix	Philadelphia	Piracy
1801	June 25	Martin Toomey	Bedford	Murder
1801	July 18	"Negress" Chloe	Cumberland	Murder
1802	Dec. 13	"Negro" Dan Byers	Centre	Murder
1805	Aug. 1	"Black" Hannah Miller	Chester	Infanticide
1805	Sept. 19	Charles Cunningham	York	Murder
1806	Dec. 29	James Magowan	Dauphin	Murder
1807	January 10	James Jamison	Dauphin	Murder
1807	April 11	Noel Hugues alias Hugas	Somerset	Murder
1807	Dec. 22	John McKean	Franklin	Murder
1808	February 8	Edward Donnelly	Cumberland	Murder
1808	March 11	John Joyce	Philadelphia	Assault & Murder
1808	March 11	Peter Matthias	Philadelphia	Assault & Murder
1809	February 25	Peter Allen	Wayne	Murder
1809	May 27	John Charles	York	Murder
1809	May 27	Elizabeth Moore	York	Murder
1809	June 10	Susannah Cox	Berks	Infanticide
1813	January 30	John Schildt	Berks	Murder
1816	August 10	Lieut. Richard Smyth	Philadelphia	Murder
1817	July 26	George Speth Van Holland	Crawford	Murder
1817	Nov. 15	Cornelius Jones	Wayne	Murder
1818	January 3	James Hunter	Adams	Murder
1818	March 25	John Tiernan	Allegheny	Murder
1818	June 6	John Craig	Delaware	Murder
1818	August 8	James London	Dauphin	Murder
1819	January 23	James Monks	Centre	Murder
1822	October 25	John Lechler	Lancaster	Murder
1822	November 1	David Lamphier	Crawford	Murder
1823	February 7	William Gross	Philadelphia	Murder
1823	February 21	William Crawford	Washington	Murder
1824	February 4	Benjamin Stewart	Dauphin	Murder
1824	December 24	Michael Monroe	Delaware	Murder
1825	January 13	Jason Treadwell	Susquehanna	Murder
1827	February 9	James Quinn	Lebanon	Murder
1828	October 24	Freeman Marthers	Wayne	Murder
1828	November 21	Christian Sharp	Washington	Murder
1830	April 20	Joseph Evans	Westmoreland	Murder

*1830	July 2	James Porter	Philadelphia	Highway Robbery
1830	December 31	Edward Williams	Chester	Murder
1832	April 13	Daniel Schaeffer	Lancaster	Murder
1832	June 21	Mina, Lino Amelio	Bucks	Murder
1833	October 11	Charles Getter	Northampton	Murder

### ADDITIONAL EXECUTIONS

1812	December 15	John Rickey	Philadelphia	Desertion from the Army
1837	May 19	James Moran	Philadelphia	Piracy & Murder

Note: Rickey was shot at Ft. Mifflin, Philadelphia (but not publicly).

Moran was a federal offender who was publicly executed at Philadelphia after the Act of April 10, 1834 had gone into effect.

\* James Porter was a federal offender; his crime was robbery of the mail.

### \*DELAYS, PARDONS AND REPRIEVES OF PERSONS SENTENCED TO DEATH IN PENNSYLVANIA FROM 1682 TO 1834

Sources: Colonial Records to 1790; Governors' papers to 1834 and verified, where possible, by Pennsylvania Archives, Ninth Series.

Allen, George, New Castle, sentenced to death for "feloniously stealing a Gelding . . . property of Robert Wallace on September 18, 1770"; pardoned as "an act of Mercy"; CR IX, 698, November 7, 1770; for section on horse stealing (see p. 110).

Atkinson, Mahala, Fayette; sentenced August 3, 1811; murder, pardoned October 18; **Penna. Archives** Ninth Series, IV, 3054.

Barnes, Stephen, Philadelphia; crime not stated (with John Thomas Jones, also pardoned) CR V, 119, July 17, 1747; 125, October 16; 134, October 20; 268, June 3, 1748.

Bedloe, Harry (Negro slave of William Drury of Philadelphia) with Mulatto Daniel; Felony & Burglary; CR X, 93-4, September 18, 1773; pardoned "on this special condition, that they be transported and never return to the Province."

Bell, John, Washington; for murder of James Chalfant; convicted in December, 1793; pardoned March 27, 1794; **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, I, 742.

Benson, John, *alias* John Brinkloe, Philadelphia; convicted of Felony & Burglary on house of Lydia McCall, February 10, 1764 (with Handenreid - Autenreith - and Williams, both executed May 12); "to be taken to the gallows . . . with him not knowing he is to be reprieved at the Governor's pleasure"; CR IX, 172-3, April 27 and May 9 (see p. 89; fn. 14).

Bevan, Joseph, Philadelphia; arson; CR IV, 209, June 6, 1737.

Bower, Giles, *alias* Giles Powell, Carlisle, Cumberland County; Felony & Burglary in dwelling of Ludwig Stull on August 2, 1766; CR IX, 513, June 13, 1768.

Bradford, Isaac, Philadelphia; burglary; reprieved "under the gallows" on July 2, 1737; CR IV, 209, June 6; (see p. 89; fn. 14).

Brian, Mary, Philadelphia; Felony & Burglary, committed November 22, 1769 in home of Susannah Moffat; CR IX, 666, April 23, 1770; (**Pennsylvania Gazette**, May 10, 1770, bottom page 3)

Brock, William, *alias* William Smith, Philadelphia; burglary; CR XV, 164, February 18, 1787.

Brown, John, Philadelphia; burglary (sentence not stated) CR XIV, 234, October 18, 1784.

\*This list does not include those pardoned for treason. It is believed by the compiler that this list is not complete, especially concerning cases between 1790 and 1834. Total listed: 138.

