

THE CEREMONIAL MURDER OF CAPTIVES BY STATE AUTHORITY¹



"Denial is an integral part of atrocity, and it's a natural part after a society has committed genocide. First you kill, and then the memory of killing is killed."

— Iris Chang, author of *THE RAPE OF NANKING* (1997), when the Japanese translation of her work was canceled by Basic Books due to threats from Japan, on May 20, 1999.



"Historical amnesia has always been with us: we just keep forgetting we have it."

— Russell Shorto



The publication of Barry Kritzberg's article "A Pre-Civil War Struggle Against Capital Punishment: Charles Spear, Concord, and the Case of Washington Goode" in *The Concord Saunterer*² has caused us to review and re-evaluate the material upon the subject of the practice of the state execution of persons held in custody contained in the textspace of the "Stack of the Artist of Kouroo" project. In the 15 pages allowed for that scholarly article in that journal of the Thoreau Society, Inc., it was possible for the researcher, a teacher at Morgan Park Academy in Chicago, to consider fewer than 20 such incidents. We have turned up, however, by making a Boolean computer search of the textspace of this project, some 1,500 pages of material pertaining to several thousands of such incidents deemed to be pertinent: in other words, this new technological approach is currently offering to serious scholars approximately two orders of magnitude greater fullness of detail.

Imagine a town in the United States of America, the iconic emblem of which was a functioning gallows, a functioning gallows which it offered as its main exhibit in its primary edifice of town

1. A ritual of long standing in some savage venues. Other possible headings (beheadings?) for this file might be, depending mostly upon the level of tolerance you have for euphemism: "**Hanging**," "**Execution**," or, avert your eyes, "**Capital Punishment**." Appended is similar material on a closely related topic, political assassination.

2. Kritzberg, Barry. "A Pre-Civil War Struggle Against Capital Punishment: Charles Spear, Concord, and the Case of Washington Goode." *The Concord Saunterer*, new series 2:1 (Fall 1994), pages 103-18.



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government – not a mock-up of such a gallows, but the gallows itself, the very one that had been performing its intended function. A bloodthirsty and relentless and vindictive town this, surely! That town which for a very extended period did host precisely such an unnerving and nasty exhibit was the town of Concord, Massachusetts, now become a feelgood touristy place. Fortunately the town building and its ghastly exhibit was torched by an angry arsonist in 1849 (and, obviously, any community memory of this has by now been safely erased).

As an example of the fullness of detail which would have been appropriate, the published article has omitted to consider the impact which the execution in Concord of [Samuel Smith](#) must necessarily have had upon the mentality of an entire generation of its townspeople, its older cohort with the possible inclusion of [Henry David Thoreau](#)'s father [John Thoreau, Sr.](#), who had been an impressionable 12- year-old laddie at the time of occurrence of that turn-of-the-century public worship in the meeting house, succeeded by public parade through the town, succeeded by deadly public ceremony upon the Concord assembly-ground. If fully one out of every five citizens in Concord signed this 1849 petition against the execution of [Washington Goode](#) –which would be for any petition a truly phenomenal "coverage"– then Kritzberg has quite neglected some very significant questions:

- If, alone in the Emerson family in Concord, [Ellen Emerson](#) signed this petition, then why, oh why, did the parents of the Emerson family in Concord not sign this petition? Did they quite disagree with their daughter, and believe in the propriety of the state execution of persons held in custody – and if so, why has this never been an issue in Emerson studies?
- If every member of the Thoreau family in Concord signed this petition with the solitary exception of the head of that family, [John Thoreau, Sr.](#), then why, oh why, did the head of the Concord family in Concord not sign this petition? Was there a tension between this father and his son Henry, in such a regard, which we Thoreauvians should be studying – but are not studying?
- If, in that utterly sexist era, during which real males were presumed to be natural specialists in rationality, belligerence, and the use of deadly force while real females were presumed to be natural specialists in emotionality, nurturance, acceptance, and service and during which the great preponderance of opposition to the imposition of the "death penalty" was female, what were the implications for the *feminization* of such males as Thoreau who united with the females (such as his mother Cynthia, who had also witnessed that hanging of the house burglar in her impressionable girlhood) in such opposition?

Over and above that, in such published articles it is as if we Thoreauvians were for some reason interested in [Henry David Thoreau](#) as a person, but were as yet unaware that he had been either a writer or a public speaker, and as yet unaware that such a practice as the state execution of persons held in custody would have evoked in a person such as him nothing but

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horror and disgust. For the article in question has quite omitted to consider any of the numerous very significant instances in the writings and speeches of Thoreau, in which it is precisely the revolting imagery of [hanging](#) which the author had deployed for various literary purposes – and had always deployed in such a manner as to distance the reader from such a practice.



Frank Miller's "Sin City" Death Row Marv Deluxe Box Set by McFarlane Toys features Marv strapped to an electric chair. Flick the switch and watch Marv convulse and mutter the phrase "That the best you can do pansies?" as his eyes glow red. Death Row Marv requires 3 "AA" batteries (not included). Temporarily out of stock. We will not charge your credit card until further supplies of this product can be obtained.



October 22: I do not wish to kill or to be killed, but I can foresee circumstances in which both of these things would be by me unavoidable. In extremities I could even be killed.

This event advertises me that there is such a fact as death, – the possibility of a man's dying. It seems as if no man had ever died in America; for in order to die you must first have lived. I don't believe in the hearses and palls and funerals that they have had. There was no death in the case, because there had been no life; they merely rotted or sloughed off, pretty much as they had rotted or sloughed along. No temple's veil was rent, only a hole dug somewhere. The best of them fairly ran down like a clock. I hear a good many pretend that they are going to die; or that they have died, for aught I know. Nonsense! I'll defy them to do it. They haven't got life enough in them. They deliquesce like fungi, and keep a hundred eulogists mopping the spot where they left off. Only half a dozen or so have died since the world began. Memento mori! they don't understand that sublime sentence which some worthy got sculptured on his gravestone once. They've understood it in a groveling and sniveling sense. They've wholly forgotten how to die. Be sure you die. Finish your work. Know when to leave off. Men make a needless ado about taking lives, – [Capital Punishment](#). Where is there any life to take? You don't know what it means to let the dead bury the dead.



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Some time ago a Quaker with a concern visited our meeting. Her concern was to reason with those who favor capital punishment. I'm sorry to report that the reaction I had to her message was a bad one: it was that when capital punishment is favored with the privilege of having detractors such as this Quaker, it has no need of supporters. I will attempt to explain why I had that negative reaction to a decent person who was merely trying to reason with the people who favor capital punishment. I will attempt to explain why I recommend to the Quakers that, in publicity in regard to the killing of state prisoners, we ought to be referring to the sad case of Timothy McVeigh, to his cold-blooded taking of the lives of defenseless unsuspecting persons, and to the fact that he was supposing that he had legitimation. He had made himself that worst of all possible creatures, not a mere murderer but one who has murdered in cold blood. But then, when we took him bound and defenseless, from the cell in the federal penitentiary in Terre Haute, Indiana in which we had been holding him securely, and, considering that we have legitimation, in cold blood took from him his life, we thereby fully embraced and endorsed his own view in regard to the value and function of human existence!

Do we really need to go around telling cold-blooded killers "You're right"?

Our Quaker approach to the problem of "capital punishment" (putting that expression in scarequotes because actually it is nothing but a euphemism for cold-blooded serial gang murder) seems to me to be utterly wrongheaded. In trying to see the light in every person, we are trying to pretend that the people who are in favor of "capital punishment" aren't murderous – when indeed the problem is that they are murderous.

We can't win, in trying to reason with the murderous mentality, for the same reason that nobody has ever won an argument with an erection. People aren't murderous out of rational considerations just as they aren't randy out of rational considerations. Actually there are no legitimations for murderousness. The "rational legitimations" that we hear these people offering for their abstract murderousness are mere cover stories, attempts to distract us from the reality of who they are and what they are doing. The reason why we don't find these "rational legitimations" (such as the need to protect society) persuasive, is that actually this doesn't involve rationality. This supposed rationalism amounts to pretentiousness and it is a serious mistake to take such pretenses at face value.

Supposedly we Quakers, because we try to see the light in every person, are to be giving full faith and credit to absurd pretenses! To refuse to take someone at his or her word amounts to not trying to see their light? –Well, no.

We wonder why it is that we can't ever rationally convince these murderous people, like "W" for one famous example, that their murderousness is wicked. The reason is, murderousness isn't rational no matter what its pretenses.

As long as we try to reason with the irrational they will remain forever unconvinced, and they will go on murdering people serially. Their game is, they give the pretense of rational reasons, but this is merely their smoke and mirrors, mental magic, and the thing about such fog is, not matter how thick a fog is, you'll never actually be able to cut it with a knife. No, we must abandon our attempts to reason with the murderous



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because that amounts to playing **their** game **their** way, and it's a recipe for stalemate, stalemate being what they need because it allows them to keep on and on, killing after killing. What we need to do, rather than reason with them, is point directly at their murderousness. Focus their attention on the fact that the problem is: they have a need to kill people.

In order to be persuasive, we need a different tool than reason. Reason can't deal with smoke and mirrors. Smoke can only be blown away by puffs of mockery. Mirrors can only be turned around to face the other direction.

How about this?

"Oh, we know very well what your game is. You want to kill people. The death penalty gives you a chance to kill people without any personal risk or responsibility. You need this because you're such a coward. You can't afford to risk being caught at any more direct expression of your murderousness – you coward."

How about this?

"Oh, we know very well what your game is. You are personally terrified of dying, and whenever you kill someone else it makes you feel more in control of death. Then they're dead and you're still alive, so for awhile you can feel as if you're conquering death. An execution quiets those personal demons, at least for awhile. Then, like any other serial killer, the pressure will build in you – and you'll need to go do it again."

My kids had a comment, it was "duh." They said "duh" to me a lot, and what they meant when they said it was, more or less, "Dad, you have just said something that is so so obvious, I wonder why you even bothered to say it. Get a clue, we know all that already." I feel that this execution situation is a "duh logic" situation. If a person just don't get it, that murder is always murder, if a person just doesn't get it, that murdering people always increases the murder rate – then precisely what in the name of heaven is that person going to be able to understand?

Rationality has been around for a long time. Friend William Penn, for one fine example, several centuries ago described the absurdity of any project to make the world better through the doing of harm. Why are these people still so illogical, as to suppose that doing harm provides us with the path into a decent future? The clue I have is that it is simply that they relish the idea of being able to kill people and get away with it – it is that which renders them so utterly clueless.

Books have recently been being published, that are essentially lists of the executions. There is for instance a volume for New England, reciting the chronological details of how between 1623 and 1960 (the date of the most recent execution, as of this writing), Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont legally put to death more than 700 men and women (LEGAL EXECUTIONS IN NEW ENGLAND: A COMPREHENSIVE REFERENCE, 1623-1960 by Daniel Allen Hearn, ISBN 978-0-7864-3248-6).



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1,750 BCE

King Hammurabi ruled Babylon, expanding it deep into Mesopotamia and Assyria. His “Code” –the first known set of laws– made [capital punishment](#) the remedy for 25 distinct offenses.

READ THE FULL TEXT

(The ghost of this antique ruler cries out to us from the salted clays of the Middle East: “Hey, cut me some slack, you people who are living in the 21st Century CE, I’m in the 18th Century BCE here! Things are still kinda primitive! –What’s **your** freaking excuse?”)

1921 The covenant of God made with Abram, when he leaves Haran to go into Canaan, which begins the 430 years of sojourning.
1897 The cities of Sodom and Gomorrah are destroyed for their wickedness by fire from Heaven.
1856 The kingdom of Argos, in Greece, begins under Inachus.
1822 Memnon, the Egyptian, invents the letters.
1715 Prometheus first struck fire from flints.
1635 Joseph dies in Egypt, which concludes the book of Genesis, containing a period of 2369 years.
1574 Aaron born in Egypt: 1490, appointed by God first high priest of the Israelites.
1571 Moses, brother to Aaron, born in Egypt, and adopted by Pharaoh's daughter, who educates him in all the learning of the Egyptians.
1556 Cecrops brings a colony of Saïtes from Egypt into Attica, and begins the kingdom of Athens in Greece.
1546 Scamander comes from Crete into Phrygia, and begins the kingdom of Troy.
1493 Cadmus carried the Phœnician letters into Greece, and built the citadel at Thebes.
1491 Moses performs a number of miracles in Egypt, and departs from that kingdom, together with 600,000 Israelites, besides children: which completed the 430 years of sojourning. They miraculously pass through the Red Sea, and come to the desert of Sinai, where Moses receives from God, and delivers to the people, the Ten Commandments, and the other laws, and sets up the tabernacle, and in it the ark of the covenant.
1485 The first ship that appeared in Greece, was brought from Egypt by Danaus, who arrived at Rhodes, and brought with him his fifty daughters.
1453 The first Olympic games celebrated at Olympia, in Greece.
1452 The Pentateuch, or five first books of Moses, are written in the land of Moab, where he died the year following, aged 110.
1451 The Israelites, after sojourning in the wilderness forty years, are led under Joshua into the land of Canaan, where they fix themselves, after having subdued the natives: and the period of the sabbatical year commences.
1406 Iron is found in Greece from the accidental burning of the woods.
1198 The rape of Helen by Paris, which, in 1193, gave rise to the Trojan war, and siege of Troy by the Greeks, which continued ten years, when that city was taken and burnt.

Because [tuberculosis](#) can infect organs other than the lungs, paleopathologists have uncovered physical evidence of the infection as far back as 4,000 BCE. This oldest code of laws in the world contains references to a chronic affliction which is most probably this, as excerpts from a Babylonian invocation suggest:



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"Wicked consumption ... which never leaves a man ...
which cannot be induced to leave...."

"Bad consumption, which cannot be driven away, in the
name of Heaven be placated, in the name of Earth
I conjure thee."

CHANGE IS ETERNITY, STASIS A FIGMENT



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1,600 BCE

Knossos had been rebuilt within a century; a brilliant civilization was flourishing on Crete. The practice of [capital punishment](#), which dated back at the very least to the legal code of King Hammurabi of Babylon in the 18th Century BCE, would also be being made use of during this century by the Hittites.

THE FUTURE IS MOST READILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT





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621 BCE

The first [capital punishment](#) enactments of which we have written record date to the legal code of King Hammurabi of Babylon, in the 18th Century BCE, which had specified the penalty of death for 25 distinct offenses. This had been carried forward in the 14th Century BCE in the Hittite code of laws, which also made use of capital punishment. At this point, the legal code implemented by Draco for Athens specified that the penalty for nearly every offense, regardless of what it was, would be death (this was, to coin a phrase, Draconian).

THE FUTURE CAN BE EASILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT





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509 BCE

On the Capitol Hill of [Rome](#), dedication of the Temple of Jupiter. Traditional date for the founding of the Roman Republic (*Res Publica*), subsequent to the death of their Etruscan monarch Tarquinius Superbus. For the initial period, until 350 BCE, these Romans would be at war with adjacent tribes (Etruscans, Latins, Gauls, what have you) and there would be no hint that they were anything other than clueless.

The first [capital punishment](#) enactments of which we have written record date to the legal code of King Hammurabi of Babylon, in the 18th Century BCE, which had specified the penalty of death for 25 distinct offenses. This had been carried forward in the 14th Century BCE in the Hittite code of laws, which also made use of capital punishment, and in the 7th Century BCE, in the legal code implemented by Draco of Athens, which had specified that the penalty was to be the same, capital punishment, for any crime just about irregardless of what it was (this had been, of course, truly Draconian). In this century, the [Roman](#) Law of the Twelve Tablets would also be making use of death, which might be induced through crucifixion, through being burned alive, through being beaten, by drowning, or by means of impalement — whatever seemed most handy.

**YOU HAVE TO ACCEPT EITHER THE REALITY OF TIME OVER THAT OF
CHANGE, OR CHANGE OVER TIME — IT'S PARMENIDES, OR
HERACLITUS. I HAVE GONE WITH HERACLITUS.**

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399 BCE

The concept of “soul” or “incorporeal life-force” entered mainstream Hellenic thought. The development is attributed to the school of an Athenian philosopher named Aristokles, who was called [Plato](#), or “broad,” after the shoulders that he had developed as a wrestler in his youth.



[Plato](#) was not present at his master [Socrates](#) of Athens’s execution/suicide after condemnation in a public assembly, by the drinking of a potion of hemlock (*Conium maculatum*), pleading that at the time he was ill (if his non-eyewitness description of this death is accurate, it is the only time that ingesting such a potion has not caused nausea, contortions, and extreme retching before the onset of the described numbness). Afterward, according to Hermodorus, Plato fled to Megara with other associates of Socrates, where they became guests of an associate of Socrates named Euclid (this of course isn’t the Euclid who was a geometer in Alexandria). We lose track of Plato for about a dozen years, until he reaches the age of 40. Some allege that he went to [Egypt](#) and to Cyrene to visit the mathematician Theodorus. Some claim he went to Persia and Babylonia and got himself initiated into the Chaldean Mysteries. Some claim he got as far as India. (He did eventually make his way to Sicily to visit the Pythagoreans Philolaus and Eurytus, making friends with Archytas, a ruler.)

PLANTS

Famous Last Words:



"What school is more profitably instructive than the death-bed of the righteous, impressing the understanding with a convincing evidence, that they have not followed cunningly devised fables, but solid substantial truth."

— A COLLECTION OF MEMORIALS CONCERNING DIVERS DECEASED MINISTERS, Philadelphia, 1787



"The death bed scenes & observations even of the best & wisest afford but a sorry picture of our humanity. Some men endeavor to live a constrained life — to subject their whole lives to their will as he who said he might give a sign if he were conscious after his head was cut off — but he gave no sign Dwell as near as possible to the channel in which your life flows."

—Thoreau's JOURNAL, March 12, 1853

399 BCE	Socrates	drinking the hemlock	<i>"Crito, I owe a cock to Aesclepius."</i>
27 CE	Jesus	being crucified	<i>"It is finished."</i> [John 19:30]
1415	John Huss	being burned at the stake	<i>"O, holy simplicity!"</i>
May 30, 1431	Joan of Arc	being burned at the stake	<i>"Hold the cross high so I may see it through the flames."</i>
May 4, 1534	Father John Houghton	as he was being disemboweled	<i>"And what wilt thou do with my heart, O Christ?"</i>
July 6, 1535	Sir Thomas More	being beheaded	<i>"The King's good servant, but God's First."</i>
1536	Anne Boleyn	being beheaded	<i>"Oh God, have pity on my soul."</i>
February 18, 1546	Martin Luther	found on his chamber table	<i>"We are beggars: this is true."</i>
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... other famous last words ...			



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355 BCE

Xenophon, Greek general and historian, died. He had, like [Plato](#), been a disciple of Socrates. He had accompanied Cyrus the Younger against Artaxerxes II and, after Cyrus's death at Cunaxa in 401 BCE, had led his army of 10,000 Greek soldiers to the Black Sea, an expedition recorded in his *ANABASIS*. His other works include *HELLENICA*, a history of Greece, and the *MEMORABILIA*, *APOLOGY*, and *SYMPOSIUM*, which contain his recollections of Socrates.

At some point during his life, Xenophon had objected to the use of [torture](#) deaths for the nobility, singling out decapitation as the most appropriate fate for errant Greek nobles ([Romans](#) also would reserve *capitis amputatio* for nobler folk).

HEADCHOPPING

FIGURING OUT WHAT AMOUNTS TO A “HISTORICAL CONTEXT” IS WHAT THE CRAFT OF HISTORICIZING AMOUNTS TO, AND THIS NECESSITATES DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN THE SET OF EVENTS THAT MUST HAVE TAKEN PLACE BEFORE EVENT E COULD BECOME POSSIBLE, AND MOST CAREFULLY DISTINGUISHING THEM FROM ANOTHER SET OF EVENTS THAT COULD NOT POSSIBLY OCCUR UNTIL SUBSEQUENT TO EVENT E.

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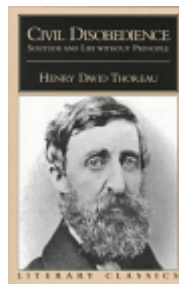
27 CE

At roughly this point in time, Yehoshua bar Yusef, [Messiah](#) claimant #6, having succeeded in living a life of compassion and nonviolence, was being remanded back and forth between the Romans under [Pontius Pilate](#) and the Jews under [Herod Antipas](#) in Jerusalem. It seems, according to the record, that he was asked the sarcastic question “Τί ἐστὶν ἀλήθεια?” but wasn’t expected to provide an answer. After some [torture](#), it seems, at the dump Golgotha outside Jerusalem, he was executed in the usual exemplary manner.



Following the death of [Jesus Christ](#) there was a period of readjustment that lasted for approximately one million years.

—[Kurt Vonnegut](#), THE SIRENS OF TITAN



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That is, according to MARK 15: 34, [Jesus](#), a Jewish religious leader, was executed on Friday, Nisan 14th, March 30th, 27 CE. –And at three o'clock, Jesus cried out in a loud voice in Aramaic, “*Eloi, Eloi, lema sabachthani*,” which translates to “My God, my God, why did you [desert? sacrifice?] me?” The Last Supper would have been on that Thursday evening. (Bear in mind that April 7, 30 CE and April 3, 33 CE also were Fri/14/Nisan dates that would correspond to MARK 15: 34.)

44	Cæsar, the greatest of the Roman conquerors, after having fought fifty pitched battles, and slain 1,192,000 men, and overturned the liberties of his country, is killed in the senate-house.
35	The battle of Actium fought, in which Mark Antony and Cleopatra are totally defeated by Octavius, nephew to Julius Cæsar.
30	Alexandria, in Egypt, is taken by Octavius, upon which Antony and Cleopatra put themselves to death, and Egypt is reduced to a Roman province.
27	Octavius by a decree of the senate, obtains the title of Augustus Cæsar, and absolute exemption from the laws, and is properly the first Roman emperor.
8	Rome at this time is fifty miles in circumference, and contains 463,000 men fit to bear arms.
	The temple of Janus is shut by Augustus as an emblem of universal peace, and JESUS CHRIST is born.
A. C.	
12	JESUS CHRIST disputes with the doctors in the temple;
27	————— is baptized in the Wilderness by John;
33	————— is crucified;
	His Resurrection and Ascension.
36	St. Paul converted.
39	St. Matthew writes his Gospel.
	Pontius Pilate kills himself.
40	The name of Christians first given at Antioch to the followers of Christ.
43	Claudius Cæsar's expedition into Britain.
44	St. Mark writes his Gospel.
49	London is founded by the Romans; 368, surrounded by ditto with a wall, some parts of which are still observable.
51	Caractacus, the British king, is carried in chains to Rome.
	St. Luke writes his Gospel.

Jesus would be regarded as having said, “Verily I say unto you, there be some standing here, which shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom” (MATTHEW 16:28). This would seem to imply that the [Second Coming](#) would occur within the lifetime of his contemporaries, and indeed the Apostles would expect Jesus to return before the passing of their generation.

MILLENNIALISM

Famous Last Words:



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193 CE

The [Roman](#) legions auctioned off the post of Emperor to the highest bidder. Marcus Didius Salvius Julianus bid highest.



After a couple of months he was beheaded, and the result would be that from 193 to 235 CE would go down in history as the Severan Dynasty (Septimus Severus, Caracalla, Severus Alexander).

HEADCHOPPING

The Libyan, Septimus Severus, was proclaimed Emperor.



It would take a little time for Septimus Severus to put down all the other would-be Emperors, in the provinces (until 194 CE, when at Byzantium and then at Nicaea and then at Issus the legions of Septimus Severus



defeated the legions of Roman Emperor wannabee Gaius Pescennius Niger; until 197 CE, with the putting



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down of Roman Emperor wannabee Decimus Clodius Albinus at Lugdunum)



but he would restore [the Pax Romana](#) with particular severity (which is to say, with determination combined with ferocity). He would secure his reign until his natural death in 211 CE. The virtues of nobility reputed to [Trajan](#), of culture to [Hadrian](#), of piety to [Antoninus Pius](#), and of philosophy to [Marcus Aurelius Antoninus](#) were all lacking in Septimus Severus. There was one thing this guy knew, because he had studied very hard at it, and that was how to keep himself in power — anything else was incidental. This nasty customer would be one of the two Roman Emperors (the other would be Constantius Chlorus) to die at the town of York in Britain (the town was then known as Eboracum).

Mr. Severity doesn't seem to have considered anything other than hereditary succession despite his having a particularly nasty family jewel, Caracalla, as the family-jewels candidate. His attempt to balance Caracalla with his brother Geta would simply get Geta murdered. Another factor, however, would be the loyalty inspired in the troops to the family, and Caracalla himself would maintain that popularity reasonably well until his inevitable murder. This would set off another brief free-for-all, until loyalty to the Severan family would prevail. The "family," however, would turn out to be the entirely matrilineal creation of Severus's sister-in-law, Julia Maesa, who would bring her two grandsons, entirely unrelated to Severus, to the throne. The bizarre Elagabalus (sometimes "Heliogabalus"), styling himself the god of his grandmother's Syrian solar cult, and then the amiable and reasonably effective Alexander, thus would wrap up the dynasty. Alexander would be offed after the overdue reality check of battle against the newly aggressive Persians. He actually would not be that bad, but evidently would not be great enough for his own troops, who would off not only him but also his mother.

CONTINGENCY

**ALTHOUGH VERY MANY OUTCOMES ARE OVERDETERMINED, WE TRUST
THAT SOMETIMES WE ACTUALLY MAKE REAL CHOICES.**



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STATE MURDER

933 CE

William, Duke of Normandy, seized control of the [Channel Islands](#).

“What’s that over there on the northern horizon, another island of some sort?”

The first [capital punishment](#) enactments of which we have written record date to the legal code of King Hammurabi of Babylon, in the 18th Century BCE, which had specified the penalty of death for 25 distinct offenses. This had been carried forward in the 14th Century BCE in the Hittite code of laws, which also made use of capital punishment, and in the 7th Century BCE, in the legal code implemented by Draco of Athens, which had specified that the penalty was to be the same, capital punishment, for any crime regardless of what it was (this had been, of course, truly Draconian). The Roman Law of the Twelve Tablets had made use of capital punishment, and at the hands of the Romans death might be by crucifixion, by burning alive, by being beaten to death, by drowning, or by impalement. During this century, the British code of laws was also making use of capital punishment, but the usual method of execution on this island was hanging. When William would take over the island as the Conqueror, he imposed extraterritoriality and would not permit the locals to hang any of his Norman subjects regardless of their crime — except of course in time of war.

**IT IS NO COINCIDENCE THAT IT IS MORTALS WHO CONSUME OUR
HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS, FOR WHAT WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO DO IS
EVADE THE RESTRICTIONS OF THE HUMAN LIFESPAN. (IMMORTALS,
WITH NOTHING TO LIVE FOR, TAKE NO HEED OF OUR STORIES.)**



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1280

There are indications that as early as this year the “Halifax Gibbet,” a head-chopping machine, was put to use in Halifax, England, at executions on market-days. The last beheading with this Halifax gibbet device would take place in 1648.

HEADCHOPPING

**THE AGE OF REASON WAS A PIPE DREAM, OR AT BEST A PROJECT.
ACTUALLY, HUMANS HAVE ALMOST NO CLUE WHAT THEY ARE DOING,
WHILE CREDITING THEIR OWN LIES ABOUT WHY THEY ARE DOING IT.**



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1305



In 1297 a Scot of Welsh descent, Sir William Wallace, had rebelled against English rule in [Scotland](#). After defeating an English army at Stirling Bridge his army was in 1298 defeated at Falkirk. For 7 years Sir William had waged a guerrilla campaign, only to be betrayed in 1305 by Sir John Mentieth and “carried from Westminster to the Tower, and from the Tower to Aldgate, and so through the city to the Elms at Smithfield ... and as an outlaw beheaded.” Committed to the [Tower of London](#) on August 22d, he was executed at Tyburn on August 24th. (Actually, rather than being merely beheaded after being brought to a field by St. Bartholomew Hospital, he was first hung until he was almost –not quite– dead. Then, taken down from his noose and tied down, his genitals were lopped off. Then he was disemboweled and his innards were burned before his face, and only then –still apparently alive– was he beheaded.) The body was chopped into quarters to be put on display in cities marking the “four corners” of England (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Berwick, Stirling, and Perth), while the severed head, that having been the customary cure for treason, was impaled on a stake at [London Bridge](#).

HEADCHOPPING

Their leader having been inventively chopped into pieces, there was of course a new ordinance for the government of a pacified [Scotland](#). –But, would the Scots become happy campers? Nooo, not exactly.

ONE COULD BE ELSEWHERE, AS ELSEWHERE DOES EXIST.
ONE CANNOT BE ELSEWHEN SINCE ELSEWHEN DOES NOT.
(TO THE WILLING MANY THINGS CAN BE EXPLAINED,
THAT FOR THE UNWILLING WILL REMAIN FOREVER MYSTERIOUS.)



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1306

Sir Christopher Seton, captured at St John's Town, was taken to the [Tower of London](#), [hanged](#), cut down, and [beheaded](#).

LONDON

WHAT I'M WRITING IS TRUE BUT NEVER MIND
YOU CAN ALWAYS LIE TO YOURSELF

September 7, Wednesday (Old Style): Sir Herbert Morham and Thomas Le Boys, who had been guilty of supporting the Scots cause, were beheaded "at the Tower." Sir Simon Fraser had been captured at St John's Town and taken to the [Tower of London](#). He was [hanged](#), drawn, beheaded, quartered, and on this day his head went on display on a pike on [London](#) Bridge (alongside the year-old trophy taken from the shoulders of Sir William Wallace).

BEHEADINGS

November 7, Monday (Old Style): John Athol, Earl of Athol, who had undergone his 2nd confinement in the [Tower of London](#), was "[hanged](#) cruelly."

LONDON

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1307

April 1, Saturday (Old Style): Head-chopping machines seems to have been utilized in Germany, the British Isles, and [Italy](#) prior to the 14th Century, long before they left much of a record. The first presently known evidence of the existence of such a device is the apparatus known to have been employed for the beheading of Murcod Ballagh, near the town of Merton. This depiction of the ceremony is in the British Museum:



(Anybody in his right mind would say that this looks about as close to a [guillotine](#) as one would desire to get in Ireland in April on a chilly day — and yet the Dr. [Guillotin](#) whose family name now adorns this device would not be born for more than four centuries, and his name would not be suggested for what was known as “the machine” and as “la louisette” and as “le louison” until after the turn of the 19th Century.)

HEADCHOPPING

YOUR GARDEN-VARIETY ACADEMIC HISTORIAN INVITES YOU TO CLIMB ABOARD A HOVERING TIME MACHINE TO SKIM IN METATIME BACK ACROSS THE GEOLOGY OF OUR PAST TIMESLICES, WHILE OFFERING UP A GARDEN VARIETY OF COGENT ASSESSMENTS OF OUR PROGRESSION. WHAT A LOAD OF CRAP! YOU SHOULD REFUSE THIS HELICOPTERISH OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORICAL PAST, FOR IN THE REAL WORLD THINGS HAPPEN ONLY AS THEY HAPPEN. WHAT THIS SORT WRITES AMOUNTS, LIKE MERE “SCIENCE FICTION,” MERELY TO “HISTORY FICTION”:



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

IT'S NOT WORTH YOUR ATTENTION.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1322

Queen Isabella was traveling from Canterbury when she sent servants ahead to Leeds Castle to notify them of her pending arrival and need for a night's lodging. At the order of Margaret de Clare, Lady Badlesmere, retainers killed the royal messengers. King Edward II laid siege to Leeds Castle, and [hanged](#) the castle's governor. He brought Lady Badlesmere to [London](#) and shut her up in the [Tower of London](#), the 1st woman on record as having been held there.

THE TASK OF THE HISTORIAN IS TO CREATE HINDSIGHT WHILE
INTERCEPTING ANY ILLUSION OF FORESIGHT. NOTHING A HUMAN CAN
SEE CAN EVER BE SEEN AS IF THROUGH THE EYE OF GOD.

IN A BOOK THAT IS SUPPOSED TO BE ABOUT HISTORY, ISSUED BY
RANDOM HOUSE IN 2016, I FIND THE PHRASE "LOOKED UPON FROM
THE BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF HISTORY," ONLY A MERE STORYTELLER,
NEVER A HISTORIAN, COULD HAVE PENNED SUCH A PHRASE —
BECAUSE NO BIRD HAS EVER FLOWN OVER HISTORY.

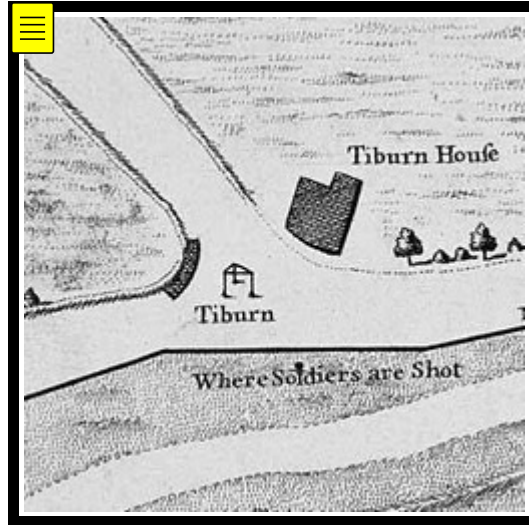


STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1330

November 29: Roger Mortimer, 1st Earl of March, accused of assuming royal power, was hanged for treason, without a trial, on a gallows at Tyburn outside London.



(The above illustration is decidedly an anachronism, as the triple gallows for which the Tyburn intersection would become famous would not be erected for some centuries, in fact not until the Year of Our Lord 1571.)

NO-ONE'S LIFE IS EVER NOT DRIVEN PRIMARILY BY HAPPENSTANCE



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1381

June 14, Friday (Old Style): After city people had lowered the drawbridge protecting [London Bridge](#), the revolutionary forces under [Wat Tyler](#) captured it and the [Tower of London](#). Books and documents that came into their hands at the Temple and in [Lambeth Palace](#) were burned. Wine cellars were broken into at Savoy and other manors.

Chancellor Simon Sudbury, the [Archbishop of Canterbury](#)³, and the King's Confessor, William Appleton, had sought refuge at the [Tower of London](#) during the Peasants' Revolt. On this day the rebels of Kent dragged them, along with Sir Robert Hales and King's Sergeant John Legg, out and subjected them to a mock trial before [beheading](#), after which the headless corpses were hacked to pieces by the mob (you can still inspect his head, at St Gregory's church in Sudbury in Suffolk). A 5th individual, Richard Somenour, was likewise treated by this mob, but it is not known whether the rebels had taken him also from the Tower. According to [Jean Froissart](#)'s *CHRONIQUES*, in French on vellum, prepared in Flanders in the late 15th century (Royal MS 18E.I, ff.165v-166, with a polychrome miniature about 4 by 7 inches showing John Ball, labeled, astride a plough horse, preaching to the rebels),



here is how the released minister preached among Wat Tyler's rebels of Kent (as backtranslated from the French version):

*Ah ye good people, the matters goeth not well to pass in England,
nor shall do till everything be common, and that there be no
villeins nor gentlemen, but that we may be all united together;*

3. William Courtenay became the new [Archbishop of Canterbury](#).



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

and that the lords be no greater masters than we be.



After the rebellion collapsed there would be testimony, presumably biased and exaggerated, that this minister had urged the slaughter of lords and prelates — and for this he would [hang](#) at St. Albans.

King Edward III of England (1327-1377) had put up a new gatehouse at the Tower of London, between the Lanthorn Tower and the Salt Tower, and added the Cradle Tower. He had extended the Tower Wharf to the east as far as St. Thomas's Tower. King Richard II and many of his family and household were forced to shelter in the Tower for a couple of days while more than 10,000 of his rebellious subjects were plundering and burning his royal capital city of London.

The four conditions upon which the revolutionaries were planning to insist, they averred, were as follows:

- the abolition of [serfdom](#)
- the right of everyone to buy and sell like freemen
- pardon for any and all past offenses
- in the future rents on land would be fixed at a certain sum of money rather than being required in service

**LIFE IS LIVED FORWARD BUT UNDERSTOOD BACKWARD?
— NO, THAT'S GIVING TOO MUCH TO THE HISTORIAN'S STORIES.
LIFE ISN'T TO BE UNDERSTOOD EITHER FORWARD OR BACKWARD.**

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

King Richard II pledged at Smithfield to make concessions in honor of these demands. In fact he kept his scribes up all night, copying out multiple copies of his Charter for the People:



It wasn't very sympathetic of him, to keep his scribes up all night like that. What was going to happen next was also going to be not so very sympathetic.

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

July 15, Monday (Old Style): John Ball was [hanged](#) at St. Albans in Hertfordshire. Meanwhile the revolutionaries, 60,000 strong, were meeting with their 16-year-old monarch Richard II at Mile End without having disarmed themselves and without having abandoned their military formations. When before this 16-year-old for the 1st time, Wat Tyler attempted to up the ante by demanding that all church lands be confiscated and that the laws forbidding peasants to hunt and trap and cut wood in the forests be entirely abolished. There was an altercation in which William Walworth, the Lord Mayor of London, drew his short sword and stabbed Tyler in the throat. Tyler was taken to St. Bartholomew's hospital, but the Lord Mayor sent soldiers to the hospital who dragged him out and beheaded him. After this the King rode alone among the revolutionary ranks, proclaiming boldly that henceforward he would himself be leading them in their revolt. He led them to Islington, where he had a large body of loyal soldiers waiting, and as soon as he had ridden safely away from the peasants he ordered these soldiers to ride on them and disperse them. The king would renege in regard to all pledges which he had made while under duress – reforms such as, allegedly, an end to English [serfdom](#) – and over the next few years the government would round up some 1,500 of these peasant soldiers and execute them.

Here is how [Jean Froissart](#) would depict that princely interception of the political career of Wat Tyler:



“NARRATIVE HISTORY” AMOUNTS TO FABULATION,



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

THE REAL STUFF BEING MERE CHRONOLOGY

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1400

The Halifax Gibbet was definitely in use by this point in Halifax, England, for executions on market-days. This head-chopping machine may even have been functioning as early as 1280. The last beheading with this Halifax gibbet would take place in 1648. (We can be assured that present-day inhabitants of Halifax no longer look with favor on the chopping of heads off local criminals, and consider the entire thingie to be a tourist attraction and a piece of local culture.)



HEADCHOPPING



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

BETWEEN ANY TWO MOMENTS ARE AN INFINITE NUMBER OF MOMENTS, AND BETWEEN THESE OTHER MOMENTS LIKEWISE AN INFINITE NUMBER, THERE BEING NO ATOMIC MOMENT JUST AS THERE IS NO ATOMIC POINT ALONG A LINE. MOMENTS ARE THEREFORE FIGMENTS. THE PRESENT MOMENT IS A MOMENT AND AS SUCH IS A FIGMENT, A FLIGHT OF THE IMAGINATION TO WHICH NOTHING REAL CORRESPONDS. SINCE PAST MOMENTS HAVE PASSED OUT OF EXISTENCE AND FUTURE MOMENTS HAVE YET TO ARRIVE, WE NOTE THAT THE PRESENT MOMENT IS ALL THAT EVER EXISTS — AND YET THE PRESENT MOMENT BEING A MOMENT IS A FIGMENT TO WHICH NOTHING IN REALITY CORRESPONDS.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1415

John Hus, Bohemian religious reformer, was burned at the stake.

Famous Last Words:



"What school is more profitably instructive than the death-bed of the righteous, impressing the understanding with a convincing evidence, that they have not followed cunningly devised fables, but solid substantial truth."

— A COLLECTION OF MEMORIALS CONCERNING DIVERS
DECEASED MINISTERS, Philadelphia, 1787



"The death bed scenes & observations even of the best & wisest afford but a sorry picture of our humanity. Some men endeavor to live a constrained life — to subject their whole lives to their will as he who said he might give a sign if he were conscious after his head was cut off — but he gave no sign Dwell as near as possible to the channel in which your life flows."

—Thoreau's JOURNAL, March 12, 1853

399 BCE	Socrates	drinking the hemlock	<i>"Crito, I owe a cock to Aesclepius."</i>
27 CE	Jesus	being crucified	<i>"It is finished."</i> [John 19:30]
1415	John Huss	being burned at the stake	<i>"O, holy simplicity!"</i>
May 30, 1431	Joan of Arc	being burned at the stake	<i>"Hold the cross high so I may see it through the flames."</i>
May 4, 1534	Father John Houghton	as he was being disemboweled	<i>"And what wilt thou do with my heart, O Christ?"</i>
July 6, 1535	Sir Thomas More	being beheaded	<i>"The King's good servant, but God's First."</i>
1536	Anne Boleyn	being beheaded	<i>"Oh God, have pity on my soul."</i>
February 18, 1546	Martin Luther	found on his chamber table	<i>"We are beggars: this is true."</i>
July 16, 1546	Anne Askew	being burned at the stake	<i>"There he misseth, and speaketh without the book"</i>
... other famous last words ...			



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1431

May 30, Wednesday (Old Style): The common story is that at Rouen on this day, [Joan of Arc](#) was burned at the stake as a [witch](#) by the English, since they were morally certain that God wouldn't actually, couldn't be, against their cause (it was necessary to burn her not in order to [torture](#) or torment her, but simply because the *BIBLE* contains an injunction forbidding the shedding of blood, which is to say, bleeding out, and such a method of execution can be transacted in a manner that avoids this forbidden blood shedding). This requires some adjustment: while this woman was guarded by English soldiers, actually she had not been tried by anyone English. She had been tried and condemned, actually, by a Catholic court of the [Inquisition](#), and all the judges of this church office happened to be representatives not of the **English** church but of the **French** one. (These clergymen weren't playing with a full deck of cards: 25 years after this execution, the case would have to be re-heard and the defendant would have to be, postmortem, acquitted.)

At some point (probably not on this particular day), a supporter of Joan, Etienne de Vignolles, came up with the set of symbols we now use to distinguish the four suites of a deck of playing cards. What we term the spade ♠ he originated as the symbol representing the aristocracy, the head of a lance. What we term the club ♣ he originated as a cloverleaf representing the peasantry. His ♦ diamond was a paving stone, representative of the city-dwelling bourgeoisie, and the ♥ heart, of course, was representative of this French clergy so full of love.

Famous Last Words:



"What school is more profitably instructive than the death-bed of the righteous, impressing the understanding with a convincing evidence, that they have not followed cunningly devised fables, but solid substantial truth."

— A COLLECTION OF MEMORIALS CONCERNING DIVERS DECEASED MINISTERS, Philadelphia, 1787



"The death bed scenes & observations even of the best & wisest afford but a sorry picture of our humanity. Some men endeavor to live a constrained life — to subject their whole lives to their will as he who said he might give a sign if he were conscious after his head was cut off — but he gave no sign Dwell as near as possible to the channel in which your life flows."

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... other famous last words ...			



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1440

Giles de Retz (AKA de Rais) and his associates were hanged at Nantes, for “sorcery.” There’s been some speculation as to whether he was guilty of anything other than a dissolute lifestyle. His trial was held in camera so we don’t know. In addition, it is likely that he and some of the other witnesses were tortured, and it is plausible that he would have confessed to any charges leveled against him whether they were true or not, because under French law at that time, if an accused noble confessed and was executed, his family could inherit the family estate, whereas if he refused to confess, and was found guilty (which was pretty much a foregone conclusion), the family estate would be forfeit to the crown. The fact is that Giles had rapidly risen to become the richest and most powerful noble in France, second only to the King, and it has been argued that the charges against him, based upon his known interest in alchemy and astrology, were politically motivated.

WITCHCRAFT

DO I HAVE YOUR ATTENTION? GOOD.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1470

October 18, Thursday (Old Style): John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, a past constable of the [Tower of London](#), had been confined in the Tower under charges of extreme cruelty in Ireland. Evidently he felt bad about what he had done, for at his own request, when he was [beheaded](#) on Tower Hill, the deed was done for him with not one but three chops of the axe.

LONDON
HEADCHOPPING

**NEVER READ AHEAD! TO APPRECIATE OCTOBER 18TH, 1470 AT ALL
ONE MUST APPRECIATE IT AS A TODAY (THE FOLLOWING DAY,
TOMORROW, IS BUT A PORTION OF THE UNREALIZED FUTURE AND IFFY
AT BEST).**



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1477

May 20, Tuesday (Old Style): Having made an incautious jest against the king whilst on a hunting expedition, Thomas Burdett was hanged at Tyburn. John Stacey, a dependant of the Duke of Clarence who had been charged with the imputation of necromancy, also was put to death at Tyburn.

LONDON

“MAGISTERIAL HISTORY” IS FANTASIZING: HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1483

June 13, Friday (Old Style): While the coronation of Prince Edward V as King of England was being prepared by many Lords including his trusted friend [William, 1st Baron Hastings](#), his uncle the Lord Protector Richard, Duke of Gloucester ([Richard Plantagenet of the House of York](#)), rushed in or the preparations at the [Tower of London](#) and amongst cries of treason had Lord Hastings taken out to the courtyard — and immediately [beheaded](#).

HEADCHOPPING

ESSENCE IS BLUR. SPECIFICITY,
THE OPPOSITE OF ESSENCE,
IS OF THE NATURE OF TRUTH.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1484

December 4, Saturday (Old Style): Sir George Browne and Sir Robert Clifford, who had been consigned to the Tower of London for favoring the cause of Henry Tudor, 2d Earl of Richmond, were beheaded on Tower Hill.

LONDON
HEADCHOPPING

ESSENCES ARE FUZZY, GENERIC, CONCEPTUAL;
ARISTOTLE WAS RIGHT WHEN HE INSISTED THAT ALL TRUTH IS
SPECIFIC AND PARTICULAR (AND WRONG WHEN HE CHARACTERIZED
TRUTH AS A GENERALIZATION).

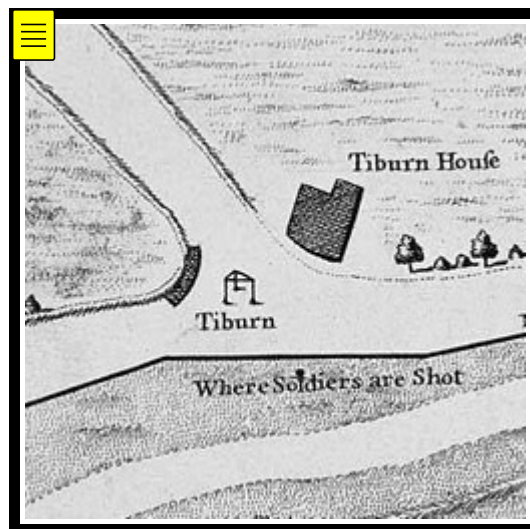
STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1497

June 24, Saturday (Old Style): Having sailed west for an estimated 700 leagues, [Captain John Cabot](#) and [Sebastian Cabot](#) sighted the coast of Labrador. They presumed this to be part of the dominions of the Grand Cham (textbooks that spell this as “Grand Chain” are misreadings, since it is a version of Marco Polo’s and Paul Toscanelli’s and Christopher Columbus’s “Grand Khan”). They would explore this shore for 300 leagues without discovering any evidence of human habitation and then sail east back to England, reaching Bristol in August.

Leaders of the Cornish Rebellion Michael An Gof and Thomas Flamank were [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.



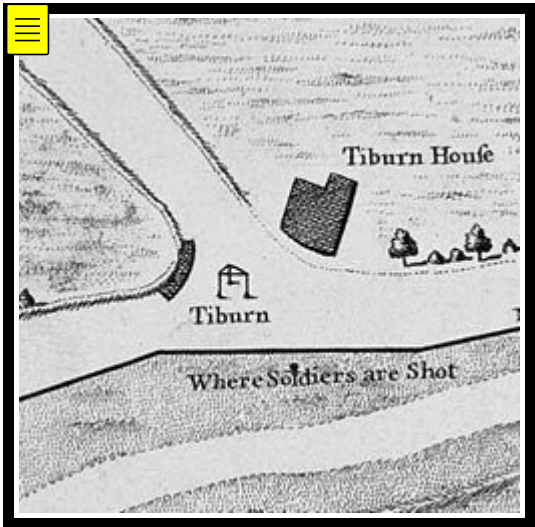
NOBODY COULD GUESS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT



1499

November 21, Thursday (Old Style): The last male Plantagenet, [Edward, 17th Earl of Warwick](#), admitted while under trial for treason that after 14 years of imprisonment (he had been held in the [Tower of London](#) since the age of 10) he had plotted to escape from prison with and ally himself with a fellow prisoner — the pretender [Perkin Warbeck](#).

November 23, Saturday (Old Style): A conspiracy to help [Perkin Warbeck](#), who had pretended to the throne of Henry VII by attempting to pass himself off as Richard IV, the younger of the two Princes in the Tower, escape from the [Tower of London](#), had been discovered. On this day he was [hanged](#) for his treason on the Tyburn gallows outside [London](#).



November 28, Thursday (Old Style): [Edward Plantagenet, 17th Earl of Warwick](#), who had been held since the age of 10 in the [Tower of London](#), was [beheaded](#) at the age of 24 at the order of King Henry VII after admitting that he had plotted to escape with and ally himself with a fellow prisoner, the pretender [Perkin Warbeck](#) (Edward had been the final male in the name-line of Plantagenet descent).

FINAL EXECUTIONS		
November 28, 1499	Edward Plantagenet	the final male in the name-line of Plantagenet contenders for the throne of England lost his head
June 29, 1520	Moctezuma II	Aztec emperor of Mexico
August 29, 1533	Atahualpa, the Inca of Peru	garroted on orders of Francisco Pizarro

“HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE” BEING A VIEW FROM A PARTICULAR POINT IN TIME (JUST AS THE PERSPECTIVE IN A PAINTING IS A VIEW FROM A PARTICULAR POINT IN SPACE), TO “LOOK AT THE COURSE OF



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

HISTORY MORE GENERALLY” WOULD BE TO SACRIFICE PERSPECTIVE
ALTOGETHER. THIS IS FANTASY-LAND, YOU’RE FOOLING YOURSELF.
THERE CANNOT BE ANY SUCH THINGIE, AS SUCH A PERSPECTIVE.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1517

“Evil May Day” riots in [London](#). Sixty rioters were [hanged](#) upon the orders of Wolsey.

THE FALLACY OF MOMENTISM: THIS STARRY UNIVERSE DOES NOT
CONSIST OF A SEQUENCE OF MOMENTS. THAT IS A FIGMENT, ONE WE
HAVE RECOURSE TO IN ORDER TO PRIVILEGE TIME OVER CHANGE,
A PRIVILEGING THAT MAKES CHANGE SEEM UNREAL, DERIVATIVE, A
MERE APPEARANCE. IN FACT IT IS CHANGE AND ONLY CHANGE WHICH
WE EXPERIENCE AS REALITY, TIME BEING BY WAY OF RADICAL
CONTRAST UNEXPERIENCED — A MERE INTELLECTUAL CONSTRUCT.
THERE EXISTS NO SUCH THING AS A MOMENT. NO “INSTANT” HAS
EVER FOR AN INSTANT EXISTED.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1520

June 29, Friday (Old Style): The final native emperor of [Mexico](#) in some way was no more (accounts of the responsibility for this vary).

FINAL EXECUTIONS		
November 28, 1499	Edward Plantagenet	the final male in the name-line of Plantagenet contenders for the throne of England lost his head
June 29, 1520	Moctezuma II	Aztec emperor of Mexico
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STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1521

May 17, Friday (Old Style): Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, potential claimant to the English throne, charged with having countenanced prophecies of his own succession to the throne and with having expressed an intention to murder [King Henry VIII](#), was [beheaded](#) atop Tower Hill near the [Tower of London](#).



HEADCHOPPERS



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1530

Early on, the [Waldensians](#) had taken a position of absolute respect for Holy Scripture, and had interpreted the Ten Commandments, and Jesus's "whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgment," as prohibiting [capital punishment](#). There had been some falling away from the rigor of this over the centuries, but in this year a council of Waldensian leaders expressed doubt, that the Catholic Church was correct in its attitude that God had commanded our civil authorities to execute murderers, thieves, and delinquents.

COLDBLOODED MURDER

Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples,⁴ a University of Paris professor influenced by a mystic Dutch group named Brethren of the Common Life, in this year completed the translation of the BIBLE into French that he had begun in 1523, with his objective being that the BIBLE might be studied and interpreted by laity without the special education given to the clergy.

**HISTORY OF
THE BIBLE**

4. Jacobus Faber Stapulensis (1455-1537)

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1533

[Francisco Pizarro](#), with the help of and a few hundred Spanish cavalymen and arquebusiers plus an equal number of Tlaxcalan archers and spearmen, at 2 hours after sunset, [garroted Atahualpa, the Inca of Peru](#), after his people had paid his ransom.



Some have supposed that this was due to Pizarro's unshakable faith in God and in himself, but it has also been pointed out that there had just been a smallpox epidemic in the Andes.

FINAL EXECUTIONS		
June 29, 1520	Moctezuma II	Aztec emperor of Mexico
August 29, 1533	Atahualpa, the Inca of Peru	garroted on orders of Francisco Pizarro
November 17, 1558	Cardinal Reginald Pole	final male of Plantagenet line of British monarchs

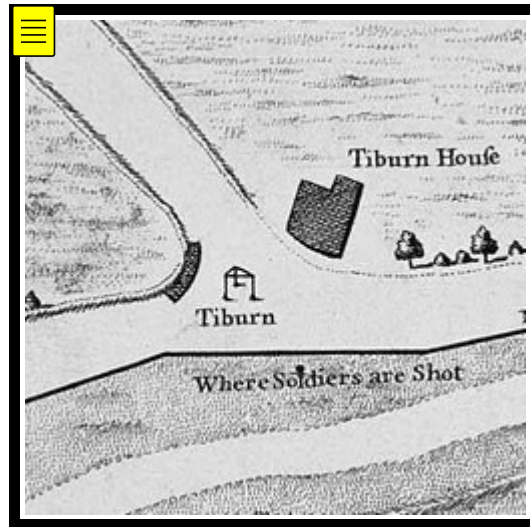
Pedro de Heredia established Cartagena de Indias on Colombia's Caribbean coast. The galleons that carried the loot that the Spanish took from Peru and Ecuador would ordinarily winter at Cartagena. Cartagena would therefore be attacked by privateers five times during the sixteenth century alone.

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1534

April 20, Monday (Old Style): Elizabeth “Holy Maid of Kent” Barton, the nun who had prophesied that [King Henry VIII](#), should he get married with [Anne Boleyn](#), would die within 6 months, was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside [London](#).⁵



April 21, Tuesday (Old Style): Dr. Edward Bocking, having been found guilty of compassing the King’s death, was taken from the [Tower of London](#) and first [hanged](#) and then [beheaded](#) (wretched excess being the kingly way to do things).

LONDON
HEADCHOPPING

May 4, Monday (Old Style): The English [Catholics](#) Father John Houghton, Prior of the [London](#) Charterhouse,⁶ John Haile, Vicar of Isleworth, Richard Reynolds, Prior of Sion Hospital, Augustine Webster, Prior of Axholme, and Robert Lawrence, Prior of Belval, having refused to acknowledge the new supremacy of [King Henry VIII](#) over the church in England, were escorted from the [Tower of London](#) to Tyburn and there [hanged](#), cut down while still alive, disemboweled, [beheaded](#), and quartered. While being disemboweled Father John was heard to remark “And what wilt thou do with my heart, O Christ?” The pieces of his body would be put on display around London to encourage the people in their faith. (In 1970 these five would be canonized by the [Catholic](#) Church.)

HEADCHOPPING

5. According to the record made by [Thomas Cranmer](#), it appears that the secret marriage had been transacted on January 25, 1533, more than a year earlier, but the Holy Maid of Kent had presumably not been apprised of this,

6. John Houghton had graduated from Cambridge with degrees in civil and canon law and then served as a parish priest for four years. He had taken vows as a Carthusian monk and had become the Prior of the Beauvale Carthusian Charterhouse in Northampton. He had been imprisoned with Humphrey Middlemore. When the Oath of Acknowledgement of Supremacy was modified to include the phrase “in so far as the law of God permits,” John felt he could be loyal to both Church and Crown, and he and several of his monks had swallowed their misgivings and signed the qualified oath. Father John was released, and a few days later troops arrived at his [London](#) Chapterhouse to obtain the signatures of the remaining monks to this qualified oath. Later, however, Parliament had rejected this escape clause and had insisted upon the original wording of the oath, to which assent could not be given.

Famous Last Words:



"What school is more profitably instructive than the death-bed of the righteous, impressing the understanding with a convincing evidence, that they have not followed cunningly devised fables, but solid substantial truth."

— A COLLECTION OF MEMORIALS CONCERNING DIVERS DECEASED MINISTERS, Philadelphia, 1787



"The death bed scenes & observations even of the best & wisest afford but a sorry picture of our humanity. Some men endeavor to live a constrained life — to subject their whole lives to their will as he who said he might give a sign if he were conscious after his head was cut off — but he gave no sign Dwell as near as possible to the channel in which your life flows."

—Thoreau's JOURNAL, March 12, 1853

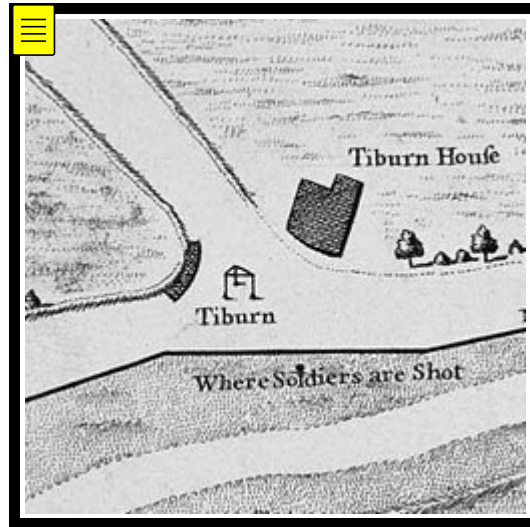
399 BCE	Socrates	drinking the hemlock	<i>"Crito, I owe a cock to Aesclepius."</i>
27 CE	Jesus	being crucified	<i>"It is finished."</i> [John 19:30]
1415	John Huss	being burned at the stake	<i>"O, holy simplicity!"</i>
May 30, 1431	Joan of Arc	being burned at the stake	<i>"Hold the cross high so I may see it through the flames."</i>
May 4, 1534	Father John Houghton	as he was being disemboweled	<i>"And what wilt thou do with my heart, O Christ?"</i>
July 6, 1535	Sir Thomas More	being beheaded	<i>"The King's good servant, but God's First."</i>
1536	Anne Boleyn	being beheaded	<i>"Oh God, have pity on my soul."</i>
February 18, 1546	Martin Luther	found on his chamber table	<i>"We are beggars: this is true."</i>
July 16, 1546	Anne Askew	being burned at the stake	<i>"There he misseth, and speaketh without the book"</i>
... other famous last words ...			

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1535

May 4: John Houghton, the Prior of the Charterhouse who had refused to swear the oath condoning [King Henry VIII's](#) divorce of [Catherine of Aragón](#), was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside [London](#).



June 22, Tuesday (Old Style): [King Henry VIII](#) of England had vowed, on hearing that the Pope meant to make Sir Thomas More's fellow prisoner in the Tower, John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, a cardinal, that if a hat arrived there should be no head for it. On this day the bishop was taken from the [Tower of London](#) and [beheaded](#) on Tower Hill. (He would be canonized by the [Catholic](#) Church in 1935.)

LONDON

HEADCHOPPING

July 1, Thursday (Old Style): On the basis of perjured testimony, Sir Thomas More found himself convicted of treason in [London's](#) Westminster Hall. (Mrs. More had visited him in the [Tower of London](#) and reproachfully asked why he was content to remain "in this close, filthy prison, shut up among mice and rats" when he might be merry at their home, but her question was responded to with another question, "Is not this house as nigh heaven as my own?"

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1536

May 19, Friday (Old Style): In this timeframe Hans Holbein the Younger was painting his only individual portrait of [King Henry VIII](#).



Before her crowning as queen consort, [Anne Boleyn](#), the 2d wife, had stayed in what is now called “Queens House” at the [Tower of London](#), which had been built below the Bell Tower in 1530. When in this year she would be sent to the Tower on a charge of adultery, she would be returned to those prior lodgings. Her trial would take place in the medieval great hall, since demolished, and she would be sentenced to be burned or beheaded as pleased her former husband and the father of her children. After giving birth to a stillborn son, since this pleased the former husband, in front of the chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula she was beheaded on this day — and her remains are interred inside that chapel. (The widower would remarry, with [Jane Seymour](#).)

HEADCHOPPING

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STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1539

The buildings and lands of the suppressed nunnery of Gracedieu, near Thringstone in Leicestershire, England, were awarded to the [Beaumont](#) family (later, due to dishonorable conduct, this property would be forfeit to the Crown, but the widow would be able to recover the estate and pass it to their son [Sir Francis Beaumont](#)).

Dissolution of Glastonbury Abbey, with its buildings looted and torched and with Abbot Richard Whiting [hanged](#) atop Glastonbury Tor. After this, what was alleged to be the burial cross of King Arthur would (according to a late 17th century document, Bodleian Rawlinson B.416A, folio 10v) be alleged to lie in the “Reverstry” of St. John Baptist, Glastonbury for approximately an alleged century.

HISTORY’S NOT MADE OF WOULD. WHEN SOMEONE REVEALS, FOR INSTANCE, THAT THIS WIDOW WOULD BE ABLE TO RECOVER THIS ESTATE AND PASS IT TO THE SON, S/HE DISCLOSES THAT WHAT IS BEING CRAFTED IS NOT REALITY BUT PREDESTINARIANISM, BECAUSE IT IS NOT ACTUALLY POSSIBLE TO APPRECIATE THE THINGS THAT WENT DOWN IN 1539 AS THEY WERE APPRECIATED IN 1539, UNLESS YOU ARE SIMILARLY CLUELESS AS TO WHAT IS GOING TO HAPPEN IN FOLLOWING YEARS. THE RULE OF REALITY IS THAT THE FUTURE HASN’T EVER HAPPENED, YET.

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1540

In England, there was great heat and drought.

[Thomas Cromwell](#), Earl of Essex, who had modernized the [Tower of London](#)'s defenses, was imprisoned there and would soon be [beheaded](#) on Tower Hill and his head raised atop a spike of London Bridge.

Lord Leonard Grey, Viscount Grane was taken to the [Tower](#) on charges of high treason in Ireland. He would be [beheaded](#) on Tower Hill in the following year.

LONDON
HEADCHOPPING

[King Henry VIII](#) licensed the Company of Barber-Surgeons in [London](#) to anatomize the bodies of four criminals per year. Here are some salient members of this Company:

- [John Banister](#) (1533-1610)
- Andreas Vesalius (1514-1564)
- Charles Estienne (*circa* 1505-1564)
- Juan de Valverde (*circa* 1525-*circa* 1587)
- Giulio Casserio (*circa* 1552-1616)
- Adriaan van der Spiegel (*circa* 1578-1625)
- Pietro Berrettini da Cortona (1596-1669)
- Govard Bidloo (1649-1713)
- Bernhard Siegfried Albinus (1697-1770)



June 28, Monday (Old Style): Walter Hungerford, the 1st Baron Hungerford of Heytesbury, had been taken to the [Tower of London](#) on charges of having procured a person to conjure how long [King Henry VIII](#) would live. On this day he was [beheaded](#) on Tower Hill.

LONDON

July 9, Friday (Old Style): [King Henry VIII](#) granted an annulment to [Anne of Cleves](#) and would next marry with [Catherine Howard](#) (waiting for this annulment had been the only thing that had stood in the way of the execution of Lord Great Chamberlain [Thomas Cromwell](#), Earl of Essex, on a charge of treason).

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER



July 28, Wednesday (Old Style): In England during Summer, there was excessive drought. Wells, brooks and rivers were dried up. The [Thames River](#) was so low that the water was saline above London Bridge. Toward the end of summer there came a great mortality over the whole nation because of an epidemic of pestilential ague and blood flux.

[Thomas Cromwell](#), who had been serving as chief minister to [King Henry VIII](#) since 1532, had been locked up in the [Tower of London](#) on charges of treason. On this day, the day of the monarch's marriage to [Catherine Howard](#), Cromwell was [beheaded](#) on Tower Hill and his head raised atop a spike at [London Bridge](#).

[LONDON](#)

The botched execution of this Lord Great Chamberlain depicted in "The Tudors" TV series might seem excessive in portraying his neck as being struck again and again with the ax, because all we really know is that the executioner was described as being a butcher, and seemed to observers in the crowd to be drunk. However, these executions could be in fact as dreadful as what "The Tudors" depicted in this case. For instance, in the case of Margaret Pole, the mother of [Cardinal Reginald Pole](#) who was the last of the Plantagenet line of kings that had terminated with the death in battle of King Richard III, she would be taken without preparation or warning from her cell in the [Tower of London](#) to a private place within those precincts at which a low wooden block had been positioned (she being of noble birth, they did not want to execute her before commoners, though there were about 150 noble witnesses). Dragged to the block screaming, she would refuse to lay her head on it and have to be forced down. As she struggled the executioner's 1st blow would merely make a gash in her shoulder. He would need a total of 11 strikes with the ax to complete the [beheading](#). The Calendar of State Papers would describe him as a "blundering youth" who "hacked her head and shoulders to pieces."

[HEADCHOPPING](#)



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1541

May 27, Friday morning (Old Style): The botched execution of Lord Great Chamberlain Thomas Cromwell depicted in “The Tudors” TV series might seem excessive in portraying his neck as being struck again and again with the ax, because all we really know is that the executioner was described as being a butcher, and seemed to observers in the crowd to be drunk. However, these executions could be in fact as dreadful as what “The Tudors” depicted in the case of Cromwell. In the case of Margaret Pole, the mother of Cardinal Reginald Pole who was the last of the Plantagenet line of kings that had terminated with the death in battle of King Richard III, she was taken without preparation or warning from her cell in the [Tower of London](#) to a private place within those precincts at which a low wooden block had been positioned (she being of noble birth, they did not want to execute her before commoners, though there were about 150 noble witnesses). Dragged to the block screaming, she refused to lay her head on it and had to be forced down. As she struggled the executioner’s first blow merely made a gash in her shoulder. He needed a total of 11 strikes with the ax to complete the [beheading](#). The Calendar of State Papers described him as a “blundering youth” who had “hacked her head and shoulders to pieces.”

LONDON
HEADCHOPPING

June 28, Tuesday (Old Style) Lord Leonard Grey, Viscount Grane, convicted of high treason in Ireland, was taken from the [Tower of London](#) to Tower Hill and [beheaded](#).

LONDON
HEADCHOPPING

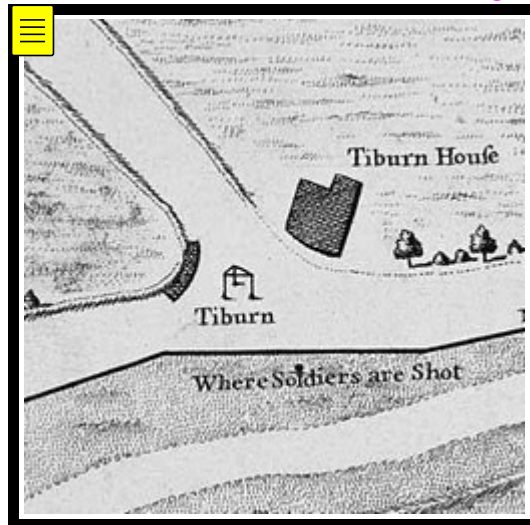
[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

STATE MURDER

December 10, Saturday (Old Style): Francis Dereham had been guilty of having a friendship with [Catherine Howard](#) before she became the 5th wife of [King Henry VIII](#). Thomas Culpepper, her cousin, had once stayed all night



in the Queen's apartment in the palace. On this day they were taken from the [Tower of London](#) and one was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside [London](#) while the other was [hanged](#) on Tower Hill.



STATE MURDER



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1542

February 13, Monday (1541, Old Style): [Catherine Howard](#), [King Henry VIII](#)'s 5th wife and according to him a "very jewel of womanhood," had during the previous year appointed a former beau as her private secretary. Rumors of an ongoing sexual liaison had spread through the court and the monarch had allowed an investigation to begin. Although the investigators had discovered only that the queen had been engaging in what might be characterized as flirting, but they also dug up old evidence that prior to her marriage to the king, Catherine had allowed her very jewel of womanhood to dally. On this day, outside the Chapel Royal of St. Peter ad Vincula which Henry had rebuilt a few years before at the [Tower of London](#), she and Jane, Lady Rochford (a party to this), were [beheaded](#).

HEADCHOPPING

The Countess of Bridgewater, also held in the Tower on charges of having concealed the Queen's offenses, would be pardoned and released.

Lord William Howard, Catherine Howard's uncle, also held in the Tower on charges of misprision of Treason for having concealed a knowledge of his niece's premarital affairs, would be pardoned.

John Lasels (or Lascelles) had informed [Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Cranmer](#) of all details of the Queen's levity. He had been committed to the [Tower of London](#) to keep him silent until her execution.⁷

LONDON

7. Possibly, we may suppose, he was then released, for a man of this name would be executed while the dissenter poet [Anne Askew](#) was being tortured in the Tower and then burned at the stake in 1545 by operatives of [King Henry VIII](#).

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

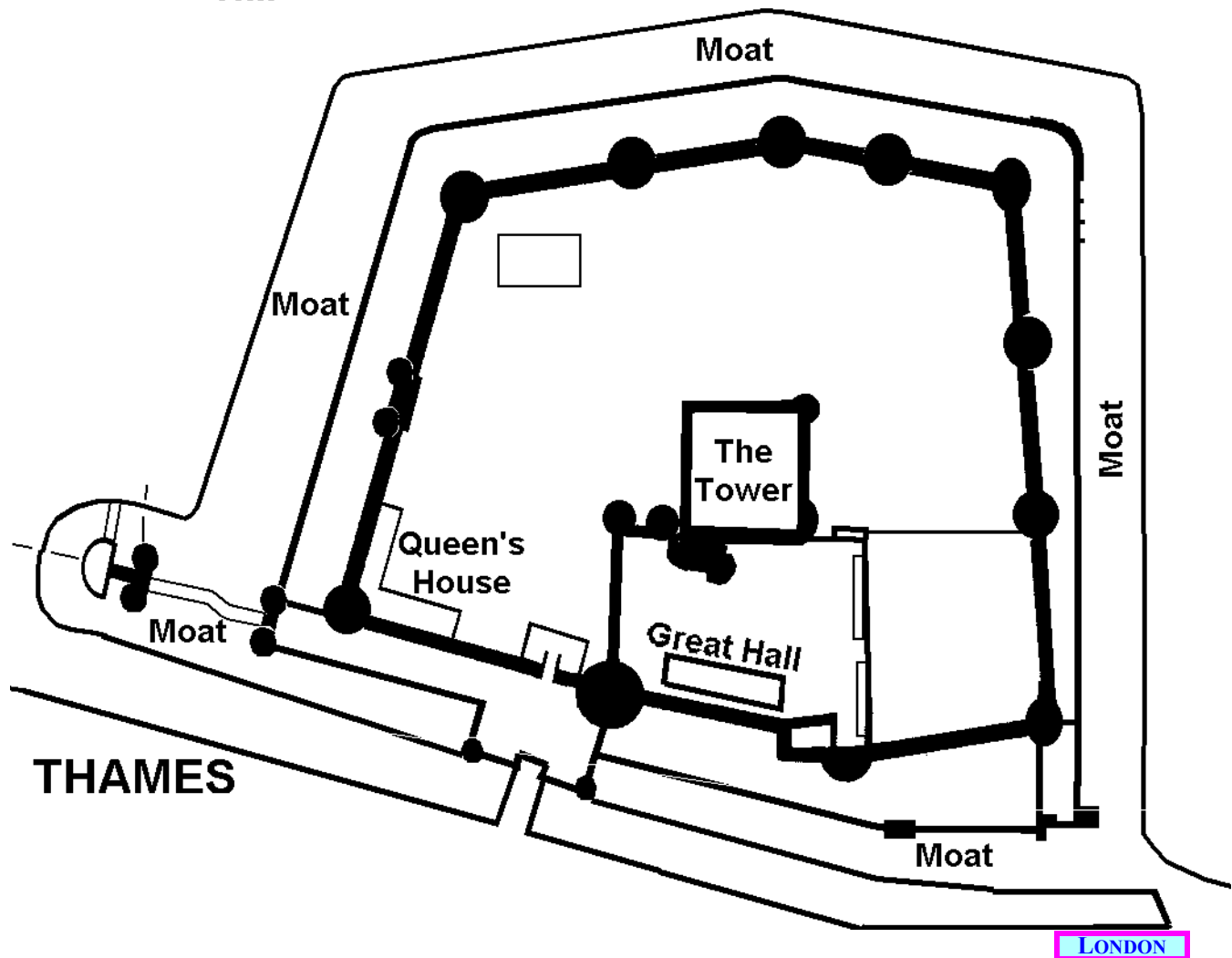
1549

Basically it was not freedom of religion, but the dangerous notion of economic [enslavement](#) not at all based upon race, which provoked the people of Norfolk to demonstrate against enclosures of English common land. But of course as soon as a leader, Robert Ket, had been captured and [executed](#), the some 16,000 protesters dispersed.

SERVILE INSURRECTION

At the [Tower of London](#), Thomas Seymour, Edward Seymour's younger brother who was Lord Seymour of Sudeley, Lord High Admiral of England, and who had gotten married with Catherine Parr, [King Henry VIII's](#) widow, was [executed](#).

Tower Hill





STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1552

January 22, Friday (1551, Old Style)Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset and Protector, 9th Earl of Hertford, who having lost his office to John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, had plotted to kill him, was **beheaded** on Tower Hill near the **Tower of London** along with his wife, and along with his wife's gentlewomen and menservants falsely accused of treason. (During this year, however, a fellow prisoner in the Tower, Brian O'Connor, who had been held there since 1548, would effect an escape.)

HEADCHOPPING



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1554

February 12, Monday (1553, Old Style): Lady Jane Grey, by marrying Lord Guildford Dudley, the fourth son of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, had come to be in the line of succession for the English throne. Northumberland had persuaded the young King Edward, on his death bed, to transfer the rights of his sisters, Mary and Elizabeth. After the king died on July 6, 1553, Lady Jane Grey was publicly proclaimed at the [Tower of London](#) to be the new monarch, but within eight days Mary's supporters had risen in strength. On July 31, 1553, Lady Jane Grey had entered upon her 9th day as the Queen of England when her father Henry, Duke of Suffolk, entered her chamber, tore down the canopy of state, and informed his daughter that she would no longer be a queen. When she had begged to go home, he had turned her away. She had become a prisoner of the state, and her father—who had thought in this way to save himself—had come to share her fate. This day must have been a pretty miserable one for Lady Jane, who had to watch as her husband was taken from the Beauchamp Tower to his death on Tower Hill, a few hours before she herself was led to be [executed](#) on the Green. Their bodies would be buried in the chapel there, which also holds the bones of the executed father, Northumberland, and of his adversary, Protector Somerset. Brrr.

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1555

February 4, Monday (1554, Old Style): [John Rogers](#) was granted a pre-taste of what Hell was going to be like, by being burned alive at [Smithfield](#) near [London](#) at the direction of Queen Mary I for having denied the Christian character of the Roman Catholic Church and for having rejected its doctrine of the transubstantiation of the body and blood of Jesus Christ upon the elevation of the host in the ceremony of the mass.



It had been Rogers who had, under the pseudonym “Thomas Matthew,” continued to publish the BIBLE in English after [William Tyndale’s execution](#) in 1536, adding, to the NEW TESTAMENT and partial

HISTORY OF
THE BIBLE



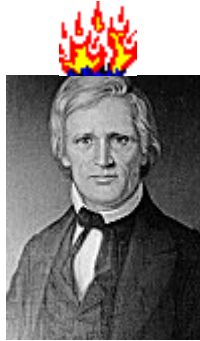
OLD TESTAMENT translations upon which Tyndale had been working, the books after II CHRONICLES and the



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

APOCRYPHA as prepared by Miles Coverdale. This illustration below is not of Rogers, but is of a lawyerly descendant of his in the tenth generation, Nathaniel Peabody Rogers known to [Henry Thoreau](#) as the intrepid editor of the [Herald of Freedom](#), who was said to be remarkably similar in appearance to his martyred ancestor:





STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1558

November 17, Thursday (Old Style): "[Bloody](#)" [Mary Tudor](#) was succeeded by the [Princess Elizabeth Tudor](#), daughter of [King Henry VIII](#) with Queen Consort Ann Bolyn, who became the Queen regnant [Elizabeth](#) of England and Ireland. Since Elizabeth was Church of England, the courtier [John Heywood](#), who as a [Roman Catholic](#) and poet and musician had been in great favor during the reign of Queen Mary, would lose favor.

Chronological observations of America

From the year of the World

Queen *Mary* dyed.

***Elizabeth* Queen of *England* began to Raign
November the Seventeenth.**

to the year of Christ 1673.

BY John Josselyn Gent.

At about 7PM, almost 12 hours after the death of [Queen Mary](#), [Cardinal Reginald Pole](#) died in London during an epidemic of influenza (he had been the final male of the [House of Plantagenet](#)). The body would be placed on the north side of the Corona, at Canterbury Cathedral.

FINAL EXECUTIONS		
August 29, 1533	Atahualpa, last Inca of Peru	garroted on orders of Francisco Pizarro
November 17, 1558	Cardinal Reginald Pole	final male of Plantagenet line of British monarchs
December 30, 1648	Jo. Wilkinson of Sowerby and Anthony Mitchell	final beheadings on the famous Halifax Gibbet

After the accession of the Lady Elizabeth, the gaunt [William Hunnis](#) would suddenly one day toward the end of the month be released from the [Tower of London](#) and provided with clothing against the cold weather.

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

He stepped back into his old office as choirmaster in “the Queene’s Chappell” with an appearance considerably altered by his experiences. The conspiracies that during the regime of Mary had made him seem the traitor, during the ascendancy of Elizabeth would make him seem the patriot.

[Martin Luther](#) had held that [witches](#) should be burnt for making a pact with the Devil even if they harmed no one, and then at Wittenburg in his absence four persons had indeed been executed as witches (I do not know that they were female, or that they were burned). The Reverend [John Calvin](#) was instructing Protestants that “The BIBLE teaches us that there are witches and that they must be slain. This law of God is a universal law.” Bishop John Jewell, who was living in exile in [Geneva](#), would bring witchhunting with him on his return to England in 1559 and would preach before the new Queen that:

It may please your Grace to understand that witches and sorcerers within these last few years are marvelously increased within your Grace’s realm, Your Grace’s subjects pine away even unto the death, their colour fadeth, their flesh rotteth, their speech is benumbed, their senses are bereft.

- 1500 Maximilian divides the empire of Germany into six circles, and adds four more in 1512.
- 1505 Shillings first coined in England.
- 1509 Gardening introduced into England from the Netherlands, from whence vegetables were imported hitherto.
- 1513 The battle of Flodden, in which James IV. of Scotland is killed, with the flower of his nobility.
- 1517 Martin Luther began the reformation.
Egypt is conquered by the Turks.
- 1518 Magellan, in the service of Spain, first discovers the straits of that name in South America.
- 1520 Henry VIII. for his writings in favour of popery, receives the title of Defender of the Faith from his Holiness.
- 1529 The name of Protestant takes its rise from the reformed protesting against the church of Rome, at the Diet of Spires in Germany.
- 1534 The reformation takes place in England under Henry VIII.
- 1537 Religious houses dissolved by ditto.
- 1539 The first English edition of the Bible authorized; the present translation finished 1611.
About this time cannon began to be used in ships.
- 1543 Silk stockings first worn by the French king; first worn in England by queen Elizabeth, 1561; the steel frame for weaving invented by the Rev. Mr. Lee, of St. John’s College, Cambridge, 1589.
Pins first used in England, before which time the ladies used skewers.
- 1544 Good lands let in England at one shilling per acre.
- 1545 The famous council of Trent begins, and continues 18 years.
- 1546 First law in England, establishing the interest of money at ten per cent.
- 1549 Lord Lieutenants of counties instituted in England.
- 1550 Horse guards instituted in England.
- 1555 The Russian Company established in England.
- 1558 Queen Elizabeth begins her reign.
- 1560 The reformation in Scotland completed by John Knox.

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1559



In France, Anne du Bourg said, in the presence of King Henry II of France, in regard to his [execution](#) of a primitive Christian, that it was no small thing to condemn those who, amidst the flames, invoked the name of Jesus Christ. Here is a drawing of Anne du Bourg being suspended over a fire by a rope and dipped in and out of the flames until death, for having dared thus to attempt to disturb the conscience of the monarch.

[HUGUENOTS](#)
[WALDENSES](#)

Meanwhile, Bishop John Jewell, who had been living in exile in Geneva, had been able to return to England, and had brought the Protestant witchhunting craze with him. He preached before the new Protestant Queen of England, Elizabeth I, that:

It may please your Grace to understand that [witches](#) and sorcerers within these last few years are marvelously increased within your Grace's realm, Your Grace's subjects pine away even unto the death, their colour fadeth, their flesh rotteth, their speech is benumbed, their senses are bereft.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1562

The [witch](#) *Anne*, a native of St. Brelade's on the island of [Jersey](#) in the English Channel, was burnt at St. Helier's. The [witch](#) *Michelle La Blanche*, due to a "gallows-right" by which the goods and lands of criminals on the Fief Haubert de St. Ouen were forfeit to the Seigneur of that fief, was [hanged](#) at the Hurets in the parish of St. Ouen on that island.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1563

Under Queen Elizabeth I, England's most notorious [witchcraft](#) act came into being, an act "agaynst Conjuracions Inchauntmentes and Witchecraftes." Anyone who should "use, practise, or exercise any Witchcraft, Enchantment, Charm, or Sorcery, whereby any person shall happen to be killed or destroyed," was guilty of a felony at common law (a criminal, rather than an ecclesiastical offense) and might be put to death "without benefit of clergy" (this simply meant, whether or not they were able to read and write), by hanging rather than by burning at the stake (except in cases of witchcraft that were also petty treason), or might at discretion be subjected to a lesser punishment. Since executed witches were felons rather than ecclesiastical offenders, all their property and goods escheated to the Crown rather than to the Church, which of course would provide local civil authorities with a financial incentive to ferret out witches to convict. There would be 247 trials of females and 23 of males. In the 1st of the trials at Chelmsford in Essex, the decrepit Elizabeth Frances was induced to confess that she had used a familiar cat named Sathan to cause harm to various people, and had then given the cat to Agnes Waterhouse (Elizabeth Frances was imprisoned for a year, Agnes Waterhouse was [hanged](#), and a daughter Joan Waterhouse was found not guilty; in a later trial on an unrelated incident of witchcraft, Elizabeth Frances would be [hanged](#)). This activity would broaden under Elizabeth's successor, King James I.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1564

“The Maiden,” a head-chopping machine based on the Halifax Gibbet, was constructed and used in Scotland. Made of oak, it consisted of a sole beam 5 feet in length into which were fixed two upright posts 10 feet in height, 4 inches broad and 12 inches apart from each other, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness, with bevelled corners. These posts were kept steady by a branch at each side which sprang from the end of the sole and is fastened to the uprights 4 feet from the bottom. The tops of the posts were fixed into a cross rail 2 feet in length. The block was a transverse bar $3\frac{1}{4}$ feet from the bottom, 8 inches in breadth and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness, and a hollow on the upper edge of this bar was filled with lead. The axe consisted of a plate of iron faced with steel; it measured 13 inches in length and $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth. On the upper edge of the plate was fixed a mass of lead 75 pounds in weight. This blade worked in grooves cut into the inner edges of the uprights, which were lined with copper.

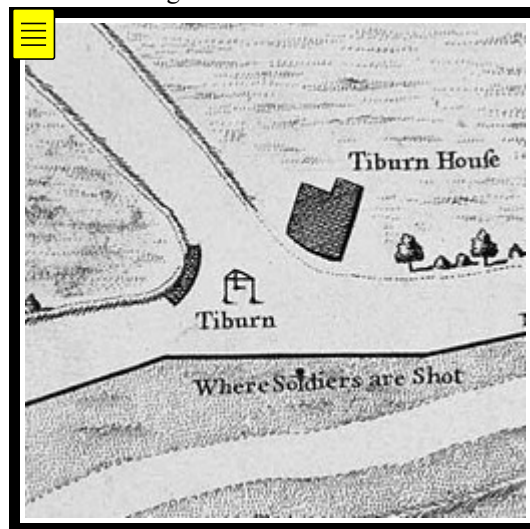
HEADCHOPPING

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1571

June 1, Friday (Old Style): John Story had been educated at Oxford, where he had become a lecturer on civil law in 1535, and had then become principal of Broadgates Hall (afterwards to be known as Pembroke College). Although with the accession of Edward VI as King of England he appeared to have disavowed his Roman Catholicism, when he was chosen a Member of Parliament, in 1547, he gained notoriety by opposing the Act of Uniformity. He cried out “Woe unto thee, O land, when thy king is a child,” was imprisoned by the House of Commons, was released and went into exile, but then returned to England in 1553. He resigned as Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford and became Chancellor of the dioceses of [London](#) and of Oxford, and Dean of Arches. When the [Catholic](#) Queen Mary I ascended to the throne of England, he became one of her most active agents in prosecuting Protestants, and in 1555 was one of her proctors at the trial of [Thomas Cranmer](#) at Oxford. As Chancellor of Oxford he acquired a reputation for dealing harshly with Protestants (for instance, while he was burning one of these heretics at the stake, she attempting a psalm, he simply kept poking a piece of burning wood in her face until she stopped singing). Under Queen Mary I’s Protestant half-sister Elizabeth, he was again returned to the Parliament, but in 1560 he boasted of his work in the former reign and was for a brief period again imprisoned. When he was again arrested in 1563 he managed to escape to Flanders and became a pensioner of King Philip II of Spain, working in the local Customs House. The Duke of Alva authorized him to exclude certain classes of books from the Netherlands and, in 1570, while engaged in this labor of censorship, he was decoyed by the English into the hold of a ship at Antwerp. His captors conveyed him to Yarmouth, he was taken to the [Tower of London](#), tried for high treason, and on this day was drawn in a hurdle to the gallows at Tyburn, and there [hanged](#) by the neck until he was dead. Then the Protestants, whom he had taught well, cut him down and disembowelled him. (This was the year in which the famous “Tyburn Tree,” the triple gallows as depicted below, was erected, in order to facilitate multiple simultaneous hangings — although I do not know that this triangle of timbers was erected for this particular execution.)



In 1886 Story would by Papal decree be beatified.

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1572

The witch Alice Chaundler of Maldon in England was [hanged](#) for causing the deaths of Francis Cowper and his daughter Mary, age 8, and of Robert Briscoe and his son, age 2, and his daughter, age 5.

[WITCHCRAFT](#)



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1577

Five years after Alice Chaundler of Maldon in England had been hanged as a witch, her daughter Ellen Smythe was accused at the assizes of having bewitched a 4-year-old who had fallen ill and died, Susan Webbe. Like her mother Alice, Ellen was found guilty and [hanged](#).

WITCHCRAFT



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1579

In a 2d round of witch trials at Chelmsford in Essex, the decrepit Elizabeth Frances went on trial again, along with several other women. They were all found guilty and hanged.

WITCHCRAFT



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1581

December 1, Friday (Old Style): Catholic faith had remained strong at [Balliol College of Oxford University](#) until well into the reign of [Queen Elizabeth](#). Saint Alexander Briant, of this College, after torture at the [Tower of London](#) intended to “wring from him the knowledge of things as shall appertain” (claiming to experience no pain on the rack, or while having needles forced under his nails), was [hanged](#), drawn, and quartered for high treason at Tyburn at the age of 25. At the point of his hanging he stated that he was innocent of any offense against the Queen, not only in deed but even in thought.

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1586

→ John Arden (or Ardent) became a resident of the Cradle Tower of the [Tower of London](#) (he would escape in 1597). [Sir Thomas Habington](#), one of the [Babington](#) conspirators suspected of a plot to murder Queen



Elizabeth I and proclaim [Mary, Queen of Scots](#), was released, while [Sir Edward Habington](#) was [beheaded](#).

HEADCHOPPING
LONDON

September 20, Tuesday (Old Style): [Sir Anthony Babington](#) who had been a participant in a Plot to murder [Queen Elizabeth](#) and proclaim [Mary, Queen of Scots](#), was [beheaded](#), and fellow conspirators Edward Abington, John Ballard, Robert Barnwall, John Savage, Chidioc Tichburne, and Charles Tilney were [hanged](#), drawn, and quartered. (There was so much public outcry about the barbarity of these 6 executions at Lincoln's Inn Fields that, with more conspirators being scheduled for processing on the following day, it was decided that they would pass up the remainder of this post-slaughter butchery.)

HEADCHOPPING
LONDON

September 21, Wednesday (Old Style): Jerome Bellamie, John Charnock, and a number of others were [hanged](#) at Lincoln's Inn Fields for having conspired to murder [Queen Elizabeth](#) and proclaim [Mary, Queen of Scots](#). (There had been so much public outcry about the barbarity of the 6 drawings and quarterings on the previous day at Lincoln's Inn Fields that it was decided that they would pass up the remainder of the butchering.)

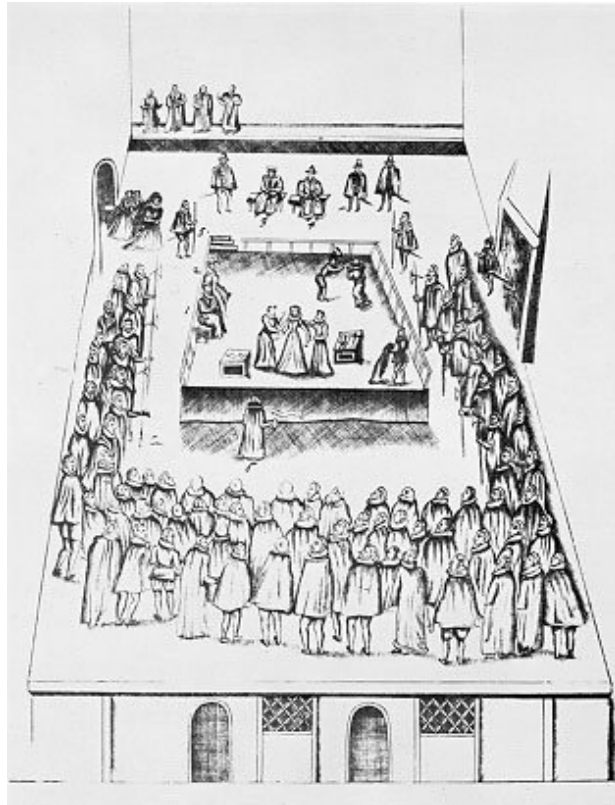
LONDON

STATE MURDER

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1587

February 8, Wednesday (1586, Old Style): In Fotherinhay Castle, at the formal shortening-by-a-head of [Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots](#) (she was 5 feet 11 inches, which even for a man would have been unusually tall), [Richard Fletcher](#), Dean of Peterborough “knelt down on the scaffold steps and started to pray out loud and at length, in a prolonged and rhetorical style as though determined to force his way into the pages of history,” and then after the 2d blow, and her head finally had been quite removed with a sawing motion of the ax blade, cried out “So perish all the Queen’s enemies!” (Clearly, this churchman loved Justice as much as he loved Christ Jesus.)



It has been alleged that Mary’s lips continued to move as if in silent prayer for some 15 minutes after the 2d fall of the ax had all but severed her neck (she having a whole lot to apologize for). It has also been alleged that Mary had been wearing a red wig to mask her prematurely gray head and the [executioner](#), not being aware of this, attempted to pick up the head by its hair — whereupon it fell thump on the scaffold.

Well, the one thing we can be confident of is that such stories will never be allowed to lose interesting detail in the retelling.

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(We may note that this murder by [beheading](#), despite some apparent similarities, has never been compared to the murder by beheading of King [Charles I](#) of England, or to the murders by beheading of King Louis XVI of France and his queen Marie Antoinette, and that perhaps this has been because in this case it was the **high-born** who were murdering by beheading this person of birth privilege, whereas in those subsequent cases it would be totally different for it would be the parliament or the people –which is to say the **low-born**– who would be murdering by beheading those persons of birth privilege. Being low-born would be, how shall we describe it, a horse of a different color?)



Soon the “regency” period for [King James VI of Scotland](#) would be over and, despite having developed some sort of chronic problem with his legs that was causing him to fall repeatedly, injuring himself, he would begin actual rule.



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1589

As the result of a 3d round of [witchcraft](#) trials at Chelmsford in Essex, Joan Prentice, Joan Upney, and Joan Cunny were [hanged](#) for having made use of familiars.

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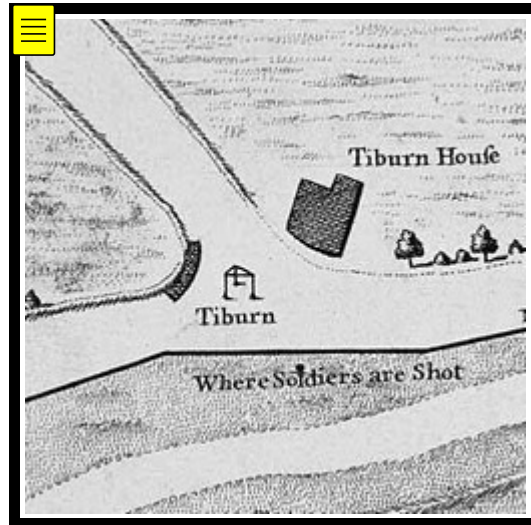
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1595

February 21: Robert Southwell, Catholic martyr, was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.



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1599

[Robert Greene](#)'s THE COMICAL HISTORY OF ALPHONSUS, KING OF ARAGON,

COMICAL KING ALPHONSUS

and A PLEASANT CONCEITED COMEDY OF GEORGE A GREEN, THE PINNER OF WAKEFIELD.

GEORGE-A-GREEN

Robert Devereux, 2d Earl of Essex arrived in [Ireland](#) with an army, only to find himself outmaneuvered by O'Neill. Soon [Queen Elizabeth](#) would underscore the fact that this unfortunate English leader had not made adequate use of his head by having him beheaded on the green of the [Tower of London](#).



HEADCHOPPING





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1601

February 8, Sunday (1600, Old Style): Robert Devereux, the Earl of Essex, led a plot to kidnap [Queen Elizabeth](#) in order to force her to dismiss his enemies from her court. The leaders were taken to the [Tower of London](#) and [Francis Bacon](#) was instrumental in securing for the queen a guilty verdict at Essex's trial. Nevertheless, apparently the monarch mistrusted Bacon and it would not be until James I became king that his career would advance.

[LONDON](#)



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1603

November: William Watson, accused of complicity in the Lady Arabella Stuart conspiracy, was extracted from the Tower of London and hanged at Winchester.

LONDON

1604

Publication of [Samuel Daniel](#)'s masque THE VISION OF THE TWELVE GODDESSES. After a performance of the play PHILOTAS he was called before the Privy Council to explain why the hero of the play had seemed to resemble Robert Devereux, 2d Earl of Essex, who had on February 25, 1601 been [beheaded](#) with an ax on the Tower Green in front of the chapel of the [Tower of London](#), for the treason of having plotted to kidnap [Queen Elizabeth](#).



HEADCHOPPING



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1605

November 5, Tuesday (Old Style): [Guy Fawkes](#) had been recruited with a band of Roman Catholics, perhaps on the basis of his familiarity with explosives and with sapping, to tunnel under the House of Parliament. There is no doubt that, though his name has been fixed to the conspiracy for English Catholics to take over the government, Fawkes had been a mere functionary. It was an advantage that, having for some time been abroad, he was not known in London. Coming to [London](#), he had used the alias Johnson. There is no doubt as to his courage, and the 36 ninety-pound barrels of black powder that they had purchased from a London fireworks maker named Charles Pain were discovered while Fawkes was outside the building else he surely would have fired them.⁸



Thomas Shepard was born at the very hour on which the British Parliament was scheduled to be blown up, with the monarch and a princely son.

8. In England (and inter alia, some former colonies), November the 5th is still celebrated as [Guy Fawkes Night](#), when bonfires and fireworks are ignited to celebrate the successful detection of this Roman Catholic plot to detonate King and Parliament. At Lewes in County Sussex, the celebration still suggests something of an anti-Catholic animus. In colonial [Boston](#), Pope's Day would be a continuation on this anti-Catholic day of rioting, and the jingoistic parades would continue until one year a small boy would be crushed by one of the "Pope" effigies being wheeled through the streets by firemen (the volunteer fire brigades of athletic, drunken young men were principal leaders in such rioting).



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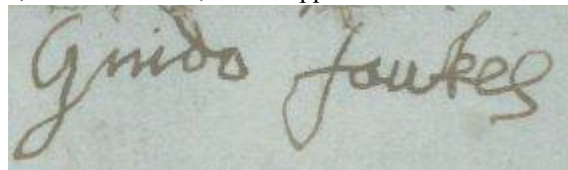
November 8, Friday (Old Style): Upon the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot against King and Parliament, Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, Kit Wright, and John Wright were shot dead at Holbeach House. (The recoverable bodies would later be dug up, to be decapitated.) The conspirators taken alive would be interrogated in the Queens House of the [Tower of London](#). This was the 3rd imprisonment in the Tower for Thomas Abington, who would be released (the letter of warning that led to the unraveling of the scheme is said to have been written by his wife). Hugh Owen would live until his old age in Rome. [Guy Fawkes](#) was a 36-year-old [Catholic](#) convert who had served in the Spanish army before becoming involved in the Gunpowder Plot. He would be racked, probably in the basement of Wakefield Tower.

[LONDON](#)
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This is his signature, “Guido,” on his confession immediately after the rack:



And here is his signature, “Guido Fawkes,” on a supplemental confession made eight days afterward:



Upon the discovery of this plot against King and Parliament, various trusted Protestants were sent out into the nation, to round up the usual suspects. For instance, [Sir John Ferne, newly minted knight](#), got dispatched to York to coordinate the arrest of suspects there. Sir John’s manner of suppressing this conspiracy would be not merely to persecute English [Catholics](#) but also, tarring with a wider brush, to attack the ecclesiastical establishment — for having been insufficiently diligent in their previous persecutions of these disloyal ones.

[Thomas Hariot](#)’s patron Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland, was one of those imprisoned in connection with the Gunpowder Plot, on account of his being a 2d cousin of one of the conspirators, Thomas Percy (Hariot himself would be briefly imprisoned under interrogation, but would soon obtain a release).

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1606

The courtier John Lepton obtained a royal grant of the fees that had been the mainstay of the livelihood of the two secretaries of the Council in the North, [Sir John Ferne, knight](#), and William Gee. It's about the money, stupid. They would mount a vigorous protest and would force Lepton into a compromise, recovering for themselves some of these fees.

Nicholas Owen was a Jesuit and a builder, competent in the construction of what were known as “priests’ holes” — secret cupboards and passages within the houses of wealthy [Catholics](#) in which their priests could hide from King James I’s men, Protestants. During this year he wound up in the [Tower of London](#), suspended by his thumbs, being threatened with the rack. The official report of his demise alleges that he committed suicide with a very dull blade.



LONDON

[Guy Fawkes](#) and his [Roman Catholic](#) friends had their big day. In this contemporary illustration, you can see the stages of the ceremony, with the condemned men being dragged to the [gallows](#) tree, and behind that device, the fire for the burning of the ripped-out organs and the pot for the coating of the fresh bodies with hot pitch,

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so that they would last longer as objects of warning:⁹



William Camden would prepare for publication at “Londini” a record of this entitled in part *ACTIO IN HENRICVM GARNETVM SOCIETATIS IESUITICÆ IN ANGLIA SVPERIOREM, ET CÆTEROS QUI PRODITIONE LONGÈ IMMANIFSIMA SERENIFS. BRITANNIAE MAGNAE REGEM, & REGNI ANGLIAE ORDINES PULVERE FULMINALI È MEDIO TOLLERE CONIURÂRUNT: VNÀ CUM ORATIONIBUS DOMINORUM DELEGATORUM...*:

WILLIAM CAMDEN’S RECORD

9. The first capital punishment enactments of which we have written record date to the legal code of King Hammurabi of Babylon, in the 18th Century BCE, which had specified the penalty of death for 25 distinct offenses. This had been carried forward in the 14th Century BCE in the Hittite code of laws, which also made use of capital punishment, and in the 7th Century BCE, in the legal code implemented by Draco of Athens, which had specified that the penalty was to be the same, capital punishment, for any crime regardless of what it was (this had been, of course, truly Draconian). In this century, the Roman Law of the Twelve Tablets also made use of capital punishment. Death might be by crucifixion, by burning alive, by being beaten to death, by drowning, or by impalement. In the 10th Century, the British code of laws had also made use of capital punishment, although the usual method of execution was hanging. The arrival of William the Bastard, become William the Conqueror, in the 11th Century, meant no capital punishment whatever of any of his British subjects, regardless of their crime, except in time of war. During the reign of King Henry VIII over England, however, we infer that as many as 72,000 people were executed. The common methods of execution in Henry’s time were boiling, burning at the stake, hanging, beheading, and drawing and quartering. Treason was a capital offense — and the crime of treason might extend even to whispering a jest about the monarch, or failing to raise one’s glass during a toast, or having sex with a prince’s nursemaid. For a non-Jew to marry a Jew was a capital offense. For an arrested person to refuse to confess to a crime meant that the penalty, if found guilty, regardless of the offense, was to be death. (The lawmakers would continue to add to the list of crimes punishable by death.)

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January 30, Thursday (1605, Old Style): [Sir Evard Digby](#), Robert Wintour, John Grant, and Thomas Bates were dragged on hurtles to the west end of the churchyard of Old St Paul's Cathedral in [London](#) (as depicted below) and there hanged, drawn, and quartered for the part they had played in the Catholic "Gunpowder Plot." The first to be processed, Sir Evard Digby, after being suspended for a short period, was cut down still conscious, taken to the block, and castrated, then disembowelled, then quartered. At the age of three his son [Kenelm Digby](#) would be removed from the custody of his Catholic mother Lady Mary (Maria) Neale Mulshaw Digby, daughter of Francis Neale of Keythorpe in Leicestershire, and reared in a Protestant household as a ward of Chancery.



After litigation, [Kenelm Digby](#) would inherit unconfiscated lands that would generate for him the truly enormous personal income of \$15,000 a year.

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January 31, Friday (1605, Old Style): [Guy Fawkes](#), [Robert Keyes](#), [Robert Wintour](#), [Tom Wintour](#), and [Ambrose Rookwood](#) were drawn on a hurdle to the Houses of Parliament and in the Old Palace Yard of Westminster Fawkes was hanged, disembowelled, [beheaded](#), and quartered. The others were merely hanged. Father Henry Garnett and Thomas Garnett, also involved in the plot, for the time being remained alive in the [Tower of London](#).



HEADCHOPPING

Remember, remember the fifth of November
 Gunpowder, treason and plot.
 I see no reason why gunpowder treason
 Should ever be forgot.
 Guy Fawkes, Guy Fawkes
 'Twas his intent
 To blow up the King and the Parliament
 Three score barrels of powder below
 Poor old England to overthrow
 By God's providence he was caught
 With a dark lantern and burning match.
 Holloa boys, holloa boys,
 Ring the bells ring
 Holloa boys, holloa boys,
 Goda save the King!
 Hip hip hooray
 Hip hip horray.

A penny loaf to feed ol' Pope
 A farthing cheese to choke him
 A pint of beer to rinse it down
 A faggot of sticks to burn him.
 Burn him in a tub of tar
 Burn him like a blazing star
 Burn his body from his head
 Then we'll say old Pope is dead.
 Hip hip hooray
 Hip hip hooray

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1608

August 28, Sunday (Old Style): In the Jamestown colony of Virginia, Captain George Kendall was suspected of spying for Spain, and accused of sowing discord among the colonists. Imprisoned, he would eventually be executed — the 1st capital punishment on the historical record in the English colonies of the New World.



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1612

March 12, Thursday (1611, Old Style): The 3d Virginia Charter. [Virginia](#) Governor Sir Thomas Dale enacted the Divine, Moral and Martial Laws, which provided [capital punishment](#) even for the pilfering of someone else's grapes, the killing of someone else's chickens — and, of course, it goes without saying, trading with the local natives.

[READ ABOUT VIRGINIA](#)

To help save the desperately struggling Jamestown settlement, [John Rolfe](#) (whose English wife and child had recently died in the New World) was experimenting with a crop of “tall [tobacco](#).”¹⁰ Rolfe shunned the harsh product grown by the local Indians, *Nicotiana rustica* or “poke,” and somehow obtained seeds of the coveted *Nicotiana tabacum* strain then being grown in Trinidad and South America. Then [Pocahontas](#) (who, although

10. [Tobacco](#) is a pioneer species, and although the second crop on virgin land is better than the first, after four crops the land must be abandoned to crops such as maize that do not place such heavy demands upon the richness of the soil. Tobacco would be profitably grown only where there were vast quantities of virgin land to be wrested from nature and from the native Americans, and where great numbers of black slaves could be brought in from Africa to clear and plant these new fields and process the crop. Otherwise, white man, forget tobacco as a crop, because you're never going to become a rich planter and sit on the cool porch of a colonnaded mansion sipping mint juleps and whipping your darkies for fun — you're going to become, instead, a poor-white-trash tobacco grubber and chewer with a red neck living in an unpainted shack by the side of the road and swigging moonshine out of a Mason jar.

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young, already had a husband in her tribe) entered Rolfe's life. Relations with the natives had continually



plagued the settlers. While the Americans were holding several English captive, the colonists captured the chief's beloved young daughter, Pocahontas, in order to have an important hostage of their own. [John Smith's](#) later writings assure us that a few years earlier at the age of 12, Pocahontas had dramatically saved Smith from her father, the Powhattan's, wrath. The incident could more likely have been a ceremonial "saving," or nonexistent, but it is more verifiably established that in the early days she did indeed help the colony — with food or with warnings of attack. How much did Pocahontas know about tobacco? It is true that Powhattan women grew the food, while in a completely separate sector, in a sort of back area of the village, the men grew the tobacco. "Frisky," however, had a seemingly insatiable curiosity, and tended to roam where she wanted. It is likely she either already knew a great deal about tobacco cultivation, or knew how to get answers.

But, how did Pocahontas become a captive, a hostage? We can read what Sir Samuel Argall or Argoll wrote about his expedition to capture the princess Pocahontas and hold her for ransom in *PURCHAS: HIS PILGRIMES* (1625) Volume IV, page 1765, "A letter of Sir Samuel Argoll touching his Voyage to Virginia, and actions there. Written to Master Nicholas Hawes, June, 1613.":

Whilst I was in this business, I was told by certaine Indians, my friends, that the Great Powhatans Daughter Pokahuntis was with the great King Patowoneck, whether I presently repaired, resolving to possesse myselfe of her by any strategem that I

STATE MURDER

The dramatic success of the white settlers' tobacco crop is credited not only to Rolfe's importation of the Spanish strain, but to his finding better ways of growing and curing it, and we may only conjecture how much he was guided in this by Pocahontas. During captivity, the girl received daily bible lessons, and eventually converted to Christianity, her name becoming "Rebecca."



Jamestown would grow rich on **tobacco** and the import duties would alter King James I's attitude toward tobacco. In **China** in this year, however, an imperial edict forbade either the cultivation or the use of this plant.



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1615

November 18, Saturday (Old Style): At the murder trial of those who had poisoned the poet Sir Thomas Overbury while he was a prisoner in the [Tower of London](#), it had been established that the madam of a whorehouse in [London](#), Mistress Ann Turner, an apothecary, James Franklin, and Dr. Simon Forman (who at this point had been dead for several years) had been involved. It had been these people who had supplied the jailer at the Tower, Richard Weston, with the poison with which to murder Sir Thomas, for attempting to stand in the way of Lady Frances Howard, Countess of Essex as she schemed to change husbands.

THE SCARLET LETTER: When an uninstructed multitude attempts to see with its eyes, it is exceedingly apt to be deceived. When, however, it forms its judgment, as it usually does, on the intuitions of its great and warm heart, the conclusions thus attained are often so profound and so unerring as to possess the character of truth supernaturally revealed. The people, in the case of which we speak, could justify its prejudice against Roger Chillingworth by no fact or argument worthy of serious refutation. There was an aged handicraftsman, it is true, who had been a citizen of London at the period of Sir Thomas Overbury's murder, now some thirty years ago; he testified to having seen the physician, under some other name, which the narrator of the story had now forgotten, in company with Dr. Forman, the famous old conjurer, who was implicated in the affair of Overbury. Two or three individuals hinted that the man of skill, during his Indian captivity, had enlarged his medical attainments by joining in the incantations of the savage priests, who were universally acknowledged to be powerful enchanter, often performing seemingly miraculous cures by their skill in the black art. A large number -and many of these were persons of such sober sense and practical observation that their opinions would have been valuable in other matters- affirmed that Roger Chillingworth's aspect had undergone a remarkable change while he had dwelt in town, and especially since his abode with Mr. Dimmesdale. At first, his expression had been calm, meditative, scholar-like. Now there was something ugly and evil in his face, which they had not previously noticed, and which grew still the more obvious to sight the oftener they looked upon him. According to the vulgar idea, the fire in his laboratory had been brought from the lower regions, and was fed with infernal fuel; and so, as might be expected, his visage was getting sooty with the smoke.... At the moment when the Reverend Mr. Dimmesdale thus communed with himself, and struck his forehead with his hand, old Mistress Hibbins, the reputed witch-lady, is said to have been passing by. She made a very grand appearance, having on a high head-dress, a rich gown of velvet, and a ruff done up with the famous yellow starch, of which Anne Turner, her especial friend, had taught her the secret, before this last good lady had been hanged for Sir Thomas Overbury's murder.

This was the day of the [hangings](#) at Tyburn. Richard Weston, the jailer who had actually administered the poison to his prisoner, made a full confession before being hanged. As Mistress Turner had pioneered a yellow-starch for ruffs, she was wearing one of her yellow ruff and cuff sets — her hangman also was attired in yellow-starched clothing.



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1616

Jacques Perrier, a Frenchman, was [hanged](#) for robbery and murder.¹¹

As I have stepped in the former stories a little back in time, so in this I shall make bold to go out of our own nation, to relate a very extraordinary passage which happened at Paris in the beginning of the last century, because it will serve as a notable instance of that confusion and fear which guilt brings over the souls of the most hardened villains and thereby renders them often instruments of justice upon themselves; so that it seems not virtue only is its own reward, but vice also brings upon itself those torments which it ought to feel. Thus Providence ordereth, with inscrutable wisdom, that every man should feel happiness or misery according as his own demeanour serves. But it is now time that we hearken to the story.

It happened that a certain architect, who was in high esteem with the greatest nobles in France for his excellent skill in building after the Italian model, and had thereby obtained both a great reputation and a large estate, being a generous and charitable man, took into his house one Jacques Perrier, in the nature of an accountant, for the better ordering of his affairs. For the six years that this Jacques lived in his master's house, never any man was known to behave better or more commendably than he did. At length he married and had children, so that the master looking upon him as a staid discreet person, of whose fidelity he had indubitable proofs; he therefore gave him the charge of everything, when he went to a country house of his, a small distance from Paris, where he sometimes stayed for a week or so to unbend his mind and enjoy the benefit of the summer season.

At last, Jacques observing what great wealth he had acquired, began to be covetous and desirous of obtaining it; and after having cast it long in his head how he might obtain it, he at length resolved with himself to join with certain villains who at that time robbed in the streets and committed murders on the roads about Paris. Gaining notice of a house where such people frequented, he found ways and means to be admitted into the room where they had their consultations. And the person who introduced him having promised for his fidelity, they listened very attentively to the proposal which he promised to make them, and which after a little pause, he performed in these words. *My good friends, it is now upwards of six years since I have lived in the service of a rich and eminent person. I thought that before this time I might have made my fortune under him, and therefore have hitherto served him faithfully and honestly; but finding my expectations herein deceived, I come to make you an offer which may enrich you all. He has a house in the country, whither he retires with his daughter and maid-servant only. These may easily be dispatched and then all his effects will be our own. I will venture to assure you, they will be worth ten thousand crowns.*

The thieves were not a little rejoiced at the thoughts of so

11. LIVES OF THE MOST REMARKABLE CRIMINALS WHO HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED FOR MURDER, THE HIGHWAY, HOUSEBREAKING, STREET ROBBERIES, COINING OR OTHER OFFENCES / COLLECTED FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS AND AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS, AND PUBLISHED IN 1735 / Edited by Arthur L. Hayward



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extraordinary a booty, and therefore, after returning Perrier thanks, they readily embraced his motion and promised him whatever assistance he should require. It was not long before the unfortunate, gentleman went, as usual, with his daughter and her maid, to enjoy the pleasures of his rural habitation, leaving the direction of his affairs to Jacques, who no sooner saw him safe out of Paris, but he went to give notice to his associates that the time was now come to execute his bloody proposal. They quickly got all things in readiness, and as soon as it was evening, set out under the command of this desperate varlet to commit that horrible murder which he had contrived. Arriving at the house, Perrier knocked at the door; the maid knowing him, supposed some extraordinary business had brought him thither, and readily opened the door. But she was exceedingly surprised to find him followed by five ruffians oddly dressed, masked and with large staves in their hands. However, they did not give her much time to consider, but followed her immediately into the kitchen, where, by the direction of their abominable leader, they immediately, with many cruel blows, put her to death. From thence they went upstairs into the old gentleman's apartment, and found him sitting upon his bed. As soon as they entered, Perrier, said his master, *is it thus that you return that kindness with which I have always treated you. Did I not take you from misery and want. Have I not maintained you, and put it in your power to maintain your family? Will you repay this my charity with robbing me of all I have? Must the tenderness I have shown towards you draw upon me death from your hands, and do you not think that the same God who hath seen me cherish and relieve you, will not bring upon you condign punishment for this execrable villainy thou art going to commit?*

Perrier was sensible of the truth of what he said, but knowing it was impossible for him to go back, he gave a sign to the murderers to fall about the execution of their work; but the old man, who was too wise to expect mercy from their hands, endeavoured to lay hold of a halbert which stood in his room, designing therewith, as well as he could, to defend himself. But before he could get it into his hands the villains struck him down, and with thirty or forty wounds gave a passage for his soul into a better life.

The unfortunate young lady lay in the next room to her father's, and being already got to bed, heard with astonishment the execrable fact. However, full of fear and astonishment, she covered herself with the bed clothes, and endeavoured all she was able, to hide herself in the bed. But alas, her caution was to small purpose. Perrier knew too well the situation of all things to be deceived by so trivial an artifice, and therefore after pulling the bedclothes into the middle of the floor, he exposed, naked, to his fellow ruffians, the most beautiful young lady in France. In vain she fell upon her knees, and with all that tender elocution so natural to their sex when in distress, besought them that they would spare her life, which, as she said, could be of no benefit to them, and could only serve to increase the number of their sins; but they were too much flushed in cruelty and blood to give any attention to her entreaties, and so without respect either to the softness of her sex, or to her tender age, with a shower of blows from their clubs they laid her dead upon the floor. Being thus become master of the house,



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Perrier took the keys, and opening the several apartments, disclosed to them all the riches of his deceased master. They immediately brought away all the ready money they found in the house, which amounted to little less than ten thousand crowns. All the rich movables they conveyed away to a boat which they had prepared for that purpose, and had fastened in a creek of the river on a bank of which the house stood. They loaded and unloaded this vessel five or six times, for there was no hurry in carrying away the goods, seeing it was the dead time of the night, and when they had thoroughly plundered it of everything that would yield money, they then came away and went to the place where they laid up their spoils. There it was resolved to divide the booty, and Perrier claimed the largest share, as well in right of his having put them upon that project, as that he had assisted more strenuously in the execution of it than any of them; for when men associate themselves to commit wickedness, he who surpasses the rest in villainy claims the same reward, and from the same reasons, as he who in another society surpasses all his neighbours in virtue. When this execrable fact was over, and he had secured his share in the plunder, he returned home to the house of his master, and remained in carrying on the ordinary course of business of his master.

About two days after, it happened that a man who had business with the old gentleman called at his country house, and after knocking a good while at the door, finding that nobody answered, he went to town, and meeting with Jacques Perrier at his master's house, he told him of his calling upon him in the country, and that he found nobody there. Jacques counterfeited the greatest surprise at the news, and calling many assistants, went down immediately to his master's seat, and with all the seeming horror imaginable, became a second time a witness of those barbarities which he and his villainous associates had committed. At the sight of the murdered maid in the kitchen, he cried out with the greatest vehemence, and seemed in an agony of sorrow; but when he saw the body of his master, he roared and stamped, he cried out, tore his hair and threw himself upon the body as if he had never more intended to have drawn breath. All the persons he had carried with him were effectually deceived by his behaviour, and were under apprehensions lest his too violent grief should throw him into a fever or prompt him to lay hands upon himself. He was not contented with acting thus upon the spot, but resolved to play it over again when he came back to Paris. There abundance of people pitied him, and looked on him as one whom the sincere love he had for his master had drawn to the utmost despair by reason of his unfortunate death.

But one of the old gentleman's relations, who was a man of more penetration than the rest, began to suspect his excessive affliction, and by his arguments drew another gentleman, who was also interested in the family affairs, to be of his opinion; whereupon Jacques was apprehended on suspicion and sent to prison. Solitude and confinement are often the roads to repentance and confession, for the vanities of the world being no longer before them, in such cases people are apt to retire into the recesses of their own breasts, and having no avocations from considering how they have spent their former years, the reflection often extorts truth which would never be by any other method discovered. But it was not so with Perrier. His dissimulation was of a stronger contexture, and not to be broken



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even by sorrow and confinement. He not only continued to deny the knowledge of the murder, but also to lament the loss of so indulgent a master, with such floods of tears, and so many strong appearances of real sorrow and affection that, no proof appearing against him, the magistrates were afraid of having themselves reproached with injustice if they had not given him his liberty, to which, after six months imprisonment, he was restored.

The rest of the assassins seeing a long space of time elapsed, and that still not the least discovery was made of the murder, laid aside all fears of being taken, and began to appear more openly than hitherto they had done since the perpetration of that fact. But in the midst of their security the Providence of God forced them to betray themselves; for as the father, son and cousin, who were all concerned in the murder, were sitting with one Masson, another of the confederates, making merry at a public-house, on a sudden they turned their heads and saw ten or twelve archers or marshal's men (who have the same authority as constables in our country) who by chance met together and came into the house to drink. Guilt on a sudden struck the whole company with apprehensions that they were come in search of them, the fear of which made them throw down their knives and forks, leave what they had upon the table and fly with the utmost precipitation, as supposing they ran for their lives.

This extravagant behaviour struck the archers with amazement, and immediately calling for the landlord, they enquired of him what should be the sudden cause of this terror in his guests. He replied that it was impossible for him to tell certainly, but from discourse which he had heard, he took them to be persons of no very honest character, and from the great sums of money he had heard them count out, he was apprehensive that they had committed some robbery or other. There wanted not any farther account to stir up the archers to a pursuit, from whence they already assured themselves they should be considerable gainers, the thing speaking for itself, since honest people are not used to fall into such panics; but only guilt creates apprehensions in men at the sight of the ministers of justice. Immediately, therefore, the officers pursued them in the road they had taken, and the old man being less able to travel than the rest, in about two hours time they came up with him at the side of a rivulet, where, for very weariness he had stopped as not being able to cross it.

No sooner did they come up to him but he surrendered, and fear having brought a sudden repentance, he, without any equivocation, began to confess all the crimes of his life. He said that it was true they all of them deserved death, and he was content to suffer; he said, moreover, that in the course of his life he had murdered upwards of three-score with his own hands. He also carried the officers to an island in the river, which was the usual place of the execution of those innocents who fell into the hands of their gang, and acknowledged that of all the offences he had committed, nothing gave him so much pain as the having murdered a hopeful young gentleman (for the sake of a trifle of money which he had about him) by putting a stone about his neck and sinking him in the water.

Of the other three, two were apprehended, but the third made his escape and was running hastily with the news to Jacques Perrier and their other companions, but he was soon after seized, and



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carried to prison with the rest, none escaping from the hands of Justice but Masson and the cruel Perrier, the author of all this mischief. The three who were in prison endured the torture with the greatest constancy, absolutely denying that they knew anything of the murders and robberies which had been committed, yet when they were confronted by the old man, their courage deserted them, they acknowledged the fact, and judgment was pronounced upon them that they should be broke alive upon the wheel, before the house of the unfortunate architect whom they had murdered.

When they were brought there, with a strong guard, to suffer that punishment to which the Law had so justly doomed them, they appeared to be very penitent and sorrowful for their crimes, and one of them in particular did, with greatest vehemency, beseech the pardon of Almighty God, of the king his sovereign, and of his people whom he had so much injured, declaring that he could not die in peace without informing the multitude who were assembled to behold their execution, of a certain kind of villainy in which he was particularly concerned. He said it was his custom to watch about the sides of the road which lay near the woods, and that having a cord with him, he suddenly threw it about the neck of any passenger who was coming by, and therewith immediately strangled him before he was aware, or capable of resisting them, and if at any time there came by several passengers together who demanded what he did there, he replied that he was sent thither by his master to catch a cow; and his going in the habit of a peasant gave such an aspect of truth to the story that he was never suspected.

Though the concourse of people be generally very great, yet the assembly on this occasion was much larger than ordinary, and those who were spectators, contrary to the ordinary custom, showed but very little compassion at the miserable tortures which those wretches endured. On the contrary, they continually cried out that they should discover what was become of Perrier and their other accomplice, Masson. These unfortunate men continued to assert in their last moments that they knew nothing of either of them, but supposed that, hearing of their apprehension, they had immediately made their escape, and were retired as far as they were able from the danger. The people were infinitely satisfied with the death of these assassins, and nothing was wanting to complete the triumph of Justice but the apprehension of Perrier and his associate, to whose adventures it is now time that we return, in order to display the severe justice of Providence, and the admirable methods by which it disappoints all the courses that human wit can invent in order to frustrate its intent.

Masson had hid himself in a village not far from the city of Tours, where he concealed himself so effectually that the inhabitants had not the least suspicion of his being a dishonest man. On the contrary, he applied himself to an honest way of getting his livelihood, and after sojourning there for a considerable space, he married a young woman, with the consent of her parents, and seemed to be now established in a state of peace and security, if it were possible for a guilty soul to know either security or peace. A trivial accident, in which no man but Masson would have had a hand, proved the instrument by which he was drawn to suffering that cruel death which his companions had before undergone, and he so justly deserved.



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There was, it seems, a young country fellow in the neighbourhood where Masson lived, who was just married, and according to a silly notion which prevails not only among the peasants of France but also among the clowns of all other nations in Europe, fancied himself bewitched by some charm or other, which rendered him incapable of performing the rites of his marriage bed. Masson thereupon offered, if he would give him a reasonable gratuity, to free him from this insupportable malady, and a bargain was accordingly struck for four crowns, two of which the fellow gave him in his hand, and two more were to be paid on the accomplishment of the cure, when there were no more complaints of insufficiency. Upon this he immediately demanded the other two crowns, which the other refused, and our infatuated thief brought the cause before the magistrates, where, when it came to be examined, it appeared plainly that Masson had bragged to his companions that he had wrought the charm, for the undoing of which he now claimed a reward. And as the Justice of the Court required, he was sentenced to be banished as a sorcerer, after being first whipped at all the cross-streets in town.

But behold the marvellous conduct of Divine Justice. He appealed from this sentence to the parliament at Paris, whither he was no sooner conducted under a strong guard, but he was immediately known to be one of that gang of assassins which had been executed for the murder of Perrier's master and family. Immediately he was charged with this fact, and the heirs of that unfortunate gentleman prosecuted their charge with such vigour that he received the like judgment, to be broken alive upon the wheel at the same place where his associates had suffered death; which sentence was rigorously executed five years after the perpetration of that execrable fact.

There remained nobody but Jacques Perrier, the author and contriver of this horrid villainy, who had not suffered according to their deserts. He, after hiding himself for a while, until he saw what became of his companions, hastily betook himself to flight, and endeavoured to fly into England, where, if he once arrived, he knew he should remain in safety. But in this attempt he was disappointed (although nobody pursued him), for being arrived at Calais, the same covetous and wicked disposition which had prompted him to murder so kind a master and all his family, egged him on to rob a certain rich merchant there, which villainous design he effected whilst the gentleman was at church. But he gained not much by that, for the booty being too large to be concealed, he was very quickly apprehended and for this fact condemned to be hanged. He had more wit, however, than his companion, Masson, and therefore never dreamt of appealing to the parliament of Paris, where he knew he should meet with the same fate which had befallen the rest of the gang. However, when he came to suffer that death which was appointed him by Law, he did not stick to acknowledge that execrable parricide which he had projected, as well as carried into execution; so that when the news reached Paris, it occasioned universal joy that not one of these bloody villains had escaped, but were so wonderfully cut off, when they themselves fancied the danger to be over.

The French author from whom I have transcribed this account hath swelled the relation with much of that false eloquence which was so common in the last age, not only in France, but throughout all Europe. Except that I have rejected this, I have been very



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faithful in this translation, the story appearing to me to be very extraordinary in its kind, and worthy therefore of being known to the public, since it will sufficiently declare that as vice prevails generally throughout all countries and climates, stirring up men to cruel and atrocious deeds, so the eye of Providence is continually watchful, and suffers not the blood of innocents to cry out for revenge in vain. It remains that I inform my readers that this villainy was transacted about the year 1611, and that Masson and Jacques Perrier suffered in the year 1616.



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1617

Despite their King James' belief that dipping and chewing tobacco was vile, Virginia planters start sending boatloads of *Nicotiana tabacum* to London. They advertised their product as medicine. Within twenty years, the settlers' annual tobacco exports exceed three million pounds weight, and within fifty years, fuel a land hunger that drives the Woodland Indians into near-extinction. The settlers changed European buyers' perceptions by sending only "mild," or non-hallucinogenic, tobaccos. (Earlier shipments had included the considerably more hallucinogenic *Nicotiana rustica*.) The tobacco was chewed or dipped, and advertised as a defense against bubonic plague. In 1665, for instance, diarist Samuel Pepys wrote that seeing quarantined houses "put me into an ill conception of myself and my smell, so that I was forced to buy some roll-tobacco to smell and to chew — which took away my apprehension." Joseph Swetnam becomes the first English swordsman to encourage the use of the Italian-style lunge in a book (*The Schoole of the noble and worthy Science of Defence*). However, rather than naming the techniques Swetnam simply gave them several paragraphs of text.

English merchants carry Japanese matchlocks into Thailand "three or four at a Tyme" so that the government "would not take notice thereof." Japanese firearms were brought partly because they were better made, and mainly because the Christian samurai in the Siamese king's bodyguard preferred them.

Chinese merchants living in Sumatra start mixing cheap Bengali opium with expensive Dutch tobacco, and smoking the mixture in long pipes. While the practice quickly spreads throughout Indonesia, it takes a Ming Dynasty ban on tobacco smoking to popularize opium smoking inside China itself.

Several Italian cities prohibit civilians from carrying pistols or swords without a license. Sometimes claimed as a prohibition against dueling, these restrictions actually protected wealthy merchants from kidnappers and robbers.

The emperor of Mongolia threatened the death penalty for use of [tobacco](#).

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

Dr. William Vaughn wrote:

Tobacco that outlandish weede
It spends the braine and spoiles the seede
It dulls the spirite, it dims the sight
It robs a woman of her right

CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE

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1618

October 29, Thursday (Old Style): [Sir Walter Raleigh](#) smoked one last pipe of [tobacco](#) and, with a little help from a king and a commoner, had his head amputated in Old Palace Yard, Westminster, in [London](#) (On the scaffold he ran his finger along the edge of the axe and exclaimed, “’Tis a sharp remedy, but a sure cure for all ills.” With the charge having been treason, after its [beheading](#) the body needed of course to be quartered and eviscerated — so perhaps he should have run his finger along the edge of the executioner’s butcher knife as well as along the edge of his axe.)¹²



HEADCHOPPING

12. When their son Carew would die, the well-traveled head of the father and husband would finally be interred, on the south side of the altar at St. Margaret's in Westminster, between the son's body and the body from which since 1618 it had been detached.

Famous Last Words:



"What school is more profitably instructive than the death-bed of the righteous, impressing the understanding with a convincing evidence, that they have not followed cunningly devised fables, but solid substantial truth."

— A COLLECTION OF MEMORIALS CONCERNING DIVERS DECEASED MINISTERS, Philadelphia, 1787



"The death bed scenes & observations even of the best & wisest afford but a sorry picture of our humanity. Some men endeavor to live a constrained life — to subject their whole lives to their will as he who said he might give a sign if he were conscious after his head was cut off — but he gave no sign Dwell as near as possible to the channel in which your life flows."

—Thoreau's JOURNAL, March 12, 1853

1601	Tycho Brahe	unsolicited comment	<i>"Let me not seem to have lived in vain."</i>
1618	Sir Walter Raleigh	his wife would embalm his head and keep it near her in a red leather bag	<i>"Strike, man, strike."</i>
1649	Charles I	the chopper was to wait for a signal that the king had prepared himself	<i>"Stay for the sign."</i>
1659	Friend Marmaduke Stevenson and Friend William Robinson	unsolicited comments made over the muting roll of a drum intended to prevent such remarks from being heard	<i>Friend Marmaduke: "We suffer not as evil-doers but for conscience' sake." Friend William: "I die for Christ."</i>
1660	Friend Mary Dyer	asked at her execution whether they should pray for her soul	<i>"Nay, first a child; then a young man; then a strong man, before an elder of Christ Jesus."</i>
... other famous last words ...			



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1626

May 6, Saturday (Old Style): The convicted [witch](#) Christine Hamon, wife of Etienne Gobetell, who had in 1617 been permanently banished, returned to the Island of Guernsey in the English Channel. (She would be again arrested, and would be [hanged](#) on July 21, 1626.)

July 21, Friday (Old Style): The convicted [witch](#) Christine Hamon, who had been permanently banished but had recently returned to the Island of Guernsey, was [hanged](#).

August 11, Friday (Old Style): On the Island of Guernsey in the English Channel, the [witch](#) Jeanne de Bertran, wife of Jean Thomas, was [hanged](#) and burnt.

August 12, Saturday (Old Style): On the Island of Guernsey in the English Channel, the [witch](#) Marie Sohier, wife of J. de Garis, was [hanged](#) and burnt.

November 10, Friday (Old Style): On the Island of Guernsey in the English Channel, the [witch](#) Judith Alexander, of Jersey, wife of Pierre Jehan, was [hanged](#) and burnt.



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1630



August: Agreement with the Reverend [William Blaxton](#) about relocating from the [Charlestown](#) area to the 739 acres of the [Shawmut](#) peninsula, due to the brackishness of the water where the Pilgrims had attempted to settle and due to the lack of terrain features there which could assist them in defense against attack. But such terrain features would only protect them from external attack, not from themselves. In this month John Billington, one of the settlers who had come on the *Mayflower*, would be condemned to be [hanged](#) in order that “the land be purged from blood” — after he had waylaid in the woods, and shot down in cold blood, one of his fellow passengers.

**THE TASK OF THE HISTORIAN IS TO CREATE HINDSIGHT WHILE
INTERCEPTING ANY ILLUSION OF FORESIGHT. NOTHING A HUMAN CAN
SEE CAN EVER BE SEEN AS IF THROUGH THE EYE OF GOD.**

September 30, Thursday (Old Style): The 1st execution in the English American Colonies took place as John Billington was [hanged](#) for murder in the Massachusetts Bay Colony — although the Capital Laws of New England were still years in the future.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT



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1631

An Account of the Conviction and Execution of Mr. Walker, and Mark Sharp, for the Murder of Ann Walker:¹³

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

I am conscious that my collecting these relations may expose me to the railery and ridicule of a very numerous tribe of wits in this age, who value themselves extremely on their contempt of supernatural stories, and their disbelief of all things which relate to apparitions or returns from that state in which souls go when they depart from the body. Yet the following story is so remarkable, the proofs so exceedingly cogent, and the mistakes made in the relation of it by various authors so likely, notwithstanding, to bring it in the course of time into discredit, that I thought I could not do a greater service to the public than to preserve it in its genuine purity, which I have had occasion to retrieve from the sight of some papers which related thereto, and from which the following account is written verbatim, without any alteration so much as in a letter.

About the year 1631, there lived in a place called Chester-in-the-Street, in the County Palatine of Durham, one Mr. Walker, a yeoman of good fortune and credit. He was a widower and kept a young woman, one Ann Walker, a relation of his, in his house as housekeeper. It was suspected, it seems, by some of the neighbours, that she was with child, immediately upon which she was removed to one Dame Cair's an aunt of hers in the town of Lumley, hard by. The old woman treated her with much kindness and civility, but was exceedingly earnest to know of her who was the father of the child with which she went, but the young woman constantly avoided answering that question. But at last, perceiving how uneasy the old woman was because she could get no knowledge how the poor babe was to be provided for, this Ann Walker at last said that he who got her with child would take care of both her and it, with which answer her aunt was tolerably satisfied.

Some time after, of an evening, her old master Walker, and one Mark Sharp, with whom he was extraordinarily intimate, came to her aunt's house and took the said Anne Walker away. About a fortnight passed without her being seen or heard of, and without much talk of the neighbourhood concerning her, supposing she had been carried somewhere to be privately brought to bed, in order to escape her shame. But one James Graham, a miller, who lived two miles from the place where Walker's house was, being one night between the hours of twelve and one, grinding corn in his mill, and the mill door shut, as he came downstairs from putting corn into the hopper, he saw a woman standing in the middle of the floor, with her hair all bloody, hanging about her ears, and five large wounds in her head. Graham, though he was a bold man, was exceedingly shocked at this spectacle. At last after calling upon God to protect him, he, in a low voice, demanded who she was, and what she wanted of him. To which the woman made answer, *I am the spirit of Anne Walker, who lived with Walker at Chester-in-the-Street, and being got with child by him, he promised to*

13. LIVES OF THE MOST REMARKABLE CRIMINALS WHO HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED FOR MURDER, THE HIGHWAY, HOUSEBREAKING, STREET ROBBERIES, COINING OR OTHER OFFENCES / COLLECTED FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS AND AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS, AND PUBLISHED IN 1735 / Edited by Arthur L. Hayward



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send me to a private place, where I should be well looked to until I was brought to bed, and well again, and then I should come to him again and keep his house. And I was accordingly, late one night, sent away with Mark Sharp, who upon the moor, just by the Yellow Bank Head, slew me with a pick, an instrument wherewith they dig coals, and gave me these five wounds, and afterwards threw me into a coalpit hard by, and hid the pick under the bank. His shoes and stockings also being bloody he endeavoured to wash them, but seeing the blood would not go forth, he hid them there too. And now James Grime (so the country people pronounce Graham) I am come to you, that by revealing this bloody act my murderers may be brought to justice; which unless you do, I will continually pursue and haunt you.

The miller returned home to his house very melancholy, and much astonished at this sight, yet he held his peace, hoping that if he did not reveal it she would go to somebody else. He was fearful of blasting the character of Mr. Walker, who was a man of substance, by telling such a tale concerning him to a Justice of Peace. However, he avoided as much as he was able being in the mill alone, especially at nights, but notwithstanding all his care, and though other persons were not far off, she appeared to him there again, and in a harsh tone demanded why he had not made known what she had spoken of to him. He made her no answer, but fled to the other end of the place where the people were. Yet some little time after, just after sunset, she met him in his own garden, and spoke to him with such a cruel aspect and with such fearful threats that he promised to go the next morning to a magistrate, which he accordingly did.

On the morrow, being St. Thomas's Day, he applied to a justice of the peace and told him the story. The justice having tendered him his oath, and taking his information in writing, forthwith issued his warrant, and apprehended Mr. Walker and Mark Sharp, who by trade was a collier, i.e., dug coals out of a mine. They made light of the thing before the justice, although he in the meanwhile had caused a place which Graham said the apparition had spoken of, to be searched, and there found the dead body, wounded in place and manner as before described, with the pick, the shoes and the stockings. However, Walker and Sharp were admitted to bail, and at the next assizes appeared upon their trial.

Judge Davenport heard the several circumstances of the woman's being carried out by Sharp, her being suspected to be with child by her master, Walker, and the story which Graham repeated exactly upon oath, as he had done before the justice. The foreman of the jury did depose that he saw a child standing upon the shoulders of the prisoner Walker, at the Bar, and the judge himself was under such a concern and uneasiness that as soon as the jury had found the prisoners guilty, he immediately rose up and passed sentence of death upon them, a thing never known before nor since in Durham, the custom being not to pass sentence until the close of the assizes.



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1633

Sultan Murad IV of Turkey ordered that [tobacco](#) users be executed as infidels and as many as 18 a day were being executed. (Some historians consider this ban on tobacco to have been an anti-plague measure, while others consider it to have been a fire-prevention measure. I personally suspect that there needs to be some more personal explanation — such as that thinking about how he was offing people may have been helping this sultan in his sexual functioning.)

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT



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1634

May 16, Friday (Old Style): On the Island of Guernsey in the English Channel, Marie Guillemotte, wife of Samuel Roland (known as Dugorne) and her daughter Marie Rolland were convicted of [witchcraft](#). The mother was [hanged](#) and burnt and the daughter permanently banished.



STATE MURDER

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1637

September 28, Thursday (Old Style): John Williams and William Schooler were [hanged](#) in [Boston](#).

- John Williams “was a ship-carpenter, who, being lately come into the country and put in prison for theft, brake out with one John Hoddy, whom, near the great pond, in the way to [Ipswich](#), he murdered, and took away his clothes and what else he had, and went in them to Ipswich, where he had been sent to prison, and was there again apprehended; and though his clothes were all bloody, yet he would confess nothing, till about a week after the body of Hoddy was found.”
- William Schooler had been investigated by the magistrates for over a year before being found guilty of having murdered Mary Sholy on the way from Newbury to Piscataquay.

It is well known that such punishment was more necessary, to render the property and lives of the community safe, before the erection of state-prisons, than subsequently. Even now, in cases of extreme atrocity, this punishment, as required by law, seems just and requisite. The criminal, who has forfeited his life and has a reasonable time to prepare for eternity, is more likely to repent and have this preparation, when assured that he must soon stand before his omniscient Judge, than if he was permitted to live out all his days within the walls of a penitentiary. It is a fearful fact, that capital crimes increase in our country, in a greater ration, than its population does. Our chief hope for turning back so dark and portentous a flood, is the increase of pure religion in our nation.

**WHAT I'M WRITING IS TRUE BUT NEVER MIND
YOU CAN ALWAYS LIE TO YOURSELF**



STATE MURDER

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1638



In [Boston](#), Dorothy Talbe killed her child, because of its misery she said, and so she was hanged (it was considered that [the devil made her do it](#), and that [hanging](#) her would amount to a punishment of him — the ministers in attendance at Dorothy's execution remarked, however, that they "could do her no good").

Becoming much more rigorous about [tobacco](#) than the Massachusetts Bay colony, the government of [China](#) forbade all distribution, possession, or use of such a narcotic substance.

The Ch'ing 清 Dynasty was intending to transform the Chinese into a regime of purity, and therefore the penalty for sale or possession or use of such an enslaving substance was going to be decapitation into the cabbage fragments and offal of the public marketplace.¹⁴

HEADCHOPPING

DOPERS

In a treaty signed at Hartford, the [Narragansett](#) were given 80 of the captured Pequot as slaves. The Mohegan received an equal number, but the 1,500 Pequot and Western Niantic who had managed to surrender were placed under the control of Uncas and the Mohegan. Since their hosts were required to pay an annual tribute to the English for each Pequot living with them, they were not treated well.

Three [Plymouth](#) colonists were [hanged](#) for murdering a Nipmuc man who had been residing with the [Narragansett](#).

Four servants of Plymouth ran from their masters, and, coming to Providence, they killed an Indian. He escaped, after he was deadly wounded in the belly, and gat to other Indians. So, being discovered, they fled and were taken at the Isle Aquiday. Mr. Williams gave notice to the governor of Massachusetts, and desired advice. He returned answer, that, seeing they were of Plymouth, they should certify Plymouth of them, and, if they would send for them, to deliver them; otherwise, seeing no English had jurisdiction in the place where the murder was committed, neither had they at the Island any government established, it would be safest to deliver the principal, who was certainly known to have killed the party, to the Indian his friends, with caution that they should not put him to torture, and to keep the other three to further consideration.

After this, Plymouth men sent for them, (but one had escaped,) and the governor there wrote to the governor here for advice, especially for that he heard they intended to appeal into England. The governor returned answer of encouragement to proceed notwithstanding, seeing no appeal did lie, for that they could not be tried in England, and that the whole country here were interested in the case, and would expect to have justice done. Whereupon they proceeded as appears after.

...

The three prisoners, being brought to Plymouth, and there examined, did all confess the murder, and that they did it to get his wampom, etc.; but all the question was about the death of the Indian, for no man could witness that he saw him dead.

14. Smoking would nevertheless spread within the imperial court, and the emperor would need again to reassert this decree in 1641. [Snuff](#), introduced by the Jesuits in the mid-17th century, soon however would become quite popular, from the court on down, and would remain so during much of the Qing dynasty, from this point until 1912.



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But Mr. Williams and Mr. James of Providence made oath, that his wound was mortal, etc. At last two Indians, who, with much difficulty, were procured to come to the trial, (for they still feared that the English were conspired to kill all the Indians,) made oath after this manner, viz.: that if he were not dead of that wound, then they would suffer death. Upon this they three were condemned and executed. Two of them died very penitently, especially Arthur Peach, a young man of good parentage and fair conditioned, and who had done very good service against the Pequods.

The fourth escaped to Pascataquack. The governor sent after him, but those of Pascataquack conveyed him away, and openly withstood his apprehension. It was their usual manner (some of them) to countenance, etc., all such lewd persons as fled from us to them.

JOHN WINTHROP JOURNAL

September 4, Saturday: [William Bradford's](#) HISTORY OF PLYMOUTH PLANTATION would term those who supposed the English should not be tried for their crimes against American natives “of the rude and ignorant sort.”

On this date the [Plymouth](#) Colony needed to conduct its 2d execution: “And so, upon the aforementioned evidence, were cast by the jury and condemned, and executed for the same.” (I don’t know whether this one was the [hanging](#) of Arthur Peach and his accomplices, or whether that was the first execution. It seems likely that this was the Peach execution, however, because Stephen Hopkins’s servant girl Dorothy Temple would be found to be carrying his bastard early the next February — and if she became pregnant in August she would have been carrying a fetus in January that could no longer readily be concealed.)

One Arthur Peach, twenty years of age, a runaway servant from Virginia, came to Plymouth and was for a time in the employ of Governor Winslow. He was a worthless scoundrel and prepared for any desperate act. He was out of means and unwilling to work; he was also deeply in debt to honest men who clamored for what was due them. He had come to Plymouth as a fugitive apprentice; he would leave as an absconding debtor. Taking with him three indentured servants of his own quality, he started, as was believed, for the Dutch settlements on Manhattan. At a place some four or five miles from Providence these men perpetrated a deed, the atrocity of whose details is but rarely exceeded in the annals of crime. Discovering an unarmed Indian as he rested on the edge of a swamp not far from the footpath in which they were traveling, they approached and invited him to smoke with them. As he came near, unsuspecting of their evil intent, Peach stabbed him twice, in the body and in the thigh. Two of the others then attacked him; but avoiding their weapons he ran into the swamp, they pursuing, where he fell in the mire and water, rose and ran again, fell and rose again, doubled on them, ran back and forth, till he at last fell and was unable to rise. They now lost sight of him, and not doubting that he was dead or would soon die, they went back to his pack, opened it and took whatever they wanted — three beaver skins, three woolen coats, five fathoms of wampum peage, and some beads. About this time it was reported to Roger Williams that four destitute white men who had been lost for five days in the woods, were in the neighborhood. At once he sent them a supply of provisions, invited them to his own house and entertained them hospitably



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over night. The next day he sent them refreshed on their journey toward Connecticut, as he supposed. They went, however, directly and by the shortest route to Acquidneck. They afterward proved to be Peach and his companions. In the meantime the wounded Indian crawled out of the swamp into the path, where he was found by three men of his own tribe. Word was taken to Mr. Williams, who had him brought in, summoned to his aid the two physicians of the town, Dr. James and Dr. Greene, and did for him all that could be done. He lived only long enough to make a clear and full statement of the affair. The murderers were pursued, overtaken, and three of them captured. One escaped and was never afterwards heard from. Mr. Williams wrote the particulars of the affair to Governor Winthrop at Boston, asking his advice as to what should be done with the villains. There was no question as to their deserts, but under what jurisdiction the case might fall was in doubt. Mr. Williams thought that as they had come from Plymouth they should be carried back to that place for trial and punishment. Since there was no well-established government as yet in Rhode island, this would seem to be the only reasonable conclusion, and it was found that Governor Winthrop held this view. They were accordingly taken to Plymouth under a suitable guard, where they were tried, convicted, and after the custom of that day, speedily executed. There was, however, much dissatisfaction on the part of the Plymouth colonists that three white men should die for the murder of a single Indian. These warmly urged that a life for a life would meet all the requirements of justice in such a case. Mr. Williams, Mr. James, and several Narragansett Indians were present in court as witnesses against the accused, and in view of the sentiment just mentioned, very properly remained to see them hanged.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT



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1639

February 4, Monday (1638, Old Style): An unmarried servant of [Stephen Hopkins](#), Dorothy Temple, began to show unmistakable signs of pregnancy, and was confronted. She confessed to having had a liaison with the Arthur Peach who had recently been [hanged](#) after murdering a Nipmuc. The [Plymouth](#) court ordered that because “in regard by her covenant of indenture shee hath yet above two yeares to serve him [Mr. Steephen Hopkins], that the said Mr. Hopkins shall keepe her and her child, or provide shee may be kept with food and rayment during the said terme; and if he refuse so to doe, that then the collony provide for her, & Mr. Hopkins to pay it.” On the same day the court ordered “Mr. Steephen Hopkins is committed to ward for his contempt to the Court, and shall so remayne comitted until hee shall either receive his servant Dorothy Temple, or els provide for her elsewhere at his owne charge during the terme shee hath yet to serve him.”

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT



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1641

The shogun Iemitsu, who had previously restricted all interaction with foreigners to the single port of [Nagasaki](#), in this year banned all foreigners except the [Chinese](#) and Dutch.

The emperor of [China](#) again decreed, as he had ineffectually in 1638, that any person caught trafficking in [tobacco](#) was to be decapitated. This decree would prove ineffectual as smoking and the taking of [snuff](#) spread within the imperial court.

HEADCHOPPING

Richard Bellingham became the governor of Massachusetts.

In this year in which the Bay Psalm Book was being published, the Bay Colony enacted a trendsetting document entitled BODY OF LIBERTIES OF THE MASSACHUSETTS COLONY IN NEW-ENGLAND, a document created by Nathaniel Ward which made it possible for all free white male adults of the colony, freemen or not, to attend town meetings but, surprisingly, amounted not to human freedom but instead to the 1st positive legislation establishing human enslavement in America — by recognizing its existence as a substantial fact and by codifying that fact within the legal system: its “Body of Liberties,” so called, legally sanctioned the enslavement of “lawfull Captives in just Warres, and such strangers as willingly sell themselves or are sold to us.”

“Liberties of Forreiners & Strangers”: 91. “There shall never be any bond slaverie villinage or Captivitie amongst vs, unles it be lawfull Captives taken in iust warres, & such strangers as *willingly selle themselves* or are sold to us. And those shall have all the liberties & Christian usages w^{ch} y^e law of god established in Jsraell concerning such p^{sons} doeth morally require. This exempts none from servitude who shall be Judged there to by Authoritie.”¹⁵

“Capitall Laws”: 10. “If any man stealeth a man or mankinde, he shall surely be put to death” (marginal reference, Exodus xxi. 16). Re-enacted in the codes of 1649, 1660, and 1672. Whitmore, REPRINT OF COLONIAL LAWS OF 1660, etc. (1889), pp. 52, 54, 71-117.

There is a category of words known as “Janus words,” words which mean both a thing and its opposite. A Janus-faced word is a contronym, a word like “cleave” that has two opposing meanings. You can call them fence-sitters, because these words sit on the fence, ready to say a thing or its opposite. They are autoantonyms, antagonyms, contronyms, enantiodromics, amphibolous words, or Janus words. To cleave, is it to join unto or is it to divide? To ravel is to what, to tangle or to disentangle? When we sanction a project, do we allow it or prohibit it? Are we going to be commended for our oversight (watchful care) or reprimanded for an oversight (error or omission)? Easy examples of such Janus words or contronyms are:

- Clip, which means both “to attach” and “to separate”
- Inoculate, which means both “to protect against” and “to infect with”
- Cull, which means both “to select” and “to reject”
- Alight, which means both “to settle onto” and “to dismount from”
- Went off, which means both “to start” and “to stop” (the alarm ~ when the light ~)
- Fix, which means both “a solution” and “a problem” (also fixed)
- Screen, which means both “to display” (~ a movie) and “to hide” (~ his view)

15. This **enabling** of human servitude has, perversely, by some, been interpreted as a **ban** on it. Thus one can find on the internet such strange assertions as:

“1641 >> In its ‘Body of Liberties,’ Massachusetts outlaws slavery.”)



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- Protest, which means both “to object” and “to affirm” (also, protestations)
- Cork, which means both “to take out” and “to insert” a cork from a bottle
- Trim, which means both “to remove from” (~ the tree) and “to add to” (~ the [Christmas](#) tree)
- Enjoin, which means both “to direct” and “to forbid”
- Dust, which means both “to remove from” (~ the table) and “to add to” (~ the cake)
- Clip, which means both “to partition” (~ the paper) and “to join” (~ the papers)
- Secrete, which means both “to give off” and “to conceal”
- Rent, which means both “to grant possession in exchange for rent” and “to take and hold under an agreement to pay rent”
- Can, which means both “to save” (~ the peaches) and “to discard” (~ the worker)
- Settle, which means both “to move” (the pile ~d) and “to stop moving” (we ~d in)
- Flesh, which means both “to add substance (~ out)” to and “to clean a hide of flesh”
- Seed, which means both “to put seeds in” and “to take seeds out”
- Garnish, which means both “to add something to” or “to take away from (a form of ~ee)”
- Root, which means both “to get something to take root” or “to pull up (root out)”
- Joint, which means both “to combine or attach with a joint” and “to separate (esp. meat) at a joint”
- Snap, which means both “to break into pieces” and “to fasten together”
- Tube, which means both “to insert a tube in” and “to enclose in a tube”
- Reel, which means both “to wind onto” and “to let out from”
- Lease, which means both “to pay for use” and “to be paid for use”
- Water, which means both “to pour water out” and “to take on water”
- Wear, which means both “to last under use” and “to erode under use”
- Weather, which means both “to disintegrate or wear” and “to come through safely, survive”
- Crop, which means both “to plant or grow” and “to cut or harvest”

Now I’m going to say something that is merely etymological. The name of the Roman deity *Janus* comes from the Latin *ianua*, an entrance gate. Janus was the deity having to do with doorways and gateways. Since one may pass through a door in either direction, Janus came to represent both the past and the future. His image was of a man with two faces, able to look forward and backward.

But now I’m going to say something **important**. In our American life, the word “liberty” is our most significant such “Janus word.” Liberty has been created out of our ability to prevent other people who are more powerful than us from abusing us and liberty also has been created out of our ability to abuse others who are less powerful than us — you won’t understand much of our national trajectory until you stare this in the face as a fact. For instance, no way are you going to be able to understand this BODY OF LIBERTIES OF THE MASSACHUSETTS COLONY IN NEW-ENGLAND document, and the manner in which it proclaimed liberties by establishing human enslavement, without your coming to grips with this as a fact.

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(So much for the claim “Bastion of our Liberties”! It would not be until 1659 that another colony, [Connecticut](#), would follow the lead of Massachusetts and sanction human enslavement. —Later, however, Massachusetts politicians and historians would be discovered attempting to allege, quite egregiously, that [slavery](#) had been forced upon unwilling white colonists by the mother country — until they would be forced by this incontrovertible documentary evidence to withdraw from any and all such assertions. Albeit this code had included a rider forbidding the capture of slaves by “unjust violence,” Massachusetts, that society taking such inordinate pride in having been “the cradle of our liberties,” actually had been the 1st of the English colonies, a trendsetter, **not in the proclamation of human freedom but in the providing of legal recognition and accredited status to human enslavement.**)¹⁶



“The capacity to get free is nothing;
the capacity to be free, that is the task.”

— [André Gide](#), [THE IMMORALIST](#)

translation Richard Howard

NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970, page 7



In a perhaps somewhat related enactment, despite the fact that adultery was in England being punished at this time with a small fine, [Boston](#) prescribed that its penalty for adultery was to be death on the [gallows](#).

16. In a related development, quite recently, at the beginning of the year 2000, as my spouse and I were emigrating from [California](#) to [Rhode Island](#), a controversy was arising in that state over its official long name, “Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.” The demand was being made that the word “Plantations” be deleted from the official long name of the smallest state, because this is a word reeking of human enslavement. Defenders of the state name, in the [ProJo](#) (the Providence [Journal](#)), denied that “plantation” was a tainted word reeking of slavery, and alleged that the word merely designated that innocent plants had been being innocently planted into the innocent ground. Husbandry, inoffensive husbandry! The [ProJo](#) editorialized that what slavery had existed in the “Rhode Island and Providence Plantations” colony had been rather benign, and of small scale, and of short duration — in other words, politically correct. The unfortunate fact, however, is that there once were more slaves in “Rhode Island and Providence Plantations” than in the rest of New England, put together, and that the term “Plantations” in the state name in fact did mean precisely the use of enslaved labor to perform tasks of husbandry — primarily not the planting of plants but the tending of sheep and of cows. When this sorry fact was pointed out to the [ProJo](#), what resulted was further editorial obfuscation.



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1643

A brace of Boston lovebirds, a Mrs. Mary Latham and a James Britton, were taken in adultery. Although English law at the time provided only for a small fine, in Boston in 1641 a law had been enacted providing death on the gallows as punishment.



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1644

March: English and Dutch colonists destroyed Canarsee, Massapequa, and Merrick villages on western Paumanok Long Island. His forces having killed approximately 500 native Americans, Governor Klieft declared a day of thanksgiving.

Governor John Winthrop's JOURNAL records the [hanging](#) of Mrs. Mary Latham, along with James Britton her lover, for their adultery during the previous year.¹⁷

JOHN WINTHROP JOURNAL

June: Not all the Sewells had an easy time of it in the New World. One Nathaniel Sewell had been apprenticed to one William Franklin, and in the course of disciplining his charge Mr. Franklin had had occasion to expose him to cold and wet, to hang him in the chimney, etc. Finally Mr. Franklin had decided that this discipline had had such little impact on his apprentice that he needed to complain to the magistrates about this charge, so he had tied the child on a horse to take him the five miles in to Boston. On the trip the child had kept falling over and hanging down the side of the horse. He had pleaded for water but had been given none and, a few hours after they arrived in Boston, he had died. In this month Mr. William Franklin also died, although he was not ill.

[HANGING](#)

17. Mary was a younger woman married to an older man, and was credited by the Massachusetts Bay Court with having been doing the deed with "divers young men." (Those of us who are interested in such things would be interested to learn whether the good people of Boston offed such lovebirds in series or in parallel.)

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1645

January 10, Friday (1644, Old Style): [Archbishop of Canterbury](#) William Laud was beheaded and ascended to Heaven to don a golden crown.



HEADCHOPPING

Here are 3 appreciations of the life of William Laud, by Clarendon, by Thomas Fuller, and by Sir Philip Warwick:

It was within one weeke after the Kings retorne from Scotlande that Abbott dyed at his house at Lambeth, and the Kinge tooke very little tyme to consider who should be his successour, but the very next tyme the Bishopp of London (who was longer upon his way home, then the Kinge had bene) came to him, his Majesty entertayned him very cheerefully, with this compellation, My L'ds Grace of Canterbury you are very wellcome, and gave order the same day for the dispatch of all the necessary formes for the translation, so that within a moneth, or therabouts, after the death of the other Arch-Bishopp, he was compleately invested in that high dignity, and settled in his Pallace at Lambeth: This Greate Prelate had bene before in greate favour with the Duke of Buckingham, whose greate confident he was, and by him recommended to the Kinge, as fittest to be trusted in the conferringe all Ecclesiasticall præferments, when he was but Bishopp of S't Davids, or newly præferred to Bath and Wells, and from that tyme he intirely governed that Province without a ryvall, so that his promotion to Canterbury was longe foreseene and expected, nor was it attended with any encrease of envy, or dislike.

He was a man of greate parts and very exemplar virtues, allayed and discredited by some unpopular¹⁸ naturall infirmities, the greatest of which was (besydes a hasty sharpe way of expressinge himselfe) that he believed innocence of heart, and integrity of manners, was a garde stronge enough to secure any

18. In the MS of this, the word "unpopular" had been inserted as a substitute for "ungracious."



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man, in his voyage through this worlde, in what company soever he travelled, and through what wayes soever he was to passe, and sure never any man was better supplied with that provisyon. He was borne of honest parents, who were well able to provyde for his education, in the schooles of learninge, from whence they sent him to St. Johns Colledge in Oxforde, the worst indowed at that tyme, of any in that famous university; from a scholar he became a fellow, and then the President of that Colledge, after he had receaved all the graces and degrees, the Proctorshipp and the Doctorshipp, could be obtained ther: He was alwayes maligned and persecuted by those who were of the Calvinian faction, which was then very powerfull, and who accordinge to ther usefull maxime and practice, call every man they do not love, Papist, and under this senselesse appellation they created him many troubles and vexations, and so farr suppressed him, that though he was the Kings Chaplyne, and taken notice of for an excellent preacher, and a scholer of the most sublime parts, he had not any præferment to invite him to leave his poore Colledge, which only gave him breade, till the vigour of his age was passed; and when he was promoted by Kinge James, it was but to a poore Bishopricke in Wales, which was not so good a supporte for a Bishopp as his Colledge was for a pri[v]ate scholler, though a Doctor. Parliaments in that tyme were frequent, and grew very busy, and the party under which he had suffer'd a continuall persecution appeared very powerfull and full of designe, and they who had the courage to oppose them, begann to be taken notice of with approbation and countenance, and under this style he came to be first cherished by the Duke of Buckingham, after he had made some exsperiments of the temper and spiritt of the other people, nothings to his satisfaction: from this tyme he prospered at the rate of his owne wishes, and beinge transplanted out of his cold barren Diocesse of S't Davids, into a warmer climate, he was left, as was sayd before, by that omnipotent Favorite, in that greate trust with the Kinge, who was sufficiently indisposed towards the persons or the principles of M'r Calvins disciples.

When he came into greate authority, it may be he retayned to keene a memory of those who had so unjustly and uncharitably persecuted him before, and I doubte was so farr transported with the same passyons he had reason to complayne of in his ad[v]ersaries, that, as they accused him of Popery, because he had some doctrinall opinions, which they liked not, though they were nothings allied to Popery, so he intertayned to much præjudice to some persons, as if they were enimes to the disciplyne of the Church, because they concurred with Calvin in some doctrinall points, when they abhorred his disciplyne, and revered the goverment of the Church, and prayed for the peace of it, with as much zeale and fervency, as any in the kingdome, as they made manifest in ther lives, and in ther sufferings with it and for it. He had, from his first entrance into the worlde without any disguise or dissimulation declared his owne opinion of that Classis of men, and as soone as it was in his power, he did all he could to hinder the growth and encrease of that faction, and to restrayne those who were inclined to it, from doinge the mischieue they desyred to do: But his power at Courte could not enough qualify him, to goe through with that difficulte reformation, whilst he had a superiour in the Church, who havinge the raynes in his hande, could slacken them



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accordinge to his owne humour and indiscretion, and was thought to be the more remisse to irritate his cholirique disposition, but when he had now the Primacy in his owne hande, the Kinge beinge inspired with the same zeale, he thought he should be to blame, and have much to answer, if he did not make hast to apply remedies, to those diseases, which he saw would grow apace....

The Arch-Bishopp had all his life eminently opposed Calvins doctryne in those contraversyes, before the name of Arminius was taken notice of or his opinions hearde of; and therupon for wante of another name they had called him a Papiste, which nobody believed him to be, and he had more manifested the contrary in his disputations and writings, then most men had done: and it may be the other founde the more seveare and rigourous usage from him, for ther propagatinge that calumny against him. He was a man of greate courage and resolution, and beinge most assured within himselfe that he proposed no end in all his actions or designes, then what was pyous and just (as sure no man had ever a hearte more intire, to the Kinge, the Church, or his country) he never studyed the best wayes to those ends; he thought it may be, that any arte or industry that way, would discreditt, at least make the integrity of the end suspected: let the cause be what it will, he did courte persons to little, nor cared to make his designes and purposes appeare as candid as they were, by shewinge them in any other dresse, then ther owne naturall beauty and roughnesse: and did not consider enough what men sayd, or were like to say of him. If the faultes and vices were fitt to be looked into and discover'd, let the persons be who they would that were guilty of them, they were sure to finde no connivence of favour from him. He intended the disciplyne of the Church should be felte, as well as spoken of, and that it should be applyed to the greatest and most splendid transgressors, as well as to the punishment of smaller offences, and meaner offenders; and therupon called for, or cherished the discovery of those who were not carefull to cover ther owne iniquitycs, thinkinge they were above the reach of other mens, or ther power, or will to chastice: Persons of honour and great quality, of the Courte, and of the Country, were every day cited into the High Commissyon Courte, upon the fame of ther incontinence, or other skandall in ther lyves; and were ther prosecuted to ther shame and punishment, and as the shame, (which they called an insolent tryumph upon ther degree and quality, and levellinge them with the common people) was never forgotten, but watched for revenge, so the Fynes imposed ther were the more questioned and repyned against, because they wer assigned to the rebuildinge and repayringe St. Pauls Church, and thought therfore to be the more sevearely imposed, and the lesse compassionately reduced and excused, which likewise made the jurisdiction and rigour of the Starrchamber more felte and murmured against, which sharpened many mens humours against the Bishopps, before they had any ill intention toward the Church.

By THOMAS FULLER.

[Sidenote: Over-severe in his censures.]

Amongst his humane frailties, *choler* and *passion* most discovered it self. In the *Star-Chamber* (where if the crime not extraordinary, it was fine enough for one to be sued in so chargable a Court) He was observed always to concur with the



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severest side, and to infuse more *vinegar* then *oyle* into all his *censures*, and also was much blamed for his severity to his Predecessor easing him against his will, and before his time, of his jurisdiction.

[Sidenote: Over-medling in State matters.]

But he is most accused for over-medling in State-matters, more then was fitting, say many, then needful, say most, for one of his profession. But he never more overshot himself, then when he did impose the *Scotch Liturgie*, and was [Greek: *allotrio-archiepis[kolpos]*] over a free and forrain Church and Nation. At home, many grumbled at him for oft making the *shallowest* pretence of the *Crown* deep enough (by his powerfull digging therein) to drown the undoubted right of any private Patron to a Church-living. But Courtiers most complained, that he persecuted them, not in their proper places, but what in an ordinary way he should have taken from the *hands* of inferior officers, that He with a *long* and *strong* Arm reached to himself over all their heads. Yet others plead for him, that he abridg'd their *bribes* not *fees*, and it vexed them that He struck their *fingers* with the *dead-palsie*, so that they could not (as formerly) have a *feeling* for Church Preferments....

[Sidenote: An enemy to gallantry in Clergiemens cloaths.]

He was very plain in apparel, and sharply checkt such Clergymen whom he saw goe in rich or gaudy cloaths, commonly calling them of the *Church-Triumphant*. Thus as *Cardinal Woolsy* is reported the first Prelate, who made *Silks*, and *Sattens* fashionable amongst clergy-men; so this Arch-Bishop first retrenched the usual wearing thereof. Once at a Visitation in *Essex*, one in *Orders* (of good estate and extraction) appeared before him very gallant in habit, whom D'r *Laud* (then Bishop of *London*) publickly reprov'd, shewing to him the plainness of his own apparel. My *Lord* (said the Minister) *you have better cloaths at home and I have worse*, whereat the Bishop rested very well contented....

[Sidenote: No whit addicted to covetousness.]

Covetousness He perfectly hated, being a single man and having no project to raise a name or Family, he was the better enabled for publick performances, having both a *price in his hand*, and an *heart* also to dispose thereof for the general good. S't *Johns* in *Oxford*, wherein he was bred, was so beautified, enlarged, and enriched by him, that strangers at the first sight knew it not, yea, it scarce knoweth it self, so altered to the better from its former condition. Insomuch that almost it deserveth the name of *Canterbury-Colledge*, as well as that which *Simon Islip* founded, and since hath lost its name, united to *Christ-Church*. More buildings he intended, (had not the stroke of one *Axe* hindred the working of many *hammers*) chiefly on Churches, whereof the following passage may not impertinently be inserted.

[Sidenote: The grand causer of the repairing of Churches.]

It happened that a *Visitation* was kept at S't *Peters* in *Corn-hill*, for the Clergy of *London*. The Preacher discoursing of the painfulness of the Ministerial Function, proved it from the Greek deduction of [Greek: *Diakonos*] or Deacon, so called from [Greek: *konis*] *dust*, because he must *laborare in arena* in



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pulvere, work in the dust, doe hard service in hot weather. Sermon ended, Bishop Laud proceeded to his charge to the Clergy, and observing the Church ill repaired without, and slovenly kept within, I am sorry (said He) to meet here with so true an Etymologie of Diaconus, for here is both dust and dirt too, for a Deacon (or Priest either) to work in. Yea it is dust of the worst kind, caused from the mines of this ancient house of God, so that it pitttieth his [Psal. 102. 14] servants to see her in the dust. Hence he took occasion to press the repairing of that, and other decayed places of divine worship, so that from this day we may date the general mending, beautifying and adorning of all English Churches, some to decency, some to magnificence, and some (if all complaints were true) to superstition.

[Sidenote: Principally of S. Pauls]

But the Church of S't Pauls, (the only Cathedral in Christendom dedicated to that *Apostle*) was the master: piece of his performances. We know what one [in a footnote, this "one" is parsed as "Lord F."] Satyrically said of him, that *he pluckt down Puritans, and Property, to build up Pauls and Prerogative*. But let impartial Judges behold how he left, and remember how he found that ruinous fabrick, and they must conclude that (though intending more) he effected much in that great designe. He communicated his project to some private persons, of taking down the *great Tower* in the middle, to the *Spurrs*, and rebuild it in the same fashion, (but some yards higher) as before. He meant to hang as great and tuneable a ring of Bels, as any in the world, whose sound advantaged with their height and vicinity of the *Thames*, must needs be loud and melodious. But now he is turned to his dust, and all *his thoughts have perished*, yea that Church, formerly approached with due reverence, is now entred with just fear, of falling on those under it, and is so far from having its old decays repaired, that it is daily decayed in its new reparations.

He was low of Stature, little in bulk, chearful in countenance, (wherein gravity and quickness were well compounded) of a sharp and piercing eye, clear judgement, and (abating the influence of age) firme memory. He wore his hair very close, and though in the beginning of his greatness, many measured the length of mens stricktness by the shortness of their hair, yet some will say, that since out of Antipathy to conform to his example, his opposites have therein indulged more liberty to themselves. And thus we take our leave of him.

By SIR PHILIP WARWICK.

Archbishop Laud was a man of an upright heart and a pious soul, but of too warm blood and too positive a nature towards asserting what he beleived a truth, to be a good Courtier; and his education fitted him as little for it, as his nature: which having bin most in the University, and among books and scholars, where oft canvassing affairs, that are agitated in that province, and prevailing in it, rather gave him wrong than right measures of a Court. He was generally acknowledg'd a good scholar, and throughly verst in Ecclesiastical learning. He was a zealot in his heart both against Popery and Presbytery; but a great assertor of Church-authority, instituted by Christ and his Apostles, and as primitively practised; which notwithstanding,



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he really and freely acknowledged subject unto the secular authority. And therefore he carefully endeavored to preserve the jurisdiction, which the Church anciently exercised, before the secular authority own'd her; at least so much thereof, as the law of this our Realm had apply'd to our circumstances; which our common Lawyers dayly struck at; and thro' prohibitions and other appeals every day lessened; and this bred an unkindnes to him in many of the long robe, however some of them were very carefull of the Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction.

He was a man of great modesty in his own person and habit, and of regularity and devotion in his family: and as he was very kind to his Clergy, so he was very carefull to make them modest in their attire, and very diligent in their studies, in faithfully dispensing God's Word, reverently reading the Prayers, and administring the Sacraments, and in preserving their Churches in cleanlines and with plain and fitting ornament, that so voyd of superstition, GOD's House in this age, where every man bettered his own, might not lye alone neglected; and accordingly he sett upon that great work of St. Paul's Church, which his diligence perfected in a great measure: and his Master's piety made magnificent that most noble structure by a Portico: but not long after the carved work thereof was broken down with axes and hammers, and the whole sacred edifice made not only a den of thieves, but a stable of unclean beasts, as I can testifie, having once gone into it purposely to observe: from which contamination Providence some few years since cleansed it by fire.

He prevented likewise a very private and clandestine designe of introducing Nonconformists into too too many Churches; for that society of men (that they might have Teachers to please their itching ears) had a designe to buy in all the Lay-Impropriations, which the Parish-Churches in Henry the VIII's time were robb'd of, and lodging the Advowsons and Presentations in their own Feoffees, to have introduced men, who would have introduced doctrines suitable to their dependences, which the Court already felt too much the smart of, by being forced to admitt the Presentations of the Lay-Patrons, who too often dispose their benefices to men, rather suitable to their own opinions, than the Articles and Canons of the Church.

All this bred him more and more envy; but if it had pleas'd God to have given him an uninterrupted course, and if few of his Successors had walked in his stepps, wee might, without any tendency to Popery, or danger of superstition, have serv'd God reverently and uniformly, and according unto Primitive practice and purity, and not have bin, as we are now, like a shivered glass, scarce ever to be made whole again. Thus finding Providence had led him into authority, he very really and strongly opposed both Popery and Presbytery. He was sensible, how the first by additions had perverted the purity of Religion, and turned it into a policy; but resolving not to contest Rome's truths, tho' he spared not her errors, both Papist and Presbyter, with all their Lay-Party, were well contented, that it might be believed, he was Popishly affected. And being conscious likewise, how Presbytery or the Calvinisticall Reformation, which many here, and more in Scotland, affected, by subtraction and novel interpretation, had forsaken the good old ways of the primitive Church, and was become dangerous to



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Monarchy, he sett himself against this, as well as that: but both their weights crusht him....

As this good Arch-Bishop I write of, had these great eminences, so he may be acknowledged to have failed in those prudences, which belong unto a great Minister of State, who like a wise Physician is to consider times and seasons, as well as persons and diseases, and to regard those complications, which usually are mixed in ill habits of body, and to use more alterative than purgative Physick. For popular bents and inclinations are cured more by a steddily than precipitate hand or counsel; multitudes being to be drawn over from their errors, rather by wayes they discerne not, than by those, which they are likely to contest; whilst upon single persons and great men courses of violence and authority may be exercised. But Ministers of State unwillingly run this course, because they would have the honour of perfecting the work they affect in their own time; and the multitude of this good man's busines, and the promptnes of his nature, made those ceremonies, which are necessary by great Persons to be paid unto men in his station, to be unwelcome unto him, and so he discharged himselfe of them, and thereby disobliged those persons, who thought their quality, tho' not their busines, required a patient and respectfull entertainment. This I reflect upon, because I heard from a good hand, that the Marquiss of Argile making him an insidious visit, and he, knowing he neither loved him nor the Church, entertaining him not with that franknes he should have done, but plainly telling him, he was at that time a little busy about the King's affairs, this great Lord took it so much in indignation, and esteem'd it such a Lordly Prelacy, that he declaimed against it, and became (if possible) more enemy both to him and the Church, than he was before. The rectitude of his nature therefore made him not a fitt instrument to struggle with the obliquity of those times; and he had this infirmity likewise, that he beleived those forward instruments, which he employed, followed the zeal of their own natures, when they did but observe that of his: for as soon as difficulty or danger appeared, his petty instruments shrunk to nothing, and shewed, from whom they borrowed their heat.

He weighed not well his Master's condition; for he saw him circled in by too many powerfull Scots, who mis-affected the Church, and had joyned with them too many English Counsellors and Courtiers, who were of the same leaven. If he had perceived an universall concurrence in his own Clergy, who were esteemed Canonically men, his attempts might have seem'd more probable, than otherwise it could: but for him to think by a purgative Physick to evacuate all those cold slimy humors, which thus overflowed the body, was ill judged; for the good affections of the Prince, back'd only by a naked or paper-authority, sooner begets contumacy, than compliance in dissaffected Subjects....

And this shall suffice to be said of that well intentioned, but not truly considerative, great man, unles wee add this single thing further, that he who looks upon him thro' those Canons, which in Synod passed in his time, will find him a true Assertor of Religion, Royalty, and Property; and that his grand designe was no other, than that of our first Reformation; which was, that our Church might stand upon such a foot of Primitive and Ecclesiastick authority, as suited with God's word, and the best



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Interpreters of it, sound reason and Primitive practice. And untill this Nation is blest with such a spirit, it will lye in that darknes and confusion the Sects at this time have flung it into.



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1648

Arthur Capel, 1st Baron Capel, was taken to the [Tower of London](#) (he would swim the moat, which seemed like a good idea at the time, but upon recapture he would be [beheaded](#)).

HEADCHOPPING

Michael Hudson, held in the [Tower of London](#) since 1647, escaped.

LONDON

The 30 Years' War of 1618 to 1648 had spread [smoking](#) throughout Central and Eastern Europe. In [Luneberg, Germany](#), the penalty for [tobacco](#) use was set at death. Smoking was being generally prohibited. Writers had become hostile to use of this substance.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

Czar Alexis Mikhailovich abolished the Russian state monopoly in [tobacco](#) and reimposed the ban on smoking.

STATE MURDER

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[Sir William Davenant](#)'s *London, King Charles his Augusta, or, City Royal, of the founders, the names, and oldest honours of that City*.

[King Charles I](#) escaped from being held hostage by his own nation's army, but was defeated in the 2d outbreak of the [English Civil War](#).



Congregationalists assumed control in Parliament and [Samuel Pepys](#) would watch as they chopped off the head of his monarch.



HEADCHOPPING

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

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June 15, Thursday (Old Style): A little child was seen by a [Boston](#) official to run away from Margaret Jones of [Charlestown, Massachusetts](#), “and when followed ... it vanished.” She needed to be [hanged](#) from the branches of the Great Elm (*Ulmus americana*) on the Boston Common. In all likelihood before this [witch](#) was escorted to the tree she had been allowed to attend public worship to hear a sermon on the subject of eternal damnation. In close succession, three more such hangings would occur. Thomas Jones of Charlestown,



Margaret Jones’s husband, was detained by the town authorities as he attempted to escape aboard a vessel bound for Barbados. A complaint was made and some formal step such as petition or deposition was taken towards prosecution. There was an indictment or presentment in which the accused appeared before the courts preliminary to trial. In his case there is not a record of anything beyond this.



STATE MURDER

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Major American Witchcraft Cases

1647	Elizabeth Kendall, Alse Young	1663	Mary Barnes
1648	Margaret Jones, Mary Johnson	1666	Elizabeth Seager
1651	Alice Lake, Mrs. (Lizzy) Kendal, Goody Bassett, Mary Parsons	1669	Katherine (Kateran) Harrison
1652	John Carrington, Joan Carrington	1683	Nicholas Disborough, Margaret Mattson
1653	Elizabeth "Goody" Knapp, Elizabeth Godman	1688	Annie "Goody" Glover
1654	Lydia Gilbert, Kath Grady, Mary Lee	1692	Bridget Bishop, Rebecca Towne Nurse, Sarah Good, Susannah Martin, Elizabeth Howe, Sarah Wildes, Mary Staples, Mercy Disborough, Elizabeth Clawson, Mary Harvey, Hannah Harvey, Goody Miller, Giles Cory, Mary Towne Estey, Reverend George Burrough, George Jacobs, Sr., John Proctor, John Willard, Martha Carrier, Sarah Good, Martha Corey, Margaret Scott, Alice Parker, Ann Pudeator, Wilmott Redd, Samuel Wardwell, Mary Parker, Tituba
1655	Elizabeth Godman, Nicholas Bayley, Goodwife Bayley, Ann Hibbins	1693	Hugh Crotia, Mercy Disborough
1657	William Meaker	1697	Winifred Benham, Senr., Winifred Benham, Junr.
1658	Elizabeth Garlick, Elizabeth Richardson, Katherine Grade	1724	Sarah Spencer
1661	Nicholas Jennings, Margaret Jennings	1768	—— Norton
1662	Nathaniel Greensmith, Rebecca Greensmith, Mary Sanford, Andrew Sanford, Goody Ayres, Katherine Palmer, Judith Varlett, James Walkley	1801	Sagoyewatha "Red Jacket"



"The major British outposts in the Antilles -Barbados in the seventeenth century, Jamaica in the eighteenth- were always more valuable by far to the mother country than the mainland colonies that would one day declare their independence."

— Michael W. Zuckerman, *ALMOST CHOSEN PEOPLE: OBLIQUE BIOGRAPHIES IN THE AMERICAN GRAIN*, 1993, page 177





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December 30, Saturday (Old Style): The final beheadings by means of the [Halifax Gibbet](#), the head-chopping machine in Halifax, England that had 1st been pressed into service in something like 1280 for public executions on market-days, and had certainly begun by 1400. The last persons to be placed in this machine on this Market Day were Jo. Wilkinson of Sowerby and Anthony Mitchell.

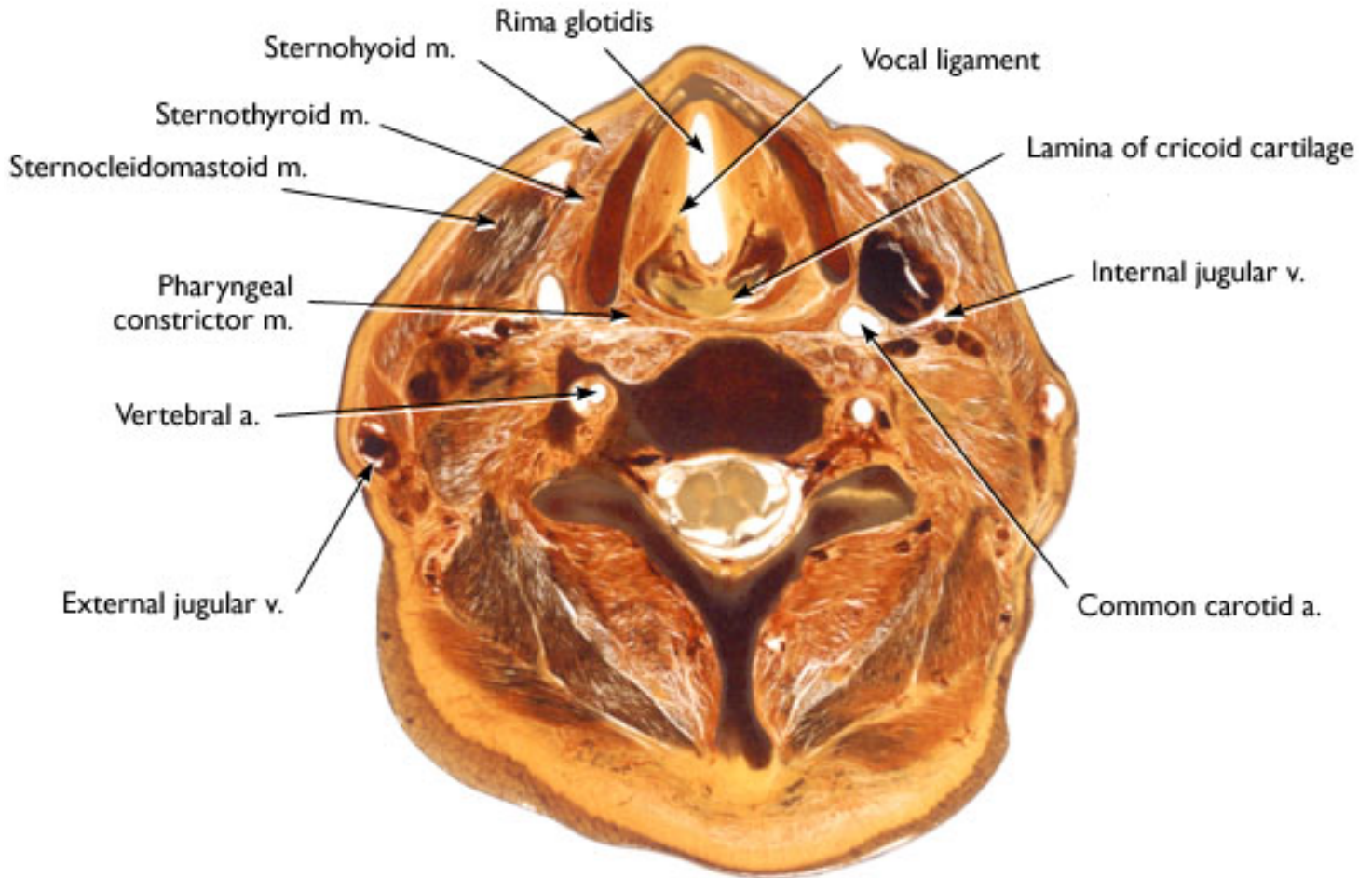
FINAL EXECUTIONS		
November 17, 1558	Cardinal Reginald Pole	final male of Plantagenet line of British monarchs
December 30, 1648	Jo. Wilkinson of Sowerby and Anthony Mitchell	final beheadings on the famous Halifax Gibbet
September 22, 1692	Martha Corey, Margaret Scott, Mary Towne Estey or Easty, Alice Parker, Ann Pudeator, Wilmott Redd, Samuel Wardwell, and Mary Parker	hanged for witchcraft in the American colonies “...what a sad thing it is to see Eight Firebrands of Hell hanging there”

STATE MURDER

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1649

January 30, Tuesday (1648, Old Style): In case you were wondering: here is an artist's conception of what a cross-section of the neck of a reigning monarch of Europe might have looked like during the 17th Century.





STATE MURDER

The extraordinary event of the day, a king having his head severed from his body, was witnessed by thousands of cheering subjects. Not wishing to appear to shiver before the crowd, [Charles I](#) had donned two shirts.

STATE MURDER

REGICIDE
HEADCHOPPING

Famous Last Words:



"What school is more profitably instructive than the death-bed of the righteous, impressing the understanding with a convincing evidence, that they have not followed cunningly devised fables, but solid substantial truth."

— A COLLECTION OF MEMORIALS CONCERNING DIVERS DECEASED MINISTERS, Philadelphia, 1787



"The death bed scenes & observations even of the best & wisest afford but a sorry picture of our humanity. Some men endeavor to live a constrained life — to subject their whole lives to their will as he who said he might give a sign if he were conscious after his head was cut off — but he gave no sign Dwell as near as possible to the channel in which your life flows."

—Thoreau's JOURNAL, March 12, 1853

1601	Tycho Brahe	unsolicited comment	"Let me not seem to have lived in vain."
1618	Sir Walter Raleigh	his wife would embalm his head and keep it near her in a red leather bag	"Strike, man, strike."
1649	Charles I	the chopper was to wait for a signal that the king had prepared himself	"Stay for the sign."
1659	Friend Marmaduke Stevenson and Friend William Robinson	unsolicited comments made over the muting roll of a drum intended to prevent such remarks from being heard	<i>Friend Marmaduke: "We suffer not as evil-doers but for conscience' sake." Friend William: "I die for Christ."</i>
1660	Friend Mary Dyer	asked at her execution whether they should pray for her soul	"Nay, first a child; then a young man; then a strong man, before an elder of Christ Jesus."
... other famous last words ...			

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

News of the king's death on the block at Whitehall would be distributed throughout the realm in reports, ballads and woodcut engravings. The new age of commonwealth would last barely a dozen years. In 1660, Parliament would invite the son of the king they had executed to sit on the throne. In one of the great revisionist reversals of history, the republican heroes of 1649 who had put their names and seals to the king's death warrant would be regarded in 1660 as [regicides](#). The surviving judges of Charles I would be rounded up and executed in the special manner reserved for traitors: hanging, drawing and quartering (think of Mel Gibson's fate in "Braveheart").

1610 Henry IV. is murdered at Paris by Ravaillac, a priest.
 1611 Baronets first created in England by James I.
 1614 Napier of Marcheston, in Scotland, invents the logarithms.
 Sir Hugh Middleton brings the New River to London, from Ware.
 1616 The first permanent settlement in Virginia.
 1619 Dr. W. Harvey, an Englishman, discovers the doctrine of the circulation of the blood.
 1620 The broad silk manufactory from raw silk introduced into England.
 1621 New England planted by the Puritans.
 1625 King James dies, and is succeeded by his son, Charles I.
 The island of Barbadoes, the first English settlement in the West Indies, is planted.
 1632 The battle of Lutzen, in which Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, and head of the protestants in Germany, is killed,
 1635 Province of Maryland planted by lord Baltimore.
 Regular posts established from London to Scotland, Ireland, &c.
 1640 King Charles disoblises his Scottish subjects, on which their army, under general Lesley, enters England, and takes Newcastle, being encouraged by the malcontents in England.
 1641 The massacre in Ireland, when 40,000 English protestants were killed.
 1642 King Charles impeaches five members, who had opposed his arbitrary measures, which begins the civil war in England.
 1643 Excise on beer, ale, &c. first imposed by parliament.
 1649 Charles I. beheaded at Whitehall, January 30, aged 49.
 1654 Cromwell assumes the protectorship.
 1655 The English, under admiral Penn, take Jamaica from the Spaniards.
 1658 Cromwell dies, and is succeeded in the protectorship by his son Richard.
 1660 King Charles II. is restored by Monk, commander of the army, after an exile of twelve years in France and Holland.

Charles the Traitor would become Charles the Martyr. His final writings, *EIKON BASILIKE*, would be taken as the words of a saint.

His widowed queen consort, Henrietta Maria, had returned her native France in 1644 and thus learned of her husband's death only several days after the execution. His eldest son would be crowned at Scone, Scotland, in 1651, but would be forced into exile after Cromwell's Roundheads defeat of the Royalists at Worcester.

ENGLISH CIVIL WAR

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER



The Explanation of the EMBLEME.

*Ponderibus genus omne mali, probrisq; gravatus,
Vixq; ferenda ferens, Palma ut Depressa, resurgo.*

*Ac, velut undarum Fluctus Ventiq; furorcm
Grati Populi Rupes immota repellit.*

*Clarius è tenebris, coelestis Stella, corusco,
Victor et æternum-felici face triumpho.*

*Auro Fulgentem rutilo gemmisq; micantem,
At curis Gravidam spernendo calco Coronam.*

*Spinosam, at ferri facilem, quo Spes mea, Christi
Auxilio, Nobis non est tractare molestum.*

*Æternam, fixis fidei, semperq; beatam
In Cælos oculis Specto, Nobisq; paratam.*

*Quod Vanum est, sperno; quod Christi Gratia prebet
Amplexu studium est: Virtutis Gloria merces.*

Τὸ Χρὶ σὲν ἡδίστον τὸν πόλεμον, σὲν τὸ Κράτος.

*Though clogg'd with weights of miseries
Palm-like Depress'd, I higher rise.*

*And as th' unmoved Rock out-braves
The boistrous Windes and raging waves
So triumph I. And shine more bright
In sad Affliction's Darksom night.*

*That Splendid, but yet toilsom Crown
Regardlessly I trample down.*

*With joie I take this Crown of thorn,
Though sharp, yet easie to be born.*

*That heav'nlic Crown, already mine,
I view with eies of Faith divine.*

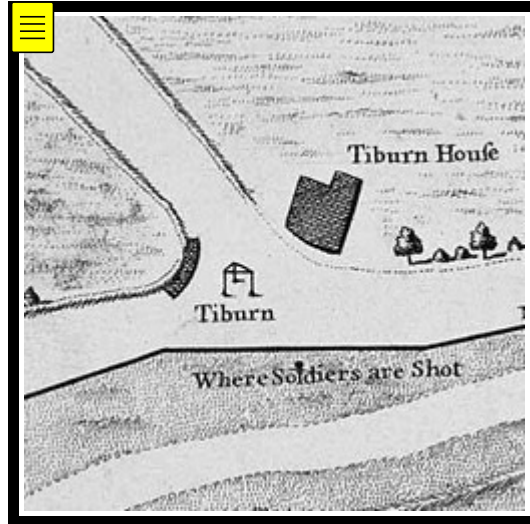
*I slight vain things; and do embrace
Glorie, the just reward of Grace.*

G. D.

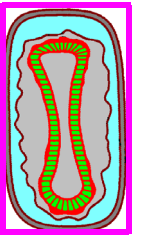
STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

June 23, Saturday (Old Style): At the Tyburn gallows just to the west of London, 23 men and a woman were [hanged](#) on the same day. Getting this number of condemned persons to the gallows required eight carts, which might or might not indicate that on average there were three prisoners being conveyed in each cart.



June 24, Sunday (Old Style): During this year in England there would occur a grand sum total of 1,190 deaths due to the [small pox](#), but only one would be memorialized in a lengthy poem (unless the poem in question wasn't actually about death due to smallpox, but actually was about regicide and [the severing of the neck by use of the ax and block](#)). [Johannes Dryden, Scholae Westm. Alumnus](#) contributed UPON THE DEATH OF THE LORD HASTINGS to the LACHRYMÆ MUSARUM / THE TEARS OF THE MUSES: EXPREST IN ELEGIES WRITTEN BY DIVERS PERSONS OF NOBILITY AND WORTH UPON THE DEATH OF THE MOST HOPEFULL, HENRY LORD HASTINGS ... ; COLLECTED AND SET FORTH BY R.B. collection of memorials to the 1st son and heir apparent to [Ferdinando Hastings, 6th Earl of Huntingdon](#) with [Lucy Davies Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon](#), who succumbed during the ongoing epidemic on this day at the age of 19, on the eve of his wedding to Elizabeth de Mayerne (the body would be placed on July 7th in a tomb at Ashby-de-la-Zouch in Leicestershire). Dryden had not known Henry Hastings, giving rise to the above surmise that this had amounted to an opportunity for a royalist to lament surreptitiously the recent execution of King Charles I.



Must noble Hastings immaturely die,
 The honour of his ancient family;
 Beauty and learning thus together meet,
 To bring a winding for a wedding-sheet?
 Must Virtue prove Death's harbinger? must she,
 With him expiring, feel mortality?
 Is death, Sin's wages, Grace's now? shall Art
 Make us more learned, only to depart?
 If merit be disease; if virtue death;
 To be good, not to be; who'd then bequeath
 Himself to discipline? who'd not esteem
 Labour a crime? study, self-murder deem?
 Our noble youth now have pretence to be
 Dunces securely, ignorant healthfully.
 Rare linguist, whose worth speaks itself, whose praise,
 Though not his own, all tongues besides do raise:
 Than whom great Alexander may seem less,
 Who conquer'd men, but not their languages.
 In his mouth nations spake; his tongue might be
 Interpreter to Greece, France, Italy.
 His native soil was the four parts o' the Earth;
 All Europe was too narrow for his birth.
 A young apostle; and, with reverence may
 I speak it, inspired with gift of tongues, as they.
 Nature gave him, a child, what men in vain
 Oft strive, by art though further'd, to obtain.

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

His body was an orb, his sublime soul
 Did move on Virtue's and on Learning's pole:
 Whose regular motions better to our view,
 Than Archimedes sphere, the Heavens did show.
 Graces and virtues, languages and arts,
 Beauty and learning, fill'd up all the parts.
 Heaven's gifts, which do like falling stars appear
 Scatter'd in others; all, as in their sphere,
 Were fix'd, conglobate in his soul; and thence
 Shone through his body, with sweet influence;
 Letting their glories so on each limb fall,
 The whole frame render'd was celestial.
 Come, learned Ptolemy and trial make,
 If thou this hero's altitude canst take:
 But that transcends thy skill; thrice happy all,
 Could we but prove thus astronomical.
 Lived Tycho now, struck with this ray which shone
 More bright i' the morn, than others' beam at noon.
 He'd take his astrolabe, and seek out here
 What new star 'twas did gild our hemisphere.
 Replenish'd then with such rare gifts as these,
 Where was room left for such a foul disease?
 The nation's sin hath drawn that veil, which shrouds
 Our day-spring in so sad benighting clouds:
 Heaven would no longer trust its pledge; but thus
 Recall'd it; rapt its Ganymede from us.
 Was there no milder way but the small-pox,
 The very filthiness of Pandora's box?
 So many spots, like næves on Venus' soil,
 One jewel set off with so many a foil;
 Blisters with pride swell'd, which through's flesh did sprout
 Like rose-buds, stuck i' th' lily-skin about.
 Each little pimple had a tear in it,
 To wail the fault its rising did commit:
 Which, rebel-like, with its own lord at strife,
 Thus made an insurrection 'gainst his life.
 Or were these gems sent to adorn his skin,
 The cabinet of a richer soul within?
 No comet need foretell his change drew on,
 Whose corpse might seem a constellation.
 Oh! had he died of old, how great a strife
 Had been, who from his death should draw their life!
 Who should, by one rich draught, become whate'er
 Seneca, Cato, Numa, Cæsar, were,—
 Learn'd, virtuous, pious, great; and have by this
 An universal metempsychosis!
 Must all these aged sires in one funeral
 Expire? all die in one so young, so small?
 Who, had he lived his life out, his great fame
 Had swoln 'bove any Greek or Roman name.
 But hasty Winter, with one blast, hath brought
 The hopes of Autumn, Summer, Spring, to nought.
 Thus fades the oak i' the sprig, i' the blade the corn;
 Thus without young, this Phoenix dies, new born:
 Must then old three-legg'd graybeards, with their gout,
 Catarrhs, rheums, aches, live three long ages out?
 Time's offals, only fit for the hospital!
 Or to hang antiquaries' rooms withal!
 Must drunkards, lechers, spent with sinning, live
 With such helps as broths, possets, physic give?
 None live, but such as should die? shall we meet
 With none but ghostly fathers in the street?
 Grief makes me rail; sorrow will force its way;
 And showers of tears, tempestuous sighs best lay.
 The tongue may fail; but overflowing eyes
 Will weep out lasting streams of elegies.

But thou, O virgin-widow, left alone,
 Now thy beloved, heaven-ravish'd spouse is gone,
 Whose skilful sire in vain strove to apply
 Medicines, when thy balm was no remedy,—



STATE MURDER

With greater than Platonic love, O wed
His soul, though not his body, to thy bed:
Let that make thee a mother; bring thou forth
The ideas of his virtue, knowledge, worth;
Transcribe the original in new copies, give
Hastings o' the better part: so shall he live
In's nobler half; and the great grandsire be
Of an heroic divine progeny:
An issue, which to eternity shall last,
Yet but the irradiations which he cast.
Erect no mausoleums: for his best
Monument is his spouse's marble breast.

STATE MURDER



STATE MURDER

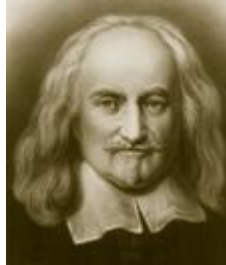
STATE MURDER

1650

May 21, Tuesday (Old Style): At a session of the General Court of [Connecticut](#), the prison-keeper's charges for imprisonment of Mary Johnson were allowed and ordered paid "out of her estate." Clearly, by this point she had been [hanged](#) as a [witch](#) and her estate had forfeited to the government.

1651

At this point having more reason to be in fear of French clergymen than of English revolutionaries, having fallen out of favor with the English court in exile, Thomas Hobbes made his submission to the Commonwealth, and his *PHILOSOPHICAL RUDIMENTS CONCERNING GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY* and his *LEVIATHAN* were published in London. After a period in London he would reside in the home of his former pupil the Earl of Devonshire, who had preceded him in such a temporary submission to the Commonwealth.



The burden of Hobbes's argument was that were it not for the guidance of social convention, every action we would take, no matter how charitable or benevolent, we would be taking for reasons which could ultimately be seen as self-preoccupied. Why, even when one donates to charity, one is reluctant to do so anonymously because that would interfere with one's delight in demonstrating one's powers!



Hobbes was very charitable *pro suo modulo* to those that were true objects of his bounty. One time, I remember, going into the Strand, a poor and infirm old man craved his alms. He beholding him with eyes of pity and compassion, put his hands in his pocket, and gave him 6d. Said a divine (that is Dr. Jasper Mayne) that stood by – "Would you have done this, if it had not been Christ's command?" "Yes," said Hobbes. "Why?" said the other. "Because," said he, "I was in pain to consider the miserable condition of the old man; and now my alms, giving him some relief, doth also ease me."

Since even the weakest person can sometimes kill the strongest by deception or good luck or by ganging up on him, since we are all always just totally vulnerable, at a first approximation we're all about equal. Our immense vulnerability causes us to distrust the intentions of others and causes us to attempt to magnify ourselves so as to present a greater perceived threat to others — to render them more inclined to behave themselves in regard to us. With material possessions always in limited supply, we are all always involved in disputations. Without social convention, the natural condition for humans would be not the ease and comfort we find in morality, but a state of perpetual war of all against all, with everyone always forced to live out their lives in nothing but fear. In such a fearful condition, with all our attentions directed only toward our own self-preservation, our lives would be unsatisfactorily solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short. It is to avoid being forced to lead such unsatisfactory lives, that we set up systems of morality and attempt to secure general compliance with them.

Whatsoever therefore is consequent to a time of war, where every man is Enemy to every man, the same consequent to the time wherein men live without other security than what their own strength and their own invention shall furnish them withal. In such condition there is no place for industry, because the fruit thereof is uncertain: and consequently no Culture of the Earth; no Navigation, nor use of the commodities that may be imported by Sea; no commodious Building; no Instruments of moving and removing such things as require much force; no Knowledge of the face of the Earth; no account of Time; no Arts; no Letters; no

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Society; and which is worst of all, continual fear, and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short.

Well, but the state is analogous to one immense person! It is a leviathan.



The functions of the various parts of the state do seem to resemble the functions of the various parts of the human body — therefore everything that could be said about the individual situation, as above, seems to apply equally to our government and society as a whole. For the general good, we need to find ways to trick ourselves into behaving ourselves in the hope that these tricks will work for just about everyone. (Then of course we need to kill off any who refuse to get the message, as they make themselves manifest in their status as criminals.)

Hobbes argued that although the powers of [witchcraft](#) were imaginary, persons who purported to practice them purposed to do mischief, and therefore were to be suppressed.¹⁹

Jane James of Marblehead, Massachusetts, who had in the previous year come under suspicion of [witchcraft](#), but had initiated a legal action against her accusers for slander, again came under suspicion, and again she accused her accusers of slander and thus brought the proceedings to a halt.

A [witchcraft](#) complaint was filed against Sarah Merrick of Springfield, Massachusetts, but there is no record of a court action.

A [witchcraft](#) complaint was filed against Bessie Sewell of Springfield, Massachusetts. A complaint was made and some formal step such as petition or deposition was taken towards prosecution, but there is no record of anything further.

19. Be assured that this was no idle figment of Tommy's perverid imagination — for we have the following execution order from this timeframe, made out in the New World colony of [Connecticut](#):

John Carrington thou art indited by the name of John Carrington of Wethersfield — carpenter — , that not hauing the feare of God before thine eyes thou hast interteined ffamilliariry with Sattan the great enemye of God and mankinde and by his helpe hast done workes aboue the course of nature for wch both according to the lawe of God and the established lawe of this Commonwealth thou deseruest to dye.

Record Particular Court, 2: 17, 1650-1651.



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In about this year Mrs. Alice Lake, wife of Henry Lake, mother of five, was accused of [witchcraft](#) in Dorchester, Massachusetts. When her infant died, she imagined she saw it, and reported that she had seen it. She was accused and convicted of being a [witch](#), and [hanged](#) in that the devil had come to her in the form of her infant. Records indicate that she was offered an opportunity to recant her story on the day of her execution but, instead of recanting, asserted that she knew why God was punishing her. She confessed to a secret in her past: prior to marriage she had engaged in sexual activity, and had attempted a self-abortion.

John Hale, a young boy at this point, would go on to become a Harvard-educated minister. He would support the witch trials until the point at which the witch hunters would accuse his pregnant wife [Mistress Sarah Noyes Hale](#), the last woman to be accused of witchcraft in Salem in November 1692. In 1697 the Reverend Hale would write:

Another that suffered on that account some time after was a Dorchester Woman. And upon the day of her Execution Mr. Thompson Minister at Brantry, and J.P. her former Master took pains with her to bring her to repentance And she utterly denyed her guilt of Witchcraft; yet justified God for bringing her to that punishment: For she had when a single woman played the harlot, and being with Child used means to destroy the fruit of her body to conceal her sin & shame, and although she did not effect it, yet she was a Murderer in the sight of God for her endeavours, and showed great penitency for that sin; but owned nothing of the crime laid to her charge.



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Mrs. (Lizzy) Kendal of Cambridge was [hanged](#) as a [witch](#) in [Boston](#).

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1647	Elizabeth Kendall, Alse Young	1663	Mary Barnes
1648	Margaret Jones, Mary Johnson	1666	Elizabeth Seager
1651	Alice Lake, Mrs. (Lizzy) Kendal, Goody Bassett, Mary Parsons	1669	Katherine (Kateran) Harrison
1652	John Carrington, Joan Carrington	1683	Nicholas Disborough, Margaret Mattson
1653	Elizabeth “Goody” Knapp, Elizabeth Godman	1688	Annie “Goody” Glover
1654	Lydia Gilbert, Kath Grady, Mary Lee	1692	Bridget Bishop, Rebecca Towne Nurse, Sarah Good, Susannah Martin, Elizabeth Howe, Sarah Wildes, Mary Staples, Mercy Disborough, Elizabeth Clawson, Mary Harvey, Hannah Harvey, Goody Miller, Giles Cory, Mary Towne Estey, Reverend George Burrough, George Jacobs, Sr., John Proctor, John Willard, Martha Carrier, Sarah Good, Martha Corey, Margaret Scott, Alice Parker, Ann Pudeator, Wilmott Redd, Samuel Wardwell, Mary Parker, Tituba
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1657	William Meaker	1697	Winifred Benham, Senr., Winifred Benham, Junr.
1658	Elizabeth Garlick, Elizabeth Richardson, Katherine Grade	1724	Sarah Spencer
1661	Nicholas Jennings, Margaret Jennings	1768	—— Norton
1662	Nathaniel Greensmith, Rebecca Greensmith, Mary Sanford, Andrew Sanford, Goody Ayres, Katherine Palmer, Judith Varlett, James Walkley	1801	Sagoyewatha “Red Jacket”

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February 20, Thursday (1650, Old Style): John Carrington and Joan Carrington of Wethersfield, [Connecticut](#) were indicted on charges of [witchcraft](#), Governor John Haynes and Edward Hopkins being present, with other magistrates. They would be found guilty on March 6th and in 1652 would be [hanged](#).





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March 6, Thursday (1650, Old Style): John Carrington and Joan Carrington of Wethersfield, [Connecticut](#) were found guilty of [witchcraft](#). In the following year they would be [hanged](#).

Major American Witchcraft Cases

1647	Elizabeth Kendall, Alse Young	1663	Mary Barnes
1648	Margaret Jones, Mary Johnson	1666	Elizabeth Seager
1651	Alice Lake, Mrs. (Lizzy) Kendal, Goody Bassett, Mary Parsons	1669	Katherine (Kateran) Harrison
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1653	Elizabeth “Goody” Knapp, Elizabeth Godman	1688	Annie “Goody” Glover
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1658	Elizabeth Garlick, Elizabeth Richardson, Katherine Grade	1724	Sarah Spencer
1661	Nicholas Jennings, Margaret Jennings	1768	—— Norton
1662	Nathaniel Greensmith, Rebecca Greensmith, Mary Sanford, Andrew Sanford, Goody Ayres, Katherine Palmer, Judith Varlett, James Walkley	1801	Sagoyewatha “Red Jacket”

May: “Goody” (Mary) Bassett of Stratford, [Connecticut](#) was accused of [witchcraft](#). There was a trial in Fairfield, she confessed and was convicted, and was [hanged](#).

The Gouvernor, Mr. Cullick, and Mr. Clarke are desired to goe downe to Stratford to keepe courte uppon the tryall of Goody Bassett for her life.

Because goodwife Bassett when she was condemned.



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1661	Nicholas Jennings, Margaret Jennings	1768	—— Norton
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May 29, Thursday (Old Style): Mary Parsons and Hugh Parsons of Springfield, Massachusetts had been accused of [witchcraft](#), and on this day Mary was [hanged](#) in Hartford, [Connecticut](#). The conviction of Hugh would be reversed.

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1647	Elizabeth Kendall, Alse Young	1663	Mary Barnes
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1662	Nathaniel Greensmith, Rebecca Greensmith, Mary Sanford, Andrew Sanford, Goody Ayres, Katherine Palmer, Judith Varlett, James Walkley	1801	Sagoyewatha “Red Jacket”

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1653

In about this year Elizabeth “Goody” Knapp of Fairfield, [Connecticut](#) was first being “suspicioned” of [witchcraft](#). She would be tried, and then [hanged](#) in Try’s field beyond the Indian field, in view of the villagers.



Just before taking her from the lockup to the gallows a self-appointed committee, Mistress Thomas Sherwood, Goodwife Odell, Mistress Pell with her two daughters Goody Lockwood and Goodwife Purdy, etc., would visit with her to induce her to name other witches in the town. The accused woman still retained the presence of mind to warn them to “take heed the devile have not you.” She attempted to explain that as Christians, she and they “must not render evil for evil.” She explained that “I have sins enough allready, and I will not add this [accusing another falsely] to my condemnation.” At last she cried out, “Neuer, neuer poore creature was tempted as I am tempted, pray, pray for me.”

However, at the gallows, in the midst of her enemies, her strength failed her, and she came down from the ladder, and asking to speak alone with Roger Ludlow, Deputy Governor of Massachusetts and [Connecticut](#), and informed him that Goodwife Staples was a witch.

When they took down Goody Knapp’s still body from the gallows, they stripped it and diligently searched her skin for witch marks.

After goodwife Knapp was executed, as soon as she was cut downe.

Another [witchcraft](#) case of this year was that of Jane Collins in Lynn, Massachusetts.

This one got only as far as an indictment or presentment in which the accused woman was forced to appear before a court preliminary to trial.

Another [witchcraft](#) case of this year was that of Agnes Evans in Gloucester, Massachusetts, who successfully fought back by filing a legal action for slander against those who were spreading these rumors about her.

Another [witchcraft](#) case of this year was that of Grace Dutch in Gloucester, Massachusetts, who successfully fought back by filing a legal action for slander against those who were spreading these rumors about her.

Another [witchcraft](#) case of this year was that of Elizabeth Perkins in Gloucester, who successfully fought back by filing a legal action for slander against those who were spreading these rumors about her.



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Another [witchcraft](#) case of this year was that of Sarah Vinson in Gloucester, Massachusetts, who successfully fought back by filing a legal action for slander against those who were spreading these rumors about her.

Major American Witchcraft Cases

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1654

In Bretagne, 20 women were executed as witches.





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Kath Grady of Jamestown, Virginia was [hanged](#) at sea as a [witch](#).

Major American Witchcraft Cases

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May 29, Monday (Old Style): In the previous year Elizabeth “Goody” Knapp of Fairfield, [Connecticut](#) had been “suspicioned” of [witchcraft](#). She had been tried, and then [hanged](#) in Try’s field beyond the Indian field, in view of the villagers.



Just before taking her from the lockup to the gallows a self-appointed committee, Mistress Thomas Sherwood, Goodwife Odell, Mistress Pell with her two daughters Goody Lockwood and Goodwife Purdy, etc., had visited with her to induce her to name other witches in the town. The accused woman had still retained the presence of mind to warn them to “take heed the devile have not you.” She had attempted to explain that as Christians, she and they “must not render evil for evil.” She had explained that “I have sins enough allready, and I will not add this [accusing another falsely] to my condemnation.” At last she cried out, “Neuer, neuer poore creature was tempted as I am tempted, pray, pray for me.”

However, at the [gallows](#), in the midst of her enemies, her strength had failed her, and she had come down from the ladder, and asking to speak alone with Roger Ludlow, Deputy Governor of Massachusetts and [Connecticut](#), and had informed him that Goodwife Staples was a [witch](#).

When they took down Goody Knapp’s still body from the [gallows](#), they stripped it and diligently searched her skin for witch marks.

Deputy Governor Roger Ludlow had carried this tale to the Reverend John Davenport and Mistress Davenport, one of the founding families of New Haven, in strictest secrecy, and from them the story had spread until it had become generally known. The information reached Fairfield and, on this day, Thomas Staples of Fairfield struck back in defense of the life of his wife, Goodwife Staples, who had been thus accused of being also a [witch](#), in the form of a lawsuit in New Haven against the Deputy Governor alleging slander and asking money damages. For having accused Goodwife Staples of “a tract of lying,” the court would order the Deputy Governor to pay damages to the husband Thomas Staples “in reparation of his wife’s name.”

At a magistrate’s court held at New Haven the 29th of May, 1654.

Present.

Theophilus Eaton Esqr, Gouvernor.

Mr. Stephen Goodyeare, Dept, Gouvernor.

Francis Newman \

Mr. William Fowler } Magistrats

Mr. William Leete /

a suit was heard entitled –

Thomas Staples of Fairfield, plant’.

Mr Rogger Ludlow late of Fairfield, defendt.

John Bankes, atturny for Thomas Staples, declared, that Mr. Ludlow had defamed Thomas Staples wife, in reporting to Mr. Dauenport and Mrs. Dauenport that she had laid herself vnder a new suspition of being a witch, that she had caused Knapps wife to be new searched after she was hanged, and when she saw the teates, said if they were the markes of a witch, then she



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was one, or she had such markes; secondly, Mr. Ludlow said Knapps wife told him that goodwife Staplies was a witch; thirdly, that Mr. Ludlow hath slandered goodwife Staplies in saying that she made a trade of lying, or went on in a tract of lying, &c.

Ensigne Bryan, atturny for Mr. Ludlow, desired the charge might bee proued, wch accordingly the plant' did, and first an attestation vnder Master Dauenports hand, conteyning the testimony of Master and Mistris Dauenport, was presented and read; but the defendant desired what was testified and accepted for prooffe might be vpon oath, vpon wch Mr. Dauenport gaue in as followeth, That he hoped the former attestation hee wrott and sent to the court, being compared wth Mr. Ludlowes letter, and Mr. Dauenports answer, would haue satisfyed concerning the truth of the pticulars wthout his oath, but seeing Mr. Ludlowes atturny will not be so satisfyed, and therefore the court requires his oath, and yt he lookes at an oath, in a case of necessitie, for confirmation of truth, to end strife among men, as an ordinance of God, according to Heb: 6,16, hee therevpon declares as followeth,

That Mr. Ludlow, sitting wth him & his wife alone, and discoursing of the passages concerning Knapps wife the witch, and her execution, said that she came downe from the ladder, (as he vnderstood it,) and desired to speake wth him alone, and told him who was the witch spoken of; and so fair as he remembers, he or his wife asked him who it was; he said she named goodwife Stapleies; Mr. Dauenport replied that hee beleueed it was vtterly vntrue and spoken out of malice, or to that purpose; Mr. Ludlow answered that he hoped better of her, but said she was a foolish woman, and then told them a further storey, how she tumbled the corpes of the witch vp & downe after her death, before sundrie women, and spake to this effect, if these be the markes of a witch I am one, or I haue such markes. Mr. Dauenport vtterly disliked the speech, not haueing heard anything from others in that pticular, either for her or against her, and supposing Mr. Ludlow spake it vpon such intelligenc as satisfyed him; and whereas Mr. Ludlow saith he required and they promised secrecy, he doth not remember that either he required or they pmised it, and he doth rather beleue the contrary, both because he told them that some did ouerheare what the witch said to him, and either had or would spread it abroad, and because he is carefull not to make vnlawfull promises, and when he hath made a lawfull promise he is, through the help of Christ, carefull to keepe it.

Mris. Dauenport saith, that Mr. Ludlow being at their house, and speakeing aboute the execution of Knapps wife, (he being free in his speech,) was telling seuerall passages of her, and to the best of her remembrance said that Knapps wife came downe from the ladder to speake wth him, and told him that goodwife Staplies was a witch, and that Mr. Daueport replied something on behalfe of goodwife Staplies, but the words she remembers not; and something Mr. Ludlow spake, as some did or might ouer-heare what she said to him, or words to that effect, and that she tumbled the dead body of Knapps wife vp & downe and spake words to this purpose, that if these be the markes of a witch she was one, or had such markes; and concerning any promise of secrecy she remembers not.

Mr. Dauenport and Mris. Dauenport affirmed ypon oath, that the testimonies before written, as they properly belong to each, is



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the truth, according to their best knowledg & memory.
Mr. Dauenport desired that in takeing his oath to be thus vnderstood, that as he takes his oath to giue satisfaction to the court and Mr. Ludlowes atturny, in the matters attested betwixt M' Ludlow & Thomas Staplies, so he lymits his oath onely to that pt and not to ye preface or conclusion, they being no pt of the attestation and so his oath not required in them.
To the latter pt of the declaration, the plant' pduced ye prooffe following,

Goodwif Sherwood of Fairfeild affirmeth vpon oath, that vpon some debate betwixt Mr. Ludlow and goodwife Staplies, she heard M' Ludlow charge goodwif Staplies wth a tract of lying, and that in discourse she had heard him so charge her seuerall times.

John Tompson of Fairfeild testifyeth vpon oath, that in discourse he hath heard Mr. Ludlow express himselfe more then once that goodwife Staplies went on in a tract of lying, and when goodwife Staplies hath desired Mr. Ludlow to convince her of telling one lye, he said she need not say so, for she went on in a tract of lying.

Goodwife Gould of Fairefeild testifyeth vpon oath, that in a debate in ye church wth Mr. Ludlow, goodwife Staplies desired him to show her wherein she had told one lye, but Mr. Ludlow said she need not mention ptculars, for she had gon on in a tract of lying.

Ensigne Bryan was told, he sees how the plantife hath proued his charge, to wch he might now answer; wherevpon he presented seuerall testimonies in wrighting vpon oath, taken before Mr. Wells and Mr. Ludlow.

May the thirteenth, 1654.

Hester Ward, wife of Andrew Ward, being sworne deposeth, that aboute a day after that goodwife Knapp was condemned for a witch, she goeing to ye prison house where the said Knapp was kept, she, ye said Knapp, voluntarily, wthout any occasion giuen her, said that goodwife Staplies told her, the said Knapp, that an Indian brought vnto her, the said Staplies, two little things brighter then the light of the day, and told the said goodwife Staplies they were Indian gods, as the Indian called ym; and the Indian wthall told her, the said Staplies, if she would keepe them, she would be so big rich, all one god, and that the said Staplies told the said Knapp, she gaue them again to the said Indian, but she could not tell whether she did so or no.

Luce Pell, the wife of Thomas Pell, being sworne deposeth as followeth, that aboute a day after goodwife Knapp was condemned for a witch, Mrs. Jones earnestly intreated her to goe to ye said Knapp, who had sent for her, and then this deponent called the said Hester Ward, and they went together; then the said Knapp voluntarily, of her owne accord, spake as the said Hester Ward hath testified, word by word; and the said Mrs. Pell further saith, that she being one of ye women that was required by the court to search the said Knapp before she was condemned, & then Mrs. Jones presed her, the said Knapp, to confess whether ther were any other that were witches, because goodwife goodwife Basset, when she was condemned, said there was another witch in Fairefeild that held her head full high, and then the said goodwife Knapp stepped a litle aside, and told her, this deponent, goodwife Basset ment not her; she asked her whom she ment, and she named goodwife Staplies, and then vttered the same speeches as formerly conerning ye Indian gods, and that goodwife



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Staplyes her sister Martha told the said goodwife Knapp, that her sister Staplyes stood by her, by the fire in there house, and she called to her, sister, sister, and she would not answer, but she, the said Martha, stricke at her and then she went away, and ye next day she asked her sister, and she said she was not there; and Mrs. Ward doth also testify wth Mrs. Pell, that the said Knapp said the same to her; and the said Mrs. Pell saith, that aboute two dayes after the search afforesaid, she went to ye said Knapp in prison house, and the said Knapp said to her, I told you a thing the other day, and goodman Staplies had bine wth her and threatened her, that she had told some thing of his wife that would bring his wiues name in question, and this deponent she told no body of it but her husband, & she was much moued at it.

Elizabeth Brewster being sworne, deposeth and saith, that after goodwife Knap was executed, as soone as she was cut downe, she, the said Knapp, being caried to the graue side, goodwife Staplyes wth some other women went to search the said Knapp, concerning findeing out teates, and goodwife Staplyes handled her verely much, and called to goodwife Lockwood, and said, these were no witches teates, but such as she herselfe had, and other women might haue the same, wringing her hands and takeing ye Lords name in her mouth, and said, will you say these were witches teates, they were not, and called vpon goodwife Lockwood to come & see them; then this deponent desired goodwife Odell to come & see, for she had bine vpon her oath when she found the teates, and she, this depont, desired the said Odill to come and clere it to goodwife Staplies; goodwife Odill would not come; then the said Staplies still called vpon goodwife Lockwood to come, will you say these are witches teates, I, sayes the said Staplies, haue such myselfe, and so haue you if you search yorselfe; goodwife Lockwood replyed, if I had such, she would be hanged; would you, sayes Staplies, yes, saith Lockwood, and deserve it; and the said Staplies handeled the said teates very much, and pulled them wth her fingers, and then goodwife Odill came neere, and she, the said Staplies, still questioning, the said Odill told her no honest woman had such, and then all the women rebuking her and said they were witches teates, and the said Staplies yeilded it.

Mary Brewster being sworn & deposed, saith as followeth, that she was present after the execution of ye said Knapp, and she being brought to the graue side, she saw goodwife Staplyes pull the teates that were found aboute goodwife Knapp, and was verely earnest to know whether those were witches teates wch were found aboute her, the said Knapp, wn the women searched her, and the said Staplyes pulled them as though she would haue pulled them of, and prsently she, ths depont, went away, as hauing no desire to looke vpon them.

Susan Lockwood, wife of Robert Lockwood, being sworne & examined saith as foll, that she was at the execution of goodwife Knapp that was hanged for a witch, and after the said Knapp was cut downe and brought to the graue, goodwife Staplyes, wth other women, looked after the teates that the women spake of appointed by the magistrats, and the said goodwife Staplies was handling of her where the teates were, and the said Staplies stood vp and called three or foure times and bid me come looke of them, & asked her whether she would say they were teates, and she made this answer, no matter whether there were teates or no, she had



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teates and confessed she was a witch, that was sufficient; if these be teates, here are no more teates then I myselfe haue, or any other women, or you either if you would search yor body; this depont saith she said, I know not what you haue, but for herselfe, if any finde any such things aboute me, I deserved to be hanged as she was, and yet afterward she, the said Staplyes, stooped downe againe and handled her, ye said Knapp, verely much, about ye place where the teates were, and seuerall of ye women cryed her downe, and said they were teates, and then she, the said Staplyes, yeilded, & said verely like they might be teates. Thomas Sheruington & Christopher Combstocke & goodwife Baldwine were all together at the prison house where goodwife Knapp was, and ye said goodwife Baldwin asked her whether she, the said Knapp, knew of any other, and she said there were some, or one, that had receiued Indian gods that were very bright; the said Baldwin asked her how she could tell, if she were not a witch herselfe, and she said the party told her so, and her husband was witnes to it; and to this they were all sworne & doe depose. Rebecka Hull, wife of Cornelius Hull, being sworne & examined, deposeth & saith as followeth, that when goodwife Knapp was goeing to execution, Mr. Ludlow, and her father Mr. Jones, pressing the said Knapp to confess that she was a witch, vpon wch goodwife Staplies said, why should she, the said Knapp, confess that wch she was not, and after she, the said goodwife Staplyes, had said so, on that stood by, why should she say so, she the said Staplyes replied, she made no doubt if she the said Knapp were one, she would confess it.

Deborah Lockwood, of the age of 17 or thereabout, sworne & examined, saith as followeth, that she being present when goodwife Knapp was goeing to execution, betweene Tryes & the mill, she heard goodwife Staplyes say to goodwife Gould, she was pswaded goodwife Knapp was no witch; goodwife Gould said, sister Staplyes, she is a witch, & hath confessed had had familiarity wth the Deuill. Staplies replied, I was wth her yesterday, or last night, and she said no such thing as she heard.

Aprill 26th, 1654.

Bethia Brundish, of the age of sixteene or thereabouts, maketh oath, as they were goeing to execution of goodwife Knapp, who was condemned for a witch by the court & jury at Fairfeild, there being present herselfe & Deborah Lockwood and Sarah Cable, she heard goodwife Staplyes say, that she thought the said goodwife Knapp was no witch, and goodwife Gould presently reproued her for it.

Witnes

Andrew Warde,

Jurat' die & anno prdicto,

Coram me, Ro Ludlowe.

The plant' replied that he had seuerall other witnesses wch he thought would cleere the matters in question, if the court please to heare them, wch being granted, he first presented a testimony of goodwife Whitlocke of Fairfeild, vpon oath taken before Mr. Fowler at Millford, the 27th of May, 1654, wherein she saith, that concerning goodwife Staplyes speeches at the execution of goodwife Knapp, she being present & next to goody Staplyes when they were goeing to put the dead corpes of goodwife Knapp into the graue, seuerall women were looking for the markes of a witch vpon the dead body, and seuerall of the women said they could finde none, & this depont said, nor I; and she heard



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goodwife Staplyes say, nor I; then came one that had searched the said witch, & shewed them the markes that were vpon her, and said what are these; and then this depont heard goodwife Staplyes say she never saw such in all her life, and that she was pswaded that no honest woman had such things as those were; and the dead corps being then prsently put into the graue, goodwife Staplyes & myselfe came imediately away together vnto the towne, from the place of execution.

Goodwife Barlow of Fairfeild before the court did now testify vpon oath, that when Knapps wife was hanged and ready to be buried, she desired to see the markes of a witch and spake to one of her neighbours to goe wth her, and they looked but found them not; then goodwife Staplyes came to them, and one or two more, goodwife Staplyes kneeled downe by them, and they all looked but found ym not, & said they saw nothing but what is comon to other women, but after they found them they all wondered, and goodwife Staplyes in pticular, and said they neuer saw such things in their life before, so they went away.

The wife of John Tompson of Fairefeild testifyeth vpon oath, that goodwife Whitlock, goodwife Staplyes and herselfe, were at the graue and desired to see ye markes of the witch that was hanged, they looked but found them not at first, then the midwife came & shewed them, goodwife Staplyes said she neuer saw such, and she beleeved no honest woman had such.

Goodwife Sherwood of Fairefeild testifyeth vpon oath, that that day Knapps wife was condemned for a witch, she was there to see her, all being gone forth but goodwife Odill and her selfe, then their came in Mrs. Pell and her two daughters, Elizabeth & Mary, goody Lockwood and goodwife Purdy; Mrs. Pell told Knapps wife she was sent to speake to her, to haue her confess that for wch she was condemned, and if she knew any other to be a witch to discover them, and told her, before she was condemned she might thinke it would be a meanes to take away her life, but now she must dye, and therefore she should discover all, for though she and her family by the providence of God had brought in nothing against her, yet ther was many witnesses came in against her, and she was cast by the jury & godly magistrats hauing found her guilty, and that the last evidence cast the cause. So the next day she went in againe to see the witch wth other neighbours, there was Mr. Jones, Mrs. Pell & her two daughters, Mrs. Ward and goodwife Lockwood, where she heard Mrs. Pell desire Knapps wife to lay open herselfe, and make way for the minister to doe her good; her daughter Elizabeth bid her doe as the witch at the other towne did, that is, discover all she knew to be witches. Goodwife Knapp said she must not say anything wch is not true, she must not wrong any body, and what had bine said to her in private, before she went out of the world, when she was vpon the ladder, she would reveale to Mr. Ludlow or ye minister. Elizabeth Bruster said, if you keepe it a litle longer till you come to the ladder, the diuill will haue you quick, if you reveale it not till then. Good: Knapp replied, take heed the devile haue not you, for she could not tell how soone she might be her companion, and added, the truth is you would haue me say that goodwife Staplyes is a witch, but I haue sinns enough to answer for allready, and I hope I shall not add to my condemnation; I know nothing by goodwife Staplyes, and I hope she is an honest woman. Then goodwife Lockwood said, goodwife Knapp what ayle you; goodman Lyon, I pray speake, did you heare



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vs name goodwif Staplyes name since we came here; Lyon wished her to haue a care what she said and not breed difference betwixt neighbours after she was gone; Knapp replied, goodman Lyon hold yor tongue, you know not what I know, I haue ground for what I say, I haue bine fished wthall in private more then you are aware of; I apprehend goodwife Staples hath done me some wrong in her testimony, but I must not render euill for euill. Then this depont spake to goody Knapp, wishing her to speake wth the jury, for she apprehended goodwife Staplyes witnessed nothing contrary to other witnessses, and she supposed they would informe her that the last evidence did not cast ye cause; she replied that she had bine told so wthin this halfe houre, & desired Mr. Jones and herselfe to stay and the rest to depart, that she might speake wth vs in private, and desired me to declare to Mr. Jones what they said against goodwife Staplyes the day before, but she told her she heard not goodwife Staplyes named, but she knew nothing of that nature; she desired her to declare her minde fully to M' Jones, so she went away.

Further this depont saith, that comeing into the house where the witch was kept, she found onely the wardsman and goodwife Baldwine, there goodwife Baldwin whispered her in the eare and said to her that goodwife Knapp told her that a woman in ye towne was a witch and would be hanged wthin a twelue moneth, and would confess herselfe a witch and cleere her that she was none, and that she asked her how she knew she was a witch, and she told her she had reeived Indian gods of an Indian, wch are shining things, wch shine lighter then the day. Then this depont asked goodwife Knapp if she had said so, and she denyed it; goodwife Baldwin affirmed she did, but Knapps wife againe denyed it and said she knowes no woman in the towne that is a witch, nor any woman that hath received Indian gods, but she said there was an Indian at a womans house and offerred her a coople of shining things, but she woman neuer told her she tooke them, but was afraide and ran away, and she knowes not that the woman euer tooke them. Goodwife desired this depont to goe out and speake wth the wardsmen; Thomas Shervington, who was one of them, said hee remembred not that Knapps wife said a woman in the towne was a witch and would be hanged, but spake something of shining things, but Kester, Mr. Pells man, being by said, but I remember; and as they were goeing to the graue, goodwife Staplyes said, it was long before she could beleeeve this poore woman was a witch, or that their were any witches, till the word of God convinced her, wch saith, thou shalt not suffer a witch to liue. Thomas Lyon of Fairfeild testifyeth vpon oath, taken before Mr. Fowler, the 27th May, 1654, that he being set by authority to watch wth Knapps wife, there came in Mrs. Pell, Mrs. Ward, goodwife Lockwood, and Mrs. Pells two daughters; the fell into some discourse, that goodwife Knapp should say to them in private wch goodwife Knapp would not owne, but did seeme to be much troubled at them and said, the truth is you would haue me to say that goodwife Staplyes is a witch; I haue sinnes enough allready, I will not add this to my condemnation, I know no such thing by her, I hope she is an honest woman; then goodwife Lockwood caled to mee and asked whether they had named goodwife Staplyes, so I spake to goodwife Knapp to haue a care what she said, that she did not make difference amongst her neighbours when she was gon, and I told her that I hoped they were her friends and desired her soules good, and not to accuse any out



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of envy, or to that effect; Knapps wife said, goodman Lyon hold yor tongue, you know not so much as I doe, you know not what hath bine said to me in private; and after they was gon, of her owne accord, betweene she & I, goody Knapp said she knew nothing against goodwife Staplyes of being a witch.

Goodwife Gould of Fairfeild testifyeth vpon oath, that goodwife Sherwood & herselfe came in to see the witch, there was one before had bine speaking aboute some suspicious words of one in the towne, this depont wished her if she knew anything vpon good ground she would declare it, if not, that she would take heede that the deuill pswaded her not to sow malicious seed to doe hurt when she was dead, yet wished her to speake the truth if she knew anything by any pson; she said she knew nothing but vpon suspicion by the rumours she heares; this depont told her she was now to dye, and therefore she should deale truly; she burst forth ito weeping and desired me to pray for her, and said I knew not how she was tempted; neuer, neuer poore creature was tempted as I am tempted, pray, pray for me. Further this depont saith, as they were goeing to ye graue, Mr. Buckly, goodwife Sherwood, goodwife Staplye and myselfe, goodwife Staplyes was next me, she said it was a good while before she could beleue this woman was a witch, and that she could not beleue a good while that there were any witches, till she went to ye word of God, and then she was convinced, and as she remembers, goodwife Stapleyes went along wth her all the way till they came at ye gallowes. Further this deponent saith, that Mr. Jones some time since that Knapps wife was condemned, did tell her, and that wth a very cherefull countenance & blessing God for it, that Knapps wife had cleered one in ye towne, & said you know who I meane sister Staplyes, blessed be God for it.



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Major American Witchcraft Cases

1647	Elizabeth Kendall, Alse Young	1663	Mary Barnes
1648	Margaret Jones, Mary Johnson	1666	Elizabeth Seager
1651	Alice Lake, Mrs. (Lizzy) Kendal, Goody Bassett, Mary Parsons	1669	Katherine (Kateran) Harrison
1652	John Carrington, Joan Carrington	1683	Nicholas Disborough, Margaret Mattson
1653	Elizabeth “Goody” Knapp, Elizabeth Godman	1688	Annie “Goody” Glover
1654	Lydia Gilbert, Kath Grady, Mary Lee	1692	Bridget Bishop, Rebecca Towne Nurse, Sarah Good, Susannah Martin, Elizabeth Howe, Sarah Wildes, Mary Staples, Mercy Disborough, Elizabeth Clawson, Mary Harvey, Hannah Harvey, Goody Miller, Giles Cory, Mary Towne Estey, Reverend George Burrough, George Jacobs, Sr., John Proctor, John Willard, Martha Carrier, Sarah Good, Martha Corey, Margaret Scott, Alice Parker, Ann Pudeator, Wilmott Redd, Samuel Wardwell, Mary Parker, Tituba
1655	Elizabeth Godman, Nicholas Bayley, Goodwife Bayley, Ann Hibbins	1693	Hugh Crotia, Mercy Disborough
1657	William Meaker	1697	Winifred Benham, Senr., Winifred Benham, Junr.
1658	Elizabeth Garlick, Elizabeth Richardson, Katherine Grade	1724	Sarah Spencer
1661	Nicholas Jennings, Margaret Jennings	1768	—— Norton
1662	Nathaniel Greensmith, Rebecca Greensmith, Mary Sanford, Andrew Sanford, Goody Ayres, Katherine Palmer, Judith Varlett, James Walkley	1801	Sagoyewatha “Red Jacket”



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June 23, Friday (Old Style): Mary Lee of [Maryland](#) was [hanged](#) at sea as a [witch](#).

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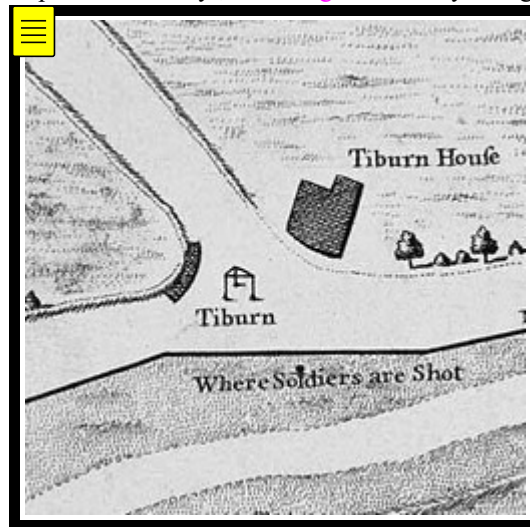
In the [Plymouth](#) colony, “happy tidings came of a long desired peace betwixt the two nations of England and Holland” and the local militia dropped its preparations for a contest with the Dutch of [Nieuw-Amsterdam](#).

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June 28: John Southworth, Catholic priest and martyr, was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.





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1656

March 16: It was ordered that “before the next [execution](#)” the Boston gallows be moved farther out the Neck “to the next knole of land.”

June 19, Thursday (Old Style): John Skelton, who had entered Queen’s College as “batler” in the 9th week of the Christmas quarter of 1652/1653, and had matriclated as “servitor” on June 24, 1653, and presumably had been nominated as Dudley Exhibitioner at the end of that year, was at this point elected “tabarder” of Queens College.

Another alleged [witch](#) was [hanged](#) from the branches of the Great Elm (*Ulmus americana*) on the Boston Common. Her name was Mistress Ann Hibbins and she was the socially well situated widow of a Boston merchant. (Contrary to the story which [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) would build, she was not the sister of Governor Richard Bellingham.) If local custom was followed, before she was hanged she had been condemned to attend public worship and hear a sermon on eternal damnation, but why was it that she was not hanged on the Boston gallows, on that “next knole of land” out the Neck leading to Roxbury, as had been ordered on March 16th?

THE SCARLET LETTER: The affair being so satisfactorily concluded, Hester Prynne, with Pearl, departed from the house. As they descended the steps, it is averred that the lattice of a chamber-window was thrown open, and forth into the sunny day was thrust the face of Mistress Hibbins, Governor Bellingham’s bitter-tempered sister, and the same who, a few years later, was executed as a witch.



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1658

October 27, Tuesday (Old Style): This was “Lecture Day” in [Boston](#). The Reverend John Norton fulminated against “diabolical doctrines” such as those of “the cursed sect of the Quakers.” (This would be printed up and distributed at government expense.) A large company of soldiers escorted the three religious prisoners from the jail near what is now Dover Street at Washington Street, onto the Common.²⁰

[Friend Daniel Gould](#) of [Newport, Rhode Island](#) accompanied Friend Marmaduke and Friend William to their gallows tree, and for doing that would be sentenced to be tied across a big gun and [flogged](#).

[Friend Mary Dyer](#) was between two guards with her arms and legs bound. She was seen to have covered her face with a handkerchief, loaned to her for this purpose by her former pastor in the Boston church, the Reverend John Wilson. With the drums rolling to drown out the voices of the condemned (they were nevertheless heard briefly, as below), Friends [Marmaduke Stevenson](#) and [William Robinson](#) were [hanged](#) from the limb of a tree on Boston Common. When the corpse of Robinson was cut down, the head hit the ground and the skull broke. Their bodies were cast naked into a hole, and soon were covered over with water. “A Mr. Nichols built a fence about the place to protect them.”²¹

A week earlier, in the prison in [Boston](#), Friend Marmaduke had written a brief summation of his life:²²

In the beginning of the year 1655, I was at the plough in the east parts of Yorkshire in Old England, near the place where my outward being was; and, as I walked after the plough, I was filled with the love and presence of the living God, which did ravish my heart when I felt it, for it did increase and abound in me like a living stream, so did the life and love of God run through me like precious ointment giving a pleasant smell, which mad me to stand still. And, as I stood a little still, with my heart and mind stayed upon the Lord, the word of the Lord came to me in a still, small voice, which I did hear perfectly, saying to me in the secret of my heart and conscience, “I have ordained thee a prophet unto the nations,” and, at the hearing of the word of the Lord, I was put to a stand, seeing that I was but a child for such a weighty matter. So, at the time appointed, Barbados was set before me, unto which I was required of the Lord to go and leave my dear and loving wife and tender children; for the Lord said unto me, immediately by His Spirit, that He would be as an husband to my wife and as a father to my children, and they should not want in my absence, for He would provide for them when I was gone. And I believed the Lord would perform what He had spoken, because I was made willing to give up myself to His work and service, to leave all and follow Him, whose presence and life is with me, where I rest in peace and quietness of

20. The illustration that one commonly sees, of these three being taken along to the Common with a drummer in front and a small dog cavorting in the foreground, is by William Bell Scott and dates to his own perfervid imagination as of the late date of 1888. Representative Daniel Gould of [Newport](#) accompanied Friends [Marmaduke Stevenson](#) and [William Robinson](#) to encourage them as they were being [hanged](#) and for that act of sympathy would be “tied to a big gun” and given thirty lashes in [Boston](#) during November 1659.

21. After this execution a military man of highest esteem in the colony, John Hull, whose take on such topics was of course always that of discipline, felt that if ever an enemy deserved to die, then someone who had made themselves an enemy of God especially deserved to be put to death. He wrote in his diary that “the rest of the [Quakers](#) had liberty, if they pleased to use it, to depart the jurisdiction though some of them capitally guilty,” and piously ejaculated into prayer: “The good Lord pardon this timidity of spirit to execute the sentence of God’s Holy Law upon such blasphemous persons.” –One is reminded of the little sermon that was given to the German soldiers used as concentration camp guards, which amounted to “We know this goes against your natural feelings, and we hope you will be able to overcome such weaknesses in yourselves.”

22. Besse. SUFFERINGS, 1753, Volume II, pages 201-2

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spirit, with my dear brother [Friend William Robinson] under the shadow of His wings, who hath made us willing to lay down our lives for His name's sake, if unmerciful men be suffered to take them from us. And, if they do, we know we shall have rest and peace with the Lord for ever in His holy habitation, when they shall have torment night and day.

So, in obedience to the living God, I made preparation to pass to Barbados in the Fourth month [June] 1658. So, after some time that I had been on the said island in the service of God, I heard that New England had made a law to put the servants of the living God to death if they returned after they were sentenced away, which did come near me at that time; and, as I considered the thing and pondered it in my heart, immediately came to word of the Lord unto me, saying, "Thou knowest not but that thou mayst go thither."

But I kept this word in my heart and did not declare it to any until the time appointed, so, after that, a vessel was made ready for [Rhode Island](#), which I passed in. So, after a little time that I had been there, visiting the seed which the Lord had blessed, the word of the Lord came to me saying, "Go to Boston with thy brother William Robinson," and at His command I was obedient and gave up to His will, that so His work and service may be accomplished. for He had said unto me that He had a great work for me to do, which is now come to pass. And, for yielding obedience to and for obeying the voice and command of the everlasting God, which created heaven and earth and the foundations of waters, do I, with my dear brother, suffer outward bonds near unto death.

And this is given forth to be upon record, that all people may know who hear it, that we came not in our own will but in the will of God.

Given forth by me, whom am know to men by the name of MARMADUKE STEVENSON, but have a new name given me, which the world knows not of, written in the book of life.

It turned out that the plan of the authorities was only to frighten this Quaker woman by the sentence of death and the witnessing of the execution of her fellow ministers. When it came time for her to be "turned off" – as the expression then was – upon the gallows tree, the authorities announced that she had been reprieved. Her bonds were loosed.



One of the Bostonians in the assembly, one John Chamberlain, however, announced then and there that he had been converted into a [Quaker](#), and he was taken back to town and thrown in jail. Shortly afterward, that jail released 17 religious prisoners.

After not being hanged, Friend Mary Dyer once again wrote to the court:²³



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**LETTER TO THE GENERAL COURT AT BOSTON,
AFTER BEING UNEXPECTEDLY REPRIEVED,
28TH OF 8TH MONTH, 1659.**

Once more to the general court assembled in Boston, speaks Mary Dyar, even as before. My life is not accepted, neither availeth in comparison of the lives and liberty of the Truth, and servants of living God, for which in the bowels of loved and meekness I sought you: yet, nevertheless, with wicked hands have you put two of them to death, which makes me to feel, that the mercies of the wicked are cruelty. I rather choose to die than to live, as from you, as guilty of their innocent blood: therefore seeing my request is hindered, I leave you to the righteous Judge, and searcher of all hearts, who, with the pure measure of light he hath given to every man to profit withal, will in his due time let you see whose servants you are, and of whom you have taken counsel, which I desire you to search into: but all his counsel hath been slighted, and you would have none of his reproofs. Read your portion, Prov. i. 24 to 32. For verily the night cometh on you apace, wherein no man can work, in which you shall assuredly fall to your own master. In obedience to the Lord, whom I serve with my spirit, and pity to your souls, which you neither know nor pity, I can do no less than once more to warn you, to put away the evil of your doings; and kiss the Son, the light in you, before his wrath be kindled in you; for where it is, nothing without you can help or deliver you out of his hand at all; and if these things be so, then say, there hath been no prophet from the Lord sent amongst you; though we be nothing, yet it be his pleasure, by things that are not, to bring to nought things that are.

When I heard your last order read, it was a disturbance to me, that was so freely offering up my life to him that gave it to me, and sent me hither so to do, which obedience being his own work, he gloriously accompanied with his presence and peace, and love in me, in which I rested from my labour; till by your order and the people, I was so far disturbed, that I could not retain any more of the words thereof, than that I should return to prison, and there remain forty and eight hours, to which I submitted, finding nothing from the Lord to the contrary, that I may know what his pleasure and counsel is concerning me, on whom I wait therefore, for he is my life, and the length of my days; and as I said before, I came at his command, and go at his command.

Mary Dyar.

Famous Last Words:



"What school is more profitably instructive than the death-bed of the righteous, impressing the understanding with a convincing evidence, that they have not followed cunningly devised fables, but solid substantial truth."

— A COLLECTION OF MEMORIALS CONCERNING DIVERS DECEASED MINISTERS, Philadelphia, 1787



"The death bed scenes & observations even of the best & wisest afford but a sorry picture of our humanity. Some men endeavor to live a constrained life — to subject their whole lives to their will as he who said he might give a sign if he were conscious after his head was cut off — but he gave no sign Dwell as near as possible to the channel in which your life flows."

—Thoreau's JOURNAL, March 12, 1853

1601	Tycho Brahe	unsolicited comment	<i>"Let me not seem to have lived in vain."</i>
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1659	Friend Marmaduke Stevenson and Friend William Robinson	unsolicited comments made over the muting roll of a drum intended to prevent such remarks from being heard	<i>Friend Marmaduke: "We suffer not as evil-doers but for conscience' sake." Friend William: "I die for Christ."</i>
1660	Friend Mary Dyer	asked at her execution whether they should pray for her soul	<i>"Nay, first a child; then a young man; then a strong man, before an elder of Christ Jesus."</i>
... other famous last words ...			

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1660

May: Friend [Mary Dyer](#), mother of 6, banished from Massachusetts for preaching in the [Quaker](#) mode, returned to [Boston](#) to continue her outreach and was condemned to be [hanged](#).²⁴



[CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE](#)

(One of the attending ministers at the execution would be the [Reverend John Wilson](#) — who had been her and her husband's minister at First Church in Charlestown.)



24. In general, it was the custom in Massachusetts to dispose of troublesome [Quakers](#) by [hanging](#) for only 3 years, from 1659 through 1661. In 1945, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts would rectify this error in this one egregious case by spending \$12,000.⁰⁰ to erect a statue in the memory of this preacher.

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“THE LORD HATH SENT ME HERE TO DIE LIKE STEPHEN AT THE
FEET OF SAUL”

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THE SCARLET LETTER: The voice which had called her attention was that of the reverend and famous John Wilson, the eldest clergyman of Boston, a great scholar, like most of his contemporaries in the profession, and withal a man of kind and genial spirit. This last attribute, however, had been less carefully developed than his intellectual gifts, and was, in truth, rather a matter of shame than self-congratulation with him. There he stood, with a border of grizzled locks beneath his skull-cap, while his grey eyes, accustomed to the shaded light of his study, were winking, like those of Hester's infant, in the unadulterated sunshine. He looked like the darkly engraved portraits which we see prefixed to old volumes of sermons, and had no more right than one of those portraits would have to step forth, as he now did, and meddle with a question of human guilt, passion, and anguish.

THE SCARLET LETTER CHRONOLOGY

June 1, Friday (Old Style): Friend [Mary Dyer](#) of [Newport, Rhode Island](#) was escorted along a back way about a mile from the jail near what is now Dover Street at Washington Street to the municipal gallows on [Boston Neck](#), at the edge of town on the path leading to Roxbury and life and freedom,



Friend Mary was once again asked politely, whether she could commit that she would go away and stay away.

Nay, I cannot, for in obedience to the will of the Lord, I came, and in his will I abide faithful to the death.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

As Friend Mary's body swung on the [gallows](#) a local wit, [Major-General Humphrey Atherton](#), came up with something to yell out to the rubbernecker. If the minister was not yet strangled into unconsciousness at that point, we may hope that the marvelous and spontaneous summation this Major-General unintentionally uttered could be the last thing she heard.²⁵

She hangs there as a flag!

Famous Last Words:



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25. One wonders whether her husband [William Dyer](#) and her five boys William, Jr., Samuel, Henry, Mahershallalhashbaz, and Charles were present on the occasion of this scheduled public ceremony — the record we have of their lives is entirely silent on this score so the presumption unfortunately may need to be that they had absented themselves, deliberately leaving their errant wife and mother to face the Boston gallows entirely alone; I also do not know whether her Quaker son William, Jr. was at this point already convinced, or became a [Quaker](#) only later. This is the way, however, that historians today fudge the probability that Friend Mary had in her extremity been deserted not only by her husband but also by her offspring: "A small group of colonists had gathered around the walls of the prison in the vain hope of getting word to the prisoner. Earlier, when she had been found talking with friends gathered around her prison window, she had been moved to a remote part of the prison where none could speak or signal to her. All night the faithful band of friends remained outside the walls" (Page 1 of Robert S. Burgess's TO TRY THE BLOODY LAW / THE STORY OF MARY DYER (Burnsville NC: Celo Valley Books, 2000)).



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They buried the body near where they hanged her, south of Dover Street on the east of what is now Washington Street. Perhaps it is there still — or perhaps not, for an undiseased fresh female cadaver would have been quite a prize for the “resurrectionists” who regularly exhumed such for sale to local physicians.²⁶

A Boston sheriff at the scene, Edward Wanton, after going home and discussing the events of this day with his mother, became a [Quaker](#).²⁷

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

August 6, Monday (Old Style): A true and perfect account of the examination, confession, trial, condemnation and execution, of John Perry, his mother and brother, for the supposed murder of William Harrison, Gent.²⁸

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

Upon Thursday, the 6th of August, 1660, William Harrison, steward to the Lady Viscount Campden, at Campden in Gloucester, being about seventy years of age, walked from Campden aforesaid to Charringworth, about two miles from thence, to receive his lady's rent; and not returning so early as formerly, his wife, Mrs. Harrison, between eight and nine o'clock in the evening, sent her servant John Perry, to meet his master on the way from Charringworth. But neither Mr. Harrison nor his servant John Perry returning that night, early the next morning Edward Harrison, William's son, went towards Charringworth to enquire after his father. On the way he met Perry coming thence, and being informed by him that he was not there, they went together to Ebrington, a village between Charringworth and Campden, where they were told by one Daniel, that Mr. Harrison called at his house the evening before, in his return from Charringworth, but stayed not. Then they went to Paxford, about half a mile from thence, where hearing nothing of Mr. Harrison, they returned towards Campden. And on the way hearing of a hat, band and a comb, taken up on the highway between Ebrington and Campden, by a poor woman then leasing [gleaning] in the field, they sought her out. With her they found the hat, band and comb, which they knew to be Mr. Harrison's; and being brought by the woman to the place where she found the same, in the highway between Ebrington and Campden, near unto a great furze-brake, they there searched for Mr. Harrison, supposing he had been murdered, the hat and the comb being hacked and cut, and the band bloody, but nothing more could there be found. The news hereof coming to Campden, so alarmed the town that the men, women and children hastened thence in multitudes to search for Mr. Harrison's supposed dead body, but all in vain.

Mrs. Harrison's fears for her husband were now much increased, and having sent her servant Perry the evening before to meet his master, and he not returning that night, caused a suspicion that he had robbed and murdered him. Thereupon the said Perry was the next day brought before a Justice of the Peace; by whom being examined concerning his master's absence, and his own staying out the night he went to meet him, gave this account of himself. That his mistress sending him to meet his master, between eight and nine o'clock in the evening, he went down Campden Field towards Charringworth about a land's length,²⁹ where meeting one


26. I have been indignantly informed via email that Friend [Mary Dyer](#) was hanged from the Great Elm on Boston Common, because near the Common now there's a sort of officious monument (but not at the spot where the Great Elm had been located), and the inscription at the base of said monument reads in part: "Witness for Religious Freedom — Hanged on Boston Common 1660 — 'My life not availeth me in comparison to the Liberty of the Truth.'" QED, this email concluded, the historical record that she was hanged at the gallows on Boston Neck, and her body discarded there, can only be in error.

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William Read of Campden, he acquainted him with his errand, and farther told him that as it was growing dark he was afraid to go forwards, and would therefore return and fetch his young master's horse and return with him; he went to Mr. Harrison's court gate, where they parted. He stayed till one Pierce coming by, he went again with him about a bow's shot into the fields, and returned with him likewise to his master's gate, where they also parted; and the said John Perry averred that he went into his master's hen-roost, where he lay about an hour, but slept not, but when the clock struck twelve, arose and went towards Charringworth, until a great mist arising, he lost his way, and so lay the rest of the night under a hedge. At break of day on Friday morning he went to Charringworth, where he enquired for his master of one Edward Plaisterer, who told him he had been with him the afternoon before, and received three-and-twenty pounds of him, but stayed not long with him. He went to William Curtis of the same town, who told him he heard his master was at his house the day before, but being not at home, did not see him. After which he said he returned homewards, it being about five o'clock in the morning, when on the way he met his master's son, with whom he went to Ebrington and Paxford, etc. Curtis being examined, affirmed what Perry had said concerning them to be true.

Perry then being asked by the Justice of Peace how he, who was afraid to go to Charringworth at nine o'clock, became so bold as to go thither at twelve, answered that at nine o'clock it was dark, but at twelve the moon shone. Being further asked why returning twice home after his mistress had sent him to meet his master, and staying until twelve of the clock, he went not into the house to know whether his master was come, before he went a third time, at that time of night to look after him, he answered that he knew his master was not at home, because he saw a light

27. Major-General Atherton would be on his way somewhere on horseback on September 16, 1661,  when he would pass by the spot at which Quakers had ordinarily been being cut loose from the cart behind which they had been lashed through the colony, just before being turned out into the wilderness. At this spot his horse was spooked by a cow and Atherton was thrown hard, striking his head. The bloody-minded among the [Quakers](#) would note with satisfaction as a punishment by God that the officer's eyes were out of their sockets, he had brain tissue coming out of his nose and blood dripping out of his ears, and his tongue was protruding from between his teeth. (Watch out, ye blasphemers, God'll get you!)

Michael Crook <mcrook@IGC.APC.ORG> of the Annapolis Friends Meeting has sent me an email of his oral family history to the effect that "A man named Stanton, I'm forgetting whether it was William or John, was captain of the guard that escorted Mary to the gallows. He's one of my wife's ancestors. That day, after the hanging, because of the accepting, compassionate and forgiving demeanor of Mary and other Friends, he said to his mother, 'Mother, we are persecuting the people of God.' He became a Friend, was persecuted himself, and eventually moved to Rhode Island, where he married into the Gould family." This could **not** have been a William Stanton, for the only person of this name on the record would have been much too young during 1660 to have served in such an official capacity, and could **not** have been a John Stanton, for there was such a man attending Harvard College during 1661 but in 1676 this man was a soldier rather than a [Quaker](#). We know of a John Stanton but his only recorded marriage was to a Mary Clark. If this man had married into the Gould family, he would have married a daughter of Representative Daniel Gould of [Newport](#), the gentleman who had accompanied Stephenson and Robinson to encourage them as they were being hanged and for that act of sympathy had been "tied to a big gun" and rewarded with thirty lashes in Boston during November 1659. The putative daughter might have been a Mary born on 2 March 1653, or a Priscilla born on 20 June 1661, or a Content born on 28 April 1671 or a Wait born on 8 May 1676 — but we know nothing of any of the marriages of any of these Gould daughters. The name the Kourroo database has, for the sheriff who went home and spoke to his mother after the hanging and turned Quaker, is Edward Wanton. We do not have the names of his parents. This Boston sheriff was by trade a ship-carpenter and in 1660 was of an age to have a young child and another on the way, and shortly after this hanging of Mary Dyer removed from Boston to [Scituate RI](#). Later, the three of his sons whom we have track of lived in three towns in [Rhode Island](#), and one of them became a long-term governor of the colony at a time when many of that colony's governors were Quakers, but we do not know of any connection between the Wanton family and the Gould family. Thus, this proffered family history seems to be entirely unsupported.

28. LIVES OF THE MOST REMARKABLE CRIMINALS WHO HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED FOR MURDER, THE HIGHWAY, HOUSEBREAKING, STREET ROBBERIES, COINING OR OTHER OFFENCES / COLLECTED FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS AND AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS, AND PUBLISHED IN 1735 / Edited by Arthur L. Hayward

29. A local term for a strip of furrowed land.

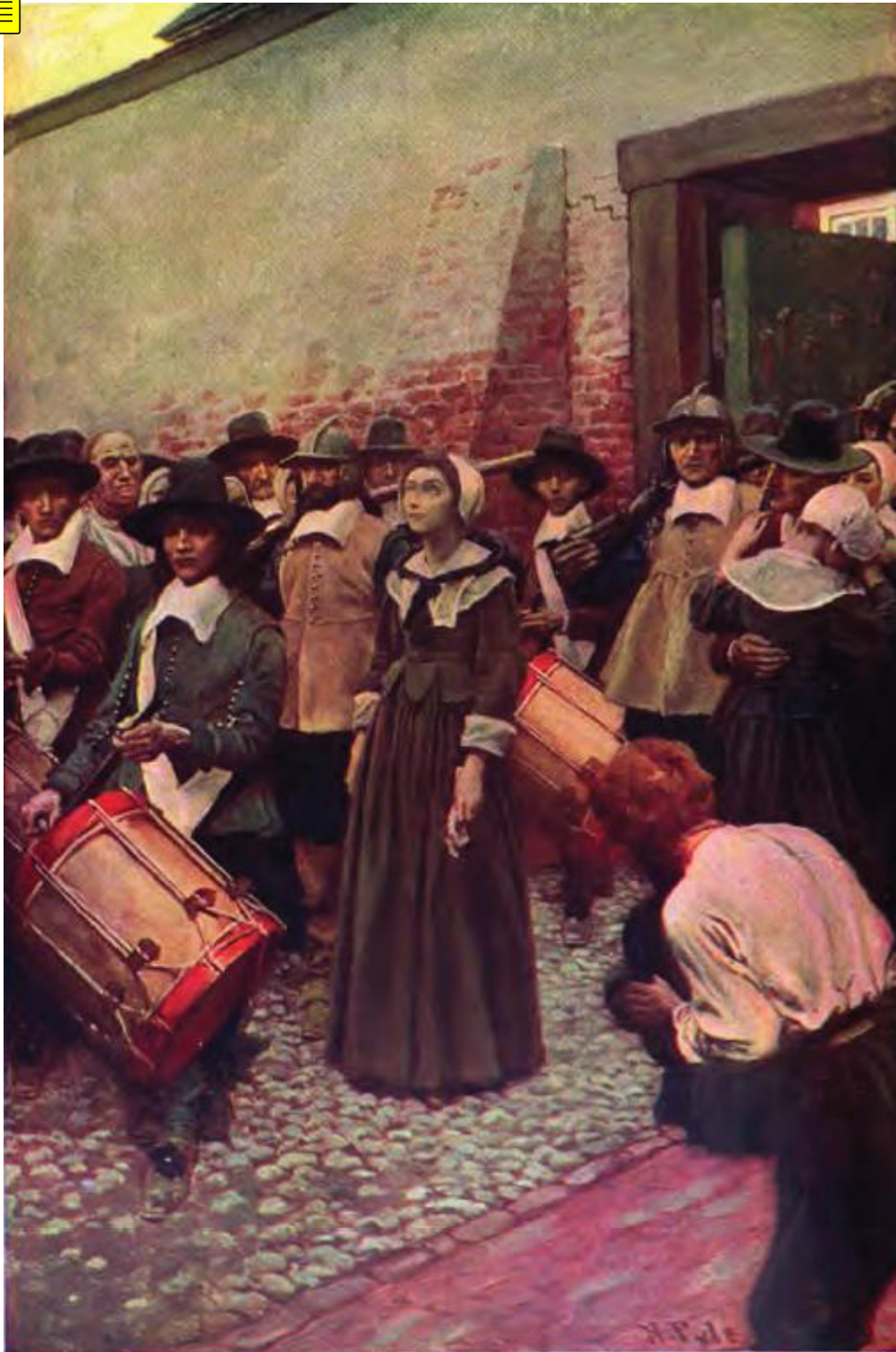
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'AT HER APPEARING THE MULTITUDE WAS HUSHED, AWED BY THAT
AIR SHE WORE''



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in his chamber window, which never used to be there so late when he was at home.

Yet notwithstanding this that Perry had said about staying forth that night, it was not thought fit to discharge him until further enquiry was made after Mr. Harrison, and accordingly he continued in custody at Campden, sometimes in an inn there, and sometimes in the common prison, from Saturday, August the 18th, to the Friday following; during which time he was again examined at Campden, by the aforesaid Justice of Peace, but confessed nothing more than before, nor at that time could any further discovery be made as to what was become of Mr. Harrison. But it hath been said that during his restraint at Campden he told some (who pressed him to confess what he knew concerning his master) that a tinker had killed him; and to others he said that a gentleman's servant of the neighbourhood had robbed and murdered him; and others, again, he told that he was murdered and hid in a bean-rick in Campden, where search was in vain made for him. At length he gave out that if he was again carried before the Justice, he would discover that to him which he would not do to anybody else; and thereupon he was, on Friday, August the 24th, again brought before the Justice of Peace, who first examined him. And asking him whether he would confess what had become of his master, he answered he was murdered but not by him. The Justice of Peace then telling him that if he knew him to be murdered, he knew likewise by whom he was, so he acknowledged he did, and being urged to confess what he knew concerning it, affirmed that it was his mother and brother that had murdered his master. The Justice of Peace then advised him to consider what he said, telling him that he feared he might be guilty of his master's death, and that he should not draw more innocent blood upon his head, for what he now charged his mother and brother with might cost them their lives. But he affirming he spoke nothing but the truth, and that if he were immediately to die he would justify it, the Justice desired him to declare how, and when they did it.

He then told him that ever since he came into his master's service his mother and brother had lain at him to help them to money, telling him how poor they were, and that it was in his power to relieve them by giving them notice when his master went to receive his lady's rents, for they would then waylay him and rob him. And further, he said that upon the Thursday morning, when his master went to Charringworth, going on an errand into the town, he met his brother in the street, whom he then told whither his master was going, and if he waylaid him he might have his money; and further said, that in the evening when his mistress sent him to meet his master, he met his brother in the street before his master's gate, going as he said to meet his master, and so they went together to the churchyard, about a stone's throw from Mr. Harrison's gate, where they parted. He going the footway beyond the church, they met again, and so went together the way leading to Charringworth, until they came to a gate about a bow's shot from Campden church that goes into a ground of the Lady Campden's, called the Conygree, which to those who have a key to go through the garden, is the nearest from that place to Mrs. Harrison's house. When they came near unto that gate, he (the said John Perry) said he told his brother that he believed his master was just gone into the Conygree (for it was then so dark they could not discern any man, so as to



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know him). But perceiving there was no way but for those who had a key through the gardens, he concluded it was his master who had gone through, and so told his brother if he followed him, he might have his money, and he in the meantime, would walk a turn in the fields. Which accordingly he did, and then followed his brother. About the middle of the Conygree, he found his master on the ground, his brother upon him, and his mother standing by. Being asked whether his master was dead, he answered, No, for that after he came to them, his master cried, *Ah, rogues! Will you kill me?* At which he told his brother he hoped he would not kill his master; his brother replied, *Peace, peace, you're a fool;* and so strangled him. Which having done, he took a bag of money out of his pocket, and threw it into his mother's lap; and then he and his brother carried his master's dead body into the garden, adjoining to the Conygree, where they consulted what to do with it, and at length agreed to throw it into the great pool by Wallington's Mill, behind the garden.

His mother and brother bid him go up to the court next the house, to hearken whether anyone was stirring, and they would throw the body into the pool; and being asked whether it was there, he said, he knew not, for that he left it in the garden, but his mother and brother said they would throw it there, and if it was not there, he knew not where it was, for that he returned no more to them, but went into the court gate, which goes into the town. He met with John Pierce with whom he went into the field, and again returned with him to his master's gate. After which he went into the hen-roost, where he lay until twelve o'clock at night, but slept not, and having, when he came from his mother and brother, brought with him his master's hat, band and comb, which he laid in the hen-roost, he carried the said hat, band and comb, and threw them after he had given them three or four cuts with his knife, in the highway, where they were after found. And being asked what he intended by so doing, he said he did it that it might be believed his master had been there robbed and murdered. And having thus disposed of his hat, band and comb, he went towards Charringworth, as hath been related.

Upon this confession and accusation, the Justice of Peace gave order for the apprehending of Joan and Richard Perry, the mother and brother of John Perry, and for searching the pool where Mr. Harrison's body was said to be thrown, which was accordingly done, but nothing of him could be found there. The Fish Pools, likewise, in Campden, were drawn and searched, but nothing could be found there either; so that some were of opinion that the body might be laid in the ruins of Campden House, burnt in the late wars, and not unfit for such a concealment, where was likewise search made, but all in vain.

On Saturday, August 25th, Joan and Richard Perry, together with John Perry, were brought before the Justice of Peace, who acquainted the said Joan and Richard with what John had lain to their charge. They denied all, with many imprecations on themselves if they were in the least guilty of anything of which they were accused, but John on the other side affirmed to their faces that he had spoken nothing but the truth and that they had murdered his master, further telling them that he could never be at quiet for them since he came into his master's service, being continually followed by them to help them to money (which they told him he might do by giving them notice when his master went to receive his lady's rents), and that meeting his brother



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Richard in Campden Town, the Thursday morning his master went to Charringworth, he told him whither he was going, and upon what errand; Richard confessed he met his brother that morning and spoke with him, but nothing passed between them to that purpose. Both he and his mother told John he was a villain to accuse them wrongfully, as he had done, but John on the other side affirmed that he had spoken nothing but the truth and would justify it to his death.

One remarkable circumstance happened in these prisoners' return from the Justice's house to Campden, viz., Richard Perry following a good distance behind his brother John, pulling a clout out of his pocket, dropped a ball of inkle,³⁰ which one of his guard taking up, he desired him to restore it, saying it was only his wife's hair lace; but the party opening it, and finding a slip knot at the end, went and showed it unto John, who was then a good distance before and knew nothing of the dropping and taking up of this inkle. Being showed it, and asked whether he knew it, he shook his head and said, yes to his sorrow, for that was the string his brother strangled his master with. This was sworn upon the evidence at their trial.

The morrow being the Lord's day, they remained at Campden, where the minister of the place designing to speak to them, if possible to persuade them to repentance and a farther confession, they were brought to church; and in their way thither passing by Richard's house, two of his children meeting him, he took the lesser in his arm, and was leading the other in his hand, when on a sudden both their noses fell a-bleeding, which was looked upon as ominous.

Here it will be no impertinent digression to tell how the year before, Mr. Harrison had his house broken open between eleven and twelve o'clock at noon, upon Campden market-day, whilst himself and his whole family were away, a ladder being set up to a window of the second story, and an iron bar wrenched thence with a ploughshare, which was left in the room, and seven score pounds in money carried away, the authors of which robbery could never be found. After this, and not many weeks before Mr. Harrison's absence, one evening in Campden garden his servant Perry made a hideous outcry, whereas some who heard it coming in, met him running and seemingly affrighted, with a sheep-pick in his hand, to whom he told a story how he had been set upon by two men in white, with naked swords, and how he defended himself with his sheep-pick, the handle whereof was cut in two or three places, as was likewise a key in his pocket, which he said was done with one of their swords.

The passages the Justice of the Peace having before heard, and calling to mind upon Perry's confession, asked him first concerning the robbery, when his master lost seven score pounds out of his house at noon-day, whether he knew who did it? He answered, Yes, it was his brother, and being further asked, whether he was with him, he answered, No, he was at church, but that he gave him notice of the money, and told him in which room it was, and where he might have a ladder, that would reach the window; and that his brother after told him he had the money, and had buried it in his garden, and that they were at Michaelmas next to have divided it, whereupon search was made in the garden, but no money could be there found. And being further asked concerning the other passage, of his being assaulted in the

30. A kind of broad linen tape.



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garden, he confessed it was all a fiction, and that he did it having a design to rob his master, so that rogues being believed to haunt the place, when his master was robbed they might be thought to have done it.

At the next assizes, which were held in September following, John, Joan and Richard Perry had two indictments found against them, one for breaking into William Harrison's house, and robbing him of one hundred and forty pounds, in the year, 1659; the other for robbing and murdering the said William Harrison on the 16th day of August, 1660. Upon the last indictment, the judge of the assizes, Sir C. T., would not try them, because the body was not found; but they were then tried upon the other indictment for robbery, to which they pleaded not guilty. But someone whispering behind them, they soon pleaded guilty, humbly begging the benefit of his Majesty's gracious pardon and Act of Oblivion,³¹ which was granted them. But though they pleaded guilty to their indictment, being thereunto promised (as probable) by some who are unwilling to lose time and trouble the Court with their trial as the Act of Oblivion pardoned them; yet they all afterwards and at their death, denied that they were guilty of that robbery, or that they knew who did it. Yet at his assize, as several credible persons have affirmed, John Perry still persisted in his story that his mother and brother had murdered his master, and further added that they had attempted to poison him in gaol, so that he durst neither eat nor drink with them.

At the next assizes, which was held the Spring following, John, Joan and Richard Perry were by the then judge of assize, Sir B. H., tried upon the indictment of murder, and pleaded thereunto severally not guilty. And when John's confession before the Justice was proved, *viva voce*, by several witnesses who heard the same, he told them he was then mad and knew not what he said. The other two, Richard and Joan Perry, said they were wholly innocent of what they were accused, and that they knew nothing of Mr. Harrison's death, nor what was become of him; and Richard said that his brother had accused others as well as him of having murdered his master, which the judge bidding him prove, he said that most of those who had given evidence against him knew it, but naming none, nor did any speak to it. And so the jury found them all three guilty.

Some few days after being brought to the place of their execution, which was on Broadway Hill, in sight of Campden, the mother, who was reputed a witch and to have bewitched her sons, so that they would confess nothing while she lived, was executed first. After which, Richard being upon the ladder, professed as he had done all along that he was wholly innocent of the fact for which he was then to die, and that he knew nothing of Mr. Harrison's death, nor what was become of him, and did with great earnestness beg and beseech his brother, for the satisfaction of the whole world and for his own conscience, to declare what he knew concerning him. But he, with a dogged and surly carriage, told the people he was not obliged to confess to them; yet immediately before his death, he said he knew nothing of his master's death, nor what had become of him but they might hereafter possibly hear.

Mr. Harrison's account of his being absent two years, and of his

31. Passed at the Restoration, in 1660, granting "free general pardon, indemnity, and oblivion for all treasons and state offences" committed between 1 Jan., 1637, and 24 June, 1660. The regicides and certain Irish priests were excepted.



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return home, addressed to Sir Thomas Overbery, Knight:

Honoured Sir,

In obedience to your commands, I give you this true account of my being carried away beyond the seas, my continuance there and return home.

On Thursday, in the afternoon, in the time of harvest, I went to Charringworth to demand rents due to my Lady Campden, at which the tenants were busy in the fields, and were late ere they came home, which occasioned my stay there till the close of the evening. I expected a considerable sum, but received only twenty-three pounds and no more. In my return home, in the narrow passages amongst Ebrington Furzes, there met me one horseman, and said, *Art thou there?* and I, fearing that he would have rode over me, struck his horse over the nose, whereupon he struck me with his sword several blows, and ran it into my side, while I with my little cane made my defence as well as I could. At last another came behind me, ran me in the thigh, laid hold on the collar of my doublet, and drew me to a hedge near to the place. Then came in another. They did not take away my money, but mounted me behind one of them, drew my arms about his middle, and fastened my wrists together with something that had a spring lock to it, as I conceived, by hearing it give a snap as they put it on; then they threw a great cloak over me and carried me away.

In the night, they alighted at a hayrick, which stood near unto a stone pit, by a wall side, where they took away my money. This was about two hours before day, as I heard one of them tell the other he thought it to be then. They tumbled me into the stone pit. They stayed, as I thought, about an hour at the hayrick. When they took horse again, one of them bade me come out of the pit. I answered they had my money already, and asked what they would do with me, whereupon he struck me again, drew me out, and put a great quantity of money into my pockets, and mounted me again, after the same manner. And on Friday, about sunset, they brought me to a lone house upon a heath, by a thicket of bushes, where they took me down, almost dead, being sorely bruised with the carriage of the money. When the woman of the house saw that I could neither stand nor speak, she asked them whether or no they had brought a dead man? They answered, no, but a friend that was hurt, and they were carrying me to a surgeon. She answered, if they did not make haste their friend would be dead before they could bring him to one. There they laid me on the cushions and suffered none to come into the room but a little girl. There we stayed all night, they giving me some broth and strong waters.

In the morning, very early, they mounted me as before, and on Saturday night, they brought me to a place where were two or three houses, in one of which I lay all night on cushions by their bedside. On Sunday morning they carried me from thence, and about three or four of the clock, they brought me to a place by the seaside, called Deal, where they laid me down in the ground. One of them staying by me, the other two walked a little off to meet



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a man, with whom they talked; and in their discourse I heard them mention seven pounds, after which they went away together, and about half an hour after returned. The man (whose name, as I after heard, was Wrenshaw) said he feared I would die before they could put me on board; then they put me into a boat, and carried me on ship-board, where my wounds were dressed.

I remained in the ship, as near as I could reckon, about six weeks, in which time I was indifferently recovered of my wounds and weaknesses. Then the master of the ship came in and told me and the rest who were in the same condition, that he discovered three Turkish ships. We all offered to fight in defence of the ship and ourselves, but he commanded us to keep close, and said he would deal with them well enough. A little while after, he called us up, and when we came on deck we saw two Turkish ships close by us; into one of them we were put, and placed in a dark hold, where how long we continued before we were landed, I know not.

When we were landed they led us two days' journey, and put us into a great house or prison, where we remained four days and a half, and then came to us eight men to view us, who seemed to be officers. They called us and examined us of our trades and callings, which everyone answered. One said he was a surgeon, another that he was a broad-cloth weaver, and I, after two or three demands, said I had some skill in physic. We three were set by, and taken by three of these eight men who came to view us. It was my chance to be chosen by a grave physician of eighty-seven years of age, who lived near to Smyrna, who had formerly been in England, and knew Crowland in Lincolnshire, which he preferred before all others in England. He employed me to keep his still-house, and gave me a silver bowl, double gilt, to drink in. My business was most in that place, but once he set me to gather cotton wool, which I not doing he struck me to the ground, and after drew his stiletto to stab me; but I holding up my hands to him, he gave me a stamp and turned from me, for which I render thanks to my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who stayed his hand and preserved me.

I was there about a year and three quarters, and then my master fell sick on a Thursday, and sent for me, and calling me, as he used, by the name of Bell, told me he should die and bid me shift for myself. He died on the Saturday following, and I instantly hastened with my bowl³² to a port almost a day's journey distant, the way to which place I knew, having been twice there employed by my master about the carriage of the cotton wool. When I came thither I addressed myself to two men who came out of a ship of Hamburg, which, as they said, was bound for Portugal within three or four days. I enquired of them for an English ship, they answered there was none. I entreated them to take me into their ship, but they answered they durst not, for fear of being discovered by the searchers, which might occasion the forfeiture, not only of their goods, but also of their lives. I was

32. That is, the silver-gilt one his master had given him.



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very importunate with them, but could not prevail. They left me to wait on Providence, which at length brought me another out of the same ship, to whom I made known my condition, craving his assistance for my transportation. He made me the like answer as the former, and was as stiff in his denial, until the sight of my bowl put him to pause. He returned to the ship, and after an hour's space came back again accompanied with another seaman, and for my bowl, undertook to transport me; but he told me I must be contented to lie down in the keel and endure much hardship, which I was content to do to gain my liberty.

So they took me on board, and placed me below in the vessel, in a very uneasy place, and obscured me with boards and other things, where I lay undiscovered, notwithstanding the strict search that was made in the vessel. My two chapmen who had my bowl, honestly furnished me with victuals daily, until we arrived at Lisbon in Portugal, where, as soon as the master had left the ship and was gone into the city, they set me on shore moneyless, to shift for myself. I knew not what course to take, but as Providence led me, I went up into the city, and came into a fair street, and being weary I turned my back to a wall, and leaned upon my staff. Over against me were four gentlemen discoursing together; after a while one of them came to me, and spake to me in a language that I understood not. I told him I was an Englishman and understood not what he spoke. He answered me in plain English, that he understood me, and was himself born in Wisbech, in Lincolnshire. Then I related to him my sad condition, and he taking compassion on me, took me with him, provided me with lodging and diet, and by his interest with a master of a ship bound for England, procured my passage; and bringing me on ship board, he bestowed wine and strong waters on me, and at his return gave me eight stivers and commended me to the care of the master of the ship, who landed me safe at Dover. From thence I made a shift to get to London, where being furnished with necessaries I came into the country.

Thus, honoured Sir, I have given you a true account of my great sufferings and happy deliverance by the mercy and goodness of God, my most gracious Father in Jesus Christ, my Saviour and Redeemer, to whose name be ascribed all honour, praise and glory.

I conclude and rest,
Your Worship's,
In all dutiful respect,
William Harrison

Before I part with this story, it is proper for me to remark that though it does not contain any extraordinary mark of the wisdom of Providence, yet being in its nature strange and hitherto having escaped any other collection, I thought it not improper to be preserved here, since some of the circumstances are of such a nature as not to be paralleled in any English story.



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1661

March: During the trial of Friend William Leddra of Barbados, another expelled [Quaker](#) who had returned to Boston to “try its bloody laws,” a Quaker from Salem, Friend Wenlock Christison, rose in the courtroom and defied the court, promising that for every Quaker [hanged](#), five or ten would appear and volunteer to be thus honored. Arrested, he also would be sentenced to the gallows.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

March 14, Thursday (1660, Old Style): [Friend](#) William Leddra was [hanged](#).

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

November: A shipload of [Quakers](#) arrived in Boston harbor, among them Friend [Samuel Shattuck](#). He appeared before Governor John Endecott with his hat on, and his hat was struck off. When he presented the king’s writ, the governor, sweeping off his own hat, ordered that Shattuck’s hat be replaced upon his head. A new era of tolerance of dissenting opinion seemed to have arrived nonviolently, through sheer patience in suffering, for rather than submit to the authority of the mother country by sending its religious prisoners to England for trial, the Boston authorities clearly preferred to take no more religious prisoners, and to release all religious prisoners then in custody. (Friend Samuel Shattuck had managed to arrive just in time to intercept the planned hanging of Friend Winlock Christian. This new era of tolerance would endure all of ten months.)

The obstreperous Quaker witness of this era, which involved the constant disruption of the church services of other groups, may well be the origin of New England’s “come outer” tradition:

Upon a lecture day at Boston in New England, I was much pressed to Spirit to go into their Worshiphouse among them, where I stood silent until the Man had done Preaching, then my mouth was opened to the People with a word of Exhortation, but through the violence of some of the People was haled to Prison, from whence, about three hours after, they fetched me out to the Court, where I was examined, and so returned to Prison again until the Morning: and into the Court I was brought again, where they had drawn up a Paper against me, as they thought, of what I had said the day before: and they said, *Come thou Vagabond, and hear this paper read with two Witnesses, their Hands to it, for we will handle thee:* and I said, *Read on;* Where I stood until they had done: And they asked me, *Whether I owned it, or no:* and I said, *Yea, every Word and would make it good by sound Proof if I might have Liberty to speak.* But they cried, *Away with him;* and some took me by the Throat and would not suffer me to answer it, but hurried me down Stairs, to the Carriage of a great Gun, which stood in the Market-Place, where I was stripped and tied to the Wheel and whipped with Ten Stripes, and then loosed, and tied to a Cart’s-tail; and whipped with Ten more to the Town’s End; and at *Roxbury*, at a Cart’s-tail, with other Ten; and at *Dedham*, at a Cart’s-tail, with Ten more, and then sent into the Woods.

—Thomas Newhouse, per AN ADDITION TO THE BOOK... by Ellis Hookes

Prior to the manifesto that had been issued by Friend [George Fox](#) and a few other elder Quaker males on

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January 21st of this year, [Quakers](#) had not been predominantly pacifist. George Bishop had, in *NEW ENGLAND JUDGED, PART I*, described in detail the treatment accorded to such unregulable religious dissenters in New England, and this book had come to [Charles II](#)'s attention. Upon the urging of one of the Quakers who had been expelled from [Boston](#), subsequent to his coronation on April 23rd the king had signed a *mandamus* requiring that henceforth all such cases should be forwarded to England for their trial, and had entrusted this paper to Friend Samuel Shattuck of Salem, who had himself recently been expelled from the Bay Colony.

In result of this communication from the king, the death penalty for Quakers would be rescinded, the only thing left being a somewhat less Draconian "Cart and Whip Act." When Friend Wenlock Christison and 27 other Quakers would be dragged from the prison behind carts and whipped to the borders of the colony, they would there find themselves untied and released rather than martyred by the neck until dead.



Eventually, in 1884, a memorial would be created in Boston in honor of Friend Nathaniel Sylvester of Shelter Island (so named because he sheltered Quakers there), and the four [hanged](#) Quaker ministers William Ledra, Marmaduke Stevenson, William Robinson, and Mary Dyer:



In a somewhat related piece of news, this year Massachusetts was censuring the Reverend [John Eliot](#) for an antimonarchical attitude.

In another somewhat related piece of news, the town meeting of Hartford CT in this year would vote to extend a limited degree of tolerance toward a particular family of wayfarers, despite the fact that they were Unchristians: "The [Jews](#), which at present live in John Marsh his house, have liberty to sojourn in the town seven months."



To oversimplify perhaps, the town meeting solved the problem of enforcement by evading it. The meeting gave institutional expression to the imperatives of peace. In the meetings consensus was reached, and individual consent and group opinion were placed in the service of social conformity.



— Michael Zuckerman, *ALMOST CHOSEN PEOPLE: OBLIQUE BIOGRAPHIES IN THE AMERICAN GRAIN*,



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1993, page 59

Now here is Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#)'s somewhat tendentious and overly positive later rendition of the main dramatic scene of this year:



THE KING'S MISSIVE

1661

Under the great hill sloping bare
To cove and meadow and Common lot,
In his council chamber and oaken chair,
Sat the worshipful Governor Endicott.

A grave, strong man, who knew no peer,
In the Pilgrim land, where he ruled in fear
Of God, not man, and for good or ill
Held his trust with an iron will.

He had shorn with his sword the cross from out
The flag and cloven the may-pole down,
Harried the heathen round about
And whipped the Quakers from town to town.

His brow was clouded, his eye was stern,
With a look of mingled sorrow and wrath;
“Woe’s me,” he murmured: “at every turn
The pestilent Quakers are in my path!

Some we have scourged, and banished some,
Some hanged, more doomed, and still they come,
Fast as the tide of yon bay sets in,
Sowing their heresy’s seed of sin.

“Did we count on this? Did we leave behind
The graves of our kin, the comfort and ease
Of our English hearths and homes, to find
Troublers of Israel such as these?

Shall I spare? Shall I pity them? God forbid!
I will do as the prophet to Agag did:
They come to poison the wells of the Word,
I will hew them in pieces before the Lord!”

The door swung open, and Rawson the clerk
Entered, and whispered under breath,
“There waits below for the hangman’s work
A fellow banished on pain of death—

Shattuck, of Salem, unhealed of the whip,
Brought over in Master Goldsmith’s ship
At anchor here in a Christian port,
With freight of the devil and all his sort!”

Twice and thrice on the chamber floor
Striding fiercely from wall to wall,
“The Lord do so to me and more,”
The Governor cried, “if I hang not all!”

“Bring hither the Quaker.” Calm, sedate,
With the look of a man at ease with fate,
Into that presence, grim and dread,
Came Samuel Shattuck, with hat on head.

“Off with the knave’s hat!” An angry hand
Smote down the offence; but the wearer said,
With a quiet smile, “By the king’s command
I bear his message and stand in his stead.”

In the Governor’s hand a missive he laid
With the royal arms on its seal displayed,
And the proud man spake as he gazed thereat,
Uncovering, “Give Mr. Shattuck his hat.”

He turned to the Quaker, bowing low,—
“The king commandeth your friends’ release;
Doubt not he shall be obeyed, although
To his subjects’ sorrow and sin’s increase.

What he here enjoineeth, John Endicott,
His loyal servant, questioneth not.
You are free! God grant the spirit you own
May take you from us, to parts unknown.”

So the door of the jail was open cast,
And like Daniel out of the lion’s den
Tender youth and girlhood passed,
With age-bowed women and gray-locked men.

And the voice of one appointed to die
Was lifted in praise and thanks on high.
Broad in the sunshine stretched away
With its capes and islands, the turquoise bay...

But as they who see not, the Quakers saw
The world about them; they only thought
With deep thanksgiving and pious awe
On the great deliverance God had wrought.

Through lane and alley the gazing town
Noisily followed them up and down;
Some with scoffing and brutal jeer,
Some with pity and words of cheer.

So passed the Quakers through Boston town,
Whose painful ministers sighed to see
The walls of their sheep-fold falling down,
And wolves of heresy prowling free.

But the years went on and brought no wrong;
With milder counsel the State grew strong,
As outward Letter and inward Light
Kept the balance of truth aright.

STATE MURDER

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It was all well and good that King [Charles II](#) had prohibited further executions of [Quakers](#) in the Massachusetts

... Edward Burrough named Samuel Shattuck, who, being an inhabitant of New England, was banished by their law, to be hanged if he came again; and to him the deputation was granted. Then he sent for Ralph Goldsmith, an honest Friend, who was master of a good ship, and agreed with him for three hundred pounds (goods or no goods) to sail in ten days. He forthwith prepared to set sail, and with a prosperous gale, in about six weeks' time, arrived before the town of Boston in New England, upon a First-day morning.

With him went many passengers, both of New and Old England, Friends, whom the Lord moved to go to bear their testimony against those bloody persecutors, who had exceeded all the world in that age in their bloody persecutions.

The townsmen at Boston, seeing a ship come into the bay with English colours, soon came on board and asked for the captain. Ralph Goldsmith told them he was the commander. They asked him if he had any letters. He said, "Yes." They asked if he would deliver them. He said, "No; not to-day."

So they went ashore and reported that there was a ship full of Quakers, and that Samuel Shattuck, who they knew was by their law to be put to death if he came again after banishment, was among them, but they knew not his errand nor his authority. [Friend [Mary Dyer](#), Friend [William Ledra](#), Friend [Marmaduke Stevenson](#), and Friend [William Robinson](#) had already been executed.]

So all were kept close that day, and none of the ship's company suffered to go on shore. Next morning Samuel Shattuck, the King's deputy, and Ralph Goldsmith, went on shore, and, sending back to the ship the men that landed them, they two went through the town to Governor John Endicott's door, and knocked. He sent out a man to know their business. They sent him word that their business was from the King of England, and that they would deliver their message to no one but the Governor himself.

Thereupon they were admitted, and the Governor came to them; and having received the deputation and the mandamus, he put off his hat and looked upon them. Then, going out, he bade the Friends follow him. He went to the deputy-governor, and after a short consultation came out to the Friends, and said, "We shall obey his majesty's commands."

After this the master gave liberty to the passengers to come on shore, and presently the noise of the business flew about the town; and the Friends of the town and the passengers of the ship met together to offer up their praises and thanksgivings to God, who had so wonderfully delivered them from the teeth of the devourer.

While they were thus met, in came a poor Friend, who, being sentenced by their bloody law to die, had lain some time in irons expecting execution. This added to their joy, and caused them to lift up their hearts in high praise to God, who is worthy for ever to have the praise, the glory, and the honour; for He only is able to deliver, to save, and support all that sincerely put their trust in Him.

FOX'S JOURNAL

Bay colony, but they weren't about to take that lying down. The Puritans of the colony sent the Reverend John Norton to [London](#) at an expense of £66 to reason with their monarch. The General Court of the colony feared that heretics were being tolerated to "ruin sincere servants of God," and declared a Day of Humiliation.

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1662

June 14, Saturday (Old Style): Upon the return of the monarch [Charles II](#), [Sir Henry Vane](#) had been imprisoned to await trial for treason. On this day, in the 50th year of his age, with appropriate ceremony, he was [beheaded](#) in [London](#).



HEADCHOPPING

SIR HENRY VANE THE YOUNGER



"Too dangerous a man to let live."
— King Charles II



He was constantly interrupted by the Sheriff and others while attempting to read his speech, and there being a great blair of trumpets under the scaffold so that he could not be heard, so he needed to hand off the paper to another for preservation. After being allowed to pray he placed his head upon the block and stated "Father, glorify Thy servant in the sight of men, that he may glory Thee in the discharge of his duty to Thee and to his country." When he stretched out his arms the blow fell. [Samuel Pepys](#) had taken a room on Tower Hill so as to be able to observe the event and was considerably disappointed because the press of men on the scaffold interfered with his view of the beheading. Then afterward he went to the Trinity-house for dinner.

THIS DAY IN PEPYS'S DIARY
THE SPEECH OF VANE



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1663

→ September 6/7, Sunday/Monday (Old Style): A group of veterans of the army of [Cromwell](#), whom the triumphant forces of King [Charles II](#) had had transported to Virginia to serve as [bond-laborers](#), met in Gloucester County, Virginia to conspire “for their freedom.” One thing they all knew how to do was march, and this required no weapons. They therefore determined upon a freedom march, to occur on the following Monday, September 14th. Their plan was that they would march upon the governor, and, if the governor would not grant them their freedom from their bond service, they would then “march out of the Country.” These Cromwellian veterans would be betrayed by a bond-servant named Berkenhead on the day before, Sunday, September 13th, in exchange for his personal freedom from bond-servitude, and 4 of the veterans, captured, would be [hanged](#) for having participated in such a plan.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

→ September 13, Sunday (Old Style): The Cromwellian veterans were betrayed. In Gloucester County VA, a bond-servant named Berkenhead revealed the plot by white and black bond-servants in exchange for his personal freedom from his bond. Four army veterans who were identified and apprehended were [hanged](#). This was the 1st serious worker conspiracy in colonial American history — and, the demand for equality of opportunity being what it perennially is, this would not be the last such effort.

SLAVERY

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

The authorities declared that henceforth, in Virginia, September 13th would be a holy day.



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1665

March 11, Saturday (1664, Old Style): Deputies of the [New York](#) colony meet at Hempstead, Paumanok Long Island, and approved the “Duke’s Laws” legal code. Offenses such as striking one’s mother or father, or denying the “true God,” became capital crimes. Protestants were granted continuing religious freedom. Paumanok Long Island, Staten Island, and parts of Westchester were designated as the new political entity “Yorkshire.”

[CAPITAL PUNISHMENT](#)

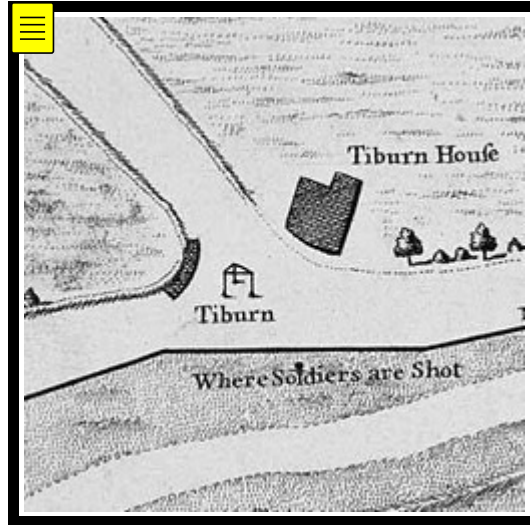
[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

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1666

September 28, Friday (Old Style): Robert “Lucky” Hubert, who had falsely confessed to having started the Great Fire, was hanged on the Tyburn gallows outside London.



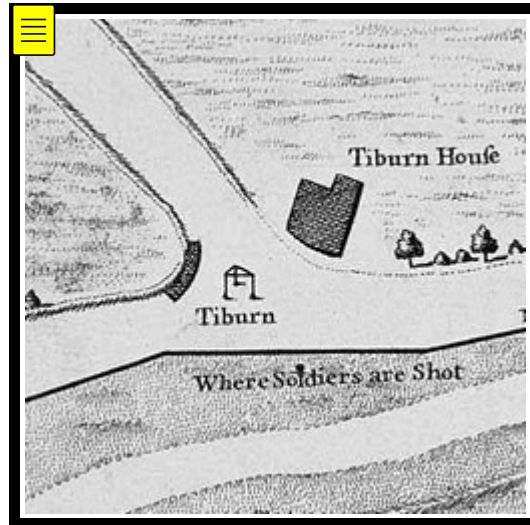
Damned if you did, damned if you didn't.

STATE MURDER

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1670

January 21: Claude Duval and Jack Sheppard, highwaymen, were [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.



October 8, Saturday (Old Style): [William Adams](#), a student at [Harvard College](#), “was at [Boston](#), saw a thief and an Indian [hanged](#); the Indian turned off singing.” (The hangings took place on Boston Common. This native American, who was suspected in the murder of Zachary Smith in Dedham Woods, was hanged inside a gibbet cage so the decomposing body would hold together longer in warning to others.)



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1673

May 12, Monday (Old Style): Mrs. Rebeca Cornell widow of [Newport, Rhode Island](#) having met with death in a manner considered suspicious, here is the record of the trial for murder on this day of her son Thomas Cornell, who had been the last person to visit her in her room before she was found dead, as preserved in RECORDS OF THE GENERAL COURT OF TRIALS 1671-1704 (Newport Court Book A; October 1673).

READ ABOUT THIS CASE

As we see, despite the court's discovery that the deceased had been speaking of [suicide](#) and despite an entire absence of evidence that the death had not been a suicide, Thomas Cornell was adjudged guilty of murder, apparently upon the weight of spectral evidence which would not today be considered, and condemned to be [hanged](#).³³

At the Generall Court of Tryalls Held for the Collony at Newport
the: 12th of May 1673

Mr Nicholas Easton Governor

Mr William Coddington Dept Govern

Mr Walter Clarke — Asistant

Mr Daniell Gould — Asistant

Mr John Easton — Asistant

Mr William Harris Asistant

Mr Thomas Harris Asistant

Mr Thomas ffeild Asistant

Mr Joshua Coggeshall Asistant

Mr John Tripp Asistant

Mr Walter Todd — Asistant

Mr Job Almy — Asistant

John Sanford Recorder

James Rogers Genl Serant

Mr Peter Easton Genrl Treasurer

Mr John Easton Genrl Atorney

Gran Jurriors Engaged

Lt Joseph Torrey foreman

Mr Robert Stanton

Mr William Case

Mr Thomas Clifton

Mr Thomas Burge

Mr Gidion Freeborne

33. You will note that some of the officials engaged in this trial, such as Mr. Nicholas Easton the governor of the colony, were members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#). Refer to Jane Fletcher Fiske, GLEANINGS FROM NEWPORT COURT FILES 1659 TO 1783 (Boxford, Massachusetts : Jane Fletcher Fiske, 1998), consisting of 1,182 abstracts of court files concerning Newport people and situations, as well as many people from other locations who appear in the records, and to RHODE ISLAND COURT OF TRIALS 1671-1704 (Boxford, Massachusetts: Jane Fletcher Fiske, 1998).



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Mr John Clarke
Lt ffrancis Brayton
Mr Phillip Eades
Mr William Hiscox
Mr John Odlin
Mr Henry Lilly

Upon Indictment by the Generall Aturny Mr John Easton in the behalfe of our Soverreigne Lord the King against Thomas Cornell now prissoner ffor that on the Eveninge of the Eight day of ffebruary last in the 25th yeare of his Majties Reigne Anno 1672 the said Thomas did murther his mother Rebecca Cornell or was aydeinge or abettinge thereto. The said Thomas Cornell beinge cald for and brought forth into Court, and his charge Read, and demanded of whether Guilty or Not Guilty – pleads Not Guilty, and Referrs himselfe for Tryall to God and the Cuntry. After all Lawful Liberty granted by the Court as to Exceptions The Jurriors were sollemnly Engaged on the case and sent forth.

Jurriors on the case [listed in margin]

Mr Henry Palmer foreman

Daniell Greenell

James Man

William Allin

John Read

John Spencer

Richard Dunn

John Rogers

Serjt Clement Weaver

John Bliss

John Strainge

John Crandell junr

The Jury Returne their Verdict publickly to him declared. Guilty. Thereupon the Court doe pass this followinge centance to the Prissoner.

Whereas you Thomas Cornell have been in this Court Indicted and charged for murthering your mother Mrs Rebecca Cornell Widow. and you beinge by your peers the Jury found Guilty. Know and to that end prepare your selfe, that you are by this Court Centanced to be Carried from hence to the Com[m]on Goale, and from thence on fryday next which will be the twenty thre day of this instant month May about one of the clock to be carried from the said Goale to the place the Gallowes – and there to be Hanged by the neck untill you are dead dead. The Centance beinge pronounced and to him openly declared The said Thomas Cornell is Remitted to the Generall Serjants Custody safely to be kept till the day of Exicution.

A warrant ordered and granted to seize the Estate of Thomas Cornell and make Returne thereof to this Court.

Ordered that a strict Watch be kept in and about the prisson



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untill the day of the Execution of Thomas Cornell, and that the said Thomas Cornell shall be manacled and surely fastned to the great chaine - And ordered that James Clarke and James Browne cunstables in Newport are Authorized and desired to Asist the Generall Serjant in settinge and orderinge the watch for secureinge the said prissoner, which watch are to be Eight in the Night time and four in the day time.

Those following are Testimonys Concerning Thomas Cornell Murdering of his Mother Rebeca Cornell: which was ordered to be Recorded.

Thomas Cornell the son of Rebeca Cornell, being inquired of us the Coroners Inquest, doe declare yt in the eveninge before twas darke, came into the roome and satt downe & discoursed with his Mother Rebeca for ye space of about one houre and a halfe; and then went forth into the next Roome, where he stayd about Threequarters of an houre, then his Wife sent his son Edward into the roome to his Grandmothr to know whether shee would have some milke boyled for her supper; the Child coming in to the roome saw some fire in the roome upon the floore, and the Child came back unto us, and fetcht the candle to see what fire it was, Henry Straite went Presently into the roome, my selfe and the rest followed in A Huddle, Henry Straite coming in saw some fire, and stooped, and with his Hands raked fire upon the floore, supposing it to be and Indian that was Drunke, and Burnt, soe he layd hold of the Arme, my selfe Immediately following, by the light perceived it was my Mother, and Cryed out, Oh Lord it is my Mother.

Taken upon oath this Present 9th Day of February 1672/3
Before me William Baulston Assist. & Coroner.

Henry Straite being Examined upon Oath before the Coroner, Testifies, that he knows nothing how Rebeca Cornell came to Her untimely Death, onely sayth that Edward Cornell being sent in unto his Grand mother to Know what shee would have for Her supper, and comeing into the roome, saw fire in the floore, and came out unto us, and tooke the Candle to see what fire twas, he the sayd Henry rann, the Boy with the Candle followed, and Thomas Cornell, he the sayd Henry comeing into the roome, saw fire upon the floore, he stooped down; and with his hand raked fire that was upon the floore, and tooke hold of an Arme, and spake Indian, supposeing it was an Indian, Drunke and Burnt; Thomas Cornell following, and by the Light deserned & called out, and sayd, Oh Lord it is my Mother.

Taken upon oath the yeare and Day above written.
Before me William Baulston Assist. & Corroner.

Wee the Coroners Inquest for his Majestie being Impanelled, and Engaged this Present 9th Day of ffebruary 1672/3 by Mr William Baulston Assistt and Coroner for his Matie in the Towne of [Portsmouth](#) in Rhod-Island in the Colony of Rhod-Island and Providence Plantations in New-England, have and by these presents doe declare; That being brought to the place where the Dead Body of Rebeca Cornell was Presented, and Inquiry by us made before the Coroner & Mr Joshua Coggeshall one of the Assistants of the sd Towne, and alsoe Coroner. The Body of the sayd Rebeca we found dead upon the floore, her Clothes very much



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Burnt by fire, and Her Body very much scorched and burnt by fire, And after dilligent Inquirie and Examination of Wittnesses, wee the sayd Coroners Inquest caused the sayd Body of Rebeca Cornell Widdow to Mr Thomas Cornell of Portsmouth to be stripped of the Residue of Clothes upon it (unburnt) turned and Handled, and searched to the best of our Judgments and understandings, doe finde and declare, That upon the Evening after the Eight Day of Febvruary 1672/3 the sayd Rebeca being in or about the age of 73 yeares, was brought to her untimely death by an Unhappie Accident of fire as Shee satt in her Rome, the time afore specified.

That this is our Verdict as the Coroners Inquest, wee give under our hands this Present 9th Day of February 1672/3.

William Dyer fforeman

Edward Lay

John Sanford

Thomas Brook

Georg Lawton

Hugh Parsons

John Albro

Peter Talman

John Anthony senr

ffrancis Brayton

Thomas Wood

William Wilbore

John Brigs of the Towne of Portsmouth Aged sixty foure yeares or thereabouts, being According to Law Sworne and In[g]aged befor the Councell, Testifieth That on the Twelfth Day of this Instant month ffebruary in the night as this Depont lay in his Bedd, he being in A Dreame of Mrs Rebeca Cornell Deseased, and being betweene Sleepeing and Wakeing, as he thought he felt something heave up the Bedclothes twice, and thought some body had beene coming to bed to hime, where upon he Awaked, and turned himeselfe about in his Bed, and being Turned, he perceived A Light in the roome, like to the Dawning of ye Day, and plainly saw the shape and Apearance of A Woman standing by his Bed side where at he was much Afrighted, and Cryed out, in the name of God what art thou, the Aperition Answered, I am your sister Cornell, and Twice sayd, see how I was Burnt with ffire, and shee plainly Apeered unto hime to be very much burnt about the shoulders, fface, and Head.

Taken before the Deputy Govr and Councell mett the 20th day of ffebruary 1672/3 As Atest John Sanford Secretary.

Mr John Russill of the Towne of Dartmouth in the Colony of New-Plymouth Aged 65 yeares or thereabouts, being According to Law sworne and Engaged before the Councell, Testifieth, that this Deponant, lately haveing some speech with Georg Soule Cunstable of the sayd Towne of Dartmoth. The sayd Soul sayd to this Depont, you being my Anchant ffrind, I have someting to tell you wch I would desire you to be Secret in, and the sayd Soul sayd, he once comeing to Mrs Rebeca Cornells House in Portsmouth, the



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sayd Mrs Rebeca Cornell sayd to the sayd Soul, that Shee intended in the spring of the yeare, to goe and Dwell with her son Samuells, but shee feared Shee should be made away before that time. And this Relation of the sayd Georg Souls to this Deponant was since the sayd Mrs Rebeca Cornells Decease.