- Bunting, Nathan, Bucks; arson (sentence not stated) CR XIV, 43, February 26, 1784.
- Carsan, Hamilton, Lancaster; burglary of home of Abram Graff; convicted October 28, 1752; CR V, 601; November 22.
- Cash, Martha, Philadelphia; burglary, with Margaret Ingram; "very penitent"; CR IV, 329, May 8, 1739.
- Christ, John, Philadelphia; burglary committed July 26, 1766 in "mansion house of Christ'n. Aenger"; (Scanlan and Ryall executed for this crime October 18) see *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 23 for story of their execution; Christ was 80 years of age; CR IX, 333, October 10.
- Christmas, a Negro slave; Newtown, Bucks County; burglary; petition from "Mr. Graydon" for mercy, provided he be transported; CR VIII, 58, March 27, 1758.
- Clifton, Alice, Philadelphia; infanticide; CR XV, 205, April 28, 1787; 207, May 2; 322, November 15.
- Cockley, Timothy, Lancaster; rape; CR XV, 31, June 5, 1786.
- Collinet, Lewis, Philadelphia; robbery (associates, Le Blanc and Preston executed May 5, 1785); CR XIV, 449, April 28, 1785.
- Connor, Catherine, alias Smith, Philadelphia; once reprieved for burglary — CR IV, 47, April 13, 14, 15, 1736 — and later executed, July 2 with Wildeman — CR IV 209, June 6; 224, June 24; pardoned first time because of pregnancy; (see ps. 94, 107; fn. 34).
- Corran, John, Philadelphia; burglary; CR IV, 31, June 5, 1786.
- Crow, John, Philadelphia; burglary (with John Morris, Francis McCoy and Elizabeth Robinson who were executed in February, 1750); CR V, 506, February 1.
- Daniel "Mulatto," slave of Isaac Snowden, Philadelphia; Felony & Burglary; see Bedloe item above.
- Delong, John, Northampton; for murder of his wife; pardoned August 14, 1792 for reason of "fits of lunacy"; *Penna Archives*, Ninth Series, I, 430, 435, 436.
- Dickson, Mary, Lancaster; Felony & Murder on Allan Regan, CR 745, July 1, 1772.
- Dickson, William, see item immediately above.
- Doan, Aaron, (Bucks County) and Philadelphia; CR XIV, 384, March 23, and 387, March 29, 1785; one of the Doan gang; see *The New Doane Book*, Doylestown, 1952 for copy of petition for reprieve, 1784, 376; was later reprieved "under the gallows at Newark, N.J., having been convicted of breaking open Hassel Patterson's house at Asquackanok"; *ibid*, 337. Abraham and Levi Doan (cousins) were executed in Philadelphia, September 24, 1788 for outlawry (see ps. 96, 97; fn. 41).
- Dorset, John, Philadelphia; no crime stated; also pardoned was Luz Subzey; co-defendants executed: Kemble Stackhouse, Lot Subzey and Samuel Freeman, alias Samuel Nurich on February 15, 1783; CR XIII, 527, March 7, and 571, May 3.
- Dryer, Jacob, Philadelphia; burglary; pardoned twice; first time providing he leave the United States which he failed to do; second appeal was made which was granted; CR XV, 164 (February 16, 1787); 165, February 19; 213, May 11; 310-11, November 2; 630, December 20, 1788; see also Scharf & Westcott, I, 444 for comment on this case; (see p. 90).
- Durll, ....., either Lancaster or York; murder; "A Soldier in the Royal American Regiment"; CR VIII, 336, May 24, 1759.
- Elliott, Robert, (also known as Robert Wilson); burglary; Chester; an unusual case with one pardon, many stays of execution and finally executed May 12, 1787; for first pardon see CR XIV, 568, 622, 624, 635 (November 1, 1785, January 12, 18, and February 7, 1786) "on condition he transport himself beyond the seas, not to return to the United States"; this he did not do and second pardon was refused; see Dryer case above; (see p. 135).