Taken before the Deputy Govr and Councell mett the 20th day of ffebruary 1672/3. As Atest John Sanford Secretary.

We whose names are under subscribed being on the second inquiry after the untimely death, or decease of Mrs Rebeca Cornell of the Towne of [Portsmouth](#), desired to make Dilligent search whether any wound might be found on Her. Doe thus Affirme that wee found A Suspitious wound on her in the upper-most part of the Stomake, Wittness our hands ye 20th day of ffebruary 1672/3.

Henry Greenland Chyrn

Simon Cooper Chyrn

I doe Atest to ye above Written and declare it to be my Judgment, Wittness my hand the Day & yeare above written John Cranston Depty Govr

The above Premised Henry Greenland & Simon Cooper did both upon their Oaths affirme to the above Premised, Evidence or written, to be truth before John Cranston Depty Govr & Practioner in Phisick & Chyrurgery

We whose names are hereunto subscribed being by the Depty Govr & major part of the Councell of this his Majesties Colony of Rhod-Island and Providence Plantations, appointed and Empanneled A Coroners Inquest on the Body of Mrs Rebeca Cornell (Widdow to ye deceased Mr Thomas Cornell of [Portsmouth](#)) who came to an untimely, and uncertaine Death, in the night ffollowing the Eight day of this Instant month ffebruary, who this Instant Day, for A Second Inquire, was taken out of Her Grave, upon severall Suspitious reasons Rendered to the Govr, Depty Govr, and sayd Councell. And the Corps of the sayd Rebeca, being Dilligently searched by Chyriurgions in our view, and in their search, as under their hands appeares, they findeing A Suspitious wound in the Body of the sayd Rebeca Cornell in the uppermost part of her Stomake. And wee alsoe finding that the Body was much Burnt and Scorched by fire wee doe declare, and returne our Verdict to be, That wee Conceive and Judg, to the best of our understandings, that by the aforesayd Suspitious wound, and fire, shee the sayd Mrs Rebeca Cornell came bye her Death. In witness whereof wee have sett or hands ye 20th day of ffebruary 1672/3.

John Sanford foremn

Georg Lawton

John Albro

Thomas Wood

Edward Lay

Thomas Brooke

Hugh Persons

Francis Brayton senr

William Wilbore



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James Barker
Peter Easton
Joseph Torrey
Weston Clarke
Samuell Hubbard
Stephen Mumford
Edward Greenman
Phillip Edes
Caleb Carr
Daniell Gould
Henry Bull
Lawrance Turner
Thomas Nicolls
Thomas Dungen
Thomas Burg

Thomas Cornell senr of [Portsmouth](#) being Examined concerneing the untimely and uncertaine death of his Mother Rebeca Cornell, wch happened on the 8th of ffebruary 1672/3 in the Evening of the same Day: sayth, he coming in to the House from his Occations: a little after sunsett went to visett his Mother, his son Thomas being then with Her, and satt and discoursed with Her in her roome where shee kept, about one houre and halfe, and then Left her and went to Supper, haveing salt-mackrill for Supper, which his Mother cared not for because shee used to say it made her Dry, and haveing supt, his Wife sent his son Edward to his Mother, to know whether shee would have milke boiled for her supper, or what else shee desired, which might be about Three quarters of one houre, from the time he left her, he being the Last that was with Her; the sayd Edward called, Grandmother, Grandmother, and noebody Answering, and perceaving fire in the roome; came out, and sayd lett me have the Candle to see what fire that is in the other roome, whereupon wee all rann in, in hast, and Henry Straite ran in ffirst, and Rakeing the fire with his Hands, tooke hold of his Mothers Arme, thinkeing it had been A Drunken Indian, and spake Indian to her; at last sayd here is A Drunken Indian Burnt to Death; But the sayd Thomas Cornell, coming in last, perceaved by Her shoose which he saw by the light of the Candle, that it was his Mother, and sayd, Oh Lord, it is my Mother, and tooke up her head in his Armes to see if any life were in Her; findeing her burnt, lyeing along upon the floore with her head towards the fire, her Cloths burnt of on her below and some above, and the Valins of the Bed burnt, and the upper part of the Curtaines where he Judged Shee stood when Shee was on fire; before Shee fell, her Apron & one of her Petty-coats being Cotton and Wooll, and Judged that her Clothes tooke fire from A Cole that might fall from Her Pipe as shee satt Smoaking in Her Chaire, and haveing seene her in that Condition, as above related, sent out and called in some of the Neighbours liveing neare; which is all that he knows of the Death of his Mother abovementioned; not Judging any one were Instrumentall in any Measure to procure her Death.



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Taken before us the 21th of ffebruary 1672/3
Nich Easton Govr

Jon Cranston Depty Govr
ffrancis Brinley Assistt
John Easton Assistant
Joshua Coggeshall Assistant

April ye 10th 1673

Sarah Cornell the Wife of Thomas Cornell of Portsmouth, being Examined Concerning the Death of her Mother in Law Rebeca Cornell, sayth, yt ye evening her sayd Mothr was found dead in ye House, about one houre or more, or such a quantity of time; before shee was soe found, her Husband Thomas Cornell was with her to see how shee did, hereing that shee was not well, & tooke A Quill of yarne in his hand to winde, after he came out, he winded halfe a Quill of yarne, & then went to Supper, & one of ye Boies was sent to her sayd Mothr, to know what Shee would have for Supper, upon opening of the dore, ye Great Dogg being in her roome, Leaped out over ye Boy, & ye Boy came out in hast, & desired A Candle to see wt fire yt was in ye roome, whereupon most in the House ran in & found her sayd Mother Rebeca Cornell lyeing dead in the floore, being Burnt, but how it came shee knows not, nor can Imagine, but Lookes at it as A wonderfull thing, & the more in regard, part of her Clothes being Cotton and wooll, ye wooll was burnt & ye Cotton Remained whole, which John Gould, John Spencer, & Job Hawkins afterwards saw, comeing to ye House for yt Purpose: ffurther sayth, wn Georg Lawton & John Albro, being sent for, went into the roome, they smelt ye scent of the Burning of the Clothes, & none before, & when Henry Straite went in first he thought it had beene an Indian yt lay there Dead.

Taken before us. Nich~ Easton Govr
ffrancis Brinley Assistant

At a meeting of ye Dept Govr Mr ffrancis Brinley, Mr John Easton & Mr Joshua Coggeshall Assistants, Held at Mr Joshua Coggeshalls House in Portsmo ye 22th of Feby 1672/3.

Henry Straite being brought before ye Dept Govr & the sd Assistts & Examined wt he could say and relate concerning the late Deceased Rebeca Cornells death. Answered yt ye night that ye sd Mrs Rebeca Cornell lost her life, he was some part of ye night, at Mr Georg Lawtons & came not to Mr Thomas Cornells (where he Diated & Lodged) untill supper time, & wn he came in, some part of ye supper was upon ye Table, & they were gooing to Supper, & sitting downe to Supper. Mrs Rebeca Cornell, who usialy used to be at Supper with us, not being there, this Examine saith he inquired where ye sd Mrs Cornell was, & why shee was not at supper wth them, Mr Thos Cornell Answered, we haveing nothing but mackrill to supper, my Mothr will not eate any, for shee saith it makes her dry in the night. The Examine further saith, yt as soone as they had supped, Tho[m] Cornells wife sd to one of ye boys, by name Edward, goe to yor Grandmother, & ask her whether shee will have any milke for supper; the Ladd going, Emediately returned, and askt for A Candle to see what fire yt was, yt was in his Grandmothrs roome, whereupon they all ran, &



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this Examinee came first to the dore, & into ye roome, & espieing fire on ye floore, he clapt his Hands upon it, and raked away ye fire wth his hands, and then thought it had beene an Indian, & tooke hold on ye Arme, and shakt her, speakeing Indian; whereupon Mr Tho[m] Cornell clapt his hands & cryed out, Oh Lord, it is my Mother. And this Examinee also saith, yt there was noe fire in the Curtaines, nor about ye Bedsted when he came in, yett ye Curtins & Valliants at ye foote of the Bedsted was burnt. And alsoe saith yt ye Body lay wth the head towards ye Southmost Dore, & ye feete towards ye other Dore, in wch roome we were & ye Back lay towards ye Bedsteadd ye face towards ye Westmost Window, & lay on ye left side; Also the said Examinee saith yt at other times when they have had Mackrill for Supper, ye sd Mrs Rebeca Cornell used to be called, & did use to come & supp with ye rest in Mr Thomas Cornells roome.

Taken upon Oath.

James Moills, being Examined wt he can relate concerneing ye Death of Mrs Rebeca Cornell. Answered that ye night yt ye said Mrs Cornell lost her Life: The Examinee & Hen~ Straite were at Mr Georg Lawtons, in ye evening & came not to Mr Tho[m] Cornells till about seven A Clocke, when they came in, part of ye Supper was upon ye Table, & after Supper, Tho[m] Cornells Wife bidd one of ye Boys, by name Edward, goe to his Grandmothr, and ask her wt shee would have for supper; ye ladd goeing in, came Imediately out & askt for A Candle, saying there was fire in his Granmothers roome, upon which every one there Hastened to see what it was. This Examinee, wn he came into ye Entry, was goeing out of dores to see if there were not fire on ye outside of ye House, but before he gott out, hereing Hen~ Straite say here is A Drunken Indian burnt to Death, he returned & went into ye roome, & there he saw, the sd Mrs Rebeca Cornell lyeing on ye floore, wth fire about Her, from Her Lower parts neare to ye Arme pits and saith, he knew it to be her by her Shoes, & saith, yt ye Curtins & Valants at ye foote of ye Bedd were burnt, yett ye fire about ye Bedstead was out. And alsoe this Examinee saith, yt he haveing being A Servant, as now he is, to ye sd Mr Tho[m] Cornell, hath observed, yt ye sayd Mrs Rebeca Cornell (except not well) did usually be at Meales wth Her son Thomas &c. and wt the Reason was, yt shee was not yt night at Supper wth them, he knows not. This Examinee also saith, yt at other times in ye Evening it was Usiall, & sildome otherwise, yt one or more of ye Children, were in ye roome wth their gran-mother, but knows not ye Reason they, nor any of them were not wth her then. This Examinee also saith, yt he was in ye roome wth Mrs Cornell yt Morneing before her death, and then shee said shee was not well, & at noone goeing in to see her, shee said shee was something better. This Examinee also saith, yt wn he went into ye roome the night ye sd Mrs Cornell deceased, he saw A peece of her Garment, being Cotton and woollen lyeing upon A Brand on the fire. He alsoe saith shee lay on Her Left side.

Taken upon Oath.

Thomas Cornell (the son of Mr Tho[m] Cornell) Aged 18 yeares or thereabouts, being Examined what he can relate Concerneing ye Death of his Gran-Mothr Mrs Rebeca Cornell. Answered and sayth, yt ye Evening his Gran-mother dyed, he was in ye roome wth her, & stayd but A Litle while, but went out againe, and did Leave his



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ffather in the roome wth her, who stayd wth her about an houre, or an houre & an halfs time, & then in A litle time after his comeing out, went to Supper, & after Mother was not at Supper wth them, though at other times shee usially used, neither was Shee sent for as at other times, ye Reason was, there being Mackrill to Supper, was A dyet Shee did not like because it used, as Shee sayd, to make her very dry. The Examinee also saith, yt it was formerly usiall for some of them to be in the roome wth their Gran-Mother in the night times, but was not yt night. He alsoe saith, yt wn they went into ye roome, Shee lay on her Left side, wth her Head towards ye fire. And further saith, yt part of ye Curtin & Valants about ye Bedstead was Burnt, but wn they went in, ye fire about the Bedsted was quite out.

Taken upon Oath.

Stephen, Edward, & John Cornell, ye Sons of Mr Tho~ Cornell, being Examined wt they know Concerneing ye Death of their Gran-Mother Mrs Rebeca Cornell. They all being severally Examined, sayd they know not how shee came to Her death, & alsoe said, their ffather was ye Last Person they know of, yt was wth their Gran-Mothr. They further said, that none of them were yt night wth their Gran-Mother, as at other times they use to be.]

Taken before

John Cranston Dept Govr

ffrancis Brinley Assistt

John Easton Assistt

Joshua Coggeshall Assistt

Mary Cornell wife to John Cornell of Plymouth Colony in New-England, Aged 28 yeares or thereabouts, Apeared before mee ye 3d Day March 1672-73 & upon Her sollemn Engagmt, declareth as followeth. That about 3 or 4 yeares past, shee this Depont, being at her Mothr in Laws House Mrs Rebeca Cornell of Portsmth on Rhod-Island, Widdow, & now dead, or Deceast. This Depont saith that her Mother in Law Mrs Rebeca Cornell, haveing beene in Her Orchard, returneing into ye House, tould this Depont, yt shee had beene run[n]ing after Piggs, & said shee being weake, & had noe help, & shee being disregarded, shee thought to have stabd A Pen-knife in her Heart, yt shee had in her hand, & then shee should be ridd of Her Trouble. But it came in her minde, Resist ye Devill who will [illegible] shee sd shee was well satisfied, & further saith not. Taken upon Oath ye [illegible] March 1672/73 before [illegible].

George Soule Aged 34 yeares or thereabouts being Engaged, saith yt he being at Mr Tho~ Cornells House on Rhod-Island ye same day Mathew Allins House was Burned in the Winter, last, and this Deponant speaking wth Mrs Rebeca Cornell, shee said shee would goe live wth her son Samuell ye next spring. This Depont urging her yt shee was better where shee was; shee said yt A differance was arisen between her & her son Thomas, about rent. This depont sayd shee spoke unadvisedly to say shee would remove. Shee Replied: wt doth this tend too. Shee said he would have the Hundred Pound bond out of her hand. And this Deponant saith, shee said shee would goe live wth her son in the spring, if shee was not otherwise disposed of, or made away. and further this depont saith not. Taken this first day of March 1672/3.



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This Depont further saith he Judged Mrs Rebeca Cornell to Be in a Passion.

Nich Easton Govr

Richd Smith Assistant

Mary ye wife of Mr John Almy of ye Towne of [Portsmouth](#) Aged Thirty three yeares or thereabouts, being According to Law Engaged & Sworne, Deposeth & Testifieth yt shee hath severall times observed an Undutyfull-ness in Tho~ Cornell towards his Mother Mrs Rebeca Cornell, & saith yt shee hath severall times spoke of it to others. And further saith, yt ye sayd Mrs Rebeca Cornell told this Depont yt shee was much neglected, & yt shee was forced in ye Winter season, in ye cold wether to goe to her Bed unmade, & unwarmed, & was therefore forced to procure some woollin Cloth to wrapp her selfe in, before shee went to her could bedd. And alsoe ye sd Mrs Rebeca Cornell, told this depont, yt if shee could not Eate as all ye foalkes of ye House could, & at their times of Eateing, shee must fast, for there was nothing brought in for Her to Eate; ffurther this Depont testifieth, yt Anthony Shaws wife of [Portsmouth](#) (since ye aforesayd Tho Cornell was Imprisened) told this Depont, yt Tho Cornells Wife coming to ye prison to her Husband, they Desired some time of Privacy, & soe went together into A Private roome, & whilst they were together, ye sd Tho~ Cornell and his Wife had those Expretions each to other, yt if you will keepe my Councell I will keepe yors, & soe they spake each together, & then ye Dore of ye roome in which they were was opened.

Taken before ye Dept Govr & part of ye Genll Councell. ye 11th of Aprill. 1673.

John Sanford, Secretary.

Elizabeth ye wife of Hugh Persons of ye Towne of [Portsmouth](#), Aged sixty yeares or thereabouts being According to ye Law Engaged, & sworne, Deposeth, & Testifieth yt shee being wth Goodwife Earle, desired to lay forth ye Body of the Deceased Mrs Rebeca Cornell, they on ye Sabath Day towards night, Accordingly layd forth the Body of the sd Deceased, & saith yt then there was noe Apeareance of Blood about ye Corps, but comeing thether on ye Munday there had beene in the roome where ye Corps lay, Thomas Cornell wth Wm. Hall to measure ye Corps for ye makeing A Coffin to interr Her in, & some saying ye corps did purge, this depont went to see whether ye corps did purge or not, & found yt ye corps did not purge, onely saw yt shee had bled fresh Blood at ye Nose; and ffurther saith not.

Taken before ye Dept Govr & part of ye Genrll Councell, the 11th day of Aprill 1673.

John Sanford Secretary

Hugh Persons of ye Towne of [Portsmouth](#) Aged 60 yeares, or thereabouts, being According to Law Engaged & sworne: Deposeth & Testifieth that yt night Mrs Rebeca Cornell lost Her Life, this Depont comeing to ye House: went in to ye Roome where shee lay, & Mr Coggeshall goeing in before this Depont, Emediately Mr Coggeshall went to ye outward Doore opening to ye Southward, to see whether it were fast bolted. And this depont heard Mr Coggeshall say yt Doore was fast Bolted. And further this Depont saith, yt upon ye hearth there was burnt sinders lay in A traine,



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& almost covered ye floare in such A manner as if shee had beene drawne thether.

Taken before ye Dept Govr and part of ye Genll Councell the 11th Day of April 1673.

John Sanford Secretary

Joane Coggeshall ye wife of Joshua Coggeshall aged about 38 yeares being Engaged According to Law, affirmeth yt being at the Widdow Cornells House about A yeare & halfe since; as neere as shee can Remember; shee ye sd Cornell Complained to Her, yt Her son Tho Cornell, carryed himselfe very unkindely to Her, detaineing Her Rent from Her, and would pay Her none, & was soe High & soe Crose, yt shee durst hardly speake to hime; & yt shee intended to gett men to speake to hime aboute it, & did nominate Wm Baulston, John Easton & Walter Clarke; & further sayd, yt her son Tho~ Cornell told her, Her name did stinke about ye Island, or Country, And shee ye sd Widdow Cornell, desired Her yt shee would not speake of wt shee told Her, for shee should live A sadd life, wth Her sd son, if he should heare of it.

Taken this 14th of Aprill 1673, before us.

John Cranston Dept Govr

Richd Smith, Assist

Francis Brinley Assist.~

John Easton Assist.~

Patience Coggeshall ye Wife of John Coggeshall, aged about 33 years, being Engaged According to Law, afirmeth, yt shee and Her Sister Wait Gould, & her Sister Joan Coggeshall, being with ye Widdow Rebeca Cornell about 2 1/2 yeares since, in Her orchard under a Damzen Tree; shee related to ym ye sad Condition of Life shee lived wth her son Tho~ Cornell, wch shee declared wth much weeping, & sayd, yt he would not keepe her A mayd, though he was Engaged to it, as to find her Diett, & yt her son Thomas & his wife, yt now is, were very cross to her; & this depont asked Her how ye children carryed ymselves towards her, shee replied; how could they carry it kindly to Her wn their ffather was soe cross; & yt shee was afayrd there would be mischief don, Her Daughter in Law was of such a Desperate Spirit, for not long since, sayd shee, shee ran after one of ye Children of his ffirst Wife, wth an Axe, into Her House; but shee prevented Her strikeing ye child; & yt shee did not live wth any of her other children, because shee had made over her Estate to Her Son Thomas; & yt if shee had thought her son Thomas first Wife would have dyed before Her, shee would not have made it over to hime.

Waite Gould being Engaged According to Law, affirmeth to ye truth of ye Premises.

Taken this 14th of Aprill 1673, before us.

John Cranston Dept Govr

Richd Smith, Assist

ffrancis Brinley Assistt.

John Easton Assistt.

Nicholas Wild of Newpt aged 73 yeares or there abouts, being According to Law Engaged, & Deposed, Testifieth yt about a yeare



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agoe Mrs Rebeca Cornell came to this Deponts House, & there Complained of Her son Thomas Cornell; yt he was [torn] Agreemt to pay her yearely (as neere as this Depont Remembers Shee sayd) Six pound a yeare, & Diet for A maide Servant, wch shee sayd he refused to pay, & did wth hold it; & further shee sayd, yt he tould Her, if shee would release hime of yt Hundred Pound he was Engaged to pay her, yn he would pay ye six pound A yeare, & A Maide should have her Diet, as was Promised. ffather ye sd Mrs Cornell told this Depont, yt her son Told her he must Build, & required ye Hundred pound toward it, but shee sayd shee could not, unless she should wrong her other Children, for shee thought he had Enough; shee alsoe told this depont, yt her son told her shee must pay ye Rates; Shee alsoe sayd, yt shee hath been forced to goe out in ye snow for Wood, & hath falne wth ye Wood under Her, when they have beene in ye House & saw it all, wch shee sayd was such A griefe & Trouble to her, yt shee hath beene afraide of being Provoaked, & hath prayed to ye Lord agat it; & ffather shee sayd yt Her son Thomas told Her, yt if shee would forgive ye Hundred pound he would yn pay ye Rent, alow Diet for A Maide for Her, & pay ye rates, & this shee Declared, wth great griefe & Trouble of Spirit, wth weepeing Teares.

Taken before ye Dept Govr & part of ye Genll Councell ye 14th of Aprill 1673.

John Sanford Secretary.

Sarah ye wife of Nicholas Wilde Aged 61 yeares or thereabouts, being According to Law Engaged & deposed, testifieth to ye Truth of all yt is above Testified by Her Husband. And further testifieth, yt Mrs Rebeca Cornell told this depont yt Her Son Thomas, one time being Angry wth her, lookt very firce upon Her, & nasht, or sett his Teeth at her, & sayd shee had beene A Cruell Mother to hime. She told hime shee had not beene cruell, but A [torn] & sayd his Carrige & Expressions therein was A great Trouble, or Terror to Her. This depont askt Mrs Cornell how shee was able to beare such Afflictions. Shee answered yt shee should not be Able to beare it, but yt God did support her, & in Her griefe shee had Scriptures come into Her mind yt did much quiet her.

Taken before ye Dept Govr & part of the Genll Councell ye 14th of Aprill 1673.

John Sanford Secretary

The Deposition of Rebeca Woollsey is yt wn shee was last at Rhod-Island with Her Mother Mrs Rebeca Cornell falling in discourse one with Another, the Deponts Mother tould her Daughtour Woollsey that shee looked very poorly and the Depont told her Mother shee had cause soe to doe; her mother did Aske her why; the Depont told her Mother, yt shee had, had the smal pox, and yt shee was very much Afflicted and Troubled in mind, and yt shee was sometimes Perswaded to Drowne her selfe, and sometimes to stabb her selfe. Soe the Deponts Mother told her Daughter that shee must pray to God, and he would helpe Her. The Depont told Her Mother, shee did often call upon God, and he did here her, soe wn the Depont had done with this Discorice, the Deponants Mother told her Daughter that shee had beene divers yeares possest with an evill spirit, and that shee was divers times Perswaded to make away with Her selfe, and yett the Lord was



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pleased from time to time to preserve her. The Depont told her Mother, that shee would tell her Brother Thomas of it, and her Mother charged her not to tell hime, soe shee did not tell hime: And further sayes not.

ffloshin 10 Aprill 1673 – This Testimony taken before me

Robert Coe Justice of Peace

John Pearce of the Towne of Portsmouth Aged 41 yeares or thereabouts being According to Law Engaged, Testifieth, that since the Decease of Mrs Rebeca Cornell, this Deponent being at the house of [torn - Wm ?] Wood, there was Thomas Cornell, and his Wife, and Thomas Cornell sayd, that his Mother in her life time had A desire to have A good fire, and further sayd, that he thought God had answered her ends, for now shee had it.

Taken the 7th of May 1673 (in the morneing) before me.

Joshua Coggeshall Assistant.

Lifft Joseph Torrey of Newport being According to Law Engaged, Testifieth, That on ye Day the Corroners Inquest satt upon the Corps of Mrs Rebeca Cornell deceased (on the second inquiry) comeing to the House of Thomas Cornell, and Inquireing whether the outmost dore were shutt, of the sayd Mrs Cornells Roome that night shee Dyed, Mr Thomas Cornell made Answer, that the dore was not Lockt, neither was there ever any Lock upon the Dore, but sayd he, the Dore was fastned with A Barr upon the Latch, and showed this depont in what man[n]er it was.

Taken the 16th of May 1673 in Court As Attests John Sanford Recordr

Mr. Phillip Eds of Newport being According to Law Engaged, Testifieth to the truth of what is above Testified by Lifft Joseph Torrey.

Taken in Court, ye 16th of May 1673. As Attests John Sanford Recordr

I Present and Indict Thomas Cornell of Portsmouth now Prisoner in his Majties Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations Senr. That against the feare of God, the Honour of our Sovereigne Lord the Kinge, and the Law and peace of this Colony, on the Evening of the 8th Day of Febrv in the 25th yeare of the Reigne of his Majtie Charles the Second Annoque Domin. 1672. The sayd Thomas Cornell did violently Kill his Mother, Rebeca Cornell, Widdow, or was ayding or Abetting thereto, in the Dwelling House of his sayd Mother in the foresayd towne of Portsmouth, which act of his is Murder, and is against the Honole Crowne and Dignety of his Majesty the Laws and peace of this Colony.

Dated at A Genll Court of Tryalls held ye 12th May 1673

John Easton Genll Atorney.

Passed by leave of ye Court to ye Grand Jury As Attests John Sanford Recor.

Grand Jury returne [blotted] Bill. Petty Jurys returne. Guilty.

Whereas you Thomas Cornell have beene in this Court, Indicted, and Charged for Murdering your Mother Mrs Rebeca Cornell Widdow, and you being by your Peers the Jurry found Guilty, Know, and to that end, prepare your selfe, that you are by this Court



STATE MURDER

sentenced to be carryed from hence to the Common Goale, and from thence on ffryday next which will be the 23th Day of this instant month May, about one of the Clocke, to be carryed from the sayd Goale to the place of Execution, the Gallows, and there to be Hanged by ye neck untill you are Dead Dead.—

STATE MURDER



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1674

“At the Coffee Mill and Tobacco Roll” was the name of a famous London coffee-house in which, as early as this year, one might obtain chocolate in cakes and rolls “in the Spanish style.”

In Russia, if you were caught using tobacco you might very well be executed.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1675

AN ACCOUNT OF TWO VOYAGES TO NEW-ENGLAND

From the year of the World

... *Narragansets-Bay*, within which Bay is *Rhode-Island* a Harbour for the *Shunamitish* Brethren, as the Saints-Errant, the Quakers who are rather to be esteemed Vagabonds than religious persons, &c.

... Quakers they whip, banish, and hang if they return again. Anabaptists they imprison, fine and weary out.

... There are none that beg in the Countrey, but there be Witches too many, bottle-bellied Witches amongst the Quakers, and others that produce many strange apparations if you will believe report, of a *Shallop* at Sea man'd with women....

to the year of Christ 1673.

BY *John Josselyn Gent.*

STATE MURDER

The [Rhode Island](#) Assembly agreed to the appointment of a major of militia “to be chief captain of all the colony forces.” The commission for this officer, signed by the governor, [Friend William Coddington](#), required this officer “to kill, expulse, expel, take and destroy all and every the enemies of this His Majesty’s colony.”



When the fighting in “King Philip’s War” went badly against the intrusives, there was an argument amongst the Puritans. They began “to enquire of the Lord, what the reason is that he is departed from them, and goes not forth with their armies.” Some divines held that God was displeased with His people for “suffering the Quakers’ meetings among them.” Others worried that, instead, it was their “killing and persecuting of the Quakers, that is the cause of their distress.” The argument was won by those who believed that God was displeased at the tolerance that His people had lately been beginning to show toward the heretics, and was punishing His own for this display of tolerance. Thus it was that the Cart and Whip Act was reinstated:



Friends Thomas and Alice Curwen were traveling through New England as [Quaker](#) missionaries when they learned that the Bay Colony had just enacted a law whereby anyone found at a Quaker meeting for worship was to be jailed. They therefore went directly to the Bay Colony to attend a meeting for worship and be jailed for it, only to discover that said law had not yet been duly proclaimed and was therefore not yet being enforced. They journeyed for awhile in New Hampshire and Maine to kill some time, and then returned again to Massachusetts, attended a Quaker meeting for worship, and were jailed for it. —Two tough dudes!



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

AN ACCOUNT OF TWO VOYAGES TO NEW-ENGLAND

From the year of the World

to the year of Christ 1673.

... *Narragansets-Bay*, within which Bay is *Rhode-Island* a Harbour for the *Shunamitish* Brethren, as the Saints-Errant, the Quakers who are rather to be esteemed Vagabonds than religious persons, &c.

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BY John Josselyn Gent.

JOHN JOSSELYN'S
CHRONOLOGY

JOHN JOSSELYN'S
TWO VOYAGES

NARRAGANSETT BAY
RHODE ISLAND
RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS
BAPTISTS
WITCHES



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

June 8, Tuesday (Old Style): Three Native Americans were being [hanged](#) one after the other at Plymouth on suspicion of having murdered the Reverend John [Sassamon](#), or Indian John of Harvard.

[L]iterate Indians like John Sassamon, those most likely to record their version of the events of the war, were among its earliest casualties.... Because the acquisition of literacy, and especially English-language literacy, was one of the last steps on the road to assimilation, Indians who could read and write placed themselves in a particularly perilous, if at the same time a powerful, position, caught between two worlds but fully accepted by neither.... Can literacy destroy?.... Can literacy kill?

There was at the very least this proof of their guilt, that one other native had testified against them, and also that when the three suspects had been brought near the corpse of their victim, the corpse had begun again to bleed. And then there would be a last-minute willingness to talk, after a frayed cord had parted while the last one of this trio of suspect natives was hanging and strangling, while the white people were readjusting the noose to try again: this third to leave our stage, Wampapaquan, attempted to save himself by a report in which he implicated, among others, the sachem [Metacom](#). (This would save his life for a week or so and then he would be shot.) The white people felt they had obtained all the evidence they needed.³⁴

According to Friend John Easton of [Rhode Island](#), sachem Metacom would list among his reasons for having gone to war that

if 20 of there onest indians testefied that an Englishman had dun them rong, it was as nothing, and if but one of ther worst indians testefied against ani indian or ther king when it plesed the English that was suffitiant.

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

September: [James Printer](#) and the 14 other Christian Indians who had been arrested by [Captain Samuel Mosely](#) for the murder of 7 whites at Lancaster on August 22nd were found innocent by the court, whereupon they narrowly avoided being [lynched](#).

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

34. Having the strangle-cord part in this manner does not seem to have saved this pleading third party's life, for although they spared him temporarily while his information was being discussed, he was "afterward shott to death within the same month." But perhaps confession was good for his soul, who can tell?


1676

August 6, Sunday (Old Style): [Weetamoo](#), the squaw sachem of [Pocasset](#) (now [Tiverton, Rhode Island](#), and not to be confused with Pocasset, Massachusetts) who had allied with her kinsman [Metacom](#), was captured by twenty men of Taunton at Gardiner's Neck in Swansea, along with her few remaining followers. She made a break for it on a hastily constructed raft, attempting to get across the Taunton River. When her drowned body was discovered the English mutilated it and, cutting off the head, carried it into [Taunton](#) where they mounted it atop a pole on the village green.³⁵

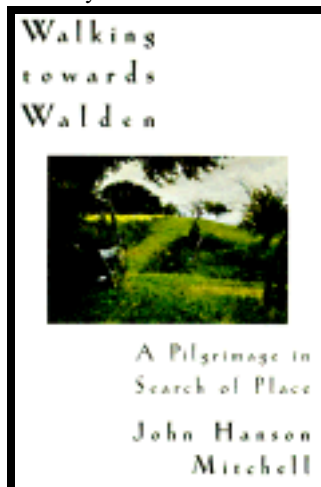


“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS

In American history it is ordinarily, unfortunately, no accident when it is women and children of color who are the ones being offed. In fact the white colonists typically considered it to be of more long-term benefit to them, to kill off the women and children of the natives, than to kill off their adult males, their warriors. The reason for this attitude was simple: these warriors represented only the present of the group of color, whereas women and children of color represented the future of the breed. Thus it would come about that, when in one of the military actions only 52 adult red males had been offed but all of 114 red women and children had been offed, the Reverend [William Hubbard](#) would celebrate the statistics of this as a “*signal Victory, and Pledg [sic] of Divine Favour to the English*” — for these 114 defenseless women and children had been “*Serpents of the same Brood*” (fast forward, if you please, to November 29-30, 1864  and the Reverend John Milton Chivington of the Sand Creek reservation massacre just at the edge of Denver, and to the explanation that this

35. In John Hanson Mitchell’s *WALKING TOWARDS WALDEN: A PILGRIMAGE IN SEARCH OF PLACE* (Reading MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1995, page 259) there is a gratuitous reference to “...a raiding party under the control of Queen Weetamoo...” which would seem to suggest that this squaw sachem, although separated from her consort Quinnapin, had something to do with the hostilities. Such an imputation is of course utterly false. These tribal groupings on occasion did have female leaders, but a female leader would have functioned only in a peacetime context and would have had nothing whatever to do with warfare. After the race war Quinnapin would be tried and executed: he definitely had been a wartime leader.



STATE MURDER

lay reverend race murderer offered to us all, that “*nits breed lice*”).



VALUES TO DEFEND!

On this same day, in [Concord](#), according to the historian [Daniel Gookin](#), superintendent of the native encampment at Deer Island, some white citizen sighted three of the local native American women with three of their children³⁶ wandering a bit too far from their official encampment on the shore of Flint’s Pond, onto the “Hurtleberry Hill” just to the southwest of [Walden Pond](#) — the geographical feature that eventually would come to be known by the curious name [Mount Misery](#). This little group, led by John Stoolmester (a native American, who was armed because he had just been released from military service with the whites and had not yet had an opportunity to turn in his weapon), was, presumably, merely out picking “hurtleberries” or huckleberries or whatever, but the countryside around and about Concord had been declared to be a Vietnam-style “free fire zone.” They had ventured than the permitted one mile, indeed they had gone as the crow flies about one and one half miles, from their recognized habitation, all the way to the other side of Walden Pond

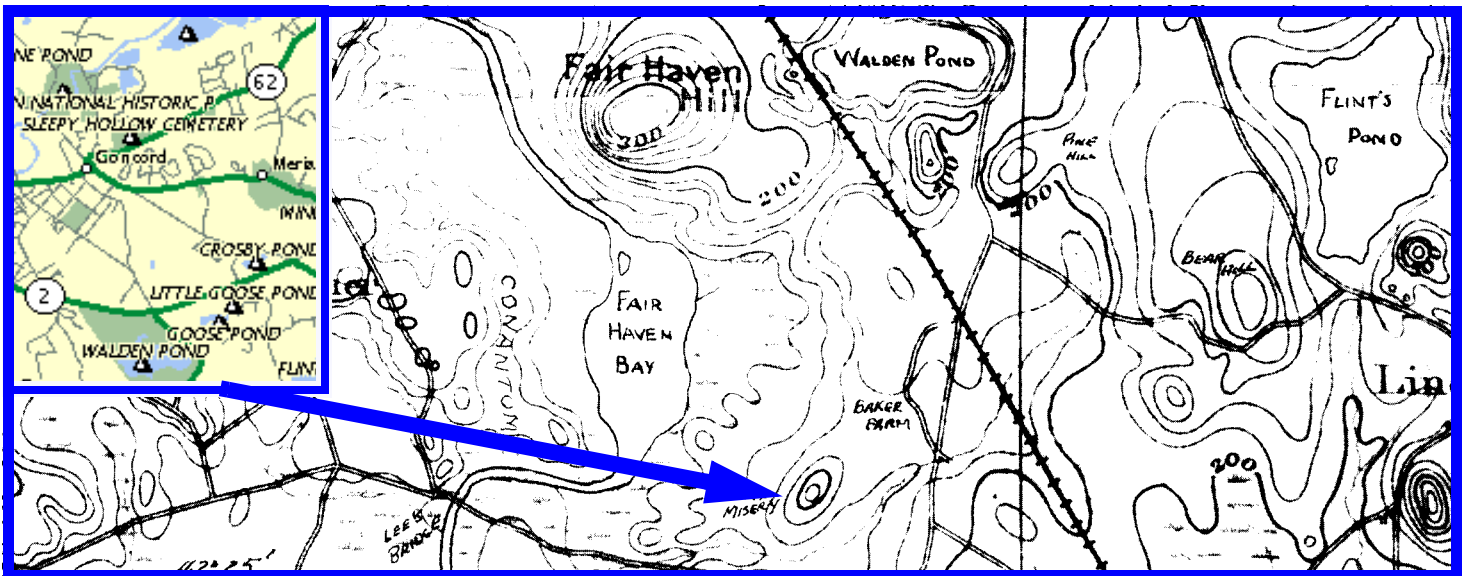
36. Six people who of course had names, but their names would be no part of the record kept by the people who terminated them for having committed this extreme error.

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

and onto the Hoar farm! So after the local white men had exchanged some bread and cheese for some of the berries, four of them, [Lieutenant Daniel Hoar](#) (a nephew of [John Hoar](#)), [Daniel Goble](#) and his nephew [Stephen Goble](#) (who had no wife or child and probably was no more than 22 years of age), and [Nathaniel Wilder](#), went out to make themselves the death of this pic-nic. The three women and three children were chased by these four mounted armed white men and then murdered on the north slope of the hill. Their bodies were stripped of their coats and left to lie exposed. When the bodies would be found, some would be noticed to have been “shot through” while others would be noticed to have had “their brains beat out with hatchets.”³⁷



37. A brief but indicative record of this race atrocity has been preserved in [Lemuel Shattuck's](#) 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#). The form of Shattuck's record is more informative than its content. His record appears only in the 2d footnote on his page 62, indicating, quite clearly, that as far as he is concerned, any race atrocities which involve white perpetrators and nonwhite victims could be at best mere footnotes to the **significant** events of a town's past. His note is preceded by an invidiously false but intended exculpatory declaration, that "Strict regard was paid to the rights of friendly Indians by the government." He proceeds to refer to the murdered wives as "squaws" and to this racial mass murder of them and their children as their having been "killed." Making no mention in such a context of the town of [Concord](#), he situates this act of genocide "on a hill in Watertown, now in Lincoln." He makes no mention of the fact that the six Concordians who were thus executed had been Concordians, as if, after all, they had only been reds rather than real people, nor does he make any mention of the fact that the four perps had been Concordians or, for that matter, of the obvious fact that such an egregious atrocity could only have been constructed by construing it, at that time, as having constituted an official military engagement of the Concord Militia.

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER



In the days of King Philip's War, the Indians had spared the town of Concord. They burned the neighboring settlements, Sudbury, Chelmsford, Stow, but one of their chieftains said, as they glanced over Concord from a hill-top, "We shall never prosper if we go there. The Great Spirit loves that town." This was an Indian legend, and one could well believe it. Plain, low, quiet, the village had no obvious distinction.

— Van Wyck Brooks, *THE FLOWERING OF NEW ENGLAND*



Later, when Andrew Pittimee, a local Native American who had been serving as a sergeant of the red guides for the white troops fighting in the race war, would return to Concord, he would not be able to find his family.³⁸ His wife had simply disappeared and was nowhere to be found. His two sisters also had disappeared; they were nowhere to be found. Inquiries revealed that three Indian women and three Indian children had been killed while out huckleberrying — where had they been buried — had their bodies even been buried— and Pittimee started going around making much trouble, talking of equal [hanging](#) for all. A lot of red men were being judged, why shouldn't some white men be judged? The white militiamen who had set up this afternoon's fun, [Lieutenant Daniel Hoar](#) (in charge, giving the orders, defending his family's farm), [Stephen Goble](#) and [Daniel Goble](#), and [Nathaniel Wilder](#), eventually found themselves judged, not only by red people whose opinions really did not count for much, but also by landowners, selectmen, white men whose opinions really did count, to be guilty of the crime of murder. But, gee whiz, weren't they just "following orders"?



THE HOARS OF MOUNT MISERY



[see next screen]

38. The fact that the white Concord soldiers were willing to be led through the forest by this Andrew Pittimee the red Concordian did not imply that they considered him human or of equivalent standing and rights with themselves, for according to the Reverend William Ames's (October 6, 1605-January 11, 1654, a [Harvard College](#) graduate) CONSCIENCE WITH THE POWER AND CASES THEREOF (pages 188-9), "as it is lawfull to use the helpe of beasts, as of Elephants, Horses, &c. So also is it lawfull to use the aid of beastlike men."

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

AT A COUNCIL Held in BOSTON,

August 30, 1675.

The Council judging it of absolute Necessity for the Security of the English, and the Indians that are in Amity with us, that they be Restrained their usual Commerce with the English, and Hunting in the Woods, during the Time of Hostility with those that are our Enemies,

Do Order, that all those Indians that are delirous to Approve themselves Faithful to the English, be Confined to their several Plantations underwritten, until the Council shall take further Order; and that they so order the setting of their Wigwams, that they may stand Compact in some one Part of their Plantations respectively, where it may be best for their own Provision and Defence. And that none of them do presume to Travel above one Mile from the Center of such their Dwelling, unless in Company with some English, or in their Service near their Dwellings; and excepting for gathering and fetching in their Corn with one Englishman, on Peril of being taken as our Enemies, or their Abettors : And in Case that any of them shall be taken without the Limits abovesaid, except as abovesaid, and do lose their Lives, or be otherwise damnified, by English or Indians; The Council do hereby Declare, that they shall account themselves wholly Innocent, and their Blood or other Damage (by them sustained) will be upon their own Heads. Also it shall not be lawful for any Indians that are in Amity with us, to entertain any strange Indians, or receive any of our Enemies Plunder, but shall from Time to Time make Discovery whereof to some English, that shall be Appointed for that End to sojourn among them, on Penalty of being reputed our Enemies, and of being liable to be proceeded against as such.

Also, whereas it is the Manner of the Heathen that are now in Hostility with us, contrary to the Practice of all Civil Nations, to Execute their bloody Infolencies by Stealth, and Sculking in small Parties, declaring all open Decision of their Controversie, either by Treaty or by the Sword.

The Council do therefore Order, That after the Publication of the Provision abovesaid, It shall be lawful for any Person, whether English or Indian, that shall find any Indians Travelling or Sculking in any of our Towns or Woods, contrary to the Limits above-named, to command them under their Guard and Examination, or to Kill and destroy them as they best may or can. The Council hereby declaring, That it will be most acceptable to them that none be Killed or Wounded that are Willing to surrender themselves into Custody.

The Places of the Indians Residencies are, Natick, Punguapaog, Nalhoba, Wamesit, and Hassanemesit: And if there be any that belong to any other Plantations, they are to Repair to some one of these.

By the Council.

Edward Rantson. Secr.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

Now more recently, on page 57 of John Hanson Mitchell's *TRESPASSING: AN INQUIRY INTO THE PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF LAND* (Reading MA: Addison-Wesley, 1998), an extrabogus version of the Concord genocide story has resurfaced without references being cited. According to this author Mitchell's inventive elaborations and suppressions, no native children were involved and only one woman was offed, her innocent activities at the time remain unspecified, only one white perpetrator was involved, who had been a passing stranger, the offense had been against town laws, it not being mentioned whether this was a Concord town law or a Boston statute — and the local militia of course had nothing whatever to do with the incident. Thus it is that history gets rewritten to serve the self-respect of the descendant children of the victor:

By the 1670s this Puritan concept of written law, of a higher doctrine, had become so established that during King Philip's War, when the wife of one of the sometime residents at Nashobah was killed by a passing Englishman at Hurtleberry Hill, the town fathers, finding the white man guilty under the aegis of town laws, felt compelled to hang him.

That is not to say that the native peoples of the Americas did not also have a concept of law or, for that matter, a concept of the division of land.



STATE MURDER



"Denial is an integral part of atrocity, and it's a natural part after a society has committed genocide. First you kill, and then the memory of killing is killed."

— Iris Chang, author of *THE RAPE OF NANKING* (1997), when the Japanese translation of her work was canceled by Basic Books due to threats from [Japan](#), on May 20, 1999.



"Historical amnesia has always been with us: we just keep forgetting we have it."

— Russell Shorto



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

August 12, Saturday (Old Style):³⁹ The word was out early that morning that King [Phillip](#), with his wife Wootonekanuske and child having been taken captive, and with all his efforts to obtain help from other native tribes having proven to be totally fruitless, had given up and gone home to [Pokanoket](#) to await his fate:

The next news we hear of Philip was that he had gotten back to Mount Hope, now like to become Mount Misery to him and his vagabond crew.



"As the star of the Indian descended,
that of the Puritans rose ever higher."
— Tourtellot, Arthur Bernon, THE CHARLES,



39. On this date William Harris wrote again to Sir Joseph Williamson, a letter which is a useful source of information.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

NY: Farrar & Rinehart, 1941, page 63

After a year's absence Philip, reduced to a miserable condition, returned to his native place, near which he was killed, Aug. 12, 1676. One of his own men, whom he had offended, and who had deserted to the English, shot him through the heart. His death put an end to this most horrid and distressing war. About 3000 warriors were combined for the destruction of New England, and the war terminated with their entire defeat, and almost total extinction. About 600 of the English inhabitants, the greatest part of whom were the flower and strength of the country, either fell in battle or were murdered by the enemy. Twelve or thirteen towns were destroyed [according to Trumbell, vol. i, page 350, and Holmes's Annals of America, i., page 384] and about 600 houses burned.⁴⁰

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

40. [Lemuel Shattuck's 1835 A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)

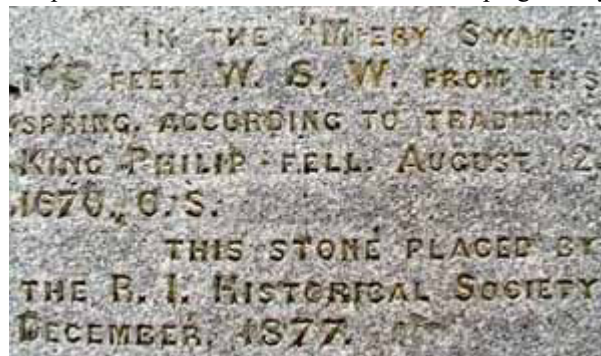
STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

The warriors under Captain [Benjamin Church](#),⁴¹ white and red, crept up during the previous night and in the dawn they assaulted [Metacom](#)'s hilltop ceremonial center at [Mount Hope](#) on [Rhode Island](#)'s Narragansett Bay.



Surprise was achieved. An English-allied native informant named Alderman hunted down and shot the fleeing leader in the nearby swamps where in better times he had been keeping his royal herds of pigs.



The first shot through the upper chest put Metacom on his face in the mud and water on top of his gun. Alderman apparently then poured more powder down the barrel of his gun, rammed down another ball, charged his pan—a process requiring a certain amount of time—and then shot Metacom again, this time delivering the *coup de grace* directly through the heart. Some five or six persons who were with Metacom also were killed while attempting to escape. The white army gave “three loud huzzas.” As the Reverend Increase Mather would later characterize the accomplishment,⁴² the grand result had been brought about by a combination of the white people’s righteous prayers to their God, and the red people’s wicked remarks in disregard of God’s wrath: the white warriors, he claimed, had prayed the bullet into Metacom’s heart, whereas there was an unnamed “chief” present who had been a sneerer at the Christian religion, who “withal, added a most hideous blasphemy, immediately upon which a bullet took him in the head, and dashed out his brains, sending his cursed soul in a moment among the devils, and blasphemers, in hell forever.”⁴³

41. [Benjamin Church](#) would later be paid the going rate for [Metacom](#)’s head, 30 shillings, “scant reward, and poor encouragement,” when it was mounted atop a pole in Plymouth common.

42. Reverend Increase Mather. A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE WARR WITH THE INDIANS IN NEW-ENGLAND (1676).

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER



There are no authentic period depictions of this person.

FAKE NEWS



The corpse of Metacom was “pulled out of the mire to the upland,” some tugging it by the stockings and others by the breechclout, the body being otherwise unclothed “and a doleful, great, naked, dirty beast he looked like,” was quartered and **hanged** in four separate trees and the head and his trademark crippled hand were carried away.⁴⁴No mention was made at the time, or later, about any pipe, any war club, or any wampum

THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS

belt associated with Metacom that had been sequestered either by Alderman or by Church as souvenirs of the event.

43. Since the Reverend Increase Mather’s PREVALENCY OF PRAYER was well known, and since this is from page 7 in the front of the book, we may suppose that the initial audience for WALDEN well understood that Thoreau was taking an actual slap at the memory of the Reverend on page 182, where he made his preposterous remark that “this vice is one of which the Indians were never guilty.”

WALDEN: Some have been puzzled to tell how the shore became so regularly paved. My townsmen have all heard the tradition, the oldest people tell me that they heard it in their youth, that anciently the Indians were holding a pow-wow upon a hill here, which rose as high into the heavens as the pond now sinks deep into the earth, and they used much profanity, as the story goes, though this vice is one of which the Indians were never guilty, and while they were thus engaged the hill shook and suddenly sank, and only one old squaw, named Walden, escaped, and from her the pond was named.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

Samuel Sewall lettered neatly alongside this date in his [almanac](#): *Philippus exit*.

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

44. Note: The head would be mounted atop a pole in Plymouth and would remain there for a quarter of a century. The hand, recognizable as King Phillip's because crippled (evidently a pistol had split while being fired), would be preserved by Alderman in a bucket of rum and after being taken to Boston for inspection there would be displayed for pennies in taverns for many years. The horrible death and mutilation of the person who supposedly had caused these hostilities, however, would do little to bring these hostilities to an end. In western New England, and in Maine, this race war, which in actuality had always been an unplanned leaderless struggle between mutually antagonistic and intolerant groups, would continue unabated. The Abenaki of Maine (Penobscot) would be attacking the settlements of the English along the coastline well into 1677. The *Iroquois* and the Algonquian would be attacking in the inland regions for the next three generations, right up into the period of the French and Indian Wars.





STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

Here is how the scene would be depicted, from 1829 to 1887, on the American stage:

META. Embrace me, Nahmeokee – 'twas like the first you gave me in the days of our strength and joy – they are gone. [*Places his ear to the ground*] Hark! In the distant wood I faintly hear the cautious tread of men! They are upon us, Nahmeokee – the home of the happy is made ready for thee. [*Stabs her, she dies*] She felt no white man's bondage – free as the air she lived – pure as the snow she died! In smiles she died! Let me taste it, ere her lips are cold as the ice. [*Loud shouts. Roll of drums. Kaweshine leads Church and Soldiers on bridge, R.*]

CHURCH. He is found! Philip is our prisoner.

META. No! He lives – last of his race – but still your enemy – lives to defy you still. Though numbers overpower me and treachery surround me, though friends desert me, I defy you still! Come to me – come singly to me! And this true knife that has tasted the foul blood of your nation and now is red with the purest of mine, will feel a grasp as strong as when it flashed in the blaze of your burning dwellings, or was lifted terribly over the fallen in battle.

CHURCH. Fire upon him!

META. Do so, I am weary of the world for ye are dwellers in it; I would not turn upon my heel to save my life.

CHURCH. Your duty, soldiers. [*They fire. Metamora falls. Enter Walter, Oceana, Wolfe, Sir Arthur, Errington, Goodenough, Tramp and Peasants. Roll of drums and trumpet till all on.*]

META. My curses on you, white men! May the Great Spirit curse you when he speaks in his war voice from the clouds! Murderers! The last of the Wampanoags' curse be on you! May your graves and the graves of your children be in the path the red man shall trace! And may the wolf and panther howl o'er your fleshless bones, fit banquet for the destroyers! Spirits of the grave, I come! But the curse of Metamora stays with the white man! I die! My wife! My queen! My Nahmeokee! [*Falls and dies; a tableau is formed. Drums and trumpet sound a retreat till curtain. Slow curtain*]

~~September 13, Wednesday (Old Style): Eight Native Americans were executed on Boston Common, by shooting.~~

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

~~September 15, Friday (Old Style): Three Native Americans were [hanged](#) on Boston Common.~~

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

[Daniel Goble](#) of [Concord](#), in his prison cell in Boston, condemned to be [hanged](#) for his part in the killing of three innocent natives on Mount Misery, made his will on this day, naming his wife Hannah and their four children Hannah who had been born on November 3, 1666 and was thus nine years of age, Daniel who had been born on March 21, 1669 and was thus seven years of age, John who had been born on July 20, 1671 and was thus five years of age, and Elsey who had been born during 1673 and was thus two or three years of age.

The convictions by the General Court of the colony, of these white warriors for the murders of six Christian Indians, convictions, of white men for the mere killing of red women and children, that were so utterly unique in the history of this bloody race conflict, had enraged many of the colonists. For instance, William Marsh was going around the colony blowing hard, telling all and sundry that "there was no feare of those being hanged for there were three or foure hundred men what wold gard them from the gallows." The prisoners had evidently been contacted in the jail, for we find a record also that "There was a nough wold stand to what he had said hoo ... had been att prison to and spoke with those men."

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

September 21, Thursday (Old Style): On Boston Common, [Stephen Goble](#), one of the white Concordian militiamen who had murdered the three nameless Native American women and their three nameless children on [Mount Misery](#), was



[hanged](#) till thou beest dead and the Lord be merciful to thy soul.



On the same platform on this occasion, a woman who was there to be publicly whipped for adultery⁴⁵ mocked this Concordian “instigated by the devil.”

[Stephen Goble](#) of Concord, was executed for murder of Indians: three Indians for firing [Thomas] Eames his house [at Sherborn], and murder [of Eames's wife and some of his children]. The wether was cloudy and rawly cold, though little or no rain. Mr. [Reverend Thomas] Mighil prayed: four others sate on the Gallows, two men and two impudent Women, one of which, at least, Laughed on the Gallows, as several testified.

Presumably, the body of [Stephen Goble](#) was then buried. The bodies of the Native Americans of course were not buried, and presumably it was the practice to give the bodies of “tawny Serpents,” when they were not

45. We may note that the punishment of this Boston adulterer, name not of record, was public whipping, [Nathaniel Hawthorne's](#) THE SCARLET LETTER to the contrary notwithstanding.

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needed for medical training, to the Boston pigs — although I do not know of this for sure.⁴⁶ [Stephen Goble](#) left

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

no wife or child.

~~_____~~


September 22, Friday (Old Style): Major [Samuel Sewall](#) participated in what may have been an attempt to discover whether Native Americans are human beings:

 Spent the day from 9 in the M[orning] with Mr. [Dr. Samuel] Brackenbury, Mr. [Benjamin] Thomson, Butler, [Richard] Hooper, Cragg, [Thomas] Pemberton, dissecting the middlemost of the Indian executed the day before. [Richard Hooper] ... taking the [heart] in his hand, affirmed it to be the stomach.



THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS

We can be quite assured that these men did not cook any part of the body, their interest being scientific. Scientific investigation was, however, only in its beginning stages in these English colonies: for instance, in the late summer of the previous year, to find out whether it was true as rumored that Native American children, little animals, could swim at birth, you will remember that some sailors had upset a canoe in the mouth of the Saco River. The white men had disproved their hypothesis, but they had also gotten into trouble, because the mother of the child managed to retrieve her child and escape, and the child died, and was the child of the sagamore [Squando](#) in Maine.

 Squando was so provoked, that he conceived a bitter antipathy to the English, and employed his great art and influence to excite the Indians against them.

Were these white sailors [hanged](#) for such conduct? We don’t know, of course our histories are silent on such points, but my guess would be, no.⁴⁷

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

46. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)’s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)

In this history of Concord the matter is handled in its totality in a footnote by quoting, allegedly verbatim, from the manuscript of Sewall’s journal, as follows:

“Sept. 21, 1671 [sic], Stephen Gobble [sic] of Concord was executed for the murder of Indians. Three Indians for firing Eames’s house and murder. The weather [sic] was cloudy and rawly cold, though little or no rain. Mr. Mighil prayed. 4 others set [sic] on the gallows – two men and 2 impudent women ; one of which laughed on the gallows, as many [sic] testified.”

47. It has recently been pointed out that, although it is commonly assumed in history books that the period of hostilities began with sneak attacks by red warriors upon defenseless isolated farming families, in fact the peace treaty of the time was arranged in such a way that the native American peoples and cultures would be exterminated whether in their desperation they held to these treaties, and were humiliated and abused individually, or violated these treaties, and made themselves subject to punitive expeditions against entire groupings. Noticing that the situation was constructed in such a manner as to make it a win-win situation for the white people and a lose-lose situation for the red people, one may legitimately infer that it was not constructed in that manner by any accident.




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September 26, Tuesday (Old Style): Another of the [Concord](#) murderers, [Daniel Goble](#), was taken, unable to stand due to some illness, “upon bed cloaths,” to be [hanged](#) on Boston Common (or at least near this common in a square where a gallows tree had been raised), along with five more Native American men found guilty of taking the wrong side in the uprising.

☰ Sagamore Sam goes, and Daniel Goble is drawn in a Cart upon bed Cloaths to Execution.... One ey'd John, Maliompe, Sagamore of Quapaug, General at Lancaster, &c, Jethro (the Father) walk to the Gallows.

One William Marsh, who has sworn he would prevent these hanging of English men, had been being held safe in prison for more than a week.

Daniel was perhaps the uncle of the unmarried youth [Stephen Goble](#) of [Concord](#), who had already been executed on September 21, 1676  for this murder. He left a will, made by him six days before his execution, disposing of an estate amounting to £176, naming his wife Hannah of [Concord](#) and their four children Hannah who had been born on November 3, 1666 and was thus nine years of age, Daniel who had been born on March 21, 1669 and was thus seven years of age, John who had been born on July 20, 1671 and was thus five years of age, and Elsey who had been born during 1673 and was thus two or three years of age.

Another record has it that the natives who were hanged in Boston on this day included “One-ey’d John, Maliompe the Sagamore of Quapaug, and Old Jethro,” the father who had been turned in by his own son Peter Jethro.

Another record has it that the natives who were hanged in Boston on this day included Monoco, who had surrendered to Major Richard Waldron of New Hampshire upon a promise of amnesty, and Muttawmp, and Shoshonin (I don’t know how to account for the difference in names).

We of course notice that this is prior to our signing of the Geneva Convention that specified the treatment which was to be accorded to prisoners of war.⁴⁸

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

48. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)’s [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) handles this matter in its totality in a footnote by quoting, allegedly verbatim, from the manuscript of Sewall’s journal, as follows:

“Sept. 26, 1676, Sagamore Sam goes, and Daniel Goble [sic] is drawn in a cart upon bed-clothes to execution. One-ey’d John, Maliompe, Sagamore of Quaboag, gen’l at Lancaster &c. Jethro (the father) walked to the gallows. One-ey’d John accuses Sag. John to have fired the first gun at Quaboag and killed Capt. Hutchinson.”

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

October 11, Wednesday (Old Style): [John Evelyn](#)'s diary entry for this day was in part as follows:



I went to Lond[on] with Mrs. G[odolphin]

Although [Stephen Goble](#) and [Daniel Goble](#) had been [hanged](#) on Boston Common, the death sentences of the other two [Concord](#) race murderers, the youth [Nathaniel Wilder](#) and his commanding officer, militia Lieutenant [Daniel Hoar](#), were commuted to time served and a small fine ("on payment of cost, and some £10. each to the Indians," "payment of a sum of money to the Indians and costs of prosecution" — see COLONIAL RECORDS V).



"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

[Nathaniel Wilder](#) would go on and, in Sudbury and back in Lancaster, with his wife Mary, have seven children between 1677 and 1694, including Ephraim Wilder, born on April 16, 1677, Mary Wilder, born on May 12, 1679, and Elizabeth Wilder, born on February 14, 1681. The couple would open an inn in Lancaster and accumulate a sizeable estate. He would have risen to the rank of lieutenant in the local militia when killed by native Americans during an attack upon the garrison, on July 31, 1704.

[Daniel Hoar](#), a nephew of the troublesome attorney [John Hoar](#) of Concord, would marry on July 19, 1677 with Mary Stratton, daughter of Samuel Stratton, and they would have a son John Hoar, born on October 24, 1678, Daniel Hoar, born about 1680, Leonard Hoar, Jonathan Hoar, Joseph Hoar, Benjamin Hoar, Mary Hoar, born on March 14, 1689, Samuel Hoar, born on April 6, 1691, Isaac Hoar, born on May 15, 1695, David Hoar, born on November 14, 1698; and Elizabeth Hoar, born on February 22, 1701. He would thus become a grandfather of Concord's righteous Squire Samuel Hoar and a great-grandfather of Edward Sherman Hoar, George Frisbie Hoar, Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, Elizabeth Sherman Hoar, etc. Having pumped eleven children through his 1st wife Mary Stratton Hoar, he would then on October 16, 1717 take a Mary Lee as his 2nd wife.



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Anonymous: **A TRUE ACCOUNT** Of the Most **CONSIDERABLE OCCURRENCES** That have hapned in the **WARRE BETWEEN THE ENGLISH and the INDIANS IN New-England,** From the Fifth of *May, 1676*, to the Fourth of *August* last; as also of the Successes it hath pleased God to give the *English* against them : As it hath been communicated by Letters to a Friend in *London*. The most Exact Account yet Printed. ... Licensd, *October 11. 1676. Roger L'Estrange.*
LONDON, Printed for *Benjamin Billingsley* at the Printing-Prefs in *Cornhill*, 1676.
March of America Facsimile Series, Number 29. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

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STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

~~October 12, Thursday (Old Style): Two Native Americans were executed on Boston Common.~~

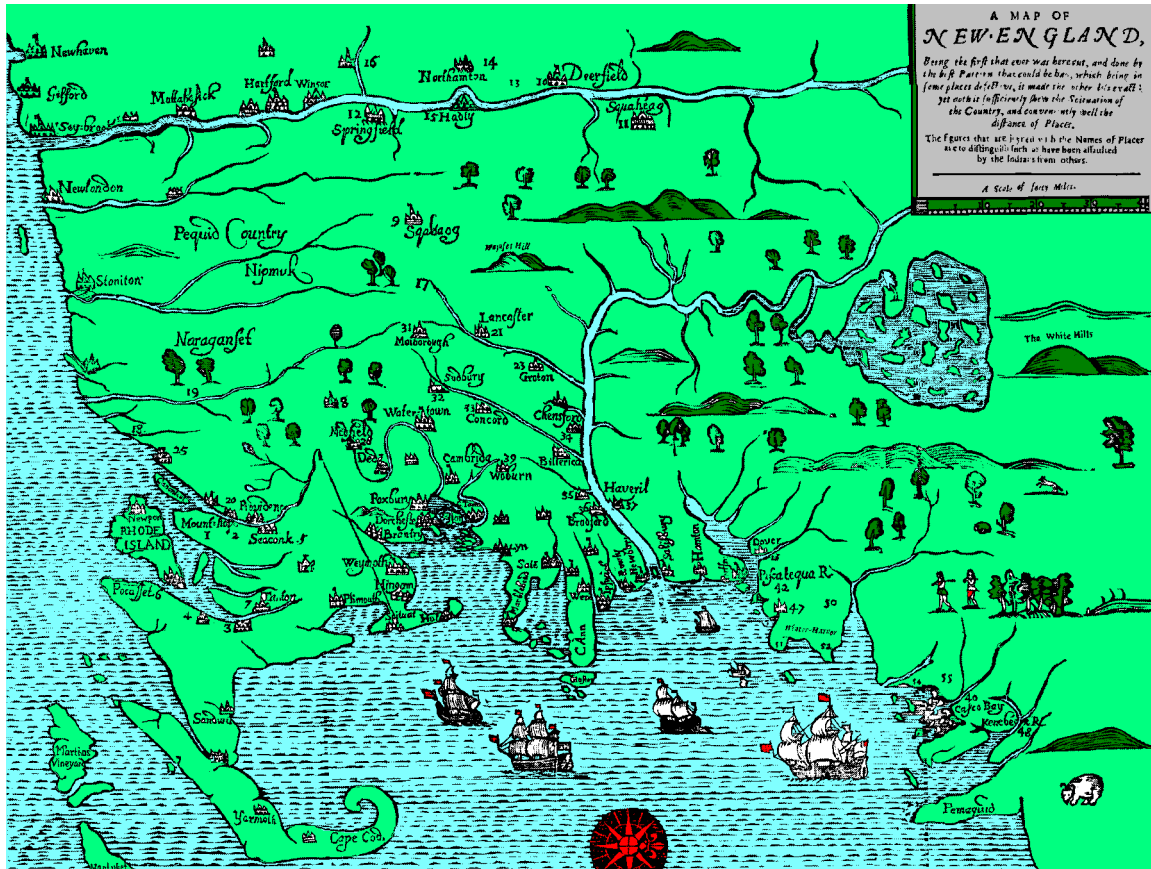


Later, some of the surviving local tribespeople would be returning to Concord to serve as indentured servants, and see white farmers in control of what had been their fields. —And any runaways from this period of indenture, if recaptured, could under the laws of the time be sold by their employers into lifelong foreign

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

slavery.⁴⁹



“Land! Land! Hath been the idol of many in New England!”—Increase Mather

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

I, Concord, have power, take notice
To carry towns and move millstones
Yes, I am an invincible one for all enemies
But sighing and weeping will overwhelm those who crush my followers
And they will lose their refuge with great shame
As has become clear in various lands
But whoever loves me and keeps me in mind
He must lock up Discord
Or otherwise he’ll find himself deceived in the end.⁵⁰

49. Wheeler, Ruth R. CONCORD: CLIMATE FOR FREEDOM. Concord MA: The Concord Antiq. Soc., 1967, page 54:



After a successful search for Biblical precedents, these poor Indians were sold into slavery.

New England Native Americans of the Wampanoag, Narragansett, and Nipmuc groups were sold into slavery not only in Virginia and Bermuda and the islands of the West Indies such as Jamaica, but also in the Azores, and in Spain and Portugal. By 1775, there would be only 1,500 Nipmuc left – and by Thoreau’s time there would be none at all. Generally, with exceptions, adult males were hanged on suspicion of having been warriors, and it was only women and children who were sold as slaves. The slavery situation was particularly difficult due to the well-deserved reputation of Americans, that they made difficult slaves. One of the slave vessels was turned away in port after port, and had to dispose of its cargo finally in Tangier.

50. Translated from this woodcut prepared by Cornelis Anthonisz, “The Misuse of Prosperity.” (The Increase Mather quote on the previous page is cited in Slotkin & Folsom, SO DREADFULL A JUDGEMENT, pages 71-2.)

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STATE MURDER



The Reverend John Higginson declared the hostilities to be a test, to probe “whether, according to our profession and [God’s] expectation, we would keep his commandments, or not.”⁵¹ The Concord murders indicate that war is not the best way to incite people to keep the commandment “Thou shalt not kill.”

Of course, one might have anticipated some such finding.

51. Quoted in the Reverend Cotton Mather’s *MAGNALIA CHRISTI AMERICANA* (Hartford CT: Silas Andrus & Son, 1855), Volume I, page 16.

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November 9, Thursday (Old Style): The Reverend Edward Bulkeley declared that

God hath been pleased to look with favor on his people, helping them to repel the heathen that had burst like a flood upon so many of our towns. Of the several tribes risen against us, there now scarce remains a name or family in their former habitations but are either slain, captive, or fled into remote parts of this wilderness. Let us give praise to God for His singular and fatherly mercies.



"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

The Reverend [Cotton Mather](#)'s comment, later, was, at the very least, heartily Un-Christian, or headily Christian:

*God sent 'em in the head of a Leviathan for a **thanksgiving feast**.*

THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS

How similar this comment, by the right Reverend, to the cynical 20th-Century comment heard so frequently on sportscasts, "Lo, how the mighty have fallen!" Was our founding father serving for his time and place the function now filled by the TV news commentator? —One might suggest that the divine seems to have missed the difference between praying and preying.⁵² We will notice in this incident that people were not so fastidious then as they now are, for the severed head of the Native American leader had been on display on a gibbet in Plymouth for 20 years when Reverend Mather saw it, and by that point had evidently stopped rotting and stinking — so he was able to reach out his hand and tear the jawbone away from the skull and take it home as a souvenir.⁵³

... the hand which now writes, upon a certain occasion took off the jaw from the exposed skull of that blasphemous leviathan.

That pagan was "blasphemous," it seems, because before Christians killed him he had commented to the Reverend John Eliot that he cared no more for the Gospel than he did for a button upon his coat.



"We despite all reverences and all the objects of reverence which are outside the pale of our own list of sacred things. And yet, with strange inconsistency, we are shocked when other people despise and defile the things which are holy to us."

— Mark Twain



52. Actually, that pun is from the period in question, offered to history by (among others) a New England racist named Nathaniel Saltonstall:

They that wear the Name of Praying Indians have made Preys of much English Blood.

53. Refer to "Brief History," page 197.



STATE MURDER

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It has recently been pointed out that, although it is commonly assumed in history books that the period of hostilities began with sneak attacks by red warriors upon defenseless isolated farming families, in fact the peace treaty of the time was arranged in such a way that the Native American peoples and cultures would be exterminated whether in their desperation they had held to these treaties, and had been humiliated and abused individually, or had violated these treaties and thereby rendered themselves liable to punitive expeditions against entire groupings. Noticing that the situation was constructed in such a manner as to make it a win/win situation for the white people and a lose/lose situation for the red people, one may legitimately infer that it was not constructed in that manner by any accident.

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

According to one commentator, taking into account the small population figures for the time, this race war that broke out in New England in the 1670s inflicted a greater proportion of casualties than any other war in United States history, more than even the Civil War. We may legitimately assume, however, on the basis of the fact that these comments were made in the 1950s, that the population figures the white scholar was referring to were the population figures for white people, and that his use of the word "our" in this context can be expanded to mean precisely "we white folks." Because the casualty rate among non-whites, in this combat which spared not the noncombatant, nor the woman nor the child, —and in the period of ethnic cleansing which followed, in which any Native American of the New England region who could not get a white person to vouch for him or her was sold into slavery⁵⁴ with the proceeds of the sale going either to the nearest white man or to the government— must most assuredly have been vastly higher. Another historical commentator, commenting in a more recent period, and this time actually paying attention to the recorded names of white people who had been killed in the fighting or who had died of wounds shortly afterward, has concluded that the white "body count" was vastly exaggerated by the rumor mill that was of course grinding in that era, and that in actual fact the desperate native Americans only managed to kill approximately 100 white people, or at most somewhat less than 200, before they were hunted down in the forest.

So let all thine Enemies perish, O Lord!

Another interesting statistic is that, with the forest cleared of "tawny Serpents," there was a great resurgence of game species. When the white hunters found it safe to venture again into the forests, they found New England just teeming with things they could kill. Only the local beaver, which had been hunted virtually to extinction by 1670 in order to obtain trade goods from Europe, would fail to make a significant comeback after this race slaughter.

54. One of these 10-year-old Native American booties of war would provide service in the home of the family of the Reverend Roger Williams. Since this Reverend is now generally held to have been a really great guy (champion of religious liberty and all that), let us piously hope that this young charge was able to take full advantage of the opportunity of having such a fine role model so early in life — and that in consequence he grew up to be a really decent person.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1681

October 2, Sunday (Old Style): Maria, the black servant of Joshua Lamb of Roxbury, Massachusetts who had set his home on fire burning a child to death, was executed on Boston common. The record is unclear as to whether she was conscious at the point at which she was “burnt to Ashes in the fier [*sic*].”⁵⁵

COLDBLOODED MURDER

55. Note that this Maria was not the same person as the Mary Hale who was tried as a witch in Boston during this year. The woman accused of witchcraft was acquitted, and anyway, Waldo Emerson’s comment to the contrary notwithstanding, we have no record that any person accused of witchcraft in New England was ever executed by burning rather than by hanging.




STATE MURDER

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1682

Tobacco yards were to be seen at this point in [Ipswich](#), and this would continue until 1783, scarcely any [tobacco](#) being imported to the region. Local use of tobacco would continue into the new century before resistance would begin to arise:



Many families would have their spots of land for cultivating it, and their mode of twisting it, and curing it with molasses and rum so as to render it more palatable. Segars were very little used till after the peace of Independence. Pipes and a large box of tobacco for smoking were in daily and extensive use. They were considered, till within thirty years, as essential for the entertainment of company, as the chibouque and its apparatus are in Turkey. It is matter of consolation, that tobacco, though consumed much more than either cleanliness, comfort, health, or temperance justifies, has begun to loose its hold on the vitiated appetite of thousands, and that there is some prospect of its going down to the deep degradation of intoxicating liquors. Had the liquid, which the affrighted servant of Raleigh threw upon him, so effectually quenched his zeal for rendering tobacco fashionable, as it fully drenched his smoking head, and thus no imitators of this noble lord been found, a vast amount of evil would have been prevented in the civilized world.

When Virginia's Middle Peninsula "malcontents" destroyed their fields of planted [tobacco](#) and also the fields of neighboring farmers in what was known as the plant-cutter riots, because of low wholesale prices –prices that were low due to overproduction– "the vengeance of the government fell heavily" on [Major Robert Beverley, Sr.](#), who it seems because of some loose talk while intoxicated was being blamed as "the principal instigator of these disturbances." Beverley would be jailed for this loose talk and would lose all his positions. Indeed, the Virginia legislature would in 1684 classify such destructive of growing crops as a capital crime.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT



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1684

In 1682, low prices due to overproduction had led to riots in Virginia in which planters burned not only their own crops of [tobacco](#), but also the fields of their neighbors. The Virginia legislature responded by making such destructive overreactions subject to the death penalty.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

March 5, Wednesday (1683, Old Style): John Dick, son of an Edinburgh lawyer, a graduate of Edinburgh University, had been among the Presbyterian Covenanters deemed outlaws during the reign of King Charles II. He was brought before the Committee of Public Affairs, sentenced to be [hanged](#), and placed in one of the two large upper cells of the Canongate tollbooth. The 24 men in that cell had, however, sawed through the iron bars of their window and made their escape. Six months had gone by, in which the Reverend Dick completed his 58-page TESTIMONY TO THE DOCTRINE, WORSHIP, DISCIPLINE, AND GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH OF [SCOTLAND](#) AND THE COVENANTED WORK OF REFORMATION IN THE THREE KINGDOMS, and he had been recaptured. On the scaffold in Edinburgh on this day he sang PSALM 2, read EZEKIEL 9, and preached a final sermon: “Remember when Abraham was about to sacrifice his son? Isaac said, ‘Here is the wood, and the fire, but where is the sacrifice?’” He turned and gazed upon the gallows. “Now blessed be the Lord,” he said, “here is the sacrifice.”)

October 21, Tuesday (Old Style): On [St. Helena](#), the soldier Adam Dennison had been imprisoned for having quoted the Deputy-Governor, Captain Robert Holden, to the effect that the primary allegiance of the people of island needed to be to the East India Company rather than the British Crown. Several planters and soldiers marched on the fort to free him, but the guards opened fire and 3 were killed and 14 wounded. Four of these marchers would be [hanged](#) as mutineers and some few, in accordance with a long-standing policy of never housing local prisoners locally, banished to the island of Barbados. A court martial in the following year would produce hanging or transportation for an additional five.

ST. HELENA RECORDS

December 23, Tuesday-24, Wednesday (Old Style): There was a court martial on [St. Helena](#), by six members of the island’s garrison and Captain James Marriner and five officers of the *Royal James*. William Bowyer and 4 others were found guilty and condemned to death and Bowyer would be [hanged](#) while the others would wind up being instead transported to Barbados. The wife of one of the rebellious planters, Mrs. Martha Bolton, for having called Deputy-Governor Robert Holden a bad name, would receive 21 lashes and be ducked 3 times in the sea.⁵⁶

ST. HELENA THE HISTORIC

56. What’s new about waterboarding is the suggestion that it can be used as a way to gather information, rather than merely a convenient and effective technique of abuse or punishment by torture. The idea, sponsored by President George W. Bush, that it is a prompt and efficient way to collect reliable information, was recognized all along as a fantasy by the CIA, a government agency that knew very well that “information” collected in such a manner was bound to be unreliable — because a prisoner being tortured will almost always tell the torturer whatever it is that he imagines the torturer wants to hear.



STATE MURDER

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1685

January 31, Saturday (1684, Old Style): On [St. Helena](#), William Bowyer was [hanged](#).

ST. HELENA RECORDS

June 28, Sunday (June 18, Old Style): Both Houses of Parliament passed, and [King James II](#) approved, an act of attainder in regard to James, Duke of Monmouth, one of the numerous opportunizing illegitimate sons of [King Charles II](#) by various of his series of mistresses.

Archibald Campbell, 9th Earl of Argyll, was captured while crossing the river Clyde in Scotland. He would be [beheaded](#) as his father before him had been, on the “Scottish Maiden” in Edinburgh (now on display in the National Museum of Scotland). Below is a British coin on which the corpses of the Dukes of Monmouth and Argyle can be viewed as they lie without their heads:



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STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

July 15, Wednesday (Old Style): The head of [James Scott, Duke of Monmouth](#) (originally named James Crofts or James Fitzroy, he was one of King Charles II's numerous bastard sons by various mistresses) was removed for the treason of having led a rebellion, on Tower Hill near the [Tower of London](#), in [London](#).



It seems it took Jack Ketch, official headchopper, some five to eight blows to get the head entirely severed (sources differ as to the precise number of strokes). On this coin we can see that the severed head, with considerable artistic license, is spouting blood from its mouth, almost as if it were trying to tell us something.

[HEADCHOPPING](#)

[John Evelyn](#)'s diary entry for this day was in part as follows:



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*I went to Lond[on] to see Dr. Tenisons Library, returned in the Evening:
 This day was Monmoth brought to Lond[on] examin'd before the King to whom he made greate submission, accknowledg'd his seduction by Fergusson the Scot, whom he named the bloody Villain: thence sent to the Tower, had an enterview with his late Dutchesse, whom he received coldly, having lived dishonestly with the Lady Hen: Wentworth for two years; from obstinately asserting his conversation with that debauched woman to be no sin, seing he could not be perswaded to his last breath, the Divines, who were sent to assist him, thought not fit to administer the holy Communion to him: for the rest of his faults he professed greate sorrow, and so died without any apparent feare, would make use of no cap, or other circumstance, but lying downe bid the fellow do his office better than to my late Lord Russell, & gave him gold: but the wretch made five Chopps before he had his head off, which so incens'd the people, that had he not ben guarded & got away they would have torne him in pieces: He made no Speech on the Scaffold (which was on Tower-hill) but gave a paper (containing not above 5 or 6 lines) for the King, in which he disclaimes all Title to the Crowne, accknowledges that the late King (his Father) had indeede told him, he was but his base sonn, & so desire'd his Majestie to be kind to his Wife & Children: This relation I had from the Mouth of Dr. Tenison Rector of St. Martines, who with the Bishops of Ely & Bath & Wells, was one of the divines his Majestie sent to him, & were at the execution: Thus ended this quondam Duke, darling of his Father, and the Ladys, being extraordi[na]rily handsome, and adroit: an excellent souldier, & dauncer, a favorite of the people, of an Easy nature, debauched by lust, seduc'd by crafty knaves who would have set him up onely to make a property; tooke this opportunity of his Majestie being of another Religion, to gather a party of discontented; failed of it, and perished:
 He was a lovely person, had a vertuous & excellent Lady that brought him greate riches & a second Dukedome in Scotland; Was Master of the Horse, Gen. of the K[ing] his fathers Army, Gent[leman] of the Bed chamber: Knight of the Garter, Chancellor of Camb: in a Word had accumulations without end: Se[e] what Ambition and want of principles brought him to. He was beheaded on Tuesday the 14th July: His mother (whose name was Barlow, daughter of some very meane Creatures) was a beautifull strumpet, whom I had often seene at Paris, & died miserably, without anything to bury her: Yet had this Perkin ben made believe, the King had married her: which was a monstrous forgerie, & ridiculous: & to satisfie the world the iniquitie of the report, the King his father (if his Father he realy were, for he most resembled one Sidney familiar with his mother) publicuely & most solemnly renounced it, and caused it to be so entred in the Council booke some yeares since, with all the Privy Counsel[o]rs attestation.*

August 5, Wednesday (Old Style): As [Magistrate Samuel Sewall](#) was riding from [Boston](#) to Dorchester Lecture, he noticed that a few feet of ground had been enclosed with boards,

which is done by the [Quakers](#) out of respect to some one or more [hung](#) and buried near the gallows though the governor forbade them when they asked leave.

This would have been the location of the hollow into which the bodies of [Marmaduke Stevenson](#) and [William Robinson](#) had been dumped on Boston Common, where in 1675 at night three Friends (one of them probably Friend Edward Wharton of Salem) had put up an illegal memorial. The marker that they had also put up had been immediately effaced by the citizenry, leaving only their little fence of boards:

Although our Bodies here
 in silent Earth do lie,
 Yet are our Righteous Souls at Rest.
 Our Blood for Vengance cry.

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1686

Clergymen such as the Reverend Increase Mather and his son the Reverend Cotton Mather were not merely opposed to English interference with their Puritan state but also of course opposed to [witches](#) and/or [Quakers](#) and/or [pirates](#). When the infamous James Morgan was [hanged](#) for piracy in this year in [Boston](#), the father, the Reverend Increase Mather, preached the execution sermon to a crowd of some 5,000 people who had assembled from afar to celebrate such a grand event — some of these people had been in town for a week waiting patiently, having journeyed from as far as the valley of the [Connecticut River](#).



May 2, Sunday (April 22, Old Style): The Privy Council ordered the [common hangman](#) to burn publicly before the Royal Exchange, one copy in the original French of the Huguenot refugee Jean Claude's anonymous *LES PLAINTES DES [PROTESTANTS](#) CRUELLEMENT OPPRIMEZ DANS LE ROYAUME DE FRANCE*, 192 pages printed in Cologne chez Pierre Marteau MD.C.LXXXVI, and one copy in an anonymous English translation in 48 pages that had subsequently appeared, AN ACCOUNT OF THE PERSECUTIONS AND OPPRESSIONS OF THE PROTESTANTS IN FRANCE. When it was brought to the attention of [King James II](#) that such an action would be viewed as entirely unprecedented, over the top, he explained his decision most frankly by expressing a kingly circle-the-wagons mindset:

My resolution is taken. It has become the fashion to treat Kings disrespectfully; and they must stand by each other. One King should always take another's part; and I have particular reasons for showing this respect to the King of France.

According to the above explanation, it seemed necessary that all the kings of the world stand united to keep under control all the non-kingly citizenry of the world — apparently because there was a need to safeguard the powerful against unseemly depredations by the powerless. The matter would be detailed in a following issue of the [London Gazette](#):

Whitehall, May 8. The French Ambassador [Paul Barillon] having, by a Memorial, complained to His Majesty, That a Book, intituled, 'Les Plaintes des Protestants cruellement opprimés dans le Royaume de France,' was sold and dispersed in this Kingdom: in which Book are many Falsities, and scandalous Reflections upon the Most Christian King: And that the said Book was likewise Translated into English, and Printed here. His



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Majesty was pleased to Order, That diligent Enquiry should be made after the Translator and Printer of the same, that they may be prosecuted according to Law: And that a printed Copy of the said Book in French, and another in English, should be Publickly burnt by the hands of the Common Hangman; which was accordingly put in execution on Wednesday last, before the Royal Exchange. No. 2136. Monday, May 10, 1686.

(By means of this one incident –the callous attitude expressed by this English monarch in the face of the suffering of refugee families such as the Thoreaus– do we not possess a complete historical explanation for the “Glorious Revolution” that would shortly come to the British Isles?)

LES PLAINTES DES PROTESTANS

An understanding that [King James II](#) was himself determinedly of the [Catholic](#) faith, and some entries in the current diary of Evelyn, may help us understand what had been going on here in the background of this news item. In [John Evelyn](#)'s entry for March 29th we learn that ministers in English Protestant churches had been using their bully pulpits to protest the cruelties of the French Catholic king toward his Protestant subjects, who (like the Thoreaus) were fleeing in great numbers to Protestant-dominated England:

March 29, Monday (Old Style): *I return'd home:*

The Duke of Northumberland (a Natural sonn of the late King, by the Dutchesse of Cleaveland, an impudent woman) marrying very meanely, with the help of his bro[ther] Grafton, attempted to spirit away his Wife &c:

A Brieft was read in all the Churches for Relieving the French Protestants who came here for protection, from the unheard-off, cruelties of their King:

April 15, Thursday (Old Style): *I went to Mr. Cooks funerall, a Merchant my kind Neighbour at Greenewich where our Viccar preach'd the sermon: 2. Tim: 4:- 6.7.8: proper on the Occasion: Little Fr: Godolphin was now sick of the small pox, I pray God be gracious to that precious Chld:*

The Arch-Bish[op] of Yorke now died of the small-pox, aged 62 yeares, a Corpulent man; My special loving Friend, & whilst our Bish[op] of Rochester (from whence he was translated) my excellent Neighbour, an unexpressible losse to the whole Church, & that Province especialy, he being a learned, Wise, stoute, and most worthy prelate; so as I looke on this as a greate stroke to the poore Church of England now in this defecting period:

April 18, Sunday (Old Style): *Our Viccar on his former Text & most of it repetition:*

Afternoone I went to Camberwell to visite Dr. Par: but sate so inconveniently at Church, that I could very hardly heare his Text, which was 5.Heb:9: After sermon I went to the Doctors house, where he shew'd me The life and Letters of the late learned Primate of Armagh, Usher, and among them that letter of Bish[op] Bramhals to the Primate, giving notice of the popish practices to pervert this nation, by sending an hundred priests &c into England, who were to conforme themselves to all Sectaries, and Conditions for the more easily dispersing their doctrine amongst us: This Letter was the cause of the whole Impressions being seiz'd on, upon pretence, that it was a political or historical account, of things, not relating to Theologie, though it had ben licenc'd by the Bish[op] &c: which plainely shewe'd what an Interest the Popish now had, that a Protestant Booke, containing the life, & letters of so eminent a man was not to be publish'd. There were also many letters to & from most of the learned persons his correspondents in Europ: but The Booke will, (I doubt not) struggle through this unjust impediment.

April 20, Tuesday (Old Style): *To Lond[on] a seale - & to see little Godolphin now, I blesse God, in an hope full way of Escape: Severall Judges put out, & new complying ones put in.*



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April 24, Saturday (Old Style): *I returned home, found my Coach-man dangerously ill of vomiting greate quantities of blood:*

May 5, Wednesday (Old Style): *To Lond[on] There being a Seale, it was feared we should be required to passe a Doquett, Dispensing with Dr. Obadia Walker & 4 more, wheroff one an Apostate Curate at Putney, the other Master of University Coll[ege] Ox: to hold their Masterships, fellowships & Cures, & keepe pub: schooles & enjoy all former emoluments &c. notwithstanding they no more frequented, or used the pub: formes of Prayers, or Communion with the Church of England, or tooke the Test, & oathes of Allegiance & Supremacy, contrary to 20 Acts of Parliaments &c: which Dispensation being likewise repugnant to his Majesties owne gracious declaration at the begining of his Reigne, gave umbrage (as well it might) to every good Protestant: nor could we safely have passed it under the Privy-Seale: wherefore it was don by Immediate warrant, sign'd by Mr. Solicitor &c at which I was not a little glad: This Walker was a learned person, of a munkish life, to whose Tuition I had more than 30 yeares since, recommended the sonns of my worthy friend Mr. Hyldiard of Horsley in Surry: believing him to be far from what he proved, an hypocritical concealed papist, by which he perverted the Eldest son of Mr. Hyldyard, Sir Ed. Hales's eld: son & severall more [&] to the greate disturbance of the whole nation, as well as the University, as by his now publique defection appeared: All engines being now at worke to bring in popery amaine, which God in mercy prevent:*

This day was burnt, in the old Exchange, by the publique Hang-man, a booke (supposed to be written by the famous Monsieur Claude) relating the horrid massacres & barbarous proceedings of the Fr:King against his Protestant subjects, without any refutation, that might convince it of any thing false: so mighty a power & ascendant here, had the French Ambassador: doubtlesse in greate Indignation at the pious & truly generous Charity of all the Nation, for the reliefe of those miserable sufferers, who came over for shelter:

About this time also, The Duke of Savoy, instigated by the Fr:King to exterpate the Protestants of Piemont, slew many thousands of those innocent people, so as there seemed to be a universal designe to destroy all that would not Masse it, thro[ugh] out Europ, as they had power; quod avertat D.O.M.

I procur'd of my L[ord] president of the Council, the nomination of a son of Mrs. Cock, a Widdow (formerly living plentifully, now falln to want) to be chosen into the Charter-house Schoole, which would be a competent subsistence for him:

May 7, Friday (Old Style): *I return'd home:*

May 8, Saturday (Old Style): *Died my sick Coachman of his feavor, to my greate grieve, being a very honest, faithfull servant: I beseech the Lord, to take-off his afflicting hand, in his good time.*

May 9, Sunday (Old Style): ... The Duke of Savoy, instigated by the French [king], put to the sword many of his protestant subjects: No faith in Princes.

HUGUENOTS

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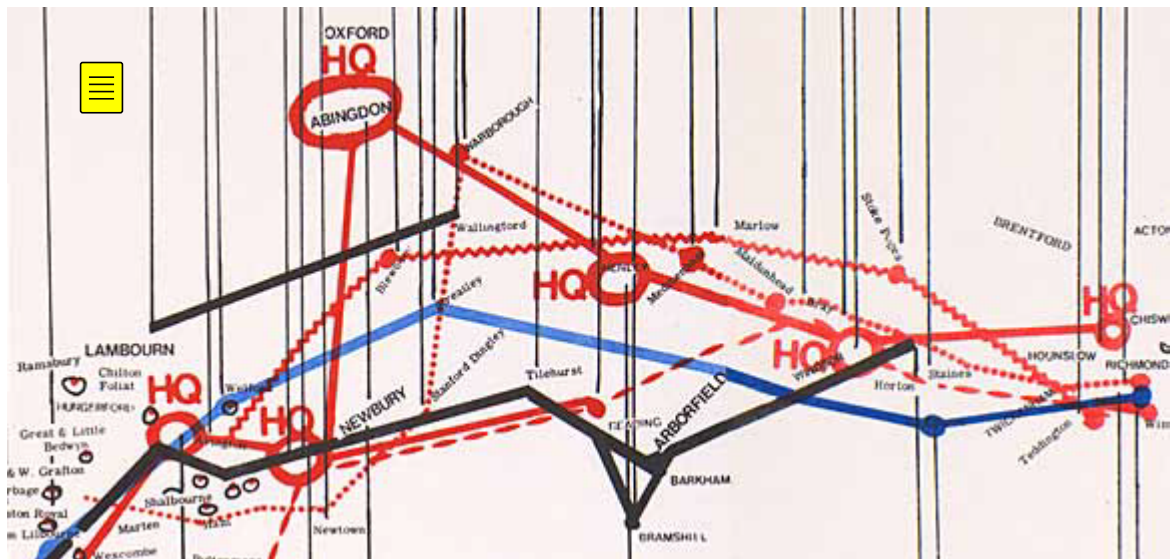
STATE MURDER

1688

November 15, Monday (November 5, Old Style): Annie “Goody” Glover of Salem, the [Irish](#) immigrant who had confessed and been found guilty of [witchcraft](#), was [hanged](#) on [Boston Neck](#).



The fleet of [William, Prince of Orange](#) arrived at Tor Bay on the coast of the English Channel and his army began to disembark.



The relevant news item, per the journal of [John Evelyn](#):



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*Being the anniversary of the powder plot, our Viccar preach'd on 76. Psal. 10. by divers
Instances: shewing the disasters & punishments overtaking perfidious designs.*



September: It is quite clear, from a letter written from England by Governor [William Penn](#) to his deputy-governor Blackwell in Philadelphia, that the Quaker testimony against war did not extend to any refusal to suppress crime by the exaction of a death penalty: “[T]he murderous woman’s sentence should proceed, the case being notorious and barbarous.” (This [hanging](#) we are here considering, however, seems to have been the only execution which would take place in Pennsylvania during the 17th Century.)

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)



STATE MURDER

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1690

April 25: The Lent Assizes at York, before the Honourable Sir John Powell, Knight, then one of the Judges of Assize, established that William Barwick had, on April 14th, murdered his wife Mary Barwick.⁵⁷

In the following relation, I have kept strictly up to the motives which I have mentioned in the beginning of this Appendix, and I hope that will atone for the inserting of this story, which I confess can be of no other use than to gratify the curiosity of the reader.

As murder is one of the greatest crimes that man can be guilty of, so it is no less strangely and providentially discovered when secretly committed. The foul criminal believes himself secure, because there was no witness of the fact. Not considering that the all-seeing eye of Heaven beholds his iniquity, and by some means or other bringing it to light, never permits it to go unpunished. Indeed, so certainly does the revenge of God pursue the abominated murderer, that when witnesses are wanting of the fact, the very ghosts of the murdered parties cannot rest quiet in their graves until they have made the detection themselves. Of this we are now to give the reader two remarkable examples that lately happened in Yorkshire, and no less signal for the truth of both tragedies, as being confirmed by the trial of the offenders at the last assizes held for that county.

The first of these murders was committed by William Barwick, upon the body of Mary Barwick his wife, at the same time big with child. What were the motives that induced the man to do this horrid fact does not appear by the examination of the evidence, or the confession of the party; only it appeared upon his trial that he had got her with child before he married her, that being then constrained to marry her, he grew weary of her, which was the reason he was so willing to be rid of her, though he ventured body and soul to accomplish his design.

The murder was committed on Palm Monday, being then the fourteenth of April, about two o'clock in the afternoon, at which time the said Barwick drilled his wife along until he came to a certain close, within sight of Cawood Castle, where he found the conveniency of a pond. He threw her by force into the water, and when she was drowned and drawn forth again by himself upon the bank of the pond, he had the cruelty to behold the motion of the infant, yet warm in her womb. This done, he concealed the body, as it may readily be supposed, among the bushes that usually encompass a pond, and the next night when it grew dusk, fetching a hay spade from a rick that stood in the close, he made a hole by the side of the pond, and there slightly buried the woman in her clothes. Having thus despatched two at once, and thinking himself secure, because unseen, he went the same day to his brother-in-law, one Thomas Lofthouse of Rusforth, within three miles of York, who had married his drowned wife's sister, and told him he had carried his wife to one Richard Harrison's house in Selby, who was his uncle, and would take care of her.

57. LIVES OF THE MOST REMARKABLE CRIMINALS WHO HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED FOR MURDER, THE HIGHWAY, HOUSEBREAKING, STREET ROBBERIES, COINING OR OTHER OFFENCES / COLLECTED FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS AND AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS, AND PUBLISHED IN 1735 / Edited by Arthur L. Hayward



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But Heaven would not be so deluded, but raised up the ghost of the murdered woman to make the discovery. It was Easter Tuesday following, about two-o'clock in the afternoon, that the aforementioned Lofthouse, having occasion to water a quickset hedge not far from his house, as he was going for the second pailful, an apparition went before him in the shape of a woman, and soon after set down against a rising green grass plot, right over against the pond. He walked by her as he went to the pond, and as he returned with the pail from the pond, looking sideways to see whether she continued in the same place, he found she did, and that she seemed to dandle something in her lap that looked like a white bag, as he thought, which he did not observe before. So soon as he had emptied his pail, he went into his yard and stood still to turn whether he could see her again, but she was vanished. In this information he says that the woman seemed to be habited in a brown-coloured petticoat, waistcoat and a white hood, such a one as his wife's sister usually wore, and that her countenance looked extremely pale and wan, with her teeth in sight, but no gums appearing, and that her physiognomy was like that of his wife's sister, who was wife to William Barwick. But notwithstanding the ghastliness of the apparition, it seems it made so little impression on Lofthouse's mind that he thought no more of it, neither did he speak to anybody concerning it until the same night, as he was at family duty of prayers, when that apparition returned again to his thoughts, and discomposed his devotion; so that after he had made an end of his prayers, he told the whole story of what he had seen to his wife, who laying circumstances together, immediately inferred that her sister was either drowned or otherwise murdered, and desired her husband to look after her the next day, which was the Wednesday in Easter week. Upon this, Lofthouse, recollecting what Barwick had told him of his carrying his wife to his uncle at Selby, repaired to Harrison before-mentioned, but found all that Barwick had said to be false, for Harrison had neither heard of Barwick nor his wife, neither did he know anything of them. Which notable circumstance, together with that other of the apparition, increased his suspicion to that degree that now concluding his wife's sister was murdered, he went to the Lord Mayor of York. And having obtained his warrant, he got Barwick apprehended; who was no sooner brought before the Lord Mayor, but his own conscience then accusing him, he acknowledged the whole matter, as it has been already related, and as it appears by the examination and confession herewith printed.

On Wednesday, the 16th of September, 1690, the criminal, William Barwick, was brought to his trial before the Honourable Sir John Powel, Knight, one of the judges of the Northern Circuit, at the assizes held at York, where the prisoner pleaded not guilty to his indictment. But upon the evidence of Thomas Lofthouse and his wife, and a third person, that the woman was found buried in her clothes, close by the pond side, agreeable to the prisoner's confession, and that she had several bruises on her head, occasioned by the blows the murderer had given her to keep her under water, and upon reading the prisoner's confession before the Lord Mayor of York, attested by the clerk who wrote the confession, and who swore the prisoner's owning and signing it for truth, he was found guilty and sentenced to death, and afterwards ordered to be [hanged](#) in chains.

All the defence that the prisoner made was only this, that he



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was threatened into the confession that he had made, and was in such a consternation that he did not know what he said or did; but then it was sworn to by two witnesses that there was no such thing as any threatening made use of, but that he made a free and voluntary confession, only with this addition at first, that he told the Lord Mayor he had sold his wife for five shillings, but not being able to name either the person or the place, where she might be produced, that was looked upon as too frivolous to outweigh circumstances that were too apparent.

The Examination of William Barwick, taken the 25th of April, 1690

Who sayeth and confesseth that he carried his wife over a certain wainbridge, called Bishop Dyke Bridge, between Cawood and Sherburn; and within a lane about one hundred yards from the said bridge, and on the left hand of the said bridge, he and his wife went over a stile, on the left hand of a certain gate, entering into a certain close, on the left hand of the said lane; and in a pond in the said close, adjoining to a quick-wood hedge, he did drown his wife and upon a bank of the said pond did bury her, and further, that he was within sight of Cawood Castle, on the left hand, and there was but one hedge betwixt the said close where he drowned his wife, and the Bishops Slates, belonging to the said castle.

William Barwick *Exam, capt. did etc. anno super dict. coram me.*

S. Dawson, Mayor



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1691

May 16, Saturday (Old Style): In [New-York](#), Captain [William Kidd](#) and the grass widow Sarah Bradley Cox Oort applied for a marriage license. This was 2 days after the sudden and mysterious death of her husband John Oort — his body had hardly had a chance to grow cold. There were rumors, of course, but nothing provable, so William and Sarah and Sarah's two daughters would be able to settle into domesticity. The [privateer](#) captain thus came into possession of grand properties overlooking the Hudson River, and the promise of a family box pew in Trinity Church when that structure would be erected in 1698.



PIRACY

Having been duly condemned to be hanged “by the Neck and being Alive their bodyes be Cutt downe to Earth and Their Bowells to be taken out and they being Alive, burnt before their faces,” [Jacob Leisler](#) and his son-in-law [Jacob Milborne](#) were led to the gallows, which had been erected on the execution levels near the [New-York](#) City Hall, and hanged in a cold rain for treason before what seems to have been the largest crowd assembled in the colony to that date (6 others had been reprieved). Before being [strangle-hung](#) and then [beheaded](#) “halfe dead,” Leisler explained that his objective had been merely to protect the [New York](#) colony from popery.

ANTI-CATHOLICISM



STATE MURDER

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1692

June 8, Wednesday (Old Style): Judge William Stoughton signed the execution order of the condemned [witch](#), Bridgett Bishop. An interesting fact is to be noted here, that it would only take the [Salem](#) high sheriff a couple of days to get around to [hanging](#) her — but then it would take him four additional days before he would get around to certifying that he had offed her. Hey, Sheriff George, the job's not done until the paperwork's complete!

To George Corwin Gentlm high Sheriff of the County of Essex
Greeting

Whereas Bridgett Bishop als Olliver the wife of Edward Bishop of Salem in the County of Essex Sawyer at a special Court of Oyer and Terminer —(held at?)⁵⁸ Salem this second Day of this instant month of June for the Countyes of Essex Middlesex and Suffolk before William Stoughton Esqe. and his Associates Justices of the said Court was Indicted and arraigned upon five several Indictments for useing practising & exercising on the —⁵⁹ last past and divers others days —⁶⁰ witchcraft in and upon the bodyes of Abigail Williams Ann puttnam Jr Mercy Lewis Mary Walcott and Elizabeth Hubbard of Salem Village single women; whereby their bodyes were hurt afflicted pined consumed wasted & tormented contrary to the forme of the statute in that case made and provided To which Indictmts the said Bridgett Bishop pleaded not guilty and for Tryall thereof put herselfe upon God and her Country —⁶¹ she was found guilty of the ffelonyes and Witchcrafts whereof she stood Indicted and sentence of death accordingly passed agt her as the Law directs execution whereof yet remaines to be done These are therefore in the name of their Majties William & Mary now King & Queen over England & to will and command you that upon Fryday next being the fourth day of this instant month of June between the hours of Eight and twelve in the aforenoon of the same day you safely conduct the sd Bridgett Bishop als Olliver from their Majties Goale in Salem aforesd to the place of execution and there cause her to be hanged by the neck until she be dead and of your doings herein make returne to the Clerk of the sd Court and precept And hereof you are not to faile at your peril And this shall be sufficient warrant

Given under my hand & seal at Boston the Eighth of June in the ffourth year of the reigne of our Sovereigne Lords William & Mary now King & Queen over England Annoque Dm 1692

Wm. Stoughton

58. Some of the words in the warrant are illegible.

59. Illegible.

60. Illegible.

61. Illegible.

STATE MURDER

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June 10, Friday (Old Style): Bridget Bishop was [hanged](#) in [Salem](#), the 1st official execution of the Salem [witch](#) trials.



Bridget Bishop: "I am no witch. I am innocent. I know nothing of it."

Following her death, accusations of [witchcraft](#) would escalate, but the trials would not be unopposed. Several townspeople would sign petitions on behalf of accused people they believed to be innocent.

To George Corwin Gentlm high Sheriff of the County of Essex
Greeting

Whereas Bridgett Bishop als Olliver the wife of Edward Bishop of Salem in the County of Essex Sawyer at a special Court of Oyer and Terminer —(held at?)⁶² Salem this second Day of this instant month of June for the Countyes of Essex Middlesex and Suffolk before William Stoughton Esqe. and his Associates Justices of the said Court was Indicted and arraigned upon five several Indictments for useing practising & exercising on the —⁶³ last past and divers others days —⁶⁴ witchcraft in and upon the bodyes of Abigail Williams Ann puttman Jr Mercy Lewis Mary Walcott and Elizabeth Hubbard of Salem Village single women; whereby their bodyes were hurt afflicted pined consumed wasted & tormented contrary to the forme of the statute in that case made and provided To which Indictmts the said Bridgett Bishop pleaded not guilty and for Tryall thereof put herselfe upon God and her Country —⁶⁵ she was found guilty of the ffelonyes and Witchcrafts whereof she stood Indicted and sentence of death accordingly passed agt her as the Law directs execution whereof yet remaines to be done These are therefore in the name of their Majties William & Mary now King & Queen over England & to will and command you that upon Fryday next being the fourth day of this instant month of June between the hours of Eight and twelve in the afternoon of the same day you safely conduct the sd Bridgett Bishop als Olliver from their Majties Goale in Salem aforesd to the place of execution and there cause her to be

62. Some of the words in the warrant are illegible.

63. Illegible.

64. Illegible.

65. Illegible.



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hanged by the neck until she be dead and of your doings herein make returne to the Clerk of the sd Court and precept And hereof you are not to faile at your peril And this shall be sufficient warrant

Given under my hand & seal at Boston the Eighth of June in the ffourth year of the reigne of our Sovereigne Lords William & Mary now King & Queen over England Annoque Dm 1692

Wm. Stoughton

June 16, Thursday (Old Style): Sheriff George Corwin of Salem endorsed the execution order of the [witch](#) Bridgett Bishop, assuring the town authorities of [Salem](#) that in due course she had indeed been [hanged](#) — and was now as dead as might be desired:

To George Corwin Gentlm high Sheriff of the County of Essex Greeting

Whereas Bridgett Bishop als Olliver the wife of Edward Bishop of Salem in the County of Essex Sawyer at a special Court of Oyer and Terminer — (held at?)⁶⁶ Salem this second Day of this instant month of June for the Countyes of Essex Middlesex and Suffolk before William Stoughton Esqe. and his Associates Justices of the said Court was Indicted and arraigned upon five several Indictments for useing practising & exercising on the —⁶⁷ last past and divers others days —⁶⁸ witchcraft in and upon the bodyes of Abigail Williams Ann puttnam Jr Mercy Lewis Mary Walcott and Elizabeth Hubbard of Salem Village single women; whereby their bodyes were hurt afflicted pined consumed wasted & tormented contrary to the forme of the statute in that case made and provided To which Indictmts the said Bridgett Bishop pleaded not guilty and for Tryall thereof put herselfe upon God and her Country —⁶⁹ she was found guilty of the ffelonyes and Witchcrafts whereof she stood Indicted and sentence of death accordingly passed agt her as the Law directs execution whereof yet remaines to be done These are therefore in the name of their Majties William & Mary now King & Queen over England & to will and command you that upon Fryday next being the fourth day of this instant month of June between the hours of Eight and twelve in the aforenoon of the same day you safely conduct the sd Bridgett Bishop als Olliver from their Majties Goale in Salem aforesd to the place of execution and there cause her to be hanged by the neck until she be dead and of your doings herein make returne to the Clerk of the sd Court and precept And hereof you are not to faile at your peril And this shall be sufficient warrant

Given under my hand & seal at Boston the Eighth of June in the ffourth year of the reigne of our Sovereigne Lords William & Mary now King & Queen over England Annoque Dm 1692

Wm. Stoughton

66. Some of the words in the warrant are illegible.

67. Illegible.

68. Illegible.

69. Illegible.



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June 16 1692

According to the within written precept I have taken the Bodye of the within named Bridgett Bishop out of their Majties Goale in Salem & Safely Conueighd her to the place provided for her Execution & Caused ye sd Bridgett to be hanged by the neck till Shee was dead all which was according to the time within Required & So I make retorne by me

George Corwin Sheriff

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August 16, Tuesday (Old Style): [Magistrate Samuel Sewall](#) helped condemn and hang one of his [Harvard College](#) peers, the Reverend George Burrough, a man whom he had once heard preach on the Sermon on the Mount, for being in league with Satan. An arresting officer for the court, one John Willard, was “cried out upon” for doubting the guilt of the accused, and would be [hanged](#) beside the Reverend Burrough.



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We find this in Sewall's diary:



Mr. Burrough by his Speech, Prayer, protestation of his Innocence, did much move unthinking persons, which occasions their speaking hardly concerning his being executed.

Major American Witchcraft Cases

1647	Elizabeth Kendall, Alse Young	1663	Mary Barnes
1648	Margaret Jones, Mary Johnson	1666	Elizabeth Seager
1651	Alice Lake, Mrs. (Lizzy) Kendal, Goody Bassett, Mary Parsons	1669	Katherine (Kateran) Harrison
1652	John Carrington, Joan Carrington	1683	Nicholas Disborough, Margaret Mattson
1653	Elizabeth "Goody" Knapp, Elizabeth Godman	1688	Annie "Goody" Glover
1654	Lydia Gilbert, Kath Grady, Mary Lee	1692	Bridget Bishop, Rebecca Towne Nurse, Sarah Good, Susannah Martin, Elizabeth Howe, Sarah Wildes, Mary Staples, Mercy Disborough, Elizabeth Clawson, Mary Harvey, Hannah Harvey, Goody Miller, Giles Cory, Mary Towne Estey, Reverend George Burrough, George Jacobs, Sr., John Proctor, John Willard, Martha Carrier, Sarah Good, Martha Corey, Margaret Scott, Alice Parker, Ann Pudeator, Wilmott Redd, Samuel Wardwell, Mary Parker, Tituba
1655	Elizabeth Godman, Nicholas Bayley, Goodwife Bayley, Ann Hibbins	1693	Hugh Crotia, Mercy Disborough
1657	William Meaker	1697	Winifred Benham, Senr., Winifred Benham, Junr.
1658	Elizabeth Garlick, Elizabeth Richardson, Katherine Grade	1724	Sarah Spencer
1661	Nicholas Jennings, Margaret Jennings	1768	—— Norton
1662	Nathaniel Greensmith, Rebecca Greensmith, Mary Sanford, Andrew Sanford, Goody Ayres, Katherine Palmer, Judith Varlett, James Walkley	1801	Sagoyewatha "Red Jacket"

STATE MURDER

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August 19, Friday (Old Style): George Jacobs, Sr., the Reverend George Burrough, John Proctor,⁷⁰ John Willard, and Martha Carrier of Andover were [hanged](#) on [Salem](#)'s Gallows Hill. Before he was turned off, the Reverend Burrough was allowed to make a statement, which he concluded with a prayer, reciting at the end the Lord's Prayer. This caused great consternation among the onlookers, as the Reverend Burrough recited the Lord's Prayer without any obvious blunders — and the common belief of the time was that a [witch](#) would not be able to accomplish this task without making blunders. It required the Reverend [Cotton Mather](#), on horseback, to quell the assemblage by assuring them that the action being taken was righteous.



George Jacobs: "Because I am falsely accused. I never did it."

70. Four years after her husband was hanged, the widowed Elizabeth Procter would remarry.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

Major American Witchcraft Cases

1647	Elizabeth Kendall, Alse Young	1663	Mary Barnes
1648	Margaret Jones, Mary Johnson	1666	Elizabeth Seager
1651	Alice Lake, Mrs. (Lizzy) Kendal, Goody Bassett, Mary Parsons	1669	Katherine (Kateran) Harrison
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1653	Elizabeth “Goody” Knapp, Elizabeth Godman	1688	Annie “Goody” Glover
1654	Lydia Gilbert, Kath Grady, Mary Lee	1692	Bridget Bishop, Rebecca Towne Nurse, Sarah Good, Susannah Martin, Elizabeth Howe, Sarah Wildes, Mary Staples, Mercy Disborough, Elizabeth Clawson, Mary Harvey, Hannah Harvey, Goody Miller, Giles Cory, Mary Towne Estey, Reverend George Burrough, George Jacobs, Sr., John Proctor, John Willard, Martha Carrier, Sarah Good, Martha Corey, Margaret Scott, Alice Parker, Ann Pudeator, Wilmott Redd, Samuel Wardwell, Mary Parker, Tituba
1655	Elizabeth Godman, Nicholas Bayley, Goodwife Bayley, Ann Hibbins	1693	Hugh Crotia, Mercy Disborough
1657	William Meaker	1697	Winifred Benham, Senr., Winifred Benham, Junr.
1658	Elizabeth Garlick, Elizabeth Richardson, Katherine Grade	1724	Sarah Spencer
1661	Nicholas Jennings, Margaret Jennings	1768	—— Norton
1662	Nathaniel Greensmith, Rebecca Greensmith, Mary Sanford, Andrew Sanford, Goody Ayres, Katherine Palmer, Judith Varlett, James Walkley	1801	Sagoyewatha “Red Jacket”

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September 17, Saturday (Old Style): In [Salem](#), Margaret Scott, Wilmott Redd, Samuel Wardwell, Mary Parker, [Abigail Dane Faulkner](#),⁷¹ Rebecca Eames, Mary Lacy, Ann Foster, and Abigail Hobbs, accused of [witchcraft](#), were tried and condemned.



“The Jury find Abigail Faulkner, wife of Francis Faulkner of Andover, guilty of ye felony of witchcraft, committed on ye body of Martha Sprague, also on ye body of Sarah Phelps. Sentence of death passed on Abigail Faulkner.”

However, Abigail, being pregnant, could not be taken to the [gallows](#) with the others.

September 22, Thursday (Old Style): [Magistrate Samuel Sewall](#) –the progenitor of the Edmund Quincy Sewall, Jr. of [Scituate](#) in the Bay Colony who would begin to attend the Concord Academy in [Concord](#) in June 1839 and of the Ellen Devereux Sewall to whom [Henry Thoreau](#) would propose– was involved in the offing of 19 women of [Salem](#) for being in league with Satan. On this one day Martha Corey, Margaret Scott, Mary Towne Estey or Easty (whose sister, Goodwife Rebecca Towne Nurse, had already been taken to the gallows), Alice Parker, Ann Pudeator, Wilmott Redd, Samuel Wardwell, and Mary Parker were [hanged](#).

FINAL EXECUTIONS		
December 30, 1648	Jo. Wilkinson of Sowerby and Anthony Mitchell	final beheadings on the famous Halifax Gibbet
September 22, 1692	Martha Corey, Margaret Scott, Mary Towne Estey or Easty, Alice Parker, Ann Pudeator, Wilmott Redd, Samuel Wardwell, and Mary Parker	hanged for witchcraft in the American colonies “...what a sad thing it is to see Eight Firebrands of Hell hanging there”
1709	Henry Young	last person to get actually hanged in England, for being judged to have been defeated by his opponent in a Trial by Combat

Mary Towne Easty: “...if it be possible no more innocent

71. Cara Helfner is currently asserting on the Internet (http://www.faulknerhospital.org/PDF/The_History_of_Faulkner_Hospital_31110.pdf), and evidently with institutional backing, that “Colonel Francis Faulkner’s second son Winthrop was Emerson’s grandfather.” This would of course make [Abigail Dane Faulkner](#) out to have been a great-great-great-grandmother of [Ralph Waldo Emerson](#). I find I am unable to corroborate such an assertion. In fact the name “Faulkner” nowhere appears in the most extensive Emerson genealogy I have seen, one which in some branches takes the family back into a generation of Great-Great-Great-Great-Great-Great Grandparents living toward the end of the 16th Century.

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blood be shed... ...I am clear of this sin."



The Reverend Nicholas Noyes: "What a sad thing to see eight firebrands of hell hanging there."



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William Hathorne's son [John Hathorne](#) (1641-1717), a chip off the old block, a Colonel in the Massachusetts Militia and a deputy to the General Court in [Boston](#), was a Magistrate during this episode in which in addition to the hangings of this day one woman had a short time before been tortured to death.⁷²

[WITCH](#)

72. [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#), a descendant, would be much troubled by a curse Sarah Good had placed on her executioners, "God will give you Blood to drink."

His tale "The Gentle Boy" of 1831 would make reference to this history.



Let us thank God for having given us such ancestors; and let each successive generation thank him, not less fervently, for being one step further from them in the march of the ages.

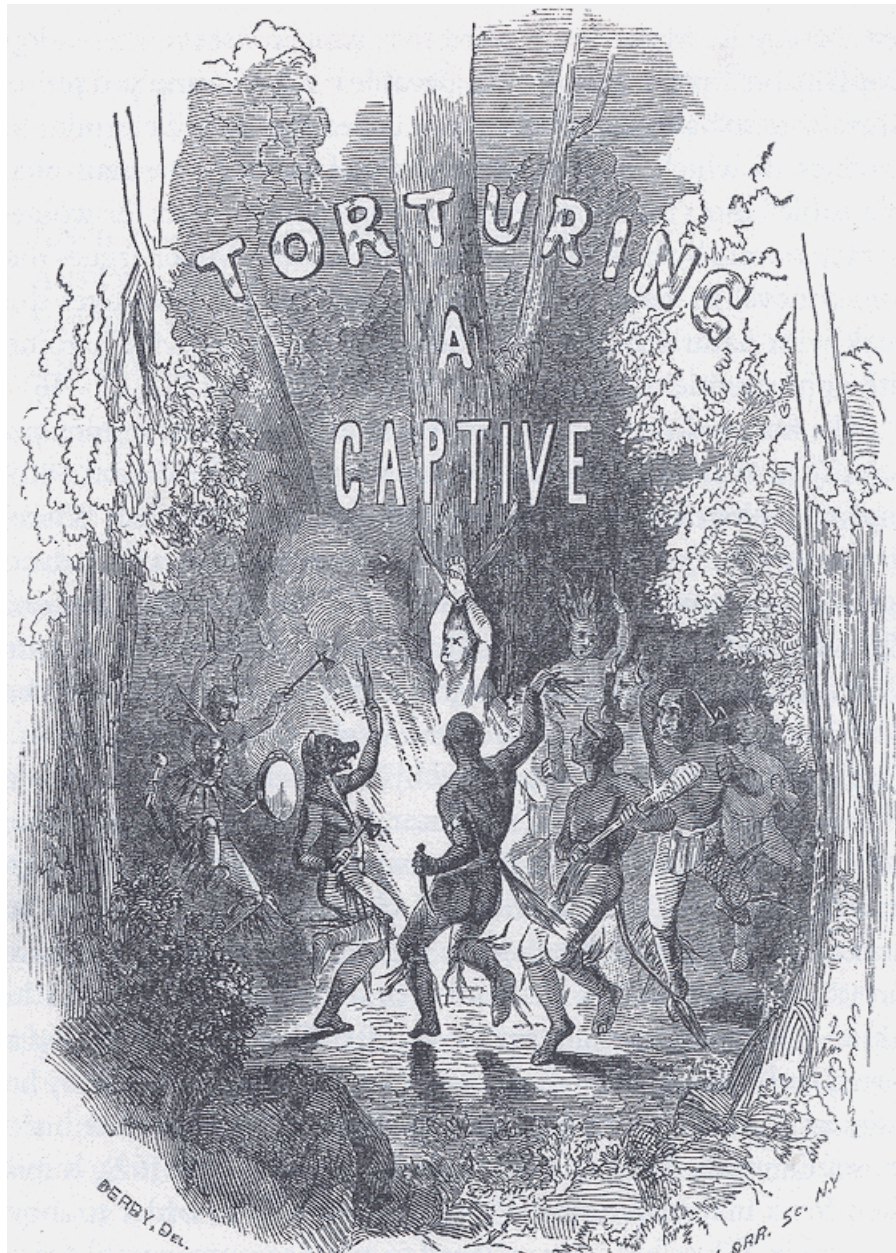
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Major American Witchcraft Cases

1647	Elizabeth Kendall, Alse Young	1663	Mary Barnes
1648	Margaret Jones, Mary Johnson	1666	Elizabeth Seager
1651	Alice Lake, Mrs. (Lizzy) Kendal, Goody Bassett, Mary Parsons	1669	Katherine (Kateran) Harrison
1652	John Carrington, Joan Carrington	1683	Nicholas Disborough, Margaret Mattson
1653	Elizabeth “Goody” Knapp, Elizabeth Godman	1688	Annie “Goody” Glover
1654	Lydia Gilbert, Kath Grady, Mary Lee	1692	Bridget Bishop, Rebecca Towne Nurse, Sarah Good, Susannah Martin, Elizabeth Howe, Sarah Wildes, Mary Staples, Mercy Disborough, Elizabeth Clawson, Mary Harvey, Hannah Harvey, Goody Miller, Giles Cory, Mary Towne Estey, Reverend George Burrough, George Jacobs, Sr., John Proctor, John Willard, Martha Carrier, Sarah Good, Martha Corey, Margaret Scott, Alice Parker, Ann Pudeator, Wilmott Redd, Samuel Wardwell, Mary Parker, Tituba
1655	Elizabeth Godman, Nicholas Bayley, Goodwife Bayley, Ann Hibbins	1693	Hugh Crotia, Mercy Disborough
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1658	Elizabeth Garlick, Elizabeth Richardson, Katherine Grade	1724	Sarah Spencer
1661	Nicholas Jennings, Margaret Jennings	1768	—— Norton
1662	Nathaniel Greensmith, Rebecca Greensmith, Mary Sanford, Andrew Sanford, Goody Ayres, Katherine Palmer, Judith Varlett, James Walkley	1801	Sagoyewatha “Red Jacket”



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November 14, Monday (Old Style): [Mistress Sarah Noyes Hale](#), pregnant 2d wife of the Reverend John Hale of Beverly, Massachusetts, was accused of [witchcraft](#) by a 17-year-old (nothing would come of this).

FAMOUS LASTS		
September 22, 1692	Martha Corey, Margaret Scott, Mary Towne Estey or Easty, Alice Parker, Ann Pudeator, Wilmott Redd, Samuel Wardwell, and Mary Parker	hanged for witchcraft in the American colonies “...what a sad thing it is to see Eight Firebrands of Hell hanging there”
November 14, 1692	Mistress Sarah Noyes Hale	last to be accused of witchcraft in Salem
1712	Jane Wenham	Not actually the last witchcraft trial in England. Her conviction was set aside and, anyway, there would be the case of Mary Hickes and her 9-year-old daughter Elizabeth, hanged as witches in Huntingdon on July 28th, 1716

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1693

During this year there would be yet another spasm of [witchcraft](#) hysteria. It would occur in Amesbury MA, a town on the Merrimack River in Massachusetts at the New Hampshire border which had been settled in 1642 as part of Salisbury NH and named in honor of Amesbury in England. The last person to die in the witchcraft scare in Massachusetts would be Lydia Dustin, who died in jail on March 10th while awaiting the disposition of her case.⁷³



January 2, Monday (1692, Old Style): A [slave](#) of [St. Helena](#) Deputy-Governor Captain Richard Keling was [burned to death](#) for [sorcery](#).

73. Amesbury MA had become a separate precinct in 1654, and had been incorporated as a township in 1666. It later would thrive as a shipbuilding port and an early manufacturing centre (iron, nails, hats, carriages). [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) would live in Amesbury from 1836 to 1876, and many of his poems describe the surrounding country and life of that community; his house is preserved and his grave is in Union Cemetery. Textile production would flourish after 1812 but decline in the 1920s. The town's economy is now based on light manufacturing rather than poetry, and all the [witches](#) have quite gone away.



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March 20, Monday (1692, Old Style): [Ammi Ruhammah Faulkner](#) was born in Andover. Since his mother [Abigail](#) had been one of those convicted as a [witch](#) in [Salem](#), she should presumably then have been [hanged](#) in accordance with her sentence; however, the frenzy having evaporated, this did not occur. Ammi Ruhammah means “My people have obtained mercy.”⁷⁴

May 4, Thursday (Old Style): On [St. Helena](#), no executioner being available to carry out the sentence on 3 mutineers, Joseph Davis, judged the least culpable, was spared on condition that he [execute](#) the other 2, George Lock and Isaac Slaughter, which task he performed.

June 8, Thursday (Old Style): Bad things had happened in the life of Elizabeth Emerson of Haverhill (born January 26, 1664; in May 1676 her father had been fined 3 shillings for having cruelly and excessively kicked and beaten her), a sister to [Hannah Emerson Duston](#) in consequence of her long-term affair with an older local married man, Samuel Ladd⁷⁵ — a liaison which had produced 3 infants none of whom had survived.⁷⁶ She had been languishing in the local lockup for 2 years and despite a plea of innocence and (it would appear) the entire absence of forensic evidence, had been found guilty of several counts of murder:

26th Sept. Elizabeth Emmerson single woman Daughter of Michael Emmerson of Haverhill in the County of Essex being indicted by the Jurors for our Sovereigne Lord & Lady King William & Queen Mary upon their Oathes. For that the sd. Elizabeth Emmerson being with child with two living Children or Infants on Thursday night the 7th of May 1691 before day of Fryday morning at Haverhill aforesd in the house of Michael Emmerson aforesd by the Providence of God two Bastard Children alive did bring forth and the sd. Elizabeth Emmerson not haveing the feare of Cod before her Eyes and being instigated by ye Devil of her malice forethought, the sd two Infants did feloniously kill & Murther, and them in a small Bagg or cloath sewed up, and concealed or hid them in sd Emmersons house untill afterwards, that is to say, on sabbath day May the tenth 1691, the sd two Infants in the yard of sd Emmerson in Haverhill aforesd did secretly bury contrary to the peace of Our Sovereign Lord & Lady the King & Queen, their Crown & Dignity, the Laws of God, and the Lawes & Statutes in that case made & provided. Upon which Indictment the sd Elizabeth Emmerson was arraigned and to the Indictment pleaded not guilty & put herselfe upon Tryal by God & the Country, _____⁷⁷ a Jury was impannelled being the first Jury, whereof Mr. Richard Crisp was foreman, and were accordingly sworne (the prisoner making no challeng). The Indictment Examination & evidences were read, & the prisoner made her defence, The Jury return their Verdict, the Jury say, That she

74. Cara Helfner is currently asserting on the Internet (http://www.faulknerhospital.org/PDF/The_History_of_Faulkner_Hospital_31110.pdf), and evidently with institutional backing, that “Colonel Francis Faulkner’s second son Winthrop was Emerson’s grandfather.” This would of course make [Ammi Ruhammah Faulkner](#) out to have been a great-great-grandfather of [Ralph Waldo Emerson](#). I find I am unable to corroborate such an assertion. In fact the name “Faulkner” nowhere appears in the most extensive Emerson genealogy I have seen, one which in some branches takes the family back into a generation of Great-Great-Great-Great-Great Grandparents living toward the end of the 16th Century.

WALDO'S RELATIVES

75. He was married since December 1, 1674 with Martha Corlis Ladd, with whom he produced six legitimate children. On February 22, 1697 he would be struck in the head and killed in an Indian raid while gathering hay.

76. A girl named Dorothy born April 10, 1686, and then on the night of May 7, 1691 twin boys.

77. A blank in the record.



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sd. Elizabeth Emerson is guilty according to Indictment. The Court Order, That sentence of Death he pronounced ag. her.

Although all of Haverhill knew Ladd to be the father, there seems to be no record of his being called to make any accounting. On this day Elizabeth Emerson was taken from her jail cell to listen to the Reverend [Cotton Mather](#) as he delivered a sermon which included her purported post-conviction confession, and was then taken from the church and [hanged](#) on [Boston](#)'s Common. Per the diary of the Reverend Mather:

I had often wished for an Opportunity, to bear my Testimonies, against the Sins of Uncleaness, wherein so many of my Generacon do pollute themselves. A young Woman of Haverhil, and a Negro Woman also of this Town [Boston] were under sentence of Death, for the Murdering of their Bastard-children. Many and many a weary Hour, did I spend in the Prison, to serve the Souls of those miserable Creatures; and I had Opportunities in my own Congregation, to speak to them, and from them, to vast Multitudes of others. Their Execution, was ordered to have been, upon the Lecture of another; but by a very strange Providence, without any Seeking of mine, or any Respect to mee, (that I know of) the order for their Execution was altered and it fell on my Lecture Day. I did then with the special Assistance of Heaven, make and preach, a Sermon upon Job. 36.14. Whereat one of the greatest Assemblies, ever known in these parts of the World, was come together. I had obtained from the young Woman, a pathological Instrument, in Writing, wherein shee own'd her own miscarriages, and warn'd the rising Ceneracon of theirs. Towards the close of my Sermon, I read that Instrument unto the Congregation; and made what Use, was proper of it. I accompany'd the Wretches, to their Execution; but extremely fear all our Labours were lost upon them; however sanctified unto many others. The Sermon was immediately printed; with another which I had formerly uttered on the like Occasion; (entitled, Warnings From the Dead [Or Solemn admonitions unto all people; but especially unto young persons to beware of such evils as would bring them to the dead, Boston: Printed by Bartholomew Green, for Samuel Phillips, at the west end of the Exchange, 1693]) and it was greedily bought up; I hope, to the Attainment of the Ends, which I had so long desired. T'was afterwards reprinted at London.

Elizabeth had pled not guilty until, under sentence of death in prison, the [Reverend Mather](#) had worked his word magic on her. We have no way of knowing whether she actually had been guilty of anything more than simple fornication, and of giving birth to infants which either due to their biological condition or to their deprived environment had been unable to survive — indeed we have no way of knowing whether or not such an uneducated young woman could have fashioned the confession that was being “recorded” on her behalf. We can legitimately infer that in that era, the American court system was not following the precept “Innocent until proven Guilty.” What the Reverend Mather read that he characterized as having been Elizabeth's confession to him in the jail cell, on that day, he carefully preserved for us in his *MAGNALIA CHRISTI AMERICANA*. —You can decide for yourself how much of this is what Elizabeth wanted to say about herself, versus how much of it is what the good Reverend had desired to hear from her, and considered suitable for the moral education of the other sinners of his flock:

I am a miserable sinner, and I have justly provok'd the holy God to leave me unto that folly of my own heart, for which I am now condemned to die. I cannot but see much of the anger of God against me, in the circumstances of my woful death. He hath fulfilled upon me that word of his, “Evil pursueth sinners!” I therefore desire humbly to confess my many sins before God and the world; but most particularly my blood guiltiness. Before the birth of my twin-infants, I too much parlied with the temptation



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of the devil to smother my wickedness by murthering of them. At length, when they were born, I was not insensible that at least one of them was alive; but such a wretch was I, as to use a murderous carriage towards them, in the place where I lay, on purpose to dispatch them out of the world. I acknowledge that I have been more hard hearted than the sea-monsters; and yet for the pardon of these my sins, I would fly to the blood of the Lord Jesus Christ, which is the only "fountain set open for sin and uncleanness." I know not how better to glorifie God, for giving me such an opportunity as I have had to make sure of his mercy, than by advertising and entreating the rising generation here to take warning by my example, and I will therefore tell the sins that have brought me to my shameful end. I do warn all people and expecially young people, against the sin of uncleanness in particular. 'Tis that sin that hath been my ruine. Well had it been for me, if I had answered all temptations to that sin as Joseph did, "How shall I do this wickedness, and sin against God?" But, I see, bad company is that which leads to that and other sins; And I therefore beg all that love their souls to be familiar with none but such as fear Cod. I believe the chief thing that hath brought me into my present condition, is my disobedience to my parents. I dispised all their godly counsel and reproofs; and I was always of a haughty, stubborn spirit. So that now I am become a dreadful instance of the curse of God belonging to disobedient children. I must bewail this also, and although I was baptized, yet when I grew up, I forgot the bonds that were laid upon me to be the Lord's. Had I given my self to God, as soon as I was capable to consider that I had been in baptism set apart for him, How happy had I been! It was my delay to repent of my former sins, that provoked God to leave me unto the crimes for which I am now to die. Had I seriously repented of my uncleanness the first time I fell into it, I do suppose I had not been left unto what followed. Let all take it from me: They little think what they do when they put off turning from sin to God, and resist the strivings of the Holy Spirit. I fear 'tis for this that I have been given up to such "hardness of heart," not only since my long imprisonment but also since my just condemnation. I now know not what will become of my distressed, perishing soul. But I would humbly commit it unto the mercy of God in Jesus Christ.

Amen.

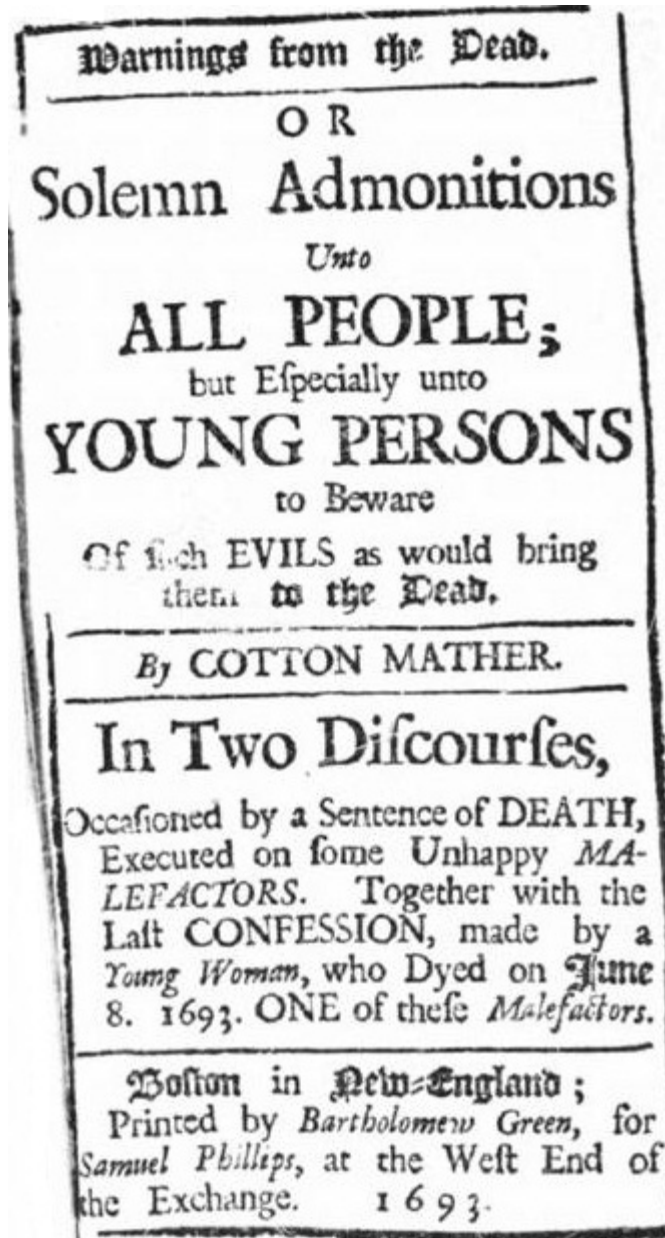
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1694

In [Boston](#), the owner of Brattle's pasturage was allowed to sell a slice of it—22-foot by 128-foot on what is now Brattle Street in what is now Government Center—for ready cash, despite the fact that the purchasers were Quakers whose intent was to construct a meetinghouse for worship. Between 1694 and 1697, the 1st [Quaker](#) meetinghouse in Boston would be being constructed by Friend William Mumford on this lot near the present-day city hall. It was a 20-foot by 24-foot structure and is said to have been the first church building in Boston to have been constructed out of brick. However, this Boston “preparatory” meeting would never achieve the size or influence of the nearby Salem meeting, and would never be granted its independence but would be kept permanently under the oversight of Salem Monthly Meeting. Most Friends chose to reside in Salem, Lynn, or Maine, where the atmosphere was better, for Bostonians were still hostile and Friends risked being identified by their garb on the street and accosted with remarks such as:

Oh! what a pity it was that all your Society were not [hanged](#) with the other four!

(This situation would not improve until the Boston Quakers had fallen away from their faith to the point at which they were Quakers more or less in name only—and at that point, strange to recount, they became quite acceptable Bostonians.)

Old Captain [Richard More](#), the bastard of the [Mayflower](#), was still alive and living in [Salem](#) while all this stuff and nonsense about [witches](#) and [hangings](#) had been going down. As a man who had been condemned by his church on account of his sexual dalliances, he would have been entirely without influence as an elder in his community. One may well wonder what sort of take the old man would have had on the activities of his neighbors, as he watched this thing develop, and as he watched various neighbors being hauled off to be hanged!

[Richard More](#) would die in [Salem](#) sometime between March 19, 1693/1694 and April 20, 1696. More's gravestone survives, the only known original gravestone of a [Mayflower](#) passenger still in existence which was erected at the time of burial:





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1695

Donough McCarthy, the 4th Earl of Clancarty, had in 1690 been taken to the [Tower of London](#), but in this year he escaped.

A total of 76 people were sentenced to death in England in this year, comprising 45 men, 20 women, and 11 persons whose gender is now unknown. Those [hanged](#) at Tyburn were 31 men, 1 woman, and 6 persons whose gender is now unknown. One woman was burned. The fate of 5 men, 15 women, and 5 persons whose gender is now unknown is not on record.

[LONDON](#)

January 14, Monday (1694, Old Style): The Court Sessions that began on this day would produce 11 death sentences.

January 25, Friday (1694, Old Style): Six unidentified convicts were [hanged](#) at Tyburn.

February 20, Wednesday: The Sessions that began on this day would result in 3 men being sentenced to be [hanged](#), 1 of them, James Pattison, being called to former judgement. One accused man was reprieved.

February 27, Wednesday: Robert Geerish was [hanged](#) at Tyburn as a horse thief, Matthew Coppinger for robbery in a dwelling house, and James Pattison for H/T coining.

April 3, Wednesday (Old Style): The Sessions that began on this day would result in 5 men and 1 woman being [sentenced to death](#), of whom 1 man would receive a Conditional Pardon, and the woman would plead pregnancy.

April 17, Wednesday (Old Style): Robert Sterne and William Hancock were [hanged](#) at Tyburn for highway robbery, and “WR” for H/T clipping coin.

April 19, Friday (Old Style): Francis Newland was [hanged](#) at Tyburn for murder.

May 8, Wednesday (Old Style): The Court Sessions that began on this day would result in 8 men and 3 women being sentenced to death, of whom 3 men would receive conditional pardons (and it is likely that the women were also reprieved).

May 24, Friday (Old Style): Edward White was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows for burglary, John Cole for highway robbery, James Gillet for H/T coining, William Moore for burglary, and Peter Major for highway robbery.

July 3, Wednesday (Old Style): The Sessions that began on this day would result in 6 men and 6 women getting the death sentence of whom all of the men were [hanged](#) and all the woman pleaded pregnancy and were reprieved.



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July 12, Friday: John Moore was [hanged](#) at Tyburn for H/T ([high treason](#)) coining, David Anderson for murder, and Leo Norman and Charles Bellet for H/T clipping coin.

July 19, Friday: Edmund Allen was [hanged](#) at Tyburn for murder.

July 29, Monday: Richard Butler was [hanged](#) at Tyburn for burglary.

August 28, Wednesday (Old Style): The Court Sessions that began on this day would result in 11 men and 5 women being sentenced to death. 14 women were called to their former judgements. At least 4 of the men would be [hanged](#).

September 18, Wednesday (Old Style): John Carter was [hanged](#) at Tyburn for privately stealing from a person. Two others were hanged for crimes not now on record.

September 25, Wednesday (Old Style): John Edwards was [hanged](#) at Tyburn for H/T coining.

October 14, Monday (Old Style): The Court Sessions that began on this day would result in 5 men and 5 women received [death sentences](#) plus 2 men were called to their former judgements. 3 women pleaded pregnancy and were reprieved and 1 man received a conditional pardon. Elizabeth Wright would be [burned at the stake](#).

November 6, Wednesday: Robert Barnes was [hanged](#) at Tyburn for burglary, Elizabeth Wright, Morgan Bourne, Thomas Purser, and Samuel Quested were [hanged](#) for H/T coining, Luke Page and Samuel Eades were [hanged](#) for highway robbery, and Frances Boddyman was [hanged](#) for the murder of a bastard.

December 3, Tuesday (Old Style): The Sessions that began on this day would result in 7 men received death sentences of whom 4 were pardoned.

December 11, Wednesday (Old Style): We learn at this point that the *Amity* had no captain because Captain [Thomas Tew](#) had been “killed by a great Shott from a Moor’s Ship.”

[PIRACY](#)

December 13, Friday (Old Style): Richard Arrowsmith was [hanged](#) at Tyburn for burglary, John Macknoll for H/T clipping coin, and Thomas Reeves for highway robbery.



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1696

Henry Every's crew members were [hanged](#) at Wapping.

PIRACY

In all, 68 men, 15 women and 8 unidentified people were sentenced to death during the Sessions of this year. 51 men, 1 woman and 3 of unknown sex were [hanged](#) at Tyburn. 1 man was [hanged](#) elsewhere. The fate of 5 men, 2 women, and 5 persons of unidentified gender is unknown.

January 26, Sunday (1695, Old Style): Captain [William Kidd](#) received a commission from King William III of England to take his [privateer](#) vessel, the *Adventure Galley*, out from [New-York](#) to capture the notorious [Rhode Island pirates Thomas Tew](#), William Mayes, and Thomas Wake:

William the Third, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To our trusty and well beloved – Capt. Robert Kidd, commander of the Adventure Galley with a crew of 80 men and mounting 30 guns. Greeting: whereas we are informed, that Capt. Thomas Too, John Ireland, Capt. Thomas Wake, and Capt. William Maze or Mace, and other subjects, natives or inhabitants of New-York, and elsewhere, in our plantations in America, have associated themselves with diverse others, wicked and ill-disposed persons, and do, against the law of nations, commit many and great piracies, robberies and depredations on the seas upon the parts of America, and in other parts, to the great hindrance and discouragement of trade and navigation, and to the great danger and hurt of our loving subjects, our allies, and all others, navigating the seas upon their lawful occasions. Now know ye, that we being desirous to prevent the aforesaid mischief's, and as much as in us lies, to bring the said pirates, freebooters and sea-rovers to justice, have thought fit, and do hereby give and grant to the said Robert Kidd, to whom our commissioners for exercising the office of Lord High Admiral of England, have granted a commission as a private man-of-war, bearing date the 11th day of December, 1695, and unto the commander of the said ship for the time being, and unto the officers, mariners, and others which shall be under your command, full power and authority to apprehend, seize, and take into your custody as well the said Capt. Thomas Too, John Ireland, Capt. Thomas Wake and Capt. Win. Maze or Mace, as all such pirates, free-booters, and searovers, being either our subjects, or of other nations associated with them, which you shall meet with upon the seas or coasts, with all their ships and vessels, and all such merchandises, money, goods, and wares as shall be found on board, or with them, in case they shall willingly yield themselves; but if they will not yield without fighting, then you are by force to compel them to yield. And we also require you to bring, or cause to be brought, such pirates, freebooters, or sea-rovers, as you shall seize, to a legal trial, to the end they may be proceeded against according to the law in such cases. And we do hereby command all our officers, ministers, and other of our loving subjects whatsoever, to be aiding and assisting to you in the premises. And we do hereby enjoin you to keep an exact journal of your



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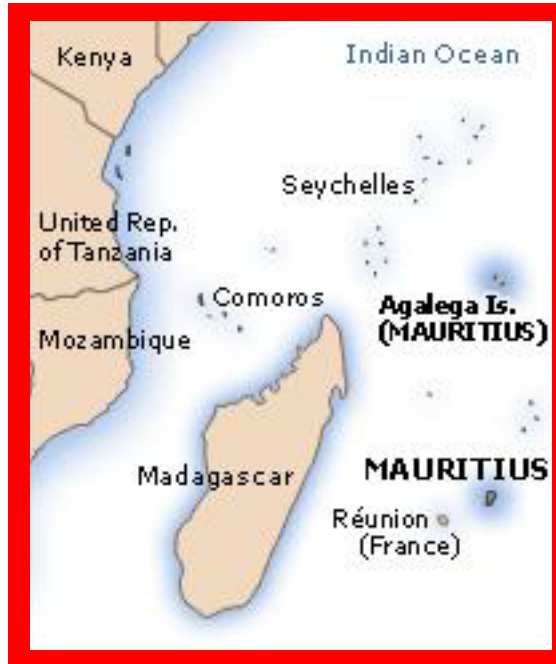
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proceedings in execution of the premises, and set down the names of such pirates, and of their officers and company, and the names of such ships and vessels as you shall by virtue of these presents take and seize, and the quantities of arms, ammunition, provision, and lading of such ships, and the true value of the same, as near as you can judge.

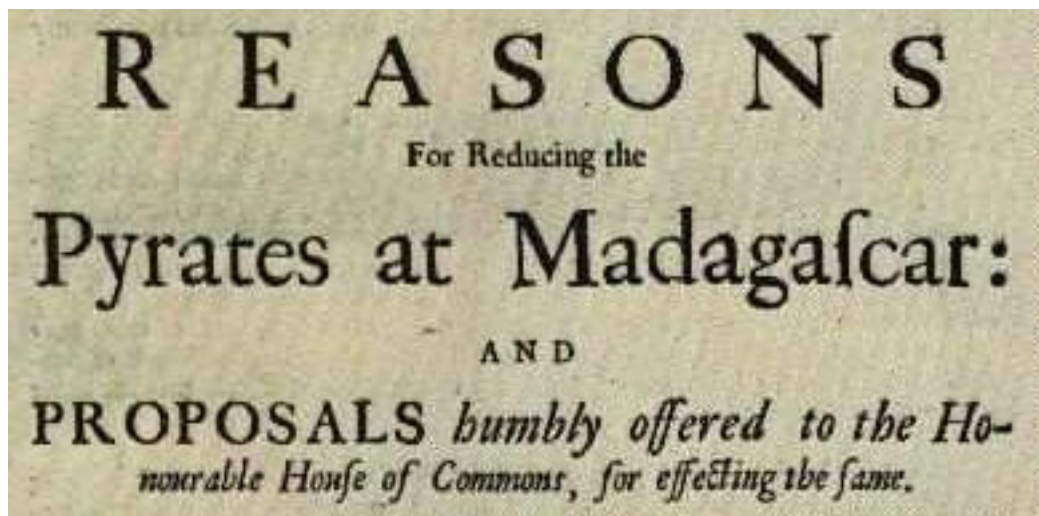
In witness whereof, we have caused our great seal of England to be affixed to these presents. Given at our court in Kensington, the 26th day of January, 1695, in the 7th year of our reign.

STATE MURDER

After several months of no success, Captain [William Kidd](#) would take on new crewmembers and sail again. By the time they reached Madagascar they had been able to loot several ships, but not enough to pay the salaries the crew was demanding.



When Captain Kidd refused his gunner William Moore's demand that they attack any ship they came upon, Moore attempted mutiny and was killed by Kidd (he hit him on the head with a wooden bucket). When they reached Madagascar, 90 members of this 150-man crew deserted.



Three years later, upon his return, he would find he faced charges of [piracy](#) for the manner in which he had been interpreting this permission, and of murder for the killing of the mutineer. He would deposit some of his loot with the owner of Gardiners Island, which is at the eastern tip of Paumanok Long Island. Since British law required that all accused of piracy receive their trials in England, Kidd would be transported there. He would be found guilty of piracy and murder, and would [hang](#) on May 23, 1701. The only portion of his loot ever to be recovered would be that portion which had been listed on the witnessed manifest at Gardiners Island. Some assert that the bulk of his loot is still under the sands of Campobello Island, which is just across the Canadian boundary. Others assert, on the basis of some cryptic remarks that Kidd made just before the noose

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choked off his breath, that the loot is buried somewhere near Old Saybrook, in Connecticut.



January 29, Wednesday (1695, Old Style): Thomas Randall was [hanged](#) for murder at Stonebridge Kingsland.

February 27, Thursday (1695, Old Style): 11 men and a woman were [condemned](#) at the February Sessions, of whom the woman found to be quick with child. Robert Maynard was respited to the 4th of May.

When Captain [William Kidd](#) set sail in his new [privateer](#) galley with oars, the *Adventure Galley* didn't get very far on the Thames estuary before it was stopped by a warship of the Royal Navy, and a major portion of Kidd's crew was "[crimped](#)", leaving him with barely enough men to handle the sails. He would proceed down the English Channel to recruit new crewmen at Plymouth.

[IMPRESSMENT](#)

March 18, Wednesday: Per the diary of [John Evelyn](#):



STATE MURDER

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... Three of the unhappy wretches (whereoff one a Priest) executed this weeke for intending to assassinate the King; accknowledging their intention, but acquitting K[ing] James, of instigating them to it in that manner, & dying very penetently: [Divers more in danger & some very Considerable persons:]

TRANSCRIPT OF THE TRIAL

As above, Robert Charnock, Edward King, and Thomas Keyes were drawn on hurdles from the place of their confinement, the Newgate prison, to the place of their execution, the gallows tree in Tyburn, where they were severally hanged by the neck and cut down alive, whereupon their bowels and privy members were cut from their bodies and burnt in their view, before their heads were cut off and their bodies divided into four quarters to be exposed about London for their roles in the “Assassination Plot.”

That I might avoid Distractions, and be compos'd as much as is possible at the Time of my Execution I thought it much more proper to communicate this to the sheriffs than to give myself the uneasiness of speaking leaving it to them to publish it they should think convenient for the satisfaction of the world and in what I have to say I have taken as much care as I could to be short that I might not lose time in my greatest concern.

As concerning an invasion intended by King James upon England that there was certain intelligence of it from abroad I presume every body was satisfied and to the facilitating of which I own that myself and some others did agree upon the undertaking to attack the Prince of Orange and his Guards for which I am now to suffer but I think myself obliged by all the ties imaginable both of conscience and honour to declare that as for any order or commission of King James for assassinating the Prince of Orange I never saw nor knew of such but have had frequent assurances of his having rejected such proposals when they have been offered.

I confess I did hear that there was a commission arrived for levying war and which was natural to believe if the King was in such readiness to come over as was reported but if there was any such authority as that I declare I never saw it.

As to what regards the body of the Roman Catholics I must do them this justice and which I dare be positive in that they had no manner of knowledge of this design nor do I believe it was communicated to any other party of such as are reputed the King's friends; but carried on merely by a small number without the advice, consent, or privity, of any parties whatsoever.

I ask forgiveness of all the world for what offences or injuries I have done to them and I am {I bless Almighty God} in perfect charity with all mankind.

Robert Charnock

I am now within a few moments of eternity brought to place by the just hand of God in punishment of all my crimes but particularly of that of which I have been lately arraigned and for which I stand here condemned but I hope that of God which has given me a sense of my wickedness will accept my repentance and shew mercy on me which I hope to obtain through the passion and merits of my Redeemer upon whom I entirely cast myself.

And that I may find his mercy I think myself obliged to do justice to my neighbour that so none may suffer wrongfully on my account and therefore as I am soon to answer the truth what I say before the tribunal of God,

First, I declare that I never saw any order or commission King James for promoting the assassination for which I am condemned



STATE MURDER

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neither do I know of any such order or commission. Secondly, That this design was not undertaken with any general knowledge or approbation of any body of men either Catholic or Protestant.

Lastly, That I did not engage in it on presumption of any king-killing principles that could justify such an undertaking but drawn into it by my own rashness and passion; for which, and all other sins, I heartily beseech God to forgive me.

And I hope that such who think the misfortunes of their imprisonment or trouble is derived from my having been engaged in this outerprize [sic] or such to whom it has any ways given scandal that they will admit me to their pardon as I freely heartily forgive all mankind. In this disposition of a sincere repentance and true charity I commend my soul into the hands God and hope to find mercy from him: and for this I beg all your prayers.

Edward King

I am going to appear before the living God: I trust in his mercy that he will forgive all my sins committed to this last moment of my life. God is just in all his judgments, and I accept of this death as the punishment of my iniquities. I forgive all my enemies, and hope through a hearty repentance, and the merits of my Saviour, to obtain mercy.

Have mercy on me, O Father of mercy, and, through thy only Son, forgive me all my sins!

Thomas Keys

March 20, Friday: March , 1696: Peter Clarke was [hanged](#) at Tyburn for burglary. Michael Hall was [hanged](#) for theft from Exchequer. Joseph Jordan was [hanged](#) for highway robbery. Richard Lewis was [hanged](#) for privately stealing from person. George Richardson was [hanged](#) for horse theft.

April 3, Friday (Old Style): A wealthy Protestant brewer, Sir John Friend or Freind, who had been knighted by the [Catholic](#) monarch [James II of England](#), was [hanged](#), drawn, and quartered at Tyburn for having refused to betray a [Jacobite](#) group plotting to restore that person to the English throne. In his dying speech he declared "that, as no foreign power, so neither any domestic power can alienate our allegiance. For it is altogether new and unintelligible to me that the King's subjects can depose or dethrone him on any account." His quarters were displayed at Temple Bar. Sir William Perkins also was [hanged](#), drawn, and quartered at Tyburn for high treason, for his more direct part in the "[Assassination Plot](#)."

April 22, Wednesday (Old Style): 10 people were [condemned](#) at the April Sessions, with 8 men being later executed and 1 pardoned.

April 29, Wednesday (Old Style): [Ambrose Rookwood](#), [Charles Cranburne](#), and [Robert Lowick](#) were [hanged](#), drawn, and quartered at Tyburn for high treason for their parts in the "[Assassination Plot](#)" (eventually the total of [Jacobites](#) so executed would amount to nine).

May 4, Monday: Robert Maynard and Thomas Marsh were [hanged](#) at Tyburn for murder. Ralph Gardner, Robert Eadolf, and Thomas Raymond were [hanged](#) for H/T coining or clipping. Daniel Parrot was [hanged](#) for burglary.



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May 27, Wednesday: The May Sessions opened and would result in [death sentences](#) on 5 people. The fate and identities of these are unknown.

June 15, Monday (Old Style): There were three [hangings](#) at Tyburn, but there are no details.

July 6: [Judge Samuel Sewall](#) donated 500 acres from the Pettaquamscutt Purchase in Narragansett Country to [Harvard College](#). Just in the nick of time, too, for the old building of the college had so decayed as hardly to be usable.

July 27, Monday: Katherine Buckingham was [hanged](#) at Tyburn for theft.

September 9, Wednesday (Old Style): The September Sessions would result in 13 men and 7 women being condemned, of whom 8 men would be [hanged](#) and all the women would be found to be pregnant.

September 25, Friday (Old Style): John Bevin was [hanged](#) at Tyburn for murder. Adam Chamberlaine was [hanged](#) for H/T coining. George Hind was [hanged](#) for burglary. Edward Holland was [hanged](#) for murder. Thomas Holyland was [hanged](#) for H/T clipping. Henry Mansfield was [hanged](#) for H/T coining. Peter Paul was [hanged](#) for burglary. William Unit was [hanged](#) for H/T coining.

October 14, Wednesday (Old Style): 11 men and 1 woman would be sentenced to death at the October Sessions. 1 man would be reprieved. The woman would be found to be pregnant and 1 man would be respited.

October 21, Wednesday (Old Style): The Reverend Benjamin Estabrook was ordained as the 1st minister of Lexington.

October 23, Friday (Old Style): Jacob Whitlock was [hanged](#) at Tyburn for the rape of a child. Thomas Pike was [hanged](#) for high treason (unlicensed visit to the King of France). Henry Cope and James Peirce were [hanged](#) for H/T coining. Cyrus Simon or Symonds (from Sept. Sessions) was [hanged](#) for murder. Robert Adams, Thomas Harris, Abraham Turner was [hanged](#), William Marshall, and John Wattmore were [hanged](#) for burglary.

December 9, Wednesday (Old Style): At the December Sessions 19 men and 4 women would be condemned to [hang](#) (the women would be found all to be quick with child).



STATE MURDER

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December 12, Saturday (Old Style), early evening: Captain [William Kidd](#)'s *Adventure Galley* was making only slow progress because it had lost some of its sails in a storm. They were a hundred miles northwest of Capetown off the Cape of Good Hope when they encountered a Royal Navy squadron. Since his vessel was sailing on a royal [privateering](#) commission, Captain Kidd requested Commander Warren, in charge of the squadron, that he be provided with some new sails. When rebuffed, Kidd commented that he would need to seize new sails from the next merchant ship he encountered. The commander responded that on the following morning he was planning to impress 30 of Kidd's crewmen into the Royal Navy. That night, making use of his galley's oars, Kidd slipped away. Figuring that it might not be safe to stop in at Capetown harbor as planned, he continued toward the Indian Ocean.




December 30, Wednesday (Old Style): It is reported that 14 of the men condemned during the December Sessions were [hanged](#) at Tyburn — but no details as to their names or offenses exist.

STATE MURDER

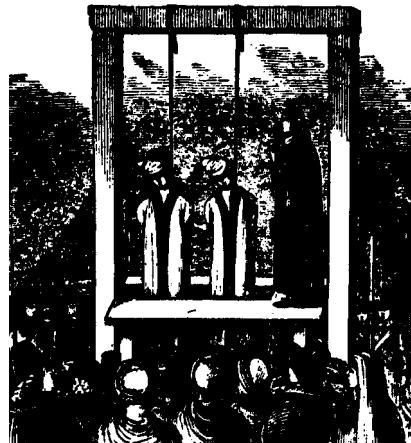
STATE MURDER

1697

January 14, Thursday (1696, Old Style): This was the Fast Day set by the General Court to expiate the Salem witchcraft episode. [Judge Samuel Sewall](#) had had some bad events occur in his family that had caused him to suspect that he and his were being punished of God. So this progenitor of the Ellen Devereux Sewall and Edmund Quincy Sewall, Jr. of Thoreau's love stood in his pew in the South Church of [Boston](#) while the Reverend Samuel Willard read out his statement, that the Sewall family had been cursed of God because of the trials, and that he Samuel did take "the Blame and shame" upon himself, and read out his petition for the pardon of God and men. The twelve jurors of the Salem [witchcraft](#) trial of September 22, 1692  were in attendance to acknowledge that they had "unwittingly and unwillingly" brought

upon ourselves and this people of the Lord the guilt of innocent blood.

The judge did then and there publicly admit the injustice of the witch [hangings](#) he had ordered on Gallows Hill in Salem.





STATE MURDER

[The Score So Far: Seven judges, one repentant.]

STATE MURDER



STATE MURDER

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1699

March 18, Saturday (1698, Old Style): Joe Brodish had sailed under Captain Thomas Gulleck as boatswain aboard the 350-ton, 22-gun merchant ship *Adventure*, but when the ship appeared off the coast of Connecticut on this day, at [Block Island](#) and Gardiners Island, Gulleck was not to be seen and Brodish was in charge. The *Adventure* then sailed for the Caribbean and when it would return would attempt to deposit its gains at John Gardner's "[Pirate Bank](#)." A storm would prevent the crew of the *Adventure* from landing there, and the ship would go on to [Newport](#) where two of the men would be arrested while attempting to purchase a sloop. Brodish purchased a sloop from a passing fisherman and transferred some of his treasure from the *Adventure* to the sloop. Then the two vessels sailed to Montauk Point, where the *Adventure* sank in a raging sea, taking much treasure to the bottom. The crew manage to swim ashore, and later took the sloop and the remaining treasure on to Maine. Brodish and a one-eyed man named Tee Wetherly would be arrested in Boston, and nine other members also would be detained in various parts of [Rhode Island](#) and Massachusetts during April, with about £300 pounds sterling in their possession. Each crewman of the *Adventure* was said to have received 1,500 pieces of eight as his share. Some £3,000, with jewels, belonging to Brodish, would be seized by authorities at the home of Henry Pierson, Nassau Island, New York. Brodish and Wetherly would spend a couple of months in jail, and then on June 25, 1699 jailkeeper Caleb Ray would allege that they had escaped. Governor Bellmont suspected that this jailkeeper, who was a cousin or uncle of Brodish, had let the men go. Bellomont offered a reward of 200 pieces of eight for the capture of Brodish and 100 for the capture of Thee Wetherly. A bounty hunter named Essacambuit caught up with the duo in Saco, Maine. They escaped twice from this bounty hunter but each time were recaptured, and upon their arrival in Boston Governor Bellmont had them shipped to England, where they would be [hung](#).

July 1, Saturday (Old Style): Captain [William Kidd](#) had sailed the *Adventure Galley* from [New-York](#) three years earlier, with a commission to prey upon the enemies of England. When he learned that he had been declared a pirate, he transferred some of his loot to a sloop, the *St. Anthony*, and leaving the *Quedah Merchant* behind in the Caribbean, set sail for New England to clear his name. He seems to have gone directly to Oyster Bay, where he contacted an attorney, James Emmot, whom he asked to approach Bellomont. Bellomont wrote:

Captain Kidd in a sloop richly laden, came to Rhode Island, and sent one Emot to Boston to treat about his admission and security. He said Kidd had left the great Moorish ship he took in India, called the *Quedah Merchant*, in a creek on the coast of [Hispaniola](#), with goods to the value of 30,000 pounds.

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While safely harboring at [Block Island](#), which was under the jurisdiction of the colony of [Rhode Island](#) &



Providence Plantations, he negotiated at long range with the Governor of the Bay Colony, the Earl of Bellermont, cousin to the King of England, for a full pardon for the manner in which he had been interpreting this commission while upon the high seas, and received the promise “I make no manner of doubt but to obtain the King’s pardon to you.” Kidd gave the current owner of Gardiners Island, Jonathan Gardiner the grandson of Lion Gardiner, “four pieces of Arabian Gold” and asked him to accept custody of “three negroes, two boys and a girl, ashore, to keep till he, the said Kidd, should call for them.” Kidd also presented Gardiner with some



luxurious silk fabric — a piece hangs today on a wall of that island’s manor house. Gardiner would reveal to the authorities that during his visit to his island Captain Kidd had also buried “a chest and a box of Gold, a bundle of quilts, and four bales of goods” half a mile inland from the western coastline, marking the burial spot with a pile of rocks. (The trove was estimated at the time to be worth £20,000, which would be more than \$1,000,000 in our greenbacks today. Every item was on a witnessed manifest and this buried trove was not the total loot, but was merely the due share of the Earl of Bellermont. Some assert that the bulk of Kidd’s treasure is still under the sands of Campobello Island, which is just across the Canadian boundary. Others assert, on the basis of some cryptic remarks Kidd made just before the first noose took his breath away, that he had been able to bury something of substance somewhere near Old Saybrook in Connecticut. The vine-covered cairn still stands on Gardiners Island above the hole emptied by the governor, and nearby there is a granite marker

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erected during the 19th Century.)



Two members of Kidd's crew "who went by the names of Cook and Parrot" gave Gardiner "two bags of Silver ... which weighed thirty pounds ... a small bundle of gold, gold dust of about a pound weight ... a sash and a pair of worsted stockings." Kidd sent jewels to Boston care of his attorney, James Emmot, for presentation to Bellomont's wife. Then, with all his bargaining chips in place, Kidd ventured to Boston, carrying with him his documentary proofs that the ships he had seized were all of French registration in accordance with his contract of privateering. His best bet, as he must have realized, was his continued control over the *Quedah Merchant* back in the Caribbean. On this day, however, when he sailed into Boston harbor, he found himself unexpectedly taken under arrest by the officers of Governor Bellermont, facing charges of [piracy](#). Colonel Robert Livingston's own self-interest was at stake for, in concert with some other crown officers in England, he had had a 1/5th share in the enterprise, so he attempted to be of assistance, offering suggestions for a resolution of the difficulties. For some reason, however, Livingston's attempts at a resolution would fail.⁷⁸ Isaac Norris, Senior would write that "We have four men in prison, taken up as pirates, supposed to be Kid's men. Shelly, of New York has brought to these parts some scores of them, and there is a sharp look out to take them. We have various reports of their riches, and money hid between this and the capes. There were landed about twenty men, as we understand, at each cape, and several are gone to York. A sloop has been seen cruising off the capes for a considerable time, but has not meddled with any vessel as yet, though she has spoken with several." Presumably these men had some hint that Kidd's treasure was greater than he had reported, and that he was holding something back from them? Since British law required that all accused of piracy receive trial in England, Kidd would be transported there. The ships' papers he had in his possession, documentary proof that all the ships he had captured had been sailing under French authority, would be sequestered from him by the prosecution, and he would be found guilty of piracy and murder and [hanged](#) on May 23, 1701.⁷⁹

PRIVATEERING

Joseph Bradish, probably a son of Joseph Bradish and a grandson of Robert Bradish of Cambridge, was sent to England with Captain [William Kidd](#) and also would hang in [London](#) for piracy.

78. Robert Livingston would settle in Albany, New York, becoming Lord of the 160,000-acre Manor of Livingston. In 1695 he would become Secretary of Indian Affairs, and from 1709 to 1711 he would be a prominent member of the New York Provincial Assembly, rising in 1716 to the post of Speaker of the Assembly. He would die in his bed in 1728 at the age of 74.

79. The Earl of Romney, the Earl of Orford, Sir John Somers, and the Duke of Shrewsbury would never acknowledge their involvement with [William Kidd](#) and would be protected behind the veil of appearances the court so carefully wove.



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1701

Joseph Bradish and his crew were [hanged](#) at Wapping.

[PIRACY](#)

May 23, Friday (Old Style): [William Kidd](#), after receiving the death penalty⁸⁰ for [piracy](#) and murder, and in his last desperate attempt to save his neck from the [gallows](#) in [London](#), wrote a letter from Newgate Prison to Robert Harley, Speaker of the House of Commons, offering to take persons appointed by the House to a place “that in my late proceedings in the Indies I have lodged goods and treasure to the value of one hundred thousand pounds.” Presumably he meant by “the Indies” some island in the Indian Ocean, as the islands we now know as the “West Indies” were then usually known as “the islands of the Caribbean.”

S'r,
The sence of my present Condition (being under Condemnation) and the thoughts of having bene imposed on by such as seek't my destruction thereby to fulfill their ambitious desires makes me uncapable of Expressing my selfe in those terms as I ought, therefore due most humbly pray that you will be pleased to represent to the Hon'bl. house of Comons that in my late proceedings in the Indies I have lodged goods and Trespure to the value of one hundred thousand pounds, which I desire the Government may have the benefitt of, in order thereto, I shall desire no manner of liberty but to be kept prisoner on board such shipp as may be appointed for that purpose, and only give the necessary directions and in case I faile therin I desire no favour but to be forthwith Executed acording to my Sentence. If y'r honbl. house will please to order a Comittee to come to me, I doubt not but to give such satisfaction as may obtaine mercy, most Humbly submitting to the wisdom of your great assembly I am
S'r Y'r Unfortunate humble servant
Wm Kidd

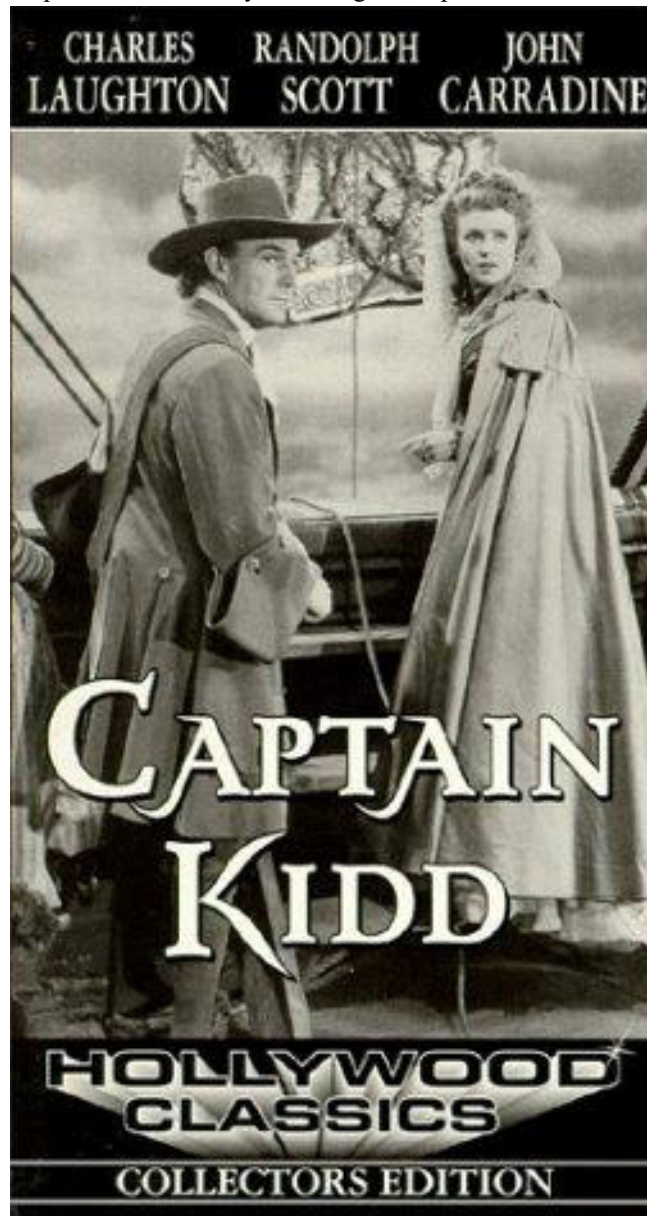
80. The first [capital punishment](#) enactments of which we have written record date to the legal code of King Hammurabi of Babylon, in the 18th Century BCE, which had specified the penalty of death for 25 distinct offenses. This had been carried forward in the 14th Century BCE in the Hittite code of laws, which also made use of capital punishment, and in the 7th Century BCE, in the legal code implemented by Draco of Athens, which had specified that the penalty was to be the same, capital punishment, for any crime regardless of what it was (this had been, of course, truly Draconian). In this century, the Roman Law of the Twelve Tablets also made use of capital punishment. Death might be by crucifixion, by burning alive, by being beaten to death, by drowning, or by impalement. In the 10th Century, the British code of laws had also made use of capital punishment, although the usual method of execution was hanging. The arrival of William the Bastard, become William the Conqueror, in the 11th Century, meant no capital punishment whatever of any of his British subjects, regardless of their crime, except in time of war. During the reign of King Henry VIII over England, however, we infer that as many as 72,000 people were executed. The common methods of execution in Henry's time were boiling, burning at the stake, hanging, beheading, and drawing and quartering. Treason was a capital offense — and the crime of trahison might extend even to whispering a jest about the monarch, or failing to raise one's glass during a toast, or having sex with a prince's nursemaid. For a non-Jew to marry a Jew was a capital offense. For an arrested person to refuse to confess to a crime meant that the penalty, if found guilty, regardless of the offense, was to be death. In subsequent centuries, the English lawmakers had continued to add to the list of crimes punishable by death. By the 1700s, 222 crimes were punishable by death in Britain, and this including stealing, the unauthorized cutting down of a tree, and pilfering from someone else's rabbit warren. Because they knew that a conviction meant an execution, where they did not consider the culprit's offense to be that serious many juries of Englishmen would issue a verdict of “not proven.”



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On this day he mounted the [gallows](#) on the mudflats of the [Thames River](#) at Execution Dock in Wapping together with 2 condemned French pirates and Darby Mullins, the single crewman who had remained loyal to the end. The hangmen had gotten Kidd good and drunk on gin and rum, so drunk that he may well not have been able to pay much attention to what was going on. The 1st time, the famous pirate snapped the rope and landed in the filth and muck under the gallows, so if he had by this point gotten sober enough, he must have been hoping against hope that on the 2d try — it'd again snap.



Henceforth let honour's paths be trod,
Nor villains seek in vain
To mock the sacred laws of God,



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To give their neighbour's pain.

After leaving the corpse hanging there until the requisite three tides had washed over it, the hangmen cut it down, slathered it with tar, and sent it to be gibbeted in a cage of iron straps at Tillberry Fort, Tilbury Point, Gravesend. His black corpse would be on display in that iron cage on the bank of the Thames for the next approximately two decades, until sea birds had picked it clean.



The names of other members of Kidd's crew, hanged with him on this day at Execution Dock in Wapping, were:

- Nicholas Churchill
- James How
- Gabriel Loff
- Hugh Parrott
- Abel Owens
- Darby Mullins

(Some members of the crew had been able to get off, by demonstrating that before their surrender they had been offered amnesty.)

Note well that Henry David Thoreau would make reference to "The Ballad Song of Captain Kid" in [WALDEN](#):

[WALDEN](#): It was very pleasant, when I staid late in town, to launch myself into the night, especially if it was dark and tempestuous, and set sail from some bright village parlor or lecture room, with a bag of rye or Indian meal upon my shoulder, for my snug harbor in the woods, having made all tight without and withdrawn under hatches with a merry crew of thoughts, leaving only my outer man at the helm, or even tying up the helm when it was plain sailing. I had many a genial thought by the cabin fire "as I sailed." I was never cast away nor distressed in any weather, though I encountered some severe storms.

PEOPLE OF
WALDEN

CAPTAIN WILLIAM KIDD



STATE MURDER

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The Ballad Song of Captain Kid

My name was Captain Kid,
When I sail'd, when I sail'd,
My name is Captain Kid,
And so wickedly I did,
God's laws I did forbid
When I sail'd, when I sail'd

My name was Captain Kid,
When I sail'd, when I sail'd,
I roam'd from sound to sound,
And many a ship I found,
And them I sunk or burn'd
When I sail'd, when I sail'd.

My name was Captain Kid,
When I sail'd, when I sail'd,
I murdered William Moore,
And laid him in his gore,
Not many leagues from shore,
When I sail'd, when I sail'd.

My name was Captain Kid,
When I sail'd, when I sail'd,
Farewell to young and old,
All jolly seamen bold;
You're welcome to my gold,
For I must die, I must die.

My name was Captain Kid,
When I sail'd, when I sail'd,
Farewell to Lunnon town,
The pretty girls all round;
No pardon can be found,
And I must die, I must die.

My name was Captain Kid,
When I sail'd, when I sail'd,
Farewell, for I must die
Then to eternity,
In hideous misery,
I must lie, I must lie.

Otherwise:

My name is William Kidd, as I sailed, as I sailed
My name is William Kidd, as I sailed
My name is William Kidd, God's laws I did forbid
And most wickedly I did, as I sailed, as I sailed

Oh, my parents taught me well, as I sailed, as I sailed
My parents taught me well, as I sailed
My parents taught me well to shun the gates of Hell
But against them I rebelled, as I sailed, as I sailed

Oh, I murdered William Moore, as I sailed, as I sailed
I murdered William Moore, as I sailed
I murdered William Moore and I left him in his gore
Many leagues from shore, as I sailed, as I sailed

Oh, I steered from sound to sound, as I sailed, as I sailed
Oh I steered from sound to sound, as I sailed
I steered from sound to sound, and many ships I found
And all of them I burned as I sailed, as I sailed

And being cruel still, as I sailed, as I sailed
And being cruel still, as I sailed
And being cruel still my gunner I did kill



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And his precious blood did spill, as I sailed, as I sailed


I was sick and nigh to death, as I sailed, as I sailed
I was sick and nigh to death, as I sailed
I was sick and nigh to death and I vowed with every breath
To walk in wisdom's ways when I sailed, when I sailed

My repentance lasted not, as I sailed, as I sailed
My repentance lasted not, as I sailed
My repentance lasted not, my vows I soon forgot
Damnation was my lot, as I sailed, as I sailed

To execution dock I must go, I must go
To execution dock I must go
To execution dock, while many thousands flock
But I must bear the shock and must die, and must die,

Take a warning now by me, for I must die, for I must die,
Take a warning now by me for I must die
Take a warning now by me and shun bad company,
Lest you come to hell with me, for I must die, I must die.

July 17, Thursday (Old Style): Esther Rogers of Newbury was [hanged](#) and then her dead body was placed on a gibbet at Pingrey's Plain in [Ipswich](#), for having murdered her illegitimate infant on November 12, 1700. "Go thou and sin no more."

 Tradition informs us, that she confessed this to be her second illegitimate child, and that the first was secreted, she not knowing whether it was dead or alive. She appeared very sorrowful for her iniquities, and acknowledged her sentence to be righteous. She continued in deep distress for her sins, after she set out for the gallows; but, when passing a hill, she was divinely enabled to cast her soul upon Christ and to enjoy the consolations of a hope in him. This hill from that time, has been called "Comfort Hill," because she there was comforted by the promises of religion to the penitent.

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CAPTAIN KID'S FAREWEL TO THE SEAS; OR,
THE FAMOUS PIRATE'S LAMENT.

My name is Captain Kid, who has sail'd [who has sail'd],
 My name is Captain Kid, who has sail'd ;
 My name is Captain Kid.
 What the laws did still forbid
 Unluckily I did while I sail'd [while I sailed, etc.].

Upon the ocean wide, when I sail'd, etc.,
 Upon the ocean wide, when I sail'd,
 Upon the ocean wide
 I robbed on every side,
 With most ambitious pride, when I sail'd.

My faults I will display while I sail'd, etc.,
 My faults I will display while I sail'd ;
 My faults I will display,
 Committed day by day
 [A line lost.]

Many long leagues from shore when I sail'd, etc.,
 Many long leagues from shore when I sail'd,
 Many long leagues from shore
 I murdered William More,
 And laid him in his gore, when I sail'd,

Because a word he spoke when I sail'd, etc.,
 Because a word he spoke when I sail'd,
 Because a word he spoke :
 I with a bucket broke
 His scull at one sad stroke, while I sail'd.

I struck with a good will when I sail'd, etc.,
 I struck with a good will when I sail'd ;
 I struck with a good will,
 And did a gunner kill
 As being cruel still when I sail'd.

A Quida merchant then while I sail'd, etc.,
 A Quida merchant then while I sail'd,
 A Quida merchant then
 I robbed of hundreds ten,
 Assisted by my men, while I sailed.

A banker's ship of France, while I sailed, etc.,
 A banker's ship of France, while I sailed,
 A banker's ship of France
 Before us did advance :
 I seized her by chance, while I sailed.

Full fourteen ships I see when I sailed, etc.,
 Full fourteen ships I see when I sailed ;
 Full fourteen ships I see,
 Merchants of high degree ;
 They were too hard for me when I sailed.

We steered from sound to sound while we sailed,
 We steered from sound to sound while we sailed ;
 We steered from sound to sound,
 A Moorish ship we found ;
 Her men we stript and bound while we sailed.

Upon the ocean seas while we sailed, etc.,
 Upon the ocean seas while we sailed,
 Upon the ocean seas
 A warlike Portuguese
 In sport did us displease, while we sailed.

At famous Malabar when we sailed, etc.,
 At famous Malabar when we sailed,
 At famous Malabar
 We went ashore, each tar,
 And robbed the natives there, when we sailed.

Then after this we chased, while we sailed,
 Then after this we chased, while we sailed,
 Then after this we chased
 A rich Armenian, graced
 With wealth, which we embraced, while we sailed.

Many Moorish ships we took while we sailed,
 Many Moorish ships we took while we sailed,
 Many Moorish ships we took ;
 We did still for plunder look ;
 All conscience we forsook while we sailed.

I, Captain Cullifoord, while I sailed, etc.,
 I, Captain Cullifoord, while I sailed,
 I, Captain Cullifoord,
 Did many merchants board,
 Which did much wealth afford, while we sailed.

Two hundred bars of gold, while we sail'd, etc.,
 Two hundred bars of gold, while we sailed,
 Two hundred bars of gold
 And six dollars manifold
 We seized uncontrolled, while we sailed.

St. John, a ship of fame, when we sailed, etc.,
St. John, a ship of fame, when we sailed,
St. John, a ship of fame,
 We plundered when she came,
 With more that I could name, when we sailed.

We taken was at last, and must die, etc.,
 We taken was at last, and must die ;
 We taken were at last,
 And into prison cast :
 Now, sentence being past, we must die.

Tho' we have reigned awhile we must die, etc.,
 Tho' we have reigned awhile we must die ;
 Tho' we have reigned awhile,
 While fortune seemed to smile,
 Now on the British Isle we must die.

Farewel the ocean main, we must die, etc.,
 Farewel the ocean main, we must die ;
 Farewel the ocean main :
 The coast of France or Spain
 We ne'er shall see again ; we must die.

From Newgate now in carts we must go, etc.,
 [From Newgate now in carts we must goe ;]
 From Newgate now in carts,
 With sad and heavy hearts,
 To have our due deserts we must go.

Some thousands they will flock when we die,
 Some thousands they will flock when we die,
 Some thousands they will flock
 To Execution Dock,
 Where we must stand the shock and must die.
 To the Tune of *Coming down*.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1702

October 6, Friday (Old Style): A former [slave](#) named Jack, and two slaves, were apprehended for breaking into the Luffkin house to steal [arrack](#). The jury of [St. Helena](#) citizens would [hang](#) the slaves but allow Jack to remain alive while remanding him to slavery.

DRUNKENNESS

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1704

June 30, Friday (Old Style): Jack Quelch had been elected as commander of the *Charles* after the crew had dumped their captain overboard at Half Way Rock outside [Salem](#) Harbor. Captain Jack had led his merry men in [pirate](#) raids off the coast of South America and then, upon returning to Marblehead, he and six of that crew had been taken prisoner by a force of volunteers led by Stephen Sewall of [Newbury](#). On the mud flats⁸¹ of the Charles River (*Quinobequin*), a [gallows](#) was erected and on this day Jack Quelch and the other 6 captured [pirates](#) of the *Charles* were turned off. This was not the olden savage times, during which a pirate's body would be left to twist slowly in the wind among the apple trees on Governors Island (now under Logan Airport's runway)



to offer a moral example to passing sailors — so, temporarily, there would be a surfeit of good specimens for dissection by [Boston](#)'s physicians.

THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS

Ye pirates who against God's laws did fight,
Have all been taken which is right.
Some of them were old and others young,
And on the flats of Boston they were hung.



81. Those condemned under Admiralty law were of course to be executed on ground over which the Admiralty held authority, which is to say, below the line of the high tide — you can't just up and hang someone in someone else's jurisdiction! However, the [pirates](#) could not be executed on mudflats on the Boston Harbor side, because on that side there was still 17 feet of water even at low tide, ergo no convenient mudflats at all.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1707

A whitewasher [hanged](#) himself in [Boston](#). [Judge Samuel Sewall](#) denied Christian burial to the body of this [suicide](#) and had a cartload of stones dumped on top of it near the gallows on Boston Neck (the stones cost the town 13 shillings).



1709

Henry Young was, we believe, the final person to get actually [hanged](#) in England, for being judged to have been defeated by his opponent in a [Trial by Combat](#).



FINAL EXECUTIONS		
September 22, 1692	Martha Corey, Margaret Scott, Mary Towne Estey or Easty, Alice Parker, Ann Pudeator, Wilmott Redd, Samuel Wardwell, and Mary Parker	hanged for witchcraft in the American colonies “...what a sad thing it is to see Eight Firebrands of Hell hanging there”
1709	Henry Young	last person to get actually hanged in England, for being judged to have been defeated by his opponent in a Trial by Combat
July 28, 1716	Mary Hicke and her 9-year-old daughter Elizabeth	hanged as witches in Huntingdon, England

NO-ONE’S LIFE IS EVER NOT DRIVEN PRIMARILY BY HAPPENSTANCE





STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1710

An anonymous booklet was published in London, entitled *ONANIA: OR, THE HEINOUS SIN OF SELF-POLLUTION, AND ALL ITS FRIGHTFUL CONSEQUENCES IN BOTH SEXES CONSIDER'D, WITH SPIRITUAL AND PHYSICAL ADVICE TO THOSE WHO HAVE ALREADY INJUR'D THEMSELVES BY THIS ABOMINABLE PRACTICE. AND SEASONABLE ADMONITION TO THE YOUTH OF THE NATION, (OF BOTH SEXES) AND THOSE WHOSE TUITION THEY ARE UNDER, WHETHER PARENTS, GUARDIANS, MASTERS, OR MISTRESSES. WITH A LETTER FROM A LADY TO THE AUTHOR (VERY CURIOUS) AND HIS ANSWER TO IT, CONCERNING THE USE AND ABUSE OF THE MARRIAGE-BED; AND DIVERS OTHER LETTERS AND RELATIONS OF SOME SECRET MATTERS, NECESSARY TO BE KNOWN, AS WELL BY SINGLE AS MARRIED PEOPLE.* (No that's not the booklet, that's merely the title.) The credit for thus inventing [masturbation](#) as a grave medical hazard has been attributed by Haeberle in 1983 (page 199) to a person named "Dr. Bekkers" who operated out of Mr. Crouch's bookstall in London, who had been a clergyman before becoming a physician. Apparently convinced that many practiced self-pollution without recognizing its dangers, the author warned that it "destroys conjugal Affection, perverts natural Inclination, and tends to extinguish the hope of posterity." Not only does "self-pollution" threaten the reproduction of the race, the author wrote, but these "onanists" who spill their seed upon the ground violate the Biblical prohibition against "sodomy" and suffer dire personal health effects as well. While [capital punishment](#) for sodomy effectively suppresses it, the absence of legal proscriptions against masturbation leads its practitioners to fancy that no harm will befall them. Onanists can expect to suffer blindness, insanity, stunted growth, and, unless they reform, death. The more you masturbate, the less able you are to have children, and if you do produce offspring they'll be runts or deformed, or even worse, they'll be born female. The publication's context suggests that the author was a quack: this 1st edition included advertisements for a "Strengthening Tincture" and "Prolifick Powder" which when combined with strict sexual abstinence had the power to cure the ills of onanism. Whether the author sold much of his powder or tincture is unknown, but he did sell a number of the pamphlets. At least one edition, in 1724, would be published in America. By 1750, the 19th edition would have made its appearance. The later revisions got longer, as they became padded with anonymous testimonials from people who claimed to have been helped by the book and defenses against critics. The author was vexed by one particular criticism: by talking about the vice of onanism, his critics argued, he was encouraging it. Innocents were being corrupted and taught a new vice that would, perhaps, have never occurred to them had they not read ONANIA's explicit description of it! In his defense, the author claimed that his effort to "promote Virtue and Christian Purity" required a certain amount of plain speaking. If he thought a subject too salacious, he wrote in academic Latin, a language that a non-professional could not read.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1716

July 28, Saturday (Old Style): [Mary Hickes and her 9-year-old daughter Elizabeth Hickes](#) were [hanged](#) as [witches](#) in Huntingdon, England.

FINAL EXECUTIONS		
1709	Henry Young	last person to get actually hanged in England, for being judged to have been defeated by his opponent in a Trial by Combat
July 28, 1716	Mary Hickes and her 9-year-old daughter Elizabeth	hanged as witches in Huntingdon, England
June 13, 1782	Anna Göldi or Göldin	final person in Europe to be executed for witchcraft , beheaded in Glarus Canton, Switzerland



STATE MURDER

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1717

April 26, Friday night (Old Style): It was a dark and stormy night. Shipwreck of the [pirate Samuel Bellamy](#)'s prize ships *Whydah* and *Mary Anne* on Cape Cod.

[CAPE COD](#): In the year 1717, a noted pirate named Bellamy was led on to the bar off Wellfleet by the captain of a *snow* which he had taken, to whom he had offered his vessel again if he would pilot him into Provincetown Harbor. Tradition says that the latter threw over a burning tar-barrel in the night, which drifted ashore, and the pirates followed it. A storm coming on, their whole fleet was wrecked, and more than a hundred dead bodies lay along the shore. Six who escaped shipwreck were executed. "At times to this day" (1793), says the historian of Wellfleet, "there are King William and Queen Mary's coppers picked up, and pieces of silver called cob-money. The violence of the seas moves the sands on the outer bar, so that at times the iron caboose of the ship [that is, Bellamy's] at low ebbs has been seen." Another tells us that, "For many years after this shipwreck, a man of a very singular and frightful aspect used every spring and autumn to be seen travelling on the Cape, who was supposed to have been one of Bellamy's crew. The presumption is that he went to some place where money had been secreted by the pirates, to get such a supply as his exigencies required. When he died, many pieces of gold were found in a girdle which he constantly wore."

As I was walking on the beach here in my last visit, looking for shells and pebbles, just after that storm which I have mentioned as moving the sand to a great depth, not knowing but I might find some cob-money, I did actually pick up a French crown piece, worth about a dollar and six cents, near high-water mark, on the still moist sand, just under the abrupt, caving base of the bank. It was of a dark slate color, and looked like a flat pebble, but still bore a very distinct and handsome head of Louis XV., and the usual legend on the reverse, *Sit Nomen Domini Benedictum* (Blessed be the Name of the Lord), a pleasing sentiment to read in the sands of the sea-shore, whatever it might be stamped on, and I also made out the date, 1741. Of course, I thought at first that it was that same old button which I have found so many times, but my knife soon showed the silver. Afterward, rambling on the bars at low tide, I cheated my companion by holding up round shells (*Scutellæ*) between my fingers, whereupon he quickly stripped and came off to me.

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The family of Cape Cod's [Samuel Bellamy](#) probably had originated in the Devonshire region of south-western England and may have been one of those families of peasants displaced by the enclosure of common lands. Possibly his family had been involved in Monmouth's failed rebellion of 1685 or had held sympathies for James II (VII of Scotland), overthrown in 1689. Whatever Bellamy's antecedents, he had been on Cape Cod in the summer of 1715 when a hurricane had sunk a dozen Spanish treasure galleons off the coast of Florida.



There had been a rush of adventurers headed for Florida to search out the remains and Bellamy had persuaded a local goldsmith, Palgrave Williams, to bear the cost of fitting out a vessel. Having failed to recover anything from any of the sunken treasure ships, Bellamy and Williams had gone “on the account” –had recourse to straightforward piracy– and in the course of 15 months had captured more than 50 ships including the recently commissioned *Whydah*, a 100-foot, 3-masted galley. The vessel's name, after a harbor on the Guinea coast of Africa, bespoke her involvement in the slave trade. Bellamy and Williams had taken the ship after it had disposed of its black cargo in the Caribbean, as it was heading out for England with a payload of ivory, [indigo](#), sugar, and coins. Late April 1717 had found Bellamy and Williams back in northern waters with a fleet of five ships. Palgrave Williams, in one of the vessels, had put into port at [Block Island](#) to visit relatives,



while Bellamy aboard the *Whydah* continued towards Cape Cod with the other four. We have no idea what drew Bellamy back to the Cape of his origin but folklore tells us there was an attractive local maid, Maria Hallet, to be impressed by the dashing pirate and his new pelf. The pirate flotilla was struck by a ferocious



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storm, complete with blinding rain, 70-mph winds, and crashing waves rising as high as 40 feet, during which the *Whydah* rammed a sandbar and broke her back. Of the other ships, the *Mary Anne* was run aground while the *Fisher* and the *Anne* survived but were severely damaged. Only nine men of the *Whydah* and *Mary Anne* would be still alive by the next morning, two of those being from the crew of 146 that had served on the *Whydah*. Eight would be brought to trial on charges of piracy and six would [hang](#) in chains on the admiralty mudflats of Boston Harbor (these mudflats were on [Charlestown](#) side, since on Boston side the depth of the water was 17 feet even at the lowest of the low tides, ergo no convenient mudflats at all). The 7th, *Mary Anne* survivor Thomas South, and *Whydah* survivor Thomas Davis, a Welsh carpenter, were allowed to have been pressed — they were sailors with special skills whom the pirates had forced into service. John Julian, an American native boy survivor who had been impressed to pilot the *Whydah* through the local shoals, we suspect would have been sold into slavery. Almost immediately the Governor sent Captain Cyprian Southack to the wreck site to report on the potential for a salvage operation, “mooncussers,” the wreck scavengers of Cape Cod, had already been working around the clock and within a couple of weeks the constantly moving sands had buried the *Whydah*.

PIRACY

The more than 100,000 artifacts recovered from the rediscovered wreck of the *Whydah* since 1984 constitute the world’s only authenticated pirate treasure. This trove includes more than 2,000 coins, the majority of them Spanish silver Reales “pieces of eight.” The hoard includes denominations which date from the 1670s to 1715. There are nine Spanish gold Escudos, better known as “Doubloons,” which date from 1688 to 1712 and include denominations of 1, 2 and 8 Escudos. Some of the gold coins were minted in Mexico, others perhaps in Lima. A smattering of British and Scottish coins indicate capture of English and Scottish vessels. The British coins include a Charles II crown dated 1667 and a couple of William III half crowns dated 1697. There is a solitary Scottish bawbee coin but none of the coins recovered were French. Other precious materials include fine examples of Akan gold jewelry and a number of gold bars and ingots. The pieces of African jewelry recovered from the *Whydah* amount to the earliest known collection of this art but much of it had been broken up, and the gold bars and ingots bear score marks testifying to the manner in which the plunder had been apportioned among the members of the pirate band. The weapons recovered include elegant pistols. There are nautical instruments which probably had been seized from law-abiding master mariners. Leather goods also survived in the sands of the seabed and include a pouch, and a shoe and stocking last worn almost 300 years ago. The discovery of a teapot with a human shoulder bone wedged into it testifies to the terror of the storm.

While walking the sand cliffs of Wellfleet on or about October 11, 1849, [Henry Thoreau](#) would find a silver French coin in the sand and then, impishly, exercise his walking companion [Ellery Channing](#) with delusions of pirate treasure. The date on Thoreau’s coin was, however, 1741, indicating that it had not even been minted until a generation after this pirate was already drowned.

TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS

April 29, Monday (Old Style): Learning of the wreck of Captain [Samuel Bellamy](#)’s *Whydah* on the shoals off Cape Cod, Captain [Palsgrave Williams](#) sailed from [Block Island](#) to the Cape Cod waters to see whether he could be of any assistance to his fellow [pirates](#). He could not, as those of Bellamy’s crew who had not drowned during the storm had been captured at Eastham Tavern by Deputy Sheriff Doane and a posse, and would be [hanged](#) in Boston.

TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS



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November 22: Blackbeard was killed during a sword fight with Lieutenant Robert Maynard of the *Ranger*. “The [pirate](#) received a pistol shot while swinging his heavy cutlass and snapping his adversary’s sword like a twig. As Blackbeard was about to deliver the death blow, his throat was slashed by a stout Scot among Maynard’s crew. He struggled on until, while cocking his pistol, he fell down dead. He had sustained 25 wounds, five from pistol balls.” The Lieutenant would chop off the pirate captain’s head and hang it on the end of the *Ranger*’s bowsprit for its triumphal return to Virginia. Fable now has it that the headless corpse swam twice round the ship. The crewmen who had surrendered would be transported to Williamsburg to be tried and [hanged](#). Blackbeard’s head would be mounted on a pole at the entrance to Hampton River –a spot referred to as “Blackbeard’s Point,” hosting a seafood restaurant– until it disintegrated, and his skull would then be fashioned into part of a Raleigh Tavern drinking bowl in Williamsburg, Virginia (the bowl would be lost in the 1920s after being last seen in [North Carolina](#)).

EDWARD “BLACKBEARD” TEACH

THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS

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1718

The act of 1718 reaffirming the Transportation of Convicts made such “transportation” the routine alternative to a death sentence of [hanging](#) or burning at the stake.



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March: Thirteen of the 15 [pirates](#) captured during Maynard's expedition against Blackbeard at Ocracoke Inlet were [hanged](#) on what today is Capitol Landing Road. The jail in which these seamen were confined still stands in Colonial Williamsburg. We know the site of the gallows upon which they were hanged, but it is close to a busy city street and outside the Historic Area — and thus not appropriately touristy.



EDWARD "BLACKBEARD" TEACH

We can see in this period illustration something similar to the verbal description of Teach's appearance, that his jet-black beard reached up almost to his eyes. The women must have appreciated this (or his hidden treasure) as it was said that during Teach's life, he had had a total of 14 wives and sired a total of 40 children!

March 5, Wednesday: In Boston, a private prayer meeting took place at Captain Hill's.



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1720

In Philadelphia, Edward and Martha Hunt, man and wife, were [hanged](#) for the counterfeiting of dollars (this was said to be the 1st case in which capital punishment was inflicted in this colony for such an offence).

January 29: Jane Griffin was [executed](#) for the murder of her maid Elizabeth Osborn, John Trippuck (known as the “Golden Tinman”) was executed for having been a Highwayman, Richard Cane was [executed](#) as a Footpad, Richard Shepherd was executed for housebreaking, and Thomas Charnock was executed for theft.⁸²

Passion, when it once gains an ascendant over our minds, is often more fatal to us than the most deliberate course of vice could be. On every little start it throws us from the paths of reason, and hurries us in one moment into acts more wicked and more dangerous than we could at any other time suffer to enter our imagination. As anger is justly said to be a short madness, so, while the frenzy is upon us, blood is shed as easily as water, and the mind is so filled with fury that there is no room left for compassion. There cannot be a stronger proof of what I have been observing than in the unhappy end of the poor woman who is the subject of this chapter.

Jane Griffin was the daughter of honest and substantial parents, who educated her with very great tenderness and care, particularly with respect to religion, in which she was well and rationally instructed. As she grew up her person grew agreeable, and she had a lively wit and a very tolerable share of understanding. She lived with a very good reputation, and to general satisfaction, in several places, till she married Mr. Griffin, who kept the Three Pigeons in Smithfield.⁸³

She behaved herself so well and was so obliging in her house that she drew to it a very great trade, in which she managed so as to leave everyone well satisfied. Yet she allowed her temper to fly out into sudden gusts of passion, and that folly alone sullied her character to those who were witnesses of it, and at last caused a shameful end to an honest and industrious life.

One Elizabeth Osborn, coming to live with her as a servant, she proved of a disposition as Mrs. Griffin could by no means agree with. They were continually differing and having high words, in which, as is usual on such occasions, Mrs. Griffin made use of wild expressions, which though she might mean nothing by them when she spoke them, yet proved of the utmost ill consequence, after the fatal accident of the maid's death. For being then given in evidence, they were esteemed proofs of malice prepense, which ought to be a warning to all hasty people to endeavour at some restraint upon their tongues when in fits of anger, since we are not only sure of answering hereafter for every idle word we speak, but even here they may, as in this case, become fatal in the last degree.

It was said at the time those things were transacted that jealousy was in some degree the source of their debates, but of that I can affirm nothing. It no way appeared as to the accident

82. LIVES OF THE MOST REMARKABLE CRIMINALS WHO HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED FOR MURDER, THE HIGHWAY, HOUSEBREAKING, STREET ROBBERIES, COINING OR OTHER OFFENCES / COLLECTED FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS AND AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS, AND PUBLISHED IN 1735 / Edited by Arthur L. Hayward

83. This tavern was in Butcher Hall Lane (now King Edward Street, Newgate Street), and was a favourite resort of the Paternoster Row booksellers.



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which immediately drew on her death, and which happened after this manner.

One evening, having cut some cold fowl for the children's supper, it happened the key of the cellar was missing on a sudden, and on Mrs. Griffin's first speaking of it they began to look for it. But it not being found, Mrs. Griffin went into the room where the maid was, and using some very harsh expression, taxed her with having seen it, or laid it out of the way. Instead of excusing herself modestly, the maid flew out also into ill language at her mistress, and in the midst of the fray, the knife with which she had been cutting lying unluckily by her, she snatched it up, and stuck it into the maid's bosom; her stays happening to be unluckily open, it entered so deep as to give her a mortal wound.

After she had struck her Mrs. Griffin went upstairs, not imagining that she had killed her, but the alarm was soon raised on her falling down, and Mrs. Griffin was carried before a magistrate, and committed to Newgate. When she was first confined, she seemed hopeful of getting off at her trial, yet though she did not make any confession, she was very sorrowful and concerned. As her trial drew nearer, her apprehensions grew stronger, till notwithstanding all she could urge in her defence, the jury found her guilty, and sentence was pronounced as the Law directs.

Hitherto she had hopes of life, and though she did not totally relinquish them even upon her conviction, yet she prepared with all due care for her departure. She sent for the minister of her own parish, who attended her with great charity, and she seemed exceedingly penitent and heartily sorry for her crime, praying with great favour and emotion.

And as the struggling of an afflicted heart seeks every means to vent its sorrow, in order to gain ease, or at least an alleviation of pain, so this unhappy woman, to soothe the gloomy sorrows that oppressed her, used to sit down on the dirty floor, saying it was fit she should humble herself in dust and ashes, and professing that if she had an hundred hearts she would freely yield them all to bleed, so they might blot out the stain of her offence. By such expression did she testify those inward sufferings which far exceed the punishment human laws inflict, even on the greatest crimes.

When the death warrant came down and she utterly despaired of life, her sorrow and contrition became greater than before, and here the use and comfort of religion manifestly appeared; for had not her faith in Christ moderated her afflictions, perhaps grief might have forestalled the executioner, but she still comforted herself with thinking on a future state, and what in so short an interval she must do to deserve an happy immortality. The time of her death drawing very near, she desired a last interview with her husband and daughter, which was accompanied with so much tenderness that nobody could have beheld it without the greatest emotion. She exhorted her husband with great earnestness to the practice of a regular and Christian life, begged him to take due care of his temporal concerns, and not omit anything necessary in the education of the unhappy child she left behind her. When he had promised a due regard should be had to all her requests she seemed more composed and better satisfied than she had been. Continuing her discourse, she reminded him of what occurred to her with regard to his affairs,



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adding that it was the last advice she should give, and begging therefore it might be remembered. She finished what she had to say with the most fervent prayers and wishes for his prosperity. Turning next to her daughter, and pouring over her a flood of tears, *My dearest child*, she said, *let the afflictions of thy mother be a warning and an example unto thee; and since I am denied life to educate and bring thee up, let this dreadful monument of my death suffice to warn you against yielding in any degree to your passion, or suffering a vehemence of temper to transport you so far even as indecent words, which bring on a custom of flying out in a rage on trivial occasions, till they fatally terminate in such acts of wrath and cruelty as that for which I die. Let your heart, then, be set to obey your Maker and yield a ready submission to all His laws. Learn that Charity, Love and Meekness which our blessed religion teaches, and let your mother's unhappy death excite you to a sober and godly life. The hopes of thus are all I have to comfort me in this miserable state, this deplorable condition to which my own rash folly has reduced me.*

The sorrow expressed both by her husband and by her child was very great and lively and scarce inferior to her own, but the ministers who attended her fearing their lamentations might make too strong an impression on her spirits, they took their last farewell, leaving her to take care of her more important concern, the eternal welfare of her soul.

Some malicious people (as is too often the custom) spread stories of this unfortunate woman, as if she had been privy to the murder of one Mr. Hanson, who was killed in the Farthing-Pie House fields⁸⁴; and attended this with so many odd circumstances and particulars, which tales of this kind acquire by often being repeated, that the then Ordinary of Newgate thought it became him to mention it to the prisoner. Mrs. Griffin appeared to be much affected at her character being thus stained by the fictions of idle suspicions of silly mischievous persons. She declared her innocence in the most solemn manner, averred she had never lived near the place, nor had heard so much as the common reports as to that gentleman's death.

Yet, as if folks were desirous to heap sorrow on sorrow, and to embitter even the heavy sentence on this poor woman, they now gave out a new fable to calumniate her in respect to her chastity, averring on report of which the first author is never to be found, that she had lived with Mr. Griffin in a criminal intimacy before their marriage. The Ordinary also (though with great reluctance) told her this story. The unhappy woman answered it was false, and confirmed what she said by undeniable evidence, adding she freely forgave the forgers of so base an insinuation.

When the fatal day came on which she was to die, Mrs. Griffin endeavoured, as far as she was able, to compose herself easily to submit to what was not now to be avoided. She had all along manifested a true sense of religion, knowing that nothing could support her under the calamities she went through but the hopes of earthly sufferings atoning for her faults, and becoming thereby a means of eternal salvation. Yet though these thoughts reconciled this ignominious death to her reason, her apprehensions were, notwithstanding, strong and terrible when it came so near.

84. The Farthing-Pie House was a tavern in Marylebone. It was subsequently re-christened The Green Man.



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At the place of execution she was in terrible agonies, conjuring the minister who attended her and the Ordinary of Newgate, to tell her whither there was any hopes of her salvation, which she repeated with great earnestness, and seeming to part with them reluctantly. The Ordinary entreated her to submit cheerfully to this, her last stage of sorrow, and in certain assurance of meeting again (if it so pleased God) in a better slate. The following paper having been left in the hands of a friend, and being designed for the people, I thought proper to publish it.

I declare, then, with respect to the deed for which I die, that I did it without any malice or anger aforethought, for the unlucky instrument of my passion lying at hand, when first words arose on the loss of the key, I snatched it up suddenly, and executed that rash act which hath brought her and me to death, without thinking.

I trust, however, that my most sincere and hearty repentance of this bloody act of cruelty, the sufferings which I have endured since, the ignominious death I am now to die, and above all the merits of my Saviour, who shed His blood for me on the Cross, will atone for this my deep and heavy offence, and procure for me eternal rest.

But as I am sensible that there is no just hope of forgiveness from the Almighty without a perfect forgiveness of those who have any way injured us, so I do freely and from the bottom of my soul, forgive all who have ever done me any wrong, and particularly those who, since my sorrowful imprisonment, have cruelly aspersed me, earnestly entreating all who in my life-time I may have offended, that they would also in pity to my deplorable state, remit those offences to me with a like freedom.

And now as the Law hath adjudged, and I freely offer my body to suffer for what I have committed, I hope nobody will be so unjust and so uncharitable as to reflect on those I leave behind me on my account, and for this, I most humbly make my last dying request, as also that ye would pray for my departed soul.

She died with all exterior marks of true penitence, being about forty years of age, the 29th of January, 1719-20.

[John Trippuck] had been an old sinner, and I suppose had acquired the nickname of the Golden Tinman as a former practitioner in the same wretched calling did that of the Golden Farmer.⁸⁵ Trippuck had robbed alone and in company for a considerable space, till his character was grown so notorious that some short time before his being taken for the last offence, he had, by dint of money and interest, procured a pardon. However, venturing on the deed which brought him to his death, the person injured soon seized him, and being inexorable in his prosecution, Trippuck was cast and received sentence. However, having still some money, he did not lose all hope of a reprieve,

85. William Davis, the Golden Farmer, was a notorious highwayman, who obtained his sobriquet from a habit of always paying in gold. He was hanged in Fleet Street, December 20, 1689. His adventures are told at length in Smith's HISTORY OF THE HIGHWAYMEN, edited by me and published in the same series as this volume.



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but kept up his spirits by flattering himself with his life being preserved, till within a very few days of the execution. If the Ordinary spoke to him of the affairs of the soul, Trippuck immediately cut him short with, *D'ye believe I can obtain a pardon? I don't know that, indeed*, says the doctor. *But you know one Counsellor Such-a-one*, says Trippuck, *prithree make use of your interest with him, and see whether you can get him to serve me. I'll not be ungrateful, doctor.*

The Ordinary was almost at his wits' end with this sort of cross purposes; however, he went on to exhort him to think of the great work he had to do, and entreated him to consider the nature of that repentance which must atone for all his numerous offences. Upon this, Trippuck opened his breast and showed him a great number of scars amongst which were two very large ones, out of which he said two musket bullets had been extracted. *And will not these, good doctor, quoth he, and the vast pains I have endured in their cure, in some sort lessen the heinousness of the facts I may have committed? No*, said the Ordinary, *what evils have fallen upon you in such expeditions, you have drawn upon yourself, and do not imagine that these will in any degree make amends for the multitude of your offences. You had much better clear your conscience by a full and ingenious confession of your crimes, and prepare in earnest for another world, since I dare assure you, you need entertain no hopes of staying in this.*

As soon as be found the Ordinary was in the right, and that all expectation of a reprieve or pardon were totally in vain, Trippuck began, as most of those sort of people do, to lose much of that stubbornness they mistake for courage. He now felt all the terrors of an awakened conscience, and persisted no longer in denying the crime for which he died, though at first he declared it altogether a falsehood, and Constable, his companion, had denied it even to death. As is customary when persons are under their misfortune, it had been reported that this Trippuck was the man who killed Mr. Hall towards the end of the summer before on Blackheath, but when the story reached the Golden Tinman's ears he declared it was an utter falsity; repeating this assertion to the Ordinary a few moments before his being turned off, and pointing to the rope about him, he said, *As you see this instrument of death about me, what I say is the real truth.* He died with all outward signs of penitence.

Richard Cane was a young man of about twenty-two years of age, at the time he suffered. Having a tolerable genius when a youth, his friends put him apprentice twice, but to no purpose, for having got rambling notions in his head, he would needs go to sea. There, but for his unhappy temper, he might have done well, for the ship of war in which he sailed was so fortunate as to take, after eight hours sharp engagement, a Spanish vessel of immense value; but the share he got did him little service. As soon as he came home Richard made a quick hand of it, and when the usual train of sensual delights which pass for pleasures in low life had exhausted him to the last farthing, necessity and the desire of still indulging his vices, made him fall into the worst and most unlawful methods to obtain the means which they might procure them.

Sometime after this, the unhappy man of whom we are speaking fell in love (as the vulgar call it) with an honest, virtuous,



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young woman, who lived with her mother, a poor, well-meaning creature, utterly ignorant of Cane's behaviour, or that he had ever committed any crimes punishable by Law. The girl, as such silly people are wont, yielded quickly to a marriage which was to be consummated privately, because Cane's relations were not to be disobliged, who it seems did not think him totally ruined so long as he escaped matrimony. But the unhappy youth not having enough money to procure a licence, and being ashamed to put the expense on the woman and her mother, in a fit of amorous distraction went out from them one evening, and meeting a man somewhat fuddled in the street, threw him down, and took away his hat and coat. The fellow was not so drunk but that he cried out, and people coming to his assistance, Cane was immediately apprehended, and so this fact, instead of raising him money enough to be married, brought him to death in this ignominious way.

While he lay in Newgate, the miserable young creature who was to have been his wife came constantly to cry with him and deplore their mutual misfortunes, which were increased by the girl's mother falling sick, and being confined to her bed through grief for her designed son-in-law's fate. When the day of his suffering drew on, this unhappy man composed himself to submit to it with great serenity. He professed abundance of contrition for the wickedness of his former life and lamented with much tenderness those evils he had brought upon the girl and her mother. The softness of his temper, and the steady affection he had for the maid, contributed to make his exit much pitied; which happened at Tyburn in the twenty-second year of his age. He left this paper behind him, which he spoke at the tree.

Good People,

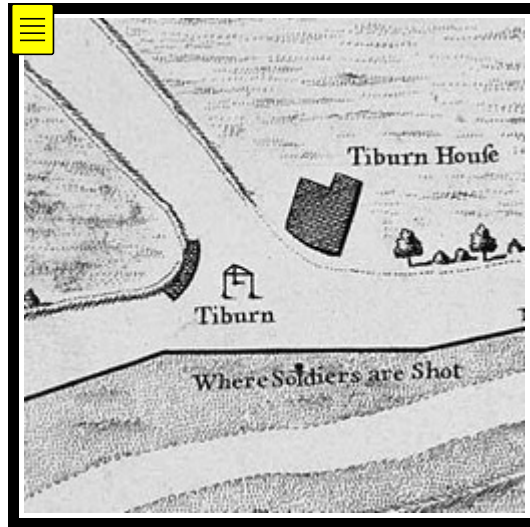
The Law having justly condemned me for my offence to suffer in this shameful manner, I thought it might be expected that I should say something here of the crime for which I die, the commission of which I do readily acknowledge, though it was attended with that circumstance of knocking down, which was sworn against me. I own I have been guilty of much wickedness, and am exceedingly troubled at the reflection it may bring upon my relations, who are all honest and reputable people. As I die for the offences I have done, and die in charity forgiving all the world, so I hope none will be so cruel as to pursue my memory with disgrace or insult an unhappy young woman on my account, whose character I must vindicate with my last breath, as all the justice I am able to do her, I die in the communion of the Church of England and humbly request your prayers for my

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departing soul.



Richard Shepherd was born of very honest and reputable parents in the city of Oxford, who were careful in giving him a suitable education, which he, through the wickedness of his future life, utterly forgot, insomuch that he knew scarce the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, at the time he had most need of them. When he grew a tolerable big lad his friends put him out as apprentice to a butcher, where having served a great part of his time, he fell in love, as they call it, with a young country lass hard by, and Dick's passion growing outrageous, he attacked the poor maid with all the amorous strains of gallantry he was able. The hearts of young uneducated wenches, like unfortified towns, make little resistance when once besieged, and therefore Shepherd had no great difficulty in making a conquest. However the girl insisted on honourable terms, and unfortunately for the poor fellow they were married before his time was out; an error in conduct, which in low life is seldom retrieved.

It happened so here. Shepherd's master was not long before he discovered this wedding. He thereupon gave the poor fellow so much trouble that he was at last forced to give him forty shillings down, and a bond for twenty-eight pounds more. This having totally ruined him, Dick unhappily fell into the way of dishonest company, who soon drew him into their ways of gaining money and supplying his necessities at the hazard both of his conscience and his neck; in which, though he became an expert proficient, yet could he never acquire anything considerable thereby, but was continually embroiled in debt. His wife bringing every year a child, contributed not a little thereto. However, Dick rubbed on mostly by thieving and as little by working as it was possible to avoid.

When he first began his robberies, he went housebreaking, and actually committed several facts in the city of Oxford itself. But those things not being so easily to be concealed there as at London, report quickly began to grow very loud about him, and Dick was forced to make shift with pilfering in other places; in which he was (to use the manner of speaking of those people) so unlucky that the second or third fact he committed in Hertfordshire, he was detected, seized, and at the next assizes capitally convicted. Yet out of compassion to his youth, and in hopes he might be sufficiently checked by so narrow an escape



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from the gallows, his friends procured him first a reprieve and then a pardon.

But this proximity to death made little impression on his heart, which is too often the fault in persons who, like him, receive mercy, and have notwithstanding too little grace to make use of it. Partly driven by necessity, for few people cared after his release to employ him, partly through the instigations of his own wicked heart, Dick went again upon the old trade for which he had so lately been like to have suffered, but thieving was still an unfortunate profession to him. He soon after fell again into the hands of Justice, from whence he escaped by impeaching Allen and Chambers, two of his accomplices, and so evaded Tyburn a second time. Yet all this signified nothing to him, for as soon as he was at home, so soon to work he went in his old way, till apprehended and executed for his wickedness.

No unhappy criminal had more warning than Shepherd of his approaching miserable fate, if he would have suffered anything to have deterred him; but alas! what are advices, terrors, what even the sight of death itself, to souls hardened in sin and consciences so seared as his. He had, when taken up and carried before Col. Ellis, been committed to New Prison for a capital offence. He had not remained there long before he wrote the Colonel a letter in which (provided he were admitted an evidence) he offered to make large discoveries. His offers were accepted, and several convicted capitally at the Old Bailey by him were executed at Tyburn, whither for his trade of housebreaking, Shepherd quickly followed them.

While in Newgate Shepherd had picked up a thoughtless resolution as to dying, not uncommon to those malefactors who, having been often condemned, go at last hardened to the gallows. When he was exhorted to think seriously of making his peace with God, he replied 'twas done and he was sure of going to Heaven.

With these were executed Thomas Charnock, a young man well and religiously educated. By his friends he had been placed in the house of a very eminent trader, and being seduced by ill-company yielded to the desire of making a show in the world. In order to do so, he robbed his master's counting-house, which fact made him indeed conspicuous, but in a very different manner from what he had flattered himself with. They died tolerably submissive and penitent, this last malefactor, especially, having rational ideas of religion.

June 27: John Lewis, *alias* Laurence, a thief, highwayman, etc., was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.⁸⁶

One great cause of that degeneracy we observe amongst the lower part of the human species arises from a mistake which has generally prevailed in the education of young people throughout all ages. Parents are sometimes exceedingly assiduous that their children should read well and write a good hand, but they are seldom solicitous about their making a due use of their reason, and hardly ever enquire into the opinions which, while children, they entertain of happiness or misery, and the paths which lead

86. LIVES OF THE MOST REMARKABLE CRIMINALS WHO HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED FOR MURDER, THE HIGHWAY, HOUSEBREAKING, STREET ROBBERIES, COINING OR OTHER OFFENCES / COLLECTED FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS AND AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS, AND PUBLISHED IN 1735 / Edited by Arthur L. Hayward

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to either of them. This is the true and natural intent of all education whatsoever, which can never tend to anything but teaching persons how to live easily and seducing their affections to the bounds prescribed them by the law of God and their country.

John Lewis, *alias* Laurence, had doubtless parents who bred him somewhere, though the papers I have do not afford me light enough to say where. This indeed, I find, that he was bred apprentice to a butcher, took up his freedom in the City, and worked for a considerable space as a journeyman. For his honesty we have no vouchers for any part of that time, for in his apprenticeship he fell into the use of profligate company, who taught him all those vices which were destructive to his future life. He grew fond of everything which looked like lewdness and debauchery, drank hard, was continually idling about; above all, strumpets the most abandoned, both in their manner and discourse, were the very ultimate end of his wishes, insomuch that he would often say he had nothing to answer for in debauching modest women, for they were a set of creatures he could never so much as endure to converse with.

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



Proverbs CHAP. I. VER. 27, 28.
When thou seest as desolation, and thy
destruction cometh as a whirlwind; when
distress cometh upon thee, then thou shalt
call upon God, but he will not answer.

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His usual method of living with his mistresses was this: as soon as the impudence and lewdness of a woman had made her infamous, even amongst the hackney coachmen, pickpockets, footpads and such others of his polite acquaintance, then Lewis thought her a fit person for his turn, and used to live with her for the space of perhaps a month; then growing tired of her, he went to look for another.

This practice of his grew at last so well known that he found it a little difficult to get women who would take up with him upon his terms; but there was one Moll Davis, who for her dexterity in picking of pockets amongst those of her own tribe went by the name of Diver, who was so great a scandal to her sex that the most abandoned of that low crew with whom he conversed, hated and despised her. With her Lewis went to live after his usual manner, and was very fond of her after his way, for about a fortnight; at the end of which he grew fractious, and in about nine weeks' time more he beat her. Moll wept and took on at a sad rate for his unkindness and told him that if would but promise faithfully never to live with any other woman, she should fairly present him with a brace of hundred pounds, which she had lodged in the hands of an uncle who knew nothing of her way of life, but lived reputably at such a place.

This was the right way of touching Lewis's temper. He began to put on as many good looks as his face was capable of wearing, and made use of as many kind expressions as he could remember out of the ACADEMY OF COMPLIMENTS, until the day came that she was to meet her uncle at Smithfield Market. They then went very lovingly together to an inn upon the paven stones, where Moll asked very readily at the bar if Mr. Tompkins (which was the name of her uncle) was there. The woman of the house made her a low curtsy and said he was only stepped over the way to be shaved, and she would call him. She went accordingly and brought the grave old man, who as soon as he came into the room said, *Well, Mary, is this thy husband?* Yes, sir, answered she, *this is the person I have promised to bring you.* Upon which the old man thrust out his hand and said, *Come, friend, as you have married my niece, you and I must be better acquainted.* Lewis scraped him a good bow as he could, and giving his hand in return, the old fellow laid hold on him somewhat above the wrist, stamped with his right foot, and then closing with him got him down.

In the meanwhile, half a dozen fellows broke into the room and one of them seizing him by the arms another pulled out a small twine, and bound him; then shoving him downstairs, they had no sooner got into Smithfield, then the mob cried out, *Here's the rogue! Here's the dog that held a penknife to the old grazier's throat, while a woman and another man robbed him.* It seems the story was true of Moll, who by thus taking and then swearing it upon Lewis, who had never so much as heard of it, escaped with impunity, and besides that got five guineas for her pains from the brother of the old man, who upon this occasion played the part of her uncle. If the grazier had been a hasty, rash man, Lewis had certainly hanged for the fact, but looking hard upon him at his trial, he told the Court he was sure that Lewis was not the man, for though his eyes were not very good, he could easily distinguish his voice, and added that the man who robbed him was taller than himself, whereas Lewis was much shorter. By which means he had the good luck to come off, though not without



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lying two sessions in Newgate.

As soon as he came abroad he threatened Moll Davis hard for what she had done, and swore as soon as he could find her to cut her ears off; but she made light of that, and dared him to come and look for her at the brandy-shop where she frequented. Lewis hearing that resolved to go thither and beat her, and knowing the usual time of her coming thither to be about eleven o'clock at night, he chose that time to come also. But Moll, the day before, had made one of her crew who had turned evidence, put him into his information, and the constables and their assistants being ready planted, they seized him directly and carried him to his old lodgings in Newgate.

He was acquitted upon this next sessions, there being no evidence against him but the informer, but the Court ordered him to find security for his good behaviour. That proved two months' work, so that in all it was a quarter of a year before he got out of Newgate for the second time. Then, hearing Davis had picked a gentleman's pockets of a considerable sum, and kept out of the way upon it, he resolved to be even with her for the trouble she had cost him, and for that purpose hunted through all her old places of resort, in order to find out how to have her apprehended. Moll hearing of it, got her sister, who followed the same trade with herself, to waylay him at the brandy-shop in Fleet Street. There Susan was very sweet upon him, and being as impudent as her sister, Lewis resolved to take up with her, at least for a night; but she pretended reasons why he could not go home with her, and he complaining that he did not know where to get a lodging, she gave him half a crown and a large silver medal, which she said would pawn for five shillings, and appointed to meet him the next night at the same place. In the morning Lewis goes with the silver piece to a pawnbroker at Houndsditch; the broker said he would take it into the next room and weigh it, and about ten minutes after returned with a constable and two assistants, the medal having been advertised in the papers as taken with eleven guineas in a green purse out of a gentleman's pocket, and was the very robbery for which Moll Davis kept out of the way.

When he got over this, he went down into the country, and having been so often in prison for naught, he resolved to merit it now for something. So on the Gravesend Road he went upon the highway, and having been, as I told you, bred up a butcher, the weapon he made use of to rob with was his knife. The first robbery he attempted was upon an old officer who was retired into that part of the country to live quiet. Lewis bolted out upon him from behind the corner of a hedge, and clapping a sharp pointed knife to his breast, with a volley of oaths commanded him to deliver. This was new language to the gentleman to whom it was offered, yet seeing how great an advantage the villain had of him, he thought it the most prudent method to comply, and gave him therefore a few shillings which were in his coat-pocket. Lewis very highly resented this, and told him he did not use him like a gentleman; that he would search him himself. In order to do this, clapping his knife into his mouth as he used to do when preparing a sheep for the shambles, he fell to ransacking the gentleman's pockets. He had hardly got his hand into one of them, but the gentleman snatched the knife out of his mouth and in the wrench almost broke his jaw. Lewis hereupon took to his heels, but the country being raised upon him, he was apprehended just



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as he was going to take water at Gravesend. But his pride in refusing the gentleman's silver happened very luckily for him here, for on his trial at the next assizes, the indictment being laid for a robbery, the jury acquitted him and he was once more put into a road of doing well, which according to his usual method he made lead towards the gallows.

The first week he was out, he broke open a house in Ratcliff Highway, from whence he took but a small quantity of things, and those of small value, because there happened to be nothing better in the way. In a few days after this, he snatched off a woman's pocket in the open street, for which fact being immediately apprehended, he was at the next sessions at the Old Bailey, tried and convicted, but by the favour of the Court ordered for transportation.

A woman whom at this time he called his wife, happened to be under the like sentence at the same time. They went therefore together, and were each of them such turbulent dispositions that the captain of the transport thought fit to promise them their liberty in a most solemn manner, as soon as they came on shore in Carolina, provided they would be but quiet. To this they agreed, and they kept their words so well, that the captain performed his promise and released them at their arrival in South Carolina, upon which they made no long stay there, but found a method to come back in the same ship. Upon arrival in England they were actually married, but they did not live long together, Lewis finding that she conversed with other men, and being in fear, lest in hopes of favour, she should discover his return from transportation, and by convicting him save herself. Upon these apprehensions, he thought fit to go again to sea, in a ship bound for the Straits; but falling violently sick at Genoa, they left him there. And though he might afterwards have gone to his vessel, his old thought and wishes returned and he took the advantage of the first ship to return to England. Here he found many of his old acquaintances, carrying on the business of plunder in every shape. He joined with them, and in their company broke open with much difficulty an alehouse in Fore Street, at the sign of the King of Hearts, where they took a dozen of tankards, which they apprehended to be of silver; but finding upon examination they were no better than pewter well scoured, they judged there would be more danger in selling them than they were worth. Therefore having first melted them, they threw them away; but being a little fearful of robbing in company, he took to his old method of robbing by himself in the streets. But the first attempt he made to do this was in the old Artillery Ground,⁸⁷ where he snatched a woman's pocket; and she crying out raised the neighbourhood. They pursued him, and after wounding two or three persons desperately, he was taken and committed to his old mansions in Newgate, and being tried at the next sessions was found guilty and from that time could not enjoy the least hopes of life. But he continued still very obdurate, being so hardened by a continual series of villainous actions that he seemed to have no idea whatsoever of religion, penitence or atoning by prayers, for the numerous villainies he had committed.

At the place of execution he said nothing to the people, only that he was sorry he had not stayed in Carolina, because if he

87. This was the exercising ground of the Train Bands and the Honourable Artillery Company. It was on the west side of Finsbury Square.



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had, he should never have come to be [hanged](#), and so finished his life in the same stupid manner in which he had lived. He was near forty years of age at the time he suffered, which was on the 27th of June, 1720.

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November 16, Wednesday (Old Style): In Sweden, [Maria Ersdotter Dullfjär](#), widow of the military furir Nils Dullfjär who had died in 1718, gave birth to a male infant that was weak. On the following day a priest would be called to the farm to baptize it and would learn that the birth had been several years after the death of its mother's husband. Maria's mother would inform the priest that the father was corporal Albrekt Nilsson Dullfjär, a 24-year-old former stepson whose mother had been the 1st wife of Maria's husband, and then Maria herself confessed to this. Before becoming willing to baptize the infant the priest would oblige Maria to repeat her confession before her relatives and repeat it again before 3 other witnesses (note that this record does not contain information as to the name given to the baptized infant). Both Maria and Albrekt would be found guilty of incest and sentenced to death in keeping with *LEVITICUS* 20:11 (it is to be noted that the pair were not related by blood, but were merely in-laws — at that time in that place, such a sexual involvement was considered to fall within the prohibition found in this sacred scripture). After this sentence would be confirmed by the high court, Maria and Albrekt would be [decapitated](#) together on July 19, 1721 (note that this record does not indicate whether the infant had by the date of its mother's execution been weaned, nor indicate what would become of it later).

At Port Royal on the island of Jamaica, Captain John Rackam and 8 of his [pirate](#) crew were condemned and [hanged](#). The corpses of the captain and 2 others would [hang in chains](#) as a warning.

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THE ADVENTURES AND EXECUTION OF CAPTAIN JOHN RACKAM⁸⁸

This John Rackam, as has been reported in the foregoing pages, was quarter-master to Vane's company, till the crew were divided, and Vane turned out of it for refusing to board a French man-of-war, Rackam being voted captain of the division that remained in the brigantine. The 24th of November 1718, was the first day of his command; his first cruise was among the Carribbee Islands, where he took and plundered several vessels. We have already taken notice, that when Captain Woods Rogers went to the island of Providence with the king's pardon to such of the pirates as should surrender, this brigantine, which Rackam commanded, made its escape through another passage, bidding defiance to the mercy that was offered.

To the windward of Jamaica, a Madeira-man fell into the pirate's way, which they detained two or three days, till they had their market out of her, and then they gave her back to the master, and permitted one Hosea Tidsel, a tavern keeper at Jamaica, who had been picked up in one of their prizes, to depart in her, she being bound for that island.

After this cruise they went into a small island, and cleaned,

88. THE PIRATES OWN BOOK, OR AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF THE LIVES, EXPLOITS, AND EXECUTIONS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED SEA ROBBERS, by Charles Ellms (Portland: Published by Sanborn & Carter; Philadelphia: Thomas, Comperthwait, & Co., 1837. This would be republished in 1842 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York & Philadelphia, and in 1844 in Portland by Sanborn & Carter, and in 1855 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York, and in 1924 by Marine res. of Massachusetts, and in 1996 by Random House of New York.)



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and spent their [Christmas](#) ashore, drinking and carousing as long as they had any liquor left, and then went to sea again for more. They succeeded but too well, though they took no extraordinary prize for above two months, except a ship laden with convicts from Newgate, bound for the plantations, which in a few days was retaken, with all her cargo, by an English man-of-war that was stationed in those seas.

Rackam stood towards the island of Bermuda, and took a ship bound to England from Carolina, and a small pink from New England, both of which he brought to the Bahama Islands, where, with the pitch, tar and stores they cleaned again, and refitted their own vessel; but staying too long in that neighborhood, Captain Rogers, who was Governor of Providence, hearing of these ships being taken, sent out a sloop well manned and armed, which retook both the prizes, though in the mean while the pirate had the good fortune to escape.

From hence they sailed to the back of [Cuba](#), where Rackam kept a little kind of a family, at which place they stayed a considerable time, living ashore with their Delilahs, till their money and provisions were expended, and they concluded it time to look out for more. They repaired their vessel, and were making ready to put to sea, when a guarda de costa came in with a small English sloop, which she had taken as an interloper on the coast. The Spanish guard-ship attacked the pirate, but Rackam being close in behind a little island, she could do but little execution where she lay; the Dons therefore warped into the channel that evening, in order to make sure of her the next morning. Rackam finding his case desperate, and that there was hardly any possibility of escaping, resolved to attempt the following enterprise. The Spanish prize lying for better security close into the land, between the little island and the Main, our desperado took his crew into the boat with their cutlasses, rounded the little island, and fell aboard their prize silently in the dead of the night without being discovered, telling the Spaniards that were aboard her, that if they spoke a word, or made the least noise, they were all dead men; and so they became masters of her. When this was done he slipped her cable, and drove out to sea. The Spanish man-of-war was so intent upon their expected prize, that they minded nothing else, and as soon as day broke, they made a furious fire upon the empty sloop; but it was not long before they were rightly apprised of the matter, when they cursed themselves sufficiently for a company of fools, to be bit out of a good rich prize, as she proved to be, and to have nothing but an old crazy hull in the room of her.

Rackam and his crew had no occasion to be displeased at the exchange, as it enabled them to continue some time longer in a way of life that suited their depraved minds. In August 1720, we find him at sea again, scouring the harbours and inlets of the north and west parts of Jamaica, where he took several small crafts, which proved no great booty to the rovers; but they had but few men, and therefore were obliged to run at low game till they could increase their company and their strength.

In the beginning of September, they took seven or eight fishing boats in Harbour Island, stole their nets and other tackle, and then went off to the French part of [Hispaniola](#), where they landed, and took the cattle away, with two or three Frenchmen whom they found near the water-side, hunting wild hogs in the



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evening. The Frenchmen came on board, whether by consent or compulsion is not certainly known. They afterwards plundered two sloops, and returned to Jamaica, on the north coast of which island, near Porto Maria Bay, they took a schooner, Thomas Spenlow, master, it being then the 19th of October. The next day Rackam seeing a sloop in Dry Harbour Bay, stood in and fired a gun; the men all ran ashore, and he took the sloop and lading; but when those ashore found that they were pirates, they hailed the sloop, and let them know they were all willing to come on board of them.

Rackam's coasting the island in this manner proved fatal to him; for intelligence of his expedition came to the governor by a canoe which he had surprised ashore in Ocho Bay: upon this a sloop was immediately fitted out, and sent round the island in quest of him, commanded by Captain Barnet, and manned with a good number of hands. Rackam, rounding the island, and drawing round the western point, called Point Negril, saw a small pettiaga, which, at the sight of the sloop, ran ashore and landed her men, when one of them hailed her. Answer was made that they were Englishmen, and begged the pettiaga's men to come on board and drink a bowl of punch, which they prevailed upon them to do. Accordingly, the company, in an evil hour, came all aboard of the pirate, consisting of nine persons; they were armed with muskets and cutlasses, but what was their real design in so doing we will not pretend to say. They had no sooner laid down their arms and taken up their pipes, than Barnet's sloop, which was in pursuit of Rackam's, came in sight.

The pirates, finding she stood directly towards them, feared the event, and weighed their anchor, which they had but lately let go, and stood off. Captain Barnet gave them chase, and, having advantage of little breezes of wind which blew off the land, came up with her, and brought her into Port Royal, in Jamaica. About a fortnight after the prisoners were brought ashore, viz. November 16, 1720, Captain Rackam and eight of his men were condemned and executed. Captain Rackam and two others were hung in chains.

But what was very surprising, was the conviction of the nine men that came aboard the sloop on the same day she was taken. They were tried at an adjournment of the court on the 24th of January, the magistracy waiting all that time, it is supposed, for evidence to prove the piratical intention of going aboard the said sloop; for it seems there was no act or piracy committed by them, as appeared by the witnesses against them, two Frenchmen, taken by Rackam off the island of [Hispaniola](#), who merely deposed that the prisoners came on board without any compulsion.

The court considered the prisoners' cases, and the majority of the commissioners being of opinion that they were all guilty of the piracy and felony they were charged with, viz. the going over with a piratical intent to John Rackam, &c. then notorious pirates, and by them known to be so, they all received sentence of death, and were executed on the 17th of February at Gallows Point at Port Royal.

Nor holy bell, nor pastoral bleat,
In former days within the vale.
Flapped in the bay the pirate's sheet,
Curses were on the gale;
Rich goods lay on the sand, and murdered men,

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Pirate and wreckers kept their revels there.

November 28, Monday: Anne Bonny and Mary Read were convicted of [piracy](#) at St. Jago de la Vega on the island of Jamaica.



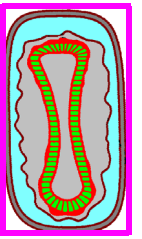
Mary seems to have been [hanged](#) immediately, but Anne, the wayward daughter of a Carolina planter, asked that her execution be delayed on account of her health and this request seems to have been honored — if she was ever hanged we do not know of this.

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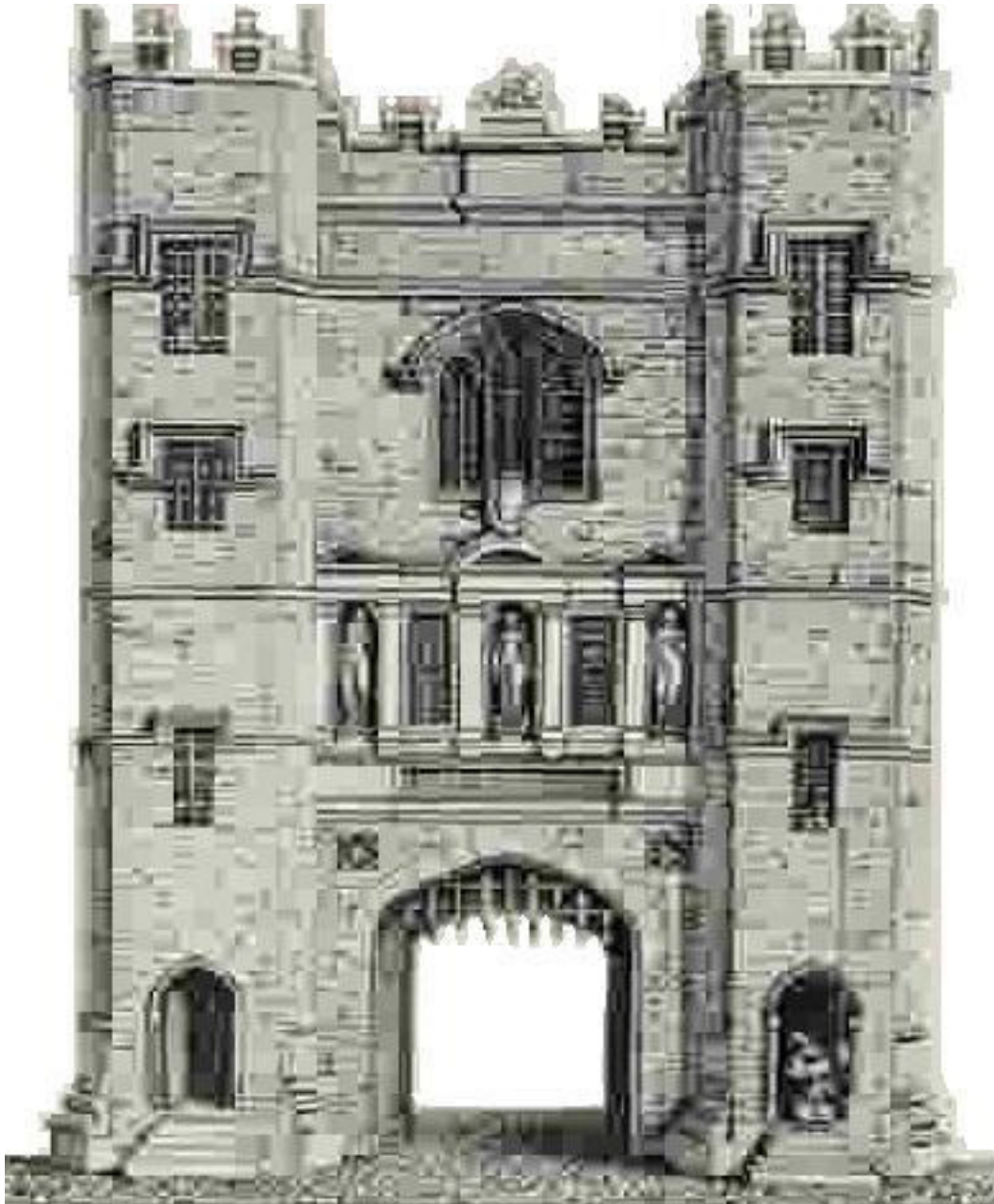
Six prisoners about to be [hanged](#) at Newgate were offered a reprieve if they would risk variolation using live culture of the [small pox](#) (a needed experiment). They did so and, guess what, they survived.



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May 12, Friday (Old Style): William Barton was [executed](#) for having been a Highwayman.⁸⁹

This William Barton was born in Thames Street, London, and seemed to have inherited a sort of hereditary wildness and inconstancy, his father having been always of a restless temper and addicted to every species of wickedness, except such as are punished by temporal laws. While this son William was a child, he left him, without any provision, to the care of his mother, and accompanied by a concubine whom he had long convened with, shipped himself for the island of Jamaica, carrying with him a

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good quantity of goods proper for that climate, intending to live there as pleasantly as the place would give him leave. His head being well turned, both for trading and planting, it was, indeed, probable enough he should succeed.

Now, no sooner was his father gone on this unaccountable voyage, but William was taken home and into favour by his grandfather, who kept a great eating-house in Covent Garden. Here Will, if he would, might certainly have done well. His grandfather bound him to himself, treated him with the utmost tenderness and indulgence, and the gentlemen who frequented the house were continually making him little presents, which by their number were considerable, and might have contented a youth like him.

But William, whose imagination was full of roving as his father's, far from sitting down pleased and satisfied with that easy condition into which Fortune had thrown him, began to dream of nothing but travels and adventures. In short, in spite of all the poor old man, his grandfather, could say to prevent it, to sea he went, and to Jamaica in quest of his father, who he fancied must have grown extravagantly rich by this time, the common sentiments of fools, who think none poor who have the good luck to dwell in the West Indies.

On Barton's arrival at Jamaica he found all things in a very different condition from what he had flattered himself with. His father was dead and the woman who went over with him settled in a good plantation, 'tis true, but so settled that Will was unable to remove her; so he betook himself to sea again, and rubbed on the best way he was able. But as if the vengeance of Heaven had pursued him, or rather as if Providence, by punishments, designed to make him lay aside his vices, Barton had no sooner scraped a little money together, but the vessel in which he sailed was (under the usual pretence of contraband goods) seized by the Spaniards, who not long after they were taken, sent the men they made prisoners into Spain. The natural moroseness of those people's temper, makes them harsh masters. Poor Barton found it so, and with the rest of his unfortunate companions, suffered all the inconveniences of hard usage and low diet, though as they drew nearer the coast of Spain that severity was a little softened.

When they were safely landed, they were hurried to a prison where it was difficult to determine which was worst, their treatment or their food. Above all the rest Barton was uneasy, and his head ever turned towards contriving an escape. When he and some other intriguing heads had meditated long in vain, an accident put it in their power to do that with ease which all their prudence could not render probable in the attempt, a thing common with men under misfortune, who have reason, therefore, never to part with hope.

Finding an old wall in the outer court of the prison weak, and ready to fall down, the keeper caused the English prisoners, amongst others, to be sent to repair it. The work was exceedingly laborious, but Barton and one of his companions soon thought of a way to ease it. They had no sooner broke up a small part of the foundation which was to be new laid, but stealing the Spanish soldiers' pouches, they crowded the powder into a small bag, placing it underneath as far as they could reach, and then gave it fire. This threw up two yards of the wall, and while the Spaniards stood amazed at the report, Barton and his associates marched off through the breach, without finding the slightest



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resistance from any of the keeper's people, though he had another party in the street.

But this would have signified very little, if Providence had not also directed them to a place of safety by bringing them as soon as they broke out of the door to a monastery. Thither they fled for shelter, and the religious of the place treated them with much humanity. They succoured them with all necessary provision, protected them when reclaimed by the gaoler, and taking them into their service, showed them in all respects the same care and favour they did to the rest of their domestics.

Yet honest labour, however recompensed, was grating to these restless people, who longed for nothing but debauchery, and struggled for liberty only as a preparative to the indulging of their vices; and so they began to contrive how they should free themselves from hence. Barton and his fellow engineer were not long before they fell on a method to effect it, by wrenching open the outer doors in the night, and getting to an English vessel that lay in the harbour ready to sail.

They had not been aboard long ere they found that the charitable friars had agreed with the captain for their passage, and so all they gained by breaking out was the danger of being reclaimed, or at least going naked and without any assistance, which to be sure they would have met with from their masters, if they could but have had a little patience. But the passion of returning home, or rather a vehement lust after the basest pleasures, hurried them to whatever appeared conducive to that end, however fatal in its consequence it might be.

When they were got safe into their native country again, each took such a course for a livelihood as he liked best. Whether Barton then fell into thievery, or whether he learned not that mystery before he had served an apprenticeship thereto in the Army I cannot say, but in some short space after his being at home 'tis certain that he listed himself a soldier, and served several campaigns in Flanders, during the last War. Being a very gallant fellow, he gained the love of his officers, and there was great probability of his doing well there, having gained at least some principle of honour in the service, which would have prevented him doing such base things as those for which he afterwards died. But, unhappily for him, the War ended just as he was on the point of becoming paymaster-sergeant, and his regiment being disbanded, poor Will became broke in every acceptance of the word. He retained always a strong tincture of his military education, and was peculiarly fond of telling such adventures as he gained the knowledge of, while in the Army. Amongst other stories that he told were one or two which may appear perhaps not unentertaining to my readers. When Brussels came towards the latter end of the War to be pretty well settled under the Imperialists, abundance of persons of distinction came to reside there and in the neighborhood from the advantage natural to so fine a situation. Amongst these was the Baron De Casteja, a nobleman of a Spanish family, who except for his being addicted excessively to gaming, was in every way a fine gentleman. He had married a lady of one of the best families in Flanders, by whom he had a son of the greatest hopes. The baron's passion for play had so far lessened their fortune that they lived but obscurely at a village three leagues from Brussels, where having now nothing to support his gaming expenses, he grew reformed, and his behaviour gained so high and general esteem



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that the most potent lord in the country met not with higher reverence on any occasion. The great prudence and economy of the baroness made her the theme of general praise, while the young Chevalier de Casteja did not a little add to the honours of the family.

It happened the baron had a younger brother in the Emperor's service, whose merit having raised him to a considerable rank in his armies, he had acquired a very considerable estate, to the amount of upwards of one hundred thousand crowns, which on his death he bequeathed him. Upon this accession of fortune, the Baron Casteja, as is but too frequent, fell to his old habit, and became as fond of gaming as ever. The poor lady saw this with the utmost concern, and dreaded the confounding this legacy, as all the baron's former fortune had been consumed by his being the dupe of gamblers. In deep affliction at the consideration of what might in future times become the Chevalier's fortune, she therefore entreated the baron to lay out part of the sum in somewhat which might be a provision for his son. The baron promised both readily and faithfully that he would out of the first remittance. A few weeks later he received forty thousand crowns and the baroness and he set out for Brussels, under pretence of enquiring for something proper for his purpose, carrying with him twenty thousand crowns for the purchase. But he forgot the errand upon the road, and no sooner arrived at Brussels, but going to a famous marquis's entertainment, in a very few hours lost the last penny of his money. Returning home after this misfortune, he was a little out of humour for a week, but at the end of that space, making up the other twenty thousand privately he intended to set out next day.

The poor lady, at her wit's end for fear this large sum should go the same way as the other, bethought herself of a method of securing both the cash and her son's place. She communicated her design to her major domo, who readily came into it, and having taken three of the servants and the baroness's page into the secret, he sent for Barton and another Englishman quartered near them, and easily prevailed on them for a very small sum, to become accomplices in the undertaking. In a word, the lady having provided disguises for them, and a man's suit for herself, caused the touch-holes of the arms which the baron and two servants carried with him to be nailed up, and then towards evening sallying at the head of her little troop from a wood, as he passed on the road, the baron being rendered incapable of resistance, was robbed of the whole twenty thousand crowns. With this she settled her son, and the baron was so far touched at the loss of such a provision for his family, that he made a real and thorough reformation, and Barton from this exploit fell in love with robbing ever after.

Another adventure he related was this. Being taken prisoner by the French, and carried to one of their frontier garrisons, a treaty shortly being expected to be settled, to relieve the miseries he endured, Barton got into the service of a Gascon officer who proved at bottom almost as poor as himself. However, after Barton's coming he quickly found a way to live as well as anybody in the garrison, which he accomplished thus. All play at games of chance was, in the score of some unlucky accidents proceeding from quarrels which it had occasioned, absolutely forbidden, and the provosts were enjoined to visit all quarters,



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in order to bring the offenders to shameful punishments. The Gascon captain took advantage of the severity of this order, and having concerted the matter with a countryman and comrade of his, a known gamester, plundered all the rest who were addicted to that destructive passion; for gaining intelligence of the private places where they met, from his friend, he putting himself, Barton and another person into proper habits, attacked these houses suddenly almost every night with a crowd of the populace at his heels, and raised swinging contributions on those who being less wicked than himself never had any suspicion of his actions, but took him and his comrades for the proper officer and his attendants.

Barton's greatest unhappiness was his marriage. He was too uxorious, and too solicitous for what concerned his wife, how well so ever she deserved of him; for not enduring to see her work honestly for her bread he would needs support her in an easy state of life, though at the hazard of the gallows. There is, however, little question to be made but that he had learned much in his travels to enable him to carry on his wicked designs with more ease and dexterity, for no thief, perhaps, in any age, managed his undertakings with greater prudence and economy. And having somewhere picked up the story of the Pirate and Alexander the Great, it became one of Will's standing maxims that the only difference between a robber and a conqueror was the value of the prize.

Being one day on the road with a comrade of his, who had served also with him abroad in the Army, and observing a stage coach at a distance, in right of the seniority of his commission as a Knight of the Pad, Barton commanded the other to ride forward in order to reconnoitre. The young fellow obeyed him as submissively as if he had been an aide de camp, and returning, brought him word that the force of the enemy consisted of four beau laden with blunderbusses, two ladies and a footman. *Then, quoth Will, we may e'en venture to attack them. Let us make our necessary disposition. I will ride slowly up to them, while you gallop round that hill, and as soon as you come behind the coach, be sure to fire a pistol over it, and leave the rest to me.*

Things thus adjusted, each advanced on his attack. Barton no sooner stopped the coach and presented his pistol at one window, than his companion, after firing a brace of balls over the coachman's head, did the like at the other, which so surprised the fine gentlemen within, that without the least resistance they surrendered all they had about them, which amounted to about one hundred pounds, which Barton put up. *Come, gentlemen, says he, let us make bold with your fire-arms too, for you see we make more use of them than you.* So, seizing a brace of pistols inlaid with silver, and two fine brass blunderbusses, Will and his subaltern rode off.

But alas, Will's luck would not last (as his roguishness used to express it). For, attempting a robbery in Covent Garden, where he was too well known, he was surprised, committed to Newgate and on his conviction ordered to be transported for seven years to his Majesty's Plantations, whither he was accordingly carried.

When he was landed, a planter bought him after the manner of that country, and paid eighteen pounds for him. Barton wanting neither understanding nor address, he soon became the darling of his master, who far from employing him in those laborious



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works which are usually talked of here, put upon him nothing more than merely supervising his slaves and taking care of them, when business obliged him to be absent.

One would have thought that so easy a state of life, after the toil and miseries such a man as him of whom we are speaking must have run through, would have been pleasing, and that it might have become a means of reclaiming him from those vices so heinous in the sight of God, and for which he had barely escaped the greatest punishment that can be inflicted by man. At first, it indeed made some impressions not very different from these; Barton owning that his master's treatment was such that if a man had not absolutely bent his mind on such courses as necessarily must make him unhappy, he might have enjoyed all he could have hoped for there. Of which he became so sensible that for some time he remained fully satisfied with his condition.

But alas! Content, when its basis rests not upon virtue, like a house founded on a sandy soil is incapable of continuing long. No sooner had Barton leisure and opportunity to recollect home, his friends, and above all his wife, but it soon shocked his repose, and having awhile disturbed and troubled him, it pushed him at last on the unhappy resolution or returning to England, before the expiration of his time for which he was banished. This project rolled for a very considerable space in the fellow's head. Sometimes the desire of seeing his companions, and above all things his wife, made him eager to undertake it; at others, the fear of running upon inevitable death in case of a discovery, and the consideration of the felicity he now had in his power made him timorous, at least, if not unwilling to return.

At last, as is ordinary amongst these unhappy people, the worst opinion prevailed, and finding a method to free himself from his master, and to get aboard a ship, he came back to his dearly beloved London, and to those measures which had already occasioned so great a misfortune, and at last brought him to an ignominious death. On his return, his first care was to seek out his wife, for whom he had a warm and never ceasing affection, and having found her, he went to live with her, taking his old methods of supporting them, though he constantly denied that she was either a partner in the commission, or even so much as in the knowledge of his guilt. But this quickly brought him to Newgate again, and to that fatal end to which he, like some other flagitious creatures of this stamp, seem impatient to arrive; since no warning, no admonition, no escape is sufficient to deter them from those crimes, which they are sensible the laws of their country with Justice have rendered capital.

Barton's return from transportation was sufficient to have brought him to death had he committed nothing besides; but he, whether through necessity, as having no way left of living honestly, or from his own evil inclinations, ventured upon his old trade, and robbing amongst others the Lord Viscount Lisbourn, of the Kingdom of Ireland, and a lady who was with him in the coach, of a silver hilted sword, a snuff-box and about twelve shillings in money, he was for this fact taken, tried and convicted at the Old Bailey.

He immediately laid by all hopes of life as soon as he had received sentence, and with great earnestness set himself to secure that peace in the world to come, which his own vices had hindered him from in this. He got some good books which he read



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with continual devotion and attention, submitted with the utmost patience to the miseries of his sad condition, and finding his relations would take care of his daughter and that his wife, for whom he never lost the most tender concern, would be in no danger of want, he laid aside the thoughts of temporal matters altogether expressing a readiness to die, and never showing any weakness or impatience of the nearest approach of death. Much of that firmness with which he behaved in these last moments of his life might probably be owing to natural courage, of which certainly Barton had a very large share. But the remains of virtue and religion, to which the man had always a propensity, notwithstanding that he gave way to passions which brought him to all the sorrows he knew, yet the return he made, when in the shadow of death, to piety and devotion, enabled him to suffer with great calmness, on Friday the 12th of May, 1721, aged about thirty-one years.

July 5, Wednesday (Old Style): Robert Perkins was executed as a thief and Barbara Spencer was strangled and then her body was burned:⁹⁰

I should never have undertaken this work without believing it might in some degree be advantageous to the public. Young persons, and especially those in a meaner state, are, I presume, those who will make up the bulk of my readers, and these, too, are they who are more commonly seduced into practices of this ignominious nature. I should therefore think myself unpardonable if I did not take care to furnish them with such cautions as the examples I am giving of the fatal consequences of vice will allow, at the same time that I exhibit those adventures and entertaining scenes which disguise the dismal path, and make the road to ruin pleasing. They meet here with a true prospect of things, the tinsel splendour of sensual pleasure, and that dreadful price men pay for it—shameful death. I hope it may be of use in correcting the errors of juvenile tempers devoted to their passions, with whom sometimes danger passes for a certain road to honour, and the highway seems as tempting to them as chivalry did to Don Quixote. Such and some other such like, are very unlucky notions in young heads, and too often inspire them with courage enough to dare the gallows, which seldom fails meeting with them in the end.

As to the particulars of the person's life we are now speaking of, they will be sufficient to warn those who are so unhappy as to suffer from the ill-usage of their parents not to fall into courses of so base a nature, but rather to try every honest method to submit rather than commit dishonest acts, thereby justifying all the ill-treatment they have received, and by their own follies blot out the remembrance of their cruel parents' crimes. For though it sometimes happens that they are reduced to necessities which force them, in a manner, on what brings them to disgrace, yet the ill-natured world will charge all upon themselves, or at most will spare their pity till it comes too late; and when the poor wretch is dead will add to their reflections on him, as harsh ones as on those from whom

90. LIVES OF THE MOST REMARKABLE CRIMINALS WHO HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED FOR MURDER, THE HIGHWAY, HOUSEBREAKING, STREET ROBBERIES, COINING OR OTHER OFFENCES / COLLECTED FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS AND AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS, AND PUBLISHED IN 1735 / Edited by Arthur L. Hayward, Coining was the practice of clipping off the edges of gold and silver coins and melting down the clippings either to form ingots or to forge other coins. This was considered as high treason, the penalty for which was usually being burned at the stake.



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he is descended.

Robert Perkins was the son of a very considerable innkeeper, in or near Hempsted, in Hertfordshire, who during the life-time of his wife treated him with great tenderness and seeming affection, sending him to school to a person in a neighbouring village, who was very considerable for his art of teaching, and professing his settled resolution to give his son Bob a very good education.

But no sooner had death snatched away the poor woman by whom Mr. Perkins had our unhappy Robin, then his father began to change his measures. First of all the unfortunate lad experienced the miseries that flow from the careless management of a widower, who forgetting all obligations to his deceased wife, thought of nothing but diverting himself, and getting a new helpmate. But Robin continued not long in this state; his hardships were quickly increased by the second marriage of his father, upon which he was fetched home and treated with some kindness at first. But in a little time perceiving how things were going, and perhaps expressing his suspicions too freely, his mother-in-law soon prevailed to have him turned out, and absolutely forbidden his father's house, the ready way to force a naked uninstructed youth on the most sinful courses. Whether Robin at that time did anything dishonest is not certain, but being grievously pinched with cold one night, and troubled also with dismal apprehensions of what might come to his sister, he got a ladder and by the help of it climbed in at his mother's window. This was immediately exaggerated into a design of cutting her throat, and poor Bob was thereupon utterly discarded.

A short time after this, old Mr. Perkins died and left a fortune of several thousand pounds behind him, for which the poor young man was never a groat the better, being bound out 'prentice to a baker, and left, as to everything else, to the wide world. His inclination, joined to the rambling life which he had hitherto led, induced him to mind the vulgar pleasures of drinking, gaming, and idling about much more than his business, which to him appeared very laborious. There are everywhere companions enough to be met with who are ready to teach ignorant youths the practice of all sorts of debauchery. Perkins fell quickly among such a set, and often rambled abroad with them on the usual errands of whoring, shuffle-board, or skittle-playing, etc. The thoughts of that estate which in justice he ought to have possessed, did not a little contribute to make him thus heedless of his business, for as is usual with weak minds, he affected living at the rate his father's fortune would have afforded him, rather than in the frugal manner which his narrow circumstance actually required; methods which necessarily pushed him on such expeditions for supply as drew on those misfortunes which rendered his life miserable and his death shameful.

One day, having agreed with some young lads in the neighbourhood to go out upon the rake, they steered their course to Whitechapel, and going into a little alehouse, began to drink stoutly, sing bawdy songs, and indulge themselves in the rest of those brutal delights into which such wretches are used to plunge under the name of pleasure. In the height, however, of all their mirth, the people of the house missing out of the till a crown piece with some particular marks, they sent for a constable and some persons to assist him, who caused all the young fellows instantly to be separated and searched one by one;



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on which the marked crown was found in Robert Perkin's pocket, and he was thereupon immediately carried before a Justice, who committed him to Newgate. The sessions coming on soon after, and the case being plain, he was cast and ordered for transportation, having time enough, however, before he was shipped, to consider the melancholy circumstances into which his ill-conduct had reduced him, and to think of what was fitting for him to do in the present sad state he was in. At first nothing ran in his head but the cruelties which he had met with from his family, but as the time of his departure drew nearer he meditated how to gain the captain's favour, and to escape some hardships in the voyage.

Robin had the good luck to make himself tolerably easy in the ship. His natural good nature and obliging temper prevailing so far on the captain of the vessel that he gave him all the liberty and afforded him whatever indulgence it was in his power to permit with safety. But our young traveller had much worse luck when he came on shore at Jamaica, where he was immediately sold to a planter for ten pounds, and his trade of baker being of little use there, his master put him upon much the same labour as he did his negroes, Robin's constitution was really incapable of great fatigue; his master, therefore, finding in the end that nothing would make him work, sold him to another, who put him upon his own employment of baking, building an oven on purpose. But whether this master really used him cruelly or whether his idle inclinations made him think all labour cruel usage, is hard to say, but however it was, Bob ran away from this master and got on board a ship which carried him to Carolina, from whence he said he travelled to Maryland and shipped himself there, in a vessel for England. After being taken by the Spaniards, and enduring many other great hardships, he at last with much difficulty got home, as is too frequently the practice of these unhappy wretches who are ready to return from tolerable plenty to the gallows.

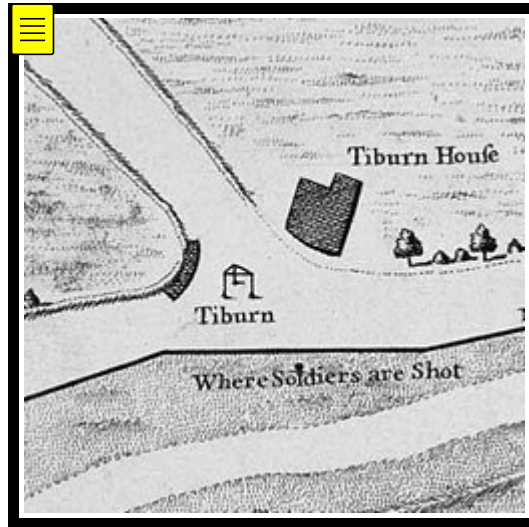
After his arrival in England, he wrought for near two years together at his own business, and had the settled intention to live honestly and forsake that disorderly state of life which had involved him in such calamities; but the fear he was continually in of being discovered, rendered him so uneasy and so unable to do anything, that at last he resolved to go over into the East Indies. For this purpose he was come down to Gravesend, in order to embark, when he was apprehended; and being tried on an indictment for returning from transportation, he was convicted thereon, and received sentence of death. During the time he lay under conviction, the principles of a good education began again to exert themselves, and by leading him to a thorough confidence in the mercies of Christ weaned him from that affection which hitherto he had for this sinful and miserable world, in which, as he had felt nothing but misery and affliction, the change seemed the easier, so that he at last began not only to shake off the fear of death, but even to desire it. Nor was this calmness short and transitory, but he continued in it till the time he suffered, which was on the 5th of July, 1721, at Tyburn. He said he died with less reluctance because his ruin involved nobody but himself, he leaving no children behind him, and his wife being young enough to get a living

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honestly.

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Before we proceed to mention the particulars that have come to our hands concerning this unhappy criminal, it may not be amiss to take notice of the rigour with which all civilised nations have treated offenders in this kind, by considering the crime itself as a species of treason. The reason of which arises thus. As money is the universal standard or measure of the value of any commodity, so the value of money is always regulated, in respect of its weight, fineness, etc., by the public authority of the State. To counterfeit, therefore, is in some degree to assume the supreme authority, inasmuch as it is giving a currency to another less valuable piece of metal than that made current by the State. The old laws of England were very severe on this head, and carried their care of preventing it so far as to damage the public in other respects, as by forbidding the importation of bullion, and punishing with death attempts made to discover the Philosopher's Stone which forced whimsical persons who were enamoured of that experiment to go abroad and spend their money in pursuit of that project there. These causes, therefore, upon a review of the laws on this head, were abrogated; but the edge in other respects was rather sharpened than abated. For as the trade of the nation increased, frauds in the coin became of worse consequence and not only so, but were more practised.

In the reign of King William and Queen Mary, clipping and coining grew so notorious and had so great and fatal influences on the public trade of the nation, that Parliament found it necessary to enter upon that great work of a recoinage⁹¹ and in order to prevent all future inconveniences of a like nature, they at the same time enacted that not only counterfeiting, chipping, scaling, lightening, or otherwise debasing the current specie of this realm, should be deemed and punished as high treason, but they included also under the same charge and punishment the having any press, engine, tool, or implement proper for coining, the mending, buying, selling, etc., of them; and upon this Act, which was rendered perpetual by another made in the seventh year

91. A commission was appointed to consider the debased state of the currency and, not without considerable opposition, a bill was passed in 1696, withdrawing all debased coin from circulation. This incurred an expense of some £1,200,000, which the Government met by imposing a window tax.



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of the reign of Queen Anne, all our proceedings on this head are at this day grounded. Many executions and many more trials happened on these laws being first made, dipping, especially, being an ordinary thing, and some persons of tolerable reputation in the world engaged in it; but the strict proceedings (in the days of King William, especially) against all, without distinction, who offended in that way, so effectually crushed them that a coiner nowadays is looked upon as an extraordinary criminal, though the Law still continues to take its course, whenever they are convicted, the Crown being seldom or never induced to grant a pardon.

As to this poor woman, Barbara Spencer, she was the daughter of mean parents and was left very young to the care of her mother, who lived in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate. This old creature, as is common enough with ordinary people, indulged her daughter so much in all her humours, and suffered her to take so uncontrolled a liberty that all her life-time after, she was incapable of bearing restraint, but, on every slight contradiction flew out into the wildest excesses of passion and fury. When but a child, on a very slight difference at home, she must needs go out 'prentice, and was accordingly put to a mantua-maker, who having known her throughout her infancy, fatally treated her with the same indulgence and tenderness. She continued with her about two years, and then, on a few warm words happening, went away from so good a mistress, and came home again to her mother, who by that time had set up a brandy shop.

On Miss Barbara's return, a maid had to be taken, for she was much too good to do the work of the house. The servant had not been there long before they quarrelled, the mother taking the wench's part. Away went the young woman, but matters being made up and the old mother keeping an alehouse in Cripplegate parish, she once more went to live with her. This reconciliation lasted longer, but was more fatal to Barbara than her late falling out. One day, it seems, she took into her head to go and see the prisoners die at Tyburn, but her mother meeting her at the door, told her that there was too much business for her to do at home, and that she should not go. Harsh words ensuing on this, her mother at last struck her, and said she should be her death. However, Barbara went, and the man who attended her to Tyburn, brought her afterwards to a house by St. Giles's Pound⁹² where after relating the difference between herself and her mother, she vowed she would never return any more home. In this resolution she was encouraged, and soon after was acquainted with the secrets of the house, and appointed to go out with their false money, in order to vend, or utter it; which trade, as it freed her from all restraint, she was at first mightily pleased with. But being soon discovered she was committed to Newgate, convicted and fined.

About this time she first became acquainted with Mrs. Miles, who afterwards betrayed her, and upon this occasion was, it seems, so kind as to advance some money for her. On the affair for which she died, the evidence could have hardly done without Miles's assistance, which so enraged poor Barbara that even to the instant of death, she could hardly prevail with herself to forgive her, and never spoke of her without a kind of heat, very improper and unbecoming in a person in her distressful state.

92. This was at the corner of Tottenham Court Road and Oxford Street. It was an old London landmark, from which distances were measured as from the Standard in Cornhill. It was demolished in 1765.



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The punishment ordained by our laws for treasons committed by women, whether high or petty, is burning alive.⁹³ This, though pronounced upon her by the judge, she could never be brought to believe would be executed, but while she lay under sentence, she endeavoured to put off the thoughts of the fatal day as much as she could, always asserting that she thought the crime no sin, for which she was condemned. It seems her mother died at Tyburn before midsummer, and this poor wretch would often say that she little thought she should so soon follow her, when she attended her to death, averring also that she suffered unjustly. As for this poor woman, her temper was exceedingly unhappy, and as it had made her uneasy and miserable all her life, so at her death it occasioned her to be impatient, and to behave inconsistently. For which, sometimes, she would apologise, by saying that though it was not in her power to put on grave looks, yet her heart was as truly affected as theirs who gave greater outward signs of contrition; a manner of speaking usually taken up by those who would be thought to think seriously in the midst of outward gaiety, and of whose sincerity in cases like these. He only can judge who is acquainted with the secrets of all hearts and who, as He is not to be deceived, so His penetration is utterly unknown to us, who are confined to appearances and the exterior marks of things.

She lost all her boldness at the near approach of death and seemed excessively surprised and concerned at the apprehension of the flames. When she went out to die, she owned her crime more fully than she had ever done. She said she had learnt to coin of a man and woman who had now left off and lived very honestly, wherefore she said she would not discover them. At the very slake she complained how hard she found it to forgive Miles, who had been her accomplice and then betrayed her, adding that though she saw faggots and brushes ready to be lighted and to consume her, yet she would not receive life at the expense of another's blood. She averred there were great numbers of London who followed the same trade of coining, and earnestly wished they might take warning by her death. At the instant of suffering, she appeared to have reassumed all her resolution, for which she had, indeed, sufficient occasion, when to the lamentable death by burning was added the usual noise and clamour of the mob, who also threw stones and dirt, which beat her down and wounded her. However, she forgave them cheerfully, prayed with much earnestness and ended her life the same day as the last mentioned malefactor, Perkins, aged about twenty-four years.

July 21, Friday (Old Style): Walter Kennedy and John Bradshaw had been convicted of having been [pirates](#) on the high seas. Bradshaw was then reprieved, but on this day (or perhaps it was on the 19th) Kennedy was [hanged](#) on Execution Dock in Wapping, the port of London.⁹⁴

Piracy was anciently in this kingdom considered as a petty treason at Common Law; but the multitude of treasons, or to speak more properly of offences construed into treason, becoming a very great grievance to the subject, this with many others was

93. In practice, criminals were strangled before being burned. The last case in which this penalty was inflicted was in 1789; it was abolished the following year.

94. LIVES OF THE MOST REMARKABLE CRIMINALS WHO HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED FOR MURDER, THE HIGHWAY, HOUSEBREAKING, STREET ROBBERIES, COINING OR OTHER OFFENCES / COLLECTED FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS AND AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS, AND PUBLISHED IN 1735 / Edited by Arthur L. Hayward



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left out in the famous Statute of the 25th Edward the Third, for limiting what thenceforth should be deemed treason. From that time piracy was regarded in England only as a crime against the Civil Law, by which it was always capital; but there being some circumstances very troublesome, as to the proofs therein required for conviction, by a statute in the latter end of the reign of Henry the Eighth it was provided that this offence should be tried by commissioners appointed by the king, consisting of the admiral and certain of his officers, with such other persons as the reigning prince should think fit, after the common course of the laws of this realm for felonies and robberies committed on land, in which state it hath continued with very small alterations to this day.

Offenders of this kind are now tried at the Sessions-house in the Old Bailey, before the judge of the Court of Admiralty, assisted by certain other judges of the Common Law by virtue of such a commission as was before mentioned, the silver oar (a peculiar ensign of authority belonging to the Court of Admiralty) lying on the table. As pirates are not very often apprehended in Britain, so particular notice is always given when a Court like this, called an Admiralty Sessions, is to be held, the prisoners until that time remaining in the Marshalsea, the proper prison of this Court.

On the 26th [sic, perhaps this intended 16th] of July, 1721, at such a sessions, Walter Kennedy and John Bradshaw were tried for piracies committed on the high seas, and both of them convicted. This Walter Kennedy was born at a place called Pelican Stairs in Wapping. His father was an anchor-smith, a man of good reputation, who gave his son Walter the best education he was able; and while a lad he was very tractable, and had no other apparent ill quality than that of a too aspiring temper. When he was grown up big enough to have gone out to a trade, his father bound him apprentice to himself, but died before his son was out of his time. Leaving his father's effects in the possession of his mother and brothers, Walter then followed his own roving inclinations and went to sea. He served for a considerable time on board a man-of-war, in the reign of her late Majesty Queen Anne, in the war then carried on against France; during which time he often had occasion to hear of the exploits of the pirates, both in the East and West Indies, and of their having got several islands into their possession, wherein they were settled, and in which they exercised a sovereign power.

These tales had wonderful effect on Walter's disposition, and created in him a secret ambition of making a figure in the same way. He became more than ordinarily attentive whenever stories of that sort were told, and sought every opportunity of putting his fellow sailors upon such relations. Men of that profession have usually good memories with respect, at least, to such matters, and Kennedy, therefore, without much difficulty became acquainted with the principal expeditions of these maritime desperadoes, from the time of Sir Henry Morgan's commanding the Buccaneers in America, to Captain Avery's more modern exploits at Madagascar⁹⁵; his fancy insinuating to him continually that he might be able to make as great a figure as any of these

95. Avery was one of the best known pirates of his time and told of his wonderful wealth, his capturing and marrying the daughter of the Great Mogul, and his setting up a kingdom in Madagascar. He was even the hero of a popular play—*The Successful Pirate*, produced at Dray Lane in 1712. The true story of his life and how he died in want, is related at length in Captain Charles Johnson's *HISTORY OF THE PIRATES* edited by me, and published in the same edition as the present volume.



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thievish heroes, whenever a proper opportunity offered. It happened that he was sent with Captain Woodes Rogers,⁹⁶ Governor of Providence [Bahama Islands], when that gentleman first sent to recover that island by reducing the pirates, who then had it in possession. At the time of the captain's arrival these people had fortified themselves in several places, and with all the care they were able, had provided both for their safety and subsistence.

It happened that some time before, they had taken a ship, on board of which they found a considerable quantity of the richest brocades, for which having no other occasion, they tore them up, and tying them between the horns of their goats, made use of them to distinguish herds that belonged to one settlement and those that belonged to another, and sight of this, notwithstanding the miserable condition which in other respects these wretches were in, mightily excited the inclination Kennedy had to following their occupation.

Captain Rogers having signified to the chiefs of them the offers he had to make of free grace and pardon, the greater number of them came in and submitted very readily. Those who were determined to continue the same dissolute kind of life, provided with all the secrecy imaginable for their safety, and when practicable took their flight out of the island. The captain being made Governor, fitted out two sloops for trade, and having given proper directions to their commanders, manned them out of his own sailors with some of these reformed pirates intermixed. Kennedy went out on one of these vessels, in which he had not long been at sea before he joined in a conspiracy some of the rest had formed of seizing the vessel, putting those to death who refused to come into their measures, and then to go, as the sailors phrase it, "upon the account", that is in plain English, commence pirates.

This villainous design succeeded according to their wish. They emptied the other vessel of whatever they thought might be of use, and then turned her adrift, as being a heavy sailer, and consequently unfit for their purpose. A few days after their entering on this new course of life, they made themselves masters of two pretty large ships, having fitted which for their purpose, they now grew strong enough to execute any project that in their present circumstances they were capable of forming. Thus Kennedy was now got in to that unhappy state of living which from a false notion of things he had framed so fair an idea of and was so desirous to engage in.

Kennedy took a particular delight in relating what happened to him in these expeditions, even after they had brought him to misery and confinement. The account he gave of that form of rule which these wretches set up, in imitation of the legal government, and of those regulations there made to supply the place of moral honesty was in substance this.

They chose a captain from amongst themselves, who in effect held little more than that title, excepting in an engagement, when he commanded absolutely and without control. Most of them having suffered formerly from the ill-treatment of their officers, provided carefully against any such evil, now they had the choice in themselves. By their orders they provided especially

96. Woodes Rogers (d. 1732) sailed on Dampier's voyages and made a large sum of money which he devoted to buying the Bahama Islands from the proprietors on a twenty-one years' lease. He was made governor, but found himself unable to cope with the pirates and Spaniards who infested the islands, and went back to England in 1721. He returned as governor in 1728, and remained there until his death.



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against any quarrels which might happen among themselves, and appointed certain punishments for anything that tended that way; for the due execution thereof they constituted other officers besides the captain, so very industrious were they to avoid putting too much power into the hands of one man. The rest of their agreement consisted chiefly in relation to the manner of dividing the cargo of such prizes as they should happen to take, and though they had broken through all laws divine and human, yet they imposed an oath to be taken for the due observance of these, so inconsistent a thing is vice, and so strong the principles imbibed from education.

The life they led at sea was rendered equally unhappy from fear and hardship, they never seeing any vessel which reduced them not to the necessity of fighting, and often filled them with apprehensions of being overcome. Whatever they took in their several prizes could afford them no other pleasure but downright drunkenness on board, and except for two or three islands there were no other places where they were permitted to come on shore, for nowadays it was become exceedingly dangerous to land, either at Jamaica, Barbadoes, or on the islands of the Bermudas. In this condition they were when they came to a resolution of choosing one Davis⁹⁷ as captain, and going under his command to the coast of Brazil.

This design they put in execution, being chiefly tempted with the hopes of surprising some vessel of the homeward bound Portuguese fleet, by which they hoped to be made rich at once, and no longer be obliged to lead a life so full of danger. Accordingly they fell in with twenty sail of those ships and were in the utmost danger of being taken and treated as they deserved. However, on this occasion their captain behaved very prudently, and taking the advantage of one of those vessels being separated from the rest, they boarded her in the night without firing a gun. They forced the captain, when they had him in one of their own ships, to discover which of the fleet was the most richly laden, which he having done through fear, they impudently attacked her, and were very near becoming masters of her, though they were surrounded by the Portuguese ships, from whence they at last escaped, not so much by the swiftness of their own sailing, as by the cowardice of the enemy. In this attempt, though they miscarried as to the prize they had proposed, yet they accounted themselves very fortunate in having thus escaped from so dangerous an adventure.

Being some time after this in great want of water, Davis at the head of about fifty of his men, very well armed, made a descent in order to fill their casks, though the Portuguese governor of the port near which they landed easily discovered them to be pirates; but not thinking himself in a condition strong enough to attack them, he thought fit to dissemble that knowledge.

Davis and his men were no sooner returned on board than they received a message by a boat from shore, that the Governor would think himself highly honoured if the captain and as many as he pleased of his ship's company would accept of an entertainment the next day at the castle where he resided. Their commander, who had hitherto behaved himself like a man of conduct, suffered his vanity to overcome him so far as to accept of the proposal, and the next morning with ten of his sailors, all dressed in their best clothes, went on shore to this collation. But before

97. This was Howel Davis, whose adventures are related at length in Johnson's HISTORY OF THE PIRATES, chap. ix.



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they had reached half way, they were set upon by a party of Indians who lay in ambuscade, and with one flight of their poisoned arrows laid them all upon the ground, except Kennedy and another, who escaped to the top of a mountain, from whence they leaped into the sea, and were with much difficulty taken up by a boat which their companions sent to relieve them.

After this they grew tired of the coast of Brazil. However, in their return to the West Indies they took some very considerable prizes, upon which they resolved unanimously to return home, in order, as they flattered themselves, to enjoy their riches. The captain who then commanded them was an Irishman, who endeavoured to bring the ship into Ireland, on the north coast of which a storm arising, the vessel was carried into Scotland and there wrecked. At that time Kennedy had a considerable quantity of gold, which he either squandered away, or had stolen from him in the Highlands. He afterwards went over into Ireland, where being in a low and poor condition he shipped himself at length for England, and came up to London. He had not been long in town before he was observed by some whose vessel had been taken by the crew with whom he sailed. They caused him to be apprehended, and after lying a considerable time in prison, he was, as I have said before, tried and convicted.

After sentence, he showed much less concern for life than is usual for persons in that condition. He was so much tired with the miseries and misfortune which for some years before he had endured, that death appeared to him a thing rather desirable than frightful. When the reprieve came for Bradshaw, who was condemned with him, he expressed great satisfaction, at the same time saying that he was better pleased than if he himself had received mercy. *For, continued he, should I be banished into America as he is, 'tis highly probable I might be tempted to my old way of life, and so instead of reforming, add to the number of my sins.*

He continued in these sentiments till the time of his death, when, as he went through Cheapside to his execution, the silver oar being carried before him as is usual, he turned about to a person who sat by him in the cart, and said, *Though it is a common thing for us when at sea to acquire vast quantities both of that metal which goes before me, and of gold, yet such is the justice of Providence that few or none of us preserve enough to maintain us; but as you see in me, when we go to death, we have not wherewith to purchase a coffin to bury us.* He died at Execution Dock, the 21st⁹⁸ of July, 1721, being then about twenty-six years of age.

98. THE HISTORY OF THE PIRATES gives the date as 19th of July. This book gives an interesting account of Kennedy, pp. 178-81.

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July 28, Friday (Old Style): At the Tyburn gallows, near what is now Marble Arch at the end of Oxford Street in London, the thief Matthew Clark was **hanged** for having, to prevent the maid Sarah Goldington from identifying him to the police, slashed her throat to the bone, and John Winship was hanged after a considerable career as a highwayman and footpad. You will be able to inspect a plaque in the pavement indicating the former location of this famous gallows at which 2,023 males and 146 females were “turned off” between the Year of Our Lord 1715 and the Year of Our Lord 1783 (search out this plaque on an island in the middle of Edgware Road at its junction with Bayswater Road, while keeping a cautious eye on the traffic).⁹⁹

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



99. LIVES OF THE MOST REMARKABLE CRIMINALS WHO HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED FOR MURDER, THE HIGHWAY, HOUSEBREAKING, STREET ROBBERIES, COINING OR OTHER OFFENCES / COLLECTED FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS AND AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS, AND PUBLISHED IN 1735 / Edited by Arthur L. Hayward



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Perhaps there is nothing to which we may more justly attribute those numerous executions which so disgrace our country, than the false notions which the meaner sort, especially, imbibe in their youth as to love and women. This unhappy person, Matthew Clark, of whom we are now to speak, was a most remarkable instance of the truth of this observation. He was born at St. Albans, of parents in but mean circumstances, who thought they had provided very well for their son when they had procured his admission into the family of a neighbouring gentleman, equally distinguished by the greatness of his merit and fortune.

In this place, certainly, had Matthew been inclined in any degree to good, he might have acquired from the favour of his master all the advantages, even of a liberal education; but proving an incorrigible, lazy and undutiful servant, the gentleman in whose service he was, after bearing with him a long time, turned him out of his family. He then went to plough and cart, and such other country work, but though he had been bred to this and was never in any state from which he could reasonably hope better, yet was he so restless and uneasy at those hardships which he fancied were put upon him, that he chose rather to rob than to labour; and leaving the farmer in whose service he was, used to skulk about Bushey Heath, and watch all opportunities to rob passengers.

Matthew was a perfect composition of all the vices that enter into low life. He was idle, inclined to drunkenness, cruel and a coward; nor would he have had spirit enough to attack anybody on the road had it not been to supply him with money for merry meetings and dancing bouts, to which he was carried by his prevailing passion for loose women. And these expeditions keeping him continually bare, robbing and junketting, desire of pleasure and fear of the gallows were the whole round of both his actions and his thoughts.

At last the matrimonial maggot bit his brain, and alter a short courtship, he prevailed on a young girl in the neighbourhood to go up with him to London, in order to their marriage. When they were there, finding his stock reduced so low that he had not even money to purchase the wedding ring, he pretended that a legacy of fifteen pounds was just left him in the country, and with a thousand promises of a quick return, set out from London to fetch it. When he left the town, full of uneasy thoughts, he travelled towards Neasden and Willesden Green, where formerly he had lived. He intended to have lurked there till he had an opportunity of robbing as many persons as to make up fifteen pounds from their effects. In pursuance of this resolution, he designed in himself to attack every passenger he saw, but whenever it came to the push, the natural cowardice of his temper prevailed and his heart failed him.

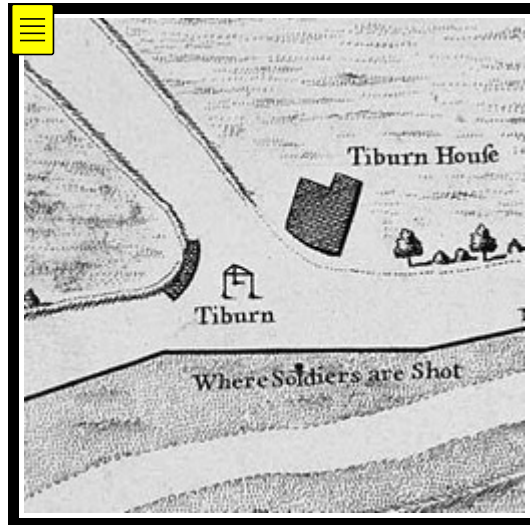
While he loitered about there, the master of an alehouse hard by took notice of him and asked him how he came to idle about in haytime, when there was so much work, offering at the same time to hire him for a servant. Upon this discourse Clark immediately recollected that all the persons belonging to this man's house must be out haymaking, except the maid, who served his liquors and waited upon guests. As soon, therefore, as he had parted from the master and saw he was gone into the fields, he turned back and went into his house, where renewing his former acquaintance with the maid, who as he had guessed, was there alone, and to whom he formerly had been a sweetheart, he sat

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near an hour drinking and talking in that jocose manner which is usual between people of their condition in the country. But in the midst of all his expressions of affection, he mediated how to rob the house, his timorous disposition supposing a thousand dangers from the knowledge the maid had of him. He resolved, in order absolutely to secure himself, to murder her out of the way; upon which, having secretly drawn his knife out of his sheath, and hiding it under his coat, he kissed her, designing at the same time to dispatch her; but his heart failed him the first time. However, getting up and kissing her a second time, he darted it into her windpipe; but its edge being very dull, the poor creature made a shift to mutter his name, and endeavoured to scramble after him. Upon which he returned, and with the utmost inhumanity cut her neck to the bone quite round; after which he robbed the house of some silver, but being confounded and astonished did not carry off much.



He went directly into the London Road, and came as far as Tyburn, the sight of which filled him with so much terror that he was not able to pick up courage enough to go by it. Returning back into the road again, he met a waggon, which, in hopes of preventing all suspicion, he undertook to drive up to town (the man who drove it having hurt his leg). But he had not gone far before the persons who were in pursuit of the murderer of Sarah Goldington (the maid before mentioned) came up with him, and enquired whether he had seen anybody pass by his waggon who looked suspicious, or was likely to have committed the fact. This enquiry put him into so much confusion that he was scarce able to make an answer, which occasioned their looking at him more narrowly and thereby discovering the sleeve of his shirt to be all bloody. At first he affirmed with great confidence that a soldier meeting him upon the road had insulted him, and that in fighting with him he had made the soldier's mouth bleed, which had so stained his shirt. But in a little time perceiving this excuse would not prevail, but that they were resolved to carry him back, he fell into a violent agony and confessed the fact.

At the next sessions at the Old Bailey he was convicted, and after receiving sentence of death, endeavoured all he could to comfort and compose himself during the time he lay under condemnation. His father, who was a very honest industrious man



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came to see him, and after he was gone Matthew spoke with great concern of an expression which his father had made use of, viz., That if he had been to die for any other offence, he would have made all the interest and friends he could to have served for his life, but that the murder he had committed was so cruel, that he thought that nothing could atone for it but his blood. The inhumanity and cruel circumstances of it did indeed in some degree affect this malefactor himself, but he seemed much more disturbed with the apprehension of being hanged in chains, a thing which from the weakness of vulgar minds terrifies more than death itself, and the use of which I confess I do not see, since it serves only to render the poor wretches uneasy in their last moments, and instead of making suitable impressions on the minds of the spectators, affords a pretence for servants and other young persons to idle away their time in going to see the body so exposed on a gibbet.

At the place of execution, Clark was extremely careful to inform the people that he was so far from having any malice against the woman whom he murdered that he really had a love for her. A report, too, of his having designed to sell the young girl he had brought out of the country into Virginia had weight enough with him to occasion his solemn denying of it at the tree, though he acknowledged at the same time that he had resolved to leave her. He declared also, to prevent any aspersions on some young men who had been his companions, that no person was ever present with, or privy to any of the robberies he had committed; and having thus far discharged his conscience, he suffered on the 28th of July, 1721, in the twenty-fourth year of his age.

That idleness in which youths are suffered to live in this kingdom till they are grown to that size at which they are usually put apprentice (a space of time in which they are much better employed, in many other countries of Europe) too often creates an inaptitude to work and allows them opportunity of entering into paths which have a fatal termination.

John Winship, of whom we are now to treat, was born of parents in tolerable circumstances in the parish of St. Paul's, Covent Garden. They gave him an education rather superior to his condition, and treated him with an indulgence by which his future life became unhappy. At about fourteen, they placed him as an apprentice with a carpenter, to which trade he himself had a liking. His master used him as well as he could have expected or wished, yet that inclination to idleness and loitering which he had contracted while a boy, made him incapable of pursuing his business with tolerable application. The particular accident by which he was determined to leave it shall be the next point in our relation.

It happened that returning one day from work, he took notice of a young woman standing at a door in a street not far distant from that in which his master lived. He was then about seventeen, and imagining love to be a very fine thing, thought fit, without further enquiry, to make this young woman the object of his affection. The next evening he took occasion to speak to her, and this acquaintance soon improving into frequent appointments, naturally led Winship into much greater expenses than he was able to support. This had two consequences equally fatal to this unhappy young man, for in the first place he left his master and his trade, and took to driving of coaches and like methods, to



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get his bread; but all the ways he could think of, proving unable to supply his expenses, he went next upon the road, and raised daily contributions in as illegal a manner as they were spent at night, in all the excesses of vice.

It is impossible to give either a particular or exact account of the robberies he committed, because he was always very reserved, even after conviction, in speaking as to these points. However, he is said to have been concerned in robbing a Frenchman of quality in the road to Hampstead, who in a two-horsed chaise, with the coachman on his box, was attacked in the dusk of the evening by three highwaymen. They exchanged several pistols and continued the fight, till, the ammunition on both sides being exhausted, the foreigner prepared to defend himself with his sword. The rogues were almost out of all hopes of obtaining their booty, when one of them getting behind the chaise secretly cut a square hole in its back, and putting in both his arms, seized the gentleman so strongly about the shoulders that his companions had an opportunity of closing in with him, disarming him of his sword, rifling and taking a hundred and twenty pistoles. Not content with this they ripped the lace off his clothes, and took from the coachmen all the money he had about him.

Winship had been concerned in divers gangs, and being a fellow of uncommon agility of body, was mighty well received and much caressed by them, as was also another companion of his, whom they called Clean-Limbed Tom, whose true name was never known, being killed in a duel at Kilkenny in Ireland. This last mentioned person had been bred with an apothecary, and sometimes travelled the country in the high capacity of a quack doctor, at others, in the more humble station of a merry-andrew. Travelling once down into the west, with a little chest of medicines which he intended to dispose of in this matter at West Chester, at an inn about twenty miles short of that city he overtook a London wholesale dealer, who had been that way collecting debts. Tom made a shift to get into his company overnight, and diverted him so much with his facetious conversation that he invited him to breakfast with him the next morning. Tom took occasion to put a strong purge into the ale and toast which the Londoner was drinking, he himself pretending never to take anything in the morning but a glass of wine and bitters. When the stranger got on horseback, Tom offered to accompany him, *For, says he, I can easily walk as fast as your horse will trot.* They had not got above two miles before, at the entrance of a common, the physic began to work. The tradesman alighting to untruss a point, Tom leaped at once into his saddle, and galloped off both with his horse and portmanteau. He baited an hour at a small village three miles beyond Chester, having avoided passing through that city, then continued his journey to Port Patrick, from whence he crossed to Dublin with about four score pounds in ready money, a gold watch, which was put up in a corner of a cloak bag, linen, and other things to a considerable value besides.

But to return to Winship. His robberies were so numerous that he began to be very well known and much sought after by those who make it their business to bring men to justice for rewards. There is some reason to believe that he had been once condemned and received mercy. However, on the 25th of May, 1721, he stopped one Mr. Lowther in his chariot, between Pancras Church and the



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Halfway House, and robbed him of his silver watch and a purse of ten guineas; for which robbery being quickly after apprehended, he was convicted at the Old Bailey, on the evidence of the prosecutor and the voluntary information of one of his companions.

While he lay under sentence, he could not help expressing a great impatience at the miserable condition to which his follies had reduced him, and at the same time to show the most earnest desire of life, though it were upon the terms of transportation for the whole continuance of it; though he frequently declared it did not arise so much from a willingness in himself to continue in this world, as at the grief he felt for the misfortunes of his aged mother, who was ready to run distracted at her son's unhappy fate.

As he was a very personable young man strangers, especially at chapel, took particular notice of him, and were continually inquiring of his adventures; but Winship not only constantly refused to give them any satisfaction, but declared also to the Ordinary that he did not think himself obliged to make any discoveries which might affect the lives of others, showing also an extraordinary uneasiness whenever such questions were put to him. When he was asked, by the direction of a person of some rank, whether he did not rob a person dressed in such a manner in a chaise as he was watering his horse before the church door, during the time of Divine service, Winship replied, he supposed the crime did not consist in the time or place, and as to whether he was guilty of it or no, he would tell nothing.

In other respects he appeared penitent and devout, suffering at Tyburn at the same time with the afore-mentioned Matthew Clark, in the twenty-second year of his age, leaving behind him a wife, who died afterwards with grief for his execution.

September: On [St. Helena](#), a man who had committed three burglaries was sentenced to be [hanged](#) by his accomplices (who were also found guilty but to a lesser degree).

September 11, Monday (Old Style): John Meff, *alias* Merth, a housebreaker and a highwayman, was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London, and with him was hanged James Reading, a robber one of whose crimes had led to a murder, and William Casey, another robber, and John Wigley, another highwayman.¹⁰⁰

The rigid execution of felons who return from transportation has been found so necessary that few or none who have been tried for such illegal returning have escaped, though 'tis very hard to convince those who suffer for that offence that there is any real crime in their evading their sentence. It was this which brought John Meff, *alias* Merth, of whom we are now to speak, to an ignominious death, after he had once before escaped it in a very extraordinary manner, as in the process of his story shall be related.

This unhappy man was born in London of French parents, who retired into England for the sake of their religion, when Louis XIV began his furious persecution against the Protestants in his dominions. This John Meff was educated with great care, especially as to the principles of religion, by a father who had

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very just notions of that faith for which in banishment he suffered. When his son John grew up, he put him out apprentice to a weaver, whom he served with great fidelity, and after he

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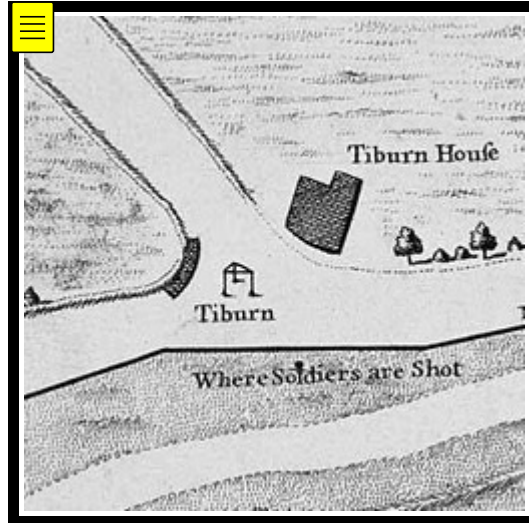


came out of his time, married; but finding himself incapable to maintain his family by his labour, he unfortunately addicted himself to ill-courses. In this he was yet more unlucky, for having almost at his first setting out broke open a house, he was discovered, apprehended, tried, convicted, and put in the cart, in order to go to execution within the fortnight; but the hangman being arrested as he was going to Tyburn, he and the rest who were to have suffered with him were transported through

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the clemency of the Government.



On this narrow escape from death, Meff was full of many penitent resolutions, and determined with himself to follow for the future an honest course of life, however hard and laborious, as persons are generally inclined to believe all works in the plantations are. Yet no sooner was he at liberty (that is, on board the transport vessel, where he found means to make the master his friend) than much of these honest intentions were dissolved and laid aside, to which perhaps the behaviour of his companions and of the seamen on board the ship, did not a little contribute. At first their passage was easy, the wind fair and prosperous. They began to comfort one another with the hopes of living easily in the Plantations, greedily enquiring of the seamen how persons in their unhappy condition were treated by their masters, and whether all the terrible relations they had had in England were really facts, or invented only to terrify those who were to undergo that punishment.

But while these unhappy persons were thus amusing themselves a new and unlooked for misfortune fell upon them, for in the height of Bermuda they were surprised by two [pirate](#) sloops, who though they found no considerable booty on board, were very well satisfied by the great addition they made to their force, from most of those felons joining with them in their piratical undertakings. Meff, however, and eight others, absolutely refused to sign the paper which contained the pirate's engagement and articles for better pursuing their designs. These nine were, according to the barbarous practice of those kind of people, marooned, that is, set on shore on an uninhabited island. According to the custom of the people in such distress, they were obliged to rub two dry sticks together till they took fire, and with great difficulty gathered as many other sticks as made a fire large enough to yield them some relief from the inclemency of the weather. They caught some fowls with springes made of an old horsehair wig, which were very tough and of a fishy taste, but after three or four days, they became acquainted with the springes and were never afterwards to be taken by that means. Their next resource for food was an animal which burrowed in the ground like our rabbits, but the flesh of these proving unwholesome, threw them into such dangerous fluxes that five out of the nine were scarce able to go. They were then



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forced to take up with such fish as they were able to catch, and even these were not only very rank and unpleasant, but very small also, and no great plenty of them either.

At last, when they almost despaired of ever getting off that inhospitable island, they espied early one morning an Indian canoe come on shore with seven persons. They hid themselves behind the rocks as carefully as they could, and the Indians being gone up into the heart of the island, they went down and finding much salt provisions in the boat, they trusted themselves to the mercy of the waves.

By the providence of God they were driven in two days into an English settlement, where Meff, instead of betaking himself to any settled course, resolved to turn sailor, and in that capacity made several voyages, not only to Barbadoes, Jamaica, and the rest of the British Islands, but also to New England, Virginia, South Carolina, and other plantations. On the main, there is no doubt but he led a life of no great satisfaction in this occupation, which probably was the reason he resolved to return home to England at all hazards. He did so, and had hardly been a month in this kingdom before he fell to his old practices, in which he was attended with the same ill-fortune as formerly; that is to say, he was apprehended for one of his first acts, and committed to Newgate. Out of this prison he escaped by the assistance of a certain bricklayer, and went down to Hatfield in Hertfordshire to remain in hiding, but as he affirmed and was generally believed, being betrayed by the same bricklayer he was retaken, conveyed again to Newgate and confined the utmost severity.

At his trial there arose a doubt whether the fact he had committed was not pardoned by the Act of Indemnity then lately granted. However, the record of his former conviction being produced, the Court ordered he should be indicted for returning without lawful cause, on which indictment he was convicted upon full proof, condemned and shortly after ordered for execution. During the space he lay under sentence he expressed much penitence for his former ill-spent life, and together with James Reading, who was in the same unhappy state with himself, read and prayed with the rest of the prisoners. This Reading had been concerned in abundance of robberies, and, as he himself owned, in some which were attended with murder; he acknowledged he knew of the killing of Mr. Philpot, the surveyor of the window-lights, at the perpetration of which fact Reading said there were three persons present, two of which he knew, but as to the third he could say nothing. This malefactor, though but thirty-five years of age, was a very old offender, and had in his lifetime been concerned with most of the notorious gangs that at that time were in England, some of whom he had impeached and hanged for his own preservation; but he was at last convicted for robbing (in company with two others) George Brownsworth of a watch and other things of a considerable value, between Islington and the turnpike, and for it was executed at Tyburn, the 11th of September, 1721, together with John Meff aforesaid,



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then in the fortieth year of his age.



It is an observation which must be obvious to all my readers, that few who addict themselves to robbing and stealing ever continue long in the practice of those crimes before they are overtaken by Justice, not seldom as soon as they set out.

This man had been bred a plasterer, but seems to have fallen very early into ill courses and felonious methods of getting money, in which horrid practice he spent his years, till taking up with an old woman who sold brandy upon Finchley Common, she sometimes persuaded him, of late years, to work at his trade. There has been great suspicions that he murdered the old husband to this woman, who was found dead in a barn or outhouse not far from Hornsey; but Wigley, though he confessed an unlawful correspondence with the woman, yet constantly averred his innocency of that fact, and always asserted that though the old man's death was sudden, yet it was natural. He used to account for it by saying that the deceased was a great brandy-drinker, by which he had worn out his constitution, and that being one evening benighted in his return home from London, he crawled into that barn where he was found dead next morning, and was currently reported to have been murdered.

Though this malefactor had committed a multitude of robberies, yet he generally chose to go on such expeditions alone, having always great aversion for those confederacies in villainy which we call gangs, in which he always affirmed there was little safety, notwithstanding any oaths, by which they might bind themselves to secrecy. For notwithstanding some instances of their neglecting rewards when they were to be obtained by betraying their companions, yet when life came to be touched, they hardly ever failed of betraying all they knew. Yet he once receded from the resolution he had made of never robbing in company, and went out one night with two others of the same occupation towards Islington, there they met with one Symbol Conyers, whom they robbed of a watch, a pair of silver spurs, and four shillings in money, at the same time treating him very ill, and terrifying him with their pistols.

For this fact, soon after it was done, Wigley was apprehended, and convicted at the ensuing sessions. When all hopes of life were lost, he seemed disposed to suffer with cheerfulness and resignation that death to which the Law had doomed him. He said, in the midst of his afflictions it was some comfort to him that he had no children who might be exposed by his death to the wide world, not only in a helpless and desolate condition, but also liable to the reflections incident from his crimes. He also observed that the immediate hand of Providence seemed to dissipate whatever wicked persons got by rapine and plunder, so as not only to prevent their acquiring a subsistence which might



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set them above the necessity of continuing in such courses, but that they even wanted bread to support them, when overtaken by Justice. He was near forty years of age at the time of his death, which happened on the same day as the malefactors last mentioned.

William Casey, whose life is the subject of our present discourse, was a son of one of the same name, a soldier who had served his Majesty long, and with good reputation. As is usual amongst that sort of people, the education he gave his son was such as might fit him for the same course of life, though at the same time he took care to provide him with a tolerable competency of learning, that is, as to writing and reading English. When he was about fifteen years of age, his father caused him to be enlisted in the same company in which he served for some small time before my Lord Cobham's expedition into Spain,¹⁰¹ in which he accompanied him. That expedition being over, Casey returned into England, and did duty as usual in the Guards.

One night he, with some others, crossing the park a fray happened between them and one John Stone, which as Casey affirmed at his death, was occasioned by the prosecutor Stone offering very great indecencies to him, upon which they in a fury beat and abused him, from the abhorrence they pretended to have for that beastly and unnatural sin of sodomy. Whether this was really the case or no is hard to determine; all who were concerned in it with Casey being indicted (though not apprehended) with him, and their evidence consequently taken. However that matter was, Stone the prosecutor told a dreadful story on Casey's trial. He said the four men attacked him crossing the Park, who attacked, beat and cruelly trod upon and wounded him, taking from him at the same time his hat, wig, neck-cloth and five shillings in money; and that upon his arising and endeavouring to follow them, they turned back, stamped upon him, broke one of his ribs, and told him that if he attempted to stir, they would seize him and swear sodomy upon him. On this indictment Casey was convicted and ordered for execution, notwithstanding all the intercession his friends could make.

While under sentence he complained heavily of the pains a certain corporal had taken in preparing and pressing the evidence against him. He said his diligence proceeded not from any desire of doing justice, or for his guilt, but from an old grudge he owed their family, from Casey's father threatening to prosecute him for a rape committed on his daughter, then very young, and attended with very cruel circumstances; and which even the corporal himself had in part owned in a letter which he had written to the said Casey's father. However, while he lay in Newgate, he seemed heartily affected with sorrow for his misspent life, which he said was consumed as is too frequent among soldiers, either in idleness or vice. He added, that in Spain he had made serious resolutions of amendment with himself, but was hindered from performing them by his companions, who were continually seducing him into his old courses. When he found that all hopes of life were lost, he disposed himself to submit with decency to his fate, which disposition he preserved to the last.

At the place of execution he behaved with great composure and

101. Sir Richard Temple, 1st Viscount Cobham, was a distinguished general who had served under Marlborough. In 1719 he led an expedition to the north coast of Spain and seized Vigo and the neighbouring towns and harbours.



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said that as he had heard he was accused in the world of having robbed and murdered a woman in Hyde Park, he judged it proper to discharge his conscience by declaring that he knew nothing of the murder, but said nothing as to the robbery. At the time of his death, which was on the 11th of September, 1721, he was about twenty years of age, and according to the character his officers gave him, a very quiet and orderly young man. He left behind him a paper to be published to the world, which as he was a dying man he averred to be the truth.

A copy of a paper left by William Casey.