- Fisher, Henry, alias Weaver; York; Felony & Burglary in home of James McCaughy, Cumberland Township; CR IX, 549-50, October 6, 1768.
- Fitzgerald, Edward, place not stated; burglary; CR III, 591, April 29, 1735; (with Cornelius O'Brien); to go on Frigate Trumbull.
- Flanaghan, John, Philadelphia; robbery; pardoned with Henry McKeever to go on board the **Trumbull**; co-defendants executed; James Byrnes, John Dobbins and Thomas McGee on May 26, 1781; CR XII, 735, May 26; also 779, July 5; see also, Samuel Rowland Fisher's **Journal**, 143.
- Founder, Conrad, Philadelphia; burglary; CR X, 172, April 22, 1774.
- Francis, Thomas, New Castle; horse stealing; CR VII, 172, June 28, 1756 "no one heretofore condemned under the Law against horse stealing having suffered Death, the Council advised the Governor to issue a Warrant for his Execution in pursuance of his sentence; Mr. Benjamin Chew discovering Error in the Certificate of the record of conviction nothing certain was concluded as to the Execution." No further record; presumed pardoned (see p. 110).
- Francisco, Rachel, New Castle; Felony & Murder on her "Bastard Male Child"; CR IX, 384, April 25, 1767.
- Fryer, Thomas, Chester; rape on Jane Walker of Thornbury Township for which Patrick Kennedy was executed on May 2, 1772; others pardoned for the crime were Neil McCariher and James Lever (or Dever); CR X, 43-4, April 13, 1772; see also, Ashmead, **History of Delaware County**, 1884, 165.
- Gaffery, Cornelius, New Castle; "Altho' the judges and attorney general advised that the facts amounted only to manslaughter, the jury brought in a verdict of wilful murder. The record explains 'It appeared in a sudden heat and falling out between him and his wife, and before he could cool or the heat of passion abate, he gave her a kick or two which bruised her, and broke some inward blood vessel, so that she soon expired. It appeared they were in perfect love and harmony an hour before this falling out. He is a soldier and was sent to Wilmington into Winter Quarters; has long been in His Majesty's Service; they believe him to be a brave and may yet be a useful Soldier and Pray leave to Recommend him to His Honours Mercy.'" CR VII, 558, June 4, 1757.
- Galloway, Samuel, Kent County; burglary; CR IX, 626, October 28, 1769.
- Gilfroy, John, place not stated; "mutiny and desertion to the enemy"; boatswain of ship **Montgomery**; being found guilty at court martial held at Trenton; "this being the first conviction of an offense of this kind in the State Fleet"; CR XI, 541, July 25, 1778.
- Grant, Elizabeth, Philadelphia; Felony & Burglary of the home of John Plankinhorn; CR IX, 734-5, April 6, 1771.
- Grantshier, Anthony, Chester; burglary (sentence not stated); CR XIV, 116, May 21, 1784.
- Griddle, Daniel, Allegheny; murder (with James Honeyman) of Benjamin Askin; pardoned July 25, 1796 (of second degree murder), see **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, II, 1142.
- Grover, Mary, Lancaster; arson; sentence not stated; CA XIV, 43, February 26, 1784.
- Grover, Timothy, see item immediately above.
- Hall, Mary, Philadelphia; burglary — co-defendants, James Cannon and James Green, executed November 24, 1781 — also pardoned was James Jones; CR XIII, 116, November 16; also November 14, 20, 24, December 1; and 285, May 20, 1782.
- Hamilton, James, crime and place not stated; sentenced to death; CR X, 172, April 22, 1774.
- Harp, Peter, convicted of aiding Margaret Shitts in concealing birth, death and burial of her bastard child (place not stated); CR III, 429, May 15, 1732.
- Harrison, Humphrey, Philadelphia; burglary; convicted April 1773; CR X, 89, July 19, 1773.
- Heard, Richard, Bucks; felony; CR IV, 253, November 12, 1737.

- Hendricks, James, Chester; with Christian Nisewanger and Peter Sware; "Homicide by Chance Medley," CR III, 429, May 15, 1732; (for shooting, by misfortune, Albert Hendricks)
- Herbert, Morgan, Chester; murder with the Winter brothers who were executed in July, 1728; indicted July 3, 1728 for murder of Indian squaw; see CR III, 326-7, August 6.
- Hill, William, Chester; burglary; pardoned with Mary Woolvin (same time William Battin was sentenced to death, executed, August 15, 1722) CR III, 193, August 3.
- Honeyman, James, Allegheny; murder (with Daniel Griddle) of Benjamin Askin date of pardon not known; see **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, I, 697, December 20, 1793; and II, 924, January 1795 (may have been second degree murder)
- Hunt, Martha, wife of Edward Hunt executed at Philadelphia November 19, 1720; both sentenced to death for "treason" but actually for counterfeiting; see **Watson's Annals**, I, 306; Martha apparently reprieved and fined 500 pounds (See Scharf & Westcott, I, 201 n., for the Hunt case) CR III, 109. In 1724 a Martha Hunt was condemned to life imprisonment but was pardoned; CR III, 244, March 13, 1724/5.
- Huson, Ann, Philadelphia; robbery of the "Widow Green" (**American Weekly Mercury**, Philadelphia, November 17, 1720) CR III, 109, November 5, 1720; "her behavior shows her to be a very weak and ignorant woman."
- Ingram, Margaret, Philadelphia; burglary; "very aged" with Martha Cash; CR IV, 329, May 8, 1739.
- Jegler, Charles, alias Seigler, Philadelphia; "for murder of his servant maid, Rosina Holderwinger by Poison"; CR VII, 388, January 13, 1757; 398, January 25, 1757.
- Jones, James (or Gillmore), Philadelphia; robbery; to be executed November 24, 1781 with Mary Hall, James Cannon, and James Green (Mary Hall reprieved, see Hall item above); rejected CR XIII, 120-2, November 20 and then finally reprieved December 1, 1781 for 15 days; no further notice, CR XIII, 135.
- Jones, John, Chester; Felony & Burglary; pardoned on condition "he be transported never to return"; CR X, 94, September 18, 1773.
- Jones, John, place not stated; burglary (with Montgomery) pardoned "to go on frigate **Saratoga**"; CR XII, 333, April 29, 1780; and 427, July 19.
- Jones, John Thomas, Philadelphia; crime not stated; (with Stephen Barnes); see Barnes item above.
- Keck, Henry; Luzerne; death warrant issued October 5, 1829; pardoned; Source B; also, **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, IX, 7048 (October 28) a stay of execution ordered; presumed pardoned but date not ascertained.
- Keener, John, New Castle; Felony & Burglary; CR X, 61, November 23, 1772.
- Keener, Michael, Lancaster; Felony & Burglary; CR IX, 244, February 9, 1765.
- Kirchin, Margaretta Catherine, Lancaster; murder of her "Bastard Child"; 17 years of age; CR VIII, 336, May 24, 1759.
- Lawrence, Lieut. John, probably Philadelphia; desertion, with Lieuts. Samuel Ford and Samuel Lyons who were executed September 2, 1778 (see also case of Joseph Wilson, *infra*) see **Pennsylvania Evening Post**, Philadelphia, August 28; also for September 2; and Scharf & Westcott, I, 394; CR XI, 565, September 1, 1778; (see p. 104).
- Lever (or Dever), James, Chester; rape on Jane Walker of Thornbury Township, November 30, 1771; see also, items of Fryer and McCariher; Patrick Kennedy was executed for this offense on May 2, 1772; CR X, 43-4, April 13, 1772.
- Lewis, Hannah, Lancaster; sentenced January 31, 1827; murder; pardoned February 1, 1828; **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, IX, 6722.
- Magery, Michael, Philadelphia; Felony & Burglary (with McFetridge) CR X, 61, November 23, 1771.