Good People, I am now brought to this place to suffer a shameful and ignominious death, and of all such unhappy persons, 'tis expected by the world that they should either say something at their death, or leave some account behind them. And having that which more nearly concerns me, viz., the care of my immortal soul, I choose rather to leave these lines behind me than to waste my few precious moments in talking to the multitude. First, I declare, I die like a member, though a very unworthy one, of the Church of England as by Law established, the principles of which my now unhappy father took an early care to instruct me in. And next for the robbery of Mr. Stone, for which I am now brought to this fatal place. I solemnly do declare to God and the world, that I never had the value of one halfpenny from him, and that the occasion of his being so ill-used was that he offered to me that detestable and crying sin of sodomy.

I take this opportunity, with almost my last breath, to give my hearty thanks to the honourable Col. Pitts, and Col. Pagitt, for their endeavours to save my life, and indeed I had some small hopes that his Majesty, in consideration of the services of my whole family, having all been faithful soldiers and servants to the Crown of England, would have extended one branch of his mercy to me, and have sent me to have served him in another country. But welcome be the Grace of God, I am resigned to His will, and die in charity with all men, forgiving, hoping to be forgiven myself, through the merits of my blessed Saviour Jesus Christ. I hope, and make it my earnest request that nobody will be so little Christian as to reflect on my aged parents, wife, brother, or sisters, for my untimely end. And I pray God, into whose hands I commend my spirit, that the great number of sodomites in and about this City and suburbs, may not bring down the same judgement from Heaven as fell on Sodom and Gomorrah.

William Casey.

October 23, Monday (Old Style): John Dykes and Richard James, highwaymen, although they had not committed their crimes together, were [hanged](#) together on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹⁰²

It is a reflection almost too common to be repeated that of all the vices to which young people are addicted, nothing is so

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dangerous as a habit and inclination to gaming. To explain this would be to swell a volume. Instances which are so numerous do it much better. Perhaps this unhappy person John Dykes is as strong a one as is anywhere to be met with. His parents were persons in middling circumstances, but he being their eldest child, they treated him with great indulgence, and to the detriment of their own fortune afforded him a necessary education. When he grew up and his friends thought of placing him out apprentice, he always found some excuse or other to avoid

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



it, which arose only from his great indolence of temper, and his continual itching after gaming. When he had money, he went to the gaming tables about town, and when reduced by losses sustained there, would put on an old ragged coat and get out to play at chuck, and span-farthing, amongst the boys in the street, by which, sometimes he got money enough to go to his old companions again. But this being a very uncertain recourse, he made use more frequently of picking pockets; for which being several times apprehended and committed to Bridewell, his friends, especially his poor father, would often demonstrate to him the ignominious end which such practices would necessarily



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bring on, entreating him while there was yet time, to reflect and to leave them off, promising to do their utmost for him, notwithstanding all that was past. In the course of this unhappy life the youth had acquired an extraordinary share of cunning, and an unusual capacity of dissembling; he employed it more than once to deceive his family into a belief of his having made a thorough resolution of amendment.

Once, after having suffered the usual discipline of the horsepond, Dykes was carried before a Justice of Peace, and committed to Tothill Fields Bridewell¹⁰³. Here he became acquainted with one Jeddediah West, a Quaker's son, who had fallen into the like practices, and for them shared the same punishment with himself. They were pretty much of a temper, but Jeddediah was the elder and much the more subtle of the two, and in this unhappy place they contracted a strict and intimate friendship. Out of shame Jeddediah forbore for two or three days to acquaint his relations, and during that time for the most part subsisted out of what Dykes got from home. But at last West picked up courage enough to send to his brother, a very eminent man in business, and by telling him a plausible story, procured not only pity and relief, but even prevailed on him to believe that he was innocent of the fact for which he was committed. He so well tutored his friend Dykes that though he could not persuade his parents into the same degree of credulity, yet his outward appearance of penitence induced them not only to pardon him but to take him home, give him a new suit of clothes, and to promise him, if he continued to do well, whatever was in their power to do for him.

Dykes and his companion being in favour with their friends, and having money in their pockets, continued their correspondence and went often to the gaming tables together. At first they had a considerable run of luck for about three weeks, but Fortune then forsaking them, they were reduced to be downright penniless, without any hopes of relief or assistance from their friends sufficient to carry on their expenses. West at last proposed an expedient for raising money, which lay altogether upon himself, and which he the next day executed in the following manner.

About the time that he knew his brother was to come home from the Exchange to dinner, he went to his house equipped in a sailor's pea-jacket, his hair cropped short to his ears, his eyebrows coloured black, and a handkerchief about his neck. As soon as he saw him in the counting-house, his brother started back, and cried, *Bless me! Jeddediah, how came you in this pickle?* With all signs of grief and confusion, he threw himself at his brother's feet, and told him with a flood of tears that two coiners who had accidentally seen him in Bridewell had sworn against him and three others on their apprehension, in order on the merit thereof to be admitted evidences to get off themselves. *So that, dear brother,* he continued, *I have been obliged to take a passage in a vessel that does down next tide to Gravesend, for I have ran the hazard of my life to come and beg your charitable assistance.*

The poor honest man was so much amazed and concerned at this melancholy tale, that bursting out into tears, and hanging about his brother's neck, he begged him to take a coach and begone to

103. This Bridewell occupied the site adjoining the north side of the Green Coat School, on the west: side of Artillery Place. Although originally intended for vagrants, early in the 18th century it was turned into a house of detention for criminals.

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Billingsgate, giving him ten guineas in hand and telling him that his bills should not be protested if he drew within the compass of a hundred pounds from Dieppe, whither he said the ship was bound. West was no sooner out of the street where his brother lived, but he ordered the coach to drive to a certain place where he had appointed Dykes to meet him, and there they expressed a great deal of mutual satisfaction at the trick West had played his brother. However, the latter was no great gainer in the end, for Mr. West, senior, soon finding out the contrivance, forever renounced him, and Jeddediah being soon after arrested for twelve pounds due to his tailor, was carried to prison and remained there without the least assistance from his brother, till after his friend Dykes was hanged.

The last mentioned malefactor, unmoved by all the tender entreaties of his friends, and the glaring prospect before him of his own ruin, went still on at the old rate, and whenever gaming had brought him low in cash, took up with the road, or some such like dishonest method to recruit it. At last he had the ill-luck to commit a robbery in Stepney parish, in the road between Mile End and Bow, upon one Charles Wright, to whose bosom clapping a pistol, he commanded him to deliver peacefully, or he would shoot him through the body. The booty he took was very inconsiderable, being only a penknife, an ordinary seal, and five shillings and eightpence in money. A poor price for life, since two days after he was apprehended for this robbery, committed to Newgate and condemned the next sessions.

His behaviour under these unhappy circumstances was very mean, and such as fully showed what difference there is between courage and that resolution which is necessary to support the spirits and calm our apprehensions at the certain approach of a violent death. I forbear attempting any description of those unutterable torments which the exterior marks of a distracted behaviour fully showed that this poor wretch endured. And as I have nothing more to add of him, but that he confessed his having been guilty of a multitude of ill acts, he submitted at last with greater cheerfulness than he had ever shown during his confinement to that shameful death which the Law had ordained for his crimes, on the 23rd of October, 1721, when he was about twenty-three years of age.



The misfortune of not having early a virtuous education is often so great a one as never to be retrieved, and it happens frequently (as far as human capacity will give us leave to judge) that those prove remarkably wicked and profligate for want of it who if they had been so happy as to have received it, would probably have led an honest and industrious life. I am led to this observation at present by the materials which lay before me for the composition of this life.



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Richard James was the son of a nobleman's cook, but he knew little more of his father than that he left him to the wide world while very young; and so at about twelve years of age he was sent to sea. There he had the misfortune to be taken prisoner by the Spaniards, who he acknowledged treated him with great humanity, and a house-painter taking a great liking to him, received him into his house, taught him his profession, and used him with the same tenderness as if he had been his nearest relation.

But fondness for his country exciting in him a continual desire of seeing England again, at last he found a means to return before he was seventeen; and after this, being in England but a very small time, he totally disoblged what few friends he had left, by his silly marriage to a poor girl younger than himself. As is common enough in such mad adventures, the woman's friends were as much disoblged as his, and so not knowing how to subsist together, Richard was obliged to betake him to his old profession of the sea.

The first voyage he made was to the West Indies, where he had the misfortune to be taken by pirates, and by them being set on shore, he was reduced almost to downright starving. However, begging his way to Boston in New England, he from thence found a method of returning home once again. The first thing he did was to enquire for his wife. But she, under a pretence of having received advice of his death from America, had gotten another husband; and though poor James was willing to pass that by, yet the woman, it seems, knew better when she was well, and under pretence of affection for two children which she had by this last husband, absolutely refused to leave him and return back to Dick, her first spouse. However, he did not seem to have taken this much to heart, for in a short time he followed her example and married another wife; but finding no method of procuring an honest livelihood, he took a short method of living, viz., to thieving after every manner that came in his way.

He committed a vast number of robberies in a very short space, chiefly upon the waggoners in the Oxford Road, and sometimes, as if there were not crime enough in barely robbing them, he added to it by the cruel manner in which he treated them. At this rate he went on for a considerable space, till being apprehended for a robbery of a man on Hanwell Green, from whom he took but ten shillings, he was shortly after convicted; and having no friends, from that time he laid aside all hope of life. During the space he had to prepare himself for death, he appeared so far from being either terrified, or even unwilling to die, that he looked upon it as a very happy relief from a very troublesome and uneasy life, and declared, with all outward appearance of sincerity, that he would not, even if it were in his power, procure a reprieve, or avoid that death which could alone prove a remedy for those evils which had so long rendered life a burden. He was very earnest to be instructed in the duties of religion, and seemed to desire nothing else than to prepare himself, as well as time and his melancholy circumstances would allow him, and never from the time of his conviction showed any change in his disposition but continued still rather to wish for his death than to fear it. He made a very ample confession of all the robberies he had ever done, and seemed sorrowful enough, above all, for the inhumanity and incivility with which he had sometimes treated people.



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Amongst other particulars he said that once, with his companions, having robbed a lady in some other company of a whip, and a tortoiseshell snuff-box with a silver rim, she earnestly desired to have them returned, saying that as to the money they had taken they were heartily welcome; the other thieves seemed inclinable to grant her request, but James absolutely declared that she should not have them. However, as a very extraordinary mark of his generosity, he took the snuff out of the box, and putting it into a paper, gave it her back again.

At the place of execution he repeated what he had formerly said as to his readiness of dying, adding, that if the people pitied the misfortune he fell under of dying so ignominious a death, he no less pitied them in the dangers and misfortunes they were sure to run through in this miserable world. At the time of his death he was about thirty years of age, and suffered on the same day with the criminal last mentioned.



December 22, Friday (Old Style): Nathaniel Hawes, a thief and a robber, James Wright, a highwayman, and John Jones, a pickpocket, were [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹⁰⁴

James Wright, the malefactor whose life we are going to relate at present, was born at Enfield, of very honest and industrious parents, who, that he might get a living honestly, put him

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apprentice to a peruke-maker. At this trade, after having served

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his time, he set up in the Old Bailey, and lived there for some time in very good credit. But being much given up to women, and an idle habit of life, his expenses quickly outwent his profits, and thus in the space of some months reduced him to downright want. This put him upon the illegal ways he afterwards took to support himself in the enjoyment of those pleasures which even the evils he had already felt could not make him wise enough to shun.

He was very far from being a hardened criminal, hardly ever robbing a passenger without tears in his eyes, and always framing resolutions to himself of quitting that infamous manner of life, as soon as ever it should be in his power. He fancied that as the rich could better spare it than the poor, there was less crime in taking it from them, and valued himself not a little that he had never injured any poor man, but always singled out those who from their equipage were likeliest to yield him a good booty, and at the same time not be much the worse for it themselves. He had gone on for a considerable space in the commission of villainies with impunity, but at last being



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apprehended for a robbery committed by him in the county of Surrey, he was thereupon indicted and tried at the ensuing assizes at Kingston, and by some means or other, was so lucky as to be acquitted, no doubt to his very great joy; and on this deliverance he again renewed his vows of amendment.

After this acquittal a friend of his was so kind as to take him down to his house in the country, in hopes of keeping him out of harm's way; and indeed 'tis highly probable that he had totally given over all evil intention of that sort, when he was unfortunately impeached by Hawkins, one of his old companions, and on his evidence and that of the prosecutor whom he found out, Wright was taken up, tried and convicted at the Old Bailey. When he perceived there was no hope of life he applied himself to the great business of his soul, and behaved with the greatest composure imaginable. He declared himself a Roman Catholic, yet frequented the chapel all the time he was in Newgate, and seemed only studious how to make peace with God.

When the fatal day of execution approached, he was far from seeming amazed, notwithstanding that after mature deliberation he refused to declare his associates, or how they might be found, saying that perhaps they might repent, and he hoped some of them had done so, and he would not bring them to the same ignominious death with himself. The fact he died for, viz., robbing Mr. Towers, with some ladies in a coach in Marlborough Street, he confessed, also that his companion called out to him, *What, do they resist? Shoot 'em*. He suffered with all the outward signs of penitence, on the 22nd of December, 1721, being about thirty-four years of age.

Amongst many odd notions which are picked up by the common people, there is none more dangerous, both to themselves and unto others, than the idea they get of courage, which with them consists either in a furious madness, or an obstinate perseverance, even in the worst cause.

Nathaniel Hawes was a very extraordinary instance of this, as the following part of his life will show. He was, as he said himself, the son of a very rich grazier in Norfolk, who dying when he was but a year old, he afterwards pretended that he was defrauded of a greater part of his father's effects which should have belonged to him. However, those who took care of his

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education put him out apprentice to an upholsterer, with whom
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having served about four years, he then fell into very expensive company, which reduced him to such straits as obliged him to make bold with his master's cash, by which he injured him for some time with impunity. But proceeding, at last, to the commission of a downright robbery, he was therein detected, tried and convicted, but being then a very young man, the Court had pity on him, and he had the good luck to procure a pardon. Natt made the old use of mercy, when extended to such sort of people, that is, when he returned to liberty he returned to his old practices. His companions were several young men of the same stamp with himself, who placed all their delight in the sensual and brutal pleasures of drinking, gaming, whoring and idling about, without betaking themselves to any business. Natt, who was a young fellow naturally sprightly and of good parts, from thence became very acceptable to these sort of people, and committed abundance of robberies in a very small space of time. The natural fire of his temper made him behave with great boldness on such occasions, and gave him no small reputation amongst the gang. Seeing himself extravagantly commended on such



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occasions, Hawes began to form to himself high notions of heroism in that way, and from the warmth of a lively imagination, became a downright Don Quixote in all their adventures. He particularly affected the company of Richard James, and with him robbed very much on the Oxford Road, whereon it was common for both these persons not only to take away the money from passengers, but also to treat them with great inhumanity, which for all I might know might arise in a great measure from Hawes's whimsical notions.

This fellow was so puffed up with the reputation he had got amongst his companions in the same miserable occupation, that he fancied no expedition impracticable which he thought fit to engage, and indeed the boldness of his attempts had so often given him success that there is no wonder a fellow of his small parts and education should conceive so highly of himself. It was nothing for Hawes singly to rob a coach full of gentlemen, to stop two or three persons on the highway at a time, or to rob the waggons in a line as they came on the Oxford Road to London, nor was there any of the little prisons or Bridewells that could hold him.

There was, however, an adventure of Natt's of this kind that deserves a particular relation. He had, it seems, been so unlucky as to be taken and committed to New Prison,¹⁰⁵ on suspicion of robbing two gentlemen in a chaise coming from Hampstead. Hawes viewed well the place of his confinement, but found it much too strong for any attempts like those he was wont to make. In the same place with himself and another man mere was a woman very genteelly dressed, who had been committed for shoplifting. This woman seemed even more ready to attempt something which might get her out of that confinement than either Hawes or her other companion. The latter said it was impracticable, and Natt that though he had broken open many a prison, yet he saw no probability of putting this in the number. *Well, said the woman have you courage enough to try, if I put you in the way? Yes, quoth Hawes, there's nothing I won't undertake for liberty; and said the other fellow, If I once saw a likelihood of performing it, there's nobody has better hands at such work than myself. In the first place, said this politician in petticoats, we must raise as much money amongst us as will keep a very good fire. Why truly, replied Hawes, a fire would be convenient in this cold weather, but I can't, for my heart, see how we should be nearer our liberty for it, unless you intend to set the gaol in flames. Tush! Tush!* answered the woman, *follow but my directions, and let's have some faggots and coals, and I warrant you by to-morrow morning we shall be safe out of these regions.* The woman spoke this with so much assurance that Hawes and the other man complied, and reserving but one shilling, laid out all their money in combustibles and liquor. While the runners of the prison were going to and fro upon this occasion, the woman seemed so dejected that she could scarce speak, and the two men by her directions sat with the same air as if the rope already had been about them at Tyburn. At last, as they were going to be locked up; *Pray, says the woman, with a faint voice, Can't you give me something like a poker? Why, yes, says one of the fellows belonging to the gaol, if you'll give me twopence, I'll bring you one of the old bars that was*

105. This was the Clerkenwell House of Detention, where prisoners were sent after being sentenced, pending their disposal at a House of Correction. It was originally intended for the overflow from Newgate. The prison stood in Clerkenwell Close.



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taken out of the window when these new ones were put in. The woman gave him the halfpence, he delivered the bar, and the keepers having locked them up, barred and bolted the doors, and left them until next morning.

As soon as ever the people of the gaol were gone, up starts madam. Now, my lads, says she, to work; and putting her hands into her pockets and shaking her petticoats, down drops two little bags of tools. She pointed out to them a large stone at the corner of the roof which was morticed into two others, one above and the other below. After they had picked all the mortar from between them, she heated the bar red hot in the fire, and putting it to the sockets into which the irons that held the stones were fastened with lead, it quickly loosened them, and then making use of the bars as of a crow, by two o'clock in the morning they had got them all three out, and opened a fair passage into the streets, only that it was a little too high. Upon this the woman made them fasten the iron bar strongly at the angle where the three stones met, and then pulling off her stays, she unrolled from the top of her petticoats four yards of strong cord, the noose of which being fastened on the iron, the other end was thrown out over the wall, and so the descent was rendered easy. The men were equally pleased and surprised at their good fortune, and in gratitude to the female author of it, helped her to the top of the wall, and let her get safe over before they attempted to go out themselves.

It was not long after this that Hawes committed a robbery on Finchley Common, upon one Richard Hall, from whom he took about four shillings in money; and to make up the badness of the booty, he took from him his horse, in order to be the better equipped to go in quest of another which might make up the deficiency. For this robbery, being shortly after detected and apprehended, he was convicted and received sentence of death. When first confined, he behaved himself with very great levity, and declared he would merit a greater reputation by the boldness of his behaviour than any highwayman that had died these seven years. Indeed, this was the style he always made use of, and the great affectation of intrepidity and resolution which he always put on would have moved anybody (had it not been for his melancholy condition) to smile at the vanity of the man.

At the time he was taken up, he had, it seems, a good suit of clothes taken from him, which put him so much out of humour, because he could not appear, as he said, like a gentleman at the sessions-house, that when he was arraigned and should have put himself upon his trial, he refused to plead unless they were delivered to him again. But to this the Court answered that it was not in their power, and on his persisting to remain mute, after all the exhortations which were made to him, the Court at last ordered that the sentence of the press should be read to him, as is customary on such occasions; after which the Judge from the Bench spoke to him to this effect

Nathaniel Hawes,

The equity of the Law of England, more tender of the lives of its subjects than any other in the world, allows no person to be put to death, either unheard or without the positive proof against him of the fact whereon he stands charged; and that proof, too, must be such as shall satisfy twelve men who are his equals, and by whose verdict he is to be tried. And surely no method



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can be devised fuller than this is, as well of compassion, as of Justice. But then it is required that the person to be tried shall aver his innocence by pleading Not Guilty to his indictment, which contains the charge. You have heard that which the grand jury have found against you. You see here twelve honest men ready to enquire impartially into the evidence that shall be given against you. The Court, such is the humanity of our constitution, is counsel for you as you are a prisoner. What hinders then, that you should submit to so fair, so equal a trial; and wherefore will you, by a brutish obstinacy, draw upon you that heavy judgement which the Law has appointed for those who seem to have lost the rational faculties of men?

To this Hawes impudently made answer, that the Court was formerly a place of Justice, but now it was become a place of injustice; that he doubted not but that they would receive a severer sentence than that which they had pronounced upon him; and that for his part, he made no question of dying with the same resolution with which he had often beheld death, and would leave the world with the same courage with which he had lived in it.

Natt thought this a most glorious instance of his courage, and when some of his companions said jestingly, that he chose pressing because the Court would not let him have a good suit of clothes to be hanged in, he replied, with a great deal of warmth, that it was no such thing, but that as he had lived with the character of the boldest fellow of his profession he was resolved to die with it, and leave his memory to be admired by all the gentlemen of the road in succeeding ages. This was the rant which took up the poor fellow's head, and induced him to bear 250 pound weight upon his breast for upwards of seven minutes, and was much the same kind of bravery as that which induced the French lacquey to dance a minuet immediately before he danced his last upon the wheel, an action which made so much noise in France as engaged the Duke de Rochefoucauld to compare it with the death of Cato.

Hawes, indeed, did not persist quite so long, but submitted to that justice which he saw was unavoidable, after he had endured, as I have said before, so great a weight in the press. The bruises he received on the chest pained him so exceedingly during the short remainder of his life that he was hardly able to perform those devotions which the near approach of death made him desirous to offer up for so profligate a life. He laid aside, then, those wild notions which had been so fatal to him through the whole course of his days, and so remarkably unfortunate to him in this last age of life. He confessed frankly what crimes he could remember and seemed very desirous of acquitting some innocent persons who were at that time imprisoned, or suspected, for certain villainies which were committed by Hawes and his gang; particularly a footman, then in the Poultry Compter, and a man's son at an alehouse, who, though Hawes declared he knew no harm of him, yet at the place of execution he said that as he desired his death might be a warning to all in general, so he wished it might be particularly considered by him. Though, as I have said, he was fully convinced of the folly of those notions which he had formerly entertained, yet he did not, as most of those braves do, go from one degree of extravagance to

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the other, that is, from daring everything to sinking into the meanest cowardice, for Hawes went to his death very composedly, as he had received the Sacrament the day before, with all the outward marks of devotion. He suffered on the 22nd day of September [December?], 1721, at which time he was scarce twenty years of age.



There is not, perhaps, a greater misfortune to young people than that too great tenderness and compassion with which they are treated in their youth, and those hopes of amendment which their relations flatter themselves with as they grow up. If they could suffer themselves to be guided by experience, they would quickly find that sagacious minds do but increase in wickedness as they increase in years. Timely services, therefore, and proper restraints are the only methods with which such persons are to be treated, for minds disposed to such gross impurities as those which lead to such wickednesses or are rendered capital by Law, are seldom to be prevailed on by gentleness, or admonitions unseconded by harsher means. I am very far from being an advocate for great severities towards young people, but I confess in cases like these, I think they are as necessary as amputations, where the distemper has spread so far that no cure is to be hoped for by any other means. If the relations of John Jones had known and practised these methods, it is highly probable he had escaped the suffering and the shame of that ignominious death to which, after a long persisting in his crimes, he at last came. This malefactor was born in the parish of St. Andrew's, Holborn, of parents in tolerable circumstances, who, while a boy, indulged him in all his little humours from a wise expectation of their dropping from him all at once when he grew up. But this expectation not succeeding, as it must be owned there was no great probability it should, they were then for persuading him to settle in business. That he might do this with less reluctance they were so kind as to put him out upon liking to three or four trades; but it happening unluckily that there was work to be done in all of them, Jones could not be brought to go apprentice

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to any, but idled on amongst his companions, without ever

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



thinking of applying himself to any business whatever. His relations sent him to sea, another odd academy to learn honesty at, and on his return from thence, and refusing to go any more, his relations refused to support him any longer.

Jack was very melancholy on this score, and having but eighteenpence in the world when he received the comfortable message of his never being to expect a farthing more from his friends, he went out to take a walk in Hyde Park to divert his melancholy, when he ruminated on what he was to do next for a livelihood. In the midst of these reflections he espied an old schoolfellow of his, who used to have the same inclinations with himself. There had been a great intimacy between them; it was quickly renewed, and Jack Jones unburdened to him the whole budget of his sorrows. *And is this all?* says the young fellow. *Why, I will put you in a way to ease this in a minute, if you will step along with me to a house hard by, where I am to meet with some of my acquaintance.* Jones readily consented, and to a little blind alehouse in a dark lane they went. The woman of the house received them very kindly, and as soon as Jack's companion



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had informed her that he was a newcomer, she conducted him into a little room, where she entertained him with a good dinner and a bowl of punch after it. Jack was mightily taken with the courtesy of his landlady, who promised him he should never want such usage and his friend would teach him in the evening how to earn it.

Evening came, and out walked the two young men. Jack was put upon nothing at that time, but to observe how his companion managed. He was a very dexterous youth, and at seven o'clock prayers picked up, in half an hour's time, three good handkerchiefs, and a silver snuff-box. Having this readily shown him the practice, he was no less courteous in acquainting Jones with the theory of his profession, and two or three night's work made Jones a very complete workman in their way.

He lived at this rate for some months, until going with his instructor through King Street, Westminster, and passing by a woman pretty well dressed, says the other fellow to Jones, *Now mind, Jack, and while jostle her against the wall, do you whip off her pocket.* Jones performed tolerably well, though the woman screamed out and people were thick in the street. He gave the pocket, as soon as he had plucked it off, to his comrade, but having felt it rather weighty, would trust him no farther than the first by-alley before they stopped to examine its contents. They had scarce found their prize consisted of no more than a small prayer-book, a needle case, and a silver thimble, when the woman with a mob at her heels bolted upon them and seized them. Jones had the pocket in his hand when they laid hold of him, and his associate no sooner perceived the danger, but he clapped hold of him by the collar and cried out as loud as any of the mob, *Ay, ay, this is he, good woman, is not this your pocket?* By this stratagem he escaped, and Jones was left to feel the whole weight of the punishment which was ready to fall upon them. He was immediately committed to prison, and the offence being capital in its nature, he was condemned at the next sessions, and though he always buoyed himself up with hopes to the contrary, was ordered for execution. He was dreadfully amazed at death, as being, indeed, very unfit to die. However, when he found it was inevitable, he began to prepare for it as well as he was able. His relations now afforded him some little relief, and after having made as ample a confession as he was able, he suffered at Tyburn with the two above-mentioned malefactors, Hawes and Wright, being then but a little above nineteen years

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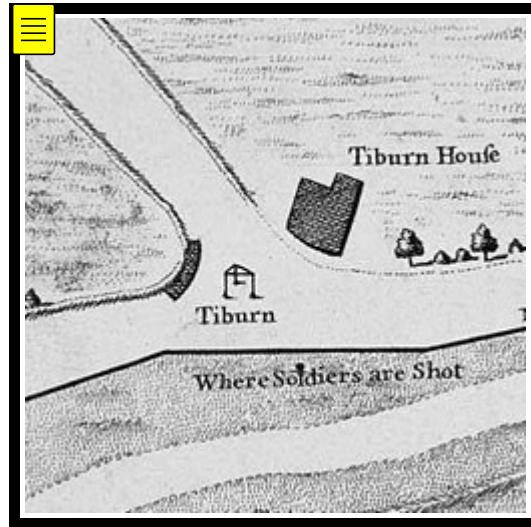
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of age.

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1722

February 8, Thursday (1721, Old Style): John Smith, murderer, James Shaw *alias* Smith, highwayman and murderer, and William Colthouse, thief and highwayman, were [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹⁰⁶

As idleness is fatal to youth, so it and ill-company become not seldom so even to persons in years. John Smith, of whose extraction we can say nothing, had served with a very good character in a regiment of foot, during Queen Anne's wars in Flanders. His captain took a particular liking to him, and from his boldness and fierce courage, to which he himself was also greatly inclined, they did abundance of odd actions during the War, some of which may not be unentertaining to the reader, if I mention.

The army lying encamped almost over against that of the French king, foraging was become very dangerous, and hardly a party went out without a skirmish. John's master, the captain, having been out with a party, and being over powered by the French, were obliged to leave their trusses behind them. When they returned to the camp, Smith was ordered to lead his master's horse out into the field between the two camps, that the poor creature might be able to pick up a little pasture. John had not attended his horse long before, at the distance of about half a mile, he saw a boy leading two others, at the foot of a hill which joined to the French fortification. As John's livery was yellow, and he spoke Walloon bad enough to be taken for a Frenchman, he ventured to stake the Captain's horse down where it was feeding, and without the least apprehension of the risk he ran, went across to the fellow who was feeding his horses under the French lines. He proceeded with so much caution that he was within a stone's throw of the boy, before he perceived him. From the colour of his clothes, and the place where they were, immediately under the French camp, the lad took him for one of their own people, and therefore answered him very civilly when he asked what o'clock it was, and whom he belonged to. But John no sooner observed from the boy's turning his horses, that the hill lay again between them and the French soldiers, than clapping his hand suddenly upon the boy's throat and tripping up his heels, he clapped a gag in his mouth, which he had cut for that purpose; and leaving him with his hands tied behind him upon the ground, he rode clear off with the best of the horses, notwithstanding that the boy had alarmed the French camp, and he had some hundred shot sent after him.

The captain and Smith were out one day a-foraging, and one of the officers of their party who was known to have a hundred pistoles about him, was killed in a skirmish, and neither party dared to bring off the body for fear of the other, it being just dark, each expected a reinforcement from the camp. Smith told his captain that if he'd give him one half of the gold for fetching, he would venture; and his offer being gladly accepted, he accordingly crept two hundred yards upon his belly, and after he had picked the purse out of the dead man's pockets, returned without being either seen or suspected.

106. LIVES OF THE MOST REMARKABLE CRIMINALS WHO HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED FOR MURDER, THE HIGHWAY, HOUSEBREAKING, STREET ROBBERIES, COINING OR OTHER OFFENCES / COLLECTED FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS AND AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS, AND PUBLISHED IN 1735 / Edited by Arthur L. Hayward



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When the army was disbanded, Smith betook himself to the sea, and served under Admiral Byng,¹⁰⁷ in the fight at Messina; but on the return of that fleet from the Mediterranean, being discharged he came up to London, where having squandered his money, he did some petty thefts to get more. To this he was induced chiefly by the company of one Woolford, who was executed, and at whose execution Smith was present, and soon after cohabited with his wife. But not long after this, Smith meeting with one Sarah Thompson, an old acquaintance of his, who had it seems left him to live with another fellow, he took it into his head thereupon to use her very roughly, and clapping a pistol to her breast, threatened with abundance of ill-language to shoot her. This occasioned a great fray in the place where it happened, which was near the Hermitage towards Wapping, and several persons running to take the woman away, and to seize him, in order to prevent murder, Smith fired his pistol, and unhappily killed one Matthew Walden, who was amongst the number. The mob immediately crowded upon him and seized him, and the fact appearing very clear on his trial, he was convicted at the next sessions at the Old Bailey.

He behaved himself with great resolution, professed himself extremely sorry, as well for the many vices he had been guilty of as for that last bloody act which brought him to his shameful end. He especially recommended to all who spoke to him, to avoid the snares and delusions of lewd women; and at the place of execution delivered the following paper. He was about forty years of age when he died, being the 8th day of February, 1722, at Tyburn.

The paper delivered by John Smith at the place of execution

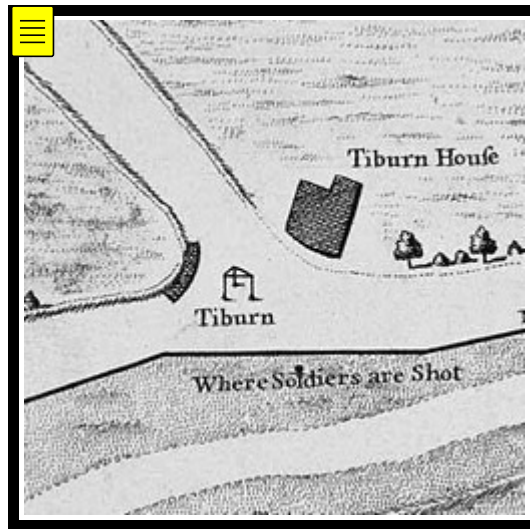
I was born of honest parents, bred to the sea, and lived honest, 'till I was led aside by lewd women. I then robbed on ships, and never robbed on shore. I had no design to kill the woman who jilted me, and left me for another man, but only to terrify her, for I could have shot her when the loaded pistol was at her breast, but I curbed my passion, and only threw a candle-stick at her. I confess my cruelty towards my wife, who is a woman too good for me, but I was at first forced to forsake her for debt, and go to sea. I hope in God none will reflect on her, or my poor innocent children, who could not help my sad passion, and more sad death.
Written by me,
John Smith

107. George Byng, later created Viscount Torrington, was sent with a fleet for the protection of Sicily against the Spaniards. He found them besieging Messina, whereupon he gave their fleet battle and gained a smashing victory at Cape Passaro, 31 July, 1718.

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James Shaw, otherwise Smith (for by both these names he went, nor am I able to say which was his true one) was the son of parents both of circumstances and inclination to have given him a very good education if he would have received it. The unsettledness of his temper was heightened by that indulgence with which he was treated by his relations, who permitted him to make trial of several trades, though he could not be brought to like any. Indeed, he stayed so long with a forger of gunlocks, as to learn something of his art, which sometimes he practised and thereby got money; but generally speaking he chose rather to acquire it by easier means.

I cannot take upon me to say at what time he began to rob upon the road, or take to any other villainy of that sort, but 'tis certain that if he himself were to be believed, it was in a great measure owing to a bad wife; for when he, by his labour, got nine shillings a week, and used to return home very weary in the evening, he generally found nobody there to receive him, or to get ready his supper, but everything in the greatest confusion, without any person to take care of what little he had. This, as he would have had it believed, was the source of his misfortunes and necessities, as it was also the occasion of his taking such fatal methods to relieve them.

The Hampstead Road was that in which he chiefly robbed, and he could not be persuaded that there was any great crime in taking away the superfluous cash of those who lavish it in vanity and luxury, or from those who procure it by cheating and gaming; and under these two classes Shaw pretended to rank all who frequented the Wells or Belsize, and it is to be much feared



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that in this respect he was not very far out. Amongst the many adventures which befell him in his expeditions on the road, there are one or two which it may not be improper to take notice of.

One evening, as he was patrolling thereabouts, he came up to a chariot in which there was a certain famous justice, who happened to have won about four hundred pounds at play, and Count Ui—n, a famous foreign gamester, that has made many different figures about this town. No sooner was the coach stopped by Shaw and another person on horseback, but the Squire slipped the money he had won behind the seat of the coach, and the Count having little to lose, seemed not very uneasy at the accident. The highwaymen no sooner had demanded their money, but the Count gave two or three pieces of foreign gold, and the gentleman, in hopes by this means of getting rid of them, presented them with twenty guineas.

Why, really, sir, said Shaw, on the receipt of the gold, *this were a handsome compliment from another person, but methinks you might have spared a little more out of the long bag you brought from the gaming table. Come, gentlemen, get out, get out, we must examine the nest a little, I fancy the goldfinches are not yet flown.* Upon this, they both got out of the chariot, and Shaw shaking the cushion that covered the seat hastily, the long bag fell out with its mouth open, and all its bright contents were scattered on the ground. The two knights of the road began to pick them up as fast as they could, and while the justice cursed this unlucky accident which had nicked him, after he had nicked all the gamesters at the Wells, the Count, who thought swearing an unprofitable exercise, began to gather as fast as they. A good deal of company coming in sight just as they had finished, and while they were calling upon the Count to refund, they were glad to gallop away. But returning to London they were taken, and about three hours after committing the fact, they, together with the witnesses against them, were brought before a Middlesex magistrate, who committed them.

But, pray, Sir, says Shaw, before he was taken out of the room; *Why should not that French fellow suffer as well as we? He shared the booty, and please your Worship, 'tis but reasonable he should share the punishment. Well, what say you, Sir?* quoth the Justice to his brother magistrate. *What is this outlandish man they talk of? He is a count, Sir,* replied he, *returned from Naples, whither he went on some affairs of importance. He makes a very good figure here sometimes, though I do not know what his income is. I do not apprehend your Worship has anything to do with that, since I do not complain. However,* replied this dispenser of justice, *I have had but a very sorry account of you, yet as you are in company with my brother here, I shall take no further notice of what these men say.*¹⁰⁸

Shaw being after this got out of prison and having no money to purchase a horse, he endeavoured to carry on his old profession of a footpad. In this shape he robbed also several coaches and single passengers, and that with very great inhumanity, which was natural, he said, from that method of attacking, for it was impossible for a footpad to get off, unless he either maimed the man, or wounded his horse.

Meeting by chance, as he was walking across Hampstead Road, an old grave-looking man, he thought there was no danger in making

108. This discourse between the magistrates is obscure. I have been unable to clear it.



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up to him, and seizing him, since he himself was well armed. The old gentleman immediately begged that he would be civil and told him that if he would be so, he would give him an old pair of breeches which were filled with money and effects worth money, and, as he said, lay buried by such a tree, pointing at the same time to it with his hand. Shaw went thither directly, in hopes of gaining the miser's great prize, for the old fellow made him believe he had buried it out of covetousness, and came there to brood over it. But no sooner were they come to the place, and Shaw looping down, began to look for three pieces of tobacco pipe, which the old man pretended to have stack where they were buried, but the gentleman whipped out his sword, and made two or three passes at Shaw, wounding him in the neck, side and breast.

As the number of his robberies were very great, so it is not to be expected that we should have a very exact account of them, yet as Shaw was not shy in revealing any circumstance that related to them, we may not perhaps have been as particular in the relation of his crimes as our readers would desire, and therefore it will be necessary to mention some other of his expeditions.

At his usual time and place, viz., Hampstead Road, in the evening, he overtook a dapper fellow, who was formerly a peruke-maker but now a gamester. This man taking Shaw for a bubble, began to talk of play, and mentioned All Fours and Cribbage, and asked him whether he would play a game for a bottle or so at the Flask. Shaw pretended to be very willing, but said he had made a terrible oath against playing for anything in any house; but if to avoid it, the gentleman would tie his horse to a tree and had any cards in his pocket, he'd sit down on the green bank in yonder close, and hazard a shilling or two. The gamester, who always carried his implements in his pocket, readily accepted of the offer, and tying their horses to a post of a little alehouse on the road, over they whipped into the fields. But no sooner were they set down, and the sharper began to shuffle the cards, but Shaw starting up, caught him by the throat, and after shaking out three guineas and a half from his breeches' pocket, broke to pieces two peep boxes, split as many pair of false dice, and kicked the cards all about the ground. He left him tied hand and foot to consider ways and means to recruit his stock by methods just as honest as those by which he lost it.

The soldiers that at that time were placed on the road, passed for a great security amongst people in town, but those who had occasion to pass that way found no great benefit from their protection, for robberies were as frequent as ever, and the ill-usage of persons when robbed more so, because the rogues thought themselves in greater danger of being taken, and therefore bound or disabled those they plundered, for fear of their pursuing them.

For a fact of this kind it was that Shaw came to his death, for one Philip Pots, being robbed on horseback by several footpads and knocked off his horse near the tile kilns by Pancras, and wounded in several places of his body with his own sword, which one of the villains had taken from him, some persons who passed by soon after took him up, and carried him to the Pinder of Wakefield.¹⁰⁹ There, on the Monday following (this accident happening on Saturday night) he in great agonies expired. For

109. This was the public-house at the Battle Bridge (King's Cross) end of Gray's Inn Road.

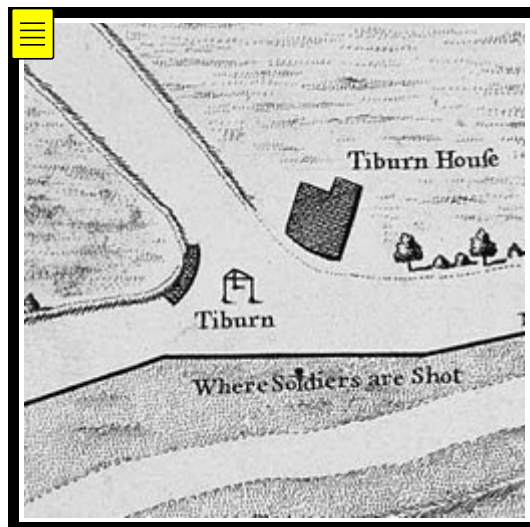
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this murder and another robbery between Highgate and Kentish Town, Shaw was taken up and soon after convicted. At first he denied all knowledge of the murder, but when his death grew near, he did acknowledge being privy to it, though he persisted in saying he had no hand in its commission.

At the time he was under condemnation, the afore-mentioned John Smith, William Colthouse, and Jonah Burgess were in the same condition. They formed a conspiracy for breaking out of the place where they were confined and to force an escape against all those who should oppose them. For this purpose they had procured pistols, but their plot being discovered, Burgess in great rage, cut his own throat and pretended that Shaw designed to have dispatched himself with one of the pistols. But Shaw, himself, absolutely denied this, and affirmed on the contrary that when Burgess said his enemies should never have the satisfaction (as they had bragged they would have) of placing themselves upon Holborn Bridge, to see him go by Tyburn, he (Shaw) exhorted him never to think of self-murder, and by that means give his enemies a double revenge in destroying both body and soul.



As Shaw had formerly declared his wife's ill-conduct had been the first occasion of his falling into those courses which had proved so fatal to him, he still retained so great an antipathy to her on that account, as not to be able to pardon her, even in the last moments of his life, in which he would neither confess, nor positively deny the murder for which he died. He was then about twenty-eight years of age, and died the same day with the last-mentioned malefactor, Smith.

William Colthouse was born in Yorkshire, had a very good education for a person of his rank and especially with regard to religious principles, of which he retained a knowledge seldom to be met with among the lower class of people; but he was so unhappy as to imbibe in his youth strange notions in regard to civil government, hereditary rights having been much magnified in the latter end of the late Queen's reign. William amongst others was violently attached thereto, and fancied it was a very meritorious thing to profess his sentiments, notwithstanding they were directly opposite to those of persons then in power. Some declarations of this sort occasioned his being confined in



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Newgate, and prosecuted for speaking seditious words in the beginning of King George the First's reign. His Newgate acquaintances taught him quickly their arts of living, and he was no sooner at liberty than he put them into execution, he and his brother living like gentlemen on their expeditions on the road; till unfortunately committing a robbery on Hounslow Heath together, they were both closely pursued, the other taken, and William narrowly escaped by creeping into a hollow tree. After the execution of his brother, Colthouse being terribly affected therewith, retired to Oxford, and there worked as a journeyman joiner, determining with himself to live honestly for the future, and not by a habit of ill-actions go the same way as one so nearly related to him had done before. But as his brother's death in time grew out of his remembrance, so his evil inclinations again took place, and he came up to London with a full purpose of getting money at an easier rate than working. Soon after his arrival his Jacobite principles brought him into a great fray at an alehouse in Tothill Fields, Westminster, where some soldiers were drinking, and who on some disrespectful words said of the Prince, caught up Colthouse and threw him upon a red-hot gridiron, thereby making a scar on his cheek and under his left eye. By this he came to be taken for a person who murdered a farmer's son in Philpot Lane, in Hampshire, when he was charged with which he not only denied, but by abundance of circumstances rendered it highly probable that he did not commit it, there being, indeed, no other circumstance which occasioned that suspicion but the likeness of the scar in his face, which happened in the manner I told you. While he lay under condemnation, a report reached his ear that his two brothers in the country were also said to be highwaymen; he complained grievously of the common practice that was made by idle people raising stories to increase the sorrows of families which were so unhappy as to have any who belonged to them come to such a death as his was to be. As to his brothers, he declared himself well satisfied that the younger was a sober and religious lad, and as for the elder, though he might have been guilty of some extravagance, yet he hoped and believed they were not of the same kind with those which had brought him to ruin. However, that he might do all the good which his present sad circumstance would allow, he wrote the following letter to his brethren in the country.

Dear Brothers,

Though the nearness of my approaching death ought to shut out from my thoughts all temporal concerns, yet I could not compose my mind into that quietness with which I hope to pass from this sinful world into the presence of the Almighty, before I had thus exorted you to take particular warning from my death, which the intent of the Law to deter others from wickedness hath decreed to be in a public and ignominious manner. Amidst the terrors which the frailty of human nature (shocked with the prospect of so terrible an end) makes my afflicted heart to feel, even these sorrows are increased, and all my woes doubled by a story which is spread, I hope without the least grounds of truth, that ye, as well as I, have lived by taking away by force the property of others.

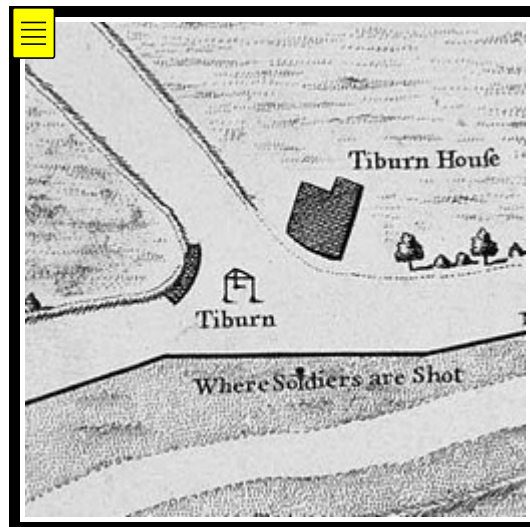
Let the said examples of my poor brother, who died by

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the hand of Justice, and of me, who now follow him in the same unhappy course, deter you not only from those flagrant offences which have been so fatal unto us, but also from those foolish and sinful pleasures in which it is but too frequent for young persons to indulge themselves. Remember that I tell you from a sad experience, that the wages of sin, though in appearance they be sometimes large and what may promise outward pleasure, yet are they attended with such inward disquiet as renders it impossible for those to have received them to enjoy either quiet or ease. Work, then, hard at your employments, and be assured that sixpence got thereby will afford you more solid satisfaction than the largest acquisitions at the expense of your conscience. That God may, by His grace, enable you to follow this my last advice, and that He may bless your honest labour with plenty and prosperity is the earnest prayer of your dying brother
William Colthouse

Till the day of his execution he had denied his being accessory to the intended escape by forcing the prison, but when he came to Tyburn, he acknowledged that assertion to be false, and owned that he caused the two pistols to be provided for that purpose. He was about thirty-four years of age at the time he suffered, which was on the 8th of February, 1722, with Burgess, Shaw and Smith.



March 14, Wednesday (1721, Old Style): William Burridge was [hanged](#) as a highwayman on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹¹⁰

In the course of these lives I have more than once observed that the vulgar have false notions of courage, and that applause is given to it by those who have as false notions of it as themselves, and this it was in a great measure which made William Burridge take to those fatal practices which had the usual termination in an ignominious death. He was the son of reputable

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people, who lived at West Haden in Northamptonshire, who after affording him a competent education, thought proper to bind him to his father's trade of a carpenter. But he, having been pretty much indulged before that time, could not by any means be brought to relish labour, or working for his bread.

Burridge was a well-made fellow, and of a handsome person, as well as great strength and dexterity, which he had often exercised in wrestling and cudgel-playing which gained him great praise amongst the country fellows at wakes and fairs, where such prizes are usually given. Therefore giving himself up almost wholly to such exercises, he used frequently to run away from his parents, and lie about the country, stealing poultry, and what else he could lay his hands on to support himself. His father trying all methods possible to reclaim him and finding them fruitless, as his last refuge turned him over to another master, in hopes that having there no mother to plead for him, a course of continued severities might perhaps reclaim him. But his hopes were all disappointed, for instead of mending under his new master, William gave himself over to all sorts of vices, and more especially became addicted to junketting with servant-wenchies in the neighbourhood, who especially on Sundays when their masters were out, were but too ready to receive and entertain him at their expense.

But these adventures made him very obnoxious to others, as well as his master, who no longer able to bear his lying out of night, and other disorderly practices, turned him off, and left him to shift for himself. He went home to his friends, but going on still in the same way, they frankly advised him to ship himself on board a man-of-war in order to avoid that ill-fate which they then foresaw, and which afterwards overtook him. William, though not very apt to follow good counsel, yet approved of this at last when he saw some of his companions had already suffered for those profligate courses to which they were addicted.

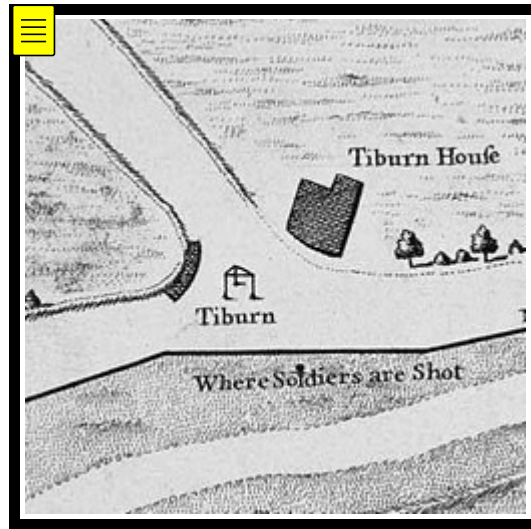
He shipped himself, therefore, in a squadron then sailing for Spain under the command of Commodore Cavendish, on board whose ship he was when an engagement happened with the Spaniards in Cadiz Bay. The dispute was long and very sharp, and Burridge behaved therein so as to meet with extraordinary commendations. These had the worst effect upon him imaginable, for they so far puffed him up, that he thought himself worthier of command than most of the officers on the ship, and therefore was not a little uneasy at being obliged to obey them. This hindered them from doing him any kindness, which they would otherwise perhaps have done in consideration of his gallant behaviour against the enemy. At his return into England he was extremely ambitious of living without the toil of business, and therefore went upon the highway with great diligence, in order to acquire a fortune by it, which when he had done, he designed to have left it off, and to have lived easily and honestly upon the fruits of it. But, alas! these were vain hopes and idle expectations, for instead of acquiring anything which might keep him hereafter, he could scarce procure a present livelihood at the hazard both of his neck and his soul, for he was continually obliged to hide himself, through apprehension, and not seldom got into Bridewell or some such place, for brawls and riots.

This William Burridge was the person who with Nat Hawes made their escape out of New Prison, by the assistance of a woman, as the life of that malefactor is before related. And as he saved

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himself then from the same ignominious death which afterwards befell him, so he escaped it another time by becoming evidence against one Reading, who died for the life offences. As to Burridge, he still continued the same trade, till being taken for stealing a bay gelding belonging to one Mr. Wragg, he was for that offence finally condemned at the Old Bailey. While under sentence, as he had been much the greatest and oldest offender of any that were under the same fate, so he seemed to be by much the most affected and the most penitent of them all; and with great signs and sorrow for the many crimes he had committed, he suffered on the 14th of March, 1722, with five other persons at Tyburn, being then about thirty-four years of age.



May 4, Friday (Old Style): John Thomson, a thief, highwayman, etc., and Thomas Reeves, a highwayman and footpad, were hanged on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹¹¹

John Thomson was born at Carlisle, but was brought with his friends to London. They, it seems, were persons of no substance, and took little care of their son's education, suffering him, while a lad, to go often to such houses as were frequented by ill-people, and such as took dishonest methods to get money. Such are seldom very dose in their discourse when they meet and junket together, and Thomson, then a boy, was so much pleased with their jovial manner of life, eating well and drinking hard, that he had ever a bias that way, even when he was otherways employed, till he was fifteen years old, leading such an idle and debauched life that, as he himself expressed it, he had never heard of or read a Bible or other good book throughout all that

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space.

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A friend of his was then so kind as to put him out apprentice to a weaver, and he might have had some chance of coming into the world in an honest and reputable way, but he had not continued with his master any long time before he listed himself in the sea service, during the Wars in the late Queen's time, and served on board a squadron which was sent up the Baltic to join the Danes. This cold country, with other hardships he endured, made him so out of humour with a sailor's life that though he behaved himself tolerably well when on board, yet he resolved never to engage in the same state, if once discharged and safe on shore.

Upon his coming back to England, he went to work at his trade of a weaver, and being for a while very sensible of the miseries he had run through on board the man-of-war, he became highly pleased with the quiet and easy way in which he got his bread by his business, thinking, however, that there was no way so proper to settle him as by marrying, which accordingly he did. But he was so unfortunate that though his wife was a very honest woman, yet the money he got not being sufficient to maintain



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them, he was even obliged to take to the sea again for a subsistence, and continued on board several ships in the Straits and Mediterranean for a very considerable space, during which he was so fortunate as to serve once on board an enterprising captain, who in less than a year's space, took nineteen prizes to a very considerable value. And as they were returning from their cruise, they took a French East India ship on the coast of that kingdom, whose cargo was computed at no less than a hundred thousand pounds sterling. Thomson might certainly, if he would, have saved money enough to have put himself into a creditable method of life as many of his shipmates had done, and so well did the captain improve his own good fortune that on his return he retired into the country, where he purchased an estate of fifteen hundred pounds *per annum*.

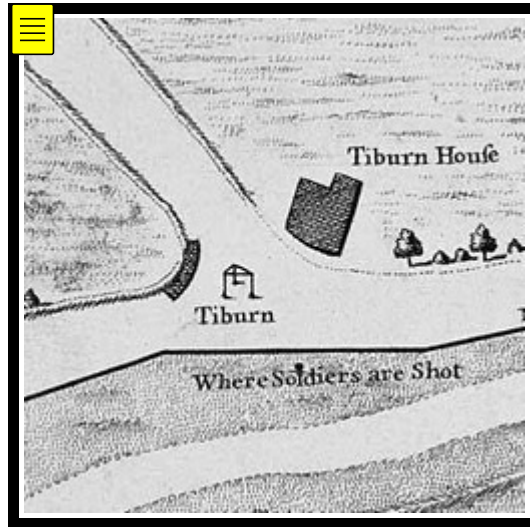
But Thomson being much altered from the usual bent of his temper by his being long accustomed at sea to blood and plunder, so when he returned home, instead of returning to an honest way of living, he endeavoured to procure money at the same rate by land which he had done at sea, and for that purpose associated himself with persons of a like disposition, and in their company did abundance of mischief. At last he and one of his associates passing over Smithfield between twelve and one in the morning, on the second of March, they perceived one George Currey going across that place very much in drink. Him they attacked, though at first they pretended to lead him safe home, drawing him to a proper place out of hearing of the houses, where they took from him a shirt, a wig and a hat, in doing which they knocked him down, stamped upon his breast, and in other respects used him very cruelly. Being apprehended soon after this fact, he was for it tried and convicted.

In the space between that and his death, he behaved himself very penitently, and desired with great earnestness that his wife would retire into the country to her friends, and learn by his unhappy example that nothing but an honest industry could procure the blessing of God. This he assiduously begged for her in his prayers, imploring her at the same time that he gave her this advice, to be careful of her young son she had then at her breast, not only as to his education, but also that he might never know his father's unhappy end, for that would but damp his spirits, and perhaps force him upon ill-courses when he grew up, from an apprehension that people might distrust his honesty and not employ him. He professed himself much afflicted at the past follies of his life, and with an outward appearance of true penitence, died on the fourth of May, 1722, in the thirty-third

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year of his age, at Tyburn.



As it is not to be denied that it is a singular blessing to a nation where no persecution is ever raised against persons for their religion, so I am confident that the late Free Thinking principles (as they have been called) have by their being spread amongst the vulgar, contributed greatly to the many frauds and villainies which have been so much complained of within these thirty years, and not a little to encouraging men in obtaining a subsistence and the gratification of their pleasures by rapines committed upon others rather than live in a laborious state of life, in which, perhaps, both their birth and circumstances concurred to fix them.

Thomas Reeves was a very remarkable as well as very unfortunate instance of that depravity in moral principles of which I have been speaking. By his friends he was bred a tinman, his father, who was of that profession, taking him as an apprentice but using him with the most indulgent fondness and never suffering him to want anything which was in his power to procure for him, flattered himself with the hopes of his becoming a good and happy

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man. It happened very unfortunately for Reeves that he fell,
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when young, into the acquaintance of some sceptical persons who made a jest of all religion and treated both its precepts and its mysteries as inventions subservient to priestcraft. Such notions are too easily imbibed by those who are desirous to indulge their vicious inclinations, and Reeves being of this stamp, greedily listened to all discourses of such a nature. Amongst some of these companions who had cheated him out of his religion, he found some also inclined to practise the same freedom they taught, encouraged both by precept and example. Tom soon became the most conspicuous of the gang. His boldness and activity preferred him generally to be a leader in their adventures, and he had such good luck, in several of his first attempts, that he picked up as much as maintained him in that extravagant and superfluous manner of life in which he most of all delighted. One John Hartly was his constant companion in his debauches, and generally speaking an assistant in his crimes. Both of them in the evening of the ninth of March, 1722, attacked one Roger Worebington, near Shoreditch, as he was going across the fields on some business. Hartly gave him a blow on the head



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with his pistol, after which Reeves bid him stand, and whistling, four more of the gang came up, seized him, and knocked him down. They stripped him stark naked and carried away all his clothes, tying him hand and foot in a cruel manner and leaving him in a ditch hard by. However he was relieved, and Reeves and Hartly being soon after taken, they were both tried and convicted for this fact.

After the passing sentence, Reeves behaved himself with much indifference, his own principles stuck by him, and he had so far satisfied himself by considering the necessity of dying, and coined a new religion of his own, that he never believed the soul in any danger, but had very extensive notions of the mercy of God, which he thought was too great to punish with eternal misery those souls which He had created. This criminal was, indeed, of a very odd temper, for sometimes he would both pray and read to the rest of the prisoners, and at other times he would talk loosely and divert them from their duty, often making enquiries as to curious points, and to be informed whether the soul went immediately into bliss or torment, or whether, as some Christians taught, they went through an intermediate state? All which he spoke of with an unconcernedness scarce to be conceived, and as it were rather out of curiosity than that he thought himself in any danger of eternal punishment hereafter. Hartly, on the other hand, was a fellow of a much softer disposition, showed very great fear, and looked in great confusion at the approach of death. He got six persons dressed in white to go to the Royal Chapel and petition for a pardon, he being to marry one of them in case it had been procured, but they failed in the attempt, and he appeared less sensible than ever when he found that death was not to be evaded.

At the place of execution, Reeves not only preserved that resolution with which he had hitherto borne up against his misfortunes, but when the mob pushed down one of the horses that drew the cart, and it leaning sideways so that Reeves was thereby half [hanged](#), to ease himself of his misery he sprung over at once and finished the execution.

Hartly wept and lamented exceedingly his miserable condition, and the populace much pitied him, for he was not twenty years of age at the time he died; but Reeves was about twenty-eight years of age, when he suffered, which was at the same time with John Thomson, before mentioned.

May 21, Monday (Old Style): Richard Whittingham, a footpad and street robber, and James Booty, a ravisher, were [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹¹²

Though there have been some instances of felons adhering so closely together as not to give up one another to Justice, even for the sake of saving life, yet are such instances very rare, and examples of the contrary very common.

Richard Whittingham was a young man of very good natural inclinations, had he not been of too easy a temper, and ready to yield to the inducements of bad women. His friends had placed

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him as an apprentice to a hot-presser, with whom he lived very

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honestly for some time; but at last, the idle women with whom he conversed continually pressing him for money in return for their lewd favours, he was by that means drawn in to run away from his master, and subsist by picking pockets. In the prosecution of this trade, he contracted an infamous friendship with Jones, Applebee and Lee, three notorious villains of the same stamp, with whom he committed abundance of robberies in the streets, especially by cutting off women's pockets, and such other exploits. This, he pretended, was performed with great address and regularity, for he said that after many consultations, 'twas resolved to attack persons only in broad streets for the future, from whence they found it much less troublesome to escape than when they committed them in alleys and such like close places, whereupon a pursuit once begun, they seldom or never missed being taken. He added, that when they had determined to go out to plunder, each had his different post assigned him, and that while one laid his leg before a passenger, another gave him a jolt on the shoulders, and as soon as he was down a third came to their assistance, whereupon they



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immediately went to stripping and binding those who were so unlucky as thus to fall into their hands. Upon Applebee's being apprehended, and himself impeached, Whittingham withdrew to Rochester, with an intent to have gone out of the kingdom, but after all he could not prevail with himself to quit his native country.

On his return to London, he fled for sanctuary to the house of his former master, who treated him with great kindness, supplied him with work, sent up his victuals privately, and did all in his power to conceal him. But Jones and Lee, his former companions, found means to discover him as they had already impeached him, and so, on their evidence and that of the prosecutor, he was convicted of robbing William Garnet, in the area of Red Lion Square, when Applebee knocked him down, and Jones and Lee held their hands upon his eyes, and crammed his own neck-cloth down his throat.

When he found he was to die, he was far from behaving himself obstinately, but as far as his capacity would give him leave, endeavoured to pray, and to fit himself for his approaching dissolution. He had married a young wife, for whom he expressed a very tender affection, and seemed more cast down with the thoughts of those miseries to which she would be exposed by his death, than he was at what he himself was to suffer.

During the time he lay in the condemned hold, he complained often of the great interruptions those under sentence of death met with from some prisoners who were confined underneath, and who, through the crevice, endeavoured as usual, by talking to them lewdly and profanely, to disturb them even in their last moments. At the place of execution he wept bitterly, and seemed to be much affrighted at death and very sorry for his having committed those crimes which brought him thither. He was but nineteen years old when he suffered, which was on the 21st of May, 1722.

Such is the present depravity of human nature that we have sometimes instances of infant criminals and children meriting death by their crimes, before they know or can be expected to know how to do anything to live. Perhaps there was never a stronger instance of this than in James Booty, of whom we are now speaking. He was a boy rather without capacity than obstinate, whose inclinations, one would have expected, could hardly have attained to that pitch of wickedness in thought, which it appeared both by evidence and his own confessions, he had actually practised. His father was a peruke-maker in Holborn, and not in so bad circumstances but that he could have afforded him a tolerable education, if he had not been snatched away by death. Thus his son was left to the care of his mother, who put him to a cabinet-maker, where he might have been bound apprentice if the unhappy accident (for so indeed I think it may be called) had not intervened. It seemed his master had taken a cousin of his, a girl of about fifteen or somewhat more, for a servant. This girl went into the workshop where the boy lay, under pretence of mending his coat, which he had torn by falling upon a hook as he stumbled over the well of the stairs; but instead of darning the hole, she went to bed to the boy, put out the candle, and gave him the foul distemper.

Not knowing what was the matter with him, but finding continual pains in his body, he made a shift at last to learn the cause

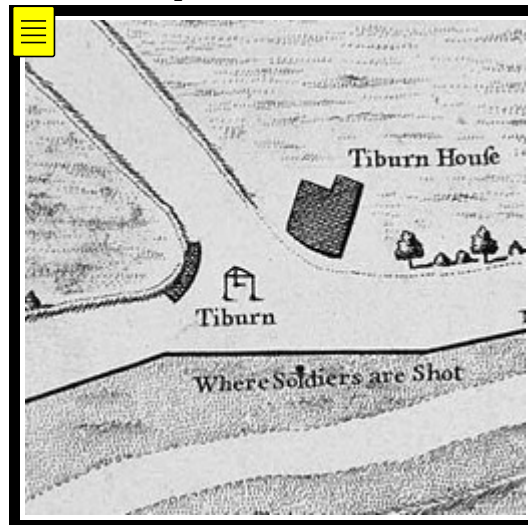
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from some of the workmen. Not daring to trust even his mother with what was the matter with him, instead of applying to a proper person to be cured, he listened as attentively as he could to all discourses about that distemper, which happened frequently enough amongst his master's journeymen. There he heard some of the foolish fellows say that lying with any person who was sound would cure those who were in such a condition. The extreme anguish of body he was in excited him to try the experiment, and he injured no less than four or five children, between four years old and six, before he committed that act for which he was executed.

He one day carried his master's daughter, Anne Milton, a girl of but five years and two months old, to the top of the house, and there with great violence abused her and gave her the foul disease. The parents were not long before they made the discovery of it, and the child telling them what Booty had done to her, they sent for a surgeon who examined him, and found him in a very sad condition with venereal disease. Upon this he was taken up and committed to Newgate, and upon very full evidence was convicted at the next sessions, and received sentence of death; from which time to the day before he was executed, he was afflicted with so violent a fever as to have little or no sense. But then coming to himself, he expressed a confused sense of religion and penitence, desired to be instructed how to go to Heaven, and showed evident marks of his inclination to do anything which might be for the good of his soul.

At the place of execution he wept and looked dejected, said his mother had sought diligently for the wench who did him the injury, and was the cause of his doing it to so many others; but that although the girl was known to live in Westminster after she left his master, yet his mother was never able to find her. Thus was this young creature removed from the world by an ignominious death at Tyburn, on the 21st May, 1722, being then somewhat above fifteen years old.



July 16, Monday (Old Style): Matthias Brinsden was hanged for murder on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹¹³

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Though all offences against the laws of God and the land are highly criminal in themselves, as well as fatal in their consequences, yet there is certainly some degree in guilt; and petty thieveries and crimes of a like nature seem to fall very short in comparison of the atrocious guilt of murder and the imbrueing one's hands in blood, more especially when a crime of so deep a dye in itself is heightened by aggravating circumstances.

Matthias Brinsden, who is to be the subject of our present narration, was a man in tolerable circumstances at the time the misfortune happened to him for which he died. He had several children by his wife whom he murdered, and with whom he had lived in great uneasiness for a long time. The deceased Mrs. Brinsden was a woman of a great spirit, much addicted to company and not a little to drinking. This had occasioned many quarrels between her and her husband on the score of those extravagancies she was guilty of, Mr. Brinsden thinking it hard that she should squander away his money when he had a large family, and scarce knew how to maintain it.

Their quarrels frequently rose to such a height as to alarm the neighbourhood, the man being of a cruel, and the woman of an obstinate temper, and it seemed rather a wonder that the murder had not ensued before than that it happened when it did, they seldom falling out and fighting without drawing blood, or having some grievous accident or other happening therefrom. Once he burnt her arms with a red-hot iron, and but a week before her death he ran a great pair of scissors into her skull, which covered her with blood, and made him and all who saw her think he had murdered her then. But after bleeding prodigiously she came a little to herself, and on the application of proper remedies recovered. Brinsden, in the meanwhile fled, and was hardly prevailed with to return, upon repeated assurances that she was in no danger, promising himself that if she escaped with life then, he would never suffer himself to be so far transported with passion as to do her an injury again.

The fatal occasion of that quarrel which produced the immediate death of the woman, warm with liquor, and in the midst of passion, and which soon after brought on a shameful and ignominious end to the man himself, happened by Mrs. Brinsden's drinking cheerfully with some company at home, and after their going away, demanding of her husband what she should have for supper? He answered, bread and cheese; to which the deceased replied that she thought bread and cheese once a day was enough, and as she had eaten it for dinner, she would not eat it for supper. Brinsden said, she should have no better than the rest of his family, who were like to be contented with the same, except his eldest daughter for whom he had provided a pie, and towards whom on all occasions he showed a peculiar affection, occasioned as he said, from the care she took of his other children and of his affairs, though malicious and ill-natured people gave out that it sprang from a much worse and, indeed, the basest of reasons.

On the discourse I have mentioned between him and his wife, Mrs. Brinsden in a violent passion declared she would go to the general shop and sup with her friends, who were gone from her but a little before. He, therefore, having got between her and the door, having the knife in his hand with which he cut the bread and cheese, and she still persisting with great violence



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in endeavouring to go out, he threw her down with one hand and stabbed her with the other. This is the account of this bloody action as it was sworn against him at his trial by his own daughter, though he persisted in it that what she called throwing down was only gently laying her on the bed after she received the blow, which as he averred happened only by chance, and her own pressing against him as the knife was in his hand. However that was, he sent for basilicon and sugar to dress the wound, in hopes she might at least recover so far as to declare there was no malice between them, but those endeavours were in vain, for she never spoke after.

In the meanwhile, Brinsden took occasion during the bustle that this sad accident occasioned, and fled to one Mr. Kegg's at Shadwell Dock, where, though for some small space he continued safe, yet the terrors and apprehensions he was under were more choking and uneasy than all the miseries he experienced after his being taken up. Such is the weight of blood, and such the dreadful condition of the wicked.

At his trial he put on an air of boldness and intrepidity, saying that though the clamour of the town was very strong against him, yet he hoped it would not make an impression to his disadvantage on the jury, since the death of his wife happened with no premeditated design. The surgeon who examined the wound, having deposed that it was six inches deep, he objected to his evidence by observing that the knife, when produced in Court, was not quite so long. He pleaded also, very strongly, the insupportable temper of his wife, and said she was of such a disposition that nothing would do with her but blows. But all this signifying little, the evidence of this daughter appearing also full and direct against him, the jury showed very small regard to his excuses, and after a short reflection on the evidence, they found him guilty.

Under sentence he behaved himself indolently and sottishly, doing nothing but eat his victuals and doze in his bed; thinking it at the same time a very great indignity that he should be obliged to take up with those thieves and robbers who were in the same state of condemnation with himself, always behaving himself towards them very distantly, and as if it would have been a great debasement to him if he had joined with them in devotion.

His daughter who had borne witness against him at his trial, came to him at chapel and begged his forgiveness, even for having testified the truth. At first he turned away from her with much indignation; the second day she came, after great entreaty and persuasion of his friends, he at last muttered out, *I forgive you*. But the girl coming the third day and earnestly desiring he would kiss her, which at first he refused, and at last turning to her and weeping lamentably, he took her in his arms, and said: *For Christ's sake, my child, forgive me. I have robbed you of your own mother. Be a good child, rather die than steal, never be in a passion, but curb your anger. Honour your mistress, for she will be both a father and a mother to you. Pray for your father and think of him as well as you can.*

At the place of execution he composed himself to suffer with as much patience as he could, and while the rest threw books and handkerchiefs to their friends, he seemed wrapped up in a profound meditation, out of which he drew himself as soon as prayers began and assisted with much cheerfulness and attention.



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When they were ended he stood up and desiring the Ordinary to repeat after him the following speech, which he dictated word for word as I have transcribed it, seeming most passionately affected with the reflection the world had cast on himself and daughter, as my readers will perceive from the speech itself. After the making of which, he was immediately turned off, on the sixteenth of July, 1722.

The last speech of Matthias Brinsden

I was born of kind parents, who gave me learning, and went apprentice to a fine-drawer. I had often jars which might increase a natural waspishness in my temper. I fell in love with Hannah, my late wife, and after much difficulty won her, she having five sisters at the same time. We had ten children (half of them dead) and I believe we loved each other dearly, but often quarrelled and fought. Pray good people mind, I had no malice against her, nor thought to kill her, two minutes before the deed, but I designed only to make her obey me thoroughly, which the Scripture says all wives should do. This I thought I had done, when I cut her skull on Monday, but she was the same again by Tuesday.

Good people, I request you to observe that though the world has spitefully given out that I carnally and incestuously lay with my eldest daughter, I here solemnly declare, as I am entering into the presence of God, I never knew whether she was man or woman, since she was a babe. I have often taken her in my arms, often kissed her, sometimes given her a cake or a pie, when she did any particular service beyond what came to her share, but never lay with her, or carnally knew her, much less had a child by her. But when a man is in calamities and is hated like me, the women will make surmises into certainties. Good Christians pray for me, I deserve death, I am willing to die, for though my sins are great, God's mercies are greater.

July 18, Wednesday (Old Style): Nathaniel Jackson was [hanged](#) as a highwayman, and James *alias* Valentine Carrick and John Molony were [hanged](#) as highwaymen and street robbers, on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹¹⁴

The various dispositions of men make frequent differences in their progress, either in virtue or vice; some being disposed to cultivate this or that branch of their duty with peculiar diligence, and others, again, plunging themselves in some immoralities they have no taste for.

But as for this unfortunate criminal, Nathaniel Jackson, he seemed to have swept all impurities with a drag net, and to have habituated himself to nothing but wickedness from his cradle. He was the son of a person of some fortune at Doncaster, in Yorkshire, who died when his son Nat was very young, but not, however, till he had given him some education. He was bound by a friend, in whose hands his father left his fortune, to a silk-weaver at Norwich, with whom he lived about three years; but his master restraining his extravagancies, and taking great pains to keep him within the bounds of moderation, Jackson at last

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grew so uneasy that he ran away from his master, and absconded for some time. But his guardian at last hearing where he was, wrote to him, and advised him to purchase some small place with his fortune, whereon he might live with economy, since he perceived he would do no good in trade. Jackson despised this advice, and instead of thinking of settling, got into the Army, and with a regiment of dragoons went over into Ireland. There he indulged himself in all the vices and lusts to which he was prone, living in all those debaucheries to which the meanest and most licentious of the common soldiers are addicted; but he more especially gave himself up to lewdness and the conversation of women. This, as it led him into abundance of inconveniences, so at last it engaged him in a quarrel with one of his comrades which ended in a duel. Jackson had the advantage of his antagonist and hacked and wounded him in a most cruel manner. For this, his officers broke him, and he thereby lost the fifteen guineas which he had given to be admitted into the troop; and as men are always apt to be angry with punishment, however justly they receive it, so Jackson imputed his being cashiered to the officers' covetousness, the crime he had committed passing in his own imagination for a very trivial action.

Having from this accident a new employment to seek, he came over to his guardian and stayed with him a while. But growing very soon weary of those restraints which were put upon him there, as he had done at those under his Norwich master, he soon fell into his old courses, got into an acquaintance with lewd women and drunken fellows, with whom he often stayed out all night at the most notorious bawdy houses. This making a great noise, his friends remonstrated in the strongest terms, pointing out to him the wrong he did himself; but finding all their persuasions ineffectual, they told him plainly he must remove. Upon this he came up to London, not without receiving considerable presents from his so much abused friends.

The town was an ill place to amend a man who came into it with dispositions like his. On the contrary, he found still more opportunities for gratifying his lustful inclinations than at any time before, and these lewd debaucheries having reduced him quickly to the last extremity, he was in a fair way to be prevailed on to take any method to gain money. He was in these said circumstances when he met accidentally with John Morpew, an old companion of his in Ireland, and soon after, as they were talking together, they fell upon one O'Brian in a footman's garb, also their acquaintance in Ireland.

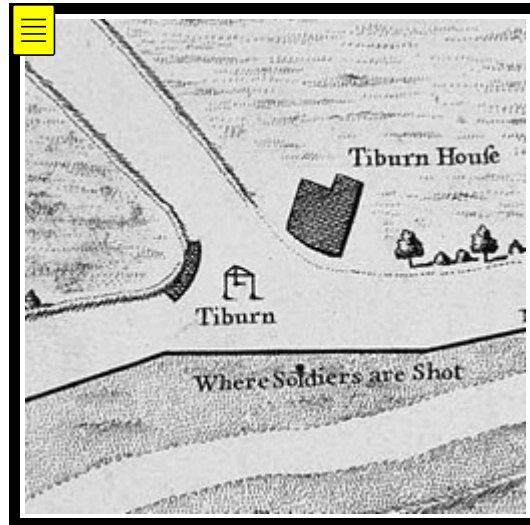
He invited them both to go with him to the camp in Hyde Park, and at a sutler's tent there, treated them with as much as they would drink. When he had paid the reckoning, turning about, *d'ye see, boys, says he, how full my pockets are of money? Come, I'll teach you to fill yours, if you are but men of courage.* Upon this out they walked towards Hampstead, between which place and St. Pancras they met one Dennet, whom they robbed and stripped, taking from him a coat and a waistcoat, two shirts, some hair, thirteen pence in money, and other things. This did not make O'Brian's promise good, all they got being but of inconsiderable value, but it cost poor Jackson his life, though he and Morpew had saved Dennet's when O'Brian would have killed him to prevent discoveries; for Jackson being not long after apprehended, was convicted of the fact, but O'Brian, having timely notice of his

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commitment, made his escape into Ireland. As soon as sentence was passed, Jackson thought of nothing but how to prepare himself for another world, there being no probability that interest his friends could make to save him. He made a very ingenious confession of all he knew, and seemed perfectly easy and resigned to that end which the Law had appointed for those who, like him, had injured society. He was about thirty years old at the time of his death, which was on the 18th of July, 1722, at Tyburn.



Though it has become a very common and fashionable opinion that honour may supply the place of piety, and thereby preserve a morality more beneficial to society than religion, yet if we would allow experience to decide, it will be no very difficult matter to prove that when persons have once given way to certain vices (which in the polite style pass under the denomination of pleasures) rather than forego them they will quickly acquire that may put it in their power to enjoy them, though obtained at the rate of perpetrating the most ignominious offences. If there had not been too much truth in this observation we should hardly find in the list of criminals persons who, like James Carrick, have had a liberal education, and were not meanly descended, bringing themselves to the most miserable of all states and reflecting dishonour upon those from whom they were descended.

This unfortunate person was the son of an Irish gentleman, who lived not far from Dublin, and whom we must believe to have been a man of tolerable fortune, since he provided as well for all his children as to make even this, who was his youngest, an ensign. James was a perfect boy at the time when his commission



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required him to quit Ireland to repair to Spain, whither, a little before, the regiment wherein he was to serve had been commanded. As he had performed his duty towards the rest of his children, the father was more than ordinarily fond of this his youngest, whom therefore he equipped in a manner rather beyond that capacity in which he was to appear upon his arrival at the army. In his person James was a very beautiful well-shaped young man, of a middle size, and something more than ordinarily genteel in his appearance, as his father had taken care to supply him abundantly for his expenses; so when he came into Spain he spent his money as freely as any officer of twice his pay. His tent was the constant rendezvous of all the beaux who were at that time in the camp, and whenever the army were in quarters, nobody was handsomer, or made a better figure than Mr. Carrick. Though we are very often disposed to laugh at those stories for fictions which carry in them anything very different from what we see in daily experience, yet as the materials I have for this unfortunate man's life happen both to be full and very exact, I shall not scruple mentioning some of his adventures, which I am persuaded will neither be unpleasant, nor incapable of improving my readers.

The regiment in which Carrick served was quartered at Barcelona, after the taking of that place by the English troops¹¹⁵ who supported the title of the present Emperor to the crown of Spain. The inhabitants were not only civil, but to the last degree courteous to the English, for whom they always preserved a greater esteem than for any other nation. Carrick, therefore, had frequent opportunities for making himself known and getting into an acquaintance with some of the Spanish cavaliers, who were in the interest of King Charles. Amongst these was Don Raphael de Ponto, a man of fortune and family amongst the Catalans, but, as is usual with the Spaniards, very amorous and continually employed in some intrigue or other. He was mightily pleased with Carrick's humour, and conceived for him a friendship, in which the Spaniards are perhaps more constant and at the same time more zealous, than any other nation in Europe. As Carrick had been bred a Roman Catholic and always continued so, notwithstanding his professing the contrary to those in the Army, so he made no scruple of going to Mass with his Spanish friend, which passed with the English officers only as a piece of complaisance.

Vespers was generally the time when Don Raphael and his English companion used to make their appointments with the ladies, and therefore they were very punctual at those devotions, from a spirit which too often takes up young minds. It happened one evening, when after the Spanish custom they were thus gone forth in quest of adventures, a duenna slipped into Don Raphael's hand a note, by which he was appointed to come under such a window near the convent, in the street of St. Thomas, when the bell of the convent rang in the evening, and was desired to bring his friend, if he were not afraid of a Spanish lady. Don Raphael immediately acquainted his friend, who you may be sure was ready to obey the summons.

When the hour came, and the convent bell rang, our sparks, wrapped up in their cloaks, slipped to their posts under a balcony. They did not wait long there, before the same woman who delivered the note to Don Raphael made her appearance at the

115. This was in 1705, by an expedition commanded by the Earl of Peterborough.



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window, and throwing down another little billet, exhorted them to be patient a little, and they should not lose their labour. The lovers waited quiet enough for about a quarter of an hour, when the old woman slipped down, and opened a door behind them, at which our sparks entered with great alacrity. The old woman conducted them into a very handsome apartment above stairs, where they were received by two young ladies, as beautiful as they could have wished them. Compliments are not much used on such occasions in Spain, and these gentlemen, therefore, did not make many before they were for coming to the point with the ladies, when of a sudden they heard a great noise upon the stairs, and as such adventures make all men cautious in Spain, they immediately left the ladies, and retiring towards the window, drew their swords. They had hardly clapped their backs against it, before the noise on the stairs ceasing, they felt the floor tremble under their feet, and at last giving way, they both fell into a dark room underneath, where without any other noise than their fall had made, they were disarmed, gagged and bound by some persons placed there for that purpose. When the rogues had finished their search, and taken away everything that was valuable about them, even to ripping the gold lace off Carrick's clothes, they let them lie there for a considerable time, and at last removed them in two open chests to the middle of the great marketplace, where they left them to wait for better fortune. They had not remained there above a quarter of an hour, before Carrick's sergeant went the rounds with a file of musketeers. Carrick hearing his voice, made as much noise as he was able, and that bringing the sergeant and his men to the place where they were set, their limbs and mouths were immediately released from bondage.

The morning following, as soon as Carrick was up, the Spanish gentleman's major domo came to wait upon him, and told him that his master being extremely ill, had desired him to make his compliments to his English friend in order to supply the defects of the letter he sent him, which by reason of his indisposition was very short. Having said this, the Spaniard presented him with a letter, and a little parcel, and then withdrew. Carrick did not know what to make of all this, but as soon as the stranger was withdrawn, opened his packet in order to discover what it contained. He found in it a watch, a diamond ring, and a note on a merchant for two hundred pieces-of-eight, which was the sum Carrick (to make himself look great) said he had lost by the accident. The note at the same time informing him that Don Raphael de Ponto thought it but just to restore to him what he had lost by accompanying him in the former night's adventures.

After Carrick returned into England, though he had no longer his commission, or indeed any other way of living, yet he could not lay aside those vices in which hitherto he had indulged himself. When he had any money he entertained a numerous train of the most abandoned women of the town, and had also intrigues at the same time with some of the highest rank of those prostitutes. To the latter he applied himself when his pocket first began to grow low, and they supplied him as long, and as far as they were able. But, alas! their contributions went but a little way towards supporting his expenses. Happening about that time to fall into an acquaintance with Smith, his countryman, after a serious consultation on ways and means to support their manner



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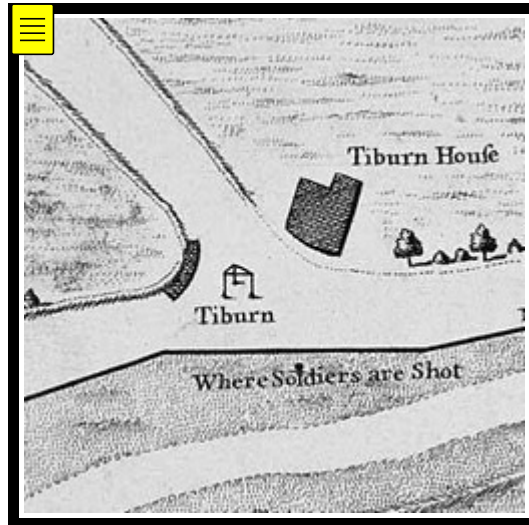
of living, they came at last to a resolution of taking a purse on the road, and joined company soon afterwards with Butler, another Irish robber, who was executed some time before them on the evidence of this very Carrick. When Carrick's elder brother heard of this in Ireland, he wrote to him in the most moving terms, beseeching him to consider the sad end to which he was running headlong, and the shame and ignominy with which he covered his family and friends, exhorting him at the same time not to cast away all hopes of doing well, but to think of returning to Dublin, where he assured him he would meet him, and provide handsomely for him, notwithstanding all that was past. But Carrick little regarded this good advice, or the kind overtures made him by his brother. No sooner had he procured his liberty but he returned to his old profession, and committed a multitude of robberies on Finchley Common, Hounslow and Bagshot Heaths, spending all the money he got on women of the town, at the gaming table, and in fine clothes, which last was the thing in which he seemed most to delight. But money not coming in very quick by these methods, he with Molony, Carrol and some others of his countrymen, began to rob in the streets, and by that means got great sums of money. They continued this practice for a long space of time with safety, but being one night out in Little Queen Street, by Lincoln's Inn Fields, between one and two in the morning they stopped a chair in which was the Hon. William Young, Esq., from whom they took a gold watch, valued at £50, a sword, and forty guineas in money. Carrick thrust his pistol into the chair, Carrol watched at a distance, while Molony, perceiving the gentleman hesitate a little in delivering, said with a stern voice, *Your money, sir! Do you trifle?* It was a very short time after the commission of this robbery that both he and his companion Molony were taken, Carrol making a timely escape to his native kingdom. While James Carrick remained in Newgate, his behaviour was equally singular and indecent, for he affected to pass his time with the same gaiety in his last moments as he had spent it in the former part of his days. Throngs of people, as it is but too much the custom, came to see him in Newgate, to whom, as if he had intended that they should not lose their curiosity, he told all the adventures of his life, with the same air and gaiety as if he had been relating them at some gaming ordinaries. This being told about town, drew still greater heaps of company upon him, which he received with the same pleasantness; by which means he daily increased them, and by that means the gain of the keepers at Newgate, who took money to show him. Upon this he said to them merrily one day: *You pay, good folks, for seeing me now, but if you had suspended your curiosity 'till I went to Tyburn, you might have seen me for nothing.* This was the manner in which he talked and lived even to the last, conversing until the time of his death with certain loose women who had been his former favourites, and whom no persuasions could engage him to banish from his presence while

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he yet had eyes, and could behold them in his sight.



At the place of execution, where it often happens that the most daring offenders drop that resolution on which they foolishly value themselves, Carrick failed not in the least. He gave himself genteel airs (as Mr. Purney, the then Ordinary, phrases it) in placing the rope about his neck, smiled and bowed to everybody he knew round him, and continued playing a hundred little tricks of the same odd nature, until the very instant the cart drove away, declaring himself to be a Roman Catholic, and that he was persuaded he had made his peace with God in his own way. In this temper he finished his life at Tyburn, on the 18th of July, 1722, being then about twenty-seven years of age.

John Molony was an Irishman likewise, born at Dublin and sent to sea when very young. He served in the fleets which during the late Queen's reign sailed into the Mediterranean, and happening to be on board a ship which was lost, he with some other sailors, was called to a very strict account for that misfortune, upon some presumption that they were accessory thereto. Afterwards he sailed in a vessel of war which was fitted out against the pirates, and had therein so good luck that if his inclinations had been honest, he might certainly have settled very handsomely in the world. But that was far from his intention; he liked a seaman's pleasures, drinking and gaming, and when on shore, lewd women, the certain methods of being brought to such ways of getting money as end in a shameful death.

When abroad, his adventures were not many, because he had little opportunity of going on shore, yet one happened in Sicily which made a very great impression upon him, and which it may not therefore be improper to relate. There were two merchants at Palermo, both young men, and perfectly skilled in the arts of traffic; they had had a very liberal education, and had been constant friends and companions together. The intimacy they had so long continued was cemented by their marriage with two sisters. They lived very happily for the space of about two years, and in all probability might have continued to do so much longer, had not the duenna who attended one of their wives, died, and a new one been put in her place. Not knowing the young ladies' brothers, upon their speaking to them at Church, she gave notice of it to the husband of her whom she attended, and he immediately posting to his neighbour, the woman told them



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both that their wives, notwithstanding all she could say, were talking to two well-dressed cavaliers, which the duenna who waited on the other, notwithstanding the duties of her post, saw without taking any notice. This so exasperated the jealousy of the Sicilians that without more ado they ran to the church, and meeting with their spouses coming out from thence with an air of gaiety, seized them, and stabbed them dead with a little dagger, which for that purpose each had concealed under his coat. Then flying into the church for sanctuary, they discovered their mistake, when one of them, seized with fury at the loss of a wife of whom he was so extravagantly fond, stabbed the other, though not mortally, and with many repeated wounds murdered the duenna, whose rash error had been the occasion of spilling so much blood.

Upon Molony's return to England, he was totally out of all business, and minded nothing but haunting the gaming tables, living on the charity of his fortunate countrymen when his luck was bad, and relieving them, in turn, when he had a favourable run at dice. It was at one of these houses that he became acquainted with Carrick, and the likeness of their tempers creating a great intimacy, after a short knowledge of one another they joined with Carrol, a fellow as wicked as themselves, but much more cruel, and were all concerned in that robbery for which Carrick and Molony died.

When these two criminals came to be tried at the Old Bailey, their behaviour was equally ludicrous, silly and indecent; affecting to rally the evidence that was produced against them, and to make the people smile at their premeditated bulls. Carrick, was a lean, fair man, and stood at the left hand corner of the bar; Molony was a larger built man, who wore a browner wig. Carrick took occasion to ask Mr. Young, when he stood up to give his evidence, which side of the chair it was he stood on, when he robbed him. Mr. Young answered him, that he stood on the right side. *Why now, what a lie that is,* returned Carrick, *you know Molony, I stood on the left.* Before the people recovered themselves from laughing at this, Molony asked him what coloured wig he took him to have on at the time the robbery was committed; being answered it was much the same colour with that he had on then, *There's another story,* quoth Molony, *you know, Carrick, I changed wigs with you that morning, and wore it all day.*

Yet after sentence was passed, Molony laid aside all airs of gaiety, and seemed to be thoroughly convinced he had mistaken the true path of happiness. He did not care to see company, treated the Ordinary civilly when he spoke to him, though he professed himself a Papist, and was visited by a clergymen of that Church.

As he was going to the place of execution, he still looked graver and more concerned; though he did not fall into those agonies of sighing and tears as some do, but seemed to bear his miserable state with great composedness and resignation, saying he had repented as well as he could in the short time allowed him, suffering the same day with the two last mentioned malefactors.

July 22, Sunday (Old Style): Thomas Butlock, *alias* Butloge, was [hanged](#) for theft on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹¹⁶

The foolish pride of wearing fine clothes and making a figure

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has certainly undone many ordinary people, both by making them live beyond what their labour or trade would allow, and by inducing them to take illegal methods to procure money for that purpose.

Thomas Butlock, otherwise Butloge, which last was his true name, was born in the kingdom of Ireland, about thirty miles east of Dublin, whither his parents had gone from Cheshire (which was their native country) with a gentleman on whom they had a great dependence, and who was settled in Ireland. Though their circumstances were but indifferent, yet they found means to raise as much as put their son apprentice to a vintner in Dublin,

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



and probably, had he ever set up in that business they would have done more. But he had not been long ere what little education he had was lost, and his morals corrupted by the sight of such lewd scenes as passed often in his master's house. However the man was very kind to him, and in return Thomas had so great esteem and affection for his master that when he broke



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and come over to hide himself at Chester, Butloge frequently stole over to him with small supplies of money and acquainted him with the condition of his family, which he had left behind. In this precarious manner of life, he spent some time, until finding it impossible for him to subsist any longer by following his master's broken fortunes, he began to lay out for some new employment to get his bread. But after various projects had proved unsuccessful when they came to be executed, he was forced to return into Ireland again, where not long after, he had the good fortune to marry a substantial man's daughter which retrieved his circumstances once more.

But Butloge had always, as he expressed it, an aspiring temper, which put him upon crossing the seas again upon the invitation of a gentleman who, he pretended was a relation, and belonged to the Law, by whose interest he was in hopes of getting into a place. Accordingly, when he came to London, he took lodgings and lived as if he was already in possession of his expectation, which bringing his pocket low, he accepted the service of Mr. Claude Langley, a foreign gentleman, who had lodged in the same house. It cannot be exactly determined how long he had been in his service before he had committed the fact for which he died, but as to the manner it happened thus.

Mr. Langley, as well as all the rest of the family, being out at church, Butloge was sitting by himself in his master's room, looking at the drawers, and knowing that there was a good sum of ready money therein. It then came into his head what a figure he might cut if he had all that money. It occurred to him, at the same time, that his master was scarce able to speak any English, and was obliged to go over to France again in a month's time; so that he persuaded himself that if he could keep out of the way for that month, all would be well, and he should be able to live upon the spoil, without any apprehension of danger. These considerations took up his mind for half an hour; then he put his scheme into execution, broke open the drawers and took from thence twenty-seven guineas, four *louis d'ors*, and some other French pieces. As soon as he completed the robbery, and was got safe out of town, he went directly to Chester, that he might appear fine (as he himself said) at a place where he was known. His precaution being so little, there is no wonder that he was taken, or that the fact appearing plain, he should be convicted thereon.

After sentence was passed, he laid aside all hopes of life, and without flattering himself as too many do, he prepared for his approaching end. Whatever follies he might have committed in his life, yet he suffered very composedly on the 22nd day of July, 1722, being then about twenty-three years of age.

July 26, Thursday (Old Style): Thomas Wilson, a footpad, and Robert Wilkinson and James Lincoln, murderers and footpads, were [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹¹⁷

It happens so commonly in the world, that I am persuaded that none of my readers but must have remarked that there is a certain settled and stupid obstinacy in some tempers which renders them capable of persevering in any act, how wicked and villainous soever, without either reluctance at the time of its commission,

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or a capacity of humbling themselves so far as to acknowledge and ask pardon for their offences when detected or discovered. Of this rugged disposition was the criminal we are now to speak of.

Thomas Wilson was born of parents not in the worst of circumstances, in the neighbourhood of London. They educated him both in respect of learning and other things as well as their capacity would give them leave; but Thomas, far from making that use of it that they desired, addicted himself wholly to ill practices, that is to idleness, and those little crimes of spoiling others, and depriving them of their property, which an evil custom has made pass for trivial offences in England. But it seems the parents of Wilson did not think so, but both reprimanded him and corrected him severely whenever he robbed orchards, or any other such like feats as passed for instances of a quick spirit and ingenuity in children with less honest and religious parents.

But these restraints grew quickly so grievous to Thomas's temper, that he, observing that his parents, notwithstanding their correction, were really fond of him, bethought himself of a method of conquering their dislike to his recreations. Therefore stealing away from his home, he rambled for a considerable space in the world, subsisting wholly upon such methods as he had before used for his recreation. But this project was so far from taking effect, that his parents, finding him incorrigible, looked very coldly upon him, and instead of fondling him the more for this act of disobedience, treated him as one whom they foresaw would be a disgrace to their family and of whom they had now very little or no hope.

Wilson perceiving this, out of the natural sourness of his temper resolved to abandon them totally, which he did, and went to sea without their consent or notice. But men of his cast being very ill-suited to that employment, where the strictest obedience is required towards those who are in command, Wilson soon brought himself into very unhappy circumstances by his moroseness and ill-behaviour; for though he was but thirteen when he went to sea, and never made but one voyage to the Baltic, yet in that space he was fourteen times whipped and pickled and six times hung by the heels and lashed for the villainies he committed on the ship.

Upon this return into England, he was so thoroughly mortified by this treatment that he went home to his friends, and as far as his surly humour would give him leave, made his submission and promised more obedience and better behaviour for the future. They then took him in, and were in some hopes that they should now reclaim him. Accordingly they placed him with a sawyer, by Fleet Ditch, which at his first coming to the business seemed to him to be a much lighter work than that he had endured in the space of his being at sea. He served four years honestly, indeed, and with as much content as a person of his unsettled mind could enjoy in any state; but at the end of that space, good usage had so far spoiled him that he longed to be at liberty again, though at the expense of another sea voyage. Accordingly, leaving his master, he went away again on board of a merchantman bound for the Straits. During the time which the ship lay in port for her loading, he contracted some distemper from the heat of the country, and his immoderate love of its wine and the fruits that grow there. These brought him very low, and he falling at the



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same time into company of some bad women, made an addition to his former ails by adding one of the worst and most painful of all distempers to the miseries he before endured.

In this miserable condition, more like a ghost than a man, he shipped himself at last for England in a vessel, the captain of which out of charity gave him his passage home. The air of that climate in which he was born, recovered him to a miracle. Soon after which being, I suppose, cured also of those maladies which had attended the Spanish women's favours, he fell in love with a very honest industrious young woman, and quickly prevailed with her to marry him. But her friends discovering what a profligate life he led, resolved she should not share in the misfortunes such a measure would be sure to draw upon him, wherefore they took her away from him. How crabbed soever this malefactor might be towards others, yet so affectionately fond was he of his wife that the taking of her away made him not only uneasy and melancholy, but drove him also into distraction. To relieve his grief, at first he betook himself to those companies that afterwards led him to the courses which brought on his death, and in almost all the villainies he committed afterwards he was hardly ever sober, so much did the loss of his wife, and the remorse of his course of the life he led affect him, whenever he allowed himself coolly to reflect thereon.

The crew he had engaged himself in were the most notorious and the most cruel footpads which for many years had infested the road. The robberies they committed were numerous and continual, and the manner in which they perpetrated them base and inhuman. For, seldom going out with pistols (the sight of which serves often to terrify passengers out of their money, without offering them any other injury than what arises from their own apprehensions) these villains provided themselves with large sticks, loaded at the end with lead; with these, from behind a hedge, they were able to knock down passengers as they walked along the road, and then starting from their covert, easily plunder and bind them if they thought proper. They had carried on this detestable practice for a long space in almost all those roads which lead to the little villages whither people go for pleasure from the hurry and noise of London.

Amongst many other robberies which they committed, it happened that in the road to Bow they met a footman, whom without speaking to, they knocked down as soon as they had passed him. The fellow was so stunned with the fall, and so frightened with their approach, that he made not the least resistance while they took away his money and his watch, stripped him of his hat and wig, his waistcoat and a pair of silver buckles; but when one of them perceiving a ring of some value upon his finger, went to tear it off, he begged him in the most moving terms to leave it, because it had been given to him by his lady, who would never forgive the loss of it. However it happened, he who first went to take it off, seemed to relent at the fellow's repeated entreaties, but Wilson catching hold of the fellow's hand, dragged it off at once, saying at the same time, *Sirrah, I suppose you are your lady's stallion, and the ring comes as honestly to us as it did to you.*

A few days after this adventure, Wilson being got very drunk, thought he would go out on the road himself, in hopes of acquiring a considerable booty without being obliged to share it with his companions. He had not walked above half an hour,



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before he overtook a man laden with several little glazed pots and other things, which being tied up in a cloth, he had hung upon the end of a stick and carried on his shoulder. Wilson coming behind him with one of those loaded sticks that I have mentioned, knocked him down by the side of the ditch, and immediately secured his bundle. But attempting to rifle him farther, his foot slipped, he being very full of liquor, and he tumbled backwards into the ditch. The poor man took that opportunity to get up and run away, and so soon as he could recover himself, Wilson retreated to one of those evil houses that entertain such people, in order to see what great purchase he had got; but upon opening the cloth, he was not a little out of humour at finding four pots, each filled with a pound of rappee snuff, and as many galley pots of scented pomatum.

Some nights after this expedition, he and one of his companions went out on the like errand, and had not been long in the fields before they perceived one Mr. Cowell, near Islington. Wilson's companion immediately resolved to attack him, but Wilson himself was struck with such a terror that he begged him to desist, from an apprehension that the man knew him; but that not prevailing with his associate, they robbed him of a hat and wig, and about a shilling in money. Wilson was quickly apprehended, but his companion having notice thereof, saved himself by a flight into Holland. At the ensuing sessions Wilson was indicted, not only for this fact, but for many others of a like nature, to all of which he immediately pleaded guilty, declaring that as he had done few favours to mankind, so he would never expect any.

After sentence of death was pronounced upon him, he laid aside much of his stubbornness, and not only applied himself to the duties of religion which are recommended to persons in his unhappy condition to practice, but also offered to make any discoveries he was able which might tend to satisfying the Justice of his country or the benefit of society. In pursuance of which he wrote a paper, which he delivered with much ceremony at the place of execution, and which though penned in none of the best styles, I have yet thought convenient to annex in his own words.

Being questioned with respect of several of his companions who are very well known, but whom, notwithstanding all the search had been made after them, no discovery could be made so as they might be apprehended and brought to justice, Wilson declared that as for three of the most notorious, they had made their escape into Holland some time before he was apprehended; two others were in Newgate for trivial offences, and another (whom he would not name) was retired into Warwickshire, had married there, and led a very honest and industrious life.

At the place of execution he seemed less daunted than any of the malefactors who suffered with him, showed himself several times by standing up to the spectators, before the rope was fastened about his neck, and told them that he hoped they would give no credit to any spurious accounts which might be published of him; because whatever he thought might be necessary for them to know, he had digested in a paper which he had delivered the Sunday before he died, in order to be communicated to the public. He added, that since he had been in the cart, he had been informed that one Phelps had been committed to Newgate for a robbery mentioned by him in his paper. He said, as he was a dying man, he knew nothing of Phelps, and that he was not in any manner



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whatsoever concerned in that robbery for which he had been apprehended. He then put the rope about his neck, and submitted to his death with great resolution, being then about twenty years of age, and the day he suffered the 26th of July, 1722. The Paper delivered by the above mentioned criminal the day before his execution.

I, Thomas Wilson, desire it may be known that I was in a horse-way that lies between Highgate and Hornsey, where meeting a man and a woman, they enquired the way to Upper Holloway. We directed them across the fields; meantime we drank two pints of ale to hearten us, then followed them, and robbed them of two shillings and some half pence, the woman's apron, her hat and coloured handkerchief. We left them without misusing them, though there were thoughts of doing it. My companion that robbed with me is gone to Holland upon hearing I was taken up, though I should not have impeached him, but his friends lived in Holland. Another robbery we committed was by a barn in the footpath near Pancras Church of a hat and tie-wig, and cane, and some goods he was carrying, but we heard he had a considerable sum of money about him; but he ran away and I ran after him, but I being drunk he escaped, and I was glad to get off safe. We robbed two other men near Copenhagen House of a coat and waistcoat. I committed many street robberies about Lincoln's Inn. For these and for all other sins, I pray God and Man to pardon me, especially for shooting the pistol off before Justice Perry, at my friend's adversary, and am very glad I did not kill him.

Robert Wilkinson, like abundance of other unhappy young men, contracted in his youth a liking to idleness, and an aversion to all sorts of work and labour, and applied himself for a livelihood hardly to anything that was honest. The only employment he ever pretended to was that of a prize fighter or boxer at Hockley-in-the-Hole,¹¹⁸ where, as a fellow of prodigious dexterity, though low in stature, and very small limbed, he was much taken notice of. And as is usual for persons who have long addicted themselves to such a way of living, he had contracted an inhumanity of temper which made him little concerned at the greatest miseries he saw others suffer, and even regardless of what might happen to himself. The set of villains into whose society he had joined himself, viz., Carrick who was executed, Carrol who made his escape into Ireland, Lincoln of whom we shall speak afterwards, Shaw and Burridge before mentioned, and William Lock, perpetrated together a prodigious number of villainies often attended with cruel and bloody acts. Some of these fellows, it seems, valued themselves much on the ferocity they exerted in the war they carried on against the rest of mankind, amongst which Wilkinson might be justly reckoned, being ever ready to second any bloody proposal, and as unwilling to comply with any good-natured one. An instance

118. This was near Clerkenwell Green. It was a famous Bear Garden and the scene of various prize-fights to which public challenges were issued. Cunningham quotes a curious one for the year 1722:—"I, Elizabeth Wilkinson, of Clerkenwell, having had some words with Hannah Hyfield, and requiring satisfaction, do invite her to meet me on the stage and box with me for three guineas, each woman holding half-a-crown in each hand, and the first woman that drops her money to lose the battle" (this was to prevent scratching). The acceptance ran, "I, Hannah Hyfield, of Newgate Market, hearing of the resoluteness of Elizabeth Wilkinson, will not fail, God willing, to give her more blows than words, desiring home blows and from her no favour."



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of this happened in the case of two gentlemen whom Shaw, he and Burridge attacked near Highgate. Not contented with robbing them of about forty shillings, their watches and whatever else about 'em was valuable, Wilkinson, after they were dismounted, knocked one of them into a ditch, where he would have strangled him with his hand if one of his comrades had not hindered him. The man pleaded all the while the other held him, that he was without arms, incapable of making any resistance, and that it was equally base and barbarous to injure him, who neither could, nor would attempt to pursue him. Though this fact was very fully proved, yet Wilkinson strongly denied it, as indeed he did almost everything, though nothing was more notorious than that he had lived by these wicked courses for a very considerable time.


Having had occasion to mention this gang with whom Wilkinson was concerned, it may not be improper to acquaint my readers with an adventure of one Calhagan and Disney, two Irish robbers of the same crew. One of them had persuaded a gentleman's housekeeper, of about thirty-five, that he was extremely in love with her, passing at the same time for a gentleman of fortune in the kingdom of Ireland, the brogue being too strong upon his tongue for him to deny his country. He met her frequently, and made her not a few visits, even at her master's house, taking care all the while to keep up the greatest form of ceremony, as though to a person whom he designed to make his wife. His companion attended on him with great respect as his tutor or gentleman, appearing at first very much dissatisfied with his making his addresses to a woman so much beneath him, but as the affair went on pretending to be so much taken with her wit, prudence and genteel behaviour, that he said his master had made an excellent choice, and advised him to delay his marriage no longer than till he had settled his affairs with his guardian, naming as such a certain noble lord of unquestioned character and honour. These pretences prevailing on the credulity of an old maid, who like most of her species was fond of the company of young fellows, and in raptures at the thoughts of a lover, she thought it a prodigious long while till these accounts were made up, enquiring wherever she went, when such a lord would come to town. She heard, at last, with great satisfaction, that he would certainly come over from Ireland that summer.

The family in which she lived, going out of town as usual, left her in charge of the house; as there was nobody but herself and an under maid, her lover often visited her, and at last told her that on such a day my Lord had appointed to settle his affairs and to deliver up all his trust. The evening of this day, the gentleman and his tutor came and brought with them a bundle of papers and parchments, which they pretended were the instruments which had been signed on this occasion. After making merry with the housekeeper and the maid on a supper which they had sent from the tavern, the elder of them at last pulls out his watch, and said, *Come, 'tis time to do business, 'tis almost one o'clock.* Upon which the other arose, seized the housekeeper, to whom he had so long paid his addresses, and clapped an ivory gag into her mouth, while his companion did the same thing by the other. Then putting out all the candles, having first put one into a dark lanthorn they had brought on purpose, they next led the poor creatures up and down the house, till they had shown them the several places where the plate, linen, jewels and other

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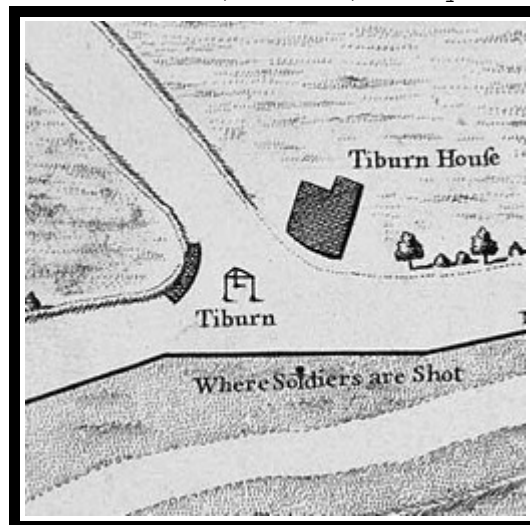
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valuable things belonging to the family were laid. After having bundled up the  they threw them down upon the floor, tied their ankles to one another, and left them hanging, one on one side, and the other on the other side of the parlour door; in which posture they were found the next day at noon, at the very point of expiring, their blood having stagnated about their necks, which put them into the greatest danger.

But to return to Wilkinson. One night, he with his companions Lincoln and William Lock came up with one Peter Martin, a poor pensioner of Chelsea College, whom they stopped. Wilkinson held him down and Lincoln knocked him down on his crying out for help; afterwards taking him up, he would have led him along, and Wilkinson pricked him with his sword in the shoulders and buttocks for some time, to make him advance, till William Lock cried out to them, *How should ye expect the man to go forward when he is dead.*

For this murder and for a robbery committed by them with Carrick and Carrol they were both capitally convicted. Wilkinson behaved himself to the time of his execution very morosely, and when pressed, at the place of execution, to unburden his conscience as to the crime for which he died, he answered peremptorily that he knew nothing of the murder, nor of Lincoln who died with him, until they were apprehended; adding, that as to hanging in chains he did not value it, but he had no business to tell lies, to make himself guilty of things he never did. Three days and three nights before the time of his death, he abstained totally from meat and drink, which rendered him so faint that he had scarce strength enough to speak at the tree.

James Lincoln, who died with him for the aforesaid cruel murder, was a fellow of a more docile and gentle temper than Wilkinson, owned abundance of the offences he had been guilty of, and had designed, as he himself owned, to have robbed the Duke of Newcastle of his garter ornaments, as he returned from the instalment. Notwithstanding these confessions, he persisted, as well as Wilkinson, in utterly denying that he knew anything of the murder of the pensioner, and saying that he forgave William Lock who had sworn himself and them into it. Wilkinson was at the time of his execution about thirty-five years old, and James Lincoln somewhat under. They died at the same time with the afore-mentioned malefactor, Wilson, at Tyburn.





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December 31, Monday (Old Style): Edmund Neal, a footpad, was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹¹⁹

Of all the unhappy wretches whose ends I have recorded that their examples may be of the more use to mankind, there is none perhaps which be more useful, if well considered, than this of Edmund Neal Though there be nothing in it very extraordinary, yet it contains a perfect picture of low pleasures for which men sacrifice reputation and happiness, and go on in a voluptuous dream till they awake to temporal and, but for the mercy of God, to eternal death.

This Edmund Neal was the son of a father of the same name, a blacksmith in a market town in Warwickshire. He was one of those mechanics who, from a particular observance of the foibles of human nature, insinuate themselves into the good graces of those who employ them, and from being created as something even beneath a servant, grow up at last into a confidence to which it would not be improper to affix the name of a friend. This Edmund Neal senior had by this method climbed (by a little skill he had in horses) from paring off their hoofs, to directing of their riders, until in short there was scarce a sporting squire in the neighbourhood but old Edmund was of his privy council. Yet though he got a vast deal of money, he took very little care of the education of his son, whom he scarce allowed as much learning as would enable him to read a chapter; but notwithstanding this, he carried him about with him wherever he went, as if the company of gentlemen, though he was unable to converse with them, would have been sufficient to improve him. The scenes young Neal saw at the houses whither his father carried him, filled him with such a liking to debauchery and such an irreclaimable passion for sensual pleasures, as was the source from whence his following misfortunes flowed. For what, as he himself complained, first gave him occasion to repine at his condition, and filled him with wandering inclinations of pursuing an idle and extravagant life, was the forcing of him

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to go apprentice to a tailor, a trade for which he had always

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



the greatest aversion, and contempt. No sooner, therefore, was he placed out apprentice, but the young fellows of that occupation whom he had before derided and despised, now ridiculed him in their turns, and laughed at the uneasiness which they saw his new employment caused him. However, he lived about four years with his master, being especially induced thereto by the company of a young man who worked there, and who used to amuse him with stories of intrigues in London, to which Neal listened with a very attentive ear.

This London companion more and more inclined him to vice, and the history he gave of his living with a woman—who cheated her other cullies to maintain him, and at last for the sake of a new sweetheart, stripped him of all he had one night while he slept, and left him so much in debt that he was obliged to fly into the country—the relation, I say, of these adventures made such an impression on young Neal that he was never at rest until he fell into a method of copying them. And as ill-design seldom waits long for an opportunity, so the death of his first master, and his being turned over to a second, much less careful and diligent



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to his business, furnished Neal with the occasion he wanted. This master he both cheated of his money and defrauded of his goods, letting in loose and disorderly persons in the night, and finding a way for their going out again in the morning before his master was awake, and consequently without the least suspicion.

These practices quickly broke the man with whom he lived, and his breaking turned Edmund upon the wide world, equally destitute of money, friends and capacity, not knowing what to do, and having but two shillings in his pocket. He took a solitary walk to that end of the town which went out upon the London Road, and there by chance he met a woman who asked him to go with her to London. He not knowing what to do with himself accepted her offer, and without any more words to the bargain they set out together. The woman was very kind to him on the road, and poor Edmund flattered himself that money was so plentiful in London as to render it impossible for him to remain without it. But he was miserably mistaken when he arrived there. He went to certain public-houses of persons whom he had known in the country, who instead of using him civilly, in a day or two's time were thrusting him out of doors. Some common whores, also, finding him to be a poor country fellow, easily seduced him and kept him amongst them for a stallion, until, between their lust and their diseases, they had put him in a fair road to the grave.

Tired out with their vices, which were even too gross for a mind so corrupted as his was, he chose rather to go and live with a brewer and carry out drink. But after living for some time with two masters of that occupation, his mind still roving after an easier and pleasanter life, he endeavoured to get it at some public-house; which at last he with much ado effected at Sadlers Wells.¹²⁰ This appeared so great a happiness that he thought he should never be tired of a life where there was so much music and dancing, to which he had been always addicted; and, as he phrased it himself, he thought he was in another world when he got with a set of men and maids in a barn with a fiddle among them.

However, he at last grew tired of that also; and resolving to betake himself to some more settled and honest employment, he hired himself to a man who kept swine, and there behaved himself both with honesty and diligence. But his master breaking a little time after he had been with him, though as he affirmed without his wronging him in the least, he was reduced to look for some new way of maintaining himself. This being about the time of the late Rebellion,¹²¹ and great encouragement being then offered for those who would enter themselves in the late king's service at sea, Neal accepted thereof, and shipped himself on board the *Gosport* man-of-war, which sailed to the Western Islands of Scotland. What between the cold and the hard fare he suffered deeply, and never, as he said, tasted any degree of comfort till he returned to the West of England. The Rebellion being then over, Neal with very great joy accepted his discharge from the service, and once more in search of business came up to London.

The reputation of an honest servant he had acquired from the hog

120. This was opened, about 1680, by a certain Sadler, as a public music-room and house of entertainment. The discovery of a spring of mineral water in the garden attracted general attention and the place soon became a place of popular resort.

121. The Jacobite rising of 1715.



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merchant he had formerly lived with, quickly procured him a place with another of the same trade, with him he lived too (as was said) very honestly; and having been trusted with twenty or thirty pounds at a time, was always found very trusty and faithful. But happening, unluckily, to work here with one Pincher, who in the course of his life had been as unhappy as himself, they thereupon grew very intimate together, and being a couple of fellows of very odd tempers, after having got half drunk at the Hampshire Hog, they took it into their heads that there was not in the world two fellows so unhappy as themselves. The subject began when they were maudlin, and as they grew quite drunk, they came to a resolution to go out and beat everybody they met, for being happier than themselves.

The first persons they met in this expedition were a poor old man whose name was Dormer and his wife. The woman they abused grossly, and Pincher knocked the man down, though very much in years, Neal afterwards rolling him about, and either took or shook out of his pocket all the money he had, which was but three pence farthing. For this unaccountable action they were both apprehended, tried and convicted, with three other persons, in the November sessions, 1722. But their inhuman behaviour to the old man made such an impression on the Court to their disadvantage, that when the death warrant came down, they two only were appointed for execution.

At the near approach of death, Neal appeared excessively astonished, and what between fear and concern, his senses grew disordered. However, at the place of execution he seemed more composed than he had been before, and said that it was very fit he should die, but added he suffered rather for being drunk than any design he had either to rob or use the man cruelly. As for William Pincher, his companion both in the robbery and its punishment, he seemed to be the counterpart of Neal, a downright Norfolk clown, born within six miles of Lynn and by the kindness of a master of good fortune, taken into his house with an intent to breed him up, on his father's going for a soldier. At first he behaved himself diligently and thereby got much into the favour of his master, but falling into loose company and addicting himself to sotting in alehouses, his once kind and indulgent master, finding him incorrigible, dismissed him from his service, and having given him some small matter by way of encouragement, he set out for London. Here he got into the business before mentioned, and said himself, that he might have lived very comfortably thereon, if he had been industrious and frugal; but that addicting himself to his old custom of sitting continually in an alehouse had drawn him into very great inconveniences. In order to draw himself out of these he thought of following certain courses, by which, as he had heard some company where he used say, a young man might get as much money as he could spend, let him live as extravagantly as he would. This occasioned his persuading Neal into that fatal undertaking which cost them their lives. His behaviour under sentence was irreproachable, being always taken up either in reading, praying or singing of Psalms, performing all things that so short a space would give him leave to do, and showing as evident marks of true repentance as perhaps any unhappy person ever did in his condition.

Thus these two companions in misfortune suffered together on die last day of the year 1722, Edmund Neal being then about thirty



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years of age, and Pincher about twenty-six.



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1723

Off New-York harbor, operating probably near Perth Amboy,

Captain Lowe, the pirate, and his consort, Harris, came near the Hook; there they got into action with his majesty's ship, the *Greyhound*. The two pirates bore the black flag, and were commanded by the celebrated Lowe.

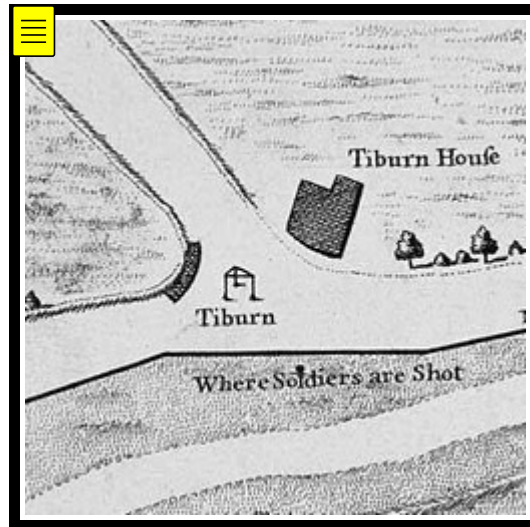
Although Captain Solgard of HMS *Greyhound* was able to capture Harris's vessel, on board of which were 37 white [pirates](#) and 6 blacks who were being held prisoner, Captain Lowe was able to make his escape in his vessel with its reported £150,000 in gold and silver. After the trial, 44 men were [hanged](#) on Long Island all at the same time. According to their names, they appear to have been American or English. Captain Solgard was presented the freedom of the city of New-York, and a gold snuffbox. Captain Lowe would later be reported as making prizes of 20 French vessels at Cape Breton, and this close call near New-York seems to have caused him to take vengeance upon Englishmen — he began to slice noses and cut off ears.

(In this period we also have report of a pirate captain named Lowder on the banks.)

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

After a plot to seize the [Tower of London](#) had been intercepted, Christopher Layer suddenly found himself a guest in that facility. Recaptured after an escape attempt, he was [hanged](#) at Tyburn.

LONDON



February 8, Thursday (1722, Old Style): On the Tyburn gallows outside London, Charles Weaver was [hanged](#) for murder, John Levee was [hanged](#) as a highwayman, footpad, etc., and Richard Oakey and Matthew Flood were [hanged](#) as street-robbers and footpads.¹²²

Hastiness of temper and yielding to all the rash dictates of anger, as it is an offence the most unworthy a rational creature, so it is attended also with consequences as fatal as any other

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crime whatever. A wild expression thrown out in the heat of passion has often cost men dearer than even a real injury would have done, had it been offered to the same person. A blow intended for the slightest has often taken away life, and the sudden anger of a moment produced the sorrow of years, and has been, after all, irreparable in its effect.

Charles Weaver, of whom we are now speaking, was the son of parents in very good circumstances in the city of Gloucester, who put him apprentice to a goldsmith. He served about four years

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



of his time with his master, and having in that space run out into so much lewdness and extravagance that his friends refused any longer to supply or to support him, he then thought fit to go into the service of the Queen, as a soldier, and in that capacity went over with those who were sent into America to quell the Indians. These people were at that time instigated by the French to attack our plantations on the main near which they lay. The greater part of these poor creatures were without European arms, yet several amongst them had fuses, powder and ball from the French, with which, being very good marksmen, they did abundance of mischief from their ambuscades in the woods.



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At the time Weaver served against them, they were commanded by one Ouranaquoy, a man of a bloody disposition, great courage and greater cunning. He had commanded his nation in war against another Indian nation, from whom he took about forty prisoners, who according to the Indian custom were immediately destined to death; but being prevailed upon, by the presence of the French, to turn his arms against the English, on the confines of whose plantations he had gained his last victory, Ouranaquoy having sent for the prisoners he had taken before him, told them that if they would fall upon a village about three miles distant, he would not only give them their liberty, but also such a reward for the scalp of every Englishman, woman or child, they brought. They readily agreed on these terms and immediately went and plundered the village.

The English army lay about seven miles off, and no sooner heard of such an outrage committed by such a nation, but they immediately attacked the people to whom the prisoners belonged, marching their whole army for that purpose against the village, which if we may call it so, was the capital of their country. By this policy Ouranaquoy gained two advantages, for first he involved the English in a war with the people with whom they had entertained a friendship for twenty years, and in the next place gained time, while the English army were so employed, to enter twenty-five miles within their country, destroying fourscore whites and three hundred Indians and negroes. But this insult did not remain long unrevengeed, for the troops in which Weaver served arriving immediately after from Europe, the army (who before they had done any considerable mischief to the people against whom they marched, had learnt the stratagem by which they had been deceived by Ouranaquoy) returned suddenly into his country, and exercised such severities upon the people thereof that to appease and make peace with the English the chiefs sent them the scalps of Ouranaquoy, his three brothers and nine sons. On Weaver's return into England from this expedition, he shipped himself again as a recruit for that army which was then commanded by the Earl of Peterborough in Spain. He served also under the Duke of Ormond when his grace took Vigo, and Weaver had the good luck to get some hundred pounds for his share in the booty, but that money which he, in his thoughts, had designed for setting himself up in England, being insensibly squandered and decayed, he was obliged to list himself again, and so became a second time spectator of the taking of Vigo under the Lord Cobham.¹²³

While he served in the second regiment of Foot-guards, he behaved himself so well as to engage his officer to take him into his own house, where he lived for a considerable space; and he had been twice actually reviewed in order to his going into the Life-guards, when he committed the act for which he died, which according to the evidence given at his trial happened thus. He was going into a boat in company with Eleanor Clark, widow, and Edward Morris. After they were in the boat, some words arising, the woman bid Weaver pay Morris what he owed him, upon which Weaver in a great passion got up, and endeavoured to overturn the boat with them all. But Thomas Watkins, the waterman, preventing that, Weaver immediately drew his sword, and swore he would murder them all, making several passes at them as if he had firmly intended to be as good as his word. The men defended themselves so well as to escape hurt, and

123. See page 49.



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endeavoured all they could to have preserved the woman, but Weaver making a pass, the sword entered underneath her left shoulder, and thereby gave her a wound seven inches deep, after which she gave but one groan and immediately expired. For this bloody fact Weaver was tried and convicted, and thereupon received sentence of death.

During the space between the passing of sentence and its execution an accident happened which added grievously to all his misfortunes. His wife, big with child, coming about a fortnight before his death to see him in Newgate, was run over by a dray and killed upon the spot. Weaver himself, though in the course of the life he had led he had totally forgot both reading and writing, yet came duly to prayers, and gave all possible marks of sorrow and repentance for his misspent life, though he all along pretended that the woman's death happened by accident, and that he had had no intent to murder her. He suffered the 8th day of February, 1722-3, being at that time about thirty years of age.

There is a certain busy sprightliness in some young people which from I know not what views, parents are apt to encourage in hopes of its one day producing great effects. I will not say that they are always disappointed in their expectations, but I will venture to pronounce that where one bold spirit has succeeded in the world, five have been ruined, by a busy turbulent temper. This was the case with this criminal, John Levee, who, to cover the disgrace his family suffered in him, called himself Junks. His father was a French gentleman, who came over with King Charles II at the Restoration, taught French to persons of distinction in court, and particularly to some of that prince's natural children. For the convenience of his scholars, he kept a large boarding-school in Pall Mall, whereby he acquired such a fortune as enabled him to set up for a wine merchant. In this capacity he dealt with France for many years to the amount of thousands *per annum*. His children received the best education that could be given them and never stirred out of doors but with a footman to attend them.

But Mr. Levee, the merchant, falling into misfortunes by some of his correspondents' failures, withdrew from his family into Holland; and this son John being taken by the French Society,

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in order to be put out apprentice and provided for, being induced

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



thereto by the boy's natural vivacity and warmth of temper in which he had been foolishly encouraged, they sent him to sea with a captain of a man-of-war. He was on board the *Essex* when Sir George Byng, now Viscount Torrington, engaged the Spaniards at Messina.¹²⁴ He served afterwards on board the squadron commanded by Sir John Norris in the Baltic, and when he returned home, public affairs being in a more quiet state, his friends thought it better for him to learn merchants' accounts than to go any more voyages, where there was now little prospect of advantage.

But book-keeping was too quiet an employment for one of Levee's warm disposition, who far from being discouraged at the hardships of sea, only complained of his ill-luck in not being in an engagement. And so, to amuse this martial disposition, he with some companions went upon the road, which they practised for a very considerable time, robbing in a very genteel manner, by putting a hat into the coach and desiring the passengers to contribute as they thought proper, being always contented with

124. See page 66.



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what they gave them, though sometimes part of it was farthings. Nay, they were so civil that Blueskin and this Levee, once robbing a single gentlewoman in a coach, she happening to have a basket full of buns and cakes, Levee took some of them, but Blueskin proceeded to search her for money, but found none. The woman in the meanwhile scratched him and called him a thousand hard names, giving him two or three sound slaps in the face, at which they only laughed, as it was a woman, and went away without further ill-usage, a civility she would hardly have met with from any other gentlemen of their profession.

In October, he and his great companion Blueskin,¹²⁵ met a coach with two ladies and a little miss riding between their knees, coming from the Gravel Pits at Kensington.¹²⁶ Levee stopped the coach and without more ado, ordered both the coachmen and footman to jump the ditch, or he'd shoot them. They then stripped the ladies of their necklaces, cut a gold girdle buckle from the side of the child, and took away about ten shillings in money, with a little white metal image of a man, which they thought had been solid silver, but proved a mere trifle.

At a grand consultation of the whole gang, and a report of great booties that were to be made (and that, too, with much safety) on Blackheath, they agreed to make some attempts there. Accordingly they set out, being six horsemen well armed and mounted; but after having continued about six hours upon the Heath, and not meeting so much as one person, and the same ill luck being three or four times repeated, they left off going on that road for the future. In December following, he and another person robbed a butcher on horseback, on the road coming from Hampstead. He told them he had sold two lambs there. Levee's companion said immediately, *Then you have eight-and-twenty shillings about you, for lambs sold to-day at fourteen shillings apiece.* After some grumbling and hard words they made him deliver and by way of punishment for his sauciness, as they phrased it, they took away his great coat into the bargain, and had probably used him worse had not Levee seen a Jew's coach coming that way, and been conscious to himself that those within it knew him; whereupon he persuaded his associates to go off without robbing it.

Levee never used anybody cruelly in any of his adventures, excepting only one Betts, who foolishly struck him three or four blows on the head, whereupon Levee with one blow of his pistol struck his eye out. One night, upon the same road, Blake and Matthew Flood being in company with this unhappy youth, they stopped the chariot of Mr. Young, the same person who [hanged](#) Molony and Carrick.¹²⁷ Blake calling out to lay hold, and Flood stopping the horses, Levee went into the coach and took from Mr. Young a gold watch and chain, one Richard Oakey also assisting, who died likewise for this fact. They robbed also Col. Cope, who was in the same chariot, of his gold watch, chain and ring, and twenty-two shillings in money. Levee said it would have been a very easy matter for the gentleman to have taken him, he going into the coach without arms, and his companions being on the other side of the hedge; but they gave him the things very readily, and it was hard to say who behaved themselves most civilly one towards the other, the gentlemen or he. One of them

125. His real name was Joseph Blake, see page 177.

126. This was a portion of what is now the Bayswater Road, roughly between Petersburgh Place and the Notting Hill Tube Station. Swift had lodgings there and it was a fairly fashionable residential spot.

127. See page 89.



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desired to have a cornelian ring returned, which Levee inclined to do, but that his companions would not permit him. As they were going home after taking this booty, they met a poor man on horseback. Notwithstanding the considerable sum they had taken just before, they turned out of the road, carried him behind two haycocks because the moon shone light, and there finding that he had but two shillings in the world, the rest of his companions were for binding and beating him, but upon the man's saying that he was very sick and begging earnestly that they would not abuse him, Levee prevailed with them not only to set him on his horse again, but to restore him his two shillings, and lead him into the road where they left him.

Levee, Flood and Oakey were soon apprehended and Blake turning evidence, they were convicted the next sessions at the Old Bailey, and ordered for execution. Levee behaved himself while under condemnation very seriously and modestly, though before that time, he had acted too much the bravo, from the mistaken opinion that people are apt to entertain of courage and resolution. But when death approached near, he laid aside all this, and applied himself with great seriousness and attention to prayers and other duties becoming a person in his condition. At the place of execution he fell into a strange passion at his hands being to be tied, and his cap pulled over his face. Passion signifying nothing there, he was obliged to submit as the others did, being at the time of his execution, aged about twenty-seven.

The first of these criminals, Richard Oakey, had been by his friends put apprentice to a tailor. In about two years his master failed, and from thence to the day of his unhappy death, Oakey continually followed thieving in one way or other. At first he wholly practised picking of women's pockets, which he said he did in a manner peculiar to himself; for being dressed pretty genteelly, he passed by the person he intended to rob, took up their upper petticoat and cut off the pocket at once, tripping them down at the same time. Then he stepped softly on the other side of the way, walked on and was never suspected. He said that while a lad, he had committed several hundred robberies in this way. As he grew older he made use of a woman to assist him, by pushing the people against the wall, while he took the opportunity of cutting their pockets; or at other times this woman came behind folks as they were crossing the way, and catching them by the arm, cried out, *There's a coach will run over ye*; while Oakey, in the moment of their surprise, whipped

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off their pocket.

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



This woman, who had followed the trade for a considerable time, happened one night at a bawdy-house to incense her bully so far as to make him beat her; she thereupon gave him still more provoking language, till at last he used her so cruelly, that she roared out *Murder*; and not without occasion, for she died of the bruises, though the people of the house concealed it for fear of trouble, and buried her privately. Upon this Oakey was obliged to go on his old way by himself.

The robberies he committed being numerous and successful, he bethought himself of doing something, as he called it, in a higher way; upon which, scraping acquaintance with two as abandoned fellows as himself, they took to housebreaking. In this they were so unlucky as to be detected in their second adventure, which was upon a house in Southwark near the Mint, where they stole calicoes to the value of twenty pounds and upwards. For this his two associates were convicted at Kingston assizes, he himself being the witness against them, by which method he at that time escaped. And being cured of any desire to go a-housebreaking again, he fell upon his old trade of



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picking pockets, till he got into the acquaintance of another as bad as himself, whom they called Will the Sailor. This fellow's practice was to wear a long sword, and then by jostling the gentleman whom they designed to rob, first created a quarrel, and while the fray lasted, gave his companion the opportunity of rubbing off with the booty. But whether Will grew tired of his companion, or of the dangerous trade which he was engaged in, certain it is that he left it off, and got again out of England on ship-board.

Oakey then got acquainted with Hawes, Milksop, Lincoln, Reading, Wilkinson, and half a dozen others, with whom one way or other he was continually concerned while they reigned in their villainies. And as they were in a short space all executed, he became acquainted with Levee, Flood, Blake and the rest of that gang, in whose association he continued until his crimes and theirs brought them together to the gallows. After condemnation his behaviour was such as became his condition, getting up in the night to pray so often and manifesting all the signs of a sincere repentance.

Matthew Flood was the son of a man who kept the Clink Prison¹²⁸ in the parish of St. Mary Overys, who had given him as good an education as was in his power, and bound him apprentice to one Mr. Williams, a lighterman. In this occupation he might certainly have done well, if he had not fallen into the company of those lewd persons who brought him to his fate. He had been about three months concerned with Blake, Levee, etc., and had committed many facts.

His behaviour under sentence was very penitent and modest, nor did he suffer the continual hopes his friends gave him of a reprieve ever to make him neglect his devotions. At the place of execution he said he was more particularly concerned for a robbery he had committed on a woman in Cornhill, not only because he took from her a good many guineas which were in her pocket, but that at the same time also he had taken a will which he burnt, and which he feared would be more to her prejudice than the loss of her money.

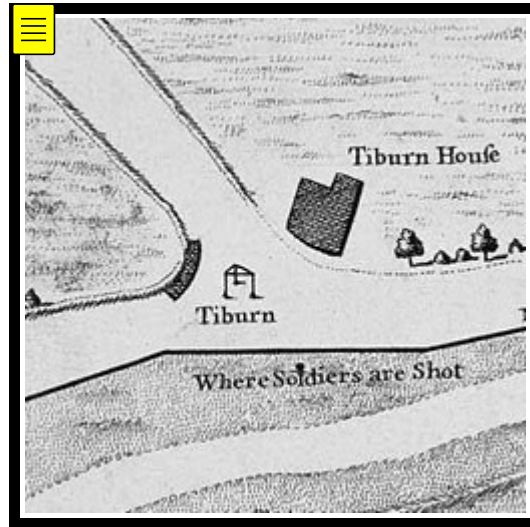
Oakey was about twenty-five years old at the time of his death, and Matthew Flood somewhat younger. They suffered on the same day with Weaver and the last-mentioned malefactor Levee, at

128. The Clink Prison was, until 1745, at the corner of Maid Lane, Southwark. It was originally used as a house of detention for heretics and offenders against the bishop of Winchester, whose palace stood nearby.

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Spring: Two [pirate](#) vessels that had been capturing ships off the Atlantic coast were intercepted when they mistakenly attempted to attack the HMS *Greyhound* under Captain Peter Solgard, supposing this to be just another merchant vessel. 36 of the pirates, including Edward Law and Charles Harris, were taken to [Newport](#) to be tried. In a 2-day trial, 26 of the 36 were sentenced to hang (2 were recommended for royal pardon and 8 were acquitted). Although 3 of the condemned 26 managed an escape from the jail, they were recaptured. For the very first time in [Rhode Island](#), a conviction was obtained in a case of [piracy](#) and the condemned pirates were [hanged](#). When the 26 men were hanged, on Gravelly Point below the highwater mark, their pirate “Blew Flag” was nailed to their scaffold. This pirate flag was described as depicting on its blue background “an Anatomy with an Hour-Glass in one hand and a dart in the heart with 3 drops of Blood proceeding from it, in the other” (an “Anatomy” was not exactly a depiction of a human skeleton, but filled approximately the same iconic function).



(It is a lot easier to hang strangers, than it is to hang one’s friends and neighbors! Despite the fact that Newport had been for like generations a pirate community, or at least a community in cahoots with pirates –a community with its hands deep in the pockets of pirates– only one of these 26 [hanged](#) men, 28-year-old William Blades, had been a [Rhode Island](#) native.)¹²⁹

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

April 8: William Burk, a footpad and highwayman, was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹³⁰

As indulgence is a very common parent of wickedness and disobedience, so immoderate correction and treating children as

¹²⁹. There is a great similarity between this Rhode Island hanging of 26 pirates and a hanging of seven [pirates](#) that had occurred in 1718 on New Providence Island in the Bahamas. That hanging of seven had once and for all destroyed piracy as based on islands in the Caribbean. This hanging of twenty-six would once and for all destroy piracy as based in the Narragansett Bay of New England.

¹³⁰. LIVES OF THE MOST REMARKABLE CRIMINALS WHO HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED FOR MURDER, THE HIGHWAY, HOUSEBREAKING, STREET ROBBERIES, COINING OR OTHER OFFENCES / COLLECTED FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS AND AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS, AND PUBLISHED IN 1735 / Edited by Arthur L. Hayward



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if they were Stocks is as likely a method as the other to make them stubborn and obstinate, and perhaps even force upon them taking ill methods to avoid usage which they cannot bear.

William Burk, the unfortunate criminal whose enterprises are to be the subject of our present narration, was born towards Wapping of parents honest and willing to give him education, though their condition in the world rendered them not able. He was thereupon put to the charity school, the master of which being of a morose temper and he a boy of very indifferent disposition, the discipline with which he was treated was so severe that it created in him an aversion towards all learning; and one day, after a more severe whipping than ordinary, he determined (though but eleven years of age) to run away.

He sought out, therefore, for a captain who might want a boy, and that being no difficult matter to find in their neighbourhood, he went on board the *Salisbury*, Captain Hosier, then lying at the Buoy in the Nore, bound for Jamaica. His poor mother followed him in great affliction, and endeavoured all she could to persuade him to return, but her arguments were all in vain, for he had contracted so great an antipathy to school, from his master's treatment, that instead of being glad to go back, he earnestly intreated the captain to interpose his authority and keep him on board. His request was complied with, and the poor woman was forced to depart without her son.

It was the latter end of Queen Anne's War when they sailed to Jamaica, and during the time they were out, took two Spanish galleons very richly laden. Their first engagement was obstinate and bloody, and he, though a boy, was dangerously hurt as he hustled about one way or another as the captain commanded him. The second prize carried 74 guns and 650 men, yet the *Salisbury* (but a 60-gun ship) took her without the loss of a single man; only a woman, who was the only one on board, going to peep at the engagement, had her head and shoulders shot off. Burk said the prize money of each sailor came but to £15, but some of the officers shared so handsomely as never to be obliged to go to sea again, being enabled to live easily on shore.

Three years he continued in the West Indies, and there (especially in Jamaica) he learned so much wickedness that when he came home, hardly any of the gangs into which he entered were half so bad, though inured to plunder, as he when he came amongst them a fresh man. From this voyage he went another in the slave trade to the coast of Guinea. Here he endured very great hardships, especially when he had the misfortune to be on board where the negroes rose upon the English, and had like to have overcome them; but at last having been vanquished, and tied down in a convenient place, they were used with severity enough. Upon his return into England from this voyage, he went into the Baltic in the *Worcester* man-of-war, in which he suffered prodigious hardships from the coldness of the climate and other difficulties he went through.

The many miseries he had experienced in a life at sea might possibly have induced him to the resolution he made of never going on ship-board any more. How he came to take to robbing does not very clearly appear, further than that he was induced thereto by bad women; but he behaved himself with very great cruelty, for going over the first field from Stepney, armed with a hedging-bill, he attacked one William Fitzer, and robbed him of his jacket, tobacco-box, a knife and fork, etc. He robbed,

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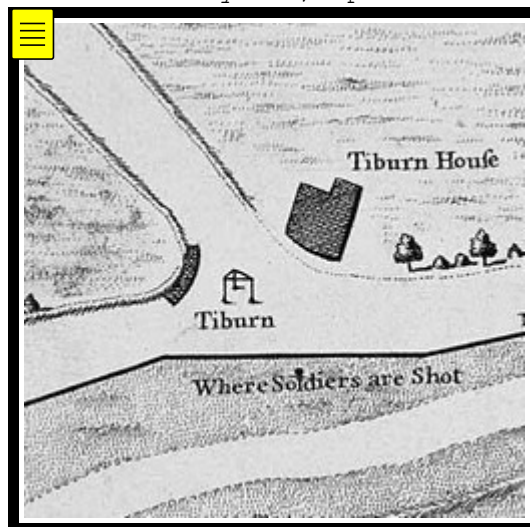
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also, one James Westwood, of a coat and ten shillings in money; last of all, attacking John Andrews and Robert his son, coming over the fields, he dove the old man down. His son taking up the stick boldly attacked Burk, and a neighbour, one Perkinson, coming in at the noise, he was overpowered and apprehended. As the fact was very plainly proved, he was on a short trial convicted, and the barbarity of the fact being so great, left no room for his being omitted in the warrant for execution. As he lay a long time under condemnation, and had no hopes of life, from the moment of his confinement he applied himself to make his peace with that Being whom he had so much offended by his profligate course of life. On all occasions he expressed his readiness to confess anything which might be for the promoting of justice or public good, in all respects manifesting a thorough sorrow and penitence for that cruelty with which he had treated poor old Andrews. At the tree he stood up in the car, beckoned for silence, and then spoke to the multitude in these terms.

Good People,

I never was concerned but in four robberies in my life. I desire all men who see my fatal end to let my death teach them to lead a sober and regular life, and above all to shun the company of ill-women, which has brought me to this shameful end and place. I desire that nobody may reflect upon my wife after my decease, since she was so far from having any knowledge of the ills I committed, that she was continually exciting me to live a sober and honest life. Wherefore I hope God will bless her, as I also pray He may do all of you.

This malefactor, William Burk, was in the twenty-second year of his age when executed at Tyburn, April the 8th, 1723.



May 25, Saturday (Old Style): Luke Nunney was [hanged](#) for murder, and Richard Trantham for housebreaking, on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹³¹

Though drunkenness in itself is a shocking and beastly crime,

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yet in its consequences it is also often so bloody and inhuman that one would wonder persons of understanding should indulge themselves in a sin at once so odious and so fatal both to body and soul. The instances of persons who have committed murders when drunk, and those accompanied with circumstances of such barbarity as even those persons themselves could not have heard without trembling, are so many and so well known to all of any reading, or who have made any reflection, that I need not dwell longer than the bare narration of this malefactor's misfortunes will detain me, to warn against a vice which makes them always monsters and often murderers.

Luke Nunney, of whom we are to speak, was a young fellow of some parts, and of a tolerable education, his father, at the time of his death, being a shoemaker in tolerable circumstances, and very careful in the bringing up of his children. He was more particularly zealous in affording them due notions of religion, and took abundance of pains himself to inculcate them in their tender years, which at first had so good an effect upon this Luke that his whole thoughts ran upon finding out that method of worship in which he was most likely to please God. Sometimes, though his parents were at the Church of England, he slipped to a Presbyterian Meeting-house, where he was so much affected with the preacher's vehemency in prayer and his plain and pious method of preaching that he often regretted not being bred up in that way, and the loss his parents sustained by their not having a relish for religion ungraced with exterior ornaments. These were his thoughts, and his practice was suitable to them, until the misfortunes of his father obliged him to break up the house, and put Luke out to work at another place.

The men where Nunney went to work were lewd and profligate fellows, always talking idly or lewdly, relating stories of what had passed in the country before they came up to work in London, the intrigues they had had with vicious women, and such loose and unprofitable discourses. This quickly destroyed the former good inclinations of Luke, who first began to waver in religion, and as he had quitted the Church of England to turn to the Dissenters, so now he had some thoughts of leaving them for the Quakers; but after going often to their meetings he professed he thought their behaviour so ridiculous and absurd as not to deserve the name either of religion or Divine worship.

His instability of mind pressed him also to go out into the world, for it appeared to him a great evil that while all the rest of his companions were continually discoursing of their adventures, he should have none to mention of his own. Some of them, also, having slightly called him Cockney and reproaching him with never having been seven miles from London, he remembered that his father had some near relations in the west of England, so he took a sudden resolution of going down thither to work at his trade. Full of these notions he went over one evening pretty late with his brother to Southwark, and meeting there with an acquaintance who would needs make him drink, they stayed pretty long at the house, insomuch that Luke got very drunk, and being always quarrelsome when he had liquor, insulted and abused everybody in the room. As he was quarrelling particularly with one James Young, William Bramston who stood by, came up and desired him to be quiet, advised him to go home with his company, and not stay and make a disturbance where nobody had a mind to quarrel but himself. Without making any



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reply Luke struck him a blow on the face. Bramston thereupon held up his fist as if he would have struck him, but did not. However Nunney struck him again and pushed him forwards, upon which Bramston reeled, cried out he was stabbed and a dead man, that Nunney was the person who gave him the wound, and Luke thereupon (drunk as he was) attempted to run away.

Upon this he was apprehended, committed prisoner to Newgate, and the next sessions, on the evidence of such of his companions as were present, he was convicted and received sentence of death. He behaved himself from that time as a person who had as little desire as hopes of continuing in the world, enquired diligently both of the Ordinary and of the man who was under sentence with him, how he should prepare himself for his latter end, coming constantly to chapel, and praying regularly at all times. Yet at the place of execution he declared himself a Papist. He added, that at the time the murder was committed he had no knife nor could he imagine how it was done, being so drunk that he knew nothing that had happened until the morning, when he found himself in custody. He was about twenty years of age at the time of his suffering on the 25th of May, 1723.

Though vices and extravagancies are the common causes which induce men to fall into those illegal practices which lead to a shameful death, yet now and then it happens we find men of outward gravity and serious deportment as wicked as those whose open licentiousness renders their committing crimes of this sort the less amazing.

Of the number of these was Richard Trantham, a married man, having a wife and child living at the time of his death, keeping also a tolerable house at Mitcham in Surrey. He had been apprehended on the sale of some stolen silk, and the next sessions following was convicted of having broken the house of John Follwell, in the night-time, two years before, and taking thence a silver tankard, a silver salver, and fifty-four pounds of Bologna silk, valued at £74 and upwards. During the time which passed between the sentence and execution he behaved in a manner the most penitent and devout, not only making use of a considerable number of books which the charity of his friends had furnished him with, but also reading to all those who were in the condemned hold with them.

The morning he was to die, after having received the Sacrament, he was exhorted to make a confession of those crimes which he had committed, particularly as to housebreaking, in which he was thought to have been long concerned; thereupon he recollected himself a little, and told of six or seven houses which he had broken open, particularly General Groves's near St. James's; a stone-cutter in Chiswell Street; and Mr. Follwell's in Spitalfields, for which he died. At the place of execution, whither he was conveyed in a mourning coach, he appeared perfectly composed and submissive to that sentence which his own misdeeds and the justice of the Law had brought upon him. Before the halter was put about his neck, he spoke to those who were assembled at the gallows to see his death, in the following terms:

Good People,

Those wicked and unlawful methods by which, for a considerable time, I have supported myself, have justly



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drawn upon me the anger of God, and the sentence of the Law. As I have injured many and the substance I have is very small, I fear a restitution would be hard to make, even if it should be divided. I therefore leave it all to my wife for the maintenance of her and my child. I entreat you neither to reflect on her nor on my parents, and pray the blessing of God upon you all.

He was thirty years old when he died and was executed the same day with the malefactor afore-mentioned.

June 17: John Tyrrell, a horse thief, and William Hawksworth, a murderer, were [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹³²

John Tyrrell, the first of these malefactors, was convicted for stealing two horses in Yorkshire, but selling them in Smithfield he was tried at the Old Bailey. It seem she had been an old horse-stealer as most people conjecture, though he himself denied it, and as he pretended at his trial to have bought those two for which he died at Northampton Fair, so he continually endeavoured to infuse the same notions into all persons who spoke to him at the time of his death. He had practised carrying horses over into Flanders and Germany, and there selling them to persons of the highest rank, with whom he always dealt so justly and honourably that, as it was said, his word would have gone there for any sum whatsoever that was to be laid out in horse-flesh.

He had been bred up a Dissenter, and above all things affected the character of a religious and sober man, which excepting the instances for which he died, he never seemed to have forfeited; for whatever else was said against him after he was condemned, arose merely from conjectures occasioned by the number of horses he had sold in foreign parts. He himself professed that he had always led a most regular and devout life, and in the frequent voyages he made by sea, exhorted the sailors to leave that dissolute manner of life which too generally they led. During the whole time he lay under sentence, he talked of nothing else but his own great piety and devotion, which though, as he confessed, it had often been rewarded by many singular deliverances through the hand of Providence, yet since he was suffered to die this ignominious death and thereby disgrace his family and altogether overturn that reputation of sanctity with which so much pains himself had been setting up, he inclined to atheistic notions, and a wavering belief as to the being of a God at all.

As for the other malefactor, William Hawksworth, he was a Yorkshireman by birth. His parents, reputable people who took a great care in his reputation, intended to breed him to some good trade, but a regiment of soldiers happening to come into the town, Hawksworth imagining great things might be attained to in the army, would needs go with them, and accordingly listed himself. But having run through many difficulties and much hardships, finding also that he was like to meet with little else while he wore a red coat, he took a great deal of pains and made much interest to be discharged. At last he effected it, and

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a gentleman kindly taking him to live with him as a footman, he there recovered part of that education which he had lost while in the army. There, also, he addicted himself for some time to a sober and quiet life, but soon after giving way to his old roving disposition, he went away from his master, and listed himself again in the army in one of the regiments of Guards.

His behaviour the last time of his being in the service was honest and regular, his officers giving him a very good character, and nobody else a bad one; but happening to be one day commanded on a party to mount guard at the Admiralty Office, by Charing Cross, they met a man and woman. The man's name was John Ransom, and this Hawksworth stepping up to the woman and going to kiss her, Ransom interposed and pushed him off, upon which Hawksworth knocked him down with the butt end of his piece, by which blow about nine o'clock that evening he died.

The prisoner insisted continually that as he had no design to kill the man it was not wilful murder. He and Tyrrell died with less confusion and seeming concern than most malefactors do. Tyrrell was about thirty and Hawksworth in the twenty-eighth year of his age, on the 17th of June, 1723.

July 24: This is a key date in the history of the Waltham Blacks and their transactions to the death of Richard Parvin, Edward Elliot, Robert Kingshell, Henry Marshall, John Pink, and Edward Pink, and James Ansell *alias* Phillips, at Tyburn [gallows](#) just to the west of London.¹³³

Such is the unaccountable folly which reigns in too great a part of the human species, that by their own ill-deeds, they make such laws necessary for the security of men's persons and properties, as by their severity, unless necessity compelled them, would appear cruel and inhuman, and doubtless those laws which we esteem barbarous in other nations, and even some which appear so though anciently practised in our own, had their rise from the same cause.

I am led to this observation from the folly which certain persons were guilty of in making small insurrections for the sake only of getting a few deer, and going on, because they found the leniency of the laws could not punish them at present, until they grew to that height as to ride in armed troops, blacked and disguised, in order the more to terrify those whom they assaulted, and wherever they were denied what they thought proper to demand, whether venison, wine, money, or other necessaries for their debauched feasts, would by letter threaten plunder and destroying with fire and sword, whomever they thought proper.

These villainies being carried on with a high hand for some time in the years 1722 and 1723, their insolence grew at last so intolerable as to oblige the Legislature to make a new law against all who thus went armed and disguised, and associated themselves together by the name of Blacks, or entered into any other confederacies to support and assist one another in doing injuries and violences to the persons and properties of the king's subjects.

By this law it was enacted that after the first day of June, 1723, whatever persons armed with offensive weapons, and having their faces blacked, or otherwise disguised, should appear in

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any forest, park or grounds enclosed with any wall or fence, wherein deer were kept, or any warren where hares or conies are kept, or in any highway, heath or down, or unlawfully hunt, kill or steal any red or fallow deer, or rob any warren, or steal fish of any pond, or kill or wound cattle, or set fire to any house or outhouses, stack, etc., or cut down or any otherway destroy trees planted for shelter or profit, or shall maliciously shoot at any person, or send a letter demanding money or other valuable things, shall rescue any person in custody of any officer for any such offences, or by gifts or promise, procure any one to join with them, shall be deemed guilty of felony without benefit of clergy, and shall suffer pains of death as felons so convicted.

Nor was even this thought sufficient to remedy those evils, which the idle follies of some rash persons had brought about, but a retrospect was also by the same Act had to offences heretofore committed, and all persons who had committed any crimes punishable by this Act, after the second of February, 1722, were commanded to render themselves before the 24th of July, 1723, to some Justice of his Majesty's Court of King's Bench, or to some Justice of the Peace for the county where they lived, and there make a full and exact confession of the crimes of such a nature which they had committed, the times when, and the places where, and persons with whom, together with an account of such persons' places of abode as had with them been guilty as aforesaid, in order to their being thereupon apprehended, and brought to judgment according to Law, on pain of being deemed felons, without benefit of clergy, and suffering accordingly; but were entitled to a free pardon and forgiveness in case that before the 24th of July they surrendered and made such discovery.

Justices of Peace by the said Act were required on any information being made before them by one or more credible persons, against any person charged with any of the offences aforesaid, to transmit it under their hands and seals to one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, who by the same Act is required to lay such information and return before his Majesty in Council; whereupon an order is to issue for the person so charged to surrender within forty days. And in case he refuse or neglect to surrender within that time, then from the day in which the forty days elapsed, he is to be deemed as a felon convict, and execution may be awarded as attainted of felony by a verdict.

Every person who, after the time appointed for the surrender of the person, shall conceal, aid or succour him, knowing the circumstances in which he then stands, shall suffer death as a felon, without benefit of clergy, and that people might the more readily hazard their persons for the apprehending such offenders, it is likewise enacted that if any person shall be wounded so as to lose an eye, or the use of any limb in endeavouring to take persons charged with the commission of crimes within this law, then on a certificate from the Justices of the Peace of his being so wounded, the sheriff of the county, if commanded within thirty days after the sight of such certificate, to pay the said wounded persons £50 under pain of forfeiting £10 on failure thereof, and in case any person should be killed in seizing such persons as aforesaid, then the said £50 is to be paid to the executors of the person to be killed.



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It cannot seem strange that in consequence of so extraordinary an act of legislature, many of these presumptuous and silly people should be apprehended, and a considerable number of them having upon their apprehension been committed to Winchester gaol, seven of them were by *Habeas Corpus*, removed for the greater solemnity of their trial to Newgate, and for their offence brought up and arraigned at the King's Bench Bar, Westminster. There being convicted on full evidence, all of them of felony, and three of murder, I shall inform ye, one by one, of what has come to my hand in relation to their crimes, and the manner and circumstances with which they were committed.

Richard Parvin was master of a public-house at Portsmouth, a man of dull and dogmatic disposition, who continually denied his having been in any manner concerned with these people, though the evidence against him at his trial was as full and as direct as possibly could have been expected, and he himself evidently proved to have been on the spot where the violences committed by the other prisoners were transacted. In answer to this, he said that he was not with them, though indeed he was upon the forest, for which he gave this reason. He had, he said, a very handsome young wench who lived with him, and for that reason being admired by many of his customers, she took it in her head one day to run away. He hearing that she had fled across the forest, pursued her, and in that pursuit calling at the house of Mr. Parford, who keeps an alehouse in the forest, this man being an evidence against the other Blacks, took him it seems into the number, though as he said, he could fully have cleared himself if he had had any money to have sent for some witnesses out of Berkshire. But the mayor of Portsmouth seizing, as soon as he was apprehended, all his goods, put his family into great distress and whether he could have found them or not, hindered his being able to produce any witnesses at his trial.

He persevered in these professions of his innocency to the very last, still hoping for a reprieve, and not only feeding himself with such expectations while in prison, but also gazed earnestly when at the tree, in hopes that pardon would be brought him, until the cart drew away and extinguished life and the desire of life together.

Edward Elliot, a boy of about seventeen years of age, whose father was a tailor at a village between Petworth and Guildford, was the next who received sentence of death with Parvin. The account he gave of his coming into this society has something very odd in it, and which gives a fuller idea of the strange whims which possessed these people. The boy said that about a year before his being apprehended, thirty or forty men met him in the county of Surrey and hurried him away. He who appeared to be the chief of them told him that he enlisted him in the service of the King of the Blacks, in pursuance of which he was to disguise his face, obey orders of whatsoever kind they were, such as breaking down fish ponds, burning woods, shooting deer, taking also an oath to be true to them, or they by their art magic would turn him into a beast, and as such make him carry their burdens, and live like a horse upon grass and water.

He said, also, that in the space of time he continued with them, he saw several experiments of their witchcraft, for that once when two men had offended them by refusing to comply in taking their oath and obeying their orders, they caused them immediately to be blindfolded and stopping them in holes of the



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earth up to their chin, ran at them as if they had been dogs, bellowing and barking as it were in their ears; and when they had plagued them awhile in this ridiculous manner they took them out, and bid them remember how they offended any of the Black Nation again, for if they did, they should not escape so well as they had at present. He had seen them also, he said, oblige carters to drive a good way out of the road, and carry whatsoever venison or other thing they had plundered to the places where they would have them; that the men were generally so frightened with their usage and so terrified with the oaths they were obliged to swear, that they seldom complained, or even spoke of their bondage.

As to the fact for which they died, Elliot gave this account: that in the morning when that fact was committed for which he died, Marshall, Kingshell and four others came to him and persuaded him to go to Farnham Holt, and that he need not fear disobliging any gentlemen in the country, some of whom were very kind to this Elliot. They persuaded him that certain persons of fortune were concerned with them and would bear him harmless if he would go. He owned that at last he consented to go with them, but trembled all the way, insomuch that he could hardly reach the Holt. While they were engaged in the business for which they came, viz., killing the deer, the keepers came upon them. Elliot was wandered a considerable way from his companions after a fawn which he intended to send as a present to a young woman at Guildford; him therefore they quickly seized and bound, and leaving him in that condition, went in search of the rest of his associates. It was not long before they came up with them. The keepers were six, the Blacks were seven in number, so they fell to it warmly with quarter-staffs. The keepers unwilling to have lives taken, advised them to retire, but upon their refusing, and Marshall's firing a gun, by which one of the keepers belonging to the Lady How was slain, they discharged a blunderbuss and shattered the thigh of one Barber, amongst the Blacks. Upon this three of his associates ran away, and the two others, Marshall and Kingshell were likewise taken, and so the fray for the present ended.

Elliot lay bound all the while within hearing, and in the greatest agonies imaginable, at the consideration that whatever blood was spilt he should be as much answerable for it as these who shed it; in which he was not mistaken, for the keepers returning after the fight was over, carried him away bound and he never had his fetters off after, till the morning of his execution. He behaved himself very soberly, quietly and with much seeming penitence and contrition. He owned the justice of the Law in punishing him, and said he more especially deserved to suffer, since at the time of the committing this fact, he was servant to a widow lady, where he wanted nothing to make him happy or easy.

Robert Kingshell was twenty-six years old, and lived in the same house with his parents, being apprentice to his brother a shoemaker. His parents were very watchful over his behaviour and sought by every method to prevent his taking to ill courses, or being guilty of any debauchery whatever. The night before this unhappy accident fell out, as he and the rest of the family were sleeping in their beds, Barber made a signal at his chamber window, it being then about eleven o'clock. Upon this Kingshell arose and got softly out of the window; Barber took him upon his



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horse, and away they went to the Holt, twelve miles distant, calling in their way upon Henry Marshall, Elliot and the rest of their accomplices. He said it was eight o'clock in the morning before the keepers attacked them, he owned they bid them retire, and that he himself told them they would, provided the bound man (Elliot) was released and delivered into their hands, but that proposition being refused, the fight at once grew warm. Barber's thigh was broken, and Marshall killed the keeper with a shot; being thereupon very hard pressed, three of their companions ran away, leaving him and Marshall to fight it out. Elliot being already taken, and Barber disabled, it was not long before they were in the same unhappy condition with their companions. From the time of their being apprehended, Kingshell laid aside all hopes of life, and applied himself with great fervency and devotion to enable him in what alone remained for him to do, viz., dying decently.

Henry Marshall, about thirty-six years of age, the unfortunate person by whose hand the murder was committed, seemed to be the least sensible of any of the evils he had done, although such was the pleasure of Almighty God that till the day before his execution, he neither had his senses, nor the use of his speech. When he recovered it, and a clergyman represented to him the horrid crime of which he had been guilty, he was so far from showing any deep sense of that crime of shedding innocent blood, that he made light of it, said he might stand upon his own defence, and was not bound to run away and leave his companions in danger. This was the language he talked for the space of twenty-four hours before his death, in which he enjoyed the use of speech; and so far was he from thanking those who charitably offered him their admonitions, that he said he had not forgot himself, but had already taken care of what he thought necessary for his soul. However, he did not attempt in the least to prevaricate, but fairly acknowledged that he committed the fact for which he died, though nothing could oblige him to speak of it in any manner as if he was sorry for or repented of it, farther than for having occasioned his own misfortunes; so strong is the prejudice which vulgar minds acquire by often repeating to themselves and in company certain positions, however ridiculous and false. And sure, nothing could be more so than for a man to fancy he had a right to imbrue his hands in the blood of another, who was in the execution of his office, and endeavouring to hinder the commission of an illegal act.

These of whom I have last spoken were all concerned together in the before-mentioned fact, which was attended with murder; but we are now to speak of the rest who were concerned in the felony only, for which they with the above-mentioned Parvin suffered. Of these were two brothers, whose names were John and Edward Pink, carters in Portsmouth, and always accounted honest and industrious fellows before this accident happened. They did not, however, deny their being guilty, but on the contrary ingenuously confessed the truth of what was sworn, and mentioned some other circumstances that had been produced at the trial which attended their committing it. They said they met Parvin's housekeeper upon that road, that they forced her to cut the throat of a deer which they had just taken upon Bear Forest, gave her a dagger which they forced her to wear, and to ride cross-legged with pistols before her.

In this dress they brought her to Parvin's house upon the forest,



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where they dined upon a haunch of venison, feasted merrily and after dinner sent out two of their companions to kill more deer, not in the King's Forest, but in Waltham Chase, belonging to the Bishop of Winchester. One of these two persons they called their king, and the other they called Lyon. Neither of these brothers objected anything, either to the truth of the evidence given against them, or the justice of that sentence which had passed upon them, only one insinuating that the evidence would not have been so strong against him and Ansell, if it had not been for running away with the witness's wife, which so provoked him that they were sure they should not escape when he was admitted a witness.

These like the rest were hard to be persuaded that the things they had committed were any crimes in the eyes of God. They said deer were wild beasts, and they did not see why the poor had not as good a right to them as the rich. However, as the Law condemned them to suffer, they were bound to submit, and in consequence of that notion, behaved themselves very orderly, decently and quietly, while under sentence.

James Ansell, *alias* Stephen Philips, the seventh and last of these unhappy persons, was a man addicted to a worse and more profligate life than any of the rest had ever been; for he had held no settled employment, but had been a loose disorderly person, concerned in all sorts of wickedness for many years, both at Portsmouth, Guildford, and other country towns, as well as at London. Deer were not the only things that he had dealt in; stealing and robbing on the highway had been formerly his employment, and in becoming a Black, he did not as the others ascend in wickedness, but came down on the contrary, a step lower. Yet this criminal as his offences were greater, so his sense of them was much stronger than in any of the rest, excepting Kingshell, for he gave over all manner of hopes of life and all concerns about it as soon as he was taken.

Yet even he had no notion of making discoveries, unless they might be beneficial to himself, and though he owned the knowledge of twenty persons who were notorious offenders in the same kind, he absolutely refused to name them, since such naming would not procure himself a pardon; talking to him of the duty of doing justice was beating the air. He said, he thought there was no justice in taking away other people's lives, unless it was to save his own, yet no sooner was he taxed about his own going on the highway than he confessed it, said he knew very well bills would have been preferred against him at Guildford assizes, in case he had got off at the King's Bench, but that he did not greatly value them. Though formerly he had been guilty of some facts in that way, yet they could not all now be proved, and he should have found it no difficult matter to have demonstrated his innocence of those then charged upon him, of which he was not really guilty, but owed his being thought so to the profligate course of life he had for some time led, and his aversion to all honest employments.

Bold as the whole gang of these fellows appeared, yet with what sickness, what with the apprehension of death, they were so terrified that not one of them but Ansell, *alias* Philips, was able to stand up, or speak at the place of execution, many who saw them affirming that some of them were dead even before they were turned off.

As an appendix to the melancholy history of these seven



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miserable and unhappy persons, I will add a letter written at that time by a gentleman of the county of Essex, to his friend in London, containing a more particular account of the transactions of these people, than I have seen anywhere else. Wherefore, without any further preface, I shall leave it to speak for itself.

A letter to Mr. C. D. in London.

Dear Sir,

Amongst the odd accidents which you know have happened to me in the course of a very unsettled life, I don't know any which hath been more extraordinary or surprising than one I met with in going down to my own house when I left you last in town. You cannot but have heard of the Waltham Blacks, as they are called, a set of whimsical merry fellows, that are so mad to run the greatest hazards for the sake of a haunch of venison, and passing a jolly evening together.

For my part, though the stories told of these people had reached my ears, yet I confess I took most of them for fables, and I thought that if there was truth in any of them it was much exaggerated. But experience (the mistress of fools) has taught me the contrary, by the adventure I am going to relate to you, which though it ended well enough at last, I confess at first put me a good deal out of humour. To begin, then; my horse got a stone in his foot, and therewith went so lame just as I entered the forest, that I really thought his shoulder slipped. Finding it however impossible to get him along, I was even glad to take up at a little blind alehouse which I perceived had a yard and a stable behind it.

The man of the house received me very civilly, but when he perceived my horse was so lame as scarce to be able to stir a step, I observed he grew uneasy. I asked him whether I could lodge there that night, he told me no, he had no room, I desired him, then, to put something to my horse's foot, and let me sit up all night; for I was resolved not to spoil a horse which cost me twenty guineas by riding him in such a condition in which he was at present. The man made me no answer, and I proposed the same questions to the wife. She dealt more roughly and freely with me, and told me that truly I neither could, nor should stay there, and was for hurrying her husband to get my horse out. However, on putting a crown into her hand and promising another for my lodging, she began to consider a little; and at last told me that there was indeed a little bed above stairs, on which she should order a clean pair of sheets to be put, for she was persuaded I was more of a gentleman than to take any notice of what I saw passed there.

This made me more uneasy than I was before. I concluded now I was got amongst a den of highwaymen, and expected nothing less than to be robbed and my throat cut. However, finding there was no remedy, I even set myself down and endeavoured to be as easy as I could. By this time it was very dark, and I heard three or four horsemen alight and lead their horses into the yard. As the men returned and were coming into the room where I was, I overheard my landlord say, *Indeed, brother, you*



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need not be uneasy, I am positive the gentleman's a man of honour, to which I heard another voice reply, What could our death do to any stranger? Faith, I don't apprehend half the danger you do. I dare say the gentleman would be glad of our company, and we should be pleased with his. Come, hang fear, I'll lead the way. So said, so done, in they came, five of them, all disguised so effectually that I declare, unless it were in the same disguise, I should not be able to distinguish any one of them.

Down they sat, and he who I suppose was constituted their captain *pro hac vice*, accosted me with great civility, and asked me if I would honour them with my company to supper. I acknowledge I did not yet guess the profession of my new acquaintances, but supposing my landlord would be cautious of suffering either a robbery or a murder in his own house, I know not how, but by degrees my mind grew perfectly easy. About ten o'clock I heard a very great noise of horses, and soon after men's feet tramping in a room over my head. Then my landlord came down and informed us supper was just ready to go upon the table.

Upon this we were all desired to walk up, and he whom I before called the captain, presented me, with a humorous kind of ceremony, to a man more dignified than the rest who sat at the end of the table, telling me at the same time, he hoped I would not refuse to pay my respects to Prince Oroonoko, King of the Blacks. It then immediately struck into my head who those worthy persons were, into whose company I was thus accidentally fallen. I called myself a thousand blockheads for not finding out before, but the hurry of things, or to speak the truth, the fear I was in, prevented my judging even from the most evident signs.

As soon as our awkward ceremony was over, supper was brought in; it consisted of eighteen dishes of venison in every shape, roasted, boiled with broth, hashed collops, pasties, umble pies, and a large haunch in the middle, larded. I easily saw that of three ordinary rooms of which the first floor of the house consisted, ours (by taking down the partitions) was very large, and the company in all twenty-one persons. At each of our elbows there was set a bottle of claret, and the man and woman of the house sat down at the lower end. Two or three of the fellows had good natural voices, and so the evening was spent as merrily as the rakes pass theirs in the King's Arms, or the City apprentices with their master's maids at Sadler's Wells. About two the company seemed inclined to break up, having first assured me that they should take my company as a favour any

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Thursday evening, if I came that way.

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



I confess I did not sleep all night with reflecting on what had passed, and could not resolve with myself whether these humorous gentlemen in masquerade were to be ranked under the denomination of knight-errants, or plain robbers. This I must tell you, by the by, that with respect both to honesty and hardship, their life resembles much that of the hussars, since drinking is all their delight, and plundering their employment. Before I conclude my epistle, it is fit I should inform you that they did me the honour (with a design perhaps to have received me into their order) of acquainting me with those rules by which their society was governed. In the first place their Black Prince assured me that their government was perfectly monarchial, and that when upon expeditions he had an absolute command; *but in the time of peace*, continued he, and at the table, government being no longer necessary, I condescend to eat and drink familiarly with my subjects as friends. *We admit no man*, continued he, *into our society until*



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he has been twice drunk with us, that we may be perfectly acquainted with his temper, in compliance with the old proverb—women, children and drunken folks speak truth. But if the person who sues to be admitted, declares solemnly he was never drunk in his life, and it plainly appears to the society in such case, this rule is dispensed with, and the person before admission is only bound to converse with us a month. As soon as we have determined to admit him, he is then to equip himself with a good mare or gelding, a brace of pistols, and a gun of the size of this, to lie on the saddle bow. Then he is sworn upon the horns over the chimney, and having a new name conferred by the society, is thereby entered upon the roll, and from that day forward, considered as a lawful member.

He went on with abundance more of their wise institutions, which I think are not of consequence enough to tell you, and shall only remark one thing more, which is the phrase they make use of in speaking of one another, viz., *He is a very honest fellow and one of us.* For you must know it is the first article in their creed that there's no sin in deer-stealing.

In the morning, having given my landlady the other crown piece, I found her temper so much altered for the better, that in my conscience I believe she was not in the humour to have refused me anything, no, not even the last favour; and so walking down the yard and finding my horse in pretty tolerable order, I speeded directly home, much in amaze at the new people I had discovered. You see I have taken a great deal of pains in my letter; pray, in return, let me have as long a one from you, and let me see if all your London rambles can produce such another adventure.

I am, yours, etc.

Before I leave these people, I think it proper to acquaint my readers that their folly was not to be extinguished by a single execution. There were a great many young fellows of the same stamp, who were fools enough to forfeit their lives upon the same occasion. However, the humour did not run very long, though some of them were impudent enough to murder a keeper or two afterwards. Yet in the space of a twelvemonth, the whole nation of Blacks was extinguished, and these country rakes were contented to play the fool upon easier terms. The last blood that was shed on either side was that of a keeper's son at Old Windsor, whom some of these wise people fired at as he looked out of the window, by which means they drew on their own ruin and that of several numerous families by which the country was put in such terror that we have heard nothing of them since, though this Act of Parliament¹³⁴ as I shall tell you, has been by construction extended to some other criminals, who were not strictly speaking of the same kind as the Waltham Blacks.

July 26: Captain John Massey, convicted as a [pirate](#), was [hanged](#) at high-water mark on Execution Dock in Wapping, the port of London.¹³⁵

The gentleman of whom we are now to speak, though he suffered

134. The Black Act (9 Geo. I, cap. 2) was repealed so late as 1827.



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for piracy, was a man of another turn of mind than any of whom we have hitherto had occasion to mention. Captain John Massey was of a family I need not dwell on, since he hath at present two brothers living who make a considerable figure in their respective professions.

This unhappy person had a natural vivacity in his temper, which sometimes rose to such a height that his relations took it for a degree of madness. They, therefore, hoping by a compliance with his humours to bring him to a better sense of things, sent him into the army then in Flanders, under the command of the Duke of Marlborough; and there he assisted at the several sieges which were undertaken by the Confederate army after his arrival, viz., Mons, Douai, Bouchain, and several others. Yet though he was bold there, even to temerity, he never received so much as one wound through the whole course of the war, in which, after the siege of Lille, he commanded as a lieutenant, and that with great reputation.

On his return into England he at first wholly addicted himself to a religious sober life, the several accidents of the war having disposed him to a more serious temper by making him plainly perceive the hand of Providence in protecting and destroying, according as its wisdom seeth fit. But after a short stay in London, he unhappily fell into the acquaintance of a lewd woman, who so besotted him that he really intended to marry her, if the regiment's going to Ireland had not prevented it. But there the case was not much mended, since Captain Massey gave too much way to the debaucheries generally practised in that nation.

On his coming back from thence, by the recommendation of the Duke of Chandois, he was made by the Royal African Company a lieutenant colonel in their service, and an engineer for erecting a fort on the Coast of Africa. He promised himself great advantage and a very honourable support from this employment, but he and the soldiers under his command being very ill used by the person who commanded the ship in which he went over (being denied their proportion of provisions and in all other respects treated with much indignity) it made a great impression on Captain Massey's mind, who could not bear to see numbers of those poor creatures perish, not only without temporal necessities, but wanting also the assistance of a divine in their last moments. For the chaplain of the ship remained behind in the Maderas, on a foresight perhaps, of the miseries he should have suffered in the voyage.

In this miserable condition were things when the Captain and his soldiers came into the River Gambia, where the designed fort was to be built. Here the water was so bad that the poor wretches, already in the most dreadful condition, were many of them deprived of life a few days after they were on shore. The Captain was excessively troubled at the sight of their misfortunes and too easily in hopes of relieving them gave way to the persuasion of a captain¹³⁶ of a lighter vessel than his own, who arrived in that port, and persuaded him to turn [pirate](#) rather than let his men starve.

After repeated solicitations, Captain Massey and his men went

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136. This was Captain George Lowther, a redoubtable [pirate](#). A more complete Story of Massey's adventures is given in Johnson's HISTORY OF THE PIRATES.



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on board this ship, and having there tolerable good provisions, soon picked up their strength and took some very considerable prizes. At the plundering of these Massey was confused and amazed, not knowing well what to do, for though he was glad to see his men have meat, yet it gave him great trouble when he reflected on the methods by which they acquired it. In this disconsolate state his night was often so troublesome to him as his days, for, as he himself said, he seldom shut his eyes but he dreamt that he was sailing in a ship to the gallows, with several others round him.

After a considerable space, the ship putting into the island of Jamaica for necessary supply of water and provision, he made his escape to the Governor, and gave him such information that he took several vessels thereby; but not being easy there, he desired leave of Sir Nicholas Laws to return home. Sir Nicholas gave him letters of recommendation, but notwithstanding those, he no sooner returned in England but he was apprehended and committed for piracy. Soon after which he was bailed; but the persons who became security growing uneasy, he surrendered in their discharge, soon after which he was tried, convicted and condemned.

During the space he remained in prison under condemnation he behaved with so much gravity, piety and composedness, as surprised all who saw him, many of whom were inclined to think his case hard. No mercy was to be had and as he did not expect it, so false hopes never troubled his repose; but as death was to cut him off from the world, so he beforehand retired all his affections from thence and thought of nothing but that state whither he was going.

In his passage to execution he pointed to the African House,¹³⁷ said, *They have used me severely, but I pray God prosper and bless them in all their undertakings.*

Mr. Nicholson, of St. Sepulchre's, attended him in his last moments. Just before he died he read the following speech to the people.

Good People,

I beg of you to pray for my departing soul. I likewise pray God to forgive all the evidences that swore against me, as I do from my heart. I challenge all the world to say I ever did a dishonourable act or anything unlike a gentleman, but what might be common to all young fellows in this age. This was surely a rash action, but I did not designedly turn pirate. I am sorry for it, and I wish it were in my power to make amends to the Honourable African Company for what they have lost by my means. I likewise declare upon the word of a dying man that I never once thought of molesting his Grace the Duke of Chandois, although it has been maliciously reported that I always went with two loaded pistols to dispatch his Grace. As for the Duke, I was always, while living, devoted to his service, for his good offices done unto me, and I humbly beg Almighty God, that He would be pleased to pour down His blessings upon his good family. Good people, once more I beg of you to pray for my departing soul. I desire my dying words to be printed, as for the truth and sincerity of it, I sign them as a man departing this world.

137. In Leadenhall Street, along which he would pass on the way to Wapping.



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John Massey

After he had pronounced these words, he signified it as his last request that neither his wife, nor any of his relations might see his body after it was in the coffin. Then praying a few moments to himself he submitted to his fate, being at the time of his death twenty-eight years old. He suffered at high-water mark, Execution Dock, on the 26th of July, 1723, his unhappy death being universally pitied.

August 5, Monday (Old Style): Thomas Phillips of [North Kingstown, Rhode Island](#) wrote to [Gabriel Bernon](#) in [Providence](#) in regard to the preaching schedule of the Reverend James MacSparran.

William Duce and James Butler, who had been highwaymen and footpads, were [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹³⁸

However hardened some men may appear during the time they are acting their crimes and while hopes of safety of life remains, yet when these are totally lost and death, attended with ignominy and reproach, stares them in the face, they seldom fail to lay aside their obstinacy; or, if they do not, it is through a stupid want of consideration, either of themselves or of their condition.

William Duce, of whom we are now to speak, was one of the most cruel and abandoned wretches that ever went on the road. He was born at Wolverhampton, but of what parents, or in what manner he lived until his coming up to London, I am not able to say. He had not been long here before he got in debt with one Allom, who arrested him and threw him into Newgate, where he remained a prisoner upwards of fifteen months; here it was that he learnt those principles of villainy which he afterwards put in practice.

His companions were Dyer, Butler, Rice and some others whom I shall have occasion to mention. The first of December, 1722, he and one of his associates crossing Chelsea Fields, overtook a well-dressed gentleman, a tall strong-limbed man, who having a sword by his side and a good cane in his hand they were at first in some doubt whether they should attack him. At last one went on one side and the other on the other, and clapping at once fast hold of each arm, they thereby totally disabled him from making a resistance. They took from him four guineas, and tying his wrists and ankles together, left him bound behind the hedge. Not long after he, with two others, planned to rob in St. James's Park. Accordingly they seized a woman who was walking on the grass near the wall towards Petty France, and after they had robbed her got over the wall and made their escape. About this time his first acquaintance began with Dyer, who was the great occasion of this poor fellow's ruin, whom he continually plagued to go out a-robbing, and sometimes threatened him if he did not. In Tottenham Court Road, they attacked a gentleman, who being intoxicated with wine, either fell from his horse, or was thrown off by them, from whom they took only a gold watch. Then Butler and Dyer being in his company, they robbed Mr. Holmes of Chelsea, of a guinea and twopence, the fact for which he and Butler died. Thinking the town dangerous after all these robberies, and

138. LIVES OF THE MOST REMARKABLE CRIMINALS WHO HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED FOR MURDER, THE HIGHWAY, HOUSEBREAKING, STREET ROBBERIES, COINING OR OTHER OFFENCES / COLLECTED FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS AND AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS, AND PUBLISHED IN 1735 / Edited by Arthur L. Hayward



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finding the country round about too hot to hold them, they went into Hampshire and there committed several robberies, attended with such cruelties as have not for many years been heard of in England; and though these actions made a great noise, yet it was some weeks before any of them were apprehended.

On the Portsmouth Road it happened they fell upon one Mr. Bunch, near a wood side, where they robbed and stripped him naked; yet not thinking themselves secure, Duce turned and fired at his head. He took his aim so true that the bullet entered the man's cheek, upon which he fell with the agony of pain, turning his head downwards that the bullet might drop out of his mouth. Seeing that, Butler turned back and began to charge his pistol. The man fell down on his knees and humbly besought his life. Perceiving the villain was implacable, he took the advantage before the pistol was charged to take to his heels, and being better acquainted with the way than they, escaped to a neighbouring village which he raised, and soon after it the whole country; upon which they were apprehended. Mead, Wade and Barking, were condemned at Winchester assizes, but this malefactor and Butler were removed by an *Habeas Corpus* to Newgate.

While under sentence of death, Duce laid aside all that barbarity and stubbornness with which he had formerly behaved, with great frankness confessed all the villainies he had been guilty of, and at the place of execution delivered the following letter for the evidence Dyer, who as he said, had often cheated them of their shares of the money they took from passengers, and had now sworn away their lives.

The Letter of William Duce to John Dyer

It is unnecessary for me to remind you of the many wicked and barbarous actions which in your company and mostly by your advice, have been practised upon innocent persons. Before you receive this, I shall have suffered all that the law of man can inflict for my offences. You will do well to reflect thereon, and make use of that mercy which you have purchased at the expense of our blood, to procure by a sincere repentance the pardon also of God; without which, the lengthening of your days will be but a misfortune, and however late, your crimes if you pursue them, will certainly bring you after us to this ignominious place.

You ought especially to think of the death of poor Rice, who fell in the midst of his sins, without having so much as time to say, *Lord have mercy on me*. God who has been so gracious as to permit it to you, will expect a severe account of it, and even this warning, if neglected, shall be remembered against you. Do not however think that I die in any wrath or anger with you, for what you swore at my trial. I own myself guilty of that for which I suffer, and I as heartily and freely forgive you, as I hope forgiveness for myself, from that infinitely merciful Being, to whose goodness and providence I recommend you.

WILLIAM DUCE

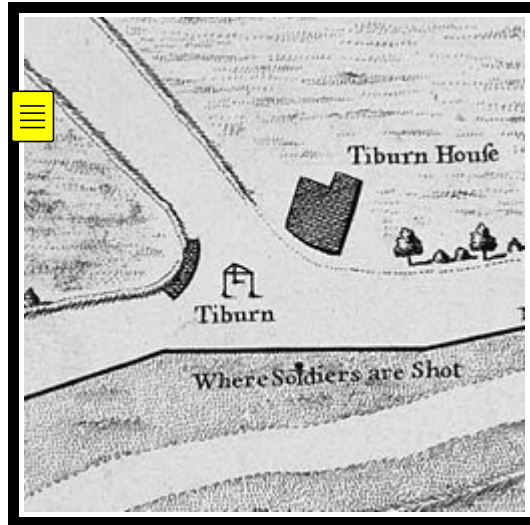
He also wrote another letter to one Mr. R.W., who had been guilty of some offences of the like nature in his company, but who for some time had retired and lived honestly and privately, was no

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longer addicted to such courses, nor as he hoped would relapse into them again. At the time of his execution he was about twenty-five years of age, and suffered at Tyburn on the 5th of August, 1723.



James Butler was the son of a very honest man in the parish of St. Ann's, Soho, who gave him what education it was in his power to bestow, and strained his circumstances to the utmost to put him apprentice to a silversmith. James had hardly lived with him six months when his roving inclination pushed him upon running away and going to sea, which he did, with one Captain Douglass

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in a man-of-war.

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



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Here he was better used than most young people are at the first setting out in a sailor's life. The captain being a person of great humanity and consideration, treated James with much tenderness, taking him to wait on himself, and never omitting any opportunity to either encourage or reward him. But even then Butler could not avoid doing some little thieving tricks, which very much grieved and provoked his kind benefactor, who tried by all means, fair and foul, to make him leave them off. One day, particularly, when he had been caught opening one of the men's chests and a complaint was thereupon made to the captain, he was called into the great cabin, and everybody being withdrawn except the captain, calling him to him, he spoke in these terms.

Butler, I have always treated you with more kindness and indulgence than perhaps anybody in your station has been used with on board any ship. You do, therefore, very wrong by playing such tricks as make the men uneasy, to put it out of my power to do you any good. We are now going home, where I must discharge you, for as I had never any difference with the crew since I



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commanded the Arundel, I am determined not to let you become the occasion of it now. There is two guineas for you, I will take care to have you sent safe to your mother.

The captain performed all his promises, but Butler continued still in the same disposition, and though he made several voyages in other ships, yet still continued light-fingered, and made many quarrels and disturbances on board, until at last he could find nobody who knew him that would hire him. The last ship he served in was the *Mary*, Capt. Vernon commander, from which ship he was discharged and paid off at Portsmouth, in August, 1721.

Having got, after this, into the gang with Dyer, Duce, Rice and others, they robbed almost always on the King's Road, between Buckingham House and Chelsea. On the 27th of April, 1723, after having plundered two or three persons on the aforesaid road, they observed a coach coming towards them, and a footman on horseback riding behind it. As soon as they came in sight Dyer determined with himself to attack them, and forced his companions into the same measures by calling out to the coachman to stop, and presenting his pistols. The fellow persisted a little, and Dyer was cocking his pistol to discharge it at him, when the ladies' footman from behind the coach, fired amongst them, and killed Joseph Rice upon the spot.

This accident made such an impression upon Butler that though he continued to rob with them a day or two longer, yet as soon as he had an opportunity he withdrew and went to hard labour with one Cladins, a very honest man, at the village called Wandsworth, in Surrey. He had not wrought there long, before some of his gang had been discovered. His wife was seized and sent to Bridewell in order to make her discover where her husband was, who had been impeached with the rest. This obliged him to leave his place, and betake himself again to robbing.

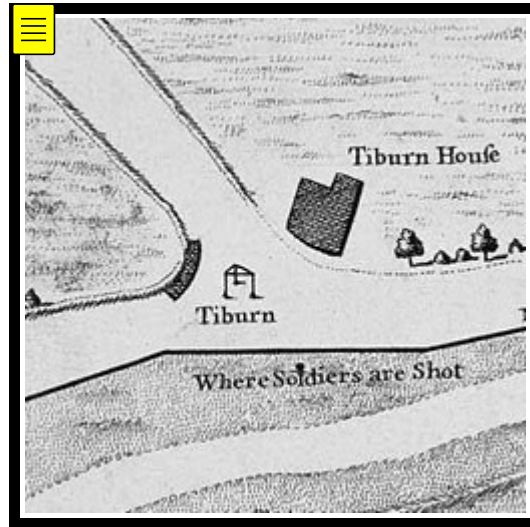
Going with his companions, Wade, Meads, Garns and Spigget, they went into the Gravesend Road, and there attacking four gentlemen, Meads thought it would contribute to their safety to disable the servant who rode behind, upon which he fired at him directly, and shot him through the breast. Not long after, they set upon another man, whom Meads wounded likewise in the same place, and then setting him on his horse, bid him ride to Gravesend. But the man turning the beast's head the other way, Meads went back again, and shot him in the face, of which wound he died.

When Butler lay under sentence of death he readily confessed whatever crimes he had committed, but he, as well as the before-mentioned criminal, charged much of his guilt upon the persuasions of the evidence Dyer. He particularly owned the fact of shooting the man at Farnham. Having always professed himself a Papist, he died in that religion, at the same time with the

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afore-mentioned criminal, at Tyburn.



August 14, Saturday: Philip Roche, convicted as a [pirate](#), was [hanged](#) at high-water mark on Execution Dock in Wapping, the port of London.¹³⁹

As in the life of Captain Massey, my readers cannot but take notice of those great evils into which men are brought by over-forwardness and inconsideration, so in the life of the malefactor we are now to speak of, they will discern what a prodigious pitch of wickedness, rapine and cruelty, human nature is capable of reaching unto, when people abandon themselves to a desire of living after their own wicked inclinations, without considering the injuries they do others while they gratify their own lusts and sensual pleasures.

Philip Roche¹⁴⁰ was the son of a person of the same name in Ireland. His father gave him all the education his narrow circumstances would permit which extended however to reading and writing a tolerable good hand, after which he sent him to sea. Philip was a lad of ingenious parts, and instead of forgetting, as many do, all they have learnt, he on the contrary took all imaginable care to perfect himself in whatsoever he had but a slight notion of before he went to sea. He made abundance of coasting voyages about his native island, went once or twice to Barbadoes, and being a saving and industrious young fellow, picked up money enough to become first mate in a trading vessel

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140. A detailed account of this villain is given in Johnson's HISTORY OF THE PIRATES.



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to Nantes in France, by which being suffered to buy goods himself, he got considerably, and was in a fair way to attaining as great a fortune as he could reasonably expect. But this slow method of getting money did by no means satisfy Roche; he was resolved to grow rich at once, and not wait till much labour and many voyages had made him so.

When men once form to themselves such designs, it is not long before they find companions fit for their purpose. Roche soon met with one Neal, a fisherman of no education, barbarous but very daring, a fellow who had all the qualities that could conspire to make a dangerous villain, and who had already inured himself to the commission of whatever was black or bloody, not only without remorse but without reluctance. Neal recommended him to one Pierce Cullen, as a proper associate in those designs they were contriving; for this Cullen, as Neal informed him, was a fellow of principles and qualifications much like himself, but had somewhat a better capacity for executing them, and with Neal had been concerned in sinking a ship, after insuring her both in London and Amsterdam. But Providence had disappointed them in the success of their wicked design for Cullen having been known, or at least suspected of doing such a thing before, those with whom they had insured at London, instead of their paying the money, caused him to be seized and brought to a trial, which demolished all their schemes for cheating insurance offices.

Cullen brought in his brother to their confederacy, and after abundance of solicitation induced Wise to come in likewise. The project they had formed was to seize some light ship, and turn pirates in her, conceiving it no difficult matter afterwards to obtain a stronger vessel, and one better fitted for their purpose.

The ship they pitched on to execute this their villainous purpose was that of Peter Tartoue, a Frenchman of a very generous disposition, who on Roche and his companions telling him a melancholy story, readily entertained them; and perceiving Roche was an experienced sailor, he entrusted him upon any occasion with the care and command of the ship. Having done so one night, himself and the chief mate with the rest of the French who were on board went to rest, except a man and a boy, whom Roche commanded to go up and furl the sails. He then called the rest of his Irish associates to him upon the quarter-deck. There Roche, perceiving that Francis Wise began to relent, and fearing he should persuade others in the same measures, he told them that if every Irishman on board did not assist in destroying the French, and put him and Cullen in a capacity of retrieving the losses they had had at sea, they would treat whoever hesitated in obeying them with as little mercy as they did the Frenchmen; but if they would all assist, they should all fare alike, and have a share in the booty.

Upon this the action began, and two of them running up after the Frenchman and boy, one tossed the lad by the arm into the water, and the other driving the man down upon the deck he there had his brains dashed out by Roche and his companions. They fell next upon those who were retired to their rest, some of whom, upon the shrieks of the man and boy who were murdered, rising hastily out of their beds and running up upon deck to see what occasioned those dismal noises, were murdered themselves before they well knew where they were. The mate and the captain were next brought up, and Roche went immediately to binding them



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together, in order to toss them overboard, as had been consulted. 'Twas in vain for poor Tartoue to plead the kindness he had done them all and particularly Roche. They were deaf to all sentiments, either of gratitude or pity, and though the poor men entreated only so much time as to say their prayers, and recommend themselves to God, yet the villains (though they could be under no apprehensions, having already murdered all the rest of the men) would not even yield to this, but Cullen hastened Roche in binding them back to back, to toss them at once into the sea. Then hurrying down into the cabin, they tapped a little barrel of rum to make themselves good cheer, and laughed at the cries of the two poor drowned men, whom they distinctly heard calling upon God, until their voices and their breaths were lost in the waves.

After having drunk and eaten their fill, with as much mirth and jollity as if they had been at a feast, they began to plunder the vessel, breaking open the chests, and taking out of them what they thought proper. Then to drinking they went again, pleasing themselves with the barbarous expedition which they resolved to undertake as soon as they could get a ship proper to carry them into the West Indies, intending there to follow the example the buccaneers had set them, and rob and plunder all who fell into their hands. From these villainies in intention, the present state of their affairs called upon them to make some provision for their immediate safety. They turned therefore into the Channel, and putting the ship into Portsmouth, there got her new painted and then sailed for Amsterdam, Roche being unanimously recognised their captain, and all of them promising faithfully to submit to him through the course of their future expeditions.

On their arrival in Holland, they had the ship a second time new painted, and thinking themselves now safe from all discovery began to sell off Captain Tartoue's cargo as fast as they could. No sooner had they completed this, but getting one Mr. Annesley to freight them with goods to England (himself also going as a passenger) they resolved with themselves to make prize of him and his effects, as they had also done with the French captain. Mr. Annesley, poor man, little dreaming of their design, came on board as soon as the wind served; and the next night a brisk gale blowing, they tore him suddenly out of his bed and tossed him over. Roche and Cullen being with others in the great cabin, he swam round and round the ship, called out to them, and told them they should freely have all his goods if they would take him in and save his life, for he had friends and fortunes enough in England to make up that loss. But his entreaties were all vain to a set of wretches who had long ago abandoned all sentiments of humour and mercy. They therefore caroused as usual, and after sharing the booty, steered the vessel for England.

Some information of their villainies had by that time reached thither, so that upon a letter being stopped at the post office, which Roche, as soon as they had landed, had written to his wife, a messenger was immediately sent down, who brought Philip up in custody. Being brought to the Council table, and there examined, he absolutely denied either that himself was Philip Roche, or that he knew of any one of that name. But his letters under his own hand to his wife being produced, he was not able any longer to stand in that falsehood.



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Yet those in authority knowing that there was not legal proof sufficient to bring these abominable men to justice, offered Roche his life, provided he gave such information that they might be able to apprehend and convict any three of his companions more wicked than himself; but he was so far from complying therewith that he suffered those of his crew who were taken to perish in custody rather than become an evidence against them. This was the fate of Neal, who perished of want in the Marshalsea, having in vain petitioned for a trunk in which was a large quantity of money, clothes and other things to a considerable value, which had been seized in Ireland by virtue of a warrant from the Lord Justice of that Kingdom, on the account of the detention of which, while he perished for want of necessaries and clothes, Neal most heavily complained, forgetting that these very things were the plunder of those unhappy persons whom they had so barbarously murdered, after having received so much kindness and civility from them.

In the meanwhile Roche, being confined in Newgate, went constantly to the chapel and appeared of so obliging a temper that many persuaded themselves he could not be guilty of the bloody crimes laid to his charge; and taking advantage of these kind thoughts of theirs, he framed a new story in defence of himself. He said that there happened a quarrel on board the ship between an Irishman and a Frenchman, and that Tartoue taking part with his own nation, threatened to lash the Irishman severely, though he was not in any way in the wrong. This, he pretended, begat a general quarrel between the two nations, and the Irish being the stronger, they overpowered and threw the French overboard in the heat of their anger, without considering what they did.

Throughout the whole time he lay in Newgate, he very much delighted himself with the exercise of his pen, continually writing upon one subject or other, and often assisting his fellow prisoners in writing letters or whatever else they wanted in that kind. When he was told that Neal, who died in the Marshalsea, gushed out at all parts of his body with Wood, so that before he expired he was as if he had been dipped in gore, Roche replied, it was a just judgment that he who had always lived in blood, should die covered with it.

Sometime afterwards, being told that one of his companions had poisoned himself he said, Alas! that so evil an end should follow so evil a life; for his part he would suffer Providence to take its course with him, and rather die the most ignominious death than to his other crimes add that of self-murder. The rest who had been apprehended dying one by one in the same dreadful condition with Neal, that is, with the blood gushing from every part of their body, which looked so much like a judgment that all who saw it were amazed, he (Roche) began to think himself perfectly safe after the death of his companions, supposing that now there was nobody to bear any testimony against him; and therefore, instead of appearing in any way dismayed, he most earnestly desired the speedy approach of an Admiralty sessions. It was not long before it happened and when he found what evidence would be produced against him, he appeared much less solicitous about his trial than anybody in his condition would have been expected to be, for he very well knew it was impossible for them to prove him guilty of the murders and as impossible for him to be acquitted of the piracy.



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After receiving sentence of death, he declared himself a Papist, and said that he could no longer comply with the service of the Church of England, and come to the chapel. He did not, however, think that he was in any danger of death, but supposed that the promises which had been made him on this first examination would now take place and prevent the execution of his sentence. When, therefore, the messenger returned from Hanover¹⁴¹, and brought an express order that he should die, he appeared exceedingly moved thereat, and without reflecting at all on the horrid and barbarous treatment with which he had used others, he could not forbear complaining of the great hardship he suffered in being put into the death warrant, after a promise had been made him of life, though nothing is more certain than that he never performed any part of those conditions upon which it was to have taken place.

At the place of execution he was so faint, confused, and in such a consternation that he could not speak either to the people, or to those who were nearer at hand, dying with the greatest marks of dejection and confusion that could possibly be seen in any criminal whatever. He was about thirty years old at the time of his execution, which was at high-water mark, Execution Dock, on the 14th of August, 1723.

September 9: Humphry Angier, a highwayman and footpad, was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹⁴²

From the life of Roche, the course of those papers from which I extract these accounts leads me to mention this criminal, that the deaths of malefactors may not only terrify those who behold them dying, but also posterity, who, by hearing their crimes and the event which they brought on, may avoid falling into the one, for fear of feeling the other.

Humphry Angier was by birth of the Kingdom of Ireland, his father being a man in very ordinary circumstances in a little town a few miles distant from Dublin. As soon as this son was able to do anything, he sent him to the city of Cork, and there bound

141. Where the warrant had evidently been taken for the signature of the king or a minister.

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him apprentice to a cooper. His behaviour while an apprentice

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



Proverbs Chap. I. Ver. 27, 28.
When percereth as dissolution, and their
destruction cometh as a whirlwind, when
distress cometh upon them, then they shall
call upon God, but he will not answer.

was so bad that his master utterly despaired to do any good with him, and therefore was not sorry that he ran away from him. However, he found a way to vex him sufficiently, for he got into a crew of loose fellows, which so far frightened the old cooper that he was at a considerable expense to hire persons to watch his house for the four years that Angier loitered about that city. At last his father even took him from thence, and brought him over into England where he left him at full liberty to do what he thought fit; resolving with himself that if his son would take to ill-courses, it should be where the fame of his villainies might not reflect upon him and his family. He was now near eighteen years of age and being in some fear that some persons whom he had wronged might bring him into danger, he listed himself in the king's service, and went down with a new raised regiment into Scotland, where he hoped to make something by plundering the inhabitants, it being in the time of the Rebellion¹⁴³. But he did not succeed very well there, and on his return fell into the company of William Duce, whom we

143. The Jacobite rising of 1715.



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have mentioned before. His conversation soon seduced him to follow the same course of life, and that their intimacy might be the more strongly knit, he married Duce's sister. Then engaging himself with all that gang, he committed abundance of robberies in their company, but was far from falling into that barbarous manner of beating the passengers which was grown customary and habitual to Mead, Butler, and some others of his and Duce's companions.

Angier told a particular story of them, which made a very great impression upon him, and cannot but give my readers of an idea of that horrible spirit which inspired those wretches. Mead and Butler came one evening to him very full of their exploits, and the good luck they had had. Mead particularly, having related every circumstance which had happened since their last parting, said that amongst others whom they had robbed they met a smooth-faced shoemaker, who said he was just married and going home to his friends. They persuaded him to turn out of the road to look in the hedge for a bird's nest, whither he was no sooner got, but they bound, gagged and robbed him, and afterwards turning back, barbarously clapped a pistol to his head and shot out his brains. After this Angier declared he would never drink in the company of Mead, and when Butler sometimes talked after the same manner, he used to reprove him by telling him that cruelty was no courage, at which Butler and some of his companions sometimes laughed, and told him he had singular notions of courage.

After this, he and his wife (Duce's sister) set up a little alehouse by Charing Cross, which soon against his will, though not without his consent, became a bawdy-house, a receptacle for thieves, etc. This sort of company rendered his house so suspicious and so obnoxious to the magistrates for the City of Westminster, that he quickly found the necessity of moving from thence. He then went and set up a brandy-shop, where the same people came, though as he pretended much to his dissatisfaction. While he kept the alehouse, there were two odd accidents befell him, which brought him for the first time to Newgate. It happened that while he was out one day, a Dutch woman picked up a gentleman and brought him to Angier's house, where, while he was asleep, she picked his pocket and left him. For this Angier and his maid were taken up, and tried at the Old Bailey. He was also at the same time tried for another offence, viz., an Irishwoman coming to his house and drinking pretty hard there, he at last carried her upstairs, and throwing her upon a bed pretended a great affection for her person; but his wife coming in and pretending to be jealous of the woman, pulled her off the bed and in so doing picked her pocket of four guineas. But of this there being no direct evidence against him, he was also acquitted. However, it ruined his house and credit, and drove him upon what was too much his inclination, the taking money by force upon the road.

He now got into an acquaintance with Carrick, Carrol, Lock, Kelly, and many others of that stamp, with whom he committed several villainies, but always pretending to be above picking pockets, which he said was practised by none of their crew but Hugh Kelly, who was a very dextrous fellow in his way. However, when Angier was in custody, abundance of people applied to him to help them to their gold watches, snuff-boxes, etc.; but as he told them, so he persisted in it always, that he knew nothing of the matter; and Kelly being gone over into America and there



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settled, there was no hopes of getting any of them again. One evening he and Milksop, one of his companions, being upon the road to St. Albans, a little on this side of it, met a gentleman's coach, and in it a young man and two ladies. They immediately called to the coachman to stop, but he neglecting to obey their summons, they knocked him off from the box, having first prevented him from whipping off, by shooting one of his horses. They then dragged him under the coach, which running over him hurt him exceedingly and even endangered his life. Then they robbed the young gentleman and the ladies of whatever they had about them valuable, using them very rudely and stripping things off them in a very harsh and cruel way. Angier excused this by saying at the time he did it he was much in liquor. In the beginning of the year '20, Angier, who had so long escaped punishment for the offences which he had committed, was very near suffering for one in which he had not the least hand; for a person of quality's coachman being robbed of a watch and some money, a woman of the town, whom Angier and one of his companions had much abused, was thereupon taken up, having attempted to pawn the fellow's watch after he had advertised it. She played the hypocrite very dexterously upon her apprehension, and said that the robbery was not committed by her, but that Angier, Armstrong and another young man were the persons who took it, and by her help they were seized and committed to Newgate. At the ensuing sessions the woman swore roundly against them, but the fellow being more tender, and some circumstances of their innocence plainly appearing, they were acquitted by the jury and that very justly in this case in which they had no hand. During the time he lay under sentence, he behaved himself with much penitence for another offence, always calling earnestly to God for His assistance and grace to comfort him under those heavy sorrows which his follies and crimes had so justly brought upon him. At the place of execution he did not appear at all terrified at death, but submitted to it with the same resignation which for a long space he had professed since his being under confinement. Immediately before he suffered he recollected his spirits and spoke in the following terms to that crowd which always attends on such melancholy occasions.

Good People,

I see many of you here assembled to behold my wretched end. I hope it will induce you to avoid those evils which have brought me hither. Sometime before my being last taken up, I had formed within myself most steady purposes of amendment, which it is a great comfort to me, even here that I never broke them, having lived at Henley upon Thames, both with a good reputation, and in a manner which deserved it. I heartily forgive and I hope God would do the same to Dyer, whose evidence hath taken away my life. I hope he will make a good use of that time which the price of my blood and that of others has procured him. I heartily desire pardon of all whom I have injured and declare that in the several robberies I have committed, I have been always careful to avoid committing any murder.

After this he adjusted the rope about his own neck, and submitted to that sentence which the Law directed, being at that time about



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twenty-nine years of age. He suffered on the 9th of September, 1723.

November 6, Wednesday (Old Style): James White was [hanged](#) for theft on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹⁴⁴

Stupidity, however it may arise, whether from a natural imperfection of the rational faculties, or from want of education, or from drowning it wholly in bestial and sensual pleasures, is doubtless one of the highest misfortunes which can befall any man whatsoever; for it not only leaves him little better than the beasts which perish, exposed to a thousand inconveniences against which there is no guard but that of a clear and unbiased reason, but it renders him also base and abject when under misfortunes, the sport and contempt of that wicked and debauched part of the human species who are apt to scoff at despairing misery, and to add by their insults to the miseries of those who sink under their load already.

James White, who is to be the subject of the following narration, was the son of very honest and reputable parents, though their circumstances were so mean as not to afford wherewith to put their son to school, and they themselves were so careless as not to procure his admission into the Charity School. By all which it happened that the poor fellow knew hardly anything better than the beasts of the field, and addicted himself like them, to filling his belly and satisfying his lust. Whenever, therefore, either of those brutish appetites called, he never scrupled plundering to obtain what might supply the first, or using force that might oblige women to submit against their wills unto the other.

While he was a mere boy, and worked about as he could with anybody who would employ him, he found a way to steal and carry off thirty pounds weight of tobacco, the property of Mr. Perry, an eminent Virginian merchant; for which he was at the ensuing assizes at the Old Bailey, tried and convicted, and thereupon ordered for transportation, and in pursuance of that sentence sent on board the transport vessel accordingly. Their allowance there was very poor, such as the miserable wretches could hardly subsist on, viz., a pint and a half of fresh water, and a very small piece of salt meat *per diem* each; but that wherein their greatest misery consisted was the hole in which they were locked underneath the deck, where they were tied two and two, in order to prevent those dangers which the ship's crew often runs by the attempts made by felons to escape. In this disconsolate condition he passed his time until the arrival of the ship in America, where he met with a piece of good luck (if attaining liberty may be called good luck) without acquiring at the same time a means to preserve life in any comfort. It happened thus. The super-cargo falling sick, under the usual distemper which visits strangers at first coming if they keep not to the exact rules of temperance and forbearance of strong liquors, ran quickly so much in debt with his physician that he was obliged immediately to go off, by doing which six felons became their own masters, of whom James White was one. He retired into the woods and lived there in a very wretched manner for some time, till he met with some Indian families in that retreat, who

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according to the natural uncultivated humanity of that people cherished and relieved him to the utmost of their power. Soon after this, he went to work amongst some English servants, in order to ease them, telling them how things stood with him, viz., that he had been transported, and that for fear of being seized he fled into the woods, where he had endured the greatest hardships. The servants pitying his desperate condition relieved him often, without the knowledge of their mistress until they got him into a planter's service, where though he worked hard he was sure to fare tolerably well. But at length being ordered to carry water in large vessels over the rocks to the ship that rode in the bay underneath it, his feet were thereby so intolerably cut that he was soon rendered lame and incapable of doing it any longer. The family thereupon grew weary of keeping him in that decrepit state he was in, and so for what servile scullion-like labour he was able to do, a master of a ship took him on board and carried him to England.

On his return hither, he went directly to his friends in Cripplegate parish and told them what had befallen him, and how he was driven home again almost as much by force as he was hurried abroad. They were too poor to be able to conceal him, and he was therefore obliged to go and cry fruit about the streets publicly, that he might not want bread. He went on in this mean but honest way, without committing any new acts that I am able to learn, for the space of some months. Then being seen and known by some who were at that employed (or at least employed themselves) in detecting and taking up all such persons as returned from transportation, White amongst the rest was seized, and the ensuing sessions at the Old Bailey convicted on the Statute. He pleaded that he was only a very young man, and if the Court would have so much pity on him as to send him over again, he would be satisfied to stay all his life-time in America; but the resolution which had been taken to spare none who returned back into England, because such persons were more bloody and dangerous rogues than any other, and when prompted by despair, apt to resist the officers of justice, took place, and he was put into the death warrant.

Both before and after receiving sentence, he not only abandoned himself to stupid, heedless indolence, but behaved in so rude and troublesome a manner as occasioned his being complained of by those miserable wretches who were under the same condemnation, as a greater grievance to them than all their other misfortunes put together. He would sometimes threaten women who came into the hold to visit modestly, tease them with obscene discourse, and after his being prisoner there committed acts of lewdness to the amazement and horror of the most wicked and abandoned wretches in that dreadful place. Being however severely reprimanded for continuing so beastly a course of life, when life itself was so near being extinguished, he laid the crime to his own ignorance, and said that if he were better instructed he would behave better, but he could not bear being abused, threatened and even maltreated by those who were in the same state with himself. From this time he addicted himself to attend more carefully to religious discourses than most of the rest, and as far as the amazing dullness of his intellects would give him leave, applied to the duties of his sad state.

Before his death he gave many testimonies of a sincere and unaffected sorrow for his crimes, but as he had not the least



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notion of the nature, efficacy or preparation necessary for the Sacrament, it was not given him as is usually done to malefactors the day of their death. At the place of execution he seemed surprised and astonished, looked wildly round upon the people, and then asking the minister who attended him what he must do now, the person spoke to instructed him; so shutting his hands close, he cried out with great vehemence, *Lord receive my soul*. His age was about twenty-five at the time he suffered, which was on the 6th day of November, 1723.

December 23, Monday (Old Style): Captain Stanley was [hanged](#) for murder on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹⁴⁵

There cannot be a greater misfortune than to want education, except it be the having a bad one. The minds of young persons are generally compared to paper on which we may write whatever we think fit, but if it be once blurred and blotted with improper characters, it becomes much harder to impress proper sentiments thereon, because those which were first there must be totally erased. This seems to have been too much the case with the unhappy person of whom the thread of these narrations requires that I should speak, viz., Captain Stanley.

This unhappy young gentleman was the son of an officer in the army who married the sister of Mr. Palmer, of Duce Hill, in Essex, where she was brought to bed of this unfortunate son John, in the year 1698. The first rudiments he received were those of cruelty and blood, his father at five years old often parrying and thrusting him with a sword, pricking him himself and encouraging other officers to play with him in the same manner, so that his boy, as old Stanley phrased it, might never be afraid of a point—a wretched method of bringing up a child and which was highly likely to produce the sad end he came to.

He served afterwards in the army with his father in Spain and Portugal, where he suffered hardships enough, but they did not very much affect him, who acquired by his hopeful education so savage a temper as to delight in nothing so much as trampling on the dead carcasses in the fields after an engagement.

Returning into England with his father, old Stanley had the misfortune to slab a near relation of my Lord Newbury's, in the Tilt Yard,¹⁴⁶ for which he was committed prisoner to Newgate. Afterwards being released and commanded into Ireland, he carried over with him this son John and procured for him an ensign's commission in a regiment there. Poor young Stanley's sprightly temper gained him abundance of acquaintance and (if it be not to profane the name) of friends amongst the young rakes in Ireland, some of whom were persons of very great quality, and had such an affection for him as to continue their visits and relieve his necessities when under his last misfortunes in Newgate. But such company involving him at that time in expenses he was no way able to support, he was obliged shortly to part for ready money with his ensign's commission, which gave his father great pain and uneasiness.

Not long after, he came again into England and to London, where he pursued the same methods, though his father importuned him to apply to General Stanhope, as a person he was sure would

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146. This was an open space, facing the banquetting-house of old Whitehall, and included part of what is now Horse Guards' Parade.



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assist him, having been always a friend to their family, and particularly to old Stanley himself. But Jack was become a favourite with the ladies, and had taken an easier road to what he accounted happiness, living either upon the benevolence of friends, the fortune of the dice, or the favours of the sex. A continual round of sensual delights employed his time, and he was so far from endeavouring to attain any other commission or employment in order to support him, that there was nothing he so much feared as his being obliged to quit that life he loved; for old Stanley was continually soliciting for him, and as he had very good interest, nothing but his son's notorious misbehaviour made him not prevail. In the current of his extravagancies Jack fixed himself often upon young men coming into the world, and under pretence of being their tutor in the fashionable vices of the town, shared in their pleasures and helped them squander their estates.

Of this stamp was a gay young Yorkshire squire, who by the death of an uncle and by the loss of his father while a boy, had had so little education as not to know how to use it. Him Stanley got hold of, and persuaded him that nothing was so advantageous to a young gentleman as travel, and drew him to make a tour of Flanders and Holland in his company. Though a very wild young fellow, Stanley gave a very tolerable account of the places, especially the fortifications which he had seen, and sufficiently demonstrated how capable he might have been of making an exalted figure in the world, if due care had been taken to furnish him with any principles in his youth. But the neglect of that undid him, and every opportunity which he afterwards had of acquiring anything, instead of making him an accomplished gentleman, did him mischief. Thus his journey to Paris in company with the afore-mentioned gentleman helped him to an opportunity of learning to fence to the greatest perfection, so that the skill he was sensible he had in the sword made him ever ready to quarrel and seek occasions to use it.

Amongst the multitude of his amours he became acquainted and passionately fond of one Mrs. Maycock, whose husband was once an eminent tradesman upon Ludgate Hill. By her he had a child of which also he was very fond. This woman was the source of the far greater part of his misfortunes, for when his father had procured him a handsome commission in the service of the African Company, and he had received a considerable sum of money for his voyage, appearing perfectly satisfied himself, and behaving in so grave and decent a manner as filled his family and relations with very agreeable hopes, they were all blasted by Mrs. Maycock's coming with her child to Portsmouth, where he was to embark. She so far prevailed upon his inclinations as to get him to give her one half of the Company's money and to return to town with the other half himself. On his coming up to London he avoided going to his father's, who no sooner heard how dishonourably his son had behaved, but laying it more to heart than all the rest of his misfortunes, grief in a short time put an end to them all by his death.

When the news of it came to young Stanley, he fell into transports of grief and passion, which as many of his intimate companions said, so disturbed his brain that he never afterwards was in a right temper. This, indeed, appeared by several accidents, some of which were sworn at his trial, particularly that while he lodged in the house of Mr. Underhill, somebody



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having quoted a sentence of Latin in his company, he was so disturbed at the thoughts of his having had such opportunities of acquiring the knowledge of that language and yet continuing ignorant thereof, through his negligence and debauchery, that it made at that time so strong an impression on his spirits, that starting up, he drew a penknife and attempted to stab himself, without any other cause of passion. At other times he would fall into sudden and grievous rages, either at trifles, or at nothing at all, abuse his best friends, and endeavour to injure himself, and then coming to a better temper, begged them to forgive him, for he did not know what he did.

During the latter part of his life, his circumstances were so bad that he was reduced to doing many dirty actions which I am persuaded otherwise would not have happened, such as going into gentlemen's select companies at taverns, without any other ceremony than telling them that his impudence must make him welcome to a dinner with them, after which, instead of thanking them for their kindness, he would often pick a quarrel with them, though strangers, drawing his sword and fighting before he left the room. Such behaviour made him obnoxious to all who were not downright debauchees like himself, and hindered persons of rank conversing with him as they were wont.

In the meantime his favourite Mrs. Maycock, whom he had some time lived with as a wife and even prevailed with his mother to visit her as such, being no longer able to live at his rate, or bear with his temper, frequented a house in the Old Bailey, where it was supposed, and perhaps with truth, that she received other company. This made Stanley very uneasy, who like most young rakes thought himself at liberty to pursue as many women as he pleased, but could not forgive any liberties taken by a woman whom he, forsooth, had honoured with his affections.

One night therefore, seeing her in Fleet Street with a man and a woman, he came up to her and gently tapped her on the shoulder. She turning, cried, *What! My dear Captain!* And so on they went walking to his house in the Old Bailey. There some words happened about the mutual misfortunes they had brought upon one another. Mrs. Maycock reproached him with seducing her, and bringing on all the miseries she had ever felt; Stanley reflected on her hindering his voyage to Cape Coast, the extravagant sums he had spent upon her, and her now conversing with other men, though she had had three or four children by him. At last they grew very high, and Mrs. Maycock, who was naturally a very sweet-tempered woman, was so far provoked, as Stanley said, that she threw a cup of beer at him; upon which some ill-names passing between them, Stanley drew his sword and stabbed her between the breasts eight inches deep; immediately upon which he stopped his handkerchief into the wound.

He was quickly secured and committed to Wood Street Compter,¹⁴⁷ where he expressed very little concern at what had happened, laughing and giving himself abundance of airs, such as by no means became a man in his condition. On his commitment to Newgate, he seemed not to abate the least of that vivacity which was natural to his temper, and as he had too much mistaken vice for the characteristic of a fine gentleman, so nothing appeared to him so great a testimony of gallantry and courage as behaving intrepidly while death was so near its approach. He therefore

147. This was one of the sheriff's compters—the other was in the Poultry—and served for debtors as well as criminals. It stood about half-way up Wood Street, on the east side.



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entertained all who conversed with him in the prison, and all who visited him from without, with the history of his amours and the favours that had been bestowed on him by a multitude of fine ladies. Nay, his vanity and impudence was so great as to mention some of their names, and especially to asperse two ladies who lived near Cheapside Conduit.¹⁴⁸ But there is great reason to believe that part of this was put on to make his madness more probable at his trial, where he behaved very oddly, and when he received sentence of death, took snuff at the bar, and put on abundance of airs that were even ridiculous anywhere, and shocking and scandalous upon so melancholy an occasion.

After sentence, his carriage under his confinement altered not so much as one would have expected; he offering to lay wagers that he should never be **hanged**, notwithstanding his sentence, for he was resolved not to die like a dog on a string, when he had it in his power always to go out of the world a nobler way, by which he meant either a knife or opium, which were the two methods by one of which he resolved to prevent his fate. But when he found that all his pretences of madness were like to produce nothing, and that he was in danger of dying in every respect like a brute, he laid aside much of his ill-timed gaiety, and began to think of preparing for death after another manner. These gentlemen who assisted him while in Newgate, were so kind as to offer to make up a considerable sum of money, if it could have been of any use; but finding that neither that nor their interest could do anything to save him, they frankly acquainted him therewith and begged him not to delude himself with false hopes. All the while he was in Newgate, a little boy whom he had by Mrs. Maycock, continued with him, and lay constantly in his bosom. He manifested the utmost tenderness and concern for that poor child, who by his rashness had been deprived of his mother, and whom the Law would, by its just sentence, now likewise deprive of its father. Being told that Mr. Bryan, Mrs. Maycock's brother on Tower Hill was dead, merely through concern at his sister's misfortunes and the deplorable end that followed them, Stanley clapped his hands together and cried, *What, more death still? Sure I am the most unfortunate wretch that was ever born.* Some few days before his execution, talking to one of his friends, he said, *I am perfectly convinced that it is false courage to avoid the just sentence of the Law, by executing the rash dictates of one's rage by one's own head. I am heartily sorry for the rash expression I have been guilty of, of that sort, and am determined to let the world see my courage fails me no more in my death than it has done in my life; and, my dear friend, added he, I never felt so much ease, quiet and satisfaction in all my life, as I have experienced, since my coming to this resolution.*

But though he sometimes expressed himself in a serious and religious manner yet passion would sometimes break in upon him to the last and make him burst out into frightful and horrid speeches. Then again he would grow calm and cool, and speak with great seeming sense of God's providence in his afflictions.

He was particularly affected with two accidents which happened to him not long before his death, and which struck him with great concern at the time they happened. The first of these was a fall from his horse under Tyburn, in which he was stunned so that he

148. There were two conduits in Cheapside; the Great, which stood in the middle of the street, near its junction with the Poultry, and the Little, which was at the other end, facing Foster Lane and Old Change.



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could not recover strength enough to remount, but was helped on his horse again by the assistance of two friends. Not long after which, he had as bad an accident of the same kind under Newgate, which he said, made such an impression on him, that he did not go abroad for many mornings afterwards, without recommending himself in the most serious manner to the Divine protection.

Another story he also told, with many marks of real thankfulness for the narrow escape he then made from death, which happened thus. At a cider-cellar in Covent Garden he fell out with one Captain Chickley, and challenging him to fight in a dark room, they were then shut up together for some space. But a constable being sent for by the people of the house, and breaking the door open, delivered him from being sent altogether unprepared out of the world, Chickley being much too hard for him, and having given him a wound quite through the body, himself escaping with only a slight cut or two.

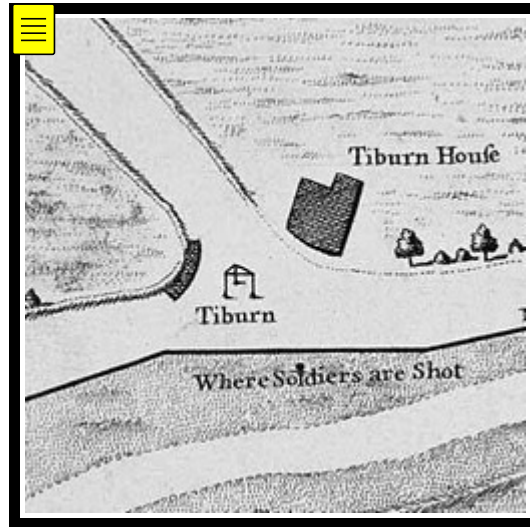
As the day of execution drew near, Mr. Stanley appeared more serious and much more attentive to his devotions than hitherto he had been. Yet could he not wholly contain himself even then, for the Sunday before he died, after sermon, at which he had behaved himself decently and modestly, he broke out into this wild expression, that he was only sorry he had not fired the whole house where he killed Mrs. Maycock. When he was reproved for these things he would look ashamed, and say, 'twas true, they were very unbecoming, but they were what he could not help, arising from certain starts in his imagination that hurried him into a short madness, for which he was very sorry as soon as he came to himself.

At the place of execution, to which he was conveyed in a mourning coach, he turned pale, seemed uneasy, and complained that he was very sick, entreating a gentleman by him to support him with his hand. He desired to be unbound that he might be at liberty to pray kneeling, which with some difficulty was granted. He then applied himself to his devotions with much fervency, and then submitted to his fate, but when the cap was drawn over his eyes he seemed to shed tears abundantly. Immediately before he was turned off he said his friends had provided a hearse to carry away his body and he hoped nobody would be so cruel as to deny his relations his dead limbs to be interred, adding, that unless he were assured of this, he could not die in peace.

Such was the end of a young man in person and capacity every way fitted to have made a reputable figure in the world, if either his natural principles, or his education had laid any restraint upon his vices; but as his passions hurried him beyond all bounds, so they brought a just end upon themselves, by finishing a life spent in sensual pleasures with an ignominious death, which happened at Tyburn in the twenty-fifth year of his age,

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on the 23rd of December, 1722.



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The French barber Lewis Houssart, convicted of murder, was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹⁴⁹

As there is not any crime more shocking to human nature or more contrary to all laws human and divine than murder, so perhaps there has been few committed in these last years accompanied with more odd circumstances than that for which this criminal suffered.

Lewis Houssart was born at Sedan, a town in Champaigne in the kingdom of France. His own paper says that he was bred a surgeon and qualified for that business. However that were, he was here no better than a penny barber, only that he let blood, and thereby got a little and not much money. As to the other circumstances of his life, my memoirs are not full enough to assist me in speaking thereto. All I can say of him is that while his wife, Anne Rondeau, was living, he married another woman, and the night of the marriage before sitting down to supper, he went out a little space. During the interval between that and his coming in, it was judged from the circumstances that I shall mention hereafter, that he cut the throat of the poor woman who was his first wife, with a razor. For this being apprehended he was tried at the Old Bailey, but for want of proof sufficient was acquitted.

Not long after he was indicted for bigamy, i.e., for marrying his second wife, his first having been yet alive. Scarce making any defence upon this indictment he was found guilty. He said thereupon, it was no more than he expected, and that he did not trouble himself to preserve so much as his reputation in this respect; for in the first place he knew they were resolved to convict him, and in the next, he said, where there was no fault, there was no shame; that his first wife was a Socinian, an irrational creature, and was entitled to the advantages of no nation nor people because she was no Christian, and accordingly the Scripture says, with such a one have no conversation, no, not so much as to eat with them. But an appeal was lodged against him by Solomon Rondeau, brother and heir to Anne his wife, yet that appearing to be defective, it was quashed, and he charged upon another, whereunto joining issue upon six points they came to be tried at the Old Bailey, where the following circumstances appeared upon the trial.

First, that at the time he was at supper at his new wife's house, he started on a sudden, looked aghast and seemed to be very much frightened. A little boy deposed that the prisoner gave him money to go to his own house in a little court, and fetch the mother of the deceased Anne Rondeau to a gentleman who would be at such a place and wait for her. When the mother returned from that place and found nobody wanting her, or that had wanted her, she was very much out of humour at the boy's calling her; but that quickly gave way to the surprise of finding her daughter murdered as soon as she entered the room. This boy who called her was very young, yet out of the number of persons who were

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in Newgate he singled out Lewis Houssart, and declared that he was the only man among them who gave him money to go on the errand for old Mistress Rondeau.

Upon this and several other corroborating proofs, the jury found him guilty, upon which he arraigned the justice of a Court which hitherto had been preserved without a taint, declaring that he was innocent, and that they might punish if they would, but they could not make him guilty, and much more to the like effect; but the Court were not troubled with that, so he scarce endeavoured to make any other defence.

While in the condemned hold amongst the rest of the criminals, he behaved himself in a very odd manner, insisted upon it that he was innocent of the fact laid to his charge, threw out most opprobrious language against the Court that condemned him, and when he was advised to lay aside such heats of passionate expressions, he said he was sorry he did not more fully expose British justice upon the spot at the Old Bailey, and that now since they had tied up his hands from acting, he would at least have satisfaction in saying what he pleased.

When this Houssart was first apprehended he appeared to be very much affected with his condition, was continually reading good books, praying and meditating, and showing the utmost signs of a heart full of concern, and under the greatest emotions, but after he had once been convicted, it made a thorough change in his temper. He quite laid aside all the former gravity of his temper and gave way, in the contrary, to a very extraordinary spirit of obstinacy and unbelief. He puzzled himself continually, and if Mr. Deval, who was then under sentence, would have given leave, attempted to puzzle him too, as to the doctrines of a future state, and an identical resurrection of the body. He said he could not be persuaded of the truth thereof in a literal sense; that when the individual frame of flesh which he bore about him was once dead, and from being flesh became again clay, he did not either conceive or believe that it, after lying in the earth, or disposed of otherwise perhaps for the space of a thousand years, should at the last day be reanimated by the soul which possessed it now, and become answerable even to eternal punishment for crimes committed so long ago. It was, he said, also little agreeable to the notions he entertained of the infinite mercy of God, and therefore he chose rather to look upon such doctrines as errors received from education, than torment and afflict himself with the terrors which must arise from such a belief. But after he had once answered as well as he could these objections, Mr. Deval refused to harken a second time to any such discourses and was obliged to have recourse to harsh language to oblige him to desist.

In the meanwhile his brother came over from Holland, on the news of this dreadful misfortune, and went to make him a visit in the place of his confinement while under condemnation, going to condole with him on the heavy weight of his misfortunes. Upon which, instead of receiving the kindness of his brother in the manner it deserved, Houssart began to make light of the affair, and treated the death of his wife and his own confinement in such a manner that his brother leaving him abruptly, went back to Holland more shocked at the brutality of his behaviour than grieved for the misfortune which had befallen him.

It being a considerable space of time that Houssart lay in confinement in Newgate and even in the condemned hold, he had



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there, of course, abundance of companions. But of them all he affected none so much as John Shepherd, with whom he had abundance of merry and even loose discourse. Once particularly, when the sparks flew very quickly out of the charcoal fire, he said to Shepherd, *See, see! I wish these were so many bullets that might beat the prison down about our ears, and then I might die like Sampson.*

It was near a month before he was called up to receive sentence, after which he made no scruple of saying that since they had found him guilty of throat-cutting, they should not lie, he would verify their judgment by cutting his own throat. Upon which, when some who were in the same sad state with himself, pointed out to him how great a crime self-murder was, he immediately made answer that he was satisfied it was no crime at all; and upon this he fell to arguing in favour of the mortality of the soul, as if certain that it died with the body, endeavouring to cover his opinions with false glosses on that text in Genesis where it is said, that God breathed into man a living soul. From hence he would have inferred that when a man ceased to live, he totally lost that soul, and when it was asked of him where then it went, he said, he did not know, nor did it concern him much.

The standers-by, who notwithstanding their profligate course of life had a natural abhorrence of this theoretical impiety, reprov'd him in very sharp terms for making use of such expression, upon which he replied, *Ay! would you have me believe all the strange notions that are taught by the parsons? That the devil is a real thing? That our good God punishes souls for ever and ever? That Hell is full of flames from material fire, and that this body of mine shall feel it? Well, you may believe it if you please, but it is so with me that I cannot.*

Sometimes, however, he would lay aside these sceptical opinions for a time, talk in another strain, and appear mightily concerned at the misfortunes he had drawn upon his second wife and child. He would then speak of Providence, and the decrees of God with much seeming submission, would own that he had been guilty of many and grievous offences, say that the punishment of God was just, and desire the prayers of the minister of the place, and those that were about him.

When he reflected on the grief it would give his father, near ninety years old, to hear of his misfortunes and that his son should be shamefully executed for the murder of his wife, he was seen to shed tears and to appear very much affected; but as soon as these thoughts were a little out of his head, he resumed his former temper and was continually asking questions in relation to the truth of the Gospel dispensation, and the doctrines therein taught of rewards and punishments after this life.

Being a Frenchman and not perfectly versed in our language, a minister of the Reformed Church of that nation was prevailed upon to attend him. Houssart received him with tolerable civility, seemed pleased that he should pray by him, but industriously waved aside all discourses of his guilt, and even fell out into violent passions if confession was pressed upon him as a duty. In this strange way he consumed the time allowed him to prepare for another world.

The day before his execution he appeared more than ordinarily attentive at the public devotions in the chapel. A sermon was then made with particular regard to that fact for which he was



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to die; he heard that also seemingly with much care, but when he was asked immediately after to unburden his conscience in respect of the death of his wife, he not only refused it, but also expressed a great indignation that he should be tormented as he called it, to confess a thing of which he was not guilty. In the evening of that day the foreign minister and he whose duty it was to attend him, both waited upon him at night in order to discourse with him on those strange notions he had of the mortality of the soul, and a total cessation of being after this life. But when they came to speak to him to this purpose, he said they might spare themselves any arguments upon that head, for he believed a God and a resurrection as firmly as they did. They then discoursed to him of the nature of a sufficient repentance, and of the duty incumbent upon him to confess that great crime for which he was condemned, and thereby give glory unto God. He fell at this into his old temper, and said with some passion, *If you will pray with me, I'll thank you, and pray with you as long as you please; but if you come only to torture me with my guilt, I desire you would let me alone altogether.*

His lawyers having pretty well instructed him in the nature of an appeal, and he coming thereby to know that he was now under sentence of death, at the suit of the subject and not of the King, he was very assiduous to learn where it was he was to apply for a reprieve; but finding it was the relations of his deceased wife from whom he was to expect it, he laid aside all those hopes, as conceiving it rightly a thing impossible to prevail upon people to spare his life, who had almost undone themselves in prosecuting him.

In the morning of the day of execution he was very much disturbed at being refused the Sacrament, which as the minister told him, could not be given him by the canon without his confession. Yet this did not prevail; he said he would die without receiving it, as he had before answered a French minister, who said, *Lewis Houssart, since you are condemned on full evidence, and I see no reason but to believe you guilty, I must, as a just pastor, inform you that if you persist in this denial, and die without confession, you can look for nothing but to be d—; to which Houssart replied, You must look for damnation to yourself for judging me guilty, when you know nothing of the matter.*

This confused frame of mind he continued in until he entered the cart for his execution, persisting in a like declaration of innocence all the way he went, though sometimes intermixed with short prayers to God to forgive his manifold sins and offences. At the place of execution he turned very pale and grew very sick. The ministers told him they would not pray by him unless he would confess the murder for which he died. He said he was very sorry for that, but if they would not pray by him he could not help it, he would not confess what he was totally ignorant of. Even at the moment of being tied up he persisted and when such exhortations were again repeated, he said: *Pray do not torment me, pray cease troubling me. I tell you I will not make myself worse than I am.* And so saying, he gave up the ghost without any private prayer when left alone or calling upon God or Christ to receive his spirit. He delivered to the minister of Newgate, however, a paper, the copy which follows, from whence my readers will receive a more exact idea of the man from this, his draught



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of himself, than from any picture I can draw.



The Paper delivered by Lewis Houssart at his death.

I, Lewis Houssart, am forty years old, and was born in Sedan, a town in Champaigne, near Boullonois. I have left France above fourteen years. I was apprentice to a surgeon at Amsterdam, and after examination was allowed by the college to be qualified for that business, so that I intended to go on board a ship as surgeon, but I could never have my health at sea. I dwelt sometime at Mæstricht, in the Dutch Brabant, where my aged father and brother now dwell. I travelled through Holland and was in almost every town. My two sisters are in France and also many of my relations, for the earth has scarce any family more numerous than ours. Seven or eight years have I been in London, and here I met with Anne Rondeau, who was born at the same village with me, and therefore I loved her. After I had left her, she wrote to me, and said she would reveal a secret. I promised her to be secret, and she told me she had not been chaste, and the consequence of it was upon her, upon which I gave her my best help and assistance. Since she is dead I hope her soul is happy.

Lewis Houssart

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The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



Charles Towers, a minter of Wapping near London, was [hanged](#) in Wapping.¹⁵⁰

Notwithstanding it must be apparent, even to a very ordinary understanding, that the Law must be executed both in civil and criminal cases, and that without such execution those who live under its protection would be very unsafe, yet it happens so that those who feel the smart of its judgment (though drawn upon them by their own misdeeds, follies or misfortunes which the Law of man cannot remedy or prevent) are always clamouring against its supposed severity, and making dreadful complaints of the hardships they from thence sustain. This disposition hath engaged numbers under these unhappy circumstances to attempt screening themselves from the rigour of the laws by sheltering in certain places, where by virtue of their own authority, or rather necessities, they set up a right of exemption and endeavour to establish a power of preserving those who live within certain limits from being prosecuted according to the



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usual course of the Law.

Anciently, indeed, there were several sanctuaries which depended on the Roman Catholic religion, and which were, of course, destroyed when popery was done away by Law. However, those who had sheltered themselves in them kept up such exemption, and by force withstood whatever civil officers attempted to execute process for debt, and that so vigorously that at length they seemed to have established by prescription what was directly against Law. These pretended privileged places increased at last to such an extent that in the ninth year of King William, the legislature was obliged to make provision by a clause in an Act of Parliament, requiring the sheriffs of London, Middlesex, and Surrey, the head bailiff of the Dutchy Liberty, or the bailiff of Surrey, under the penalty of one hundred pounds, to execute with the assistance of the *posse comitatus* any writ or warrant directed to them for seizing any person within any pretended privilege place such as Whitefriars, the Savoy, Salisbury Court, Ram Alley, Mitre Court, Fuller's Rents, Baldwin's Gardens, Montague Close or the Minories, Mint, Clink, or Dead Man's Place.¹⁵¹ At the same time they ordered the assistance for executing the Law, of any who obey the sheriff or other person or persons in such places as aforesaid, with very great penalties upon persons who attempt to rescue persons from the hands of justice in such place.

This law had a very good effect with respect to all places excepting those within the jurisdiction of the Mint, though not without some struggle. There, however, they still continued to keep up those privileges they had assumed, and accordingly did maintain them by so far misusing persons who attempted to execute processes amongst them, by ducking them in ditches, dragging them through privies or "lay stalls," accompanied by a number of people dressed up in frightful habits, who were summoned upon blowing a horn. All which at last became so very great a grievance that the legislature was again forced to interpose, and by an act of the 9th of the late King, the Mint, as it was commonly called, situated in the parish of St. George's, Southwark, in the county of Surrey, was taken away, and the punishment of transportation, and even death, inflicted upon such who should persist in maintaining there pretended privileges.

Yet so far did the Government extend its mercy, as to suffer all those who at the time of passing the Act were actually shelterers in the Mint (provided that they made a just discovery of their effects) to be discharged from any imprisonment of their persons for any debts contracted before that time. By this Act of Parliament, the privilege of the Mint was totally taken away and destroyed.

The persons who had so many years supported themselves therein were dissipated and dispersed. But many of them got again into debt, and associating themselves with other persons in the same condition, with unparalleled impudence they attempted to set up (towards Wapping) a new privileged jurisdiction under the title of the Seven Cities of Refuge. In this attempt they were much furthered and directed by one Major Santloe, formerly a Justice of Peace, but being turned out of commission, he came first a

151. Ram Alley was on the south side of Fleet Street, between Sergeants' Inn and Mitre Court; Fuller's Rents is now Fulwood Place, Holborn; Baldwin's Gardens runs from Gray's Inn Road to Leather Lane; Montague Close was on the Southwark side, near London Bridge; Dead Man's Place was a crooked street at the east end of Bankside.



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shelterer here, and afterwards a prisoner in the Fleet. These people made an addition to these laws which had formerly been established in such illegal sanctuaries, for they provided large books in which they entered the names of persons who entered into their association, swearing to defend one another against all bailiffs and such like. In consequence of which, they very often rescued prisoners out of custody, or even entered the houses of officers for that purposes. Amongst the number of these unhappy people, who by protecting themselves against the lesser judgments of the Law involved themselves in greater difficulties, and at last drew on the greatest and most heavy sentence which it could pronounce, was him we now speak of.

Charles Towers was a person whose circumstances had been bad for many years, and in order to retrieve them he had turned gamester. For a guinea or two, it seems, he engaged for the payment of a very considerable debt for a friend, who not paying it at his time, Towers was obliged to fly for shelter into the Old Mint, then in being. He went into the New, which was just then setting up, and where the Shelterers took upon them to act more licentiously and with greater outrages towards officers of Justice than the people in any other places had done. Particularly they erected a tribunal on which a person chosen for that purpose sat as a judge with great state and solemnity. When any bailiff had attempted to arrest persons within the limits which they assumed for their jurisdiction, he was seized immediately by a mob of their own people, and hurried before the judge of their own choosing. There a sort of charge or indictment was preferred against him, for attempting to disturb the peace of the Shelterers within the jurisdiction of the Seven Cities of Refuge. Then they examined certain witnesses to prove this, and thereupon pretending to convict such bailiff as a criminal, he was sentenced by their judge aforesaid to be whipped or otherwise punished as he thought fit, which was executed frequently in the most cruel and barbarous manner, by dragging him through ditches and other nasty places, tearing his clothes off his back, and even endangering his life.

One West, who had got amongst them, being arrested by John Errington, who carried him to his house by Wapping Wall, the Shelterers in the New Mint no sooner heard thereof, but assembling on a Sunday morning in a great number, with guns, swords, staves, and other offensive weapons, they went to the house of the said John Errington, and there terrifying and affrighting the persons in the house rescued John West, pursuant, as they said, to their oaths, he being registered as a protected person in their books of the Seven Cities of Refuge. In this expedition Charles Towers was very forward, being dressed with only a blue pea-jacket, without hat, wig or shirt, with a large stick like a quarter-staff in his hand, his face and breast being so blackened that it appeared to be done with soot and grease, contrary to the Statute made against those called The Waltham Blacks, and done after the first day of June, 1723, when that Statute took place.

Upon an indictment for this, the fact being very fully and dearly proved, notwithstanding his defence, which was that he was no more disguised than his necessity obliged him to be, not having wherewith to provide himself clothes, and his face perhaps dirty and daubed with mud, the jury found him guilty, and he thereupon received sentence of death.



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Before the execution of that sentence, he insisted strenuously on his innocence as to the point on which he was found guilty and condemned, viz., having his face blacked and disguised within the intent and meaning of the Statute, but he readily acknowledged that he had been often present and assisted at such mock courts of justice as were held in the New Mint, though he absolutely denied sitting as judge when one Mr. Westwood, a bailiff, was most abominably abused by an order of that pretended court. He seemed fully sensible of the ills and injuries he had committed by being concerned amongst such people, but often said that he thought the bailiffs had sufficiently revenged themselves by the cruel treatment they had used the riotous persons with, when they fell within their power, particularly since they hacked and chopped a carpenter's right arm in such a manner that it was obliged to be cut off; had abused others in so terrible a degree that they were not able to work, or do anything for their living. He himself had received several large cuts over the head, which though received six weeks before, yet were in a very bad condition at the time of his death.

As to disguises, he constantly averred they were never practised in the New Mint. He owned they had had some masquerades amongst them, to which himself amongst others had gone in the dress of a miller, and his face all covered with white, but as to any blacking or other means to prevent his face being known when he rescued West he had none, but on the contrary was in his usual habit as all the rest were that accompanied him. He framed as well as he could a petition for mercy, setting forth the circumstances of the thing, and the hardship he conceived it to be to suffer upon the bare construction of an Act of Parliament. He set forth likewise, the miserable condition of his wife and two children already, she being also big of a third. This petition she presented to his Majesty at the Council Chamber door, but the necessity there was of preventing such combinations for obstructing justice, rendered it of no effect. Upon her return, and Towers being acquainted with the result, he said he was contented, that he went willingly into a land of quiet from a world so troublesome and so tormenting as this had been to him. Then he kneeled down and prayed with great fervency and devotion, after which he appeared very composed and showed no rage against the prosecutor and witnesses who had brought on his death, as is too often the case with men in his miserable condition.

On the day appointed for his execution, he was carried in a cart to a gallows whereon he was to suffer in Wapping, the crowd, as is not common on such occasions, lamenting him, and pouring down showers of tears, he himself behaving with great calmness and intrepidity. After prayers had been said, he stood up in the cart, and turning towards the people, professed his innocence in being in a disguise at the time of rescuing Mr. West, and with the strongest asseverations said that it was Captain Buckland and not himself who sat as judge upon Mr. Jones the bailiff, though, as he complained, he had been ill-used while he remained a prisoner upon that score. To this he added that for the robberies and thefts with which he was charged, they were falsities, as he was a dying man. Money indeed, he said, might be shaken out of the breeches pocket of the bailiff when he was ditched, but that whether it was or was not so, he was



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no judge, for he never saw any of it. That as to any design of breaking open Sir Isaac Tilliard's house, he was innocent of that also. In fine, he owned that the judgment of God was exceeding just for the many offences he committed, but that the sentence of the Law was too severe, because, as he understood it, he had done nothing culpable within the intent of the Statute on which he died. After this, he inveighed for some time against bailiffs, and then crying with vehemency to God to receive his spirit, he gave up the ghost on the 4th of January, 1724-5.

However the death of Towers might prevent people committing such acts as breaking open the houses of bailiffs, and setting prisoners at liberty, yet it did not quite stifle or destroy those attempts which necessitous people made for screening themselves from public justice, insomuch that the Government were obliged at last to cause a Bill to be brought into Parliament for the preventing such attempts for the future, whereupon in the 11th year of the late King, it passed into a law to this effect:

That if any number of persons not less than three, associate themselves together in the hamlet of Wapping, Stepney, or in any other place within the bills of mortality, in order to shelter themselves from their debts, after complaint made thereof by presentment of a grand jury, and should obstruct any officer legally empowered and authorised in the execution of any writ or warrant against any person whatsoever, and in such obstructing or hindering should hurt, wound or injure any person; then any offender convicted of such offence, should suffer as a felon and be transported for seven years in like manner as other persons are so convicted. And it is further enacted by the same law that upon application made to the judge of any Court, out of which the writs therein mentioned are issued, the aforesaid judge, if he see proper, may grant a warrant directly to the sheriff, or other person proper to raise the *posse comitatus*, where there is any probability of resistance. And if in the execution of such warrant any disturbance should happen, and a rescue be made, then the persons assisting in such rescue, or who harbour or conceal the persons so rescued, shall be transported for seven years in like manner as if convicted of felony, but all indictments upon this statute are to be commenced within six months after the fact committed.

Thomas Anderson, a Scotsman, lived for awhile as a thief but managed to escape being [hanged](#) and made a successful marriage to a wealthy woman in the West Indies, thus effectively reforming his life.¹⁵²

Amongst a multitude of tragical adventures it is with some satisfaction that I mention the life of a person who was of the number of those few which take warning in time, and having once felt the rod of affliction, fear it ever afterwards.

Thomas Anderson was the son of reputable parents in the city of Aberdeen, in Scotland. His father was of the number of those unhappy people who went over to Darien when the Scots made their settlement there in the reign of the late King William, his son Thomas being left under the care of his mother then a widow. By this his education suffered, and he was put apprentice to a

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glazier, although his father had been a man of some fashion, and the boy always educated with hopes of living genteelly. However, he is not the first that has been so deceived, though he took it so to heart that at first going to his master his grief was so great as had very nigh killed him. He continued, however, with his master two years, and then making bold with about nine guineas of his, and thirteen of his mother's, he procured a horse and made the greatest speed he could to Edinburgh.

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



Tom was sensible enough that he should be pursued, and hearing of a ship ready to sail from Leith for London, he went on board it, and in five days' time having a fair wind they arrived in the river of Thames. As soon as he got on shore Tom had the precaution to take lodging in a little street near Bur Street in Wapping, there he put his things; and his stock now being dwindled to twelve guineas, he put two of them in his fob, with his mother's old gold watch, which he had likewise brought along with him, and then went out to see the town. He had not walked far in Fleet Street, whither he had conveyed himself by boat, but he was saluted by a well-dressed woman, in a tone almost as broad as his own. Conscious of what he had committed he thought



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it was somebody that knew him and would have taken him up. He turned thereupon pale, and started. The woman observing his surprise, said, *Sir, I beg your pardon I took you for one Mr. Johnson, of Hull, my near relation; but I see you are not the same gentleman, though you are very like him.*

Anderson thereupon taking heart, walked a little way with her, and the woman inviting him to drink tea at her lodgings, he accepted it readily, and away they went together to the bottom of Salisbury Court, where the woman lived. After tea was over, so many overtures were made that our new-come spark was easily drawn into an amour, and after a considerable time spent in parley, it was at last agreed that he should pass for her husband newly come from sea; and this being agreed upon, the landlady was called up, and the story told in form. The name the woman assumed was that of Johnson, and Tom consequently was obliged to go by the same. So after compliments expressed on all sides for his safe return, a supper was provided, and about ten o'clock they went to bed together.

Whether anything had been put in the drink, or whether it was only owing to the quantity he had drunk, he slept very soundly until 11 o'clock in the morning, when he was awakened by a knocking at the door; upon getting up to open it, he was a little surprised at finding the woman gone and more so at seeing the key thrown under the door. However, he took it up and opened it: his landlady then delivered him a letter, which as soon as she was gone he opened, and found it to run in these terms:

Dear Sir,

You must know that for about three years I have been an unfortunate woman, that is, have conversed with many of your sex, as I have done with you. I need not tell you that you made me a present of what money you had about you last night, after the reckoning over the way at The George was paid. I told my landlady when I went out this morning that I was going to bring home some linen for shirts; you had best say so too, and so you may go away without noise, for as I owe her above three pound for lodging, 'tis odds but that as you said last night you were my husband, she will put you in trouble, and that I think would be hard, for to be sure you have paid dear enough for your frolic. I hope you will forgive this presumption, and I am yours next time you meet me.

Jane Johnson

Tom was not a little chagrined at this accident, especially when he found that not only the remainder of the two guineas, but also his mother's gold watch, and a gold chain and ring was gone into the bargain. However, he thought it best to take the woman's word, and so coming down and putting on the best air he could, he told his landlady he hoped his wife would bring the linen home time enough to go to breakfast, and that in the meanwhile he would go to the coffee-house, and read the news. The woman said it was very well, and Tom getting to the waterside, directed them to row to the stairs nearest to his lodging by Bur Street, ruminating all the way he went on the accident which had befallen him.

The rumours of Jonathan Wild, then in the zenith of his glory, had somehow or other reached the ears of our North Briton. He thereupon mentioned him to the watermen, who perceiving that he



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was a stranger, and hoping to get a pot of drink for the relation, obliged him with the best account they were able of Mr. Wild and his proceedings. As soon, therefore, as Anderson came home, he put the other two guineas in his pocket, and over he came in a coach to the Old Bailey, where Mr. Wild had just then set up in his office, Mr. Anderson being introduced in form, acquainted him in good blunt Scotch how he had lost his money and his watch. Jonathan used him very civilly, and promised his utmost diligence in recovering it. Tom being willing to save money, enquired of him his way home by land on foot, and having received instructions he set out accordingly. About the middle of Cheapside a well-dressed gentleman came up to him. *Friend,* says he, *I have heard you ask five or six people, as I followed you, your way to Bur Street. I am going thither and so if you'll walk along with me, 'twill save you the labour of asking further questions.*

Tom readily accepted the gentleman's civility, and so on they trudged, until they came within twenty yards of the place, and into Tom's knowledge. *Young man,* then says the stranger, *since I have shown you the way home you must not refuse drinking a pint with me at a tavern hard by, of my acquaintance.* No sooner were they entered and sat down, but a third person was introduced into their company, as an acquaintance of the former. A good supper was provided, and when they had drunk about a pint of wine apiece, says the gentleman who brought him thither to Anderson, *You seem an understanding young fellow. I fancy your circumstances are not of the best. Come, if you have a tolerable head and any courage, I'll put you in a way to live as easy as you can wish.*

Tom pricked up his ears upon this motion, and told him that truly, as to his circumstances, he had guessed very right, but that he wished he would be so good as to put him into any road of living like a gentleman. *For to say the truth, sir,* says he, *it was with that view I left my own country to come up to London.* Well spoken, my lad, says the other, and like a gentleman thou shalt live. But hark ye, are you well acquainted with the men of quality's families about Aberdeen? Yes, sir, says he. Well then, replied the stranger, do you know none of them who has a son about your age? Yes, yes, replied Tom, My Lord J— sent his eldest son to our college at Aberdeen to be bred, and he and I an much alike, and not above ten days difference in our ages. Why then, replied the spark, it will do, and here's to your honour's health. Come, from this time forward, you are the Honourable Mr. —, son and heir apparent to the Right Honourable, the Lord —.

To make the story short, these sharpers equipped him like the person they put him upon the town to be, and lodging him at the house of a Scotch merchant who was in the secret, with no less than three footmen all in proper livery to attend him. In the space of ten days' time, they took up effect upon his credit to the amount of a thousand pounds. Tom was cunning enough to lay his hands on a good diamond ring, two suits of clothes, and a handsome watch, and improved mightily from a fortnight's conversation with these gentlemen. He foresaw the storm would quickly begin, the news of his arrival under the name he had assumed, having been in the papers a week; so to prevent what might happen to himself, he sends his three footmen on different errands, and making up his clothes and some holland shirts into



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a bundle, called a coach and drove off to Bur Street, where having taken the remainder of his things that had been there ever since his coming to town, he bid the fellow drive him to the house of a person near St. Catherine's, to whom he had known his mother direct letters when in Scotland.

Yet recollecting in the coach that by this means he might be discovered by his relations, he called to the coachman before he reached there, and remembering an inn in Holborn, which he had heard spoken of by the Scotch merchant, where he had lodged in his last adventure, bid the fellow drive thither, saying he was afraid to be out late, and if he made haste he would give him a shilling. When he came thither and had had his two portmanteaus carried into the inn, pretending to be very sick he went immediately upstairs to bed, having first ordered a pint of wine to be burnt and brought upstairs.

Reflecting in the night on the condition he was in and the consequence of the measures he was taking, he resolved with himself to abandon his ill-courses at once and try to live honestly in some plantation of the West Indies. These meditations kept him pretty much awake, so that it was late in the morning before he arose. Having ordered coffee for his breakfast, he gave the chamberlain a shilling to go and fetch the newspapers, where the first thing he saw was an account of his own cheat in the body of the paper, and at the end of it an advertisement with a reward for apprehending him. This made him very uneasy, and the rather because he had no clothes but those which he had taken up as aforesaid; so he ordered the chamberlain to send for a tailor, and pretended to be so much indisposed that he could not get out. When the tailor came, he directed him to make him a riding suit with all the expedition he could. The tailor promised it in two days' time. The next day, pretending to be still worse, he sent the chamberlain to take a place for him in the Bristol coach, which being done, he removed himself and his things early in the morning to the inn where it lay, and set out the next day undiscovered for Bristol.

Three days after his arrival he met with a captain bound for the West Indies, with whom having agreed for a passage, he set sail for Jamaica. But a fresh gale at sea accidentally damaging their rudder, they were obliged to come to an anchor in Cork, where the captain himself and several other passengers went on shore. Anderson accompanied him to the coffee-house, where calling for the papers that last came in, he had like to have swooned at the table on finding himself to have been discovered at Bristol, and to have sailed in such a ship the day before the persons came down to apprehend him in order to his being carried back to London.

As soon as he came a little to himself, he stepped up to the man of the house and asked him for the vault [privy], which being shown him, he immediately threw the paper down; and as soon as he came out, finding the captain ready to go, he accompanied him with great satisfaction on board again, where things being set to rights, by the next day at ten o'clock they sailed with a fair wind, and without any further cross accident arrived safe at Jamaica. There Tom had the good luck to pick up a woman with a tolerable fortune, and about three years later remitted £300 home to the jeweller who had been defrauded of the watch and the ring, and directed him to pay what was over, after deducting his own debt, to the people who had trusted him with other things,



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and who upon his going off had recovered most of them, and were by this means made a tolerable satisfaction. He resided in the West Indies for about five years in all, and in that time, by his own industry acquired a very handsome fortune of his own, and therewith returned to Scotland. I should be very glad if this story would incline some people who have got money in not such honest ways (though perhaps less dangerous) to endeavour at extenuating the crimes they have been guilty of, by making such reparation as in their power, by which at once they atone for their fault, and regain their lost reputation; but I am afraid this advice may prove both unsuccessful and unseasonable and therefore shall proceed in my narrations as the course of these memoirs directs me.

Julian, a “Black Boy and Incendiary” at the age of 16 after being captured into slavery at a younger age, was while in the London prison converted to Christianity and baptized as “John,” and sought to kill himself with a knife — but wound up being [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹⁵³

From speaking of artificial blacks [a gang of white men who referred to themselves as black not of skin color but of temperament], I come now to relate the unhappy death of one who was naturally of that colour. This poor creature’s Julian. At the time of his execution he seemed to be about sixteen years of age, he had been stolen while young from his parents at Madras. He still retained his pagan ignorance both in respect to religion and our language.

He was brought over by one Captain Dawes, who presented him to Mrs. Elizabeth Turner, where he was used with the greatest tenderness and kindness, she often calling him to dance and sing after his manner before company; and he himself acknowledged that he had never been so happy in his life as he was there. Yet, on a sudden, he stole about twenty or thirty guineas, and then placing a candle under the sheets left it burning to fire the house, and consume the inhabitants in it. Of this, upon proof and his own confession made before Sir Francis Forbes and Mr. Turner, he was convicted.

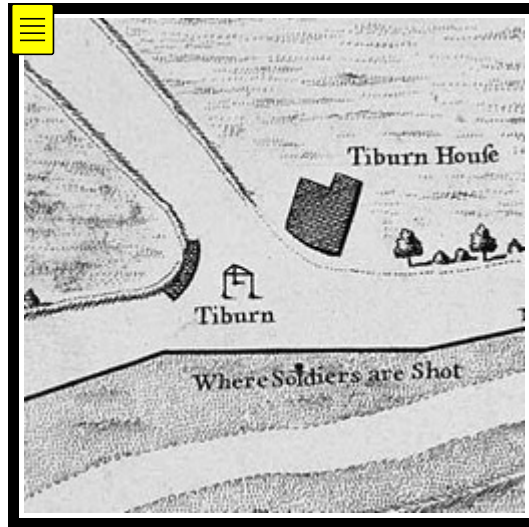
While he remained under sentence, he was often heard to mumble in reproach and revengeful terms to himself. However, before his death he learned the Lord’s Prayer, and when it was demanded whether he would be a Christian, he assented with great joy, which arose, it seems, from his having heard the common foolish opinion that when christened Blacks are to be set free. However, christened he was, and received at his baptism the name of John. The place in which he was confined being very damp, the boy having nothing to lie on but a coat, caught so great a cold in his limbs that he almost lost the use of them before his death, and continued in a state of great pain and weakness; insomuch that when he was told he must prepare for his execution, he determined with himself to forestall it, and for that purpose desired one of the prisoners to lend him a penknife, but the man, it seems, had more grace than to grant his request, and he

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ended his life at Tyburn, according to his sentence.



Abraham Deval, a forger of lottery tickets, was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹⁵⁴

Abraham Deval, who had been a clerk to the Lottery Office, at last took it into his head to coin tickets for himself, and had such good luck therein that he at one time counterfeited a certificate for £52 12s. 0d., for seven blank lottery tickets, in the year 1723. Two or three other facts of the same nature he perpetrated with the like success, but happening to counterfeit two blank tickets of the lottery in the year in which he died, they were discovered, and he thereupon apprehended and tried at the Old Bailey. On the first indictment, for want of evidence he was acquitted, upon which he behaved himself with great insolence, lolled out his tongue at the Court, and told them he did not value the second indictment. But herein he happened to be mistaken, for the jury found him guilty of that indictment and thereupon he received sentence of death accordingly.

Notwithstanding that impudence with which he had treated the Court at his trial, he complained very loudly of their not showing him favour; nay, he even pretended that he had not justice done him. This he grounded upon the score that the ticket he was indicted for was No. 39, in the 651st course of payment. Now it seems that in searching of his brother-in-law Parson's room, the original ticket was found, though very much torn, from whence Deval would have had it taken to be no more than a duplicate, and much blamed his counsel for not insisting long enough upon this point, which if he had done, Deval entertained a strong opinion that he could not have been convicted.

The apprehension of this and the uneasiness he was under with his irons made him pass his last moments with great unquietness and discontent. He said it was against the law to put men in irons, that fettering English subjects (except they attempted to break prisons) was altogether illegal. But after having raved at this rate for a small space, when he found it did him no good, and that there were no hopes of a reprieve, he even began to settle himself to the performance of those duties which became

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a man in his sad condition and when he did apply himself thereto, nobody could appear to have a juster sense than he of that miserable and sad condition into which the folly and wickedness of his life had brought him.

It is certain the man did not want parts, though sometimes he applied them to the worst of purposes, and was cursed with an insolent and overbearing temper which hindered him from being loved or respected anywhere, and which never did him any service but in the last moments of his life, where if it had not been for the severity of his behaviour, Julian, the black boy, would have been very troublesome, both to him and to the other person who was under sentence at the same time.

At the place of execution Deval owned the fact, but wished the spectators to consider whether for all that he was legally convicted, and so suffered in the thirtieth year of his age.

Lumley Davis was [hanged](#) as a highwayman on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹⁵⁵

Such is the frailty of human nature that neither the best examples nor the most liberal education can warrant an honest life, or secure to the most careful parents the certainty of their children not becoming a disgrace to them, either in their lives or by their deaths.

This malefactor, of whom the course of our memoirs now obliges us to make mention, was the son of a man of the same name, viz., Lumley Davis, who was, it seems, in circumstances good enough to procure his sons being brought up in one of the greatest and best schools in England. There his proficiency procured him an election upon the establishment, and he became respected as a person whose parts would do honour even to that remarkable seminary of learning where he had been bred. But unaccountably growing fond, all on a sudden, of going to some trade or employment and absolutely refusing to continue any longer at his studies, his friends were obliged to comply with the ardency of his request and accordingly put him apprentice to an eminent

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vintner at the One Tun Tavern, in the Strand.

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



He continued there but a little while before he was as much dissatisfied with that as he had been with learning, so that leaving his master, and leading an unsettled kind of life, he fell into great debts, being unable to satisfy which, when demanded, he was arrested and thrown into the Marshalsea. There for some time he continued in a very deplorable condition, till by the charitable assistance of a friend, his debt was paid and the fees of the prison discharged. After this he went into the Mint,¹⁵⁶ where drinking accidentally at one of the tap-houses in that infamous place, and being very much out of humour with the low and profligate company he was obliged to converse with there, he took notice of a very genteel man, who sat at the table by himself. He inquired of some persons with whom he was drinking, who that man was. They answered that they could not tell themselves; he was lately come over for shelter amongst them; he was a gentleman, as folks said, of much learning, and though he never conversed with anybody, yet was kind enough to

156. The Southwark Mint was a sanctuary for insolvent debtors and a nest of infamy in general. It stood over against St. George's church.



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afford them his assistance, either with his pen, or by his advice when they asked it. On this character Davis was very industrious to become his acquaintance, and Harman, which was the other man's name, not having been able to meet with anybody there with whom he could converse, he very readily embraced the society of Davis; with whom comparing notes, and finding their case to be pretty much the same, they often condoled one another's misfortunes and as often projected between themselves how to gain some supply without depending continually upon the charity of their friends.

In the meantime, Davis was so unfortunate as to fall ill of a languishing distemper, which brought him so low as to oblige him to apply for relief to that friend who had discharged him out of the Marshalsea. He was so good as to get him into St. Thomas's Hospital, and to supply him while there with whatever was necessary for his support. When he was so far recovered as to be able to go abroad, this kind and good friend provided for him a country habitation, where he might be able to live in privacy and comfort and indulge himself in those inclinations which he began again to show towards learning.

Some time after he had been there, not being able to support longer that quiet kind of life which before he did so earnestly desire, notwithstanding the entreaties of his friends, he came up to London again, where falling into idle company, he became addicted to the vices of drinking and following bad women, things which before he had both detested and avoided. Not long after this, he again found out Mr. Harman, and renewed his acquaintance with him. He enquired into his past adventures and how he had supported himself since they last had been together, and on perceiving that they were far from being on the mending hand with him, the fatal proposal was at last made of going upon the road, and there robbing such persons as might seem best able to spare it, and at the same time furnish them with the largest booty.

The first person they attacked was one John Nichols, Esq., from whom they took a guinea and seventeen shillings, with which they determined to make themselves easy a little, and not go that week again upon any such hazardous exploits. But alas, their resolutions had little success, for that very evening they were both apprehended and on full evidence at the next sessions were convicted and received sentence of death, within a very short time after they had committed the crime.

Davis all along flattered himself with the hopes of a pardon or a reprieve and therefore was not perhaps so serious as he ought, and as he otherwise would have been. Not that those hopes made him either licentious or turbulent, but rather disturbed his meditations and hindered his getting over the terrors which death always brings to the unprepared. But when, on his name being in the death warrant, he found there was no longer any hopes, he then, indeed, applied himself without losing a moment to the great concern of saving his soul, now there was no hopes of preserving his body.

However, neither his education nor all the assistance he could receive from those divines that visited him, could bring him to bear the approach of death with any tolerable patience. Even at the place of execution, he endeavoured as much as he could to linger away the time, spoke to the Ordinary to spin out the prayers, and to the executioner to forbear doing his office as

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long as it was possible. However, he spoke with great kindness and affection to his companion, Mr. Harman, shook hands with those who were his companions in death, and at last submitted to his fate, being then about twenty-three years of age.

February 3: Stephen Gardiner, a highwayman and housebreaker, was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹⁵⁷

Stephen Gardiner was the son of parents of middling circumstances, living at the time of his birth in Moorfields. This, perhaps, was the immediate cause of his ruin, since he learnt there, while a boy, to idle away his time, and to look on nothing as so great a pleasure as gaming and cudgel playing. This took up equally his time and his thoughts, till he grew up to about fourteen years old, when his friends placed him out as an apprentice to a weaver.

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



While he was with his master he did so many unlucky tricks as
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occasioned not only severe usage at home, but incurred also the dislike and hatred of all the neighbours; so that instead of interposing to preserve him from his master's correction, they were continually complaining and getting him beaten; nay, sometimes when his master was not ready enough to do it, would beat him themselves. Stephen was so wearied out with this kind of treatment, notwithstanding it arose solely from his own fault, that he determined to run away for good and all, thinking it would be no difficult matter for him to maintain himself, considering that dexterity with which he played at ninepins, skittles, etc. But experience quickly convinced him of the contrary, so in one month being much reduced after betaking himself to this life, by those misfortunes which were evident enough (though his passion for liberty and idleness hindered him from foreseeing them) that he had not so much as bread to eat. In this distressed condition he was glad to return home again to his friends, imploring their charity, and that, forgetting what was passed, they would be so kind as to relieve him and put him in some method of providing for himself. Natural affection pleading for him, notwithstanding all his failings they took him home again, and soon after put him as a boy on board a corn vessel which traded to Holland and France; but the swearing, quarrelling and fighting of the sailors so frightened him, being then very young and unable to cope with them, that on his return he again implored the tenderness of his relations to permit his staying in England upon any terms, promising to live in a most sober and regular manner, provided that he might get his bread by hard labour at home, and not be exposed to the injuries of wind and weather and the abuses of seamen more boisterous than both. They again complied and put him to another trade, but work, it seems, was a thing no shape could reconcile to him, and so he ran away from thence, too, and once more put himself for a livelihood upon the contrivance of his own brain.

He went immediately to his old employment and old haunt, Moorfields, where as long as he had any money he played at cards, skittles, etc., with the chiefs of those villainous gangs that haunt the place; and when reduced to the want both of money and clothes, he attempted to pick pockets, or by playing with the lads for farthings to recruit himself. But pocket-picking was a trade in which he had very ill-luck, for taking a wig out of a gentleman's pocket at the drawing of the state lottery,¹⁵⁸ the man suffered him totally to take it out, then seized him and cried out *Pickpocket*. The boy immediately dropped it, and giving it a little kick with his foot protected his innocence which induced a good-natured person there present to stand so far his friend that he suffered no deeper that bout. But a month after, being taken in the same manner, and delivered over to the mob, they handled him with such cruelty as scarce to leave him life, though he often upon his knees begged them to carry him before a Justice and let him be committed to Newgate. But the mob were not so to be prevailed on, and this severity, as he said, cured him effectually of that method of thieving.

But in the course of his rambling life, becoming acquainted with two young fellows, whose names were Garraway and Sly, they invited him to go with them upon some of their expeditions in the night. He absolutely refused to do anything of that kind for

158. In 1720 a State Lottery was launched, with 100,000 tickets of £10 each. The prizes were converted into 3 per cent. stock. The issue was a failure and a loss of some £7,000 was incurred.



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a long time, but one evening, having been so unlucky as to lose not only his money but all his clothes off his back, he went in search of Sly and Garraway, who received him with open arms, and immediately carried him with them upon those exploits by which they got their living. Garraway proposed robbing of his brother for their first attempt, which succeeded so far as to their getting into the house; but they found nothing there but a few clothes of his brother and sister, which they took away. But Garraway bid them not be discouraged at the smallness of the booty, for his father's house was as well furnished as most men's, and their next attack should be upon that. To this they agreed, and plundered it also, taking away some spoons, tankards, salts and several other pieces of plate of considerable value; but a quick search being made, they were all three apprehended, and Gardiner being the youngest was admitted an evidence against the other two, who were convicted.

Some weeks after, Gardiner got his liberty, but being unwarned, he went on still at the same rate. The first robbery he committed afterwards was in the house of the father of one of his acquaintances on Addle Hill, where Gardiner stole softly upstairs into the garret, and stole from thence some men's apparel to a very considerable value. A while after this, he became acquainted with Mr. Richard Jones, and with him went (mounted upon a strong horse) into Wales upon what in the canting dialect is called "the Passing Lay," which in plain English is thus: They get countrymen into an alehouse, under pretence of talking about the sale of cattle, then a pack of cards is found as if by accident, and the two sharpers fall to playing with one another until one offering to lay a great wager on the game, staking the money down, the other shows his hand to the countryman, and convinces him that it is impossible but he must win, offering to let him go halves in the wager. As soon as the countryman lays down the money, these sharpers manage so as to pass off with it, which is the meaning of their cant, and this practice he was very successful in; the country people in Wales, where they travelled, having not had opportunity to become acquainted with such bites as those who live in the counties nearer London have, where the country fellows are often as adroit as any of the sharpers themselves.

It happened that the person with whom Stephen travelled had parted with his wife and at Bristol had received a gold watch and chain, laced clothes and several other things of value. This immediately put it into Gardiner's head that he might make his fortune at once, by murdering him and possessing himself of his goods; knowing also that besides these valuable things, he had near a hundred guineas about him. In order to effect this, he stole a large brass pestle out of a mortar, at the next inn, and carried it unperceived in his boots, intending as he and his companion rode through the woods to dash his brains out with it. Twice for this purpose he drew it, but his heart relenting just when he was going to give the stroke he put it up again. At last it fell out of his boot and he had much ado to get it pulled up unperceived by his companion. The next day it dropped again, and Gardiner was so much afraid of Jones's perceiving it, and himself being thereupon killed from a suspicion of his design, that he laid aside all further thoughts of that matter. But he took occasion a day or two after to part with him, whereupon the other as Stephen was going away, called out to



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him, *Hark ye, you Gardiner! I'll tell you somewhat.* Gardiner therefore turning back. *You are going up to London?* said Jones. Yes, replied Gardiner. *Then trust me,* said the other, *you're going up to be hanged.*

Between Abergavenny and Monmouth, Gardiner took notice of a little house, the windows of which were shut up, but the hens and cocks in the back yard showed that it was inhabited. Gardiner thereupon knocked at the door several times, to see if anybody was at home, but perceiving none, he ventured to break open some wooden bars that lay across the window, and getting in thereat found two boxes full of clothes, and writings relating to an estate. He took only one gown, as not daring to load himself with clothes, for fear of being discovered on the road, being then coming up to London.

A very short space after his return he committed that fact for which he died, which was by breaking open the house of Dorcas Roberts, widow, and stealing thence a great quantity of linen; and he was soon after apprehended in bed with one of the fine shirts upon his back and the rest of the linen stowed under the bed. When carried before the Justice, he said that one Martin brought the linen to him, and gave him two fine shirts to conceal it in his brandy-shop; but this pretence being thought impossible both by the magistrate who committed him, and by the jury who tried him, he was convicted for that offence, and being an old offender he had no hopes of mercy.

He applied himself, therefore, with all the earnestness he was able, to prepare himself sufficiently for that change he was about to make. He said that an accident which happened about a year before gave him great apprehension, and for some time prevented his continuing in that wicked course of life. The accident he mentioned was this: being taken up for some trivial thing or other, and carried to St. Sepulchre's Watch-House, the constable was so kind as to dismiss him, but the bellman¹⁵⁹ of the parish happening to come in before he went out, the constable said, *Young man, be careful, I am much afraid this bellman will say his verses over you;* at which Gardiner was so much struck, he could scarce speak.

Stephen had a very great notion of mortifying his body, as some atonement for the crimes he had committed. He therefore fasted some time while under sentence, and though the weather was very cold, yet he went to execution with no other covering on him but his shroud. At Tyburn he addressed himself to the people and begged they would not reflect upon his parents, who knew nothing of his crimes. Seeing several of his old companions in the crowd, he called out to them and desired them to take notice of his death and by amending their lives avoid following him thither.

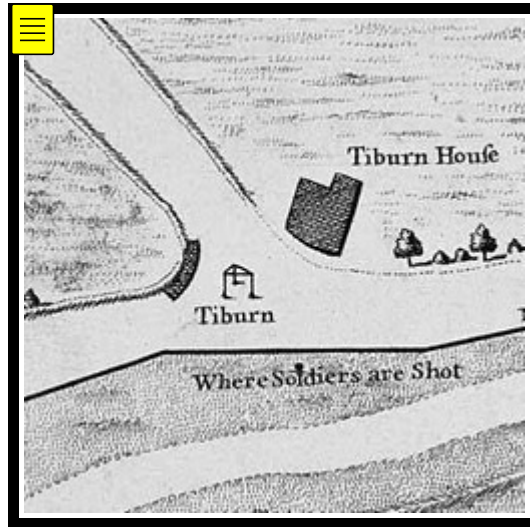
159. A parishioner of St. Sepulchre's bequeathed a sum of money for paying a bellman to visit condemned criminals in Newgate, on the night before their execution, and having rung his bell, to recite an admonitory verse and prayer. He was likewise to accost the cart on its way to the gallows, the following day, and give its inmates a similar admonition. The bell is still to be seen in the church.

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He died the 3rd of February, 1723-4.



April 4, Saturday (Old Style): Frederick Schmidt, an alterer of banknotes, was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹⁶⁰

When persons sin out of ignorance there is great room for pity, and when persons suddenly become guilty of evil through a precipitate yielding to the violence of their passions there is still room for extenuation. But when people sin, not only against knowledge but deliberately, and without the incitement of any violent passion such as anger or lust, even as nothing can be said in alleviation, so there is little or no room left for compassion.

Frederick Schmidt was a person born of a very honourable and wealthy family at Breslau, the capital of the Duchy of Silesia in the north-east of Germany. They educated this their son not only in such a manner as might qualify him for the occupation they designed him, of a merchant, but also gave him a most learned and liberal knowledge, such as suited a person of the highest rank. He lived, however, at Breslau as a merchant for many years, and at the request of his friends, when very young, he married a lady of considerable fortune, but upon some disgust at her behaviour they parted, and had not lived together for many years before his death.

He carried on a very considerable correspondence to Hamburg, Amsterdam and other places, and above a year before had been

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over in England to transact some affairs, and thought it, it seems, so easy a matter to live here by his wits, that he returned hither with the Baron Vanloden and the Countess Vanloden. It is very hard to say what these people really were, some people taking Schmidt for the baron's servant, but he himself affirmed, and indeed it seems most likely, that they were companions, and that both of them exerted their utmost skill in defrauding others to maintain her.

The method they took here for that purpose was by altering bank-notes, which they did so dexterously as absolutely to prevent all suspicion. They succeeded in paying away two of them, but the fraud being discovered by the cheque-book at the bank, Schmidt was apprehended and brought to a trial. There it was sworn that being in possession of a bank-note of £25 he had turned it into one of £85, and with the Baron Vanloden tendered it to one Monsieur Malloreay, who gave him goods for it, and another note of £20. It was deposed by the Baron Vanloden and Eleanora Sophia, Countess Vanloden, that Schmidt took the last mentioned note of £20 upstairs, and soon after brought it down again, the word "twenty" being taken out; upon which they drew it through a plate of gummed water, and then smoothing it between several papers with a box iron, the words "one hundred" were written in its place. Then he gave it to the Baron and the interpreter to go out with it and buy plate, which they did to the amount of £40. It appeared also, by the same witnesses, that Schmidt had owned to the Baron that he could write twenty hands, and that if he had but three or four hundred pounds, he could swell them to fifty thousand. It was proved also by his own confession that he had written over to his correspondent in Holland, to know whether English bank-notes went currently there or not. Upon which he was found guilty by a party-jury, that singular favour permitted to foreigners by the equitable leniency of the Law of England. Yet after this he could hardly be persuaded that his life was in any danger; nay, when he came into the condemned hold, he told the unhappy persons there, in as good English as he could speak, that he should not be hanged with them.

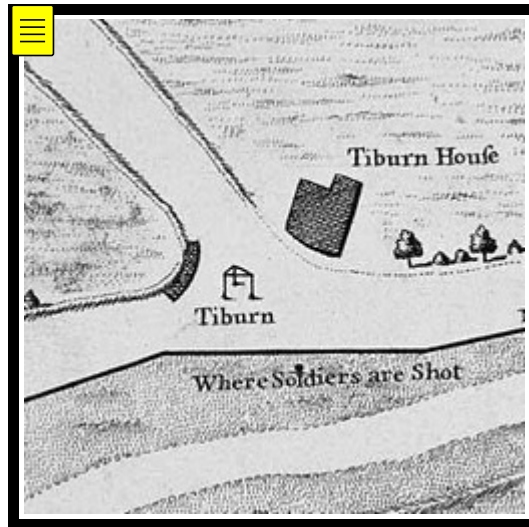
For the first two or three days, therefore, that he was under sentence, he refused to look so much as on a book, or to say a prayer, employing that time with unwearied diligence in writing a multitude of letters to merchants, foreign ministers, and German men of quality and such like, still holding fast his old opinion that his life was not in the least danger; and when a Lutheran minister was so kind as to visit him, he would hardly condescend to speak with him. But when he had received a letter from him who had all along buoyed him up with hopes of safety, in which he informed him that all those hopes were vain, he then began to apply himself with a real concern to the Lutheran minister whom he had before almost rejected, but did not appear terrified or much affrighted thereat. However, quickly after, he fell into a fit of sickness and became so very weak as not to be able to stand. He confessed, however, to the foreign divine who attended him that he was really guilty of that crime for which he was to die, though it did not appear that he conceived it to be capital at the time he did it, nor, indeed, was he easily convinced it was so, until within a few days of his execution.

There had prevailed a report about the town that he had done

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something of the like nature at Paris, for which he had been obliged to fly, but he absolutely denied that, and seemed to think the story derived its birth from the Baron, who, he said, was an apothecary's son, and from his acquaintance with his father's trade, knew the secret of expunging waters. He added, that his airs of innocence were very unjust, he having been guilty of abundance of such tricks, and the Countess of many more than he. Thus, as is very common in such cases, these unhappy people blackened one another. But the Baron and the Countess had the advantage, since by their testimony poor Schmidt was despatched out of the way, and 'tis probable their credit at the time of his execution, was not in any great danger of being hurt by his character of them.



When he came to Tyburn, being attended in the cart by the Lutheran minister whom I have so often mentioned, he was forced to be held up, being so weak as not to be able to stand alone. He joined with the prayers at first, but could not carry on his attention to the end, looking about him, and staring at the other prisoners, with a curiosity that perhaps was never observed in any other prisoner in his condition what-so ever; neither his looks nor his behaviour seemed to express so much terror as was struck into others by the sight of his condition. So after recommending to the minister by letter, to inform his aged mother in Germany of his unhappy fate, he requested the executioner to put him to death as easily as he could. He then submitted to his fate on the 4th of April, 1724, being in the forty-fifth year of his age.

Samuel Ogden, John Pugh, William Frost, Richard Woodman, and William Elisha, highwaymen, footpads, housebreakers, etc., were hanged at Kingston.¹⁶¹

Samuel Ogden was the son of a sailor in Southwark, who bred him to his own employment, in which he wrought honestly for many years until he fell very ill of dropsy, for the cure of which, being carried to St. Thomas's Hospital, he after his recovery applied himself to selling fish, instead of going again to sea. How he came to be engaged in the crimes he afterwards perpetrated we cannot well learn, and therefore shall not pretend to relate.

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However, he associated himself with a very numerous gang, such as Mills, Pugh, Blunt, Bishop, Gutteridge, and Matthews, who became the evidence against him. He positively averred that one of the robberies for which he was convicted, was the first he ever committed. He expressed the greatest horror and detestation for murder imaginable, protesting he was no ways guilty of that committed on Brixton Causeway.

At the time of his trial at Kingston he behaved himself very insolently and audaciously; but when sentence had been passed upon him, most of that unruly temper was lost, and he began to think seriously of preparing for another world. He confessed that his sins were many, and that judgment against him was just, meekly accepting his death as the due rewards of his deeds. He was the example of seriousness and penitence to the other twelve malefactors who suffered with him, being about thirty-seven years of age at the time of his decease.

John Pugh, otherwise Blueskin, was born at Morpeth near Newcastle-upon-Tyne. His father was a carrier in tolerable business and circumstance, who put him to be a servant in a silver-spinner's in Moorfields, where he soon learnt all sorts of wickedness, beginning with defrauding his master and doing any other little tricks of that kind, as opportunity would give him leave. We are told of him what perhaps can be hardly said of any other criminal who hath died in the same way for many years past, that though he was but twenty-two years of age, he had spent twelve of them in cheating, pilfering, and robbing. At last he fell into the gang that brought him to his death, for a robbery committed by several of them in the county of Surrey. Pugh, though so young a fellow, was so unaccountably stupid and wicked that though he made a large and particular confession of his guilt, yet it was done in such a manner as plainly showed his crimes made no just impression upon his heart; all he said, being in the language of the Kingston Ordinary, the sleepy apprehensions of unawakened ignorance, in which condition he continued to the last.

William Frost, a cripple, was the son of a pin-maker in Christ Church parish, Southwark, and as to his education, my account says it was in hereditary ignorance. He had wrought, it seems, while a boy at his father's trade of pin-making, but since he was thirteen or fourteen had addicted himself to that preparative trade to the gallows, shoeblacking. While he continued in this most honourable profession, abundance of opportunities offered for robbing in the night season, and we must do him the justice to say that they were not offered in vain. Thus by degrees he came on to robbing on the road and in the streets until he was apprehended, and upon the evidence of his companion was convicted.

The Sunday after this, he with the rest of the malefactors was brought to the parish church, which was the first time, as he declared, he had ever entered one, at least with an intention to hear and observe what was said. There he made a blundering sort of confession, and would perhaps have been more penitent if he had known well what penitence was; but he was a poor stupid, doltish wretch, scarce sensible even of the misfortune of being hanged. He was, however, very attentive in the cart to the prayer of those who were a little better instructed than himself, and finished a wretched life with an ignominious death at twenty-one years of age.



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Richard Woodman was born at Newington, in Surrey. He got his bread some years by selling milk about, but thinking labour too great a price for victuals, he addicted himself to getting an easier livelihood by thieving. In this course he soon got in with a gang who let him want no instructions that were necessary to bring him to the gallows. Amongst them the above-mentioned lame man was his principal tutor. The last robbery but one that they ever committed was upon a poor man who had laid out his money in the purchase of a shoulder of mutton to feast his family, but they disappointed him by taking it away, and with it a bundle of clothes and other necessaries, by which the unfortunate person who lost them, though their value was not much in themselves, lost all he had.

His behaviour was pretty much of a piece with the rest of his companions, that is, he was so unaffected either with the shamefulness of his death or the danger of his soul that perhaps never any creatures went to death in a more odd manner than these did, whose behaviour cannot for all that be charged with any rudeness or want of decency. But religion and repentance were things so wholly new to them, and so unsuited to their comprehension, that there needed a much greater length of time than they had to have given them any true sense of their duty, to which it cannot be said they were so averse, as they were ignorant and incapable.

William Elisha was another of these wretches, but he seemed to have had a better education than most of them, though he made as ill use of it as any. He was once an evidence at Croydon assizes, where he convicted two of his companions, but the sight of their execution, and the consciousness of having preserved his own life merely by taking theirs, did not in the least contribute to his amendment, for he was no sooner at liberty but he was engaged in new crimes, until at last with those malefactors before mentioned, and with eight others, he was executed at Kingston, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, April 4th, 1724.

April 29, Wednesday (Old Style): Thomas Burden was [hanged](#) for robbery on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹⁶²

Thomas Burden was born in Dorsetshire, of parents in tolerable circumstances, who being persons getting their living by seamen, they bred up their son to that profession, and sent him very young to sea. It does not appear that he ever liked that employment, but rather that he was hurried into it when he was very young by the choice of his parents, and therefore in no condition to choose better for himself. He was up in the Straits several years, and while there in abundance of fights, at which time he had so much religion as to apply himself diligently to God in prayer for his protection, and made abundance of vows and resolutions of amendment, if it pleased the providence of God to preserve his life. But no sooner was the danger over, but all these promises were forgotten until the next time he was in jeopardy.

At this rate he went on until the war was over, and notwithstanding the aversion he always had to a military kind of life, yet such was his unconquerable aversion to labour, that

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he rather enlisted himself in the land service than submit thereto. Going, however, one day to Hounslow to the house of one of the staff officers of his regiment, and not finding him at home, but only a corporal who had been left at the house to give answers, with this corporal he sat chatting and talking until night; so that being obliged to stay there until the next morning, a discourse somehow or other happened between him and the person who entertained him, about William Zouch, an old man who lived alone on the common. And Burden having been drinking, it came into his head, how easily he might rob such an old man. Upon which, he immediately went to his house, and finding him sitting on the bench at his door, he began to talk with and ask him questions. The old man answered him with great mildness, until at last Burden drew an iron instrument out of his cane, threatening him with death if he did not reveal where his money was. Zouch thereupon brought it him in a pint pot, being but one-and-thirty shillings. Then tying the old man in his chair, Burden left him. But it seems he did not tie him so fast but that he easily got loose, and alarming the town, Burden was quickly taken, having fled along the Common, which was open to the eye for a long way, instead of taking into the town or the woods, which if he had, in all probability he might have escaped. When Whittington and Greenbury apprehended him, he did not deny the fact, but on the contrary offered them money to let him go. After his conviction he manifested vast uneasiness at the thoughts of death, appearing wonderfully moved that he who had lived so long in the world with the reputation of an honest man, should now die with that of a thief, and in the manner of a dog. But as death grew nearer, and he saw there was no remedy, he began to be a little more penitent and resigned, especially when he was comforting himself with the hopes that his temporal punishment here might preserve him from feeling everlasting misery. With these thoughts having somewhat composed himself, he approached the place where he was to suffer, with tolerable temper and constancy, entreating the people who were there in very great numbers to pray for him, and begging that all by his example would learn to stifle the first motions of wickedness and sin, since such was the depravity of human nature that no man knew how soon he might fall. At the same place he delivered a paper in which he much extenuated the crime for which he suffered, and from whence he would feign have insinuated that it was a rash action committed when in drink, and which he should certainly have set right again when he was sober. In this frame of mind he suffered, on the 29th of April, 1724, being then about fifty years of age.

June 15, Monday (Old Style): Peter Curtis, a housebreaker, etc., was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹⁶³

Peter Curtis, *alias* Friend, was born of honest but industrious parents in the country, at a very great distance from London. Finding a method to get him put apprentice to a ship's carpenter, they were very much pleased therewith, hoping that they had settled him in a trade in which he might live well, and much beyond anything they could have expected to have done for him.

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But Peter himself was of a very different opinion, for from the hour he came to it he greatly disliked his profession, and though he went to sea with his master once or twice, yet he failed not to take hold of the first opportunity to set himself at liberty by running away from him. From that time he devoted himself to live a life of pleasure, having contracted an obstinate aversion to business and to everything which looked like labour; though, as he acknowledged, the hand of Providence hindered him from accomplishing his wish, making this life that he chose a greater burden and hardship to him than that which he had relinquished. He found means to get into gentlemen's service, and lived in them with tolerable reputation and credit for the space of several years. At last he was resolved to go to sea again, but he had so unconquerable an aversion to his own trade that he chose rather going in the capacity of a trumpeter, having learnt how to play on that instrument at one of his services. He sailed on board the *Salisbury*, in that expedition Sir George Byng made to the Straits of Messina, when he attacked and destroyed the Spanish Fleet.¹⁶⁴ There Peter had the good luck to escape without any hurt, though there were many killed and wounded on board that ship. He afterwards served in a regiment of dragoons, where by prudent management he saved no less than fourscore pounds. With this he certainly had it in his power to have put himself in some way of doing well, but he omitted it, and falling into the company of a lewd woman, she persuaded him to take lodgings with her, and they lived together for some space as man and wife. During this time he made a shift to be bound for one of his companions, for a very considerable sum, which the other had the honesty to leave him to pay. The creditor, upon information that Curtis was packing up his awls¹⁶⁵ to go to sea, resolved to secure him for his debt. But not being able to catch him upon a writ, he made up a felonious charge against him, and having thereupon got him committed to the Poultry Compter, as soon as the Justice had discharged him, he got him taken for the debt, and recommitting to the same place. Here he was soon reduced to a very melancholy condition, having neither necessities of life nor any prospect of a release. The wretched company with which such prisons are always full, corrupted him as to his honesty, and taught him first to think of making himself rich by taking away the properties of others.

When he came out of prison, upon an agreement with his creditor, he soon got into service with Mr. Fluellen Aspley, a very eminent chinaman by Stocks Market.¹⁶⁶ When he was there, the bad woman with whom he still conversed, was continually dunning his ears with how easy a matter it was for him to make himself and her rich and easy by pilfering from his master, telling him that she and her friends in the country would help him off with a thousand pounds worth of china, if need were, and baiting him continually, not to lose such an opportunity of enriching them. The fellow himself was averse to such practices, and nothing but her continual teasing could have induced him ever to have entertained a design of so base a nature.

At last he condescended so far as to enquire how it might be done with safety. *For that*, replied the woman, *trust to my management. I'll put you in a way to bring off the most valuable*

164. See note, page 49.

165. An old-fashioned play on the words "awl" and "all," and means, of course, packing up all his possessions.

166. A busy market for fish and vegetables, which occupied the site on which the present Mansion House stands. The market was moved, in 1737, to Farringdon Street.



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things in the house, and yet get a good character, and be trusted and valued by the family for having robbed them. At that Curtis stared, and said, if she'd but put him to such a road he did not know but he might comply with her request. She thereupon opened her scheme to him this: Here's my son, you shall lift him into the house, and after you have given him plate and what you think proper and my boy, who is a very dexterous lad, is got off with them, you have nothing to do but to put an end of a candle under the Indian cabinet in the counting-house, and leave things to themselves. The neighbourhood will soon be alarmed by the fire, and if you are apparently honest in what you take away publicly, there will be no suspicion upon you for what went before, which will be either thought to be destroyed in the fire, or to be taken away by some other means.

This appeared so shocking a project to Curtis that he absolutely refused to comply with the burning, though with much ado he was brought to stealing a large quantity of plate, which he brought to this woman, but in attempting to sell it she was stopped, and the robbery discovered. However, there being no direct evidence at first against Curtis, he was released from his confinement on suspicion, even by the intercession of Mr. Aspley himself. But a little time discovering the mistake, and that he was really the principal in the robbery, he was thereupon again apprehended, and at the next sessions tried and convicted.

While he lay under sentence of death, he behaved himself as if he had totally resigned all thoughts of the world, or of continuing in it, praying with great fervency and devotion, making full and large confession, and doing every other act which might induce men to believe that he was a real penitent, and sincerely sorry and affected for the crime he had committed. But it seems that this was all put on, for the true source of his easiness and resignation was the assurance he had in himself of escaping death either by pardon, or by an escape; for which purpose, he and those who were under sentence with him had provided all necessaries, loosened their irons and intended to have effected it at the expense of the lives of their keepers. But their design being discovered the Saturday before their deaths, and Curtis perceiving that his hopes of pardon were ill-founded, began to apply himself to repenting in earnest. Yet there was very little time left for so great a work, especially considering that nothing but the necessity of the thing inclined him thereto, and that he had spent that respite allowed him by the clemency of the Law to prepare for death in contriving to fly from justice at the expense of the blood of others. How he performed this it is impossible for us to know, and must be left to be decided by the Great Judge to whom the secrets of all hearts are open. However, at his death he appeared tolerably composed and cheerful, and turning to the people said, *You see, they who contrived to burn the house and the people in it escaped, but I, who never consented to any such thing, die as you see.* Some discourse there was of his having buried a portmanteau and about fourteen hundred pounds; he was spoke to about it, and did not deny he had it. He said he hid it upon Finchley Common and that by the arms, which was the Spread Eagle, he took to be an ambassador's. As to the diamond ring he had been seen to wear, he did not affirm he came very honestly by it, but would not give any direct answer concerning it, and seemed uneasy that he should have such questions put to him at



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the very point of death. He suffered the 15th of June, 1724, about thirty years of age.

August 28, Monday: James Harman was [hanged](#) as a highwayman on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹⁶⁷

James Harman was the son of a merchant in the City of London, who took care to furnish his son with such an education as enabled him, when about fourteen years of age, to be removed to the University. His behaviour there was like that of too many others, spent in diversities instead of study, and in a progression of vice, instead of improving in learning. After having been there about three years, and having run into such debts as he saw no probability of discharging, he was forced to leave it abruptly; and his father, much grieved at this behaviour, bought him an ensign's commission in the army, where he continued in Jones's Regiment till it was disbanded. Then, indeed, being forced to live as he could, and the assistance of friends, though large, yet no ways suited to his expenses, he became so plunged in debt and other misfortunes that he was in necessity of going over to the Mint, where reflecting on his own follies, he became very reserved and melancholy. He would probably have quite altered his course of life if opportunity had offered, or if he had not fallen in that company which by a similarity of manner induced him to fall into the commission of such crimes as would not probably have otherwise entered his head.

The fact which he and the before-mentioned Davis committed, was their first and last attempt, but Mr. Harman, all the time he lay under sentence (without suffering himself to be amused by expectations of success from those endeavours which he knew his friends used to save his life,) accustomed himself to the thoughts of death, performing all the duties requisite from a person of his condition for atoning the evils of a misspent life, and making his peace with that Being from whom he had received so great a capacity of doing well, and which he had so much abused.

Having spent the whole time of his confinement after this manner, he did not appear in any degree shocked or confounded when his name being to the death warrant left him no room to doubt of what must be his fate. At the place of execution he appeared not only perfectly easy and serene, but with an air of satisfaction that could arise only from the peace he enjoyed within. Being asked if he had anything to say to the people, he rose up, and turning towards them said, *I hope you will all make that use of my being exposed to you as a spectacle which the Law intends, and by the sight of my death avoid such acts as may bring you hither, with the same Justice that they do me.*

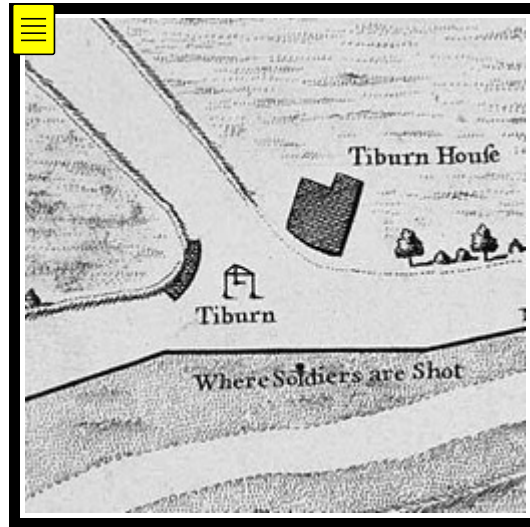
He suffered about the twenty-fifth year of his age, the 28th of

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August, 1724, at Tyburn.



November 11: Joseph Blake, *alias* Blueskin, a footpad and highwayman, was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹⁶⁸

As there is impudence and wickedness enough in the lives of most malefactors to make persons of a sober education and behaviour wonder at the depravity of human nature, so there are sometimes superlative rogues who, in the infamous boldness of their behaviour, as far exceed the ordinary class of rogues as they do honest people; and whenever such a monster as this appears in the world, there are enough fools to gape at him, and to make such a noise and outcry about his conduct as is sure to invite others of the gang to imitate the obstinacy of his deportment, through that false love of fame, which seems inherent to human nature. Amongst the number of these, Joseph Blake, better known by his nickname of Blueskin, always deserves to be remembered as one who thought wickedness the greatest achievement, and studiously took the paths of infamy in order to become famous. By birth he was a native of this City of London. His parents being persons in tolerable circumstances kept him six years at school, where he did not learn half as much good from his master as he did evil from his schoolfellow, William Blewitt, from whose lessons he copied so well that all his education signified nothing. When he came from school he absolutely refused to go to any employment, but on the contrary set up for a robber when he was scarce seventeen, but from that time to the day of his death was unsuccessful in all his undertakings, hardly ever committing the most trivial fact but he experienced for it, either the humanity of the mob, or of the keepers of Bridewell, out of which or some other prison, he could hardly keep his feet for a month together.

He fell into the gang of Lock, Wilkinson, Carrick¹⁶⁹ Lincoln and Daniel Carroll, which last having so often been mentioned, perhaps my readers may be desirous to know what became of him. I shall therefore inform them that after Carrick and Molony were

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169. See page 85.



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executed for robbing Mr. Young, as has been before related, he fled home to his own native country of Ireland, where for a while making a great figure till he had exhausted what little wealth he had brought over with him from England, he was obliged to go again upon the old method to supply him. But street-robbing being a very new thing at Dublin, it so alarmed that city that they never ceased pursuing him, and one or two more who joined with him, till catching them one night at their employment, they pursued Carrol so closely that he was obliged to come to a close engagement with a thief-taker, so he was killed upon the spot. But to return to Blake, *alias* Blueskin. Being one night out with his gang, they robbed one Mr. Clark of eight shillings and a silver hilted sword, just as candles were going to be lighted, and a woman looking accidentally out of a window, perceived it, and cried out, *Thieves*. Wilkinson fired a pistol at her which, very luckily, upon her drawing in her head, grazed upon the stone of the window, and did no other mischief. Blake was also in the company of the same gang when they attacked Captain Langley, at the corner of Hyde Park Road, as he was going to the Camp¹⁷⁰; but the Captain behaved himself so well that notwithstanding they shot several times through and through his coat, yet they were not able to rob him.

Not long after this Wilkinson being apprehended impeached a large number of persons, and with them Joseph Blake and William Lock. Blake hereupon made a fuller discovery than the other before Justice Blackerby; in which information there was contained no less than seventy robberies, upon which he also was admitted a witness. And having named Wilkinson, Lincoln, Carrick, Carrol, and himself to have been the five persons who murdered Peter Martin the Chelsea pensioner, by the Park wall, Wilkinson was apprehended, tried and convicted, notwithstanding the information he had before given (which was thereby totally set aside); so that Blake himself became now an evidence against the rest of his companions, and discovered about a dozen robberies which they had committed.

Amongst these there was one very remarkable one. Two gentlemen in hunting caps were together in a chariot on the Hampstead Road, and they took from them two gold watches, rings, seals and other things to a considerable value. Junks, *alias* Levee, laid his pistol down by the gentleman all the while he searched him, yet he wanted either the courage or the presence of mind to seize and prevent their losing things of so great value. Not long after this, Oakey, Junks and this Blake, stopped a single man with a link before him in Fig Lane; and he not surrendering so easily as they expected, Junks and Oakey beat him over the head with their pistols, and then left him wounded in a terrible condition, taking from him one guinea and one penny. A very short time after this, Junks, Oakey and Flood were apprehended and executed for robbing Colonel Cope and Mr. Young of that very watch for which Carrick and Molony had been before executed, Joseph Blake being the evidence against them.

After this hanging work of his companions, he thought himself not only entitled to liberty but reward. Herein, however, he was mightily mistaken, for not having surrendered willingly and quietly, but being taken after long resistance and when he was

170. An encampment was formed in Hyde Park, about 1714. Writing to Martha Blount, Alexander Pope says "The tents are carried there this morning, new regiments with new clothes and furniture, far exceeding the late cloth and linen designed by his Grace (the Duke of Marlborough) for the soldiery."



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much wounded, there did not seem to be the least foundation for this confident demand, he still remaining a prisoner in the Wood Street Compter, obstinately refusing to be transported for seven years, but insisting that as he had given evidence he ought to have his liberty. However, the magistrates were of another opinion, until at last by procuring two men to be bound for his good behaviour, he was carried before a wealthy alderman of the City and there discharged. At which time, somebody there present asking how long time might be given him before they should see him again at the Old Bailey, a gentleman made answer in about three sessions, in which time it seems he guessed very right, for the third session from thence, Blake was indeed brought to the Bar.

For no sooner were his feet at liberty but his hands were employed in robbing, and having picked up Jack Shepherd for a companion, they went out together to search for prey in the fields. Near the half-way house to Hampstead they met with one Pargiter, a man pretty much in liquor, whom immediately Blake knocked down into the ditch, where he must have inevitably perished if John Shepherd had not kept his head above the mud with great difficulty. For this fact, the next sessions after it happened the two brothers Brightwell in the Guards were tried, and if a number of men had not sworn them to have been upon duty at the time the robbery was committed, they had certainly been convicted, the evidence of the prosecutor being direct and full. Through the grief of this the elder Brightwell died a week after he was released from his confinement, and so did not live to see his innocence fully cleared by the confession of Blake.

A very short space after this, Blake and his companion Shepherd committed the burglary together in the house of Mr. Kneebone, where Shepherd getting into the house, let in Blake at the back door and stripped the house of a considerable value. For this, both Shepherd and he were apprehended, and the sessions before Blake was convicted his companion received sentence of death; but at the time Blake was taken up, he had made his escape out of the condemned hold.

He behaved with great impudence at his trial, and when he found nothing would save him, he took the advantage of Jonathan Wild coming to speak with him, to cut the said Wild's throat, making a large gash from the ear beyond the windpipe. Of this wound Wild languished a long time, and happy had it been for him if Blake's wound had proved fatal, for then Jonathan had escaped death by a more dishonourable wound in the throat than that of a penknife; but the number of his crimes and the spleen of his enemies procured him a worse fate. Whatever Wild might deserve of others, he seems to have merited better usage from this Blake, for while he continued a prisoner in the Compter, Jonathan was at the expense of curing his wound, allowing him three shillings and sixpence a week, and after his last misfortune promised him a good coffin, actually furnishing him with money to support him in Newgate, and several good books, if he would have made any use of them; but because he freely declared to Blueskin that there was no hopes of getting him transported, the bloody villain determined to take away his life, and was so far from showing any signs of remorse when he was brought up again to Newgate, that he declared if he had thought of it before, he would have provided such a knife as should have cut his head off.

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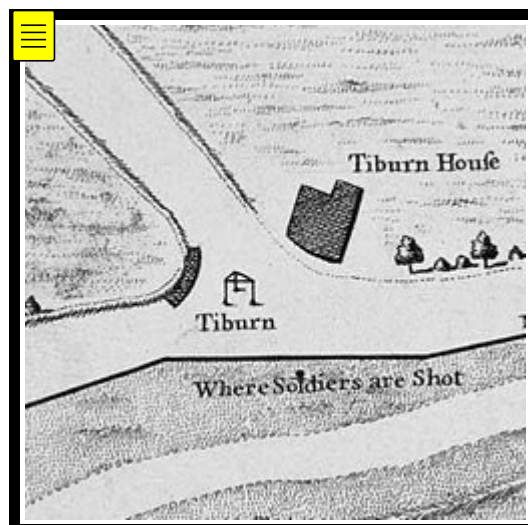
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At the time that he received sentence there was a woman also condemned, and they being placed as usual in what is called the Bail Dock at the Old Bailey, Blake offered such rudeness to the woman that she cried out and alarmed the whole Bench. All the time he lay under condemnation he appeared utterly thoughtless and insensible of his approaching fate. Though from the cutting of Wild's throat, and some other barbarities of the same nature, he acquired amongst the mob the character of a brave fellow, yet he was in himself but a mean-spirited timorous wretch, and never exerted himself but either through fury and despair. His cowardice appealed manifestly in his behaviour at his death; he wept much at the chapel in the morning he was to die, and though he drank deeply to drive away fear, yet at the place of execution he wept again, trembled and showed all the signs of a timorous confusion, as well he might, who had lived wickedly and trifled with his repentance to the grave.