- Martin, Barrick (or Barik), Negro; Philadelphia; arson; CR XV, 205, April 28, 1787 (see also 213) "on condition he depart this state forthright, and not return"; first client, Phila. Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons (Penna. Prison Society); see Negley K. Teeters, *They Were In Prison*, Winston, 1937, 4, 19n.
- Martin, Mary, Allegheny; sentenced April 21, 1826; murder; pardoned April 16, 1827; *Penna. Archives*, Ninth Series, IX, 6614.
- Matthews, Hugh, York; sentenced to death for felonious assault on John Carnahan; postponed; CR, V, 602, November 22, 1752.
- Matthews, Margaret, Cumberland; arson; with "Negro" Sucky (female) who was executed July 7, 1780; CR XII, 377, June 5, 1780.
- McAlpine, James, alias James Thompson; Philadelphia; piracy; with John White, alias Tracy, who was executed March 3, 1788; CR XV, 402, March 3, 1788; 417, March 21; 423-4, April 2.
- McCarther, Neil (could be McCarther), Chester; rape on Jane Walker; see Frye item above.
- McCully, Thomas, possibly Philadelphia; burglary; CR XII, 730, May 17, 1781.
- McFetridge, Thomas, Philadelphia; Felony & Burglary; with Magery; CR X, 61, November 23, 1771.
- McKeever, Henry, Philadelphia; burglary with Dobbins, Burns, McGee, and Flanagan; he and Flanagan reprieved to go on board the frigate *Trumbull*; others executed May 26, 1781; CR XII, 735, May 26; see also, *Fisher's Journal*, 143.
- McNealy, Arthur, Philadelphia; murder of his wife, April 10, 1767; CR IX, 387, May 11.
- Mitchel, James, Philadelphia; (with Sprouse), as Watson (John) states: "reprieved under the gallows"; burglary; CR III, 372, January 8, 1729/30; see Watson's *Annals*, I, 309 (Elijah Thomas edition, 1857).
- Mitchell, Ann, place not stated; burglary; CR III, 240, October 15, 1724.
- Montgomery, George, crime not stated; place not stated; pardoned "to go on frigate *Saratoga*"; CR XII, 329, April 24; 339, May 6; 427, July 19, 1780.
- Moode, Jacob, Allegheny; murder (with Daniel Griddle) of Daniel Murray; death warrant issued and finally pardoned providing he leave the state; pardoned February 16, 1795; for entries see *Penna. Archives*, Ninth Series, II, 808, 928, 934 (an error appears on 808 designating Washington County instead of Allegheny).
- Mooney, John, Lancaster; convicted May 12, 1788; CR, XV, 464, May 29.
- "Negro" Will, Philadelphia, slave of Luke Morris; Felony & Burglary committed March 1, 1770 of Mansion House of Thomas Lee; CR IX, 699, November 7.
- Nisewanger, Christian, no domicile stated; with Hendricks and Sware — "Homicide by Chance Medley"; see Hendricks item above.
- O'Brien, Cornelius, place not stated; with Fitzgerald; burglary; CR III, 591, April 29, 1735.
- O'Hare, Owen, warrant issued December 14, 1797; murder; recommended by the Bd. of Inspectors of Walnut St. Jail for pardon — see Teeters, *The Cradle of the Penitentiary*, 1955, 53; governor refused: many reprieves—see *Penna. Archives*, Ninth Series, II, 1327, 1330, 1421, and 1478; On January 25, 1799 (1478) Gov. Mifflin reprieved him again "until the last Saturday in 1800"; no further mention, presumed pardoned.
- Paxson, James, Cumberland; crime not stated; with Jeremiah Sturgeon; CR XIII, 595, June 9, 1783.
- Peadley, Thomas, York Town; felony; convicted October 11, 1779; CR XII, 178, November 23, 1779.
- Quashy "Negro," Philadelphia; property of Robert Grace; crime not stated but was sentenced to death; with Toney; known as the "Two Slaves" case; CR II, 405, February 25, 1707; "owners petitioned their chattels' lives be spared that they might be transported . . . and that they have the

liberty to inflict upon them such Corporal Punishment as may be requisite for a Terror to others of their Colour."