There was nothing in his person extraordinary. A dapper, well-set fellow of great strength, and great cruelty, equally detested by the sober part of the world for his audacious wickedness of his behaviour, and despised by his companions for the villainies he committed even against them. He was executed in the twenty-eighth year of his age, on the 11th of November, 1724.



November 16: John "Gentleman Jack" Shepherd, a footpad, housebreaker and prison-breaker, was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹⁷¹



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Amongst the prodigies of ingenious wickedness and artful mischief which have surprised the world in our time, perhaps none has made so great a noise as John Shepherd, the malefactor of whom we are now to speak. His father's name was Thomas Shepherd, who was by trade a carpenter, and lived in Spitalfields, a man of an extraordinary good character, and who took all the care his narrow circumstances would allow, that his family might be brought up in the fear of God, and in just notions of their duty towards their neighbour. Yet he was so unhappy in his children that both his son John and another took to evil courses, and both in their turns have been convicted at the bar at the Old Bailey.

After the father's death, his widow did all she could to get this unfortunate son of hers admitted into Christ's Hospital, but failing of that, she got him bred up at a school in Bishopsgate Street, where he learned to read. He might in all probability have got a good education if he had not been too soon removed, being put out to a trade, viz., that of a cane-chair-maker, who used him very well, and with whom probably he might have lived honestly. But his mother dying a short time afterwards, he was put to another, a much younger man, who used him so harshly that in a little time he ran away from him, and was put to another master, one Mr. Wood in Wych Street. From his kindness and that of Mr. Kneebone (whom he robbed) he was taught to write and had many other favours done by that gentleman whom he so ungratefully treated. But good usage or bad, it was grown all alike to him now; he had given himself up to all the sensual pleasures of low life. Drinking all day, and getting to some impudent and notorious strumpet at night, was the whole course of his life for a considerable space, without the least reflection on what a miserable fate it might bring upon him here, much less the judgment that might be passed upon him hereafter. Amongst the chief of his mistresses there was one Elizabeth Lion, commonly called Edgeworth Bess, the impudence of whose behaviour was shocking even to the greatest part of Shepherd's companions, but it charmed him so much that he suffered her for a while to direct him in every thing, and she was the first who engaged him in taking base methods to obtain money wherewith to purchase baser pleasures. This Lion was a large masculine woman, and Shepherd a very little slight-limbed lad, so that whenever he had been drinking and came to her quarrelsome, Bess often beat him into better temper, though Shepherd upon other occasions manifested his wanting neither courage nor strength. Repeated quarrels, however, between Shepherd and his mistress, as it does often with people of better rank, created such coldness that they spoke not together sometimes for a month. But our robber could not be so long without some fair one to take up his time, and drive his thoughts from the consideration of his crimes and the punishment which might one day befall them. The creature he picked out to supply the place of Betty Lion was one Mrs. Maggott, a woman somewhat less boisterous in her temper, but full as wicked. She had a very great contempt for Shepherd, and only made use of him to go and steal money, or what might yield money, for her to spend in company that she liked better. One night when Shepherd came to her and told her he had pawned the last thing he had for half a crown, *Prithee*, says she, *don't tell me such melancholy stories but think how you may get more money. I have been in Whitehorse Yard this*

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afternoon. There's a piece-broker there worth a great deal of money; he keeps his cash in a drawer under the counter, and there's abundance of good things in his shop that would be fit for me to wear. A word, you know, to the wise is enough, let me see now how soon you'll put me in possession of them. This had the effect she desired; Shepherd left her about one o'clock in the morning, went to the house she talked of, took up the cellar window bars, and from thence entered the shop, which he plundered of money and goods, to the amount of £22. He brought it to his doxy the same day before she was stirring, who thereupon appeared very satisfied with his diligence, and helped him in a short time to squander what he had so dearly earned. However, he still retained some affection for his old favourite, Bess Lion, who being taken up for some of her tricks, was committed to St. Giles's Round-house. Shepherd going to see her there, broke the doors open, beat the keeper, and like a true knight-errant, set his distressed paramour at liberty. This heroic act got him so much reputation amongst the fair ladies in Drury Lane that there was nobody of his profession so much esteemed by them as John Shepherd, with his brother Thomas, who had taken to the same trade. Observing and being in himself in tolerable estimation with that debauched part of the sex, he importuned some of them to speak to his brother John to lend him a little money, and for the future to allow him to go out robbing with him. To both these propositions Jack (being a kind brother as he himself said) consented at the first word, and from thence forward the two brothers were always of one party: Jack having, as he impudently phrased it, lent him forty shillings to put himself in a proper plight, and soon after their being together having broke open an alehouse, where they got a tolerable booty, in a high fit of generosity, John presented it all to his brother, as, soon after, he did clothes to a very considerable extent, so that the young man might not appear among the damsels of Drury unbecoming Mr. Shepherd's brother.

About three weeks after their coming together, they broke open a linen-draper's shop, near Clare Market, where the brothers made good use of their time; for they were not in the house above a quarter of an hour before they made a shift to strip it of £50. But the younger brother acting imprudently in disposing of some of the goods, he was detected and apprehended, upon which the first thing he did was to make a full discovery to impeach his brother and as many of his confederates as he could. Jack was very quickly apprehended upon his brother's information, and was committed by Justice Parry to the Round-house, for further examination. But instead of waiting for that, Jack began to examine as well as he could the strength of the place of his confinement, which being much too weak for a fellow of his capacity, he marched off before night, and committed a robbery into the bargain, but vowed to be revenged on Tom who had so basely behaved himself (as Jack phrased it) towards so good a brother. However, that information going off, Jack went on in his old way as usual.

One day in May he and F. Benson being in Leicester Fields, Benson attempted to get a gentleman's watch, but missing his pull, the gentleman perceived it and raised a mob. Shepherd passing briskly to save his companion, was apprehended in his stead, and being carried before Justice Walters, was committed to New Prison, where the first sight he saw was his old companion, Bess



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Lion, who had found her way thither upon a like errand. Jack, who now saw himself beset with danger, began to exert all his little cunning, which was indeed his masterpiece. For this purpose he applied first to Benson's friends, who were in good circumstances, hoping by their mediation to make the matter up, but in this he miscarried. Then he attempted a slight information, but the Justice to whom he sent it, perceiving how trivial a thing it was, and guessing well at the drift thereof, refused it. Whereupon Shepherd, when driven to his last shift, communicated his resolution to Bess Lion. They laid their heads together the fore part of the night, and then went to work to break out, which they effected by force, and got safe off to one of Bess Lion's old lodgings, where she kept him secret for some time, frightening him with stories of great searches being made after him, in order to detain him from conversing with any other woman.

But Jack being not naturally timorous, and having a strong inclination to be out again in his old way with his companions, it was not long before he gave her the slip, and lodged himself with another of his female acquaintances, in a little by-court near the Strand. Here one Charles Grace desired to become an associate with him. Jack was very ready to take any young fellow in as a partner of his villainies, and Grace told him that his reason for doing such things was to keep a beautiful woman without the knowledge of his relations. Shepherd and he therefore getting into the acquaintance of one Anthony Lamb, an apprentice of Mr. Carter, near St. Clement's Church, they inveigled the young man to consent to let them in to rob his master's house. He accordingly performed it, and they took from Mr. Barton, who lodged there, to a very considerable value. But Grace and Shepherd quarrelling about the division, Shepherd wounded Grace in a violent manner, and on this quarrel betraying one another, they were all taken, Shepherd only escaping. But the misfortune of poor Lamb who had been drawn in, being so very young, so far prevailed upon several gentlemen who knew him, that they not only prevailed to have his sentence mitigated to transportation, but also furnished him with all necessaries, and procured an order that on his arrival there he should not be sold as the other felons were, but that he should be left at liberty to provide for himself as well as he could.

It seems that Shepherd's gang (which consisted of himself, his brother Tom, Joseph Blake, *alias* Blueskin, Charles Grace, James Sikes, to whose name his companions tacked their two favourite syllables, Hell and Fury) not knowing how to dispose of the goods they had taken, made use of one William Field for that purpose, who Shepherd in his ludicrous style, used to characterise thus: that he was a fellow wicked enough to do anything, but his want of courage permitted him to do nothing but carry on the trade he did, which was that of selling stolen goods when put into his hands.

But Blake and Shepherd finding Field somewhat dilatory, not thinking it always safe to trust him, they resolved to hire a warehouse and lodge their goods there, which accordingly they did, near the Horseferry in Westminster. There they placed what they had taken out of Mr. Kneebones' house, and the goods made a great show there, whence the people in the neighbourhood really took them for honest persons, who had so great a wholesale business on their hands as occasioned their taking a place where



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they by convenient for the water.

Field, however, importuned them (having got scent they had such a warehouse) that he might go and see the goods, pretending that he had it just now in his power to sell them at a very great price. They accordingly carried him thither and showed him the things. Two or three days afterwards, though he had not courage enough to rob anybody else, Field ventured to break open the warehouse, and took every rag that had been lodged there; and not long after, Shepherd was apprehended for the fact and tried at the next sessions of the Old Bailey.

His appearance there was very mean, and all the defence he offered to make was that Jonathan Wild had helped to dispose of part of the goods and he thought it was very hard that he should not share in the punishment. The Court took little notice of so insignificant a plea and sentence being passed upon him, he hardly made a sensible petition for the favour of the Court in the report, but behaved throughout as a person either stupid or foolish, so far was he from appearing in any degree likely to make the noise he afterwards did.

When put into the condemned hold, he prevailed upon one Fowls, who was also under sentence, to lift him up to the iron spikes placed over the door which looks into the lodge. A woman of large make attending without, and two others standing behind her in riding hoods, Jack no sooner got his head and shoulders through between the iron spikes, than by a sudden spring his body followed with ease, and the women taking him down gently, he was without suspicion of the keepers (although some of them were drinking at the upper end of the lodge) conveyed safely out of the lodge door, and getting a hackney coach went clear off before there was the least notice of his escape, which, when it was known, very much surprised the keepers, who never dreamt of an attempt of that kind before.

As soon as John breathed the fresh air, he went again briskly to his old employment, and the first thing he did was to find out one Page, a butcher of his acquaintance in Clare Market, who dressed him up in one of his frocks, and then went with him upon the business of raising money. No sooner had they set out, but Shepherd remembering one Mr. Martin, a watchmaker near the Castle Tavern in Fleet Street, he prevailed upon his companion to go thither, and screwing a gimlet fast into the post of the door, they then tied the knocker thereto with a spring, and then boldly breaking the windows, they snatched three watches before a boy that was in the shop could open the door, and so marched clear off, Shepherd having the impudence, upon this occasion, to pass underneath Newgate.

However, he did not long enjoy his liberty, for strolling about Finchley Common, he was apprehended and committed to Newgate, and was put immediately in the Stone Room, where they put him on a heavy pair of irons, and then stapled him fast down to the floor. Being left there alone in the sessions time (most of the people in the gaol then attending at the Old Bailey) with a crooked nail he opened the lock, and by that means got rid of his chain, and went directly to the chimney in the room, where with incessant working he got out a couple of stones and by that means climbed up into a room called the Red Room, where nobody had been lodged for a considerable time. Here he threw down a door, which one would have thought impossible to have been done by the strength of man (though with ever so much noise); from



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hence with a great deal to do, he forced his passage into the chapel. There he broke a spike off the door, forcing open by its help four other doors. Getting at last upon the leads, he from thence descended gently (by the help of the blanket on which he lay, for which he went back through the whole prison) upon the leads of Mr. Bird, a turner who lives next door to Newgate; and looking in at the garret window, he saw the maid going to bed. As soon as he thought she was asleep, he stepped downstairs, went through the shop, opened the door, then into the street, leaving the door open behind him.

In the morning, when the keepers were in search after him, hearing of this circumstance by the watchman, they were then perfectly satisfied of the method by which he went off. However, they were obliged to publish a reward and make the strictest enquiry after him, some foolish people having propagated a report that he had not got out without connivance. In the meanwhile, Shepherd found it a very difficult thing to get rid of his irons, being obliged to lurk about and lie hid near a village not far from town, until with much ado he fell upon a method of procuring a hammer and taking his irons off.

He was no sooner freed from the encumbrance that remained upon him, than he came secretly into the town that night, and robbed Mr. Rawlin's house, a pawnbroker in Drury Lane. Here he got a very large booty, and amongst other things a very handsome black suit of clothes and a gold watch. Being dressed in this manner he carried the rest of the goods and valuable effects to two women, one of whom was a poor young creature whom Shepherd had seduced, and who was imprisoned on this account. No sooner had she taken care of the booty but he went among his old companions, pickpockets and whores in Drury Lane and Clare Market. There being accidentally espied fuddling at a little brandy-shop, by a boy belonging to an alehouse, who knew him very well, the lad immediately gave information upon which he was apprehended, and reconducted, with a vast mob, to his old mansion house of Newgate, being so much intoxicated with liquor that he was hardly sensible of his miserable fate. However, they took effectual care to prevent a third escape, never suffering him to be alone a moment, which, as it put the keepers to a great expense, they took care to pay themselves with the money they took of all who came to see him.

In this last confinement it was that Mr. Shepherd and his adventures became the sole topic of conversation about town. Numbers flocked daily to behold him, and far from being displeased at being made a spectacle of, he entertained all who came with the greatest gaiety that could be. He acquainted them with all his adventures, related each of his robberies in the most ludicrous manner, and endeavoured to set off every circumstance of his flagitious life as well as his capacity would give him leave, which, to say truth, was excellent at cunning, and buffoonery, and nothing else.

Nor were the crowds that thronged to Newgate on this occasion made up of the dregs of the people only, for then there would have been no wonder; but instead of that they were persons of the first distinction, and not a few even dignified with titles.¹⁷² 'Tis certain that the noise made about him, and this curiosity of persons of so high a rank, was a very great misfortune to the poor wretch himself, who from these

172. While in Newgate he sat for his portrait to Sir James Thornhill.



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circumstances began to conceive grand ideas of himself, as well as strong hopes of pardon, which encouraged him to play over all his airs and divert as many as thought it worth their while by their presence to prevent a dying man from considering his latter end, who instead of repenting of his crimes, gloried in rehearsing them.

Yet when Shepherd came up to chapel, it was observed that all his gaiety was laid aside, and he both heard and assisted with great attention at Divine Service, though upon other occasions he avoided religious discourse as much as he could; and depending upon the petitions he had made to several noblemen to intercede with the king for mercy, he seemed rather to aim at diverting his time until he received a pardon, than to improve the few days he had to prepare himself for his last.

On the 10th of November, 1724, he was by *Certiorari* removed to the bar of the Court of King's Bench, at Westminster. An affidavit being made that he was the same John Shepherd mentioned in the record of conviction before him, Mr. Justice Powis awarded judgment against him, and a rule was made for his execution on the 16th.

Such was the unaccountable fondness this criminal had for life, and so unwilling was he to lose all hopes of preserving it, that he framed in his mind resolutions of cutting the rope when he should be bound in the cart, thinking thereby to get amongst the crowd, and so into Lincoln's Inn Fields, and from thence to the Thames. For this purpose he had provided a knife, which was with great difficulty taken from him by Mr. Watson, who was to attend him to death. Nay, his hopes were carried even beyond hanging, for when he spoke to a person to whom he gave what money he had remaining out of the large presents he had received from those who came to divert themselves at Shepherd's Show, or Newgate Fair, he most earnestly entreated him that as soon as possible his body might be taken out of the hearse which was provided for him, put into a warm bed, and if it were possible, some blood taken from him, for he was in great hopes that he might be brought to life again; but if he was not, he desired him to defray the expenses of his funeral, and return the overplus to his poor mother. Then he resumed his usual discourse about his robberies and in the last moments of his life endeavoured to divert himself from the thoughts of death. Yet so uncertain and various was he in his behaviour that he told one whom he had a great desire to see on the morning that he died, that he had then a satisfaction at his heart, as if he were going to enjoy two hundred pounds *per annum*.

At the place of execution, to which he was conveyed in a cart, with iron handcuffs on, he behaved himself very gravely, confessing his robbery of Mr. Philips and Mrs. Cook, but denied that he and Joseph Blake had William Field in their company when they broke open the house of Mr. Kneebone. After this he submitted to his fate on the 16th of November, 1724, much pitied by the mob.¹⁷³

173. Over 200,000 persons witnessed his execution at Tyburn, and a riot which broke out concerning the disposal of his corpse was quelled by soldiers with fixed bayonets.



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1725

Joseph Ward, a footpad, was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹⁷⁴

There are some persons who are unhappy, even from their cradles, and though every man is said to be born to a mixture of good and evil fortune, yet these seem to reap nothing from their birth but an entry into woe, and a passage to misery.

This unhappy man we are now speaking of, Joseph Ward, is a strong instance of this, for being the son of travelling people, he scarce knew either the persons to whom he owed his birth, or the place where he was born. However, they found a way to instruct him well enough to read, and that so well that it was afterwards of great use to him, in the most miserable state of his life. He rambled about with his father and mother until the age of fourteen, when they dying, he was left to the wide world, with nothing to provide for himself but his wits; so that he was almost under necessity of going into a gang of gipsies that passed by that part of the country where he was. These gipsies taught him all their arts of living, and it happened that the crew he got into were not of the worst sort either, for they maintained themselves rather by the credulity of the country folks, than by the ordinary practices of those sort of people, stealing of poultry and robbing hedges of what linen people are careless enough to leave there. I shall have another and more proper occasion to give my readers the history of this sort of people, who were anciently formidable enough to deserve an especial Act of Parliament¹⁷⁵ altered and amended in several reigns for banishing them from the Kingdom.

But to go on with the story of Ward; disliking this employment, he took occasion, when they came into Buckinghamshire, to leave them at a common by Gerrard's Cross, and come up to London. When he came here, he was still in the same state, not knowing what to do to get bread. At last he bethought himself of the sea, and prevailed on a captain to take with him a pretty long voyage. He behaved himself so well in his passage, that his master took him with him again, and used him very kindly; but he dying, Ward was again put to his shifts, though on his arrival in England he brought with him near 30 guineas to London.

He look up lodgings near the Iron Gate at St. Catherine's, and taking a walk one evening on Tower Wharf, he there met with a young woman, who after much shyness suffered him to talk to her. They met there a second and a third time. She said she was niece to a pewterer of considerable circumstances, not far from Tower Hill, who had promised, and was able to give her five hundred pounds; but the fear of disobliging him by marriage, hindered her from thinking of becoming a wife without his approbation of her spouse.

These difficulties made poor Ward imagine that if he could once persuade the woman to marriage, he should soon mollify the heart of her relation, and so become happy at once. With a great deal

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175. This was the statute of 1530 (22 Hen. VIII, c. 10) directed against "outlandish people calling themselves Egyptians." It was amended 1 & 2 Ph. & Mary, c. 4 and 5 Eliz., c. 10 and sundry other legislation was of a similar tenour.



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to do, Madam was prevailed upon to consent, and going to the Fleet they were there married, and soon returned to St. Catherine's, to new lodgings which Ward had taken, where he had proposed to continue a day or two and then wait upon the uncle. Never man was in his own opinion more happy than Joseph Ward in his new wife, but alas! all human happiness is fleeting and uncertain, especially when it depends in any degree upon a woman. The very next morning after their wedding, Madam prevailed on him to slip on an old coat and take a walk by the house which she had shown him for her uncle's. He was no sooner out of doors, but she gave the sign to some of her accomplices, who in a quarter of an hour's time helped her to strip the lodging not only of all which belonged to Ward, but of some things of value that belonged to the people of the house. They were scarce out of doors before Ward returned, who finding his wife gone and the room stripped, set up such an outcry as alarmed all the people in the house.

Instead of being concerned at Joseph's loss they clamoured at their own, and told him in so many words that if he did not find the woman, or make them reparation for their goods, they would send him to Newgate. But alas! it was neither in Ward's power to do one, nor the other. Upon which the people were as good as their word, for they sent for a constable and had him before a Justice. There the whole act appearing, the justice discharged him and told them they must take their remedy against him at the Common Law. Upon this Ward took the advantage and made off, but taking to drinking to drive away the sorrows that encompassed him, he at last fell into ill-company, and by them was prevailed on to join in doing evil actions to get money. He had been but a short time at this trade, before he committed the fact for which he died.

Islington was the road where he generally took a purse, and therefore endeavoured to make himself perfectly acquainted with many ways that lead to that little town, which he effected so well, that he escaped several times from the strictest pursuits. At last it came into his head that the safest way would be to rob women, which accordingly he put into practice, and committed abundance of thefts that way for the space of six weeks, particularly on one Mrs. Jane Vickary, of a gold ring value twenty shillings, and soon after of Mrs. Elizabeth Barker, of a gold ring set with garnets. Being apprehended for these two facts, he was committed to New Prison, where either refusing or not being able to make discoveries, he remained in custody till the sessions at the Old Bailey. There the persons swearing positively to his face, he was after a trivial defence convicted, and received sentence of death accordingly.

As he had no relations that he knew of, nor so much as one friend in the world, the thoughts of a pardon never distracted his mind a moment. He applied himself from the day of his sentence to a new preparation for death, and having in the midst of all his troubles accustomed himself to reading, he was of great use to his unhappy companions in reading the Scripture, and assisting them in their private devotions. He made a just use of that space which the mercy of the English Law allows to persons who are to suffer death for their crimes to make their peace with their Creator.

There was but one person who visited this offender while under the sentence of the Law, and he, thinking that the only method

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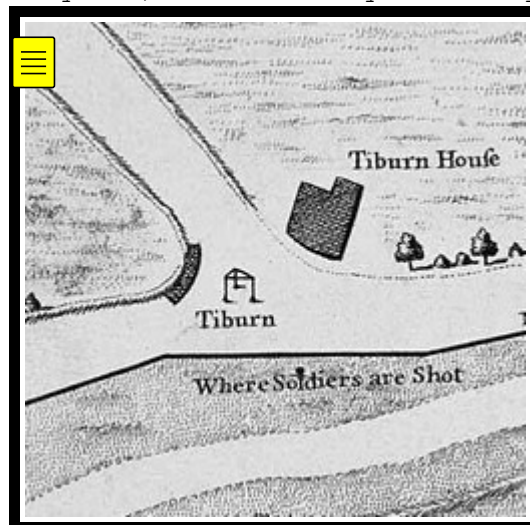
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by which he could do him service was to save his life, proposed to him a very probable method of escaping, which for reasons not hard to be guessed at, I shall forbear describing. He pressed him so often and made the practicability of the thing so plain that the criminal at last condescended to make the experiment, and his friend promised the next day to bring him the materials for his escape.

That night Ward, who began then to be weak in his limbs with the sickness which had lain upon him ever since he had been in the prison, fell into a deep sleep, a comfort he had not felt since the coming on of his misfortunes. In this space he dreamed that he was in a very barren, sandy place, which was bounded before him by a large deep river, which in the middle of the plain parted itself into two streams that, after having run a considerable space, united again, having formed an island within the branches. On the other side of the main river, there appeared one of the most beautiful countries that could be thought of, covered with trees, full of ripe fruit, and adorned with flowers. On the other side, in the island which was enclosed, having a large arm of water running behind it and another smaller before, the soil appeared sandy and barren, like that whereon he stood.

While he was musing at this sight, he beheld a person of a grave and venerable aspect, in garb and appearance like a shepherd, who asked him twice or thrice, if he knew the meaning of what he there saw, to which he answered, *No. Well, then, says the stranger, I will inform you. This sight which you see is just your present case. You have nothing to resolve with yourself but whether you will prepare by swimming across this river immediately, forever to possess that beautiful country that lies before you; or by attempting the passage over the narrow board which crosses the first arm of the river and leads into the island, where you will be again amidst briars and thorns, and must at last pass that deep water, before you can enter the pleasant country you behold on the other side.*

This vision made so strong an impression on the poor man's spirits that when his friend came he refused absolutely to make his escape, but suffered with great marks of calmness and true repentance, at Tyburn, in the twenty-seventh year of his age.





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While in England, [Benjamin Franklin](#) was publishing at his own expense a little tract he titled “Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain.” The burden of the piece was that since human behavior must be entirely within the sphere of the possible, the appearance of choice is a mere appearance, and therefore there really cannot be any such thing as our being morally responsible for our behavior. The young man’s free-thinking philosophy was: Anything goes, and one can do shamelessly anything one can get away with. Even when he began to doubt this philosophy, he doubted it for the wrong reasons, which is to say, he doubted it because it was not producing very many good times, in fact was proving useless for anything other than getting him into trouble:

Ben Franklin’s “Autobiography”

I began to suspect that this doctrine, tho’ it might be true, was not very useful. My London pamphlet, which had for its motto these lines of Dryden:

Whatever is, is right. Though purblind man
Sees but a part o’ the chain, the nearest link:
His eyes not carrying to the equal beam,
That poises all above;

and from the attributes of God, his infinite wisdom, goodness and power, concluded that nothing could possibly be wrong in the world, and that vice and virtue were empty distinctions, no such things existing, appear’d now not so clever a performance as I once thought it; and I doubted whether some error had not insinuated itself unperceiv’d into my argument, so as to infect all that follow’d, as is common in metaphysical reasonings.

JOHN DRYDEN

(We can see now, with the benefit of hindsight, that “Time’s noblest offspring” was on its civilizing way, the US of A was on its way aborning, on its way toward becoming what it would become, “the most lawless country in the civilized world,” the land where anything goes.)

February 1: William Lipsat was [hanged](#) for theft on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹⁷⁶

William Lipsat was the son of a person at Dublin, in very tolerable circumstances, which he strained to the utmost to give this lad a tolerable education. When he had acquired this he sent him over to an uncle of his at Stockden, in Worcestershire, where he lived with more indulgence than even when at home, his uncle having no children, and behaving to him with all the tenderness of a parent. However, on some little difference (the boy having long had an inclination to see this great City of London) he took that occasion to go away from his uncle, and accordingly came up to town, and was employed in the service of one Mr. Kelway. He had not been long there before he received a letter from his father, entreating him to return to Dublin with all the speed he was able. This letter was soon followed by another, which not only desired, but commanded him to come back to Ireland. He was not troubled at thinking of the voyage and going home to his friends, but he was very desirous of carrying money over with him to make a figure amongst his relations, which not knowing how to get, he at last bethought himself of stealing it from a place in which he knew it lay. After several struggles with himself, vanity prevailed, and he accordingly went and took

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away the things, viz., 57 guineas and a half, 25 Caroluses,¹⁷⁷ 5 Jacobuses, 3 Moidores, six piece of silver, two purses valued at twelve pence. These, as he said, would have made his journey pleasant and his reception welcome, which was the reason he took them. The evidence was very dear and direct against him, so that the jury found him guilty without hesitation.

From the time of his condemnation to the day he died, he neither affected to extenuate his crime, nor reflect, as some are apt to do, on the cruelty of the prosecutors, witnesses, or the Court that condemned him. So far from it, that he always acknowledged the justice of his sentence, seemed grieved only for the greatness of his sin and the affliction of the punishment of it would bring upon his relations, who had hitherto always born the best of characters, though by his failing they were now like to be stigmatised with the most infamous crimes. However, since his grief came now too late, he resolved as much as he was able to keep such thoughts out of his head, and apply himself to what more nearly concerned him, and for which all the little time he had was rather too short. In a word, in his condition, none behaved with more gravity, or to outward appearance with more penitence than this criminal did.

He suffered with the same resignation which had appeared in everything he did from the time of his condemnation, on the 1st of February, 1724-5, with the before-mentioned malefactors, being then scarce eighteen years of age.

John Hewlet was [hanged](#) for murder on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹⁷⁸

There are several facts which have happened in the world, the circumstances attending which, if we compare them as they are related by one or other, we can hardly fix in our own mind any certainty of belief concerning them, such an equality is there in the weight of evidence of one side and of the other. Such, at the time it happened, was the case of the malefactor before us.

John Hewlet was born in Warwickshire, the son of Richard Hewlet, a butcher, and though not bred up with his father, he was yet bred to the same employment at Leicester, from which, malicious people said he acquired a bloody and barbarous disposition. However, he did not serve his time out with his master, but being a strong, sturdy young fellow, and hoping some extraordinary preferment in the army, with that view he engaged himself in the First Regiment of the Guards, during the reign of the late King William.

In the war he gained the reputation of a very brave, but a very cruel and very rough fellow, and therefore was relied on by his officers, yet never liked by them. Persons of a similar disposition generally live on good terms with one another. Hewlet found out a corporal, one Blunt, much of the same humour with himself, never pleased when in safety, nor afraid though in the midst of danger.

At the siege of Namur, in Flanders, these fellows happened to be both in the trenches when the French made a desperate sally and were beaten off at last with much loss and in such confusion

177. Carolus was a gold coin of Charles I, worth 20s.-23s.; a Jacobus, coined by James I, was of the same value; the moidore was worth about 27s.

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that their pursuers lodged themselves in one of the outworks, and had like to have gained another, in the attack on which a young cadet of the regiment in which Blunt served was killed. Blunt observing it, went to the commanding officer and told him that the cadet had nineteen pistoles in his pocket, and it was a shame the French should have them. *Why, that's true, corporal,* said the Colonel, *but I don't see at present how we can help it.* No, replied Blunt, *give me but leave to go and search his pockets, and I'll answer for bringing the money back.* *Why, fool,* said the Colonel, *dost thou not see the place covered with French? Should a man stir from hence they would pour a whole shower of small shot upon him. I'll venture that,* says Blunt. *But how will you know the body?* added the Colonel. *I am afraid we have left a score besides him behind us.* *Why, look ye, sir,* said the Corporal, *let me have no more objections, and I'll answer that, he was clapped, good Colonel, do you see, and that to some purpose; so that if I can't know him by his face, I may know him by somewhat else.* Well, said the Colonel, *if you have a mind to be knocked on the head, and take it ill to be denied, you must go, I think.*

On which Blunt, waiting for no further orders, marched directly in the midst of the enemy's fire to the dead bodies, which lay within ten yards of the muzzle of their pieces, and turning over several of the dead bodies, he distinguished that of the cadet, and brought away the prize for which he had so fairly ventured. This action put Hewlet on his mettle. He resolved to do something that might equal it, and an opportunity offered some time after, of performing such a service as no man in the army would have undertaken. It happened thus: the engineer who was to set fire to the train of a mine which had been made under a bastion of the enemy's, happened to have drank very hard over night, and mistaking the hour, laid the match an hour sooner than he ought. A sentinel immediately came out, called out aloud, *What, have you clapped fire to the train? There's twenty people in the mine who will be all blown up; it should not have been fired till 12 o'clock.*

On hearing this Hewlet ran in with his sword drawn, and therewith cut off the train the moment before it would have given fire to all the barrels of powder that were within, by which he saved the lives of all the pioneers who were carrying the mines still forward at the time the wild fire was unseasonably lighted by the engineer.

At the battle of Landau he had his skull broken open by a blow from the butt end of a musket. This occasioned his going through the operation called trepanning, which is performed by an engine like a coffee-mill, which being fixed on the bruised part of the bone, is turned round, and cuts out all the black till the edges appear white and sound. After this cure had been performed upon him, he never had his senses in the same manner as he had before, but upon the least drinking fell into a passion which was but very little removed from madness.

He returned into England after the Peace of Ryswick, and being taken into a gentleman's service, he there married a wife, by whom he had nine children. Happy was it for them that they were all dead before his disastrous end.

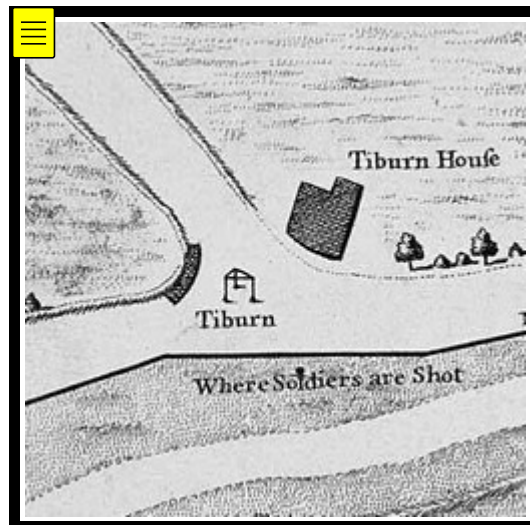
How Hewlet came to be employed as a watchman a little before his death, the papers I have give me no account of, only that he was in that station at the time of the death of Joseph Candy, for

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whose murder he was indicted for giving him a mortal bruise on the head with his staff.

On the 26th of December, 1724, upon full evidences of eye-witnesses, the jury found him guilty, he making no other defence than great assertions of his innocence, and an obstinate denial of the fact. After his conviction, being visited in the condemned hold, instead of showing any marks of penitence or contrition, he raved against the witnesses who had been produced to destroy him, called them all perjured, and prayed God to inflict some dreadful judgment on them. Nay, he went so far as to desire that he ought himself have the executing thereof, wishing that after his death his apparition might come and terrify them to their graves. When it was represented to him how odd this behaviour was, and how far distant from that calmness and tranquillity of mind with which it became him to clothe himself before he went into the presence of his Maker, these representations had no effect; he still continued to rave against his accusers, and against the witnesses who had sworn at his trial. As death grew nearer he appeared not a bit terrified, nor seemed uneasy at all at leaving this life, only at leaving his wife, and as he phrased it, some old acquaintance in Warwickshire. However, he desired to receive the Sacrament, and said he would prepare himself for it as well as he could. He went to the place of execution in the same manner in which he had passed the days of his confinement till that time. At Tyburn he was not satisfied with protesting his innocence to the people, but designing to have one of the Prayer Books which was made use of in the cart, he kissed it as people do when they take oath, and then again turning to the mob, declared as he was a dying man, he never gave Candy a blow in his life. Thus with many ejaculations he gave way to fate in an advanced age at Tyburn, at the same time with the malefactors last mentioned.



February 24: Thomas Bradley, a street-robber, was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹⁷⁹

One must want humanity and be totally void of that tenderness which denominates both a man and a Christian if we feel not some

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pity for those who are brought to a violent and shameful death from a sudden and rash act, excited either by necessity or through the frailty of human nature sinking under misfortune or hurried into mischief by a sudden transport of passion. I am persuaded, therefore, that the greater part, if not all of my readers will feel the same emotions of tenderness and compassion for the miserable youth of whom I am now going to speak.

Thomas Bradley was the son of an officer in the Custom-House at Liverpool. The father took care of his education, and having qualified him for a seafaring business in reading and writing, placed him therein. He came up accordingly with the master of a vessel to London, where some misfortunes befalling the said master, Thomas was turned out of his employment and left to shift for himself. Want pinched him. He had no friends, nor anybody to whom he might apply for relief, and in the anguish with which his sufferings oppressed him, he unfortunately resolved to steal rather than submit to starving or to begging. One fact he committed, but could never be prevailed on to mention the time, the person or the place.

The robbery for which he was condemned was upon a woman carrying home another woman's riding-hood which she had borrowed; and he assaulting her on the highway took it from her, which was valued at 25s. Upon this he was capitally convicted at the next sessions at the Old Bailey, nor could never be prevailed on by a person to apply for a pardon. On the contrary, he said it was his greatest grief that notwithstanding all he could do to stifle it, the news would reach his father, and break his heart. He was told that such thoughts were better omitted than suffered to disturb him, when he was on the point of going to another (and if he repented thoroughly) to a better life; at which he sighed and said their reasoning was very right, and he would comply with it if he could. From that time he appeared more composed and cheerful, and resigned to his fate. This temper he preserved to the time of his execution, and died with as much courage and penitence as is ever seen in any of those unhappy persons who suffer at the same place.

At the time of his death he was not quite nineteen years of age. He died between the last mentioned malefactor and him whose life we are next to relate.

Joseph Picken was [hanged](#) as a highwayman on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹⁸⁰

There cannot, perhaps, be a greater misfortune to a man than his having a woman of ill-principles about him, whether as a wife or otherwise. When they once lay aside principles either of modesty or honesty, women become commonly the most abandoned; and as their sex renders them capable of seducing, so their vices tempt them not often to persuade men to such crimes as otherwise, perhaps, they would never have thought of. This was the case of the malefactor, the story of whose misfortunes we are now to relate.

Joseph Picken was the son of a tailor in Clerkenwell, who worked hard at his employment and took pleasure in nothing but providing for, and bringing up his family. This unhappy son, Joseph, was his darling, and nothing grieved him so much upon

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his death-bed, as the fears of what might befall the boy, being then an infant of five years old. However, his mother, though a widow, took so much care of his education, that he was well enough instructed for the business she designed him, viz., that of a vintner, to which profession he was bound at a noted tavern near Billingsgate.

He served his time very faithfully and with great approbation, but falling in love, or to speak more properly, taking a whim of marriage in his head, he accepted of a young woman in the neighbourhood as his partner for life. Soon after this, he removed to Windsor, where he took the tap at a well-accustomed inn, and began the world in a very probable way of doing well. However, partly through his own misfortunes, and partly through the extravagance of his wife, in a little more than a twelve months' time he found himself thirty pound in debt, and in no likelihood from his trade of getting money to pay it. This made him very melancholy, and nothing added so great a weight to his load of affliction as the uneasiness he was under at the misfortunes which might befall his wife, to whom as yet this fall in his circumstances was not known.

However, fearing it would be soon discovered in another way, at last he mentioned it to her, at the same time telling her that she must retrench her expenses, for he was now so far from being able to support them that he could hardly get him family bread. Her mother and she thereupon removed to a lodging, where by the side of the bed, poor Picken used to slumber upon the boards, heavily disconsolate with the weight of his misfortunes. One day after talking of them to his wife, he said: *I am now quite at my wits' end. I have no way left to get anything to support us; what shall I do?* Do, answered she, *why, what should a man do that wants money and has any courage, but go upon the highway.* The poor man, not knowing how else to gain anything, even took her advice, and recollecting a certain companion of his who had once upon a time offered the same expedient for relieving their joint misfortunes, Picken thereupon found him out, and without saying it was his wife's proposal, pretended that his sorrows had at last so prevailed upon him that he was resolved to repair the injuries of Fortune by taking away something from those she had used better than him. His comrade unhappily addicted himself still to his old way of thinking, and instead of dissuading him from his purpose, seemed pleased that he had taken such a resolution. He told him that for his part he always thought danger rather to be chosen than want, and that while soldiers hazarded their lives in war for sixpence a day, he thought it was cowardice to make a man starve, where he had a chance of getting so much more than those who hazarded as much as they did. Accordingly Picken and his companion provided themselves that week with all necessaries for their expedition, and going upon it in the beginning of the next, set out and had success, as they called it, in two or three enterprises. But returning to London in the end of the week, they were apprehended for a robbery committed on one Charles Cooper, on Finchley Common, for which they were tried the next sessions, and both capitally convicted.

Through fear of death and want of necessaries, Joseph Picken fell into a low and languishing state of health, under which, however, he gave all the signs of penitence and sorrow that could be expected for the crimes he had committed. Yet though he loaded



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his wife with the weight of all his crimes, he forebore any harsh or shocking reproaches against her, saying only that as she had brought him into all the miseries he now felt, so she had left him to bear the weight of them alone, without either ever coming near him, or affording him any assistance. However, he said he was so well satisfied of the multitude of his own sins, and the need he had of forgiveness from God, that he thought it a small condition to forgive her, which he did freely from his heart. In these sentiments he took the Holy Sacrament, and continued with great calmness to wait the execution of his sentence. In the passage to execution and even at the fatal tree, he behaved himself with amazing circumstances of quietness and resignation, and though he appeared much less fearful than any of those who died with him, yet he parted with life almost as soon as the cart was drawn away. He was about twenty-two years of age, or somewhat more, at the time he suffered, which was on the 24th of February, 1724-5, much pitied by the spectators, and much lamented by those that knew him.

Thomas Packer was [hanged](#) as a highwayman on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹⁸¹

Thomas Packer, the companion of the last-named criminal both in his crimes and in his punishment, was the son of very honest and reputable parents, not far from Newgate Street. His father gave him a competent education, designing always to put him in a trade, and as soon as he was fit for it placed him accordingly with a vintner at Greenwich. There he served for some years, but growing out of humour with the place, he made continual instances to his friends to be removed. They, willing and desirous to comply with the young man's honours, at length after repeated solicitation prevailed with his master to consent, and then he was removed to another tavern in town. There he completed his time, but ever after being of a rambling disposition, was continually changing places and never settled.

Amongst those in which he had lived, there was a tavern where he resided as a drawer for about six weeks. Here he got into acquaintance of a woman, handsome, indeed, but of no fortune, and little reputation. His affection for this woman and the money he spent on her, was the chief occasion of those wants which prevailed upon him to join with Picken in those attempts which were fatal to them both. It cannot, indeed, be said that the woman in any degree excited him to such practices. On the contrary, the poor creature really endeavoured by every method she could to procure money for their support, and did all that in her lay (while Packer was under his misfortunes) to prevent the necessities of life from hindering him in that just care which was necessary to secure his interest in that which was to come.

Packer was in himself a lad of very great good nature, and not without just principles if he had been well improved, but the rambling life he had led, and his too tender affection for the before-mentioned woman, led him into great crimes rather than he would see her sustain great wants. The reflection which he conceived his death would bring upon his parents, and the miseries which he dreaded it would draw upon his wife and child,

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seemed to press him heavier than any apprehension for himself to his own sufferings, which from the time of his commitment he bore with the greatest patience, and improved to the utmost of his power. As he was sensible there was no hopes of remaining in this world, so he immediately removed his thought, his wishes and his hopes from thence, applied himself seriously to his devotions, and never suffered even the woman whom he so much loved to interfere or hinder them in any degree. As it had been his first week of robbing, and his last too, he had little confession to make in that respect. He acknowledged, however, the fact which they had done in that space, and seemed to be heartily penitent, ashamed and sorry for his offences. At the place of execution he behaved with the same decency which accompanied him through all the sorrowful stations of his sad condition. He was asked whether he would say anything to the people, but he declined it, though he had a paper in his hand which he had designed to read, which for the satisfaction of the public, I have thought fit to annex.

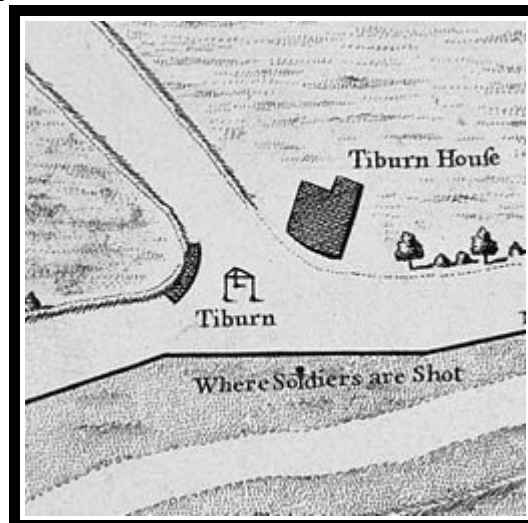
The paper left by Thomas Packer.

Good People,

I see a large number of you assembled here, to behold a miserable end of us whom the Law condemns to death for our offence, and for the sake of giving you warning, makes us in our last moments, public spectacles. I submit with the utmost resignation to the stroke of the Law, and I heartily pray Almighty God that the sight of my shameful death, may inspire every one of you with lasting resolutions of leading an honest life. The facts for which both Picken and I die were really committed by us, and consequently the sentence under which we suffer, is very just. Let me then press ye again that the warnings of our deaths may not be in vain, but that you will remember our fate, and by urging that against your depraved wishes, prevent following our steps; which is all I have to say.

Thomas Packer

He was about twenty years of age at the time he suffered, which was with the afore-mentioned malefactor at Tyburn, much pitied by all the spectators.





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March 14, Sunday (1724, Old Style): Francis Bailey was [hanged](#) as a highwayman on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹⁸²

That bad company and an habitual course of indulging vicious inclinations, though of a nature not punishable by human laws, should at last lead men to the commission of such crimes as from the injury done to society require capital sufferings to be inflicted, is a thing we so often meet with, that its frequency alone is sufficient to instruct men of the danger there is in becoming acquainted, much more of conversing familiarly, with wicked and debauched persons.

This criminal, Francis Bailey, was one of the number of those examples from whence this observation arises. He was born of parents of the lowest degree, in Worcestershire, who were either incapable of giving him any education, or took so little care about it that at the time he went out into the world he could neither read or write. However, they bound him apprentice to a

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baker, and his master took so much care of him that he was in a
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fair way of doing well if he would have been industrious; but instead of that he quitted his employment to fall into that sink of vice and laziness, the entering into a regiment as a common soldier. However, it were, he behaved himself in this state so well that he became a corporal and serjeant, which last, though a preferment of small value, is seldom given to persons of no education. But it seems Bailey had address enough to get that passed by, and lived with a good reputation in the army near twenty years. During this space, with whatever cover of honesty he appeared abroad, yet he failed not to make up whatever deficiencies the irregular course of life might occasion, by robbing upon the highway, though he had the good luck never to be apprehended, or indeed suspected till the fact which brought him to his end.

His first attempt in this kind happened thus. The regiment in which he served was quartered at a great road town; Bailey having no employment for the greatest part of his time, and being incapable of diverting himself by reading or innocent conversation, knew not therefore how to employ his hours. It



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happened one evening, that among his idle companions there was one who had been formerly intimate with a famous highwayman. This fellow entertained the company with the relation of abundance of adventures which had befallen the robber on the road, till he had saved about seven hundred pounds, wherewith he retired (as this man said) to Jamaica, and lived there in great splendour, having set up a tavern, and by his facetious conversation, acquired more custom thereto than any other public house had in the Island.

As Bailey listened with great attention to this story, so it ran in his head that night that this was the easiest method of obtaining money, and that with prudence there was no great danger of being detected. Money at that time ran low, and he resolved the next day to make the experiment. Accordingly he procured a horse and arms in the evening and at dusk sallied out, with an intent of stopping the first passenger he should meet. A country clergyman happened to be the man. No sooner had Bailey approached him with the usual salutation of *Stand and Deliver*, but putting his hand in his pocket, and taking out some silver, he, in a great fright, and as it were trembling, put it into Bailey's hat, who thereupon carelessly let go the reins of his horse, and went to put the money up in his own pocket. The parson upon seeing that, clapped spurs to his horse, and thrust his right elbow with all his force under Bailey's left breast, and gave him such a blow as made him tumble backwards off his horse, the parson riding off as hard as he could with a good watch and near forty pounds in gold in his purse.

So ill a setting out might have marred a highwayman of less courage than him of whom we are speaking; but Frank was not to be frightened either from danger or wickedness, when he once got it into his head. So that as soon as he came a little to himself, and had caught his horse, he resolved, by looking more carefully after the next prize, to make up what he fancied he had lost by the parson. With this intent he rode on about a mile, when he met with a waggon, in which were three or four young wenches, who had been at service in London and were going to several places in the country to see their relations. Bailey, notwithstanding there were three men belonging to the waggon, stopped it, and rifled it of seven pounds, and then very contentedly retired to his quarters.

Flushed with this success, he never wanted money but he took this method of supplying himself, managing, after the affair of the parson, with so much caution that though he robbed on the greatest road, he was never so much as once in danger of a pursuit. Perhaps he owed his security to the newer taking any partner in the commission of his villainies to which he was once inclined, though diverted from it by an accident which to a less obstinate person might have proved a sufficient warning to have quitted such exploits for good and all.

Bailey being one day at an alehouse, not far from Moorfields, fell into the conversation of an Irishman, of a very gay alert temper perfectly suited to the humour of our knight of the road. They talked together with mutual satisfaction for about two hours, and then the Stranger whispered Bailey that if he would step to such a tavern, he would give part of a bottle and fowl. Thither, accordingly, he walked; his companion came in soon after; to supper they went and parted about twelve in high good humour, appointing to meet the next evening but one. Bailey, the



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day after, was upon the Barnet Road, following his usual occupation, when looking by chance over the hedge, he perceived the person he parted with the night before, sloop a chariot with two ladies in it, and as soon as he had robbed them, ride down a cross lane. Bailey, hereupon, after taking nine guineas from a nobleman's steward, whom he met about a quarter of an hour after, returned to his lodgings at a little blind brandy-shop in Piccadilly, resolving the next day to make a proposal to his new acquaintance of joining their forces. With this view he staid at home all day, and went very punctually in the evening to the place of their appointment; but to his great mortification the other never came, and Bailey, after waiting some hours, went away.

As he was going home, he happened to step into an alehouse in Fore Street, where recollecting that the house in which he had first seen this person, was not far off, it came into his head that if he went thither, he might possibly hear some news of him. Accordingly he goes to the place, where he had hardly called for a mug of drink and a pipe of tobacco, but the woman saluted him with, *O lack, sir! Don't you remember a gentleman in red you spoke to here the other day?* Yes, replied Bailey, *does he live hereabouts? I don't know, says the woman, where he lives, but he was brought to a surgeon's hard by, about three hours ago, terribly wounded. My husband is just going to see him.*

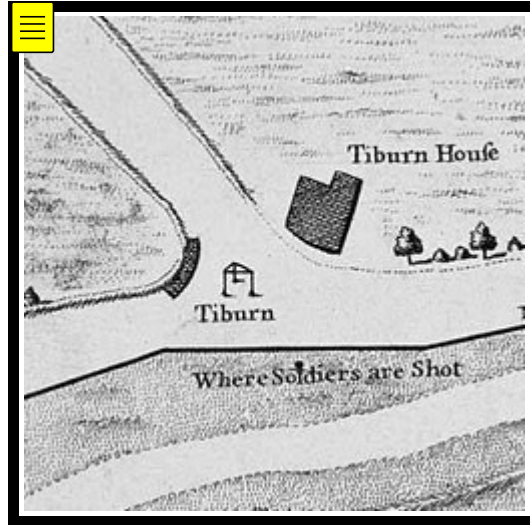
Though Bailey could not but perceive that there might be danger in his going thither, yet his curiosity was so strong that he could not forbear. As soon as he entered the room the wounded man, who was just dressed, beckoned to him, and desired to speak with him. He went near enough not to have anything overheard, when the man in a low voice, told him that he was mortally wounded in riding off after robbing a gentleman's coach, and advised him to be cautious of himself, *For, says the dying man, I knew you to be a brother of the road as soon as I saw you; and if ever you trust any man with that secret, you may even prepare yourself for the hands of justice.* In half an hour he fell into fainting fits, and then became speechless, and died in the evening, to the no little concern of his new acquaintance Bailey.

Some months after this, Frank was apprehended for breaking open a house in Piccadilly and stealing pewter, table-linen, and other household stuff to a very considerable value. He was convicted at the ensuing sessions at the Old Bailey for this crime, upon the oath of a woman who had no very good character; though he acknowledged abundance of crimes of which there was no proof against him, yet he absolutely denied that for which he was condemned, and persisted in that denial to his death, notwithstanding that the Ordinary and other ministers represented to him how great a folly, as well as sin, it was for him to go out of the world with a lie in his mouth. He said, indeed, he had been guilty of a multitude of heinous sins and offences for which God did with great justice bring him unto that ignominious end. Yet he persisted in his declaration of innocence as to housebreaking, in which he affirmed he had never been at all concerned; and with the strongest assertions to this purpose, he suffered death at Tyburn, the fourteenth of March, 1725, being then about thirty-nine years old, in company with Jones, Barton, Gates and Swift, of whose behaviour under

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sentence we shall have occasion to speak by and by.



John Barton, a robber, highwayman, and housebreaker, was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹⁸³

Education is often thought a trouble by persons in their junior years, who heartily repent of their neglect of it in the more advanced seasons of their lives. This person, John Barton, who is to be the subject of our discourse, was born at London, of parents capable enough of affording him tolerable education, which they were also willing to bestow upon him, if he had been just enough to have applied himself while at school. But he, instead of that, raked about with boys of his own age, without the least consideration of the expense his parents were at, idled away his time, and forgot what little he learned almost as soon as he had acquired it.

It is a long time before parents perceive that in their children which is evident to everyone else; however, Barton's father soon saw no good was to be done with him at school; upon which he

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took him away, and placed him apprentice with a butcher. There

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he continued for some time, behaving to the well-liking of his master; yet even then he was so much out of humour with work that he associated himself with some idle young fellows who afterwards drew him into those illegal acts which proved fatal to his reputation and his life. However, he did make a shift to pass through the time of his apprenticeship with a tolerable character, and was afterwards, through the kindness of his friends, set up as a butcher; in which business he succeeded so well as to acquire money enough thereby to have kept his family very well, if he could have been contented with the fruits of his honest labour. But his old companions, who by this time were become perfectly versed in those felonious arts by which money is seemingly so easy to be attained, were continually soliciting him to take their method of life, assuring him that there was not half so much danger as was generally apprehended, and that if he had but resolution enough to behave gallantly, he need not fear any adventure whatsoever. Barton was a fellow rather of too much than too little courage. He wanted no encouragements of this sort to egg him to such



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proceedings; the hopes of living idly and in the enjoyment of such lewd pleasures as he had addicted himself to, were sufficient to carry him into an affair of this sort. He therefore soon yielded to their suggestions, and went into such measures as they had before followed, especially housebreaking, which was the particular branch of villainy to which he had addicted himself. At this he became a very dextrous fellow, and thereby much in favour with his wicked associates, amongst whom to be impious argues a great spirit, and to be ingenious in mischief is the highest character to which persons in their miserable state can ever attain.

Amongst the rest of Barton's acquaintance there was one Yorkshire Bob, who was reckoned the most adroit housebreaker in town. This fellow one day invited Barton to his house, which at that time was not far from Red Lion Fields, and proposed to him two or three schemes by which some houses in the neighbourhood might be broke open. Barton thought all the attempts too hazardous to be made, but Bob, to convince him of the possibility with which such things might be done, undertook to rob without assistance a widow lady's house of some plate, which stood in the butler's room at noon-day.

Accordingly thither he went dressed in the habit of a footman belonging to a family which were well acquainted there; the servants conversed with him very freely, as my Lady Such-a-one's new man, while he entertained them with abundance of merry stories, until dinner was upon the table. Then taking advantage of that clutter in which they were, he slily lighted a fire-ball at the fire-side, clapped it into a closet on the side of the stairs in which the foul clothes were kept, and then perceiving the smoke, cried out with the utmost vehemence, *Fire, fire*. This naturally drew everybody downstairs, and created such a confusion that he found little or no difficulty in laying hold of the silver plate which he aimed at. He carried it away publicly, while the smoke confounded all the spectators, and until the next morning nobody had the least suspicion of him; but upon sending to the lady for the plate which her new servant carried away the night before, and she denying that she had any servant in the house that had not lived with her a twelvemonth, they then discovered the cheat, though at a time too late to mend it.

Barton, however, did not like his master's method entirely, choosing rather to strike out a new one of his own, which he fancied might as little mischief him as that audacious impudence of the other did in his several adventures. For which reason, he was very cautious of associating with this fellow who was very dextrous in his art, but was more ready in undertaking dangerous exploits than any of the crew at that time about town. John's way was by a certain nack of shifting the shutters, whereby he opened a speedy entrance for himself; and as he knew in how great danger his life was from each of these attempts, so he never made them but upon shops or houses where so large a booty might be expected as might prevent his being under necessity of thieving again in a week or two's time. Yet when he had in this manner got money, he was so ready to throw it away on women and at play, that in a short space his pocket was at as low an ebb as ever. When his cash was quite gone, he associated himself sometimes with a crew of footpads, and in that method got sufficient plunder to subsist until something



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offered in his own way, to which he would willingly have kept. At last, hearing of a goldsmith's not far from where he lodged, who had a very considerable stock of fine snuff-boxes, gold chains, rings, etc., he fancied he had now an opportunity of getting provision for his extravagancies for at least a twelvemonth. The thoughts of this encouraged him so far that he immediately went about it, and succeeded to his wish, obtaining two gold chains, five gold necklaces, seventy-two silver spoons, and a numberless cargo of little things of value.

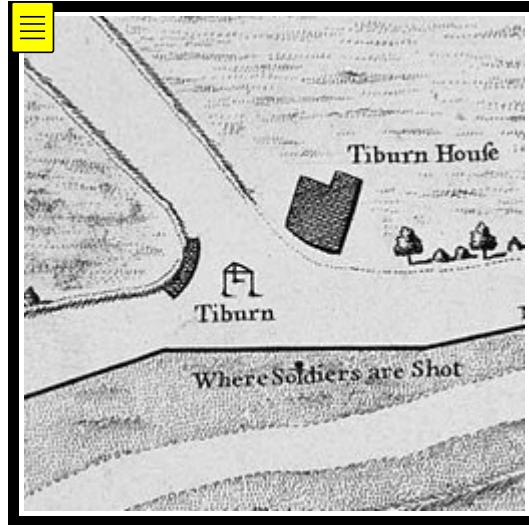
Yet this did not satisfy him. He ventured a few days afterwards having a proper opportunity, on the house and shop of one Mrs. Higgs, from whence he took an hundred pair of stockings, and other things to a large value. But as is common with such persons, his imprudence betrayed him in the disposing of them, and by the diligence of a constable employed for that purpose, he was caught and committed to Newgate. At the next sessions he was convicted for these facts, and as he had no friends, so it was not in any degree probable that he should escape execution; and therefore it is highly possible he might be the projector of that resistance which he and the rest under sentence with him made in the condemned hold, and which we shall give an exact account under the next life.

The peculiar humour of Barton was to appear equally gay and cheerful, though in these sad circumstances, as he had ever done in the most dissolute part of his foregoing life. In consequence of which foolish notion he smiled on a person's telling him his name was included in the death-warrant, and at chapel behaved in a manner very unbecoming one who was so soon to answer at the Bar of the Almighty for a life led in open defiance both of the laws of God and man. Yet that surprise which people naturally express at behaviour of such a kind on such an occasion seemed in the eyes of this poor wretch so high a testimony in favour of his gallantry, that he could not be prevailed on, either by the advice of the ministers, or the entreaties of his relations, to abate anything of that levity which he put on when he attended at Divine Service. Though he saw it disturbed some of his fellow sufferers at first, who were inclined to apply themselves strictly to their duties, so fatal is evil communication, even in the latest moments of our life, that his ludicrous carriage corrupted the rest, and instead of reproving him as they had formerly done, they now seemed careful only of imitating his example; and in this disposition he continued, even to the last minute of his life, which ended at Tyburn, on the 14th of March,

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1725, he being then hardly twenty-three years of age.



William Swift, a thief, etc., was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹⁸⁴

Amongst the multitude of other reasons which ought to incline men to an honest life, there is one very strong motive which hitherto has not, I think, been touched upon at all, and that is the danger a man runs from being known to be of ill-life and fame, of having himself accused from his character, only of crimes which he, though guiltless of, in such a case might find it difficult to get his innocence either proved or credited if any unlucky circumstance should give the least weight to the accusation.

The criminal whose life exercises our present care was a fellow of this case. He was born of but mean parents, had little or no education, and when he grew strong enough to labour, would apply himself to no way of getting his bread but by driving a wheelbarrow with fruit about the streets. This led him to the knowledge of abundance of wicked, disorderly people, whose manners agreeing best with his own, he spent most of his time in sotting with them at their haunts, when by bawling about the streets, he had got just as much as would suffice to sot with. There is no doubt, but that he now and then shared with them in what amongst such folks, at least, pass for trivial offences, but that he engaged in the great exploits of the road did not appear to any other case than that for which he died, viz., taking four table cloths, eight napkins, two shirts and other things, from Mary Cassell. The woman swore positively to him upon his trial, and his course of life being such as I have represented it, nobody appeared to his reputation so as to bring the thing in to the least suspense with the jury; whereupon he was convicted and received sentence of death.

The concern Swift was under when he found not the least hopes of life remaining, he having no friends who were capable (had they been willing) to have solicited a pardon or reprieve, shocked him so much that he scarce appeared to have his senses; however, he persisted obstinately in denying that he had the least hand in the robbery which was sworn against him. And as

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he made no scruple of acknowledging a multitude of other crimes, his denial of this gained some belief, more especially when Barton confessed that himself with two or three others were the persons who committed the robbery on the woman who swore against this criminal. It must be acknowledged that there was no appearance of any sinister motive, at least in Barton, to take upon himself a crime of which otherwise he would never have been accused; and the behaviour of Swift was at first of such a nature that it is not easy to conceive why, when all hopes of safety were lost, and he was full of acknowledgment as to the justice of his sentence for the many other evil deeds he had done, he should yet obdurately persist in denying this, if there had been no truth at all in his allegations.

As this fellow had neither natural courage, nor had acquired any religious principles from his education, there is no wonder to be made that he behaved himself so poorly in the last moments of his life; in which terror, confusion, and self-condemnation wrought so strongly as to make the ignominy of the halter the least dreadful part of his execution.

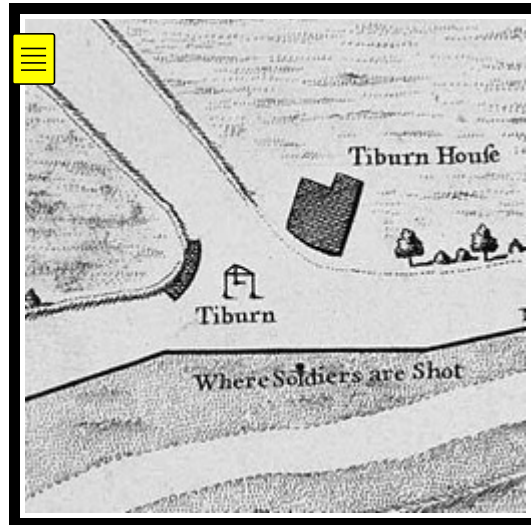
The day on which the three last-mentioned persons, together with Yates or Gates, *alias* Vulcan, a deer-stealer, and Benjamin Jones (for house breaking) were to have been executed, these miserable persons framed to themselves the most absurd project of preserving their lives that could possibly have entered into the heads of men; for getting, by some means or other, an iron crow into the hold, they therewith dug out a prodigious quantity of rubbish and some stones, which it is hardly credible could have been removed with so small assistance as they had. With these they blocked up the door of the condemned hold so effectually that there was no possibility of getting it open by any force whatsoever on the outside. The keepers endeavoured to make them sensible of the folly of their undertaking, in hopes they would thereby be induced to prevent any firing upon them; which was all that those who had the custody of them were now capable of doing, to bring them to submission. The Ordinary also joined in dissuading them from thus mispending the last moments of their lives, which were through the mercy of the Law extended to them for a better purpose. But they were inexorable, and as they knew their surrender would bring them immediately to a shameful death, so they declared positively they were determined to kill or to be killed in the position in which they were.

Sir Jeremiah Murden, one of the sheriffs for the time being, was so good as to go down upon this occasion to Newgate. The keepers had opened a sort of trap-door in the room over the hold, and from thence discharged several pistols loaded with small shot, but to no purpose, the criminals retiring to the farther end of the room, continuing there safe and out of reach; though Barton and Yates received each of them a slight wound in crowding backwards. Sir Jeremy went himself to this place, and talked to them for a considerable space, and one of the fellows insisting to see his gold chain, that they might be sure they were treating with the sheriffs themselves, his condescension was so great as to put down part of it through the hole, upon which they consulted together, and at last agreed to surrender. Whereupon they began immediately to remove the stones, and as soon as the door was at liberty, one of the keepers entered. Just as he was within it, Barton snapped a steel tobacco-box in his face, the noise of which resembling a pistol, made him start back, upon

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which Barton said, *D—n you, you was afraid.* When they were brought out, Sir Jeremy ordered the Ordinary to be sent for, and prayers to be said in the chapel, where he attended himself. But whether the hurry of this affair, or that stench which is natural to so filthy a place as the condemned hold, affected the sheriff's constitution, is hard to say, but upon his return home, he was seized with a violent fever, which in a very short space took away his life.



But to return to Swift. When they came to Tyburn, and the minister had performed his last office towards them, this criminal made a shift in a faint tone to cry out, *Good People, I die as innocent of the crime for which I suffer, as the child unborn; which Barton, with a loud voice, confirmed saying, I am the man who robbed the person for which this man dies; he was not concerned with me, but one Capell and another were companions with me therein.* Swift, at the time of his execution, was about twenty-seven years of age, or a little over.

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THE LIVES OF EDWARD BURNWORTH, ALIAS FRAZIER, WILLIAM

BLEWIT, THOMAS BERRY, EMANUEL DICKENSON, WILLIAM

MARJORAM, JOHN HIGGS, ETC., ROBBERS, FOOTPADS,

HOUSEBREAKERS AND MURDERERS¹⁸⁵

As society intends the preservation of every man's person and property from the injuries which might be offered unto him from others, so those who in contempt of its laws go on to injure the one, and either by force or fraud to take away the other are, in the greatest propieties of speech, enemies of mankind; and as such are reasonably rooted out, and destroyed by every government under heaven. In some parts of Europe, certain outlaws, *Banditti*, or whatever other appellation you'll please to bestow on them, have endeavoured to preserve themselves by force from the punishments which should have been executed upon them by justice, and finding mankind, from a spirit of self preservation, were become their enemies, they exerted themselves the utmost they were capable of in order to render their bodies so formidable as still to carry on their ravages with impunity, and in open defiance of the laws made against them. But an attempt of this sort was scarce ever heard of in Britain, even in the most early times, when, as in all other governments the hands of the Law wanted strength most; so that from the days of Robin Hood and Little John to those of the criminals of whom we are now writing, there was never any scheme formed for an open resistance of Justice, and carrying on a direct war against the lives and properties of mankind.

Edward Burnworth, *alias* Frazier, was the extraordinary person who framed this project for bringing rapine into method, and bounding even the practice of licentiousness with some kind of order. It may seem reasonable therefore, to begin his life preferable to the rest, and in so doing we must inform our readers that his father was by trade a painter, though so low in his circumstances as to be able to afford his son but a very mean education. However, he gave him as much as would have been sufficient for him in that trade to which he bound him

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apprentice, viz., to a buckle-maker in Grub Street, where for
The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



some time Edward lived honestly and much in favour with his master. But his father dying and his unhappy mother being reduced thereby into very narrow circumstances, restraint grew uneasy to him, and the weight of a parent's authority being now lost with him, he began to associate himself with those loose incorrigible vagrants, who frequent the ring at Moorfields, and from idleness and debauchery, go on in a very swift progression to robbery and picking of pockets.

Edward was a young fellow, active in his person and enterprising in his genius; he soon distinguished himself in cudgel playing, and such other Moorfields exercises as qualify a man first for the road and then for the gallows. The mob who frequented this place, where one Frazier kept the ring, were so highly pleased with Burnworth's performances that they thought nothing could express their applause so much as conferring on him the title of Young Frazier. This agreeing with the ferocity of his disposition, made him so vain thereof, that, quitting his own name, he chose to go by this, and accordingly was so called by all his companions.



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Burnworth's grand associates were these, William Blewit, Emanuel Dickenson, Thomas Berry, John Levee, William Marjoram, John Higgs, John Wilson, John Mason, Thomas Mekins, William Gillingham, John Barton, William Swift, and some others that it is not material here to mention. At first he and his associates contented themselves with picking pockets, and such other exercises in the lowest class of thieving, in which however they went on very assiduously for a considerable space, and did more mischief that way than any gang which had been before them for twenty years. They rose afterwards to exploits of a more hazardous nature, viz., snatching women's pockets, swords, hats, etc.

The usual places for their carrying on such infamous practices were about the Royal Exchange, Cheapside, St. Paul's Churchyard, Fleet Street, the Strand and Charing Cross. Here they stuck a good while, nor is it probable they would ever have risen higher if Burnworth, their captain, had not been detected in an affair of this kind, and committed thereupon to Bridewell, from whence, on some apprehension of the keepers, he was removed to New Prison, where he had not continued long before he projected an escape, which he afterwards put into execution.

During this imprisonment, instead of reflecting on the sorrows which his evil course of life had brought upon him, he meditated only how to engage his companions in attempts of a higher nature than they had hitherto been concerned in; and remembering how large a circle he had of wicked associates, he began to entertain notions of putting them in such a posture as might prevent their falling easily into the hands of justice, which many of them within a month or two last past had done—though as they were sent thither on trivial offences, they quickly got discharged again.

Full of such projects, and having once more regained his freedom, he took much pains to find out Barton, Marjoram, Berry, Blewit and Dickenson, in whose company he remained continually, never venturing abroad in the day-time unless with his associates in the fields, where they walked with strange boldness, considering warrants were out against the greatest part of the gang. In the night time Burnworth strolled about in such little bawdy-houses as he had formerly frequented, and where he yet fancied he might be safe.

One evening having wandered from the rest, he was so bold as to go to a house in the Old Bailey, where he heard the servants and successors of the famous Jonathan Wild were in close pursuit of him, and that one of them was in the inner room by himself. Burnworth loaded his pistol under the table, and having primed it, goes with it ready cocked into the room where Jonathan's foreman was, with a quartern of brandy and a glass before him. *Hark ye, says Edward, you fellow, who have served your time to a thief-taker; what business might you have with me or my company? Do you think to gain a hundred or two by swearing our lives away? If you do you are much mistaken; but that I may be some judge of your talent that way, I must hear you curse a little, on a very particular occasion.* Upon which, filling a large glass of brandy, and putting a little gunpowder into it, he clapped it into the fellow's hands, and then presenting his pistol to his breast, obliged him to wish most horrid mischiefs upon himself, if ever he attempted to follow him or his companions any more. No sooner had he done this, but Frazier



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knocking him down, quitted the room, and went to acquaint his companions with his notable adventure, which, as it undoubtedly frightened the new thief-taker, so it highly exalted his reputation for undaunted bravery amongst the rest of the gang, a thing not only agreeable to Burnworth's vanity, but useful also to his design, which was to advance himself to a sort of absolute authority amongst them from whence he might be capable of making them subservient to him in such enterprises as he designed. His associates were not cunning enough to penetrate his views, but without knowing it suffered them to take effect; so that instead of robbing as they used to do (as accident directed them, or they received intelligence of any booty) they now submitted themselves to his guidance, and did nothing but as he directed or commanded them.

The morning before the murder of Thomas Ball, Burnworth, and Barton, whom we have before mentioned, pitched upon the house of an old Justice of the Peace of Clerkenwell, to whom they had a particular pique for having formerly committed Burnworth, and proposed it to their companions to break it open that night, or rather the next morning (for it was about one of the clock). They put their design in execution and executed it successfully, carrying off some things of real value, and a considerable parcel of what they took to be silver plate. With this they went into the fields above Islington, and from thence to Copenhagen House, where they spent the greatest part of the day. On parting the booty Burnworth perceived what they had taken for silver was nothing more than a gilt metal, at which he in a rage would have thrown it away; Barton opposed it, and said they should be able to sell it for something, to which Burnworth replied that it was good for nothing but to discover them, and therefore it should not be preserved at any rate. Upon this they differed, and while they were debating, came Blewit, Berry, Dickenson, Higgs, Wilson, Levee, and Marjoram, who joined the company. Burnworth and Barton agreed to toss up at whose disposal the silver ware should be, they did so, and it fell to Burnworth to dispose of it as he thought fit, upon which he carried it immediately to the New River side, and threw it in there, adding that he was sorry he had not the old Justice himself there, to share the same fate, being really as much out of humour at the thing as if the Justice had imposed upon them in a fair sale of the commodity, so easy a thing is it for men to impose upon themselves.

As it happened they were all present pretty full of money, and so under no necessity of going upon any enterprise directly, wherefore they loitered up and down the fields until towards evening, when they thought they might venture unto town, and pass the time in their usual pleasures of drinking, gaming, and whoring. While they were thus (as the French say) murdering of time, a comrade of theirs came up puffing and blowing as if ready to break his heart. As soon as he reached them, *Lads*, says he, *beware of one thing; the constables have been all about Chick Lane in search of folk of our profession, and if ye venture to the house where we were to have met to-night, 'tis ten to one but we are all taken.*

This intelligence occasioned a deep consultation amongst them, what method they had best take, in order to avoid the danger which threatened them so nearly. Burnworth took this occasion to exhort them to keep together, telling them that as they were



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armed with three or four pistols apiece, and short daggers under their clothes, a small force would not venture to attack them. This was approved by all the rest, and when they had passed the afternoon in this manner, and had made a solemn oath to stand by one another in case of danger, they resolved, as night grew on, to draw towards town, Barton having at the beginning of these consultations, quitted them and gone home.

As they came through Turnmill Street, they accidentally met the keeper of New Prison, from whom Burnworth had escaped about six weeks before. He desired Edward to step across the way with him, adding that he saw he had no arms, and that he did not intend to do him any prejudice. Burnworth replied that he was no way in fear of him, nor apprehensive of any injury he was able to do him, and so concealing a pistol in his hand, he stepped over to him, his companions waiting for him in the street. But the neighbours having some suspicion of them, and of the methods they followed to get money, began to gather about them; upon which they called to their companion to come away, which he, after making a low bow to the captain of New Prison, did. Finding the people increase they thought it their most advisable method to retire back in a body into the fields. This they did keeping very close together; and in order to deter the people from making any attempts, turned several times and presented their pistols in their faces, swearing they would murder the first man who came near enough for them to touch him. And the people being terrified to see such a gang of obdurate villains, dispersed as they drew near the fields, and left them at liberty to go whither they would.

As soon as they had dispersed their pursuers, they entered into a fresh consultation as to what manner they would dispose of themselves. Burnworth heard what every one proposed, and said at last, that he thought the best thing they could do was to enter with as much privacy as they could, the other quarter of the town, and so go directly to the waterside. They approved his proposal, and accordingly getting down to Blackfriars, crossed directly into Southwark; and retired at last into St. George's Fields, where their last counsel was held to settle the operation of the night. There Burnworth exerted himself in his proper colours, informing them that there was no less danger of their being apprehended there, than about Chick Lane; for that one Thomas Ball (who kept a gin-shop in the Mint, and who was very well acquainted with most of their persons) had taken it into his head to venture upon Jonathan Wild's employment, and was for all that purpose indefatigable in searching out all their haunts, that he might get a good penny to himself apprehending them. He added that but a few nights ago, he narrowly missed being caught by him, being obliged to clap a pistol to his face, and threatened to shoot him dead if he offered to lay his hands on him. *Therefore, continued Burnworth, the surest way for us to procure safety, is to go to this rogue's house, and shoot him dead upon the spot. His death will not only secure us from all fears of his treachery, but it will likewise so terrify others that nobody will take up the trade of thief-catching in haste; and if it were not for such people who are acquainted with us and our houses of resort there would hardly one of our profession in a hundred see the inside of Newgate.* Burnworth had scarce made an end of his bloody proposal, before they all testified their assent to it with great alacrity, Higgs



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only excepted; who seeming to disapprove thereof, it put the rest into such a passion that they upbraided him in the most opprobrious terms with being a coward and a scoundrel, unworthy of being any longer the companion of such brave fellows as themselves. When Frazier had sworn them all to stick fast by one another, he put himself at their head, and away they went directly to put their designed assassination into execution. Higgs retreated under favour of the night, being apprehensive of himself when their hands were in, since he, not being quite so wicked as the rest, might share the fate of Ball upon the first dislike to him that took them.

As for Burnworth and his party, when they came to Ball's house and enquired of his wife for him, they were informed that he was gone to the next door, a public house, and that she would step and call him, and went accordingly. Burnworth immediately followed her and meeting Ball at the door, took him fast by the collar, and dragged him into his own house, and began to expostulate with him as to the reason why he had attempted to take him, and how ungenerous it was for him to seek to betray his old friends and acquaintances. Ball, apprehending their mischievous intentions, addressed himself to Blewit, and begged of him to be an intercessor for him, and that they would not murder him; but Burnworth with an oath replied, he would put it out of the power of Ball ever to do him any further injury, that he should never get a penny by betraying him, and thereupon immediately shot him.

Having thus done, they all went out of doors again, and that the neighbourhood might suppose the firing of the pistol to have been done without any ill-intention, and only to discharge the same, Blewitt fired another in the street over the tops of the houses, saying aloud, they were got safe into town and there was no danger of meeting any rogues there. Ball attempted to get as far as the door, but in vain, for he dropped immediately, and died in a few minutes afterwards.

Having this executed their barbarous design, they went down from Ball's house directly towards the Falcon,¹⁸⁶ intending to cross the water back again. By the way they accidentally met with Higgs, who was making to the waterside likewise. Him they fell upon and rated for a pusilanimous cowardly dog (as Burnworth called him) that would desert them in an affair of such consequence, and then questioned whether Higgs himself would not betray them. Burnworth proposed it to the company to shoot their old comrade Higgs, because he had deserted them in their late expedition; which it is believed, in the humour Burnworth was then in, he would have done, had not Marjoram interposed and pleaded for sparing his life. From the Falcon stairs they crossed the water to Trig Stairs¹⁸⁷; and then consulting how to spend the evening, they resolved to go to the Boar's Head Tavern, in Smithfield, as not being at a distance from the waterside, in case any pursuit should be made after them, on account of the murder by them committed. At which place they continued until near ten of the clock, when they separated themselves into parties for that night, viz., one party towards the Royal Exchange, the second to St. Paul's Churchyard, the third to Temple Bar, in pursuit of their old trade of diving.

This murder made them more cautious of appearing in public, and

186. Falcon Stairs were just east of where Blackfriars Bridge now stands.

187. Trig Lane ran from Thames Street to the water's edge, near Lambeth Hill.



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Blewit, Berry and Dickenson soon after set out for Harwich, and went over in a packet boat from thence for Helveot-Sluys. Higgs also being daily in fear of a discovery, shipped himself on board the *Monmouth* man-of-war, at Spithead, where he thought himself safe, and began to be a little at ease; but Justice quickly overtook him, when he thought himself safest from its blow; for his brother who lived in town, having wrote a letter to him, and given it to a ship's mate of his to carry to him at Spithead, this man accidentally fell into company with one Arthur, a watchman belonging to St. Sepulchre's Parish, and pulling the letters by chance out of his pocket, the watchman saw the direction, and recollected that Higgs was a companion of Frazier's. Upon this he sent word to Mr. Delasay, Under-Secretary of State, and being examined as to the circumstances of the thing, proper persons were immediately dispatched to Spithead, who seized and brought him up in custody. Wilson, another of the confederates, withdrew about the same time, and had so much cunning as to preserve himself from being heard of for a considerable time.

Burnworth, in the meanwhile, with some companions of his, continued to carry on their rapacious plunderings in almost all parts of the town; and as they kept pretty well united, and were resolute fellows, they did a vast deal of mischief, and yet were too strong to be apprehended. Amongst the rest of their pranks they were so audacious as to stop the Earl of Scarborough, in Piccadilly, but the chairmen having courage enough to draw their poles and knock one of the robbers down, the earl at the same time coming out of the chair, and putting himself upon his defence, after a smart dispute in which Burnworth shot one of the chairmen in the shoulder and thereby prevented any pursuit, they raised their wounded companion and withdrew in great confusion.

About this time their robberies and villainies having made so much noise as to deserve the notice of the Government, a proclamation was published for the apprehending Burnworth, Blewit, etc., it being justly supposed that none but those who were guilty of these outrages could be the persons concerned in the cruel murder of Ball. A gentleman who by accident had brought one of these papers, came into the alehouse at Whitecross Street, and read it publicly. The discourse of the company turning thereupon, and the impossibility of the persons concerned making their escape, and the likelihood there was that they would immediately impeach one another. Marjoram, one of the gang, was there, though known to nobody in the room; weighing the thing with himself, he retired immediately from the house into the fields, where loitering about till evening came on, he then stole with the utmost caution into Smithfield, and going to a constable there, surrendered himself in a way of obtaining a pardon, and the reward promised by the proclamation.

That night he was confined in the Wood Street Compter, his Lordship not being at leisure to examine him. The next day, as he was going to his examination, the noise of his surrender being already spread all over the town, many of his companions changed their lodgings and provided for their safety; but Barton thought of another method of securing himself from Marjoram's impeachment, and therefore planting himself in the way as Marjoram was carrying to Goldsmiths' Hall, he popped out upon him at once, though the constable had him by the arm, and



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presenting a pistol to him, said, *D—n ye, I'll kill you.* Marjoram, at the sound of his voice, ducked his head, and he immediately firing, the ball grazed only on his back, without doing him any hurt. The surprise with which all who were assisting the constable in the execution of his office were all struck upon this occasion gave an opportunity for Barton to retire, after his committing such an insult on public justice, as perhaps was never heard of. However, Marjoram proceeded to his examination, and made a very full discovery of all the transactions in which he had been concerned. Levee being taken that night by his directions in White Cross Street, and after examination committed to Newgate.

Burnworth was now perfectly deprived of his old associates, yet he went on at his old rate, even by himself; for a few nights after, he broke open the shop and house of Mr. Beezely, a great distiller near Clare Market, and took away from thence notes to a great value, with a quantity of plate, which mistaking for white metal he threw away. One Benjamin Jones picked it up and was thereupon **hanged**, being one of the number under sentence when the Condemned Hold was shut up, and the criminals refused to submit to the keepers. Burnworth was particularly described in the proclamation, and three hundred pounds offered to any who would apprehend him; yet so audacious was he as to come directly to a house in Holborn, where he was known, and laying a loaded pistol down on the table, called for a pint of beer, which he drank and paid for, defying anybody to touch him, though they knew him to be the person mentioned in the proclamation. It would be needless to particularise any other bravadoes of his, which were so numerous that it gave no little uneasiness to the magistrates, who perceived the evil consequences that would show if such things should become frequent; they therefore doubled their diligence in endeavouring to apprehend him, yet all their attempts were to little purpose, and it is possible he might have gone on much longer if he had not betrayed the natural consequence of one rogue's trusting another.

It happened at this time, that one Christopher Leonard was in prison for some such feats as Burnworth had been guilty of, who lodged at the same time with the wife and sister of the fellow. Kit Leonard, knowing in what state he himself was, and supposing nothing could so effectually recommend to him the mercy and favour of the Government as the procuring Frazier to be apprehended, who had so long defied all the measures they had taken for that purpose, he accordingly made the proposal by his wife to persons in authority. And the project being approved they appointed a sufficient force to assist in seizing him, who were placed at an adjoining alehouse, where Kate, the wife of Kit Leonard, was to give them the signal.

About six of the clock in the evening of Shrove Tuesday, Kate Leonard and her sister and Burnworth being all together (it not being late enough for him to go out upon his nightly enterprises) Kate Leonard proposed they should fry some pancakes for supper, which the other two approved of, accordingly her sister set about them. Burnworth took off his surtout coat, in the pocket of the lining whereof he had several pistols. There was a little back door to the house, which Burnworth usually kept upon the latch, in order to make his escape if he should be surprised or discovered to be in that house. Unperceived by Burnworth, and whilst her sister was frying the pancakes, Kate went to the



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alehouse for a pot of drink, when having given the men who were there waiting for him the signal, she returned, and closed the door after her, but designedly missed the staple. The door being thus upon the jar only, as she gave the drink to Burnworth, the six persons rushed into the room. Burnworth hearing the noise and fearing the surprise, jumped up, thinking to have made his escape at the back door, not knowing it to be bolted; but they were upon him before he could get it open, and holding his hands behind him, one of them tied them, whilst another, to intimidate him, fired a pistol over his head. Having thus secured him, they immediately carried him before a Justice of the Peace, who after a long examination committed him to Newgate.

Notwithstanding his confinement in that place, he was still director of such of his companions as remained at liberty, and communicating to them the suspicions he had of Kate Leonard's betraying him, and the dangers there were of her detecting some of the rest, they were easily induced to treat her as they had done Ball. One of them fired a pistol at her, just as she was entering her own house, but that missing, they made two or three other attempts of the same nature, until the Justice of the Peace placed a guard thereabouts, in order to secure her from being killed, and if possible to seize those who should attempt it, after which they heard no more of these sorts of attacks. In Newgate they confined Burnworth to the Condemned Hold, and took what other necessary precautions they thought proper in order to secure so dangerous a person, and who they were well enough aware meditated nothing but how to escape.

He was in this condition when the malefactors before-mentioned, viz., Barton, Swift, etc., were under sentence, and it was shrewdly suspected that he put them upon that attempt of breaking out, of which we have given an account before. There were two things which more immediately contributed to the defeating their design; the one was, that though five of them were to die the next day, yet four of them were so drunk that they were not able to work; the other was that they were so negligent in providing candles that two hours after they were locked up they were forced to lie-by for want of light.

As we have already related the particulars of this story, we shall not take up our reader's time in mentioning them again, but go on with the story of Burnworth. Upon suspicion of his being the projector of that enterprise the keepers removed him into the Bilbow Room, and there loaded him with irons, leaving him by himself to lament the miseries of his misspent life in the solitude of his wretched confinement; yet nothing could break the wicked stubbornness of his temper, which, as it had led him to those practices justly punished with so strait a confinement, so it now urged him continually to force his way through all opposition, and thereby regain his liberty, in order to practice more villainies of the same sort, with those in which he had hitherto spent his time.

It is impossible to say how, but by some method or other he had procured saws, files, and other instruments for this purpose; with these he first released himself from his irons, then broke through the wall of the room in which he was lodged, and thereby got into the women's apartment, the window of which was fortified with three tier of iron bars. Upon these he went immediately to work, and in a little time forced one of them; while he was filing the next, one of the women, to ingratiate



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herself with the keepers, gave notice, whereupon they came immediately and dragged him back to the Condemned Hold and there stapled him down to the ground.

The course of our memoirs leads us now to say something of the rest of his companions, who in a very short space came most of them to be collected to share that punishment which the Law had so justly appointed for their crimes. We will begin, then, with William Blewit, who, next to Frazier, was the chief person in the gang. He was one of St. Giles's breed, his father a porter, and his mother, at the time of his execution selling greens in the same parish. They were both of them unable to give their son education or otherwise provide for him, which occasioned his being put out by the parish to a perfumer of gloves; but his temper from his childhood inclining him to wicked practices, he soon got himself into a gang of young pickpockets, with whom he practised several years with impunity. But being at last apprehended in the very act, he was committed to Newgate, and on plain proof convicted the next sessions, and ordered for transportation. Being shipped on board the vessel with other wretches in the same condition, he was quickly let into the secret of their having provided for an escape by procuring saws, files, and other implements, put up in a little barrel, which they pretended contained gingerbread, and such other little presents which were given them by relations. Blewitt immediately foresaw abundance of difficulties in their design, and therefore resolved to make a sure use of it for his own advantage. This he did by communicating all he knew to the captain, who thereupon immediately seized their tools, and thereby prevented the loss of his ship, which otherwise in all probability would have been effected by the conspirators.

In return for this service, Blewit obtained his freedom, which did not serve him for any better purpose than his return to London as soon as he was able. Whether he went again upon his old practices before he was apprehended, we cannot determine, but before he had continued two months in town, somebody seized him, and committed him to Newgate. At the next sessions he was tried and convicted for returning from transportation, but pleading, when he received sentence of death, the service he had done in preventing the attempt of the other malefactors, execution was respited until the return of the captain, and on his report the sentence was changed into a new transportation, and leave given him also to go to what foreign port he would. But he no sooner regained his liberty than he put it to the same use as before, and took up the trade of snatching hats, wigs, etc., until he got into acquaintance with Burnworth and his gang, who taught him other methods of robbing than he had hitherto practised. Like most of the unhappy people of his sort, he had to his other crimes added the marriage of several wives, of which the first was reputed a very honest and modest woman, and it seems had so great a love for him, notwithstanding the wickedness of his behaviour, that upon her visiting him at Newgate, the day before they set out for Kingston, she was oppressed with so violent a grief as to fall down dead in the lodge. Another of his wives married Emanuel Dickenson and survived them both.

His meeting Burnworth that afternoon before Ball's murder was accidental, but the savageness of his temper led him to a quick compliance with that wicked proposition; but after the



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commission of that fact, he with his companions before mentioned went over in the packet boat to Holland. Guilt is a companion which never suffers rest to enter any bosom where it inhabits; they were so uneasy after their arrival there, lest an application should be made from the Government at home, that they were constantly perusing the English newspapers as they came over to the coffee houses in Rotterdam, that they might gain intelligence of what advertisements, rewards, or other methods had been taken to apprehend the persons concerned in Ball's murder; resolving on the first news of a proclamation, or other interposition of the State on that occasion, immediately to quit the Dominions of the Republic. But as Burnworth had been betrayed by the only persons from whom he could reasonably hope assistance; Higgs seized on board a ship where he fancied himself secure from all searches; so Blewit and his associates, though they daily endeavoured to acquaint themselves with the transactions at London relating to them, fell also into the hands of Justice, when they least expected it. So equal are the decrees of providence, and so inevitable the strokes of Divine vengeance.

The proclamation for apprehending them came no sooner to the hands of Mr. Finch, the British resident at the Hague, but he immediately caused an enquiry to be made, whether any such persons as were therein described had been seen at Rotterdam. Being assured that there had, and that they were lodged at the Hamburg's Arms on the Boom Keys in that City, he sent away a special messenger to enquire the truth thereof; of which he was no sooner satisfied, than he procured an order from the States General for apprehending them anywhere within the Province. By virtue of this order the messenger, with the assistance of the proper officers for that purpose in Holland, apprehended Blewit at the house whither they had been directed; his two companions Dickenson and Berry, had left him and were gone aboard a ship, not caring to remain any longer in Holland. They conducted their prisoner to the Stadt House Prison in Rotterdam, and then went to the Brill, where the ship on board which his companions were, not being cleared out, they surprised them also, and having handcuffed them, sent them under a strong guard to Rotterdam, where they put them in the same place with their old associate Blewit. We shall now therefore take an opportunity of speaking of each of them, and acquainting the reader with those steps by which they arose to that unparalleled pitch of wickedness which rendered them alike the wonder and detestation of all the sober part of mankind.

Emanuel Dickenson was the son of a very worthy person, whose memory I shall be very careful not to stain upon this occasion. The lad was ever wild and ungovernable in his temper, and being left a child at his father's death, himself, his brother, and several sisters were thrown all upon the hands of their mother, who was utterly unable to support them in those extravagancies to which they were inclined. Whereupon they unfortunately addicted themselves to such evil courses as to them seemed likely to provide such a supply of money as might enable them to take such licentious pleasures as were suitable to their vicious inclinations. The natural consequence of which was that they all fell under misfortunes, especially Emanuel of whom we are speaking, who addicted himself to picking of pockets, and such kind of facts for a considerable space. At last, attempting



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to snatch a gentleman's hat off in the Strand, he was seized with it in his hand, and committed to Newgate, and at the next sessions convicted and ordered for transportation. But his mother applying at Court for a pardon, and setting forth the merit of his father, procured his discharge. The only use he made of this was to associate himself with his old companions, who by degrees led him into greater villainies than any he had till that time been concerned in; and at last falling under the direction of Burnworth, he was with the rest drawn into the murder of Ball. After this he followed Blewit's advice, and not thinking himself safe even in Holland, he and Berry (as has been said) were actually on ship board, in order to their departure. Thomas Berry was a beggar, if not a thief, from his cradle, descended from parents in the most wretched circumstances, who being incapable of giving him an honest education suffered him on the contrary to idle about the streets, and to get into such gangs of thieves and pickpockets as taught him from his infancy the arts of *diving* (as they in their cant call it). And as he grew in years they still brought him on to a greater proficiency in such evil practices, in which however he did not always meet with impunity; for besides getting into the little prisons about town, and being whipped several times at the houses of correction, he had also been thrice in Newgate, and for the last fact convicted and ordered for transportation. However, by some means or other, he got away from the ship, and returned quickly to his old employment; in which he had not continued long, before falling into the acquaintance of Burnworth, it brought him first to the commission of a cruel murder, and after that with great justice to suffer an ignominious death. Having been thus particular on the circumstances of each malefactor distinctly, let us return to the thread of our story, and observe to what period their wicked designs and lawless courses brought them at the last.

After they were all three secured, and safe confined in Rotterdam, the resident dispatched an account thereof to England; whereupon he received directions for applying to the States-General for leave to send them back. This was readily granted, and six soldiers were ordered to attend them on board, besides the messengers who were sent to fetch them. Captain Samuel Taylor, in the *Delight* sloop, brought them safe to the Nore, where they were met by two other messengers, who assisted in taking charge of them up the river. In the midst of all the miseries they suffered, and the certainty they had of being doomed to suffer much more as soon as they came on shore, yet they behaved themselves with the greatest gaiety imaginable, were full of their jests and showed as much pleasantness as if their circumstances had been the most happy. Observing a press-gang very busy on the water, and that the people in the boat shunned them with great care, they treated them with the most opprobrious language, and impudently dared the lieutenant to come and press them for the service. On their arrival at the Tower, they were put into a boat with the messengers, with three other boats to guard them, each of which was filled with a corporal and a file of musqueteers; and in this order they were brought to Westminster. After being examined before Justice Chalk and Justice Blackerby they were all three put into a coach, and conducted by a party of Foot-guards to Newgate through a continued line of spectators, who by their loud huzzas



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proclaimed their joy at seeing these egregious villains in the hands of justice; for they, like Jonathan Wild, were so wicked as to lose the compassion of the mob.

On their arrival at Newgate, the keepers expressed a very great satisfaction, and having put on each a pair of the heaviest irons in the gaol, and taken such other precautions as they thought necessary for securing them, they next did them the honour of conducting them upstairs to their old friend Edward Burnworth. Having congratulated them on their safe arrival and they condoled with him on his confinement, they took their places near him, and had the convenience of the same apartment and were shackled in the like manner. They did not appear to show the least sign of contrition or remorse for what they had done; on the contrary they spent their time with all the indifference imaginable. Great numbers of people had the curiosity to come to Newgate to see them, and Blewit upon all occasions made use of every opportunity to excite their charity, alleging they had been robbed of everything when they were seized. Burnworth, with an air of indifference replied, *D—n this Blewit, because he had got a long wig and ruffled shirt he takes the liberty to talk more than any of us.* Being exhorted to apply the little time they had to live in preparing themselves for another world, Burnworth replied that if they had any inclination to think of a future state, it was impossible in their condition, so many persons as were admitted to come to view them in their present circumstances must needs divert any good thoughts. But their minds were totally taken up with consulting the most likely means to make their escape and extricate themselves from the bolts and shackles with which they were clogged and encumbered; and indeed all their actions showed their thoughts were bent only on enlargement, and that they were altogether unmindful of death, or at least careless of the future consequence thereof. On Wednesday, the 30th of March, 1726, Burnworth, Blewit, Berry Dickenson, Levee, and Higgs, were all put into a waggon, handcuffed and chained, and carried to Kingston under a guard of the Duke of Bolton's horse. At their coming out of Newgate they were very merry, charging the guard to take care that no misfortune happened to them, and called upon the numerous crowd of spectators, both at their getting into the waggon, and afterwards as they passed along the road, to show their respect they bore them by halloaing, and to pay them the compliments due to gentlemen of their profession, and called for several bottles of wine that they might drink to their good journey. As they passed along the road they endeavoured to show themselves very merry and pleasant by their facetious discourse to the spectators, and frequently threw money amongst the people who followed them, diverting themselves with seeing the others strive for it. And particularly Blewit, having thrown out some halfpence amongst the mob, a little boy who was present picked up one of them, and calling out to Blewit, told him, that as sure as he (the said Blewit) would be condemned at Kingston, so sure would he have his name engraved thereon; whereupon Blewit took a shilling out of his pocket and gave it to the boy, telling him there was something towards defraying the charge of engraving and bid him be as good as his word, which he promised he would.

On the 31st of March, the assizes were opened, together with the commission of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery for the county



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of Surrey, before the Right Hon. the Lord Chief Justice Raymond, and Mr. Justice Denton; and the grand jury having found indictments against the prisoners, they were severally arraigned thereupon, when five of them pleaded not guilty. Burnworth absolutely refused to plead at all; upon which, after being advised by the judge not to force the Court upon that rigour which they were unwilling at any time to practice, and he still continuing obstinate, his thumbs (as is usual in such cases) were tied and strained with pack thread. This having no effect upon him, the sentence of the press, or as it is sailed in Law, of the *Peine Fort et Dure*, was read to him in these words: *You shall go to the place from whence you came, and there being stripped naked and laid flat upon your back on the floor, with a napkin about your middle to hide your privy members, and a cloth on your face, then the press is to be laid upon you, with as much weight as, or rather more than you can bear. You are to have three morsels of barley-bread in twenty-four hours; a draught of water from the next puddle near the gaol, but not running water. The second day two morsels and the same water, with an increase of weight, and so to the third day until you expire.*

This sentence thus passed upon him, and he still continuing contumacious, he was carried down to the stock-house, and the press laid upon him, which he bore for the space of one hour and three minutes, under the weight of three hundred, three quarters, and two pounds [424 lb.]. Whilst he continued under the press, he endeavoured to beat out his brains against the floor, during which time the High Sheriff himself was present, and frequently exhorted him to plead to the indictment. This at last he consented to do; and being brought up to the Court, after a trial which lasted from eight in the morning until one in the afternoon, on the first day of April, they were all six found guilty of the indictment, and being remanded back to the stock-house, were all chained and stapled down to the floor.

Whilst they were under conviction, the terrors of death did not make any impression upon them; they diverted themselves with repeating jests and stories of various natures, particularly of the manner of their escapes before out of the hands of justice, and the robberies and offences they had committed. And it being proposed, for the satisfaction of the world, for them to leave the particulars of the several robberies by them committed, Burnworth replied that were he to write all the robberies by him committed, a hundred sheets of paper, write as close as could be, would not contain them. Notwithstanding what had been alleged by Higgs of his forsaking his companions in the field, it appeared by other evidence that he followed his companions to Ball's house, and was seen hovering about the house during the time the murder was committed, with a pistol in his hand.

As for Burnworth, after conviction, his behaviour was as ludicrous as ever; and being as I said, a painter's son, he had some little notion of designing, and therewith diverted himself in sketching his own picture in several forms; particularly as he lay under the press. This being engraved in copper, was placed in the frontispiece of a sixpenny book which was published of his life, and the rest seemed to fall no way short of him in that silly contempt of death, which with the vulgar passes for resolution.

On Monday, the 4th day of April, they were brought up again from



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the stock-house to receive sentence of death. Before he passed it upon them Mr. Justice Denton made a very pathetic speech, in which he represented to them the necessity there was of punishing crimes like theirs with death, and exhorted them not to be more cruel to themselves than they had obliged the law to be severe towards them, by squandering away the small remainder of their time, and thereby adding to an ignominious end, an eternal punishment hereafter. When sentence was passed, they entreated leave for their friends to visit them in the prison, which was granted them by the Court, but with a strict injunction to the keeper to be careful over them. After they returned to the prison, they bent their thought wholly on making their escape, and to that purpose sent to their friends, and procured proper implements for the execution of it: Burnworth's mother being surprised with several files, etc., about her, and the whole plot discovered by Blewit's mother who was heard to say that she had forgot the opium.

It seems the scheme was to murder the two persons who attended them in the gaol, together with Mr. Eliot, the turnkey; after they had got out they intended to have fired a slack of bavins [firewood] adjoining to the prison, and thereby amused the inhabitants while they got clear off. Burnworth's mother was confined for this attempt in his favour, and some lesser implements that were sewed up in the waistband of their breeches being ripped out, all hopes whatsoever of escape were now taken away. Yet Burnworth affected to keep up the same spirit with which he had hitherto behaved, and talked in a rhodomantade to one of his guard, of coming in the night in a dark entry, and pulling him by the nose, if he did not see him decently buried. About ten of the clock, on Wednesday morning, together with one Blackburn, who was condemned for robbing on the highway, a fellow grossly ignorant and stupid, they were carried out in a cart to their execution, being attended by a company of foot to the gallows. In their passage thither, that audacious carriage in which they had so long persisted totally forsook them, and they all appeared with all that seriousness and devotion which might be looked for from persons in their condition. Blewit perceiving one Mr. Warwick among the spectators desired that he might stop to speak to him; which being granted, he threw himself upon his knees, and earnestly intreated his pardon for having once attempted his life by presenting a pistol at him, upon suspicion that Mr. Warwick knowing what his profession was had given information against him.

When at the place of execution and tied up, Blewit and Dickenson, especially, prayed with great fervour and with a becoming earnestness, exhorted all the young persons they saw near them to take warning by them, and not follow such courses as might in time bring them to so terrible an end. Blewit acknowledged that for sixteen years last past he had lived by stealing and pilfering only. He had given all the clothes he had to his mother, but being informed that he was to be hung in chains, he desired his mother might return them to prevent his being put up in his shirt. He then desired the executioner to tie him up so that he might be as soon out of his pain as possible; then he said the Penitential Psalm, and repeated the words of it to the other criminals. Then they all kissed one another, and after some private devotions the cart drew away and they were turned off. Dickenson died very hard, kicking off one of his shoes, and



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loosing the other.

Their bodies were carried back under the same guard which attended them to their execution. Burnworth and Blewit were afterwards hung in chains over against the sign of the Fighting Cocks, in St. George's Fields, Dickenson and Berry were hung up on Kennington Common, but the sheriff of Surrey had orders at the same time to suffer his relations to take down the body of Dickenson in order to be interred, after its hanging up one day, which favour was granted on account of his father's service in the army, who was killed at his post in the late war. Levee and Higgs were hung up on Putney Common, beyond Wandsworth, which is all we have to add concerning these hardened malefactors who so long defied the justice of their country, and are now, to the joy of all honest people, placed as spectacles for the warning of their companions who frequent the places where they are hung in chains.

April 30: James Cammel and William Marshal, thieves and footpads, and John Guy, a deer-stealer, were [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹⁸⁸

James Cammel was born of parents in very low circumstances, and the misfortunes arising therefrom were much increased by his father dying while he was an infant, and leaving him to the care of a widow in the lowest circumstances of life. The consequence was what might be easily foreseen, for he forgot what little he had learned in his youngest days, loitering away his time about Islington, Hoxton, Moorfield, and such places, being continually drinking there, and playing at cudgels, skittles, and such like. He never applied himself to labour or honest working for his bread, but either got it from his mother or a few other friends, or by methods of a more scandalous nature—I mean pilfering and stealing from others, for which after he had long practised it, he came at last to an untimely death.

He was a fellow of a froward disposition, hasty and yet revengeful, and made up of almost all the vices that go to forming a debauchee in low life. He had had a long acquaintance with the person that suffered with him for their offences, but what made him appear in the worst light was that he had endeavoured to commit acts of cruelty at the time he did the robbery. Notwithstanding he insisted not only that he was innocent of the latter part of the offence but that he never committed the robbery at all, though Marshal his associate did not deny it.

They had been together in these exploits for some time, and once particularly coming from Sadlers Wells, they took from a gentlewoman a basket full of bed-child linen to a very great value, which offering to sell to a woman in Monmouth Street, she privately sent for a constable to apprehend them. One of their companions who went with them observing this, he tipped them the wink to be gone, which the old woman of the house perceiving, caught hold of Marshal by the coat; and while they struggled, the third man whipped off a gold watch, a silver collar and bells, and a silver plate for holding snuffers, and pretending to interpose in the quarrel slipped through them, and out at the door, as Cammel and Marshal did immediately after him.

188. LIVES OF THE MOST REMARKABLE CRIMINALS WHO HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED FOR MURDER, THE HIGHWAY, HOUSEBREAKING, STREET ROBBERIES, COINING OR OTHER OFFENCES / COLLECTED FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS AND AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS, AND PUBLISHED IN 1735 / Edited by Arthur L. Hayward



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Once upon a time it happened that Marshal had no money, and his credit being at a par, and a warrant out to take him for a great debt, and another to take him for picking of pockets, he was in a great quandary how to escape both. He strolled into St. James's Park, and walking there pretty late behind the trees, a woman came up to the seat directly before him, when she fell to roaring and crying. Marshal being unseen, clapped himself down behind the seat, and listened with great attention. He perceived the woman had her pocket in her hand, and heard her distinctly say that a rogue not to be contented with cutting one pocket and taking it away, but he must cut the other and let it drop at her foot. Then she wiped her eyes and laying down her pocket by her, began to shake her petticoats to see if the other pocket had not lodged between them as the former had done. So Marshal took the opportunity and secretly conveyed that away, thinking one lamentation might serve for both. Upon turning the pocket out, he found only a thread paper, a housewife and a crown piece. Upon this crown piece he lived a fortnight at a milk-house, coming twice a day for milk, and hiding himself at nights in some of the grass plots, it being summer.

But his creditor dying, and the person whose pocket he had picked going to Denmark, he came abroad again, and soon after engaged with Cammel in the fact for which they were both hanged. It was committed upon a man and a woman coming through the fields from Islington, and the things they took did not amount to above 30 shillings. After they were convicted and had received sentence of death, Cammel sent for THE PRACTICE OF PIETY, THE WHOLE DUTY OF MAN, and such other good books as he thought might assist him in the performance of their duty. Yet notwithstanding all the outward appearance of resignation to the Divine Will, the Sunday before his execution, upon the coming in to the chapel of a person whom he took to be his prosecutor, he flew into a very great passion, and expressed his uneasiness that he had no instrument there to murder him with; and notwithstanding all that could be said to him to abate his passion, he continued restless and uneasy until the person was obliged to withdraw, and then with great attention applied himself to hear the prayers, and discourse that was made proper for that occasion. Marshal in the meanwhile continued very sick, but though he could not attend the chapel, did all that could be expected from a true penitent. In this condition they both continued until the time of their death, when Marshal truly acknowledged the fact, but Cammel prevaricated about it, and at last peremptorily denied it. They suffered on the 30th of April, 1725, Cammel appearing with an extraordinary carelessness and unconcern, desired them to put him out of the world quickly, and was very angry that they did not do it in less time.

One would have thought that the numerous executions which had happened upon the appearance of those called the Waltham Blacks,¹⁸⁹ and the severity of that Act of Parliament which their folly had occasioned, would effectually have prevented any outrages for the future upon either the forests belonging to the Crown, or the parks of private gentlemen; but it seems there were still fools capable of undertaking such mad exploits.

It is said that Guy being at a public house with a young woman whom, as the country people phrase it, was his sweetheart, a discourse arose at supper concerning the expeditions of the

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deer-stealers, which Guy's mistress took occasion to express great admiration of, and to regard them as so many heroes, who had behaved with courage enough to win the most obdurate heart, adding that she was very fond of venison, and she wished she had known some of them. This silly accident proved fatal to the poor fellow, who engaging with one Biddisford, an old deer-stealer, they broke into such forests and parks and carried off abundance of deer with impunity. But the keepers at last getting a number of stout young fellows to their assistance, waylaid them one night, when they were informed by the keeper of an alehouse that Guy and Biddisford intended to come for deer.

I must inform my reader that the method these young men took in deer-stealing was this. They went into the park on foot, sometimes with a crossbow, and sometimes with a couple of dogs, being armed always, however, with pistols for their own defence. When they had killed a buck, they trussed him up and put him upon their backs and so walked off, neither of them being able to procure horses for such service.

On the night that the keepers were acquainted with their coming, they sent to a neighbouring gentleman for the assistance of two of his grooms; the fellows came about 11 o'clock at night, and tying their horses in a little copse went to the place where the keepers had appointed to keep guard. This was on a little rising ground, planted with a star grove, through the avenues of which they could see all round them without being discerned themselves. No sooner, therefore, had Guy and his companion passed into the forest, but suffering them to pass by one of the entries of the grove where they were, they immediately issued out upon them, and pursued them so closely that they were within a few yards of them when they entered the coppice, where the two grooms had left their horses. They did not stay so much as to untie them, but cutting the bridles, mounted them and rode off as hard as they could, turning them loose as soon as they were in safety, and got home secure, because the keepers could not say they had done anything but walk across the forest.

This escape of theirs and some others of the same nature, made them so bold that not contented with the deer in chases and such places, they broke into the paddock of Anthony Duncombe, Esq., and there killed certain fallow deer. One Charles George who was the keeper, and some of his assistants hearing the noise they made, issued out, and a sharp fight beginning, the deer-stealers at last began to fly. But a blunderbuss being fired after them, two of the balls ripped the belly of Biddisford, who died on the spot; and soon after the keepers coming up, John Guy was taken. And being tried for this offence at the ensuing sessions of the Old Bailey, he was convicted and received sentence of death, though it was some days after before he could be persuaded that he should really suffer.

When he found himself included in the death warrant, he applied himself heartily to prayer and other religious duties, seeming to be thoroughly penitent for the crimes he had committed, and with great earnestness endeavoured to make amends for his follies, by sending the most tender letters to his companions who had been guilty of the same faults, to induce them to forsake such undertakings, which would surely bring them to the same fate which he suffered, for so inconsiderable a thing perhaps as a haunch of venison. Whether these epistles had the effect for which they were designed, I am not able to say, but the



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papers I have by me inform me that the prisoner Guy died with very cheerful resolution, not above twenty-five years of age, the same day with the malefactors before mentioned.

Vincent Davis and Mary Hanson were [hanged](#) for murder on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹⁹⁰

It is an observation made by some foreigners (and I am sorry to say there's too much truth in it) that though the English are perhaps less jealous than any nation under the heavens, yet more men murder their wives amongst us than in any other nation in Europe.

Vincent Davis was a man of no substance and who for several years together had lived in a very ill correspondence with his wife, often beating and abusing her, until the neighbours cried out shame. But instead of amending he addicted himself still more and more to such villainous acts, conversing also with other women. And at last buying a knife, he had the impudence to say that that knife should end her, in which he was as good as his word; for on a sudden quarrel he slabbed her to the heart. For this murder he was indicted, and also on the Statute of Stabbing,¹⁹¹ of both of which on the fullest proof he was found guilty.

When Davis was first committed, he thought fit to appear very melancholy and dejected. But when he found there was no hopes of life, he threw off all decency in his behaviour and, to pass for a man of courage, showed as much vehemence of temper as a madman would have done, rattling and raving to everyone that came in, saying it was no crime to kill a wife; and in all other expressions he made use of, behaved himself more like a fool or a man who had lost his wits than a man who had lived so long and creditably in a neighbourhood as he had done, excepting in relation to his wife. But he was induced, with the hopes of passing for a bold and daring fellow, to carry on this scene as long as he could, but when the death warrant arrived, all this intrepidity left him, he trembled and shook, and never afterwards recovered his spirits to the time of his death.

The account he gave of the reason of his killing his wife in so barbarous a manner was this; that a tailor's servant having kept him out pretty late one night, and he coming home elevated with liquor abused her, upon which she got a warrant for him and sent him to New Prison. After this, the prisoner said, he could never endure her; she was poison to his sight, and the abhorrence he had for her was so great and so strong that he could not treat her with the civility which is due to every indifferent person, much less with that regard which Christianity requires of us towards all who are of the same religion. So that upon every occasion he was ready to fly out into the greatest passions, which he vented by throwing everything at her that came in his way, by which means the knife was darted into her bosom with which she was slain.

Notwithstanding the barbarity which seemed natural to this unhappy man, the cruelty with which he treated his wife in her last moments, the spleen and malice with which he always spoke

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191. 1 Jac. I, cap. 8, "When one thrusts or stabs another, not then having a weapon drawn, or who hath not then first stricken the party stabbing, so that he dies thereof within six months after, the offender shall not have the benefit of clergy, though he did it not of malice aforethought." Blackstone.



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of her, and the little regret he showed for having imbrued his hands in her blood, he yet had an unaccountable tenderness for his own person, and employed the last days of his confinement in writing many letters to his friends, entreating them to be present at his execution in order to preserve his body from the hands of the surgeons, which of all things he dreaded. And in order to avoid being anatomised, he affronted the court at the Old Bailey, at the time he received sentence of death, intending as he said to provoke them to hang him in chains, by which means he should escape the mangling of the surgeon's knives, which to him seemed ten thousand times worse than death itself. Thus confused he passed the last moments of his life, and with much ado recollected himself so as to suffer with some kind of decency, which he did on the 30th of April, at the same time with the last-mentioned malefactor.

Amongst the many frailties to which our nature is subject, there is not perhaps a more dangerous one than the indulging ourselves in ridiculous and provoking discourses, merely to try the tempers of other people. I speak not this with regard to the criminal of whom we are next to treat, but of the person who in the midst of his sins drew upon himself a sudden and violent death by using such silly kind of speeches towards a woman weak in her nature, and deprived of what little reason she had by drink.

This poor creature, flying into an excess of passion with Francis Peters, who was some distant relation to her by marriage, she wounded him suddenly under the right pap with a knife, before she could be prevented by any of the company; of which wound he died. The warm expressions she had been guilty of before the blow, prevailed with the jury to think she had a premeditated malice, and thereupon they found her guilty.

Fear of death, want of necessities, and a natural tenderness of body, brought on her soon after conviction so great a sickness that she could not attend the duties of public devotion, and reduced her to the necessity of catching the little intervals of ease which her distemper allowed her, to beg pardon of God for that terrible crime for which she had been guilty.

There was at the same time, one Mary Stevens in the condemned hold (though she afterwards received a reprieve) who was very instrumental in bringing this poor creature to a true sense of herself and of her sins; she then confessed the murder with all its circumstances, reproached herself with having been guilty of such a crime as to murder the person who had so carefully took her under his roof, allowed her a subsistence and been so peculiarly civil to her, for which he expected no return but what was easily in her power to make. This Mary Stevens was a weak-brained woman, full of scruples and difficulties, and almost distracted at the thoughts of having committed several robberies. After receiving the Sacrament, she not only persuaded this Mary Hanson to behave herself as became a woman under her unhappy condition, but also persuaded two or three other female criminals in that place to make the best use of that mercy which the leniency of the Government has extended them.

There was a man suffered to go twice a day to read to them, and probably it was he who drew up the paper for Mary Hanson which she left behind her, for though it be very agreeable to the nature of her case, yet it is penned in the manner not likely to come from the hands of a poor ignorant woman. Certain it is,



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however, that she behaved herself with great calmness and resolution at the time of her death, and did not appear at all disturbed at that hurry which, as I shall mention in the next life, happened at the place of execution. The paper she left ran in these words, viz.:

Though the poverty of my parents hindered me from having any great education, yet I resolve to do as I know others in my unhappy circumstances have done, and by informing the world of the causes which led me to that crime for which I so justly suffer, that by shunning it they may avoid such a shameful end; and I particularly desire all women to take heed how they give way to drunkenness, which is a vice but too common in this age. It was that disorder in which my spirits were, occasioned by the liquor I had drunk, which hurried me to the committing a crime, at the thoughts of which on any other time my blood would have curdled. I hope you will afford me your prayers for my departing soul, as I offer up mine to God that none of you may follow me to this fatal place.

Having delivered this paper, she suffered at about thirty years old.



Bryan Smith, who had written threatening letters, was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.¹⁹²

I have already observed how the Black Act was extended for punishing Charles Towers,¹⁹³ concerned in setting up the New Mint, who as he affirmed died only for having his face accidentally dirty at the time he assaulted the bailiff's house. I must now put you in mind of another clause in the same act, viz., that for punishing with death those who sent any threatening letters in order to affright persons into a compliance with their demands, for fear of being murdered themselves, or having their houses fired about their ears. This clause of the Act is general, and therefore did not extend only to offences of this kind when committed by deer-stealers and those gangs against whom it was particularly levelled at that time, but included also whoever should be guilty of writing such letters to any person or persons whatsoever; which was a just and necessary construction of the Act, and not only made use of in the case of this criminal, but of many more since, becoming particularly useful of late years, when this practice became frequent.

Bryan Smith, who occasions this observation, was an Irishman,

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193. See page 198.



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of parts so very mean as perhaps were never met with in one who passed for a rational creature; yet this fellow, forsooth, took it into his head that he might be able to frighten Baron Swaffo, a very rich Jew in the City, out of a considerable sum of money, by terrifying him with a letter. For this purpose he wrote one indeed in a style I daresay was never seen before, or since. Its spelling was *à la mode de brogue*, and the whole substance of the thing was filled with oaths, curses, execrations and threatenings of murder and burning if such a sum of money was not sent as he, in his great wisdom, thought it fit to demand. The man's management in sending this and directing how he would have an answer was of a piece with his style, and altogether made the discovery no difficult matter. So that Bryan being apprehended, was at the next sessions at the Old Bailey tried and convicted on the evidence of some of his countrymen, and when, after receiving sentence, there remained no hopes for him of favour, to make up a consistent character he declared himself a Papist, and as is usual with persons of that profession, was forbidden by his priest to go any more to the public chapel. However, to do him justice as far as outward circumstances will give us leave to judge, he appeared very sorry for the crime he had committed, and having had the priest with him a considerable time the day before his death, he would needs go to the place of execution in a shroud.

As he went along he repeated the Hail Mary and Paternoster. But there being many persons to suffer, and the executioner thereby being put into a confusion, Smith observing the hurry slipped the rope over his head, and jumped at once over the corpses in the cart amongst the mob. Had he been wise enough to have come in his clothes, and not in a shroud, it is highly probable he had made his escape; but his white dress rendering him conspicuous even at a distance, the sheriffs officers were not long before they retook him and placed him in his former situation again.

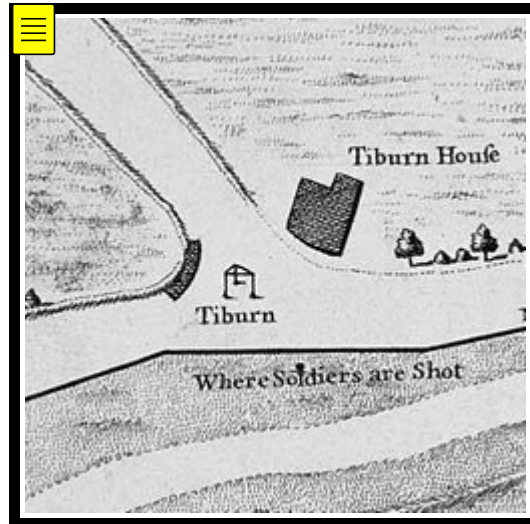
Hope and fear, desire of life, and dread of immediate execution, had occasioned so great an emotion of his spirits that he appeared in his last moments in a confusion not to be described, and departed the world in such an agony that he was a long time before he died, which was at the same time with the malefactor before-mentioned, viz., on the 30th of April, 1725.



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May 24, Monday: Jonathan Wild, a leader of organized crime, William Sperry, footpad and highwayman, Robert Harpham, a coiner (counterfeiter of coins), and Jonathan Wild, a thief-taker (fence) were hanged on the Tyburn gallows outside London.



As there is impudence and wickedness enough in the lives of most malefactors to make persons of a sober education and behaviour wonder at the depravity of human nature, so there are sometimes superlative rogues who, in the infamous boldness of their behaviour, as far exceed the ordinary class of rogues as they do honest people; and whenever such a monster as this appears in the world, there are enough fools to gape at him, and to make such a noise and outcry about his conduct as is sure to invite others of the gang to imitate the obstinacy of his deportment, through that false love of fame, which seems inherent to human nature. Amongst the number of these, Joseph Blake, better known by his nickname of Blueskin, always deserves to be remembered as one who thought wickedness the greatest achievement, and studiously took the paths of infamy in order to become famous. By birth he was a native of this City of London. His parents being persons in tolerable circumstances kept him six years at school, where he did not learn half as much good from his master as he did evil from his schoolfellow, William Blewitt, from whose lessons he copied so well that all his education signified nothing. When he came from school he absolutely refused to go to any employment, but on the contrary set up for a robber when he was scarce seventeen, but from that time to the day of his death was unsuccessful in all his undertakings, hardly ever committing the most trivial fact but he experienced for it, either the humanity of the mob, or of the keepers of Bridewell, out of which or some other prison, he could hardly keep his feet for a month together.

He fell into the gang of Lock, Wilkinson, Carrick Lincoln and Daniel Carroll, which last having so often been mentioned, perhaps my readers may be desirous to know what became of him. I shall therefore inform them that after Carrick and Molony were executed for robbing Mr. Young, as has been before related, he fled home to his own native country of Ireland, where for a while making a great figure till he had exhausted what little wealth he had brought over with him from England, he was obliged to go again upon the old method to supply him. But street-robbing



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being a very new thing at Dublin, it so alarmed that city that they never ceased pursuing him, and one or two more who joined with him, till catching them one night at their employment, they pursued Carrol so closely that he was obliged to come to a close engagement with a thief-taker, so he was killed upon the spot. But to return to Blake, *alias* Blueskin. Being one night out with his gang, they robbed one Mr. Clark of eight shillings and a silver hilted sword, just as candles were going to be lighted, and a woman looking accidentally out of a window, perceived it, and cried out, *Thieves*. Wilkinson fired a pistol at her which, very luckily, upon her drawing in her head, grazed upon the stone of the window, and did no other mischief. Blake was also in the company of the same gang when they attacked Captain Langley, at the corner of Hyde Park Road, as he was going to the Camp¹⁹⁴; but the Captain behaved himself so well that notwithstanding they shot several times through and through his coat, yet they were not able to rob him.

Not long after this Wilkinson being apprehended impeached a large number of persons, and with them Joseph Blake and William Lock. Blake hereupon made a fuller discovery than the other before Justice Blackerby; in which information there was contained no less than seventy robberies, upon which he also was admitted a witness. And having named Wilkinson, Lincoln, Carrick, Carrol, and himself to have been the five persons who murdered Peter Martin the Chelsea pensioner, by the Park wall, Wilkinson was apprehended, tried and convicted, notwithstanding the information he had before given (which was thereby totally set aside); so that Blake himself became now an evidence against the rest of his companions, and discovered about a dozen robberies which they had committed.

Amongst these there was one very remarkable one. Two gentlemen in hunting caps were together in a chariot on the Hampstead Road, and they took from them two gold watches, rings, seals and other things to a considerable value. Junks, *alias* Levee, laid his pistol down by the gentleman all the while he searched him, yet he wanted either the courage or the presence of mind to seize and prevent their losing things of so great value. Not long after this, Oakey, Junks and this Blake, stopped a single man with a link before him in Fig Lane; and he not surrendering so easily as they expected, Junks and Oakey beat him over the head with their pistols, and then left him wounded in a terrible condition, taking from him one guinea and one penny. A very short time after this, Junks, Oakey and Flood were apprehended and executed for robbing Colonel Cope and Mr. Young of that very watch for which Carrick and Molony had been before executed, Joseph Blake being the evidence against them.

After this hanging work of his companions, he thought himself not only entitled to liberty but reward. Herein, however, he was mightily mistaken, for not having surrendered willingly and quietly, but being taken after long resistance and when he was much wounded, there did not seem to be the least foundation for this confident demand, he still remaining a prisoner in the Wood Street Compter, obstinately refusing to be transported for seven years, but insisting that as he had given evidence he ought to have his liberty. However, the magistrates were of another

194. An encampment was formed in Hyde Park, about 1714. Writing to Martha Blount, Pope says "The tents are carried there this morning, new regiments with new clothes and furniture, far exceeding the late cloth and linen designed by his Grace (the Duke of Marlborough) for the soldiery."



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opinion, until at last by procuring two men to be bound for his good behaviour, he was carried before a wealthy alderman of the City and there discharged. At which time, somebody there present asking how long time might be given him before they should see him again at the Old Bailey, a gentleman made answer in about three sessions, in which time it seems he guessed very right, for the third session from thence, Blake was indeed brought to the Bar.

For no sooner were his feet at liberty but his hands were employed in robbing, and having picked up Jack Shepherd for a companion, they went out together to search for prey in the fields. Near the half-way house to Hampstead they met with one Pargiter, a man pretty much in liquor, whom immediately Blake knocked down into the ditch, where he must have inevitably perished if John Shepherd had not kept his head above the mud with great difficulty. For this fact, the next sessions after it happened the two brothers Brightwell in the Guards were tried, and if a number of men had not sworn them to have been upon duty at the time the robbery was committed, they had certainly been convicted, the evidence of the prosecutor being direct and full. Through the grief of this the elder Brightwell died a week after he was released from his confinement, and so did not live to see his innocence fully cleared by the confession of Blake.

A very short space after this, Blake and his companion Shepherd committed the burglary together in the house of Mr. Kneebone, where Shepherd getting into the house, let in Blake at the back door and stripped the house of a considerable value. For this, both Shepherd and he were apprehended, and the sessions before Blake was convicted his companion received sentence of death; but at the time Blake was taken up, he had made his escape out of the condemned hold.

He behaved with great impudence at his trial, and when he found nothing would save him, he took the advantage of Jonathan Wild coming to speak with him, to cut the said Wild's throat, making a large gash from the ear beyond the windpipe. Of this wound Wild languished a long time, and happy had it been for him if Blake's wound had proved fatal, for then Jonathan had escaped death by a more dishonourable wound in the throat than that of a penknife; but the number of his crimes and the spleen of his enemies procured him a worse fate. Whatever Wild might deserve of others, he seems to have merited better usage from this Blake, for while he continued a prisoner in the Compter, Jonathan was at the expense of curing his wound, allowing him three shillings and sixpence a week, and after his last misfortune promised him a good coffin, actually furnishing him with money to support him in Newgate, and several good books, if he would have made any use of them; but because he freely declared to Blueskin that there was no hopes of getting him transported, the bloody villain determined to take away his life, and was so far from showing any signs of remorse when he was brought up again to Newgate, that he declared if he had thought of it before, he would have provided such a knife as should have cut his head off. At the time that he received sentence there was a woman also condemned, and they being placed as usual in what is called the Bail Dock at the Old Bailey, Blake offered such rudeness to the woman that she cried out and alarmed the whole Bench. All the time he lay under condemnation he appeared utterly thoughtless



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and insensible of his approaching fate. Though from the cutting of Wild's throat, and some other barbarities of the same nature, he acquired amongst the mob the character of a brave fellow, yet he was in himself but a mean-spirited timorous wretch, and never exerted himself but either through fury and despair. His cowardice appealed manifestly in his behaviour at his death; he wept much at the chapel in the morning he was to die, and though he drank deeply to drive away fear, yet at the place of execution he wept again, trembled and showed all the signs of a timorous confusion, as well he might, who had lived wickedly and trifled with his repentance to the grave.

There was nothing in his person extraordinary. A dapper, well-set fellow of great strength, and great cruelty, equally detested by the sober part of the world for his audacious wickedness of his behaviour, and despised by his companions for the villainies he committed even against them. He was executed in the twenty-eighth year of his age, on the 11th of November, 1724.



There is not anything more extraordinary in the circumstances of those who from a life of rapine and plunder come to its natural catastrophe, a violent and ignominious death, than that some of them from a life of piety and religion, have on a sudden fallen into so opposite a behaviour, and without any stumbles in the road of virtue take, as it were, a leap from the precipice at once.

This malefactor, William Sperry, was born of parents in very low circumstances, who afforded him and his brother scarce any education, until having reached the age of fourteen years, he and his younger brother before mentioned, were both decoyed by one of the agents for the plantations, to consent to their being transported to America, where they were sold for about seven years.¹⁹⁵ After the expiration of the term, William Sperry went to live at Philadelphia, the capital of Pennsylvania, one of the best plantations the English have in America, which receives its name from William Penn, the famous Quaker who first planted it. Here, being chiefly instigated thereto by the great piety and unaffected purity of morals in which the inhabitants of that colony excel the greater part of the world, Sperry began with the utmost industry to endeavour at retrieving his reading; and the master with whom he lived favouring his inclinations, was at great pains and some expense to have him taught writing. Yet he did not swerve in his religion, nor fall into Quakerism, the

195. There was great competition to secure white labour in the American plantations. Infamous touts circulated amongst the poor, and any who were starving or wished for personal reasons to emigrate engaged themselves with a ship-master or an office-keeper to allow themselves to be sold for a term of years in return for their passage money. On arrival at their destination these poor wretches were sent to the plantations and lived as slaves until the term for which they had contracted had expired. In Virginia and Maryland, where most of them went, they were driven to work on the tobacco fields with the negroes, and were worse treated than the blacks, as being only leasehold property whereas the negroes were freehold.



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predominant sect here, but went constantly to the Church belonging to the religion by Law established in England, read several good books, and addicted himself with much zeal to the service of God. Removing from the house of his kind master to that of another planter, he abated nothing in his zeal for devotion, but went constantly from his master's house to church at West Chester, which was near five miles from his home.

Happening, not long after, to have the advantage of going in a trading vessel to several ports in America, he addicted himself with great pleasure to this new life. But his happiness therein, like all other species of human bliss, very shortly faded, for one morning just as the day began to dawn, the vessel in which he sailed was clapped on board, and after a very short struggle taken by Low, the famous pirate.¹⁹⁶ Sperry, being a brisk young lad, Low would very fain have taken him into his crew, but the lad having still virtuous principles remaining, earnestly entreated that he might be excused. On the score of his having discovered to Low a mutinous conspiracy of his crew, the generosity of that [pirate](#) was so great that, finding no offer he could make made any impression, he caused him to be set safe on shore in the night, on one of the Leeward Islands.

Notwithstanding that Sperry did not at that time comply with the instigations of the pirate, yet his mind was so much poisoned by the sight of what passed on board, that from that time he had an itching towards plunder and the desire of getting money at an easier rate than by the sweat of his brow. While these thoughts were floating in his head, he was entertained on board one of his Majesty's men-of-war, and while he continued in the Service, saw a pirate vessel taken; and the men being tried before a Court of Admiralty in New England, every one of them was executed except five, who manifestly appeared to have been forced into the pirates' service. One would have thought this would have totally eradicated all liking for that sort of practice, but it seems it did not. For as soon as Sperry came home into England and had married a wife, by which his inclinations were chained, though he had no ability to support her, and falling into very great necessities, he either tempted others or associated himself with certain loose and abandoned young men, for as he himself constantly declared, he was not led into evil practices by the persuasions of any. However it were, the deeds he committed were many, and he became the pest of most of the roads out to the little villages about London, particularly towards Hampstead, Islington and Marylebone, of some of which as our papers serve we shall inform you.

Sperry and four more of his associates hearing that gaming was very public at Hampstead,¹⁹⁷ and that considerable sums were won and lost there every night, resolved to share part of the winnings, let them light where they would. In order to this, they planted themselves in a dry ditch on one side of the foot-road just as evening came on, intending when it was darker to venture into the coach road. They had hardly been at their posts a quarter of an hour before two officers came by. Some were for attacking them, but Sperry was of a contrary opinion. In the meanwhile they heard one of the gentlemen say to the other,

196. Captain Edward Low was one of the bloodied of the pirates. He served under Lowther until 1722, when he smarted on his own account. After many atrocities he was taken by the French and [hanged](#), some time in 1724. A full account of him is given in my edition of Johnson's HISTORY OF THE PIRATES, issued in the same series as the present volume.

197. Belsize House was opened as a place of amusement, about 1720, by a certain Howell, who called himself the Welsh Ambassador. At first it was a fashionable resort, but it soon became the haunt of gamblers and harpies of both sexes.



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There's D— M—, the Gamester, behind us, he has won at least sixty guineas to-night. Sperry and his crew had no further dispute whether they should rob the gentlemen in red or no, but resolved to wait the coming of so rich a prize.

It was but a few minutes before M— appeared in sight. They immediately stepped into the path, two before him, and two behind, and watching him to the corner of a hedge, the two who were behind him caught him by the shoulders, turned him round, and hurrying him about ten yards, pushed him into a dry ditch. This they had no sooner done, but they all four leaped down upon him and began to examine his pockets, M— thought to have talked them out of a stricter search by pretending he had lost a great deal of money at play, and had but fifty shillings about him, which with a silver watch and a crystal ring he deemed very ready to deliver; and it very probably would have been accepted if they had not had better intelligence, but one of the oldest of the gang, perceiving after turning out all his pockets that they could discover nothing of value, began to exert the style of a highwayman upon an examination, and addressed the gamester in these terms.

Nobody but such a rogue as you would have given gentlemen of our faculty so much trouble. Sir, we have received advice by good hands from Belsize that you won sixty guineas to-day at play. Produce them immediately, or we shall take it for granted you have swallowed them; and in such a case, Sir, I have an instrument ready to give us an immediate account of the contents of your stomach.

M—, in a dreadful fright, put his hand under his arm, and from thence produced a green purse with a fifty pound bank-note and eighteen guineas. This they had no sooner taken than, tying him fast to a hedge stake, they ran across the fields in search of another booty. They spun out the time, being a moonlight night, until past eleven, there being so much company on the road that they found it impossible to attack without danger.

As they were returning home, they heard the noise of a coach driving very hard, and upon turning about saw it was that of Sir W— B—, himself on the box, two ladies of pleasure in the coach, and his servants a great way behind. One of them seized the horse on one side, and another on the other, but Sir W— drove so very hard that the pull of the horses brought them both to the ground, and he at the same time encouraging them with his voice and the smack of his whip. So he drove safe off without any hurt, though they fired two pistols after him.

About three weeks after this they were passing down Drury Lane, and observing a gentleman going with one of the fine ladies of the Hundreds into a tavern thereabouts, one of the gang who knew him, and that he had married a lady with a great fortune to whom his father was guardian, and that they lived altogether in a great house near Lincoln's Inn Fields, immediately thought on a project. They slipped into an alehouse, where he wrote an epistle to the old gentleman, informing him that they had a warrant to apprehend a lewd woman who was with child by his son, but that she had made her escape, and was now actually with him at a certain tavern in Drury Lane, wherefore being apprehensive of disturbance, and being unwilling to disgrace his family, rather than take rougher methods, they had informed him, in order that by his interposition the affair might be made up.

As soon as they had written this letter, they dispatched one of



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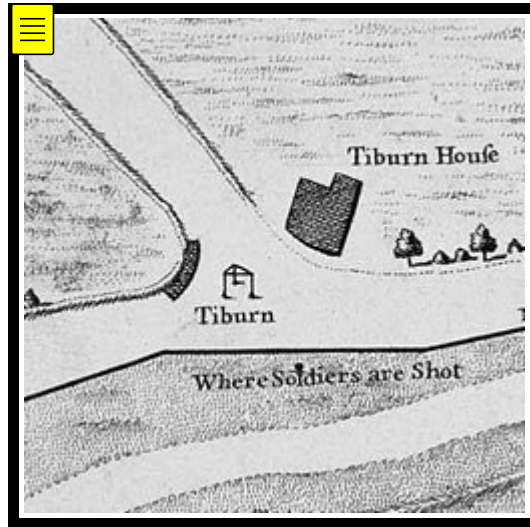
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their number to carry it and deliver it, as if by mistake, to the young gentleman's wife. This had the desired effect, for in less than half an hour came the father, the wife, and another of her trustees, who happened to be paying a visit there when the letter came. They no sooner entered the tavern but hearing the voice of the gentleman they asked for, without ceremony they opened the door, and finding a woman there, all was believed, and there followed a mighty uproar. Two of the rogues who were best dressed, had slipped into the next room and called for half a pint. As if by accident they came out at the noise, and under pretence of enquiring the occasion, took the opportunity of picking the gentleman's pockets of twenty-five guineas, one gold watch, and two silver snuff-boxes, which it is to be presumed were never missed until the hurry of the affair was over. The last robbery Sperry committed was upon one Thomas Golding, not far from Bromley, who not having any money about him, Sperry endeavoured to make it up by taking all his clothes. Being apprehended for this, at the next sessions at the Old Bailey he was convicted for this offence, and having no friends, could not entertain the least hopes of pardon. From the time that he was convicted, and, indeed, from that of his commitment, he behaved like a person on the brink of another world, ingenuously confessing all his guilt, and acknowledging readily the justice of that sentence by which he was doomed to death. His behaviour was perfectly uniform, and as he never put on an air of contempt towards death, so, at its nearest approach he did not seem exceedingly terrified therewith, but with great calmness of mind prepared for his dissolution. On the day of his execution his countenance seemed rather more cheerful than ordinarily, and he left this world with all exterior signs of true penitence and contrition, on Monday, the 24th of May, 1725, at Tyburn, being then about twenty-three

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years of age.



In my former volume I have taken occasion, in the life of Barbara Spencer, to mention the laws against coining as they stand at present in this kingdom. I shall not, therefore, detain my readers here with the unnecessary introduction, but proceed to inform them that a multitude of false guineas being talked of—the natural consequence of a few being detected—great pains were taken by the officers belonging to the Mint for detecting those by whom such frauds had been committed.

It was not long before information was had of one Robert Harpham and Thomas Broom, who were suspected of being the persons by whom such false guineas had been made. Upon these suspicions search warrants were granted, and a large engine of iron was discovered at Harpham's house, with other tools supposed to be made use of for that purpose. On this, the mob immediately gave out that a cart-load of guineas had been carried from thence, because those instruments were so cumbersome as to be fetched in that manner; though the truth, indeed, was that no great number of false guineas had been coined, though the instruments undoubtedly were fitted and made use of for that purpose. Harpham, who well knew what evidence might be produced against him, never flattered himself with hopes after he came to Newgate, but as he believed he should die, so he prepared himself for it as well as he could.

At his trial the evidence against him was very full and direct. Mr. Pinket deposed flatly that the instruments produced in Court, and which were sworn to be taken from the prisoner's house, could not serve for any other purpose than that of coining. These instruments were an iron press of very great

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weight, a cutting instrument for forming blanks, an edging tool for indenting, with two dies for guineas and two dies for half-guineas. To strengthen this, William Fornham deposed in relation to the prisoners' possession, and Mr. Gornbey swore directly to his striking a half-guinea in his presence. Mr. Oakley and Mr. Tardley deposing further, that they flatted very considerable quantities of a mixed metal for the prisoner, made up of brass, copper, etc., sometimes to the quantity of 30 or 40 pound weight at a time.

The defence he made was very weak and trifling, and after a very short consideration the jury brought him in guilty of the indictment, and he, never entertaining any hopes of pardon, bent all his endeavours in making his peace with God. Some persons in the prison had been very civil to him, and one of them presuming thereon, asked him wherein the great secret of his art of coining lay? Mr. Harpham thanked him for the kindnesses he had received of him, but said that he should make a very bad return for the time afforded him by the law of repentance, if he should leave behind him anything of that kind which might farther detriment his country. Some instances were also made to him that he should discover certain persons of that same profession with himself, who were likely to carry on the same frauds long after his decease. Mr. Harpham, notwithstanding the answer he had made to the other gentleman, refused to comply with this request; for he said that the instruments seized would effectually prevent that, and he would not take away their lives and ruin their families, when he was sure they were incapacitated from coining anything for the future. However, that he might discharge his conscience as far as he could, he wrote several pathetic letters to the persons concerned; earnestly exhorting them for the sake of themselves and their families to leave off this wicked employment, and not hazard their lives and their salvation in any further attempt of that sort.

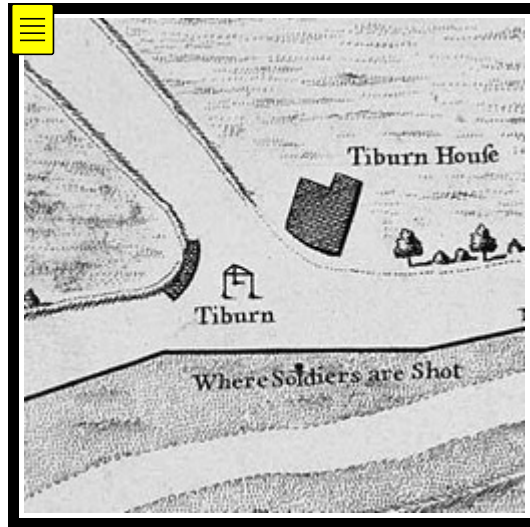
Having thus disengaged himself from all worldly concerns, he dedicated the last moments of his life entirely to the service of God; and having, received the Sacrament the day before his execution, he was conveyed the next noon to Tyburn in a sledge, where he was not a little disturbed, even in the agonies of death, by the tumult and insults the mob offered to Jonathan Wild, which he complained much of and seemed very uneasy at. He suffered on the same day with the last mentioned malefactor,

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appealing to be about two- or three-and-forty years of age.



As no person in this collection ever made so much noise as the person we are now speaking of, so never any man, perhaps, in any condition of life whatever had so many romantic stories fathered upon him in his life, or so many fictitious legendary accounts published of him after his death. It may seem a low kind of affectation to say that the memoirs we are now giving of Jonathan Wild are founded on certainty and fact; and that though they are so founded, they are yet more extraordinary than any of those fabulous relations pushed into the world to get a penny, at the time of his death, when it was a proper season for vending such forgeries, the public looking with so much attention on his catastrophe, and greedily catching up whatever pretended to the giving an account of his actions. But to go on with the history in its proper order.

Jonathan Wild¹⁹⁸ was the son of persons in a mean and low state of life, yet for all that I have ever heard of them, both honest and industrious. Their family consisted of three sons and two daughters, whom their father and mother maintained and educated in the best manner they could from their joint labours, he as carpenter, and she by selling fruit in Wolverhampton market, in Staffordshire, which in future ages may perhaps become famous as the birth place of the celebrated Mr. Jonathan Wild. He was the eldest of the sons, and received as good an education as his father's circumstances would allow him, being bred at the free-school to read and write, to both of which having attained to a tolerable degree, he was put out an apprentice to a buckle-maker

198. A few additional particulars concerning Wild may be of interest. Soon after he came to London he opened a brothel in the infamous Lewkenor's Lane, in partnership with Mary Milliner; after a time they quitted it to take an alehouse in Cock Alley, Cripplegate. He then drifted into business as a receiver and instigator of thefts, organizing regular gangs which operated in every branch of the thieving trade. On account of the number of criminals he brought to justice (as a result of their disloyalty to himself) the authorities winked at and tolerated his proceedings; and in January, 1724, he had the impudence to petition for the freedom of the City, as some recognition for the good services he had rendered in this direction. A few months later, however, his reputation became sadly blown upon, and in January, 1725, he was implicated in an affair with one of his minions, a sailor named Johnson, who had been arrested and had appealed to Wild for help. A riot was engineered, in which Johnson made his escape, but information was laid against the thief-taker, himself, who, after lying in hiding for three weeks, was arrested and committed to Newgate, which he only left to attend his trial and to take his last ride to Tyburn.

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in Birmingham.

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.

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He served his time with much fidelity, and came up to town in the service of a gentleman of the long robe, about the year 1704, or perhaps a little later. But not liking his service, or his master being not altogether so well pleased with him, he quitted it and retired to his old employment in the country, where he continued to work diligently for some time. But at last growing sick of labour, and still entertaining a desire to taste the pleasures of London, up hither he came a second time, and worked journey-work at the trade to which he was bred. But this not producing money enough to support those expenses Jonathan's love of pleasure threw him into, he got pretty deeply in debt; and some of his creditors not being endued with altogether as much patience as his circumstances required, he was suddenly arrested, and thrown into Wood-street Compter.

Having no friends to do anything for him, and having very little money in his pocket when this misfortune happened, he lived very hardly there, scarce getting bread enough to support him from the charity allowed to prisoners, and from what little services he could render to prisoners of the better sort in the gaol.



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However, as no man wanted address less than Jonathan, so nobody could have employed it more properly than he did upon this occasion; he thereby got so much into the favour of the keepers, that they quickly permitted him the liberty of the gate, as they call it, and he thereby got some little matter for going on errands. This set him above the very pinch of want, and that was all; but his fidelity and industry in these mean employments procured him such esteem amongst those in power there, that they soon took him into their ministry, and appointed him an under-keeper to those disorderly persons who were brought in every night and are called, in their cant, "rats."

Jonathan now came into a comfortable subsistence, having learnt how to get money of such people by putting them into the road of getting liberty for themselves. But there, says my author, he met with a lady who was confined on the score of such practices very often, and who went by the name of Mary Milliner; and who soon taught him how to gain much greater sums than in this way of life, by methods which he until then never heard of, and will I am confident, to this day carry the charms of novelty to most of my readers. Of these the first she put upon him was going on what they call the "twang," which is thus managed: the man who is the confederate goes out with some noted woman of the town, and if she fall into any broil, he is to be at a proper distance, ready to come into her assistance, and by making a sham quarrel, give her an opportunity of getting off, perhaps after she has dived for a watch or a purse of guineas, and was in danger of being caught in the very act. This proved a very successful employment to Mr. Wild for a time. Moll and he, therefore, resolved to set up together, and for that purpose took lodgings and lived as man and wife, notwithstanding Jonathan then had a wife and a son at Wolverhampton and the fair lady was married to a waterman in town.

By the help of this woman Jonathan grew acquainted with all the notorious gangs of loose persons within the bills of mortality, and was also perfectly versed in the manner by which they carried on their schemes. He knew where and how their enterprises were to be gone upon, and after what manner they disposed of their ill-got goods, when they came into their possession. Having always an intriguing head Wild set up for a director amongst them, and soon became so useful to them that though he never went out upon any of their lays, yet he got as much or more by their crimes as if he had been a partner with them, which upon one pretence or other he always declined.

He had long ago got rid of that debt for which he had been imprisoned in the Compter, and having by his own thought projected a new manner of life, he began in a very little time to grow weary of Mrs. Milliner, who had been his first instructor. What probably contributed thereto was the danger to which he saw himself exposed by continuing a bully in her service; however, they parted without falling out, and as he had occasion to make use of her pretty often in his new way of business, so she proved very faithful and industrious to him in it, though she still went on in her old way.

'Tis now time, that both this and the remaining part of the discourse may be intelligible, to explain the methods by which thieves became the better for thieving where they did not steal ready money; and of this we will speak in the clearest and most concise manner that we can.



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It must be observed that anciently when a thief had got his booty he had done all that a man in his profession could do, and there were multitudes of people ready to help them off with whatever effects he had got, without any more to do. But this method being totally destroyed by an Act passed in the reign of King William, by which it was made felony for any person to buy goods stolen, knowing them to be so, and some examples having been made on this Act, there were few or no receivers to be met with. Those that still carried on the trade took exorbitant sums for their own profit, leaving those who had run the hazard of their necks in obtaining them, the least share of the plunder. This (as an ingenious author says) had like to have brought the thieving trade to naught; but Jonathan quickly thought of a method to put things again in order, and give new life to the practices of the several branches of the ancient art and mystery called stealing. The method he took was this.

As soon as any considerable robbery was committed, and Jonathan received intelligence by whom, he immediately went to the thieves, and instead of offering to buy the whole or any part of the plunder, he only enquired how the thing was done, where the persons lived who were injured, and what the booty consisted in that was taken away. Then pretending to chide them for their wickedness in doing such actions, and exhorting them to live honestly for the future, he gave it them as his advice to lodge what they had taken in a proper place which he appointed them, and then promised he would take some measures for their security by getting the people to give them somewhat to have them restored them again. Having thus wheedled those who had committed a robbery into a compliance with his measures, his next business was to divide the goods into several parcels, and cause them to be sent to different places, always avoiding taking them into his own hands.

Things being in this position, Jonathan, or Mrs. Milliner went to the persons who were robbed, and after condoling the misfortune, observed that they had an acquaintance with a broker to whom certain goods were brought, some of which they suspected to be stolen, and hearing that the person to whom they thus applied had been robbed they said they thought it the duty of one honest body to another to inform them thereof, and to enquire what goods they were they lost, in order to discover whether those they spoke of were the same or no. People who had such losses are always ready, after the first fit of passion is over, to hearken to anything that has a tendency towards recovering their goods. Jonathan or his mistress therefore, who could either of them play the hypocrite nicely, had no great difficulty in making people listen to such terms; in a day or two, therefore, they were sure to come again with intelligence that having called upon their friend and looked over the goods, they had found part of the goods there; and provided nobody was brought into trouble, and the broker had something in consideration of his care, they might be had again. He generally told the people, when they came on this errand, that he had heard of another parcel at such a place, and that if they would stay a little, he would go and see whether they were such as they described theirs to be which they had lost.

This practice of Jonathan's, if well considered, carries in it a great deal of policy; for first it seemed to be an honest and good-natured act to prevail on evil persons to restore the goods



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which they had stole; and it must be acknowledged to be a great benefit to those who were robbed thus to have their goods again upon a reasonable premium, Jonathan or his mistress all the while taking apparently nothing, their advantages arising from what they took out of the gratuity left with the broker, and out of what they had bargained with the thief to be allowed of the money which they had procured him. Such people finding this advantage in it, the rewards were very near as large as the price now given by receivers (since receiving became too dangerous), and they reaped a certain security also by the bargain.

With respect to Jonathan, the contrivance placed him in safety, not only from all the laws then in being, but perhaps would have secured him as securely from those that are made now, if covetousness had not prevailed with him to take bolder steps than these; for in a short time he began to give himself out for a person who made it his business to procure stolen goods to their right owners. When he first did this he acted with so much art and cunning that he acquired a very great reputation as an honest man, not only from those who dealt with him to procure what they had lost, but even from those people of higher station, who observing the industry with which he prosecuted certain malefactors, took him for a friend of Justice, and as such afforded him countenance and encouragement.

Certain it is that he brought more villains to the gallows than perhaps any man ever did, and consequently by diminishing their number, made it much more safe for persons to travel or even to reside with security in their own houses. And so sensible was Jonathan of the necessity there was for him to act in this manner, that he constantly hung up two or three of his clients at least in a twelvemonth, that he might keep up that character to which he had attained; and so indefatigable was he in the pursuit of those he endeavoured to apprehend, that it never happened in all his course of acting, that so much as one single person escaped him. Nor need this appear so great a wonder, if we consider that the exact acquaintance he had with their gangs and the haunts they used put it out of their power almost to hide themselves so as to avoid his searches.