- Read, James, place not listed; counterfeiting; to serve on frigate but to be taken to gallows prior to reprieve; CR XII, 535, November 9, 1790.
- Reynolds, Catherine, Lancaster; for murder of her "Bastard Child"; "sundry favourable circumstances . . . a fit object of mercy"; CR V, 612, April 14, 1753.
- Richards, Henry, Lancaster; burglary; CR XV, 55, July 25, 1786.
- Richardson, William, Cumberland; crime not listed; CR XII, 375, June 5, 1780.
- Riegert, Henry, Lancaster; burglary; CR XV, 31, June 5, 1786.
- Rimby, Elizabeth, Chester; murder; death warrant issued September 3, 1806, pardoned September 18; Source A; also, *Penna. Archives*, Ninth Series, III, 2283.
- Rippy, Hugh, Cumberland; counterfeiting; CR X, 50, June 20, 1772.
- Rookin, John, Philadelphia; "horse stealing" (penalty not stated; may have been death); "pardoned to go on frigate **Trumbull**"; CR XII, 662, May 17; 779, July 5, 1781; no mention of sentence except "the execution of the sentence be respited until further order of the Board"; for others convicted of horse stealing see page 110.
- Samson (referred to as Unknown); Philadelphia; Negro; arson, in home of the President of the Council, James Logan; reprieved for master to take him out of the colony; CR IV, 243-4, September 3, 1737; 259, December 12.
- Scarlet, John, New Castle; "horse stealing"; convicted May 26, 1765 for stealing a "Mare from Caleb Perkins and on May 23, 1766 for stealing a Gelding belonging to William Shipley, the younger, and for said crimes received the sentence of death"; pardoned April 24, 1767; CR IX, 384; (see p. 110).
- Shaffer, John, place not stated; burglary; "to enlist in the services without bounty"; CR XII, 749, June 8, 1781.
- Shannon, John, York; Felony & burglary; in home of William Scott, Berwick Township; CR IX, 549-50, April 6, 1758.
- Sheball, John, no place listed; piracy; CR XIII, 373, September 18, 1782.
- Shirtliffe, Richard, Chester; rape; reprieved but not to be told until under the gallows"; with McDonough who was executed in June, 1786; CR XV, 31, June 5, 1786.
- Shitts, Margaret, place not stated; convicted of concealing the birth and burial of bastard child; with Peter Harp; CR III, 429, May 15, 1732.
- Short, Samuel, Philadelphia, Felony & Burglary; CR X, 256, May 18, and 258, June 2, 1775.
- Shrieve, Jesse, Chester; burglary; CR XIV, 104, May 3, 1784.
- Smith, David, Philadelphia; burglary at dwelling of William Kemble, November 10, 1767; CR IX, 510, May 6, 1768.
- Smith, James, Philadelphia; burglary; CR III, 370, October 4, 1729.
- Soames, Thomas, Bucks or Chester; burglary; CR III, 390, December 3, 1730; reprieved due to his youth but "should be sent out of this government."
- Spots, George, labourer; Philadelphia; Felony & Robbery; on April 2, 1771; CR IX, 778, October 5.
- Sprouse, James, with James Mitchel—mentioned by John F. Watson in his *Annals*, I, 309; CR III, January 8, 1729. 372; "he should suffer unless his Youth and Penitency should induce the Governor to extend his Compassion to him likewise"; see Mitchel item above.
- Steele, Robert, member of the Doane gang of Bucks county; burglary; sentenced to death but pardoned; CR XIV, 558, October 18, 1785; see *The New Doane Book*, Doylestown (Bucks County Historical Society) 1952, 451 which states that Steele was executed in Philadelphia; this is at variance with CR.
- Story, Robert, Cumberland; murder; convicted October 18, 1779; CR XII, November 23; also, 192, December 7 reprieved until March 1 as he had "discovered to the Gaoler a dangerous plot to escape"; no further mention is made of the case.

- Sturgeon, Jeremiah, Cumberland; crime not stated; CR XIII, 595, June 9, 1783 with James Paxson.
- Subzey, Luz, Philadelphia; crime not stated; executed for same offense were Lot Subzey, Samuel Freeman, alias Nurich, and Kemble Stackhouse, on February 15, 1783; also reprieved was John Dorset; CR XIII, 504, February 14; and 527, March 7, 1783.
- Sware, Peter, no domicile listed; with Hendricks and Nisewanger "Homicide by Chance Medley"; CR III, 429, May 15, 1732.
- Thomas, William, Berks; burglary; convicted November 19, 1774; CR X, 228, January 25, 1775.
- Toney "Negro," property of William Righton, Philadelphia; crime not stated; see Quashy item above.
- Underdown, Martha, place not stated; for murdering her "Bastard Child"; reprieved for 12 months; no further mention of case; CR III, 45, June 15, 1718.
- Ure (or Urie) Alexander, Philadelphia; "In an illegal manner lived with another Man's wife and the People frequently threw stones on his house top and that in the night time particular stones were thrown by McGinnis or his Company that very night and that Ure in a passion having his gun loaded with a ball fired at McGinnis in the dark and lodged the ball in his neck so that he died immediately." Respited for 15 days; later reprieved; CR V, 269, June 6, 1748; 274, June 10; 277, June 11; 293, June 23.
- Verner, Frederick, Philadelphia; spy (with George Spangler who was executed August 14, 1778); see Scharf & Westcott, I, 394; CR XI, 561, August 22, 1778; (see p. 104).
- Vicars, Jesse, place not stated but probably Bucks as he was a member of the Doan gang of Bucks county; burglary; CR XIII, 373, September 18, 1782; he and brother Solomon were pardoned because of their youth; see **The New Doane Book**, Doylestown, 1952, 195, 338-9.
- Vicars, Solomon, brother of Jesse; see item immediately above.
- Ward, Thomas, Chester; burglary; CR XIII, 595, June 9, 1783.
- Ward, William, Philadelphia; burglary with Michael and Patrick Burne who were executed December 6, 1747; "Council pleased he has enlisted"; CR V, 158, November 26, 1747; also 163, December 3; and 210, March 26, 1748; see **Pennsylvania Journal**, Philadelphia, December 10 for story of execution of the Burnes.
- Waugh, Patrick, Philadelphia; for murder of his wife; case postponed many times; CR XVI, 485, October 7, 1790; 497, October 23; 520, November 19; 536, December 11; 542, December 17; finally on January 22, 1791, Gov. Mifflin gave him a complete pardon; see **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, I, 20.
- Wilkinson, Thomas, Philadelphia; convicted of piracy April 23, 1781 to be executed May 23; also to be hanged in "irons"; pardoned; see CR XII, 730, May 23; 751, June 11; (see p. 90; fn. 16).
- Williams, Sarah, Cumberland; murder, with Joseph Ramsey Warner who was executed June 9, 1787; convicted at Carlisle May 14 or 22; CR XV, 217-8, May 23.
- Wilson, Lieut. Joseph (of galley **Ranger**) Philadelphia; desertion with Lieuts. Ford and Lyons who were executed September 2, 1778; and John Lawrence who was pardoned; see Lawrence item above; CR XI, 565, September 1, 1778 for Lyons and Ford; (see p. 104).
- Wood, John, probably Philadelphia; burglary; reprieved due to intercession of "friends from Burlington where he had formerly lived"; CR IV, 277, February 27, 1737/8.
- Woolvin, Mary, Chester; burglary with William Hill who was also pardoned; CR III, 193, August 3, 1722.
- Wright, William, Bucks; burglary at Newtown; CR X, 172, April 22, 1774.

Zimmerman, John, Schulykill; death warrant issued August 26, 1824; given several reprieves and finally pardoned, due to insanity; see **Penna. Archives**, Ninth Series, 6366, November 9, 1825 (respited at least until June 1, 1826); actual pardon date uncertain; murdered his 20-year-old daughter Rosina in Rush Township, November 17, 1823; she worked in a coal mine at Mauch Chunk, came home ill, was visited by "some Irishmen" against father's will; for this he killed her; first reprieve came after gallows was erected and crowd had assembled at Orwigsburg; this event is bitterly described by Edward Livingston (see *supra*, p. 112); was killed in prison (Schuylkill County jail) by a fellow prisoner—so reported in the **Pottsville Miners' Journal**, November 10, 1827; for story of crime and criminal's confession, see Source E, 26-32; also **West Chester Village Record**, November 24, 1824 which states that a Mr. Coleman of the **New York Evening Post** insisted that Zimmerman was insane "for no father, in his right mind, could deliberately take the life of an innocent child." Orwigsburg, at that time, was the county seat.

**PARDONS, REPRIEVES AND DELAYS, CHRONOLOGICAL,  
BY NAME, DATE OF PARDON, COUNTY AND OFFENSE**

1707	Negro Quashy	Feb. 25	Philadelphia	crime not stated
1707	Negro Toney	Feb. 25	Philadelphia	crime not stated
1718	Martha Underdown	June 15	place not stated	infanticide
1720	Ann Huson	Nov. 5	Philadelphia	burglary
1/1720	Martha Hunt	Nov. 5,9	Philadelphia	counterfeiting
1722	Mary Woolvin	Aug. 3	Chester	burglary
1722	William Hill	Aug. 3	Chester	burglary
1724	Ann Mitchell	Oct. 15	place not stated	burglary
1728	Morgan Herbert	July 3	Chester	murder
1729	James Mitchel	Jan. 8	Philadelphia	burglary
1729	James Sprouse	Jan. 8	Philadelphia	burglary
1729	James Smith	Oct. 4	Philadelphia	burglary
1730	Thomas Soames	Dec. 3	Bucks or Chester	burglary
2/1732	Peter Harp	May 15	place not stated	(see next item)
2/1732	Margaret Shitts	May 15	place not stated	infanticide
3/1732	James Hendricks	May 15	Chester	homicide
3/1732	Christian Nisewanger	May 15	Chester	homicide
3/1732	Peter Sware	May 15	Chester	homicide
1735	Edward Fitzgerald	April 29	place not stated	burglary
1735	Cornelius O'Brien	April 29	place not stated	burglary
4/1736	Catherine Connor	April 15	Philadelphia	burglary
1737	John Wood	Feb. 27	Philadelphia	burglary
1737	Joseph Bevan	June 6	Philadelphia	arson
1737	Isaac Bradford	June 6	Philadelphia	burglary
1737	Samson	Sept. 3	Philadelphia	arson
1737	Richard Heard	Nov. 12	Bucks	"for a felony"
1739	Martha Cash	May 8	Philadelphia	burglary
1739	Margaret Ingram	May 8	Philadelphia	burglary
1748	William Ward	March 26	Philadelphia	burglary
1748	Stephen Barnes	June 3	Philadelphia	crime not stated
1748	John Thomas Jones	June 3	Philadelphia	crime not stated
1748	Alexander Urie	June 6	Philadelphia	murder
1750	John Crow	Feb. 1	Philadelphia	burglary
1750	—Durl	May 24	Lancaster-York	murder
1752	Hamilton Carsan	Nov. 22	Lancaster	burglary
1752	Hugh Matthews	Nov. 22	York	felonious assault
1753	Catherine Reynolds	May 21	York	infanticide
1757	Charles Jegler			
	alias Seigler	Jan. 25	Philadelphia	murder
1757	Cornelius Gaffery	June 4	New Castle	"wilful murder"

1758	Christmas, Negro slave	March 27	Newtown, Bucks	burglary
1758	John Shannon	April 6	York	felony and burglary
1759	Margaretta Kirchen	May 24	Lancaster	infanticide
1764	John Brinkloe alias Benson	May 9	Philadelphia	felony and burglary
1765	Michael Keener	Feb. 9	Lancaster	felony and burglary
5/1765	Thomas Francis	June 28	New Castle (Del.)	"horse stealing"
1/	Martha Hunt, convicted of "treason" but actually for counterfeiting.			
2/	Peter Harp, convicted of assisting Margaret Shitts in burying her "Bastard Child."			
3/	Hendricks, Nisewanger and Sware: convicted of "Homicide by Chance Medley."			
4/	Catherine Connor, executed on July 2, 1737 for a subsequent burglary.			
5/	See section on "Horse Stealing" in paper, page 109, 110.			
5/1766	John Scarlet	Oct. 7	New Castle	"horse stealing"
1766	John Christ	Oct. 10	Philadelphia	burglary
1767	Rachel Francisco	April 4	New Castle	infanticide
1767	Arthur McNeally	May 11	Philadelphia	murder
1768	David Smith	May 6	Philadelphia	burglary
1768	Giles Bower, alias Powell	June 13	Cumberland	burglary
1768	Henry Fisher, alias Weaver	Oct. 6	York	felony & burglary
1769	Samuel Galloway	Oct. 28	Kent County	burglary
1770	Mary Brian	April 23	Philadelphia	felony & burglary
1770	Negro Will	Nov. 7	Philadelphia	felony & burglary
5/1770	George Allen	Nov. 7	New Castle	"horse stealing"
1771	Elizabeth Grant	April 6	Philadelphia	felony & burglary
1771	George Spots	Oct. 5	Philadelphia	felony & burglary
1771	Michael Magery	Nov. 23	Philadelphia	felony & burglary
1771	Thomas McFetridge	Nov. 23	Philadelphia	felony & burglary
1772	Thomas Fryer	April 13	Chester	rape
1772	James Lever	April 13	Chester	rape
1772	Neal McCariher	April 13	Chester	rape
1772	Hugh Rippy	June 20	Cumberland	counterfeiting
1772	Mary Dickson	July 1	Lancaster	felony & murder
1772	William Dickson	July 1	Lancaster	felony & murder
1772	John Keener	Nov. 23	New Castle	felony & burglary
1773	Humphrey Harrison	July 19	Philadelphia	burglary
1773	Harry Bedloe (Negro)	Sept. 18	Philadelphia	felony & burglary
1773	Mul-tto Daniel (with Bedloe)	Sept. 18	Philadelphia	felony & burglary
1773	John Jones	Sept. 18	Chester	felony & burglary
1774	Conrad Founder	April 22	Philadelphia	burglary
1774	James Hamilton	April 22	place not stated	crime not stated
1774	William Wright	April 22	Bucks (Newtown)	burglary
1775	Samuel Short	June 2	Philadelphia	felony & burglary
1775	William Thomas	Jan. 25	Berks	burglary
1778	John Gilfroy	July 25	Philadelphia	"mutiny & desertion"
1778	Frederick Verner	Aug. 22	Philadelphia	for spying
1778	Lieut. Joseph Wilson	Sept. 1	Philadelphia	desertion to enemy
1778	Lieut. John Lawrence	Sept. 1	Philadelphia	desertion to enemy
1779	Robert Story	Oct. 18	Cumberland	murder
1779	Thomas Peadley	Nov. 23	York (Town)	felony
1780	Margaret Matthews	June 5	Cumberland	arson
1780	William Richardson	June 5	Cumberland	crime not stated
1780	John Jones	July 19	place not stated	burglary

1780	George Montgomery	July 19	place not stated	crime not stated
1780	James Read	Nov. 9	place not stated	counterfeiting
1781	Thomas McCully	May 17	Philadelphia	burglary
1781	Thomas Wilkinson	June 11	Philadelphia	piracy
1781	John Flanagan	May 26	Philadelphia	robbery
1781	Henry McKeever	May 26	Philadelphia	robbery
1781	John Shaffer	June 8	place not stated	burglary
5/1781	John Rookin	July 5	Philadelphia	"horse stealing"
1781	Mary Hall	Dec. 1	Philadelphia	robbery
1781	James Jones (Gillmore)	Dec. 1	Philadelphia	robbery
1782	John Sheball	Sept. 18	place not listed	piracy
6/1782	Jesse Vicars	Sept. 18	possibly Bucks	burglary
6/1782	Solomon Vicars	Sept. 18	possibly Bucks	burglary
1783	Luz Subzey	March 7	Philadelphia	crime not stated
1783	John Dorset	March 7	Philadelphia	crime not stated
1783	James Paxson	June 9	Cumberland	crime not stated
1783	Jeremiah Sturgeon	June 9	Cumberland	crime not stated
1783	Thomas Ward	June 9	Chester	burglary

5/ See section on "horse stealing" in preceding pages 109, 110.

6/ Members of Doan gang of Bucks County.

1784	Nathan Bunting	Feb. 26	Bucks	arson
1784	Mary Grover	Feb. 26	Lancaster	arson
1784	Timothy Grover	Feb. 26	Lancaster	arson
1784	Jesse Shrieve	May 3	Chester	burglary
1784	Anthony Grantshier	May 21	Chester	burglary
1784	John Brown	Oct. 18	Philadelphia	burglary
6/1785	Aaron Doan	March 29	Bucks	outlawry
1785	Lewis Collinet	April 28	Philadelphia	robbery
6/1785	Robert Steele	Oct. 18	Bucks	burglary
7/1785	Robert Elliott (Wilson)	Nov. 1	Chester	burglary
1786	Richard Shirliffe	June 5	Chester	rape
1786	Henry Reigert	June 5	Lancaster	burglary
1786	John Corren	June 5	Philadelphia	burglary
1786	Timothy Cockley	June 5	Lancaster	rape
1786	Henry Richards	July 25	Lancaster	burglary
8/1787	Jacob Dryer (see below)	Feb. & May	Philadelphia	burglary
1787	William Brock alias Smith	Feb. 17	Philadelphia	burglary
9/1787	Barrak Martin	April 28	Philadelphia	arson
1787	Alice Clifton	Nov. 15	Philadelphia	infanticide
1787	Sarah Williams	May 14-22	Cumberland	murder
1788	James McAlpine alias Thompson	April 2	Philadelphia	piracy
1788	John Mooney	May 29	Lancaster	buggery
1788	Jacob Dryer (mentioned above)	Dec. 20	Philadelphia	burglary
1791	Patrick Waugh	Jan. 22	Philadelphia	murder
1792	John Delong	August 14	Northampton	murder
1794	John Bell	March 27	Washington	murder
10/1795	James Honeyman	uncertain	Allegheny	murder
1795	Jacob Moode	Feb. 16	Allegheny	murder
10/1796	Daniel Griddle	July 25	Allegheny	murder
11/1800	Owen O'Hare	date not certain	Philadelphia	murder
1806	Elizabeth Rimby	Sept. 18	Chester	murder
1811	Mahala Atkinson	Oct. 18	Fayette	murder
1826	John Zimmerman	not certain	Schuylkill	murder

1827	Mary Martin	April 16	Allegheny	murder
1828	Hannah Lewis	Feb. 1	Lancaster	murder
1829	Henry Keck	date not certain	Luzerne	murder

- 6/ Members of the Doan gang of Bucks County.  
7/ Was pardoned November 1, 1785; a second pardon was denied so he was executed May 12, 1787. He is listed in our executions.  
8/ Was pardoned twice.  
9/ The first client of the **Pennsylvania Prison Society** (see Martin item)  
10/ Honeyman and Griddle were co-defendants in a murder case; Griddle was definitely pardoned although his sentence was not death; Honeyman's sentence is not known and his fate obscure; his pardon is presumptive only, although there is no record of his execution.  
11/ O'Hare was convicted for the murder of Andrew Aitken.

## OFFENSES FOR WHICH PARDONS OR REPRIEVES WERE GRANTED

*Burglary	43	Counterfeiting	3
Felony & Burglary	15	Felony	2
Murder	20	Robbery	5
Felony & Murder	2	Piracy	3
Wilful Murder	1	Outlawry	1
Felonious Assault	1	Horse Stealing	4
Infanticide	6	Buggery	1
Assisting in Infanticide	1	Mutiny & Desertion	1
Homicide	3	Desertion to Enemy	2
Rape	5	Spying (for Enemy)	1
Arson	7	Crime Not Stated	11
		Total	138

### INFANTICIDE

EXECUTED		PARDONED	
1759	Elizabeth Graul	Berks	1718 Martha Underdown home unlisted
1765	Jane Ewing	Chester	1732 Margaret Shitts home unlisted
1765	Elizabeth Erwin	York	1753 Catherine Reynolds York
1767	Catherine Krebs	Berks	1759 Margaretta Kirchen Lancaster
1786	Elizabeth Wilson	Chester	1767 Rachel Francisco New Castle
1805	Hannah Miller	Chester	1787 Alice Clifton Philadelphia
1809	Susannah Cox	Berks	

### RAPE

**1772	(Patrick Kennedy)	Chester	**1772	(Thomas Fryer)	Chester
1781	"Negro" York	Lancaster	**1772	(James Lever or Dever)	Chester
1786	John McDonough	Chester	**1772	(Neal McCariher)	Chester
1788	"Negro" Jack Durham	Franklin	1786	Richard Shirliff	Chester
1792	Samuel Peeves	Berks	1786	Timothy Cockley	Lancaster
1792	William Armstrong	Northumberland			
1794	"Negro" George	Franklin			

### HORSE STEALING

(see pages 109-110 for discussion)

No case found in records that was actually executed	1765	Thomas Francis	New Castle
	1766	John Scarlet	New Castle
	1770	George Allen	New Castle
	1781	John Rookin	Philadelphia

## ARSON

1722	William Battin (Arson & Murder)	Chester	1737	Joseph Bevan	Philadelphia
			1737	Samson	Philadelphia
1781	"Negro" Sucky (a Female)	Cumberland	1780	Margaret Matthews (with "Negro" Sucky)	Cumberland
			1784	Nathan Bunting	Bucks
			1784	Mary Grover	Lancaster
			1784	Timothy Grover	Lancaster
			1787	Barak Martin	Philadelphia

\*Jacob Dryer, counted in the chronological list twice as he was twice pardoned, is listed here as for only one burglary.

\*\*All accessories in the same case.

[Editor's Note] Realizing the data presented herein may not be complete, Dr. Teeters welcomes additional material and corrections pertaining to this subject. The JOURNAL will have an addendum containing appropriate supplemental data in the next volume.

## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Negley K. Teeters holds the A.B. degree from Oberlin, M.A. and Ph.D. from the Ohio State University; is professor of sociology in the Department of Sociology & Anthropology at Temple University and was chairman from 1948 through 1956. He is the author of ten books dealing with crime and corrections, two of them widely used texts in criminology and delinquency; he is a former president of the Pennsylvania Prison Society, the oldest penal reform organization in the world (established in 1787), has been a member of the Commission on the Reform of the Penal Code of Pennsylvania (1946) and the Commission on Correctional Matters (1958). Dr. Teeters has an abiding interest in historical penology and this present study has grown out of this motivation. The titles of his books are: **THEY WERE IN PRISON** (a history of the Pennsylvania Prison Society); **NEW HORIZONS IN CRIMINOLOGY** (co-author, Harry Elmer Barnes) 1943, 1951, 1959; **WORLD PENAL SYSTEMS**; **PENOLOGY FROM PANAMA TO CAPE HORN**; **DELIBERATIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL PENAL & PENITENTIARY COMMISSION**; **THE CRADLE OF THE PENITENTIARY**; **THE WALNUT STREET JAIL**; **THE CHALLENGE OF DELINQUENCY** (co-author, John Otto Reine-mann); **THE PRISON AT PHILADELPHIA: CHERRY HILL** (co-author, John D. Shearer)

## COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

John Ward Willson Loose, Chairman

M. Luther Heisey

Burl Neff Osburn, Ph.D.

John Terry Zeller

George L. Heiges

Evelyn A. Benson

John W. Aungst, Jr.

H. Clifton Thorbahn

## EDITORIAL STAFF

John Ward Willson Loose

*Editor*

M. Luther Heisey

*Editor Emeritus*

Mrs. M. L. Heisey

*Indexer*

John W. Aungst, Jr.

*Associate Editor*

John Terry Zeller

*Assistant Editor*

Evelyn A. Benson

*Book Review Editor*