When this practice of Jonathan's became noted, and the people resorted continually to his house in order to hear of the goods which they had lost, it produced not only much discourse, but some enquiries into his behaviour. Jonathan foresaw this, and in order to evade any ill consequence that might follow upon it, upon such occasions put on an air of gravity, and complained of the evil disposition of the times, which would not permit a man to serve his neighbours and his country without censure. *For do I not, quoth Jonathan, do the greatest good, when I persuade these wicked people who have deprived them of their properties, to restore them again for a reasonable consideration. And are not the villains whom I have so industriously brought to suffer that punishment which the Law, for the sake of its honest subjects, thinks fit to inflict upon them—in this respect, I say, does not their death show how much use I am to the country? Why, then, added Jonathan, should people asperse me, or endeavour to take away my bread?*

This kind of discourse served, as my readers must know, to keep Wild safe in his employment for many years, while not a step he took, but trod on felony, nor a farthing did he obtain but what deserved the gallows. Two great things there were which



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contributed to his preservation, and they were these. The great readiness the Government always shows in detecting persons guilty of capital offences; in which case we know 'tis common to offer not only pardon, but rewards to persons guilty, provided they make discoveries; and this Jonathan was so sensible of that he did not only screen himself behind the lenity of the Supreme Power, but made use of it also as a sort of authority, and behaved himself with a very presuming air. And taking upon him the character of a sort of minister of Justice, this assumed character of his, however ill-founded, proved of great advantage to him in the course of his life. The other point, which, as I have said, contributed to keep him from any prosecutions on the score of these illegal and unwarrantable actions, was the great willingness of people who had been robbed to recover their goods, and who, provided for a small matter they could regain things for a considerable worth, were so far from taking pains to bring the offenders to justice that they thought the premium a cheap price to get off.

Thus by the rigour of the magistrate, and the lenity of the subject, Jonathan claimed constant employment, and according as wicked persons behaved, they were either trussed up to satisfy the just vengeance of the one, or protected and encouraged, that by bringing the goods they stole he might be enabled to satisfy the demands of the other. And thus we see the policy of a mean and scandalous thief-taker, conducted with as much prudence, caution, and necessary courage, as the measures taken by even the greatest persons upon earth; nor perhaps is there, in all history, an instance of a man who thus openly dallied with the laws, and played with capital punishment.

As I am persuaded my readers will take a pleasure in the relation of Jonathan's maxims of policy, I shall be a little more particular in relation to them than otherwise I should have been, considering that in this work I do not propose to treat of the actions of a single person, but to consider the villainies committed throughout the space of a dozen years, such especially as have reached to public notice by bringing the authors of them to the gallows. But Mr. Wild being a man of such eminence as to value himself in his life-time on his superiority to meaner rogues; so I am willing to distinguish him now he is dead, by showing a greater complaisance in recording his history than that of any other hero in this way whatsoever.

Nor, to speak properly, was Jonathan ever an operator, as they call it, that is a practicer in any one branch of thieving. No, his method was to acquire money at an easier rate, and if any title can be devised suitable to his great performance, it must be that of Director General of the united forces of highwaymen, housebreakers, footpads, pickpockets, and private thieves. Now, according to my promise, for the maxims by which he supported himself in this dangerous capacity.

In the first place, he continually exhorted the plunderers that belonged to his several gangs, to let him know punctually what goods they at any time took, by which means he had it in his power to give, for the most part, a direct answer to those who came to make their enquiries after they had lost their effects, either by their own carelessness, or the dexterity of the thief. If they complied faithfully with his instructions, he was a certain protector on all occasions, and sometimes had interest enough to procure them liberty when apprehended, either in the



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committing a robbery, or upon the information of one of the gang. In such a case Jonathan's usual pretence was that such a person (who was the man he intended to save) was capable of making a larger and more effectual information, for which purpose Jonathan would sometimes supply him with memorandums of his own, and thereby establish so well the credit of his discovery, as scarce to fail of producing its effect.

But if his thieves threatened to become independent, and despise his rules, or endeavour for the sake of profit to vend the goods they got some other way without making application to Jonathan; or if they threw out any threatening speeches against their companions; or grumbled at the compositions he made for them, in such cases as these Wild took the first opportunity of talking to them in a new style, telling them that he was well assured they did very ill acts and plundered poor honest people, to indulge themselves in their debaucheries; that they would do well to think of amending before the Justice of their country fell upon them; and that after such warning they must not expect any assistance from him, in case they should fall under any misfortune. The next thing that followed after this fine harangue was that they were put into the information of some of Jonathan's creatures; or the first fresh fact they committed and Jonathan was applied to for the recovery of the goods, he immediately set out to apprehend them, and laboured so indefatigably therein that they never escaped him. Thus he not only procured the reward for himself, but also gained an opportunity of pretending that he not only restored goods to the right owners, but also apprehended the thief as often as it was in his power. As to instances, I shall mention them in a proper place.

I shall now go on to another observation, viz., that in those steps of his business which was most hazardous, Jonathan made the people themselves take the first steps by publishing advertisements of things lost, directing them to be brought to Mr. Wild, who was empowered to receive them and pay such a reward as the person that lost them thought fit to offer; and in this capacity Jonathan appeared no otherwise than as a person on whose honour these sort of people could rely; by which, his assistance became necessary for retrieving whatever had been pilfered.

After he had gone on in this trade for about ten years with success, he began to lay aside much of his former caution, and gave way to the natural vanity of his temper; taking a larger house in Old Bailey than that in which he formerly lived; giving the woman who he called his wife, abundance of fine things; keeping open office for restoring stolen goods; appointing abundance of under-officers to receive goods, carry messages to those who stole them, bring him exact intelligence of the several gangs and the places of their resort, and in fine, for such other purposes as this, their supreme governor, directed. His fame at last came to that height that persons of the highest quality would condescend to make use of his abilities, when at an installation, public entry, or some other great solemnity they had the misfortune of losing watches, jewels, or other things, whether of great real or imaginary value.

But as his methods of treating those who applied to him for his assistance has been much misrepresented, I shall next give an exact and impartial account thereof, that the fabulous history



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of Jonathan Wild may not be imposed upon posterity. In the first place, then, when a person was introduced to Mr. Wild's office, it was first hinted to him that a crown must be deposited by way of fee for his advice; when this was complied with a large book was brought out; then the loser was examined with much formality, as to the time, place, and manner that the goods became missing; and then the person was dismissed with a promise of careful enquiries being made, and of hearing more concerning them in a day or two. When this was adjusted, the person took his leave, with great hopes of being acquainted shortly with the fruits of Mr. Wild's industry, and highly satisfied with the methodical treatment he had met with. But at the bottom this was all grimace. Wild had not the least occasion for these queries, except to amuse the persons he asked, for he knew beforehand all the circumstances of the robbery much better than they did. Nay, perhaps, he had the very goods in the house when the folks came first to enquire for them; though for reasons not hard to guess he made use of all this formality before he proceeded to return them. When, therefore, according to his appointment, the enquirer came the second time, Jonathan took care to amuse him by a new scene. He was told that Mr. Wild had indeed made enquiries, but was very sorry to communicate the result of them; the thief, truly, who was a bold impudent fellow, rejected with scorn the offer which pursuant to the loser's instructions had been made him, insisted that he could sell the goods at a double price, and in short would not hear a word of restitution unless upon better terms. *But notwithstanding all this, says Jonathan, if I can but come to the speech of him, I don't doubt bringing him to reason.* At length, after one or two more attendances, Mr. Wild gave the definite answer, that provided no questions were asked and so much money was given to the porter who brought them, the loser might have his things returned at such an hour precisely. This was transacted with all outward appearances of friendship and honest intention on his side, and with great seeming frankness and generosity; but when the client came to the last article, viz., what Mr. Wild expected for his trouble, then an air of coldness was put on, and he answered with equal pride and indifference, that what he did was purely from a principle of doing good. As to a gratuity for the trouble he had taken, he left it totally to yourself; you might do it in what you thought fit. Even when money was presented to him he received it with the same negligent grace, always putting you in mind that it was your own act, that you did it merely out of your generosity, and that it was no way the result of his request, that he took it as a favour, not as a reward. By this dexterity in his management he fenced himself against the rigour of the law, in the midst of these notorious transgressions of it, for what could be imputed to Mr. Wild? He neither saw the thief who took away your goods, nor received them after they were taken; the method he pursued in order to procure you your things again was neither dishonest or illegal, if you will believe his account on it, and no other than his account could be gotten. According to him it was performed after this manner: after having enquired amongst such loose people as he acknowledged he had acquaintance with, and hearing that such a robbery was committed at such a time, and such and such goods were taken, he thereupon had caused it to be intimated to the



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thief that if he had any regard for his own safety he would cause such and such goods to be carried to such a place; in consideration of which, he might reasonably hope such a reward, naming a certain sum. If it excited the thief to return the goods, it did not thereby fix any guilt or blame upon Jonathan; and by this description, I fancy my readers will have a pretty clear idea of the man's capacity, as well as of his villainy. Had Mr. Wild continued satisfied with this way of dealing in all human probability he might have gone to his grave in peace, without any apprehensions of punishment but what he was to meet within a world to come. But he was greedy, and instead of keeping constant to this safe method, came at last to take the goods into his own custody, giving those that stole them what he thought proper, and then making such a bargain with the loser as he was able to bring him up to, sending the porter himself, and taking without ceremony whatever money had been given him. But as this happened only in the two last years of his life, it is fit I should give you some instances of his behaviour before, and these not from the hearsay of the town, but within the compass of my own knowledge.

A gentleman near Covent Garden who dealt in silks had bespoke a piece of extraordinary rich damask, on purpose for the birthday suit of a certain duke; and the lace-man having brought such trimming as was proper for it, the mercer had made the whole up in a parcel, tied it at each end with blue ribbon, sealed with great exactness, and placed on one end of the counter, in expectation of his Grace's servant, who he knew was directed to call for it in the afternoon. Accordingly the fellow came, but when the mercer went to deliver him the goods, the piece had gone, and no account could possibly he had of it. As the master had been all day in the shop, so there was no possibility of charging anything either upon the carelessness or dishonesty of servants. After an hour's fretting, therefore, seeing no other remedy, he even determined to go and communicate his loss to Mr. Wild, in hopes of receiving some benefit by his assistance, the loss consisting not so much in the value of the things as in the disappointment it would be to the nobleman not to have them on the birthday.

Upon this consideration a hackney-coach was immediately called, and away he was ordered to drive directly to Jonathan's house in the Old Bailey. As soon as he came into the room, and had acquainted Mr. Wild with his business, the usual deposit of a crown being made, and the common questions of the how, when, and where, having been asked, the mercer being very impatient, said with some kind of heat, *Mr. Wild, the loss I have sustained, though the intrinsic value of the goods be very little, lies more in disobliging my customer. Tell me, therefore, in a few words, if it be in your power to serve me. If it is, I have thirty guineas here ready to lay down, but if you expect that I should dance attendance for a week or two, I assure you I shall not be willing to part with above half the money.* Good sir, replied Mr. Wild, *have a little more consideration. I am no thief, sir, nor no receiver of stolen goods, so that if you don't think fit to give me time to enquire, you must e'en take what measures you please.*

When the mercer found he was like to be left without any hopes, he began to talk in a milder strain, and with abundance of intreaties fell to persuading Jonathan to think of some method



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to serve him, and that immediately. Wild stepped out a minute or two, as if to the necessary house; as soon as he came back he told the gentleman, it was not in his power to serve him in such a hurry, if at all; however, in a day or two he might be able to give him some answer. The mercer insisted that a day or two would lessen the value of the goods one half to him, and Jonathan insisted, as peremptorily, that it was not in his power to do anything sooner.

At last a servant came in a hurry, and told Mr. Wild there was a gentleman below desired to speak with him. Jonathan bowed and begged the gentleman's pardon, told him he would wait on him in one minute, and without staying for a reply withdrew, and clapped the door after him. In about five minutes he returned with a very smiling countenance, and turning to the gentleman, said, *I protest sir, you are the luckiest man I ever knew. I spoke to one of my people just now, to go to a house where I know some lifters resort, and directed him to talk of the robbery that had been committed in your house, and to say that the gentleman had been with me and offered thirty guineas, provided the things might be had again, but declared, if he did not receive them in a very short space, he would give as great a reward for the discovery of the thief, whom he would prosecute with the utmost severity. This story has had its effect, and if you go directly home, I fancy you'll hear more news of it yourself than I am able to tell you. But pray, sir, remember one thing; that the thirty guineas was your own offer. You are at free liberty to give them, or let them alone; do which you please, 'tis nothing to me; but take notice, sir, that I have done all for you in my power, without the least expectation of gratuity.*

Away went the mercer, confounded in his mind, and wondering where this affair would end. But as he walked up Southampton Street a fellow overtook him, patted him on the shoulder, and delivered him the bundle unopened, telling him the price was twenty guineas. The mercer paid it him directly, and returning to Jonathan in half an hour's time, readily expressed abundance of thanks to Mr. Wild for his assistance, and begged him to accept of the ten guineas he had saved him, for his pains. Jonathan told him that he had saved him nothing, but supposed that the people thought twenty demand enough, considering that they were now pretty safe from prosecution. The mercer still pressed the ten guineas upon Jonathan, who after taking them out of his hand returned him five of them, and assured him that was more than enough, adding: *'Tis satisfaction enough, sir, to an honest man that he is able to procure people their goods again.* This, you will say, was a remarkable instance of his moderation. I will join to it as extraordinary an account of his justice, equity, or what else you will please to call it. It happened thus.

A lady whose husband was out of the kingdom, and had sent over to her draughts for her assistance to the amount of between fifteen hundred and two thousand pounds, lost the pocket-book in which they were contained, between Bucklersbury and Magpie alehouse in Leadenhall Street, where the merchant lived upon whom they were drawn. She however, went to the gentleman, and he advised her to go directly to Mr. Jonathan Wild. Accordingly to Jonathan she came, deposited the crown, and answered the questions she asked him. Jonathan then told her that in an hour



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or two's time, possibly, some of his people might hear who it was that had picked her pocket. The lady was vehement in her desires to have it again, and for that purpose went so far at last as to offer an hundred guineas. Upon that Wild made answer, *Though they are of much greater value to you, madam, yet they cannot be worth anything like it to them; therefore keep your own counsel, say nothing in the hearing of my people, and I'll give you the best, directions I am able for the recovery of your notes. In the meanwhile, if you will go to any tavern near, and endeavour to eat a bit of dinner, I will bring you an answer before the cloth is taken away.* She said she was unacquainted with any house thereabouts, upon which Mr. Wild named the Baptist Head.¹⁹⁹ The lady would not be satisfied unless Mr. Wild promised to eat with her; he at last complied, and she ordered a fowl and sausages at the house he had appointed.

She waited there about three quarters of an hour, when Mr. Wild came over and told her he had heard news of her book, desiring her to tell out ten guineas upon the table in case she should have an occasion for them. As the cook came up to acquaint her that the fowl was ready, Jonathan begged she would see whether there was any woman waiting at his door.

The lady, without minding the mystery, did as he desired her, and perceiving a woman in a scarlet riding-hood walk twice or thrice by Mr. Wild's house, her curiosity prompted her to go near her. But recollecting she had left the gold upon the table upstairs, she went and snatched it up without saying a word to Jonathan, and then running down again went towards the woman in the red hood, who was still walking before his door. It seems she had guessed right, for no sooner did she approach towards her but the woman came directly up to her, and presenting her pocket book, desired she would open it and see that all was safe. The lady did so, and answering it was alright, the woman in the red riding-hood said, *Here's another little note for you, madam; upon which she gave her a little billet, on the outside of which was written ten guineas.* The lady delivered her the money immediately, adding also a piece for herself, and returning with a great deal of joy to Mr. Wild, told him she had got her book, and would now eat her dinner heartily. When the things were taken away, she thought it was time to go to the merchant.

Thinking it would be necessary to make Mr. Wild a handsome present, she put her hand in her pocket, and with great surprise found her green purse gone, in which was the remainder of fifty guineas she had borrowed of the merchant in the morning. Upon this she looked very much confused, but did not speak a word. Jonathan perceived it, asked if she was not well. *I am tolerably in health, sir,* answered she, *but I am amazed that the woman took but ten guineas for the book, and at the same time picked my pocket of thirty-nine.*

Mr. Wild hereupon appeared in as great a confusion as the lady, and said he hoped she was not in earnest, but if it were so, begged her not to disturb herself, she should not lose one farthing. Upon which Jonathan begging her to sit still, stepped over to his own house and gave, as may be supposed, necessary directions, for in less than half an hour a little Jew (called Abraham) that Wild kept, bolted into the room, and told him the woman was taken, and on the point of going to the Compter. *You shall see, Madam,* said Jonathan, turning to the lady, *what*

199. A well-known tavern in Old Bailey.



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exemplary punishment I'll make of this infamous woman. Then turning himself to the Jew, Abraham, says he, was the green purse of money taken on her? Yes sir, replied his agent. O la! then said the lady, I'll take the purse with all my heart; I would not prosecute the poor wretch for the world. Would not you so, Madam, replied Wild. Well, then, we'll see what's to be done. Upon which he first whispered his emissary, and then dispatched him.

He was no sooner gone than Jonathan told the lady that she would be too late at the merchant's unless they took coach; which thereupon they did, and stopped over against the Compter gate by the Stocks Market.²⁰⁰ She wondered at all this, but by the time they have been in a tavern a very little space, back comes Jonathan's emissary with the green purse and the gold in it. *She says, sir, said the fellow to Wild she has only broke a guinea of the money for garnish and wine, and here's all the rest of it. Very well, says Jonathan, give it to the lady. Will you please to tell it, madam?* The lady accordingly did, and found there were forty-nine. *Bless me! says she. I think the woman's bewitched, she has sent me ten guineas more than I should have had. No, Madam, replied Wild, she has sent you back again the ten guineas which she received for the book; I never suffer any such practices in my way. I obliged her, therefore, to give up the money she had taken as well as that she had stole. And therefore I hope, whatever you may think of her, that you will not have a worse opinion of your humble servant for this accident.*

The lady was so much confounded and confuted at these unaccountable incidents, that she scarce knew what she did; at last recollecting herself, *Well, Mr. Wild, says she; I think the least I can do is to oblige you to accept of these ten guineas. No, replied he, nor of ten farthings. I scorn all actions of such a sort as much as any man of quality in the kingdom. All the reward I desire, Madam, is that you will acknowledge I have acted like an honest man, and a man of honour.* He had scarce pronounced these words, before he rose up, made her a bow, and went immediately down stairs.

The reader may be assured there is not the least mixture of fiction in this story, and yet perhaps there was not a more remarkable one which happened in the whole course of Jonathan's life. I shall add but one more relation of this sort, and then go on with the series of my history. This which I am now going to relate happened within a few doors of the place where I lived, and was transacted in this manner.

There came a little boy with vials in a basket to sell to a surgeon who was my very intimate acquaintance. It was in the winter, and the weather cold, when one day after he had sold the bottles that were wanted, the boy complained he was almost chilled to death with cold, and almost starved for want of victuals. The surgeon's maid, in compassion to the child, who was not above nine or ten years old, took him into the kitchen, and gave him a porringer of milk and bread, with a lump or two of sugar in it. The boy ate a little of it, then said he had enough, gave her a thousand blessings and thanks, and marched off with a silver spoon, and a pair of forceps of the same mettle, which lay in the shop as he passed through. The instrument was first missed, and the search after it occasioned

200. This was the Poultry Compter.



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their missing the spoon; and yet nobody suspected anything of the boy, though they had all seen him in the kitchen. The gentleman of the house, however, having some knowledge of Jonathan Wild, and not living far from the Old Bailey, went immediately to him for his advice. Jonathan called for a bottle of white wine and ordered it to be mulled; the gentleman knowing the custom of his house, laid down the crown, and was going on to tell him the manner in which the things were missed, but Mr. Wild soon cut him short by saying, *Sir, step into the next room a moment; here's a lady coming hither. You may depend upon my doing anything that is in my power, and presently we'll talk the thing over at leisure.* The gentleman went into the room where he was directed, and saw, with no little wonder, his forceps and silver spoon lying upon the table. He had hardly taken them up to look at them before Jonathan entered. *So, sir,* said he, *I suppose you have no further occasion for my assistance. Yes, indeed, I have,* said the surgeon, *there are a great many servants in our family, and some of them will certainly be blamed for this transaction; so that I am under a necessity of begging another favour, which is, that you will let me know how they were stolen? I believe the thief is not far off,* quoth Jonathan, *and if you'll give me your word he shall come to no harm, I'll produce him immediately.*

The gentleman readily condescended to this proposition, and Mr. Wild stepping out for a minute or two, brought in the young vial merchant in his hand. *Here, sir,* says Wild, *do you know this hopeful youth?* Yes, answered the surgeon, *but I could never have dreamt that a creature so little as he, could have had so much wickedness in him. However, as I have given you my word, and as I have my things again, I will not only pass by his robbing me, but if he will bring me bottles again, shall make use of him as I used to do. I believe you may,* added Jonathan, *when he ventures into your house again.*

But it seems he was therein mistaken, for in less than a week afterwards the boy had the impudence to come and offer his vials again, upon which the gentleman not only bought of him as usual, but ordered two quarts of milk to be set on the fire, put into it two ounces of glister sugar, crumbled it with a couple of penny loaves, and obliged this nimble-fingered youth to eat it every drop up before he went out of the kitchen door, and then without farther correction hurried him about his business.

This was the channel in which Jonathan's business usually ran, but to support his credit with the magistrates, he was forced to add thief-catching to it, and every sessions or two, strung up some of the youths of his own bringing-up to the gallows. But this, however, did not serve his turn; an honourable person on the Bench took notice of his manner of acting, which being become at last very notorious, an Act of Parliament was passed, levelled directly against such practices, whereby persons who took money for the recovery of stolen goods, and did actually recover such goods without apprehending the felon, should be deemed guilty in the same degree of felony with those who committed the fact in taking such goods as were returned. And after this became law, the same honourable person sent to him to warn him of going on any longer at his old rate, for that it was now become a capital crime, and if he was apprehended for it, he could expect no mercy.

Jonathan received the reproof with abundance of thankfulness and



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submission, but what was strange, never altered the manner of his behaviour in the least; but on the contrary, did it more openly and publicly than ever. Indeed, to compensate for this, he seemed to double his diligence in apprehending thieves, and brought a vast number of the most notorious amongst them to the gallows, even though he himself had bred them up in the art of thieving, and given them both instructions and encouragement to take that road which was ruinous enough in itself, and by him made fatal.

Of these none were so open and apparent a case as that of Blake, *alias* Blueskin. This fellow had from a child been under the tuition of Jonathan, who paid for the curing his wounds, whilst he was in the Compter, allowed him three and sixpence a week for his subsistence, and afforded his help to get him out of there at last. Yet as soon after this he abandoned him to his own conduct in such matters, and in a short space caused him to be apprehended for breaking open the house of Mr. Kneebone, which brought him to the gallows. When the fellow came to be tried Jonathan, indeed, vouchsafed to speak to him, and assured him that his body should be handsomely interred in a good coffin at his own expense. This was strange comfort, and such as by no means suited Blueskin: he insisted peremptorily upon a transportation pardon, which he said he was sure Jonathan had interest enough to procure him. But Wild assured him that he had not, and that it was in vain for him to flatter himself with such hopes, but that he had better dispose himself to thinking of another life; in order to which, good books and such like helps should not be wanting.

All this put Blueskin at last into such a passion that though this discourse happened upon the leads at the Old Bailey; in the presence of the Court then sitting, Blake could not forbear taking a revenge for what he took to be an insult on him. And therefore, without ado, he clapped one hand under Jonathan's chin, and with the other, taking a sharp knife out of his pocket, cut him a large gash across the throat, which everybody at the time it was done judged mortal. Jonathan was carried off, all covered with blood, and though at that time he professed the greatest resentment for such usage, affirming that he had done all that lay in his power for the man who had so cruelly designed against his life; yet when he afterwards came to be under sentence of death, he regretted prodigiously the escape he had made then from death, often wishing that the knife of Blake had put an end to his life, rather than left him to linger out his days till so ignominious a fate befell him.

But it was not only Blake who had entertained notions of putting him to death. He had disobliged almost the whole group of villains with whom he had concern, and there were numbers of them who had taken it into their heads to deprive him of life. His escapes in the apprehending such persons were sometimes very narrow; he received wounds in almost every part of his body, his skull was twice fractured, and his whole constitution so broken by these accidents and the great fatigue he went through, that when he fell under the misfortunes which brought him to his death, he was scarce able to stand upright, and was never in a condition to go to chapel.

But we have broke a little into the thread of our history, and must therefore go back in order to trace the causes which brought on Jonathan's last adventures, and finally his violent death.



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This we shall now relate in the clearest and concisest manner that the thing will allow; being well furnished for that purpose, having to personal experience added the best intelligence that could be procured, and that, too, from persons the most deserving of credit.

The practices of this criminal in the manner we have before mentioned continued long after the Act of Parliament; and in so notorious a manner, at last, that the magistrates in London and Middlesex thought themselves obliged by the duty of their office to take notice of him. This occasioned a warrant to be granted against him by a worshipful alderman of the City, upon which Mr. Wild being apprehended somewhere near Wood Street, he was carried into the Rose Sponging-house. There I myself saw him sitting in the kitchen at the fire, waiting the leisure of the magistrate who was to examine him.

In the meantime the crowd was very great, and, with his usual hypocrisy, Jonathan harangued them to this purpose. *I wonder, good people, what it is you would see? I am a poor honest man, who have done all I could do to serve people when they have had the misfortune to lose their goods by the villainy of thieves. I have contributed more than any man living to bringing the most daring and notorious malefactors to justice. Yet now by the malice of my enemies, you see I am in custody, and am going before a magistrate who I hope will do me justice. Why should you insult me, therefore? I don't know that I ever injured any of you? Let me intreat you, therefore, as you see me lame in body, and afflicted in mind, not to make me more uneasy than I can bear. If I have offended against the law it will punish me, but it gives you no right to use me ill, unheard, and unconvicted.*

By this time the people of the house and the Compter officers had pretty well cleared the place, upon which he began to compose himself, and desired them to get a coach to the door, for he was unable to walk. About an hour after, he was carried before a Justice and examined, and I think was thereupon immediately committed to Newgate. He lay there a considerable time before he was tried; at last he was convicted capitally upon the following fact, which appeared on the evidence, exactly in the same light in which I shall state it.

He was indicted on the afore-mentioned Statute, for receiving money for the restoring stolen goods, without apprehending the persons by whom they were stolen. In order to support this charge, the prosecutrix, Catherine Stephens,²⁰¹ deposed as follows:

As no person in this collection ever made so much noise as the person we are now speaking of, so never any man, perhaps, in any condition of life whatever had so many romantic stories fathered upon him in his life, or so many fictitious legendary accounts published of him after his death. It may seem a low kind of affectation to say that the memoirs we are now giving of Jonathan Wild are founded on certainty and fact; and that though they are so founded, they are yet more extraordinary than any of those fabulous relations pushed into the world to get a penny, at the time of his death, when it was a proper season for vending such forgeries, the public looking with so much attention on his catastrophe, and greedily catching up whatever pretended to the giving an account of his actions. But to go on with the history

201. Her name was really Statham.



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in its proper order.

Jonathan Wild²⁰² was the son of persons in a mean and low state of life, yet for all that I have ever heard of them, both honest and industrious. Their family consisted of three sons and two daughters, whom their father and mother maintained and educated in the best manner they could from their joint labours, he as carpenter, and she by selling fruit in Wolverhampton market, in Staffordshire, which in future ages may perhaps become famous as the birth place of the celebrated Mr. Jonathan Wild. He was the eldest of the sons, and received as good an education as his father's circumstances would allow him, being bred at the free-school to read and write, to both of which having attained to a tolerable degree, he was put out an apprentice to a buckle-maker

202. A few additional particulars concerning Wild may be of interest. Soon after he came to London he opened a brothel in the infamous Lewkenor's Lane, in partnership with Mary Milliner; after a time they quitted it to take an alehouse in Cock Alley, Cripplegate. He then drifted into business as a receiver and instigator of thefts, organizing regular gangs which operated in every branch of the thieving trade. On account of the number of criminals he brought to justice (as a result of their disloyalty to himself) the authorities winked at and tolerated his proceedings; and in January, 1724, he had the impudence to petition for the freedom of the City, as some recognition for the good services he had rendered in this direction. A few months later, however, his reputation became sadly blown upon, and in January, 1725, he was implicated in an affair with one of his minions, a sailor named Johnson, who had been arrested and had appealed to Wild for help. A riot was engineered, in which Johnson made his escape, but information was laid against the thief-taker, himself, who, after lying in hiding for three weeks, was arrested and committed to Newgate, which he only left to attend his trial and to take his last ride to Tyburn.

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in Birmingham.

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.

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He served his time with much fidelity, and came up to town in the service of a gentleman of the long robe, about the year 1704, or perhaps a little later. But not liking his service, or his master being not altogether so well pleased with him, he quitted it and retired to his old employment in the country, where he continued to work diligently for some time. But at last growing sick of labour, and still entertaining a desire to taste the pleasures of London, up hither he came a second time, and worked journey-work at the trade to which he was bred. But this not producing money enough to support those expenses Jonathan's love of pleasure threw him into, he got pretty deeply in debt; and some of his creditors not being endued with altogether as much patience as his circumstances required, he was suddenly arrested, and thrown into Wood-street Compter.

Having no friends to do anything for him, and having very little money in his pocket when this misfortune happened, he lived very hardly there, scarce getting bread enough to support him from the charity allowed to prisoners, and from what little services he could render to prisoners of the better sort in the gaol.



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However, as no man wanted address less than Jonathan, so nobody could have employed it more properly than he did upon this occasion; he thereby got so much into the favour of the keepers, that they quickly permitted him the liberty of the gate, as they call it, and he thereby got some little matter for going on errands. This set him above the very pinch of want, and that was all; but his fidelity and industry in these mean employments procured him such esteem amongst those in power there, that they soon took him into their ministry, and appointed him an under-keeper to those disorderly persons who were brought in every night and are called, in their cant, "rats."

Jonathan now came into a comfortable subsistence, having learnt how to get money of such people by putting them into the road of getting liberty for themselves. But there, says my author, he met with a lady who was confined on the score of such practices very often, and who went by the name of Mary Milliner; and who soon taught him how to gain much greater sums than in this way of life, by methods which he until then never heard of, and will I am confident, to this day carry the charms of novelty to most of my readers. Of these the first she put upon him was going on what they call the "twang," which is thus managed: the man who is the confederate goes out with some noted woman of the town, and if she fall into any broil, he is to be at a proper distance, ready to come into her assistance, and by making a sham quarrel, give her an opportunity of getting off, perhaps after she has dived for a watch or a purse of guineas, and was in danger of being caught in the very act. This proved a very successful employment to Mr. Wild for a time. Moll and he, therefore, resolved to set up together, and for that purpose took lodgings and lived as man and wife, notwithstanding Jonathan then had a wife and a son at Wolverhampton and the fair lady was married to a waterman in town.

By the help of this woman Jonathan grew acquainted with all the notorious gangs of loose persons within the bills of mortality, and was also perfectly versed in the manner by which they carried on their schemes. He knew where and how their enterprises were to be gone upon, and after what manner they disposed of their ill-got goods, when they came into their possession. Having always an intriguing head Wild set up for a director amongst them, and soon became so useful to them that though he never went out upon any of their lays, yet he got as much or more by their crimes as if he had been a partner with them, which upon one pretence or other he always declined.

He had long ago got rid of that debt for which he had been imprisoned in the Compter, and having by his own thought projected a new manner of life, he began in a very little time to grow weary of Mrs. Milliner, who had been his first instructor. What probably contributed thereto was the danger to which he saw himself exposed by continuing a bully in her service; however, they parted without falling out, and as he had occasion to make use of her pretty often in his new way of business, so she proved very faithful and industrious to him in it, though she still went on in her old way.

'Tis now time, that both this and the remaining part of the discourse may be intelligible, to explain the methods by which thieves became the better for thieving where they did not steal ready money; and of this we will speak in the clearest and most concise manner that we can.



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It must be observed that anciently when a thief had got his booty he had done all that a man in his profession could do, and there were multitudes of people ready to help them off with whatever effects he had got, without any more to do. But this method being totally destroyed by an Act passed in the reign of King William, by which it was made felony for any person to buy goods stolen, knowing them to be so, and some examples having been made on this Act, there were few or no receivers to be met with. Those that still carried on the trade took exorbitant sums for their own profit, leaving those who had run the hazard of their necks in obtaining them, the least share of the plunder. This (as an ingenious author says) had like to have brought the thieving trade to naught; but Jonathan quickly thought of a method to put things again in order, and give new life to the practices of the several branches of the ancient art and mystery called stealing. The method he took was this.

As soon as any considerable robbery was committed, and Jonathan received intelligence by whom, he immediately went to the thieves, and instead of offering to buy the whole or any part of the plunder, he only enquired how the thing was done, where the persons lived who were injured, and what the booty consisted in that was taken away. Then pretending to chide them for their wickedness in doing such actions, and exhorting them to live honestly for the future, he gave it them as his advice to lodge what they had taken in a proper place which he appointed them, and then promised he would take some measures for their security by getting the people to give them somewhat to have them restored them again. Having thus wheedled those who had committed a robbery into a compliance with his measures, his next business was to divide the goods into several parcels, and cause them to be sent to different places, always avoiding taking them into his own hands.

Things being in this position, Jonathan, or Mrs. Milliner went to the persons who were robbed, and after condoling the misfortune, observed that they had an acquaintance with a broker to whom certain goods were brought, some of which they suspected to be stolen, and hearing that the person to whom they thus applied had been robbed they said they thought it the duty of one honest body to another to inform them thereof, and to enquire what goods they were they lost, in order to discover whether those they spoke of were the same or no. People who had such losses are always ready, after the first fit of passion is over, to hearken to anything that has a tendency towards recovering their goods. Jonathan or his mistress therefore, who could either of them play the hypocrite nicely, had no great difficulty in making people listen to such terms; in a day or two, therefore, they were sure to come again with intelligence that having called upon their friend and looked over the goods, they had found part of the goods there; and provided nobody was brought into trouble, and the broker had something in consideration of his care, they might be had again. He generally told the people, when they came on this errand, that he had heard of another parcel at such a place, and that if they would stay a little, he would go and see whether they were such as they described theirs to be which they had lost.

This practice of Jonathan's, if well considered, carries in it a great deal of policy; for first it seemed to be an honest and good-natured act to prevail on evil persons to restore the goods



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which they had stole; and it must be acknowledged to be a great benefit to those who were robbed thus to have their goods again upon a reasonable premium, Jonathan or his mistress all the while taking apparently nothing, their advantages arising from what they took out of the gratuity left with the broker, and out of what they had bargained with the thief to be allowed of the money which they had procured him. Such people finding this advantage in it, the rewards were very near as large as the price now given by receivers (since receiving became too dangerous), and they reaped a certain security also by the bargain.

With respect to Jonathan, the contrivance placed him in safety, not only from all the laws then in being, but perhaps would have secured him as securely from those that are made now, if covetousness had not prevailed with him to take bolder steps than these; for in a short time he began to give himself out for a person who made it his business to procure stolen goods to their right owners. When he first did this he acted with so much art and cunning that he acquired a very great reputation as an honest man, not only from those who dealt with him to procure what they had lost, but even from those people of higher station, who observing the industry with which he prosecuted certain malefactors, took him for a friend of Justice, and as such afforded him countenance and encouragement.

Certain it is that he brought more villains to the gallows than perhaps any man ever did, and consequently by diminishing their number, made it much more safe for persons to travel or even to reside with security in their own houses. And so sensible was Jonathan of the necessity there was for him to act in this manner, that he constantly hung up two or three of his clients at least in a twelvemonth, that he might keep up that character to which he had attained; and so indefatigable was he in the pursuit of those he endeavoured to apprehend, that it never happened in all his course of acting, that so much as one single person escaped him. Nor need this appear so great a wonder, if we consider that the exact acquaintance he had with their gangs and the haunts they used put it out of their power almost to hide themselves so as to avoid his searches.

When this practice of Jonathan's became noted, and the people resorted continually to his house in order to hear of the goods which they had lost, it produced not only much discourse, but some enquiries into his behaviour. Jonathan foresaw this, and in order to evade any ill consequence that might follow upon it, upon such occasions put on an air of gravity, and complained of the evil disposition of the times, which would not permit a man to serve his neighbours and his country without censure. *For do I not, quoth Jonathan, do the greatest good, when I persuade these wicked people who have deprived them of their properties, to restore them again for a reasonable consideration. And are not the villains whom I have so industriously brought to suffer that punishment which the Law, for the sake of its honest subjects, thinks fit to inflict upon them—in this respect, I say, does not their death show how much use I am to the country? Why, then, added Jonathan, should people asperse me, or endeavour to take away my bread?*

This kind of discourse served, as my readers must know, to keep Wild safe in his employment for many years, while not a step he took, but trod on felony, nor a farthing did he obtain but what deserved the gallows. Two great things there were which



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contributed to his preservation, and they were these. The great readiness the Government always shows in detecting persons guilty of capital offences; in which case we know 'tis common to offer not only pardon, but rewards to persons guilty, provided they make discoveries; and this Jonathan was so sensible of that he did not only screen himself behind the lenity of the Supreme Power, but made use of it also as a sort of authority, and behaved himself with a very presuming air. And taking upon him the character of a sort of minister of Justice, this assumed character of his, however ill-founded, proved of great advantage to him in the course of his life. The other point, which, as I have said, contributed to keep him from any prosecutions on the score of these illegal and unwarrantable actions, was the great willingness of people who had been robbed to recover their goods, and who, provided for a small matter they could regain things for a considerable worth, were so far from taking pains to bring the offenders to justice that they thought the premium a cheap price to get off.

Thus by the rigour of the magistrate, and the lenity of the subject, Jonathan claimed constant employment, and according as wicked persons behaved, they were either trussed up to satisfy the just vengeance of the one, or protected and encouraged, that by bringing the goods they stole he might be enabled to satisfy the demands of the other. And thus we see the policy of a mean and scandalous thief-taker, conducted with as much prudence, caution, and necessary courage, as the measures taken by even the greatest persons upon earth; nor perhaps is there, in all history, an instance of a man who thus openly dallied with the laws, and played with capital punishment.

As I am persuaded my readers will take a pleasure in the relation of Jonathan's maxims of policy, I shall be a little more particular in relation to them than otherwise I should have been, considering that in this work I do not propose to treat of the actions of a single person, but to consider the villainies committed throughout the space of a dozen years, such especially as have reached to public notice by bringing the authors of them to the gallows. But Mr. Wild being a man of such eminence as to value himself in his life-time on his superiority to meaner rogues; so I am willing to distinguish him now he is dead, by showing a greater complaisance in recording his history than that of any other hero in this way whatsoever.

Nor, to speak properly, was Jonathan ever an operator, as they call it, that is a practicer in any one branch of thieving. No, his method was to acquire money at an easier rate, and if any title can be devised suitable to his great performance, it must be that of Director General of the united forces of highwaymen, housebreakers, footpads, pickpockets, and private thieves. Now, according to my promise, for the maxims by which he supported himself in this dangerous capacity.

In the first place, he continually exhorted the plunderers that belonged to his several gangs, to let him know punctually what goods they at any time took, by which means he had it in his power to give, for the most part, a direct answer to those who came to make their enquiries after they had lost their effects, either by their own carelessness, or the dexterity of the thief. If they complied faithfully with his instructions, he was a certain protector on all occasions, and sometimes had interest enough to procure them liberty when apprehended, either in the



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committing a robbery, or upon the information of one of the gang. In such a case Jonathan's usual pretence was that such a person (who was the man he intended to save) was capable of making a larger and more effectual information, for which purpose Jonathan would sometimes supply him with memorandums of his own, and thereby establish so well the credit of his discovery, as scarce to fail of producing its effect.

But if his thieves threatened to become independent, and despise his rules, or endeavour for the sake of profit to vend the goods they got some other way without making application to Jonathan; or if they threw out any threatening speeches against their companions; or grumbled at the compositions he made for them, in such cases as these Wild took the first opportunity of talking to them in a new style, telling them that he was well assured they did very ill acts and plundered poor honest people, to indulge themselves in their debaucheries; that they would do well to think of amending before the Justice of their country fell upon them; and that after such warning they must not expect any assistance from him, in case they should fall under any misfortune. The next thing that followed after this fine harangue was that they were put into the information of some of Jonathan's creatures; or the first fresh fact they committed and Jonathan was applied to for the recovery of the goods, he immediately set out to apprehend them, and laboured so indefatigably therein that they never escaped him. Thus he not only procured the reward for himself, but also gained an opportunity of pretending that he not only restored goods to the right owners, but also apprehended the thief as often as it was in his power. As to instances, I shall mention them in a proper place.

I shall now go on to another observation, viz., that in those steps of his business which was most hazardous, Jonathan made the people themselves take the first steps by publishing advertisements of things lost, directing them to be brought to Mr. Wild, who was empowered to receive them and pay such a reward as the person that lost them thought fit to offer; and in this capacity Jonathan appeared no otherwise than as a person on whose honour these sort of people could rely; by which, his assistance became necessary for retrieving whatever had been pilfered.

After he had gone on in this trade for about ten years with success, he began to lay aside much of his former caution, and gave way to the natural vanity of his temper; taking a larger house in Old Bailey than that in which he formerly lived; giving the woman who he called his wife, abundance of fine things; keeping open office for restoring stolen goods; appointing abundance of under-officers to receive goods, carry messages to those who stole them, bring him exact intelligence of the several gangs and the places of their resort, and in fine, for such other purposes as this, their supreme governor, directed. His fame at last came to that height that persons of the highest quality would condescend to make use of his abilities, when at an installation, public entry, or some other great solemnity they had the misfortune of losing watches, jewels, or other things, whether of great real or imaginary value.

But as his methods of treating those who applied to him for his assistance has been much misrepresented, I shall next give an exact and impartial account thereof, that the fabulous history



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of Jonathan Wild may not be imposed upon posterity. In the first place, then, when a person was introduced to Mr. Wild's office, it was first hinted to him that a crown must be deposited by way of fee for his advice; when this was complied with a large book was brought out; then the loser was examined with much formality, as to the time, place, and manner that the goods became missing; and then the person was dismissed with a promise of careful enquiries being made, and of hearing more concerning them in a day or two. When this was adjusted, the person took his leave, with great hopes of being acquainted shortly with the fruits of Mr. Wild's industry, and highly satisfied with the methodical treatment he had met with. But at the bottom this was all grimace. Wild had not the least occasion for these queries, except to amuse the persons he asked, for he knew beforehand all the circumstances of the robbery much better than they did. Nay, perhaps, he had the very goods in the house when the folks came first to enquire for them; though for reasons not hard to guess he made use of all this formality before he proceeded to return them. When, therefore, according to his appointment, the enquirer came the second time, Jonathan took care to amuse him by a new scene. He was told that Mr. Wild had indeed made enquiries, but was very sorry to communicate the result of them; the thief, truly, who was a bold impudent fellow, rejected with scorn the offer which pursuant to the loser's instructions had been made him, insisted that he could sell the goods at a double price, and in short would not hear a word of restitution unless upon better terms. *But notwithstanding all this, says Jonathan, if I can but come to the speech of him, I don't doubt bringing him to reason.* At length, after one or two more attendances, Mr. Wild gave the definite answer, that provided no questions were asked and so much money was given to the porter who brought them, the loser might have his things returned at such an hour precisely. This was transacted with all outward appearances of friendship and honest intention on his side, and with great seeming frankness and generosity; but when the client came to the last article, viz., what Mr. Wild expected for his trouble, then an air of coldness was put on, and he answered with equal pride and indifference, that what he did was purely from a principle of doing good. As to a gratuity for the trouble he had taken, he left it totally to yourself; you might do it in what you thought fit. Even when money was presented to him he received it with the same negligent grace, always putting you in mind that it was your own act, that you did it merely out of your generosity, and that it was no way the result of his request, that he took it as a favour, not as a reward. By this dexterity in his management he fenced himself against the rigour of the law, in the midst of these notorious transgressions of it, for what could be imputed to Mr. Wild? He neither saw the thief who took away your goods, nor received them after they were taken; the method he pursued in order to procure you your things again was neither dishonest or illegal, if you will believe his account on it, and no other than his account could be gotten. According to him it was performed after this manner: after having enquired amongst such loose people as he acknowledged he had acquaintance with, and hearing that such a robbery was committed at such a time, and such and such goods were taken, he thereupon had caused it to be intimated to the



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thief that if he had any regard for his own safety he would cause such and such goods to be carried to such a place; in consideration of which, he might reasonably hope such a reward, naming a certain sum. If it excited the thief to return the goods, it did not thereby fix any guilt or blame upon Jonathan; and by this description, I fancy my readers will have a pretty clear idea of the man's capacity, as well as of his villainy. Had Mr. Wild continued satisfied with this way of dealing in all human probability he might have gone to his grave in peace, without any apprehensions of punishment but what he was to meet within a world to come. But he was greedy, and instead of keeping constant to this safe method, came at last to take the goods into his own custody, giving those that stole them what he thought proper, and then making such a bargain with the loser as he was able to bring him up to, sending the porter himself, and taking without ceremony whatever money had been given him. But as this happened only in the two last years of his life, it is fit I should give you some instances of his behaviour before, and these not from the hearsay of the town, but within the compass of my own knowledge.

A gentleman near Covent Garden who dealt in silks had bespoke a piece of extraordinary rich damask, on purpose for the birthday suit of a certain duke; and the lace-man having brought such trimming as was proper for it, the mercer had made the whole up in a parcel, tied it at each end with blue ribbon, sealed with great exactness, and placed on one end of the counter, in expectation of his Grace's servant, who he knew was directed to call for it in the afternoon. Accordingly the fellow came, but when the mercer went to deliver him the goods, the piece had gone, and no account could possibly he had of it. As the master had been all day in the shop, so there was no possibility of charging anything either upon the carelessness or dishonesty of servants. After an hour's fretting, therefore, seeing no other remedy, he even determined to go and communicate his loss to Mr. Wild, in hopes of receiving some benefit by his assistance, the loss consisting not so much in the value of the things as in the disappointment it would be to the nobleman not to have them on the birthday.

Upon this consideration a hackney-coach was immediately called, and away he was ordered to drive directly to Jonathan's house in the Old Bailey. As soon as he came into the room, and had acquainted Mr. Wild with his business, the usual deposit of a crown being made, and the common questions of the how, when, and where, having been asked, the mercer being very impatient, said with some kind of heat, *Mr. Wild, the loss I have sustained, though the intrinsic value of the goods be very little, lies more in disobliging my customer. Tell me, therefore, in a few words, if it be in your power to serve me. If it is, I have thirty guineas here ready to lay down, but if you expect that I should dance attendance for a week or two, I assure you I shall not be willing to part with above half the money.* Good sir, replied Mr. Wild, *have a little more consideration. I am no thief, sir, nor no receiver of stolen goods, so that if you don't think fit to give me time to enquire, you must e'en take what measures you please.*

When the mercer found he was like to be left without any hopes, he began to talk in a milder strain, and with abundance of intreaties fell to persuading Jonathan to think of some method



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to serve him, and that immediately. Wild stepped out a minute or two, as if to the necessary house; as soon as he came back he told the gentleman, it was not in his power to serve him in such a hurry, if at all; however, in a day or two he might be able to give him some answer. The mercer insisted that a day or two would lessen the value of the goods one half to him, and Jonathan insisted, as peremptorily, that it was not in his power to do anything sooner.

At last a servant came in a hurry, and told Mr. Wild there was a gentleman below desired to speak with him. Jonathan bowed and begged the gentleman's pardon, told him he would wait on him in one minute, and without staying for a reply withdrew, and clapped the door after him. In about five minutes he returned with a very smiling countenance, and turning to the gentleman, said, *I protest sir, you are the luckiest man I ever knew. I spoke to one of my people just now, to go to a house where I know some lifters resort, and directed him to talk of the robbery that had been committed in your house, and to say that the gentleman had been with me and offered thirty guineas, provided the things might be had again, but declared, if he did not receive them in a very short space, he would give as great a reward for the discovery of the thief, whom he would prosecute with the utmost severity. This story has had its effect, and if you go directly home, I fancy you'll hear more news of it yourself than I am able to tell you. But pray, sir, remember one thing; that the thirty guineas was your own offer. You are at free liberty to give them, or let them alone; do which you please, 'tis nothing to me; but take notice, sir, that I have done all for you in my power, without the least expectation of gratuity.*

Away went the mercer, confounded in his mind, and wondering where this affair would end. But as he walked up Southampton Street a fellow overtook him, patted him on the shoulder, and delivered him the bundle unopened, telling him the price was twenty guineas. The mercer paid it him directly, and returning to Jonathan in half an hour's time, readily expressed abundance of thanks to Mr. Wild for his assistance, and begged him to accept of the ten guineas he had saved him, for his pains. Jonathan told him that he had saved him nothing, but supposed that the people thought twenty demand enough, considering that they were now pretty safe from prosecution. The mercer still pressed the ten guineas upon Jonathan, who after taking them out of his hand returned him five of them, and assured him that was more than enough, adding: *'Tis satisfaction enough, sir, to an honest man that he is able to procure people their goods again.* This, you will say, was a remarkable instance of his moderation. I will join to it as extraordinary an account of his justice, equity, or what else you will please to call it. It happened thus.

A lady whose husband was out of the kingdom, and had sent over to her draughts for her assistance to the amount of between fifteen hundred and two thousand pounds, lost the pocket-book in which they were contained, between Bucklersbury and Magpie alehouse in Leadenhall Street, where the merchant lived upon whom they were drawn. She however, went to the gentleman, and he advised her to go directly to Mr. Jonathan Wild. Accordingly to Jonathan she came, deposited the crown, and answered the questions she asked him. Jonathan then told her that in an hour



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or two's time, possibly, some of his people might hear who it was that had picked her pocket. The lady was vehement in her desires to have it again, and for that purpose went so far at last as to offer an hundred guineas. Upon that Wild made answer, *Though they are of much greater value to you, madam, yet they cannot be worth anything like it to them; therefore keep your own counsel, say nothing in the hearing of my people, and I'll give you the best, directions I am able for the recovery of your notes. In the meanwhile, if you will go to any tavern near, and endeavour to eat a bit of dinner, I will bring you an answer before the cloth is taken away.* She said she was unacquainted with any house thereabouts, upon which Mr. Wild named the Baptist Head.²⁰³ The lady would not be satisfied unless Mr. Wild promised to eat with her; he at last complied, and she ordered a fowl and sausages at the house he had appointed.

She waited there about three quarters of an hour, when Mr. Wild came over and told her he had heard news of her book, desiring her to tell out ten guineas upon the table in case she should have an occasion for them. As the cook came up to acquaint her that the fowl was ready, Jonathan begged she would see whether there was any woman waiting at his door.

The lady, without minding the mystery, did as he desired her, and perceiving a woman in a scarlet riding-hood walk twice or thrice by Mr. Wild's house, her curiosity prompted her to go near her. But recollecting she had left the gold upon the table upstairs, she went and snatched it up without saying a word to Jonathan, and then running down again went towards the woman in the red hood, who was still walking before his door. It seems she had guessed right, for no sooner did she approach towards her but the woman came directly up to her, and presenting her pocket book, desired she would open it and see that all was safe. The lady did so, and answering it was alright, the woman in the red riding-hood said, *Here's another little note for you, madam; upon which she gave her a little billet, on the outside of which was written ten guineas.* The lady delivered her the money immediately, adding also a piece for herself, and returning with a great deal of joy to Mr. Wild, told him she had got her book, and would now eat her dinner heartily. When the things were taken away, she thought it was time to go to the merchant.

Thinking it would be necessary to make Mr. Wild a handsome present, she put her hand in her pocket, and with great surprise found her green purse gone, in which was the remainder of fifty guineas she had borrowed of the merchant in the morning. Upon this she looked very much confused, but did not speak a word. Jonathan perceived it, asked if she was not well. *I am tolerably in health, sir,* answered she, *but I am amazed that the woman took but ten guineas for the book, and at the same time picked my pocket of thirty-nine.*

Mr. Wild hereupon appeared in as great a confusion as the lady, and said he hoped she was not in earnest, but if it were so, begged her not to disturb herself, she should not lose one farthing. Upon which Jonathan begging her to sit still, stepped over to his own house and gave, as may be supposed, necessary directions, for in less than half an hour a little Jew (called Abraham) that Wild kept, bolted into the room, and told him the woman was taken, and on the point of going to the Compter. *You shall see, Madam,* said Jonathan, turning to the lady, *what*

203. A well-known tavern in Old Bailey.



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exemplary punishment I'll make of this infamous woman. Then turning himself to the Jew, Abraham, says he, was the green purse of money taken on her? Yes sir, replied his agent. O la! then said the lady, I'll take the purse with all my heart; I would not prosecute the poor wretch for the world. Would not you so, Madam, replied Wild. Well, then, we'll see what's to be done. Upon which he first whispered his emissary, and then dispatched him.

He was no sooner gone than Jonathan told the lady that she would be too late at the merchant's unless they took coach; which thereupon they did, and stopped over against the Compter gate by the Stocks Market.²⁰⁴ She wondered at all this, but by the time they have been in a tavern a very little space, back comes Jonathan's emissary with the green purse and the gold in it. She says, sir, said the fellow to Wild she has only broke a guinea of the money for garnish and wine, and here's all the rest of it. Very well, says Jonathan, give it to the lady. Will you please to tell it, madam? The lady accordingly did, and found there were forty-nine. Bless me! says she. I think the woman's bewitched, she has sent me ten guineas more than I should have had. No, Madam, replied Wild, she has sent you back again the ten guineas which she received for the book; I never suffer any such practices in my way. I obliged her, therefore, to give up the money she had taken as well as that she had stole. And therefore I hope, whatever you may think of her, that you will not have a worse opinion of your humble servant for this accident.

The lady was so much confounded and confuted at these unaccountable incidents, that she scarce knew what she did; at last recollecting herself, Well, Mr. Wild, says she; I think the least I can do is to oblige you to accept of these ten guineas. No, replied he, nor of ten farthings. I scorn all actions of such a sort as much as any man of quality in the kingdom. All the reward I desire, Madam, is that you will acknowledge I have acted like an honest man, and a man of honour. He had scarce pronounced these words, before he rose up, made her a bow, and went immediately down stairs.

The reader may be assured there is not the least mixture of fiction in this story, and yet perhaps there was not a more remarkable one which happened in the whole course of Jonathan's life. I shall add but one more relation of this sort, and then go on with the series of my history. This which I am now going to relate happened within a few doors of the place where I lived, and was transacted in this manner.

There came a little boy with vials in a basket to sell to a surgeon who was my very intimate acquaintance. It was in the winter, and the weather cold, when one day after he had sold the bottles that were wanted, the boy complained he was almost chilled to death with cold, and almost starved for want of victuals. The surgeon's maid, in compassion to the child, who was not above nine or ten years old, took him into the kitchen, and gave him a porringer of milk and bread, with a lump or two of sugar in it. The boy ate a little of it, then said he had enough, gave her a thousand blessings and thanks, and marched off with a silver spoon, and a pair of forceps of the same mettle, which lay in the shop as he passed through. The instrument was first missed, and the search after it occasioned

204. This was the Poultry Compter.



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their missing the spoon; and yet nobody suspected anything of the boy, though they had all seen him in the kitchen. The gentleman of the house, however, having some knowledge of Jonathan Wild, and not living far from the Old Bailey, went immediately to him for his advice. Jonathan called for a bottle of white wine and ordered it to be mulled; the gentleman knowing the custom of his house, laid down the crown, and was going on to tell him the manner in which the things were missed, but Mr. Wild soon cut him short by saying, *Sir, step into the next room a moment; here's a lady coming hither. You may depend upon my doing anything that is in my power, and presently we'll talk the thing over at leisure.* The gentleman went into the room where he was directed, and saw, with no little wonder, his forceps and silver spoon lying upon the table. He had hardly taken them up to look at them before Jonathan entered. *So, sir,* said he, *I suppose you have no further occasion for my assistance. Yes, indeed, I have,* said the surgeon, *there are a great many servants in our family, and some of them will certainly be blamed for this transaction; so that I am under a necessity of begging another favour, which is, that you will let me know how they were stolen? I believe the thief is not far off,* quoth Jonathan, *and if you'll give me your word he shall come to no harm, I'll produce him immediately.*

The gentleman readily condescended to this proposition, and Mr. Wild stepping out for a minute or two, brought in the young vial merchant in his hand. *Here, sir,* says Wild, *do you know this hopeful youth?* Yes, answered the surgeon, *but I could never have dreamt that a creature so little as he, could have had so much wickedness in him. However, as I have given you my word, and as I have my things again, I will not only pass by his robbing me, but if he will bring me bottles again, shall make use of him as I used to do. I believe you may,* added Jonathan, *when he ventures into your house again.*

But it seems he was therein mistaken, for in less than a week afterwards the boy had the impudence to come and offer his vials again, upon which the gentleman not only bought of him as usual, but ordered two quarts of milk to be set on the fire, put into it two ounces of glister sugar, crumbled it with a couple of penny loaves, and obliged this nimble-fingered youth to eat it every drop up before he went out of the kitchen door, and then without farther correction hurried him about his business.

This was the channel in which Jonathan's business usually ran, but to support his credit with the magistrates, he was forced to add thief-catching to it, and every sessions or two, strung up some of the youths of his own bringing-up to the gallows. But this, however, did not serve his turn; an honourable person on the Bench took notice of his manner of acting, which being become at last very notorious, an Act of Parliament was passed, levelled directly against such practices, whereby persons who took money for the recovery of stolen goods, and did actually recover such goods without apprehending the felon, should be deemed guilty in the same degree of felony with those who committed the fact in taking such goods as were returned. And after this became law, the same honourable person sent to him to warn him of going on any longer at his old rate, for that it was now become a capital crime, and if he was apprehended for it, he could expect no mercy.

Jonathan received the reproof with abundance of thankfulness and



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submission, but what was strange, never altered the manner of his behaviour in the least; but on the contrary, did it more openly and publicly than ever. Indeed, to compensate for this, he seemed to double his diligence in apprehending thieves, and brought a vast number of the most notorious amongst them to the gallows, even though he himself had bred them up in the art of thieving, and given them both instructions and encouragement to take that road which was ruinous enough in itself, and by him made fatal.

Of these none were so open and apparent a case as that of Blake, *alias* Blueskin. This fellow had from a child been under the tuition of Jonathan, who paid for the curing his wounds, whilst he was in the Compter, allowed him three and sixpence a week for his subsistence, and afforded his help to get him out of there at last. Yet as soon after this he abandoned him to his own conduct in such matters, and in a short space caused him to be apprehended for breaking open the house of Mr. Kneebone, which brought him to the gallows. When the fellow came to be tried Jonathan, indeed, vouchsafed to speak to him, and assured him that his body should be handsomely interred in a good coffin at his own expense. This was strange comfort, and such as by no means suited Blueskin: he insisted peremptorily upon a transportation pardon, which he said he was sure Jonathan had interest enough to procure him. But Wild assured him that he had not, and that it was in vain for him to flatter himself with such hopes, but that he had better dispose himself to thinking of another life; in order to which, good books and such like helps should not be wanting.

All this put Blueskin at last into such a passion that though this discourse happened upon the leads at the Old Bailey; in the presence of the Court then sitting, Blake could not forbear taking a revenge for what he took to be an insult on him. And therefore, without ado, he clapped one hand under Jonathan's chin, and with the other, taking a sharp knife out of his pocket, cut him a large gash across the throat, which everybody at the time it was done judged mortal. Jonathan was carried off, all covered with blood, and though at that time he professed the greatest resentment for such usage, affirming that he had done all that lay in his power for the man who had so cruelly designed against his life; yet when he afterwards came to be under sentence of death, he regretted prodigiously the escape he had made then from death, often wishing that the knife of Blake had put an end to his life, rather than left him to linger out his days till so ignominious a fate befell him.

But it was not only Blake who had entertained notions of putting him to death. He had disobliged almost the whole group of villains with whom he had concern, and there were numbers of them who had taken it into their heads to deprive him of life. His escapes in the apprehending such persons were sometimes very narrow; he received wounds in almost every part of his body, his skull was twice fractured, and his whole constitution so broken by these accidents and the great fatigue he went through, that when he fell under the misfortunes which brought him to his death, he was scarce able to stand upright, and was never in a condition to go to chapel.

But we have broke a little into the thread of our history, and must therefore go back in order to trace the causes which brought on Jonathan's last adventures, and finally his violent death.



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This we shall now relate in the clearest and concisest manner that the thing will allow; being well furnished for that purpose, having to personal experience added the best intelligence that could be procured, and that, too, from persons the most deserving of credit.

The practices of this criminal in the manner we have before mentioned continued long after the Act of Parliament; and in so notorious a manner, at last, that the magistrates in London and Middlesex thought themselves obliged by the duty of their office to take notice of him. This occasioned a warrant to be granted against him by a worshipful alderman of the City, upon which Mr. Wild being apprehended somewhere near Wood Street, he was carried into the Rose Sponging-house. There I myself saw him sitting in the kitchen at the fire, waiting the leisure of the magistrate who was to examine him.

In the meantime the crowd was very great, and, with his usual hypocrisy, Jonathan harangued them to this purpose. *I wonder, good people, what it is you would see? I am a poor honest man, who have done all I could do to serve people when they have had the misfortune to lose their goods by the villainy of thieves. I have contributed more than any man living to bringing the most daring and notorious malefactors to justice. Yet now by the malice of my enemies, you see I am in custody, and am going before a magistrate who I hope will do me justice. Why should you insult me, therefore? I don't know that I ever injured any of you? Let me intreat you, therefore, as you see me lame in body, and afflicted in mind, not to make me more uneasy than I can bear. If I have offended against the law it will punish me, but it gives you no right to use me ill, unheard, and unconvicted.*

By this time the people of the house and the Compter officers had pretty well cleared the place, upon which he began to compose himself, and desired them to get a coach to the door, for he was unable to walk. About an hour after, he was carried before a Justice and examined, and I think was thereupon immediately committed to Newgate. He lay there a considerable time before he was tried; at last he was convicted capitally upon the following fact, which appeared on the evidence, exactly in the same light in which I shall state it.

He was indicted on the afore-mentioned Statute, for receiving money for the restoring stolen goods, without apprehending the persons by whom they were stolen. In order to support this charge, the prosecutrix, Catherine Stephens,²⁰⁵ deposed as follows:

On the 22nd of January, I had two persons come in to my shop under pretence of buying some lace. They were so difficult that I had none below would please them, so leaving my daughter in the shop, I stepped upstairs and brought down another box. We could not agree about the price, and so they went away together. In about half an hour I missed a tin box of lace that I valued at £50. The same night and the next I went to Jonathan Wild's house; but meeting with him at home, I advertised the lace that I had lost with a reward of fifteen guineas, and no questions asked. But hearing nothing of it, I went to Jonathan's house again, and then met with him at home. He desired me to give him a description of the

205. Her name was really Statham.



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persons that I suspected, which I did, as near as I could; and then he told me, that he would make enquiry, and bid me call again in two or three days. I did so, and then he said that he had heard something of my lace, and expected to know more of the matter in a very little time.

I came to him again on that day he was apprehended (I think it was the 15th of February). I told him that though I had advertised but fifteen guineas reward, yet I would give twenty or twenty-five guineas, rather than not have my goods. *Don't be in such a hurry, says Jonathan, I don't know but I may help you to it for less, and if I can I will; the persons that have it are gone out of town. I shall set them to quarrelling about it, and then I shall get it the cheaper.* On the 10th of March he sent me word that if I could come to him in Newgate, and bring ten guineas in my pocket, he would help me to the lace. I went, he desired me to call a porter, but I not knowing where to find one, he sent a person who brought one that appeared to be a ticket-porter. The prisoner gave me a letter which he said was sent him as a direction where to go for the lace; but I could not read, and so I delivered it to the porter. Then he desired me to give the porter the ten guineas, or else (he said) the persons who had the lace would not deliver it. I gave the porter the money; he returned, and brought me a box that was sealed up, but not the same that was lost. I opened it and found all my lace but one piece.

Now, Mr. Wild, says I, what must you have for your trouble? Not a farthing, says he, not a farthing for me. I don't do these things for worldly interest, but only for the good of poor people that have met with misfortunes. As for the piece of lace that is missing, I hope to get it for you ere long, and I don't know but that I may help you not only to your money again, but to the thief too. And if I can, much good may it do you; and as you are a good woman and a widow, and a Christian, I desire nothing of you but your prayers, and for these I shall be thankful. I have a great many enemies, and God knows what may be the consequence of this imprisonment.

The fact suggested in the indictment was undoubtedly fully proved by this disposition, and though that fact happened in Newgate, and after his confinement, yet it still continued as much and as great a crime as if it had been done before; the Law therefore condemned him upon it. But even if he had escaped this, there were other facts of a like nature, which inevitably would have destroyed him; for the last years of his life, instead of growing more prudent, he undoubtedly became less so, for the blunders committed in this fact, were very little like the behaviour of Jonathan in the first years in which he carried on this practice, when nobody behaved with greater caution, as nobody ever had so much reason to be cautious. And though he had all along great enemies, yet he had conducted his affairs so that the Law could not possibly lay hold of him, nor his excuses be easily detected, even in respect of honesty.

When he was brought up to the bar to receive sentence, he



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appeared to be very much dejected, and when the usual question was proposed to him: *What have you to say why judgment of death should not pass upon you?* he spoke with a very feeble voice in the following terms.

My Lord, I hope even in the sad condition in which I stand, I may pretend to some little merit in respect to the service I have done my country, in delivering it from some of the greatest pests with which it was ever troubled. My Lord, I have brought many bold and daring malefactors to just punishment, even at the hazard of my own life, my body being covered with scars I received in these undertakings. I presume, my Lord, to say I have done merit, because at the time the things were done, they were esteemed meritorious by the government; and therefore I hope, my Lord, some compassion may be shown on the score of those services. I submit myself wholly to his Majesty's mercy, and humbly beg a favourable report of my case.

When Sir William Thomson²⁰⁶ (now one of the barons of his Majesty's Court of Exchequer), as Recorder of London, pronounced sentence of death, he spoke particularly to Wild, put him in mind of those cautions he had had against going on in those practices rendered capital by Law, made on purpose for preventing that infamous trade of becoming broker for felony, and standing in the middle between the felon and the person injured, in order to receive a premium for redress. And when he had properly stated the nature and aggravations of his crime, he exhorted him to make a better use of that small portion of time, which the tenderness of the law of England allowed sinners for repentance, and desired he would remember this admonition though he had slighted others. As to the report he told him, he might depend on Justice, and ought not to hope for any more.

Under conviction, no man who appeared upon other occasions to have so much courage, ever showed so little. He had constantly declined ever coming to chapel, under pretence of lameness and indisposition; when clergymen took the pains to visit him and instruct him in those duties which it became a dying man to practice, though he heard them without interruption, yet he heard them coldly. Instead of desiring to be instructed on that head, he was continually suggesting scruples and doubts about a future state, asking impertinent questions as to the state of souls departed, and putting frequent cases of the reasonableness and lawfulness of suicide, where an ignominious death was inevitable, and the thing was perpetrated only to avoid shame. He was more especially swayed to such notions he pretended, from the examples of the famous heroes of antiquity, who to avoid dishonourable treatment, had given themselves a speedy death. As such discourses were what took up most of the time between his sentence and death, so that occasioned some very useful lectures upon this head from the charitable divines who visited him; but though they would have been of great use in all such cases for the future, yet being pronounced by word of mouth only, they are now totally lost. One letter indeed was written to him by a learned person on this head, of which a copy has been preserved, and it is with great pleasure that I give it to my readers, it runs thus:

A letter from the Reverend Dr. — to Mr. Wild in Newgate.

I am very sorry that after a life so spent as yours is notoriously known to have been, you should yet, instead of



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repenting of your former offences, continue to swell their number even with greater. I pray God that it be not the greatest of all sins, affecting doubts as to a future state, and whether you shall ever be brought to answer for your actions in this life, before a tribunal in that which is to come.

The heathens, it must be owned, could have no certainty as to the immortality of the soul, because they had no immediate revelation; for though the reasons which incline us to the belief of those two points of future existence and future tribulation be as strong as any of the motives are to other points in natural religion, yet as none return from that land of darkness, or escape from the shadow of death to bring news of what passeth in those regions whither all men go, so without a direct revelation from the Almighty no positive knowledge could be had of life in the world to come, which is therefore properly said to be derived to us through Christ Jesus, who in plain terms, and with that authority which confounded his enemies, the Scribes and Pharisees, taught the doctrine of a final judgment, and by affording us the means of grace, raised in us at the same time the hopes of glory.

The arguments, therefore, which might appear sufficient unto the heathens, to justify killing themselves to avoid what they thought greater evils, if they had any force then must have totally lost it now. Indeed, the far greater number of instances which history has transmitted us, show that self-murder, even then, proceeded from the same causes as at present, viz., rage, despair, and disappointment. Wise men in all ages despised it as a mean and despicable flight from evils the soul wanted courage and strength to bear. This has not only been said by philosophers, but even by poets, too; which shows that it appeared a notion, not only rational, but heroic. There are none so timorous, says Martial, but extremity of want may force upon a voluntary death; those few alone are to be accounted brave who can support a life of evil and the pressing load of misery, without having recount to a dagger.

But if there were no more in it than the dispute of which was the most gallant act of the two, to suffer, or die, it would not deserve so much consideration. The matter with you is of far greater importance, it is not how, or in what manner you ought to die in this world, but how you are to expect mercy and happiness in that which is to come. This is your last stake, and all that now can deserve your regard. Even hope is lost as to present life, and if you make use of your reason, it must direct you to turn all your wishes and endeavours towards attaining happiness in a future state. What, then, remains to be examined in respect of this question is whether persons who slay themselves can hope for pardon or happiness in the sentence of that Judge from whom there is no appeal, and whose sentence, as it surpasses all understanding, so is it executed immediately. If we judge only from reason, it seems that we have no right over a life which we receive not from ourselves, or from our parents, but from the immediate gift of Him who is the Lord thereof, and the Fountain of Being.

To take away our own life, then, is contradicting as far as we are able the Laws of Providence, and that disposition which His wisdom has been pleased to direct. It is as though we pretended to have more knowledge or more power than he; and as to that pretence which is usually made use of, that Life is meant as a



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blessing, and that therefore when it becomes an evil, we may if we think fit resign it, it is indeed but a mere sophistry. We acknowledge God to be infinite in all perfections, and consequently in wisdom and power; from the latter we receive our existence in this Life, and as to the measure it depends wholly on the former; so that if we from the shallow dictates of our reason contemptuously shorten that term which is appointed us by the Almighty, we thereby contradict all His laws, throw up all right to His promises, and by the very last act we are capable of, put ourselves out of His protection.

This I say is the prospect of the fruits of suicide, looked on with the eye only of natural religion; and the opinion of Christians is unanimous in this respect, that persons who wilfully deprive themselves of life here, involve themselves also in death everlasting. As to your particular case, in which you say 'tis only making choice of one death rather than another, there are also the strongest reasons against it, The Law intends your death, not only for the punishment of your crimes, but as an example to deter others. The Law of God which hath commanded that the magistrates should not bear the sword in vain, hath given power to denounce this sentence against you; but that authority which you would assume, defeats both the law of the land in its intention, and is opposite also unto the Law of God. Add unto all this, the example of our blessed Saviour, who submitted to be hung upon a tree, tho' He had only need of praying to His Father to have sent Him thousands of Angels; yet chose He the death of a thief, that the Will of God, and the sentence even of an unrighteous judge might be satisfied.

Let, then, the testimony of your own reason, your reverence towards God, and the hopes which you ought to have in Jesus Christ, determine you to await with patience the hour of your dissolution, dispose you to fill up the short interval which yet remains with sincere repentance, and enable you to support your sufferings with such a Christian spirit of resignation, as may purchase for you an eternal weight of glory. In the which you shall always be assisted with my Prayers to God.

Who am, etc.

Jonathan at last pretended to be overcome with the reasons which had been offered to him on the subject of self-murder. But it plainly appeared that in this he was a hypocrite; for the day before his execution, notwithstanding the keepers had the strictest eye on him imaginable, somebody conveyed to him a bottle of liquid [laudanum](#), of which having taken a very large quantity, he hoped it would forestall his dying at the gallows. But as he had not been sparing in the dose, so the largeness of it made a speedy effect, which was perceived by his fellow-prisoners seeing he could not open his eyes at the time that prayers were said to them as usual in the condemned hold. Whereupon they walked him about, which first made him sweat exceedingly, and he was then very sick. At last he vomited, and they continuing still to lead him, he threw the greatest part of the laudanum off from his stomach. Notwithstanding that, he continued very drowsy, stupid and unable to do anything but gasp out his breath until it was stopped by the halter.

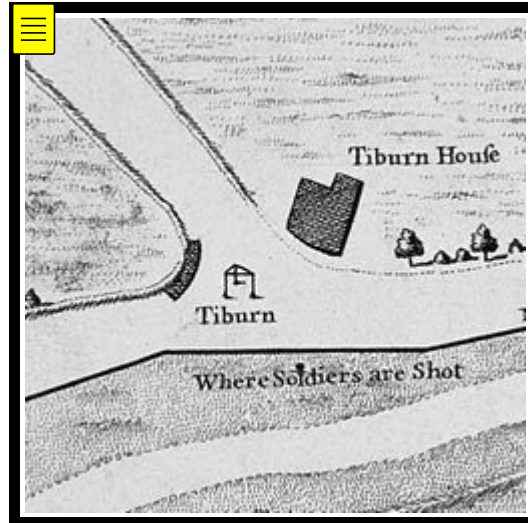
He went to execution in a cart, and instead of expressing any kind of pity or compassion for him, the people continued to throw stones and dirt all the way along, reviling and cursing him to die last, and plainly showed by their behaviour how much the



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blackness and notoriety of his crimes had made him abhorred, and how little tenderness the enemies of mankind meet with, when overtaken by the hand of Justice.



When he arrived at Tyburn, having by that gathered a little strength (nature recovering from the convulsions in which the laudanum had thrown him), the executioner told him he might take what time he pleased to prepare his death. He therefore sat down in the cart for some small time, during which the people were so uneasy that they called out incessantly to the executioner to dispatch him, and at last threatened to tear him to pieces if he did not tie him up immediately. Such a furious spirit was hardly ever discovered in the populace upon such an occasion. They generally look on blood with tenderness, and behold even the stroke of Justice with tears; but so far were they from it in this case that had a reprieve really come, 'tis highly questionable whether the prisoner could ever have been brought back with safety, it being far more likely that as they wounded him dangerously in the head in his passage to Tyburn, they would have knocked him on the head outright, if any had attempted to have brought mm back.

Before I part with Mr. Wild, 'tis requisite that I inform you in regard to his wives, or those who were called his wives, concerning whom so much noise has been made. His first was a poor honest woman who contented herself to live at Wolverhampton, with the son she had by him, without ever putting him to any trouble, or endeavouring to come up to Town to take upon her the style and title of Madam Wild, which the last wife he lived with did with the greatest affection. The next whom he thought fit to dignify with the name of his consort, was the afore-mentioned Mrs. Milliner, with whom he continued in very great intimacy after they lived separately, and by her means carried on the first of his trade in detecting stolen goods. The third one was Betty Man, a woman of the town in her younger days, but so suddenly struck with horror by a Romish priest that she turned Papist; and as she appeared in her heart exceedingly devout and thoroughly penitent for all her sins, it is to be hoped such penitence might merit forgiveness, however erroneous the principle might be of that Church in the communion of which she died. Wild ever retained such an impression of the sanctity of this woman after her decease, and so great veneration for



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her, that he ordered his body to be buried next hers in Pancras Churchyard, which his friends saw accordingly performed, about two o'clock in the morning after his execution.²⁰⁷

The next of Mr. Wild's sultana's was Sarah Perrin, *alias* Graystone, who survived him; then there was Judith Nunn, by whom he had a daughter, who at the time of his decease might be about ten years old, both mother and daughter being then living. The sixth and last was no less celebrated as Mrs. or Madam Wild, than he was remarkable by the style of Wild the Thief-catcher, or, by way of irony, of Benefit Jonathan. Before her first marriage this remarkable damsel was known by the name of Mary Brown, afterwards by that of Mrs. Dean, being wife to Skull Dean who was executed about the year 1716 or 1717 for housebreaking. Some malicious people have reported that Jonathan was accessory to hanging him merely for the sake of the reward, and the opportunity of taking his relict, who, whatever regard she might have for her first husband, is currently reported to have been so much affected with the misfortunes that happened to the latter, that she twice attempted to make away with herself, after she had the news of his being under sentence of death. However, by this his last lady, he left no children, and but two by his three other wives were living at the time of his decease. As to the person of the man, it was homely to the greatest degree. There was something remarkably villainous in his face, which nature had imprinted in stronger terms than perhaps she ever did upon any other; however, he was strong and active, a fellow of prodigious boldness and resolution, which made the pusillanimity shown at his death more remarkable. In his lifetime he was not at all shy in owning his profession, but on the contrary bragged of it upon all occasions; into which perhaps he was led by that ridiculous respect which was paid him, and the meanness of spirit some persons of distinction were guilty of in talking to him freely.

Common report has swelled the number of malefactors executed through his means to no less than one hundred and twenty; certain it is that they were very numerous in reality as in his own reckoning. The most remarkable of them were these: White, Thurland, and Dunn, executed for the murder of Mrs. Knap, and robbing Thomas Mickletwait, Esq.; James Lincoln and Robert Wilkinson, for robbing and murdering Peter Martin, the Chelsea Pensioner (but it must be noted that they denied the murder even with their last breath); James Shaw, convicted by Jonathan, for the murder of Mr. Pots, though he had been apprehended by others; Humphrey Angier, who died for robbing Mr. Lewin, the City Marshal; John Levee and Matthew Flood, for robbing the Honourable Mr. Young and Colonel Cope, of a watch and other things of value; Richard Oakey, for robbing of Mr. Betts, in Fig Lane; John Shepherd and Joseph Blake, for breaking the house of Mr. Kneebone; with many others, some of which, such as John Malony and Val Carrick, were of an older date.

It has been said that there was a considerable sum of money due to him for his share in the apprehension of several felonies at the very time of his death, which happened, as I have told you, at Tyburn, on Monday, the 24th day of May, 1725; he being then about forty-two years of age.

207. Soon after burial his body was disinterred and the head and body separated. Wild's skull and the skeleton of his trunk were exhibited publicly as late as 1860.



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August 11, day: On a day subsequent to this one, Joseph Middleton and John Price, housebreakers and thieves, were hanged together on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²⁰⁸

Amongst the numbers of unhappy wretches who perish at the gallows, most pity seems due to those who, pressed by want and necessity, commit in the bitter exigence of starving, some illegal act purely to support life. But this is a very scarce case, and such a one as I cannot in strictness presume to say that I have hitherto met with in all the loads of papers I have turned over to this purpose, though as the best motive to excite compassion, and consequently to obtain mercy, it is made very often a pretence.

Joseph Middleton was the son of a very poor, though honest, labouring man in the county of Kent, near Deptford, who did all that was in his power to bring up his children. This unfortunate son was taken off his hand by an uncle, a gardener, who brought up the boy to his own business, and consequently to labour hard enough, which would, to an understanding person, appear no such very great hardship where a man had continually been inured to it even from his cradle, and had neither capacity nor the least probability of attaining anything better. Yet such an intolerable thing did it seem to Middleton that he resolved at any cost to be rid of it, and to purchase an easier way of spending his days.

In order to this, he very wisely chose to go aboard a man-of-war then bound for the Baltic. He was in himself a stupid, clumsy fellow, and the officers and seamen in the ship treated him so harshly, the fatigue he went through was so great, and the coldness of the climate so pinching to him, that he who so impatiently wished to be rid of the country work, now wished as earnestly to return thereto. Therefore, when on the return of Sir John Norris, the ship he was in was paid off and discharged, he was in an ecstasy of joy thereat, and immediately went down again to settle hard to labour as he had done before, experience having convinced him that there were many more hardships sustained in one short ramble than in a staid though laborious life.

In order, as is the common phrase, to settle in the world, he married a poor woman, by whom he had two children, and thereby made her as unhappy as himself; what he was able to earn by his hands falling much short of what was necessary to keep house in the way he lived, this reduced him to such narrowness of circumstances that he was obliged (as he would have it believed) to take illegal methods for support.

His own blockish and dastardly temper, as it had prevented his ever doing good in any honest way, so it as effectually put it out of his power to acquire anything considerable by the rapine he committed; for as he wanted spirit to go into a place where there was immediate danger, so his companions, who did the act while he scouted about to see if anybody was coming, and to give them notice, when they divided the booty gave him just what they thought fit, and keep the rest to themselves. He had gone on in this miserable way for a considerable space, and yet was able to acquire very little, his wants being very near as great while he robbed every night, as they were when he laboured every day, so that in the exchange he got nothing but danger into the

208. LIVES OF THE MOST REMARKABLE CRIMINALS WHO HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED FOR MURDER, THE HIGHWAY, HOUSEBREAKING, STREET ROBBERIES, COINING OR OTHER OFFENCES / COLLECTED FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS AND AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS, AND PUBLISHED IN 1735 / Edited by Arthur L. Hayward



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bargain.

At last, he was apprehended for breaking into the house of John de Pais and Joseph Gomeroon, and taking there jewels and other things to a great value, though his innocence in not entering the place would sufficiently excuse him, for he pleaded at his trial that he was so far from breaking the house that he was not so much as on the ground of the prosecutor when it was broke, but on the contrary, as appeared by their own evidence, on the other side of the way. But it being very fully proved by the evidence that Joseph Middleton belonged to the gang, that he waited there only to give them an intelligence, and shared in the money they took, the jury found him guilty.

While he lay under conviction, he did his utmost to understand what was necessary for him to do in order to salvation. He applied himself with the utmost diligence to praying God to instruct him and enlighten his understanding, that he might be able to improve by his sufferings and reap a benefit from the chastisements of his Maker. In this frame of mind he continued with great steadiness and calmness till the time of his execution, at which he showed some fear and confusion, as the sight of such a death is apt to create even in the stoutest and best prepared breast. This Joseph Middleton, at the time of his exit, was in about the fortieth year of his age.

A profligate life naturally terminates in misery, and according unto the vices which it has most pursued, so are its punishments suited unto it. Drunkenness besots the understanding, ruins the constitution, and leaves those addicted to it in the last stages of life, in want and misery, equally destitute of all necessaries, and incapable to procure them. Lewdness and lust after loose women enervate both the vigour of the brain and strength of the body, induce weaknesses that anticipate old age, and afflict the declining sinner with so many evils, as makes him a burden to himself and a spectacle to others. But if, for the support of all these, men fall into rapacious and wicked courses, plundering others who have frugally provided for the supply of life, in order to indulge their own wicked inclinations, then indeed the Law of society interposes generally before the Law of Nature, and cuts off with a sudden and ignominious death those who would otherwise probably have fallen by the fruits of their own sins.

This malefactor, John Price, was one of these wretched people who act as if they thought life was given them only to commit wickedness and satiate their several appetites with gross impurities, without considering how far they offend either against the institutions of God or the laws of the land. It does not appear that this fellow ever followed any employment that looked like honesty, except when he was at sea. The terrors of a sick-bed alarmed even a conscience so hardened as Price's, and the effects of an ill-spent life appeared so plainly in the weak condition he found himself in, that he made, as he afterwards owned, the most solemn vows of amendment, if through the favour of Providence he recovered his former health. To this he was by the goodness of God restored, but the resolutions he made on that condition were totally forgotten. As soon as he returned home, he sought afresh the company of those loose women and those abandoned wretches who by the inconveniences into which they had formerly led him, had obliged him to seek for shelter by a long



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voyage at sea.

What little money he had received when the ship was paid off, was quickly lavished away, so that on the 11th of August, 1725, he with two others named Cliffe and Sparks, undertook, after having well weighed the attempt, to enter the house of the Duke of Leeds by moving the sash, and so plunder it of what was to be got. By their assistance Cliffe got in at the window, and afterwards handed out a cloak, hat, and other things to his companions Sparks and Price, but they were all immediately apprehended. Cliffe made an information by which he discovered the whole fact, and it was fully proved by Mr. Bealin that Price, when first apprehended, owned that he had been with Cliffe and Sparks. Upon the whole the jury found him guilty, upon which he freely acknowledged the justice of their verdict at the bar. All the time he lay under conviction he behaved himself as a person convinced of his own unworthiness of life, and therefore repined not at the justice of that sentence which condemned him to death, though in his behaviour before his trial there had appeared much of that rough and boisterous disposition usual in fellows of no education, who have long practised such ways of living. Yet long before his death he laid aside all that ferocity of mind, appearing calm and easy under the weight of his sufferings, and so much dissatisfied with the trouble he had met with in the world that he appeared scarce desirous of remaining in it. He was not able himself to give any account of his age, but as far as could be guessed from his looks, he might be about thirty when executed, which was at the same time with the malefactor last mentioned; Cliffe, whose information had hanged him, being reprieved.

Amongst the ordinary kind of people in England, debauchery is so common, and the true principles of honesty and a just life so little understood, that we need not be surprised at the numerous sessions we see so often held in a year at the Old Bailey, and the multitudes which in consequence of them are yearly executed at Tyburn. Fraud, which is only robbery within the limits of the Law, is at this time of day (especially amongst the common people) thought a sign of wit, and esteemed as fair a branch of their calling as their labours. Mechanics of all sorts practise it without showing any great concern to hide it, especially from their own family, in which, on the contrary, they encourage and admire it. Instead of being reprov'd for their first essays in dishonesty, their children are called smart boys, and their tricks related to neighbours and visitors as proofs of their genius and spirit. Yet when the lads proceed in the same way, after being grown up a little, nothing too harsh, or too severe can be inflicted upon them in the opinion of these parents, as if cheating at chuck, and filching of marbles were not as real crimes in children of eight years old, as stealing of handkerchiefs and picking of pockets, in boys of thirteen or fourteen. But with the vulgar, 'tis the punishment annexed to it, and not the crime, that is dreaded; and the commandments against stealing and murder would be as readily broke as those against swearing and Sabbath-breaking, if the civil power had not set up a gallows at the end of them. John Price, of whom we are now to speak, has very little preserved concerning him in the memoirs that lie before me; all that I am able to say of him is that by employment he was a



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sailor. In the course of his voyages he had addicted himself to gratifying such inclinations as he had towards drink or women, without the least concern as to the consequences, here or hereafter; he said, indeed, that falling sick at Oporto, in Portugal, and becoming very weak and almost incapable of moving himself, the fear of death gave him apprehensions of what the Justice of God might inflict on him through the number and heinousness of his sins. This at last made so great an impression on his mind that he put up a solemn vow to God of thorough repentance and amendment, if it should please Him to raise him once more from the bed of sickness, and restore him again to his former health. But when he had recovered, his late good intentions were forgotten, and the evil examples he had before his eyes of his companions, who, according to the custom of Portugal, addicted themselves to all sorts of lewdness and debauchery, prevailed. He returned like the dog to the vomit, and his last state was worse than his first.

On his return into England he had still a desire towards the same sensual enjoyments, was ever coveting debauches of drink, accompanied with the conversation of lewd women; but caring little for labour, and finding no honest employment to support these expenses into which his lusts obliged him to run, he therefore abandoned all thoughts of honesty, and took to thieving as the proper method of supporting him in his pleasures. When this resolution was once taken, it was no difficult thing to find companions to engage with him, houses to receive him, and women to caress him. On the contrary, it seemed difficult for him to choose out of the number offered, and as soon as he had made the choice, he and his associates fell immediately into the practice of that miserable trade they had chosen.

How long they continued to practice it before they fell into the hands of Justice, I am not able to say, but from several circumstances it seems probable that there was no long time intervening; for Price, in company with Sparks and James Cliff, attempted the house of the Duke of Leeds, and thrusting up the sash-window James Cliff was put into the parlour and handed out some things to Price and Sparks. But it seems they were seen by Mr. Best, and upon their being apprehended, Cliff confessed the whole affair, owned that it was concerted between them, and that himself handed out the things to his companions, Price and Sparks.

At the ensuing sessions, Price was tried for that offence, and upon the evidence of Mr. Best, the confession of James Cliff, and Benjamin Bealin deposing that he himself, at the time of his being apprehended, acknowledged that he had been in company with Cliff and Sparks, the jury found him guilty, as they did Cliff also, upon his own confession. Under sentence he seemed to have a just sense of his preceding wicked life, and was under no small apprehensions concerning his repentance, since it was forced and not voluntary. However, the Ordinary having satisfied his scruples of this sort, as far as he was able, recommended it to him without oppressing his conscience with curious fears and unnecessary scruples, to apply himself to prayer and other duties of a dying man. To this he seemed inclinable enough, but complained that James Cliff, who was in the condemned hold, prevented both him and the rest of the criminals from their duty, by extravagant speeches, wild and profane expressions, raving



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after the woman he had conversed with, and abusing everybody who came near him, which partly arose from the temper of that unhappy person, and was also owing to indisposition of body, as all the while he lay in the hole he was labouring under a high fever. Another great misfortune to Price, in the condition in which he was, consisted in his incapacity to supply the want of ministers through his incapacity of reading; however, he endeavoured to make up for it as well as he could by attending constantly at chapel, and not only behaving gravely at prayers, but listening attentively at sermon, by which means he constantly brought away a great part, and sometimes lost very little out of his memory of what he heard there.

In a word, all the criminals who were at this time under sentence (excepting Cliff) seemed perfectly disposed to make a just use of that time which the peculiar clemency of the English Law affords to malefactors, that they may make their peace with God, and by their sufferings under the hands of men, prevent eternal condemnation. They expressed, also, a great satisfaction that their crimes were of an ordinary kind and occasioned no staring and whispering when they came to chapel, a thing they were very much afraid of, inasmuch as it would have hindered their devotions, and discomposed the frame of their minds.

At the same time with Price, there lay under condemnation one Woolridge, who was convicted for entering the house of Elizabeth Fell, in the night time, with a felonious intent to take away the goods of Daniel Brooks; but it seems he was apprehended before he could so much as open the chest he had designed to rob. The thieves in Newgate usually take upon them to be very learned in the Law, especially in respect to what relates to evidence, and they had persuaded this unhappy man that no evidence which could be produced against him would affect his life. There is no doubt, but his conviction came therefore upon him with greater surprise, and certain it is that such practices are of the utmost ill consequence to those unhappy malefactors. However, when he found that death was inevitable, by degrees he began to reconcile himself thereto; and as he happened to be the only one amongst the criminals who could read, so with great diligence he applied himself to supply that deficiency in his fellow-prisoners. Even after he was seized with sickness, which brought him exceedingly low, he ceased not to strive against the weakness of the body, that he might do good to his fellow-convicts.

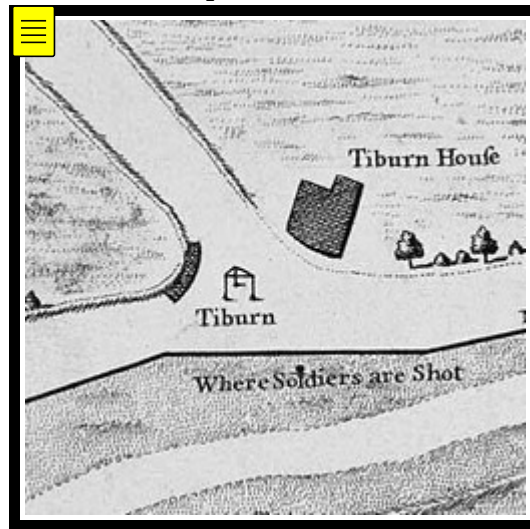
In a word, no temptation to drink, nor the desire of pleasing those who vend it²⁰⁹, circumstances which too often induce others in that condition to be guilty of strange enormities, ever had force enough to obtrude on them more than was necessary to support life, and to keep up such a supply of spirits as enabled them to perform their duties; from whence it happened that the approach of death did not affect them with any extraordinary fear, but both suffered with resignation on the same day with

209. The gaolers and others in prisons had an interest in furnishing prisoners with liquor and not only looked askance at those who refused but made it highly uncomfortable for all who avoided debauchery.

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the former criminals at Tyburn.



September 13, Monday (Old Style): John Little, a housebreaker and thief, was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²¹⁰

The papers which I have in relation to this malefactor speak nothing with regard to his parents and education. The first thing that I with concerning him is his being at sea, where he was at the time my Lord Torrington, then Sir George Byng, went up the Mediterranean, as also in my Lord Cobham's expedition to Vigo; and in these expeditions he got such a knack of plundering that he could never bring himself afterwards to thinking it was a sin to plunder anybody. This wicked principle he did not fail to put in practice by stealing everything he could lay his hands on, when he afterwards went into Sweden in a merchant-ship. Indeed, there is too common a case for men who have been inured to robbing and maltreating an enemy, now and then to receive the same talents at home, and make free with the subjects of their own Sovereign as they did with those of the enemy. Weak minds sometimes do not really so well apprehend the difference, but thief under little apprehension of sin, provided they can escape the gallows; others of better understanding acquire such an appetite to rapine that they are not afterwards able to lay it aside; so that I cannot help observing that it would be more prudent for officers to encourage their men to do their duty against the enemy from generous motives of serving their country and vindicating its rights, rather than proposing the hopes of gain, and the reward arising from destroying those unhappy wretches who fall under their power. But enough of this, and perhaps too much here; let us return again to him of whom we are now speaking.

When he came home into England, he fell into bad company, particularly of John Bewle, *alias* Hanley, and one Belcher, who it is to be supposed inclined him by idle discourse first to look upon robbing as a very entertaining employment, in which they met with abundance of pleasure, and might, with a little care, avoid all the danger. This was language very likely to

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work upon Little's disposition, who had a great inclination to all sorts of debauchery, and no sort of religious principles to check him. Over above all this he was unhappily married to a woman of the same ways of living, one who got her bread by walking the streets and picking of pockets. Therefore, instead of persuading her husband to quit such company as she saw him inclined to follow, on the contrary she encouraged, prompted and offered her assistance in the expedition she knew they were going about.

Thus Little's road to destruction lay open for him to rush into without any let or the least check upon his vicious inclinations.

He and his wicked companions became very busy in the practice of their employment. They disturbed most of the roads near London, and were particularly good customers to Sadler's Wells, Belsize,²¹¹ and the rest of the little places of junketting and entertainment which are most frequented in the neighbourhood of this Metropolis. Their method upon such occasions was to observe who was drunkest, and to watch such persons when they came out, suffering them to walk a little before them till they came to a proper place; then jostling them and picking a quarrel with them, they fell to fighting, and in conclusion picked their pockets, snatched their hats and wigs, or took any other methods that were the most likely to obtain something wherewith to support their riots in which they spent every night.

At last, finding their incomings not so large as they expected, they took next to housebreaking, in which they had found somewhat better luck. But their expenses continuing still too large for even their numerous booties to supply them, they were continually pushed upon hazarding their lives, and hardly had any respite from the crimes they committed, which, as they grew numerous, made them the more known and consequently increased their danger, those who make it their business to apprehend such people having had intelligence of most of them, which is generally the first step in the road to Hyde Park Corner.²¹²

It is remarkable that the observation which most of all shocks thieves, and convinces them at once both of the certainty and justice of a Providence is this, that the money which they amass by such unrighteous dealings never thrives with them; that though they thief continually, they are, notwithstanding that, always in want, pressed on every side with fears and dangers, and never at liberty from the uneasy apprehensions of having incurred the displeasure of God, as well as run themselves into the punishments inflicted by the law. To these general terrors there was added, to Little, the distracting fears of a discovery from the rash and impetuous tempers of his associates, who were continually defrauding one another in their shares of the booty, and then quarrelling, fighting, threatening, and what not, till Little sometimes at the expense of his own allotment, reconciled and put them in humour.

Nor were his fatal conjectures on this head without cause; for Bewle, though as Little always declared he had drawn him into such practices, put him into an information he made for the sake of procuring a pardon. A few days after, Little was taken into custody, and at the next sessions indicted for breaking open the house of one Mr. Deer, and taking from thence several parcels

211. See note, page 243.

212. That is, Tyburn tree.



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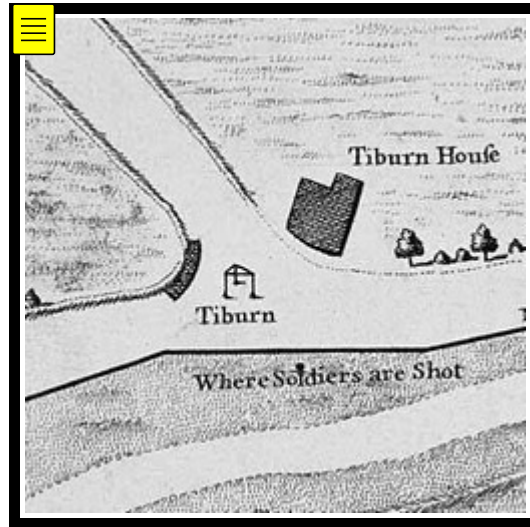
of goods expressed in the indictment. Upon this trial the prosecutor swore to the loss of his goods and Bewle, who had been a confederate in the robbery, gave testimony as to the manner in which they were taken. As he was conscious of his guilt, Little made a very poor defence, pretending that he was utterly unacquainted with this Bewle, hoping that if he could persuade the jury to that, the prosecutor's evidence (as it did not affect him personally) might not convict him. But his hope was vain, for Bewle confirmed what he said by so many circumstances that the jury gave credit to his testimony, and thereupon found the prisoners guilty. Little, though he entertained scarce any hopes of success, moved the Court earnestly to grant transportation; but as they gave him no encouragement upon the motion, so it must be acknowledged that he did not amuse himself with any vain expectations.

During the time he remained under conviction, he behaved with great marks of penitence, assisted constantly at the public devotions in the chapel, and often prayed fervently in the place where he was confined; he made no scruple of owning the falsehood of what he had asserted upon his trial, and acknowledging the justice of that sentence which doomed him to death. He seemed to be under a very great concern lest his wife, who was addicted to such practices, should follow him to the same place; in order to prevent which, as far as it lay in his power, he wrote to her in the most pressing terms he was able, intreating her to take notice of that melancholy condition in which he then lay, miserable through the wants under which he suffered, and still more miserable from the apprehensions of a shameful death, and the fear of being plunged also into everlasting torment. Having finished this letter, he began to withdraw his thoughts as much as possible from this world, and to fix them wholly where they ought to have been placed throughout his life; praying to God for His assistance, and endeavouring to render himself worthy of it by a sincere repentance. In fine, as he had been enormously wicked through the course of his life, so he was extraordinarily penitent throughout the course of his misfortunes, deeply affected from the apprehensions of temporal punishment, but apparently more afflicted with the sense of his sins, and the fear of that punishment which the justice of Almighty God might inflict upon him. Therefore, to the day of his execution, he employed every moment in crying for mercy, and with wonderful piety and resignation submitted to that death which the law had appointed for his offences; on the 13th of September, 1725, at Tyburn. As to his own age, that I am not able to say anything

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of, it not being mentioned in the papers before me.



November 3: Foster Snow was hanged for murder on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²¹³

There cannot be anything more dangerous in our conduct through human life, than a too ready compliance with any inclination of the mind, whether it be lustful or of an irascible nature. Either transports us on the least check into wicked extravagancies, which are fatal in their consequences, and suddenly overwhelm us with both shame and ruin. There is hardly a page in any of these volumes, but carries in it examples which are so many strong proofs of the veracity of this observation. But with respect to the criminal we are now speaking of, he is a yet more extraordinary case than any of the rest; and therefore I shall in the course of my relation, make such remarks as to me seem more likely to render his misfortunes, and my account of them, useful to my readers.

Foster Snow was the son of very honest and reputable parents, who gave him an education suitable to their station in life, and which was also the same they intended to breed him up to, viz., that of a gardener, in which capacity, or as a butler, he served abundance of persons of quality, with an untainted reputation. About fourteen years before the time of his death, he married and set up an alehouse, wherein his conduct was such that he gained the esteem and respect of his neighbours, being a man who was without any great vices, except only passions, in which he too much indulged himself. Whenever he was in drink, he would launch out into unaccountable extravagancies both in words and actions. However, it is likely that this proceeded in a great measure from family uneasiness, which undoubtedly had for a long time discomposed him before committing that murder for which he died. Though, when sober, he might have wisdom enough to conceal his resentment, yet when the fumes of wine had clouded his reason, he (as it is no uncommon case) gave vent to his passion, and treated with undistinguished surliness all who came in his way.

Now, as to the source of these domestic discontents, it is

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apparent from the papers I have that they were partly occasioned by family mismanagement, and partly from the haughty and impudent carriage of the unfortunate person who fell by his hands; for it seems the woman who Snow married had a daughter by a former husband This daughter she brought home to live with the deceased Mr. Snow, who was so far from being angry therewith, or treating her with the coldness which is usual to fathers-in-law, that, on the contrary, he gave her the sole direction of his house, put everything into her hands, and was so fond of the young daughter she had, that greater tenderness could not have been shown to the child if she had been his own.

It seems the deceased Mr. Rawlins had found a way to ingratiate himself with both the mother and the daughter, but especially the latter, so that although his circumstances were not extraordinary, they gave him very extensive credit; and as he had a family of children, they sometimes suffered them to get little matters about their house; and thereby so effectually entailed them upon them, that at last they were never out of it. Mr. Snow, it seems, took umbrage at this, and spared not to tell Mr. Rawlins flatly, that he did not desire he should come thither, which was frequently answered by the other in opprobrious and under-valuing terms, which gave Mr. Snow uneasiness enough, considering that the man at the same time owed him money; and this carriage on both sides having continued for a pretty while, and broken out in several instances, it at last made Mr. Snow so uneasy that he could not forbear expressing his resentment to his wife and family. But it had little effect, they went on still at the same rate; Mr. Rawlins was frequently at the house, his children received no less assistance there than before, and in short, everything went on in such a manner that poor Mr. Snow had enough to aggravate the suspicions which he entertained.

At last it unfortunately happened that he, having got a little more liquor in his head than ordinary, when Mr. Rawlins came into the house, he asked him for money, and upbraided him with his treatment in very harsh terms, to which the other making no less gross replies, it kindled such a resentment in this unfortunate man that, after several threats which sufficiently expressed the rancour of his disposition, he snatched up a case knife, and pursuing the unfortunate Mr. Rawlins, gave him therewith a mortal wound, of which he instantly died. For this fact he was apprehended and committed to Newgate.

At the next sessions he was indicted, first for the murder of Thomas Rawlins, by giving him with a knife a mortal wound of the breadth of an inch, and of the depth of seven inches, whereby he immediately expired; he was a second time indicted on the Statute of Stabbing²¹⁴; and a third time also on the coroner's inquest, for the same offence. Upon each of the which indictments the evidence was so dear that the jury, notwithstanding some witnesses which he called to his reputation, and which indeed deposed that he was a very civil and honest, and peaceable neighbour, found him guilty on them all, and he thereupon received sentence of death.

In passing this sentence, the then deputy-recorder, Mr. Faby, took particular notice of the heinousness of the crime of murder, and expatiated on the equity of the Divine Law, whereby it was required that he who had shed man's blood, by man should

214. See note, page 218.



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his blood be shed; and from thence took occasion to warn the prisoner from being misled into any delusive hopes of pardon, since the nature of his offence was such as he could not reasonably expect it from the Royal breast, which had ever been cautious of extending mercy to those who had denied it unto their fellow-subjects.

Under sentence of death this unhappy man behaved himself very devoutly, and with many signs of true penitence. He was, from the first, very desirous to acquaint himself with the true nature of that crime which he had committed, and finding it at once repugnant to religion, and contrary to even the dictates of human nature, he began to loath himself and his own cruelty, crying out frequently when alone. *Oh! Murder! Murder! it is the guilt of that great sin which distracts my soul.* When at chapel he attended with great devotion to the duties of prayer and service there; but whenever the Commandments came to be repeated, at the words, *Thou shalt do no murder*, he would tremble, turn pale, shed tears, and with a violent agitation of spirit pray to God to pardon him that great offence.

To say truth never any man seemed to have a truer sense or a more quick feeling of his crimes, than this unhappy man testified during his confinement. His heart was so far from being hardened, as is too commonly the case with those wretches who fall into the same condition, that he, on the contrary, afflicted himself continually and without ceasing, as fearing that all his penitence would be but too little in the sight of God, for destroying His creature and taking away a life which he could not restore. Amidst these apprehensions, covered with terrors and sinking under the weight of his afflictions, he received spiritual assistance of the Ordinary and other ministers, with much meekness, and it is to be hoped with great benefit; since they encouraged him to rely on the Mercy of God, and not by an unseasonable diffidence to add the throwing away his own soul by despair, to the taking away the life of another in his wrath.

What added to the heavy load of his sorrows, was the unkindness of his wife, who neither visited him in his misfortunes, and administered but indifferently to his wants. It seems the quarrels they had, had so embittered them towards one another that very little of that friendship was to be seen in either, which makes the marriage bond easy and the yoke of matrimony light. His complaints with respect to her occasioned some enquiries as to whether he were not jealous of her person; such suspicions being generally the cause of married people's greatest dislikes. What he spoke on this head was exceedingly modest, far from that rancour which might have been expected from a man whom the world insinuated had brought himself to death by a too violent resentment of what related to her conduit; though no such thing appeared from what he declared to those who attended him. He said he was indeed uneasy at the too large credit she gave to the deceased, but that it was her purse only that he entertained suspicions of, and that as he was a dying man, he had no ill thought of her in any other way. But with regard to his daughter, he expressed a very great dislike to her behaviour, and said her conduct had been such as forced her husband to leave her; and that though he had treated her with the greatest kindness and affection, yet such was the untowardness of her disposition that he had received but very

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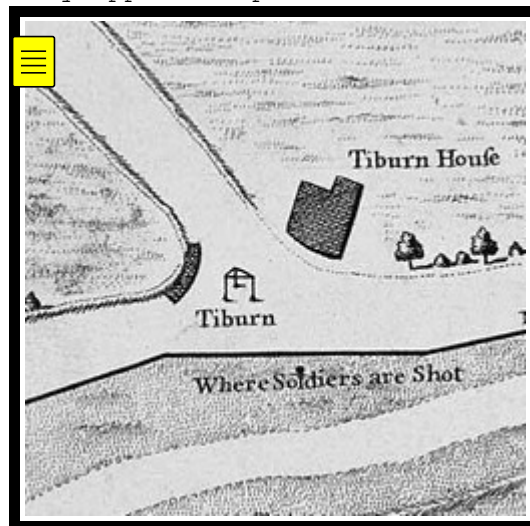
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sorry returns. However, to the last he expressed great uneasiness lest after his decease his little grand-daughter-in-law might suffer in her education, of which he had intended to take the greatest care; his dislike to the mother being far enough from giving him any aversion to the child. It seems from the time he had taken it home he had placed his affections strongly upon it, and did not withdraw them even to the hour of his departure.

As death grew near, he was afflicted with a violent disease, which reduced him so low that he was incapable of coming to the chapel; and when it abated a little it yet left his head so weak that he seemed to be somewhat distracted, crying out in chapel the Sunday before he died, like one grievously disturbed in mind, and expressing the greatest agonies under the apprehension of his own guilt, and the strict justice of Him to whom he was shortly to answer. However, he forgave with all outward appearance of sincerity, all who had been in any degree accessory to his death.

Being carried in a mourning coach to the place of execution, he appeared somewhat more composed than he had been for some time before. He told the people that, except the crime for which he died, he had never been guilty of anything which might bring him within the fear of meeting with such a death. And in this disposition of mind he suffered at Tyburn, on the 3rd day of November, 1725, being about fifty-five years of age. Immediately after his death a paper was published under the title of his case, full of circumstances tending to extenuate his guilt but such as in no way appeared upon his trial.



The Court of Old Bailey at the next sessions taking this paper into their consideration, were of opinion that it reflected highly on the justice of those who tried him, and therefore ordered the printer to attend them to answer for this offence. Accordingly he attended the next day, and being told that the Court was highly displeased with his publishing a thing of that nature, in order to misrepresent the justice of their proceedings, and that they were ready to punish him for his contempt in the aforesaid publication of such a libel; Mr. Leech thought fit to prevent it by making his most humble submission, and asking pardon of the Court for his offence, assuring them that it proceeded only from inadvertency, and promising never



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to print anything of the like sort again. Whereupon the Court were graciously pleased to dismiss him only with a reprimand, and to admonish others of the same profession, that they should be cautious for the future of doing anything which might reflect in any degree upon the proceedings had before them.

John Whalebone, *alias* Welbone, a thief, etc., was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²¹⁵

This malefactor was born in the midst of the City of London, in the Parish of St. Dionis Back Church. His parents were persons in but mean circumstances, who however strained them to the uttermost to give this their son a tolerable education. They were especially careful to instruct him in the principles of religion, and were therefore under an excessive concern when they found that neglecting all other business, he endeavoured only to qualify himself for the sea. However, finding this inclinations so strong that way, they got him on board a man-of-war, and procured such a recommendation to the captain that he was treated with great civility during the voyage, and if he had had any inclinations to have done well, he might in all probability have been much encouraged. But after several voyages to sea, he took it as strongly in his head to go no more as he had before to go, whether his parents would or no.

He then cried old clothes about the streets; but not finding any great encouragement in that employment, he was easily drawn in by some wicked people of his acquaintance, to take what they called the shortest method of getting money, which was in plain English to go a-thieving. He had very ill-luck in his new occupation, for in six weeks' time, after his first setting out on the information of one of his companions, he was apprehended, tried, convicted, and ordered for transportation.

It was his fortune to be delivered to a planter in South Carolina, who employed him to labour in his plantations, afforded him good meat and drink, and treated him rather better than our farmers treat their servants here. Which leads me to say something concerning the usage such people met with, when carried as the Law directs to our plantations, in order to rectify certain gross mistakes; as if Englishmen abroad had totally lost all humanity, and treated their fellow-creatures and fellow-countrymen as slaves, or as brutes.

The Colonies on the Continent of America are those which now take off the greatest part of those who are transported for felony from Britain, most of the Island Colonies having long ago refused to receive them. The countries into which they now go, trading chiefly in such kind of commodities as are produced in England (unless it be tobacco), the employment, therefore, of persons thus sent over, is either in attending husbandry, or in the culture of the plant which we have before mentioned. They are thereby exposed to no more hardships than they would have been obliged to have undergone at home, in order to have got an honest livelihood, so that unless their being obliged to work for their living is to pass for great hardship, I do not conceive where else it can lie, since the Law, rather than shed the blood of persons for small offences, or where they appear not to have gone on for a length of time in them, by its lenity changes the

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punishment of death into sending them amongst their own countrymen at a distance from their ill-disposed companions, who might probably seduce them to commit the same offences again. It directs also, that this banishment shall be for such a length of time as may be suitable to the guilt of the crime, and render it impracticable for them on their return to meet with their old gangs and acquaintance, making by this means a happy mixture both of justice and clemency, dealing mildly with them for the offence already committed and endeavouring to put it ever out of their own power by fresh offences, to draw a heavier judgment upon themselves.

But to return to this Whalebone. The kind usage of his master, the easiness of the life which he lived, and the certainty of death if he attempted to return home, could not all of them prevail upon him to lay aside the thoughts of coming back again to London, and there giving himself up to those sensual delights which he had formerly enjoyed. Opportunities are seldom wanting where men incline to make use of diem; especially to one who had been bred as he was to the sea. So that in a year and a half after his being settled there, he took such ways of recommending himself to a certain captain as induced him to bring him home, and set him safe on shore near Harwich. He travelled on foot up to London, and was in town but a very few days before being accidentally taken notice of by a person who knew him, he caused him to be apprehended, and at the next sessions at the Old Bailey, he was convicted of such illegal return, and ordered for execution.

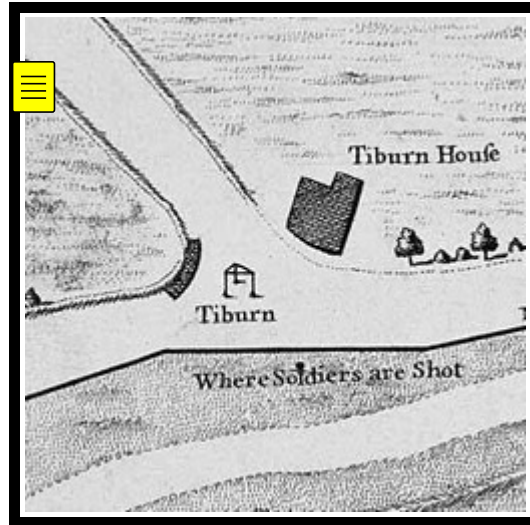
At first he pretended that he thought it no crime for a man to return to his own country, and therefore did not think himself bound to repent of that. Whatever arguments the Ordinary made use of to persuade him to sense of his guilt I know not. But because this is an error into which such people are very apt to fall; and as there want not some of the vulgar who take it for a great hardship, also making it one of those topics upon which they take occasion to harangue against the severity of a Law that they do not understand, I think it will not, therefore, be improper to explain it.

Transportation is a punishment whereby the British law commutes for offences which would otherways be capital, and therefore a contract is plainly presumed between every felon transported and the Court by whose authority he is ordered for transportation, that the said felon shall remain for such term of years as the Law directs, without returning into any of the King's European dominions; and the Court plainly acquaints the felon that if, in breach of his agreement, he shall so return, that in such case the contract shall be deemed void, and the capital punishment shall again take place. To say, then, that a person who enters into an agreement like this, and is perfectly acquainted with its conditions, knowing that no less than his life must be forfeited by the breach of them, and yet wilfully breaks them, to say that such a person as this is guilty of no offence, must in the opinion of every person of common understanding be the greatest absurdity that can be asserted; and to call that severity which only is the Law's taking its forfeit, is a very great impropriety, and proceeds from a foolish and unreasonable compassion. This I think so plain that nothing but prepossession or stupidity can hinder people from comprehending it.

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As to Whalebone, when death approached, he laid aside all these excuses and applied himself to what was much more material, the making a proper use of that little time which yet remained for repentance. He acknowledged all the crimes which he had committed in the former part of his life, and the justice of his sentence by which he had been condemned to transportation; and having warned the people at his execution to avoid of all things being led into ill company, he suffered with much seeming penitence, together with the afore-mentioned malefactors, at Tyburn, being then about thirty-eight years of age.



James Little, a footpad and highwayman, was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²¹⁶

James Little was a person descended from parents very honest and industrious, though of small fortune. They bred him up with all the care they were able, and when he came to a fit age put him out to an honest employment. But in his youth having taken peculiar fancy to his father's profession of a painter, he thereto attained in so great a degree as to be able to earn twelve or fifteen shillings in a week, when he thought fit to work hard. But that was very seldom, and he soon contracted such a hatred to working at all that associating with some wild young fellows, he kept himself continually drunk and mad, not caring what he did for money, so long as he supplied himself with enough to procure himself liquor.

Amongst the rest of those debauched persons with whom he conversed there was especially one Sandford, with whom he was

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peculiarly intimate. This fellow was a soldier, of a rude, loose disposition, who took a particular delight in making persons whom he conversed with as bad as himself. Having one Sunday, therefore, got Little into his company and drank him to such a pitch that he had scarce any sense, he next began to open to him a new method of living, as he called it, which was neither more than less than going on the highway. Little was so far gone in his cups that he did not so much as know what he was saying; at last Sandford rose up, and told him it was a good time now to go out upon their attempts. Upon this Little got up, too, and went out with him. They had not gone far before the soldier drew out a pair of pistols, and robbed two or three persons, while Little stood by, so very drunk that he was both unable to have hurt the persons, or to have defended himself, he said.

He robbed no more with the soldier, who was soon after taken up and [hanged](#) at the same time with Jonathan Wild, yet the sad fate of his companion had very little effect upon this unhappy lad. He fell afterwards into an acquaintance with some of John Shepherd's mistresses, and they continually dinning in his ears what great exploits that famous robber had committed, they unfortunately prevailed upon him to go again into the same way. But it was just as fatal to him as it had been to his companion; for Little having robbed one Lionel Mills in the open fields, put him in fear, and taken from him a handkerchief, three keys and sixteen shillings in money, not contented with this he pulled the turnover off from his neck hastily, and thereby nearly strangled him. For this offence the man pursued him with unwearied diligence, and he being taken up thereupon was quickly after charged with another robbery committed on one Mr. Evans, in the same month, who lost a cane, three keys, and twenty pounds in money. On these two offences he was severally convicted at the next sessions at the Old Bailey; and having no friends, could therefore entertain little expectation of pardon; especially considering how short a time it was since he received mercy before; being under sentence at the same time with the soldier before-mentioned and Jonathan Wild, and discharged then upon his making certain discoveries.

He pretended to much penitence and sorrow, but it did not appear in his behaviour, having been guilty of many levities when brought up to chapel, to which perhaps the crowds of strangers, who from an unaccountable humour desire to be present on these melancholy occasions, did not a little contribute; for at other times, it must be owned, he did not behave himself in any such manner, but seemed rather grave and willing to be instructed, of which he had indeed sufficient want, knowing very little, but of debauchery and vice. How ever, he reconciled himself by degrees to the thoughts of death, and behaved with tranquility enough during that small space that was left him to prepare for it. At the place of execution, he looked less astonished though he spoke much less to the people than the rest, and died seemingly composed, at the same time with the other malefactors Snow, and Whalebone, being at the time of his execution in his seventeenth year.

December 22, Wednesday: John Hamp, a footpad and highwayman, was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²¹⁷

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This unhappy person, John Hamp, was born of both honest and reputable parents in the parish of St. Giles-without-Cripplegate. They took abundance of pains in his education, and the lad seemed in his juvenile years to deserve it; he was a boy of abundance of spirit, and his friends at his own request put him out apprentice to a man whose trade it was to lath houses.

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



He did not stay out his time with him, but being one evening with some drunken companions at an alehouse near the Iron Gate by the Tower, three of them sailors on board a man-of-war (there being at that time a great want of men, a squadron being fitted out for the Baltic), these sailors, therefore, observing all the company very drunk, put into their heard to make an agreement for their going altogether this voyage to the North. Drink wrought powerfully in their favour, and in less than two hours time, Hamp and two other of his companions fell in with the sailors' motion, and talked of nothing but braving the Czar, and seeing the rarities of Copenhagen. The fourth man of Hamp's



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company stood out a little, but half an hour's rhodomantade and another bowl of punch brought him to a sailor, upon which one of the seamen stepped out, and gave notice to his lieutenant, who was drinking not far off, of the great service he had performed, the lieutenant was mightily pleased with Jack Tar's diligence, promised to pay the reckoning, and give each of them a guinea besides. A quarter of an hour after, the Lieutenant came in. The fellows were all so very drunk that he was forced to send for more hands belonging to the ship, who carried them to the long-boat, and there laying them down and covering them with men's coats, carried them on board that night.

There is no doubt that Hamp was very surprised when he found the situation he was in next morning, but as there was no remedy, he acquiesced without making any words, and so began the voyage cheerfully. Everybody knows that there was no fighting in these Baltic expeditions, so that all the hardships they had to combat with were those of the sea and the weather, which was indeed bad enough to people of an English constitution, who were very unfit to bear the extremity of cold.

While they lay before Copenhagen, an accident happened to one of Hamp's great acquaintance, which much affected him at that time, and it would have certainly have been happy for him if he had retained a just sense of it always. There was one Scrimgeour, a very merry debonair fellow, who used to make not only the men, but sometimes the officers merry on board the ship. He was particularly remarkable for being always full of money, of which he was no niggard, but ready to do anybody a service, and consequently was very far from being ill-beloved. This man being one day on shore and going to purchase some fresh provisions to make merry with amongst his companions, somebody took notice of a dollar that was in his hand, and Scrimgeour wanting change, the man readily offered to give smaller money. Scrimgeour thereupon gave him the dollar, and having afterwards bargained for what he wanted, was just going on board when a Danish officer with a file of men, came to apprehend him for a coiner. The fellow, conscious of his guilt, and suspicious of their intent, seeing the man amongst them who had changed the dollar, took to his heels, and springing into the boat, the men rowed him on board immediately, where as soon as he was got, Scrimgeour fancied himself out of all danger.

But in this he was terribly mistaken, for early the next morning three Danish commissaries came on board the admiral, and acquainted him that a seaman on board his fleet had counterfeited their coin to a very considerable value, and was yesterday detected in putting off a dollar; that thereupon an officer had been ordered to seize him, but that he had made his escape by jumping into the long-boat of such a ship, on board of which they were informed he was; they therefore desired he might be given up in order to be punished. The admiral declined that, but assured them that, upon due proof, he would punish him with the greatest severity on board; and having in the meanwhile dispatched a lieutenant and twenty men on board Scrimgeour's ship, with the Dane who detected him in putting off false money, he was secured immediately. Upon searching his trunk they found there near a hundred false dollars, so excellently made that none of the ship's crew could have distinguished them from the true.

He was immediately carried on board the admiral, who ordered him



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to be confined. Soon after a court-martial condemned him to be whipped from ship to ship, which was performed in the view of the Danish commissaries, with so much rigour that instead of expressing any notion of the Englishmen showing favour to their countryman upon any such occasion, they interposed to mitigate the fellow's sufferings, and humbly besought the admiral to omit lashing him on board three of the last ships. But in this request they were civilly refused, and the sentence which had been pronounced against him was executed upon him with the utmost severity; and it happening that Hamp was one of the persons who rowed him from ship to ship, it filled him with so much terror that he was scarce able to perform his duty; the wretch, himself, being made such a terrible spectacle of misery that not only Hamp, but all the rest who saw him after his last lashing, were shocked at the sight. And though it was shrewdly suspected that some others had been concerned with him, yet this example had such an effect that there were no more instances of any false money uttered from that time.

It was near five years after Hamp went first to sea that he began to think of returning home and working at his trade again; and after this thought had once got into his head, as is usual with such fellows, he was never easy until he had accomplished it. An opportunity offered soon after, the ship he belonged to being recalled and paid off. John had, however, very little to receive, the great delight he took in drinking made him so constant a customer to a certain officer in the ship that all was near spent by the time he came home. That, however, would have been no great misfortune had he stuck close to his employment and avoided those excesses of which he been formerly guilty. But alas! this was by no means in his power; he drank rather harder after his return than he had done before, and if he might be credited at that time when the Law allows what is said to pass for evidence, viz., in the agony of death, it was this love of drink that brought him, without any other crime, to his shameful end. The manner of which, I shall next fully relate.

Hamp, passing one night very drunk through the street, a woman, as is usual enough for common street-walkers to do, took him by the sleeve, and after some immodest discourse, asked him if he would not go into her mother's and take a pot with her. To this motion Hamp readily agreed, and had not been long in the house before he fell fast asleep in the company of James Bird (who was hanged with him), the woman who brought him into the house, and an old woman, whom she called her mother. By and by certain persons came who apprehended him and James Bird for being in a disorderly house; and having carried them to the watch house, they were there both charged with robbing and beating, in a most cruel and barbarous manner, a poor old woman near Rag Fair.²¹⁸

At the next Old Bailey sessions they were both tried for the fact, and the woman's evidence being positive against them, they were likewise convicted. Hamp behaved himself with great serenity while under sentence, declaring always that he had not the least knowledge of Bird until the time they were taken up; that in all his life time he had never acquired a halfpenny in a dishonest manner, and that although he had so much abandoned himself to drinking and other debaucheries, yet he constantly

218. This was in Rosemary Lane, Wellclose Square, Whitechapel—"a place near the Tower of London where old clothes and frippery are sold"—according to Pope.



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worked hard at his employment, in order to get money to support them. As to the robbery, he knew no more of it than the child unborn, that he readily believed all that the woman swore to be true, except her mistake in the persons; and that as to Bird, he could not take upon himself to say that he was concerned in it.

A divine of eminency in the Church, being so charitable as to visit him, spoke to him very particularly on this head; he told him that a jury of his countrymen on their oaths had unanimously found him guilty; that the Law upon such a conviction had appointed him to death, and that there appeared not the least hopes of his being anyways able to prevent it; that the denying of his guilt therefore, could not possibly be of any use to him here, but might probably ruin him for ever hereafter; that he would act wisely in this unfortunate situation into which his vices had brought him, if he would make an ample acknowledgment of the crime he had committed, and own the justice of Providence in bringing him to condemnation, instead of leaving the world in the assertion of a falsehood, and rushing into the presence of Almighty God with a lie in his mouth.

This exhortation was made publicly, and Hamp after having heard it with great attention, answered it in the following terms. *I am very sensible, sir, of your goodness in affording me this visit and am no less obliged to you for your pressing instances to induce me confession. But as I know the matter of fact, so I am sure, you would not press me to own it if it be not true; I aver that the charge against me is utterly false in every particular. I freely acknowledge that I have led a most dissolute life, and abandoned myself in working all kind of wickedness; but should I so satisfy some persons' importunities as to own also the justice of my present sentence, as arising from the truth of the fact, I should thereby become guilty of the very crime you warn me of, and go out of the world, indeed, in the very act of telling an untruth. Besides, of what use would it be to me, who have not the least hopes of pardon, to persist in a lie, merely for the sake of deceiving others, who may take my miserable death as a piece of news, and at the same time cheat myself in what is my last and greatest concern? I beg, therefore, to be troubled no more on this head, but to be left to make my peace with God for those sins which I have really committed, without being pressed to offend Him yet more, by taking upon me that which I really know nothing of.*

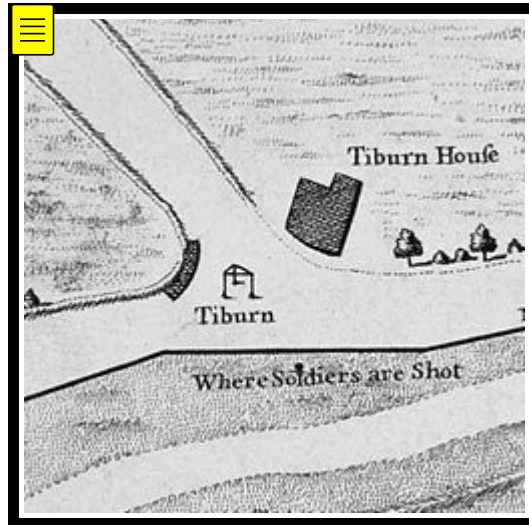
The Ordinary of Newgate hereupon went into the hold to examine Bird, who lay there in a sick and lamentable condition. He confirmed all that Hamp had said, declared he never saw him in his life before the night in which they were taken up, acknowledged himself to be a great sinner, and an old offender, that he had been often taken up before for thefts; but as to the present case, he peremptorily insisted on his innocence, and that he knew nothing of it.

At the place of execution, Hamp appeared very composed and with a cheerfulness that is seldom seen in the countenances of persons when they come to the tree, and are on the very verge of death. He spoke for a few moments to the people saying that he been a grievous sinner, much addicted to women, and much more to drinking; that for these crimes, he thought the Justice of God righteous in bringing him to a shameful death; but as to assaulting the woman in Rag Fair, he again protested his

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innocence, and declared he never committed any robbery whatsoever, desired the prayers of the people in his last moments, and then applied himself to some short private devotions. He resigned himself with much calmness to his fate, on Wednesday, the 22nd of December, 1725, at Tyburn, being then in the twenty-fifth year of his age. Bird confirmed, as well as the craziness of his distempered head would give him leave, the truth of what Hamp had said.



John Austin, a footpad, John Foster, a housebreaker, and Richard Scurrier, a Shoplifter, were [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²¹⁹

Amongst the number of those extraordinary events which may be remarked in the course of these melancholy memoirs of those who have fallen martyrs to sin, and victims to justice, there is scarce anything more remarkable than the finding a man who hath led an honest and reputable life, till he hath attained the summit of life, and then, without abandoning himself to any notorious vices that may be supposed to lead him into rapine and stealth in order to support him, to take himself on a sudden to robbing on the highway, and to finish a painful and industrious life by a violent and shameful death. Yet this is exactly the case before us.

The criminal of whom we are first to speak, viz., John Austin, was the son of very honest people, having not only been bred up in good principles, but seeming also to retain them. He was put out young to a gardener, in which employment being brought up, he became afterwards a master for himself, and lived, as all his neighbours report it, with as fair character as any man thereabout. On a sudden he was taken up for assaulting and knocking down a man in Stepney Fields, with a short, round, heavy club, and taking from him his coat, in the beginning of November, 1725, about seven o'clock in the morning. The evidence being very clear and direct, the jury, notwithstanding the persons he called to his character, found him guilty. He received sentence of death accordingly, and after a report had been made to his Majesty he was ordered for execution.

During the space he lay under conviction, he at first denied,

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then endeavoured to extenuate his crime, by saying he did indeed knock the man down, but that the man struck him first with an iron rod he had in his hand; and in this story for some time he firmly persisted. But when death made a nearer approach he acknowledged the falsity of these pretences, and owned the robbery in the manner in which he had been charged therewith. Being asked how a man in his circumstances, being under no necessities, but on the contrary, in a way very likely to do well, came to be guilty of so unaccountable an act as the knocking down a poor man and taking away his coat, he said that though he was in a fair way of living, and had a very careful and industrious wife, yet for some time past, he had been disturbed in his mind, and that the morning he committed the robbery he took the club out of his own house, being an instrument made use of by his wife in the trade of a silk-throwster, and from a sudden impulse of mind attacked the man in the manner which had been sworn against him.

He appeared to be a person of no vicious principles, had been guilty of very few enormous crimes, except drinking to excess sometimes, and that but seldom. The sin which most troubled him was (his ordinary practice) as a gardener, in spending the Lord's day mostly in hard work, viz., in packing up things for Monday's market. He was very penitent for the offence which he had committed; he attended the service of chapel daily, prayed constantly and fervently in the place of his confinement, and suffered death with much serenity and resolution; averring with his last breath, that it was the first and last act which he had ever committed, being at the time of death about thirty-seven years old.

The second of these malefactors, John Foster, was the son of a very poor man, who yet did his utmost to give his son all the education that was in his power; and finding he was resolved to do nothing else, sent him with a very honest gentleman to sea. He continued there about seven years, and as he met with no remarkable accidents in the voyages he made himself, my readers may perhaps not be displeased if I mention a very singular one which befell his master. His ship having the misfortune to fall into the hands of the French, they plundered it of everything that was in the least degree valuable, and then left him, with thirty-five men, to the mercy of the waves. In this distressed condition, he with much difficulty made the shore of Newfoundland, and had nothing to subsist on but biscuit and a little water. Knowing it was no purpose to ask those who were settled there for provisions without money or effects, he landed himself and eighteen men, and carried off a dozen sheep and eight pigs. They were scarce returned on board, before it sprung up a brisk gale, which driving them from their anchors, obliged them to be put to sea. It blew hard all that day and the next night; the morning following the wind abated and they discovered a little vessel before them which, by crowding all the sails she was able, endeavoured to bear away. The captain thereupon gave her chase, and coming at last up with her, perceived she was French, upon which he gave her a broadside, and the master knowing it was impossible to defend her, immediately struck. They found in her a large quantity of provisions and in the master's cabin a bag with seven hundred pistoles. No sooner had the English taken out the booty, but they gave the captain and his crew liberty to sail where they pleased, leaving them



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sufficient provisions for a subsistence, themselves standing in again for Newfoundland, where the captain paid the person who was owner of the sheep and hogs he had taken as much as he demanded, making him also a handsome present besides; thereby giving Foster a remarkable example of integrity and justice, if he had had grace enough to have followed it.

When the ship came home, and its crew were paid off, Foster betook himself to loose company, loved drinking and idling about, especially with ill women. At last he was drawn in by some of his companions to assist in breaking open the house of Captain Tolson, and stealing thence linen and other things to a very great value. For this offence being apprehended, some promises were made him in case of discoveries, which, as he said, he made accordingly, and therefore thought it a great hardship that they were not performed. But the gentleman, whoever he was, that made him those promises, took no further notice of him, so that Foster being tried thereupon, the evidence was very dear against him, and the jury, after a very short consideration, found him guilty.

Under sentence he behaved with very great sorrow for his offence; he wept whenever any exhortations were made to him, confessed himself one of the greatest of sinners, and with many heavy expressions of grief, seemed to doubt whether even from the mercy of God he could expect forgiveness. Those whose duty it was to instruct him how to prepare himself for death, did all they could to convince him that the greatest danger of not being forgiven arose from such doubtings, and persuaded him to allay the fears of death by a settled faith and hope in Jesus Christ. When he had a while reflected on the promises made in Scripture on the nature of repentance itself, and the relation there is between creatures and their Creator, he became at last better satisfied, and bore the approach of death with tolerable cheerfulness.

When the day of execution came, he received the Sacrament, as is usual for persons in his condition. He declared, then, that he heartily forgave him who had injured him, and particularly the person who, by giving him hopes of life, had endangered his eternal safety. He submitted cheerfully to the decrees of Providence and the Law of the land; being at the time he suffered about thirty-seven years of age.

Richard Scurrier was the son of a blacksmith of the same name, at Kingston-upon-Thames. He followed for a time his father's business, but growing totally weary of working honestly for his bread, he left his relations, and without any just motive or expectation came up to London. He here betook himself to driving a hackney-coach, which, as he himself acknowledged, was the first inlet into all his misfortunes, for thereby he got into loose and extravagant company, living in a continued series of vice, unenlightened by the grace of God, or any intervals of a virtuous practice.

Such a road of wickedness soon induced him to take illegal methods for money to support it. The papers which I have in my hands concerning him, do not say whether the fact he committed was done at the persuasion of others, or merely out of his own wicked inclinations; nay, I cannot be so much as positive whether he had any associates or no; but in the beginning of his thievish practices, he committed *petit larceny*, which was immediately discovered. He thereupon was apprehended and



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committed to Newgate. At the next sessions he was tried, and the fact being plain, he was convicted; but being very young, the Court, through its usual tenderness, determined to soften his punishment into a private whipping. But before that was done, he joined with some other desperate fellows, forced the outward door of the prison as the keeper was going in and escaped.

He was no sooner at liberty but he fell to his old trade, and was just as unlucky as he was before; for taking it into his head to rub off with a firkin of butter, which he saw standing in a cheesemonger's shop, he was again taken in the fact, and in the space of a few weeks recommitted to his old lodging. At first he apprehended the crime to be so trivial that he was not in the least afraid of death, and therefore his amazement was the greater when he was capitally convicted. During the first day after sentence had been pronounced, the extremity of grief and fear made him behave like one distracted; as he came a little to himself, and was instructed by those who charitably visited him, he owned the justice of his sentence, which had been passed upon him, and the notorious wickedness of his misspent life. He behaved with great decency at chapel, and as well as a mean capacity and a small education would give him leave, prayed in the place of his confinement.

As there is little remarkable in this malefactor's life, permit me to add an observation or two concerning the nature of crimes punished with death in England, and the reasonableness of any project which would answer the same end as death, viz., securing the public from any of their future rapines, without sending the poor wretches to the gallows, and pushing them headlong into the other world for every little offence. The galleys in other nations serve for this purpose and the punishment seems very well suited to the crime; for his life is preserved, and he, notwithstanding, effectually deprived of all means of doing further mischief. We have no galleys, it is true, in the service of the crown of Britain, but there are many other laborious works to which they might be put so as to be useful to their country. As to transportation, though it may at first sight seem intended for their purpose, yet if we look into it with ever so little attention, we shall see that it does not at all answer the end; for we find by experience that in a year's time, many of them are here again, and are ten times more dangerous rogues than they were before; and in the plantations they generally behave themselves so ill that many of them have refused to receive them, and have even laid penalties on the captains who shall land them within the bounds of their jurisdiction. It were certainly therefore, more advantageous to the public that they worked hard here, than either forced upon the planters abroad, or left in a capacity to return to their villainies at home, where the punishment being capital, serves only to make them less merciful and more resolute. This I propose only, and pretend not to dictate.

But it is now time we return to the last mentioned criminal, Richard Scurrier, and inform ye that at the time he suffered, he was scarce eighteen years of age, dying with the malefactors Hamp, Bird, Austin and Foster, before-mentioned, on the 22nd of

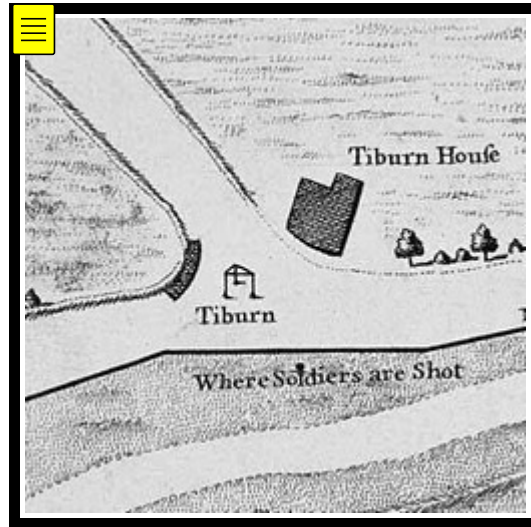
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WHAT?

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December, 1725, at Tyburn.



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1726

Timothy Benson was a highwayman and mountebank in England and managed to get away with it, never being caught or convicted, until finally he emigrated to the New World and there finished out his life as an honest success.²²⁰

Amongst the number of those unfortunate persons whose memory we have preserved to the world in order that their punishments may become lasting warnings unto all who are in any danger of following their footsteps, none is more capable of affording useful reflections than the incidents that are to be found in the life of this robber are likely to create. He was the son of a serjeant's wife, in the regiment of the Earl of Derby, but who his father was it would be hard to say. His mother having had a long intrigue with one Captain Benson and the serjeant dying soon after this child was born, she thought fit to give him the captain's name, declaring publicly enough, that if it was in her power to distinguish, the captain must be his father. Certain it is that the woman acted cunningly, at least, for Benson, who had never had a child, was so pleased with the boy's ingenuity that he sent him to a grammar school in Yorkshire, where he caused him to be educated as well as if he had been his legitimate son.

Nothing could be more dutiful than Tim was, while a child. The captain was continually vexed with long letters from the gentlewoman where he was boarded, concerning master's fine person, great parts and wonderful improvements, which Benson, being a man of sense, took to be such gross flattery that he came down to Bellerby, the village where the child was, on purpose to take it away. But Mr. Tim, upon his arrival, appeared such a prodigy both in beauty and understanding that the old gentleman was perfectly ravished with him, and whatever he might believe before, vanity now engaged him to think the youth his son. For this reason he doubled his care in providing for him, and when he had made a sufficient progress at the Grammar School, he caused him to be sent over to Leyden, a university of which he had a great opinion.

Timothy lost not any of his reputation in this change of climate, but returned in three years time from Holland as accomplished a young fellow as had been bred there for a long time. He had but just made his compliments to his supposed father, and received thirty guineas from him as a welcome to England, before the old gentleman fell ill of a pleurisy, which in four days' time deprived him of his life; and as he had no will, his estate of £300 a year, and about £700 in money (which he had lent out on securities), descended to his sister's son, as arrant a booby as ever breathed, and deprived Tim both of his present subsistence and future hopes.

In this distressed condition he took lodgings in a little court at the farther end of Westminster. He had a great number of good clothes, and as he then addicted himself to nothing so much as reading, he lived so frugally as to make a very tolerable appearance, and to pay everybody justly for about half a year,

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which so well established his credit in the neighbourhood that he was invited to the houses of the best families thereabouts, and might undoubtedly, if he had had his wits about him, have married some young gentlewoman thereabouts of a tolerable fortune. But happening to lodge over against a great mantua-maker's, he took notice of a young girl who was her apprentice, and happened to be a chandler's daughter, at Hammersmith. The wench, whose name was Jenny, was really handsome and agreeable, but as things were circumstanced with him, nothing could be more ridiculous than that passion which he suffered himself to entertain for her.

It is very probable that he might have had some transient amours before this, but Jenny was certainly the mistress to whom he made his first addresses, and the real passion of his heart. The girl was quickly tempted by the person and appearance of her lover, and without enquiring too narrowly into his circumstances, would certainly have yielded to his passion, if marriage had been the thing at which he aimed; but he was an obstacle hard to get over. Tim looked upon himself to be irretrievably undone from the hour he entered into that state. At last he conquered that virtue which his mistress had hitherto preserved, and after they had fooled away a month or two together, at the expense of all he had, Tim found himself at last obliged to confess the truth of his circumstances, and by that confession brought a flood of grief upon his fair one, who had hitherto been unaccustomed to misfortunes.

When they first came together it was agreed between them to quit that part of the town where they were both known, and they afterwards lodged in a very pretty little house on the edge of Red Lion Fields. On the morning Tim made this discovery, his cash was reduced to a single crown. It is true he had abundance of things of value, but when once they began to go, he was conscious to himself that starving would be quickly their lot, and what added more to his misfortunes was that his mistress, amidst all her sighs and afflictions, declared she would rather continue with him than go home to her relations, though from the indulgence of a mother she did not doubt of meeting with a good reception.

However, they came to this resolution, that Jenny should go and raise five guineas upon a diamond ring of his, and while she was gone on this errand, poor Benson sat leaning with his head upon his arm in a window that looked towards the fields. Casting up his eyes by chance, he saw a gentleman walking up and down as if for his diversion, whereupon a thought immediately struck him, that it would be an easy matter to rob him, and by his appearance it was not unlikely but that he might prove a good prize. Without reflecting, he resolved upon the thing, and putting on over his nightgown an old great coat which he had in his closet and with a case of pistols in his breast, he slipped out at the garden gate without being perceived, and was up with him in an instant. Then, taking the button of his hat in his teeth, he mumbled out, *Deliver or you're a dead man*. The gentleman in great confusion gave him a green purse of gold, and was going to pull his ring off from his finger, and his watch out of his pocket, but Tim stopped him and said he had enough, only commanded him to turn his back towards him, and not to alter his position for fifteen minutes by his own watch. This the gentleman religiously observed, and Tim made all the haste he



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could through the garden into his own chamber, where having hid the cloak at the back of the bed, he began to examine the value of the plunder, and found that the purse contained seventy guineas and two diamond rings, one a single stone and a very fine one, the other consisting of seven, but small and of no great value. These he went down and buried in the garden, having first burnt the purse in the fire.

The hurry of the fact being over, he sat down once again in his own room, and had leisure to reflect a little on what he had done, which threw him into such an agony that he was scarce able to sit upon the chair. Shame at the villainy he had committed, the fear of being apprehended, and the apprehensions of Tyburn, gave so many wounds to his imagination that he thought his former uneasiness a state of quiet to the pangs which he now felt, which were much more bitter, as well as of a very different nature from anything he had known before.

In the midst of these terrors, he heard the voices of a great deal of company in his landlady's parlour. The hopes of being a little easy where he had not so much opportunity of affrighting himself with his own thoughts, occasioned his going downstairs, and without well knowing what he did, he knocked at the parlour door, which when opened, the first thing which struck his eyes was the gentleman whom he had robbed, drinking a glass of water. This gave him such a shock that he had much ado to collect spirits enough to tell the gentlewoman of the house that he perceived she had company, and therefore would not intrude. But she, laying her hand upon his arm, said, *Pray, Mr. Benson, walk in; here's nobody but a gentleman who has had the misfortune to be robbed in the field, the fright of which has put him into such a disorder that he desired to step in here that he might have leisure to come a little to himself.* Tim saw it was impossible for him to retreat, and so putting on the best face he was able, he came in and sat down.

The landlady began then to enquire the circumstances of the robbery. *Why, madam, replied he, I was walking there, as I generally do of a fine afternoon, in order to get a little fresh air, when a man came up all of a sudden to me, close muffled up in a green or blue great-coat, in truth I cannot say which. He clapped a pistol to my breast, and I gave him my purse, and my niece's two rings, one of which cost me fourscore guineas, but three weeks ago. And as I was afraid he would murder me, I was going to give him this off my finger, and my watch out of my pocket, but that the fellow said he had enough, and his leaving these, surprised me almost as much as taking the rest. But what sort of a man was he?* said she. *Why, I think he was about that gentleman's height,* added he; *but I am so short-sighted that I question whether I should have known his face, even had it not been covered with his hat. Besides I am so much taken with the rogue's generosity that I would not prosecute him if I had him in the room.*

This set Tim's heart so much at rest that he began to come to himself a little, and asked the strange gentleman if he would not be so good as to drink a glass of wine. A bottle was sent for, and during the time they were drinking it, Jenny came in, and it being quite dark before they had finished it, a coach was called, and Mr. Benson offered to see the gentleman home, in order to which he was going upstairs to put on his clothes. But this the stranger would not permit, begging him to go as he was,



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upon which Jenny said, *Then, my dear, I'll fetch your great-coat.* He had much ado to desire the gentleman to walk to the coach and he'd go as he was, which he did accordingly, and after drinking a glass of citron water with the lady whose rings he had stolen, he came home again as fast as the coach could carry him.

Jenny was very melancholy at his return, and giving him three guineas, told him that it was all the pawnbroker would lend, and she had much ado to get that, as she was not known. Tim bid her be of good cheer, and said he hoped things would mend, and so they went to bed. Two or three days after, he took an opportunity of going out pretty early, and returning about dinner time, told her, with much seeming joy, that he had met with a gentleman whom he had been acquainted with at Leyden, and who hearing of his father's death, had begged him to accept of twenty guineas as a mark to his esteem. Jenny was in raptures at their good fortune, and went that afternoon and fetched the ring home, returning, poor creature, with as much satisfaction as if she had received ever so much money; for the hopes of living quietly a month or two with the man she loved, dispelled all the apprehensions of poverty which she was before under.

Tim considering that this supply would not last always, and resolving with himself never to run such a hazard again, he began to beat his brains about the best method to be taken of getting money in an honest way. As he had been bred to no profession, notwithstanding the excellent education he had had, never was a man more at his wits' end. After a thousand schemes had offered themselves to his mind, and were rejected, it came at last into his head that as he was tolerably versed in physic, it might not be impossible for him to get his bread by that. But how to get into practice, there was the difficulty. A little recollection helped him here. He had seen a quack doctor exhibit his medicines, with a panegyric on their good qualities, on his journey to London; he resolved, scandalous as the profession was, to venture upon it, rather than run the risk he had done before.

This scheme doubtless cost him some trouble before he brought it to bear so as to give him any hopes of his putting it into execution, but having at last settled it as well as he could, he determined with himself to go down into some distant county and undertake it. In order to have his thoughts at greater liberty to resolve about it, he took a walk into the fields, and being very dry after his perambulation, he stepped into a little alehouse, and called for a mug of drink. While he sat there he heard two men discoursing upon the vast sums of money that was got by one Smith, a practitioner in the very art which he was going to set up, and he found by them that the chief scene of Smith's adventures had lain in Lincolnshire and thereabouts; so without more ado, as all places were alike to him, he settled his intentions to go down to the same place, where he understood by the man that his *quondam* doctor had done some great cures and got a tolerable reputation.

When he came home, he could not avoid appearing very thoughtful, and Jenny fearful of some new disaster, would not let him rest until he had acquainted her fully with his design, which he would not consent to do until she promised to comply with a proposal he was to make her, after he had revealed the secret she was so desirous to know. When he had told her his project, she next



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demanded what the condition was to which she had bound herself to yield. Benson replied that it was to remain at some place thirty or forty miles distant from where he intended to go, that she might not be exposed to any inconveniences from that unhappy figure he saw himself obliged to make. It was with great reluctance that she ratified the consent he had given, but at length, after much persuasion, she again acknowledged he was in the right, and promised to do as he would have her. Things being thus adjusted, nothing remained for him to do but to get ready for his journey, and that his mate might be the less timorous of the event, he told her he had procured another supply of twenty-five guineas.

His cloak-bag was soon stored with such medicines as he thought proper, and having packed up a few practical books he thought he might have occasion for, he took a place for himself and Jenny, who passed for his wife, in the stage coach for Huntingdon, at a village near which, paying the people for a month's board, he left his consort, and having hired horses to Boston, he took a young fellow from Huntingdon with him thither. As Benson had a very smooth tongue, so he set off the wonderful properties of his drugs in so artful a manner that in the space of a fortnight he had cleared £10 besides his expenses. As he had left Jenny five guineas in her pocket, he wrote to her to pay the people another month's board, and assured her that he would return within that space. Hiring accordingly visited Sleaford, and some other great towns thereabouts, in seven weeks' time he set out for his return into Huntingdonshire, with fifty guineas, all clear gain, in his pockets. This good luck encouraged him to run through the greatest part of the North of England in the same manner, and within the compass of three years he cleared upwards of £500. At the time of his making this calculation he was set down at Bristol, in order to exercise his talent in that great city; but an unexpected accident broke all his measures. Just as his stage was set up, and he mounted, and opening his harangue which was now become familiar to him, a constable stepped up upon the stage, and told him that a gentleman had sworn a robbery directly against him, and he must go immediately before the mayor. This put him into a lamentable confusion. He knew himself innocent, but the character of a mountebank was sufficient to make the thing believed at first, and therefore he could not be blamed for his apprehensions, especially considering he took it as a just return for that robbery which he had committed in town, and for which he made no satisfaction when it was so fully in his power.

Upon his prosecutor's appearing before the mayor, and swearing flatly to his face as to his robbing him of seven guineas, a silver watch, and a snuff box, Tim had his *Mittimus* made for Newgate; but upon his desiring the mayor that his effects might be searched, but not plundered, he had leave given him to return with the officer and see them looked over at the inn. As many of them were valuable of themselves, as the drugs were of the best sorts, and as he had several letters from persons of good character, in the several counties through which he had passed, and bank notes and bills to the value of £400, they thought fit to report all this to the mayor, before they did anything. The mayor thereupon resolved to act very cautiously, and having first looked over everything himself, he then ordered the effects to be delivered up to Mr. Benson, himself, who, however,



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was obliged to undergo a confinement of eight weeks, till the assizes. The prosecutor not appearing, and Mr. Benson, by permission of the Court, examining two gentlemen of undoubted credit, who proved to his being at the time when the robbery was sworn in another place, he was acquitted, and a copy of his indictment ordered him. It seems a person under condemnation at Hertford acknowledged the fact for which Tim had been committed, and produced both the snuff-box and watch; which though the gentleman who lost them got again, yet it proved an affair of very ill-consequence to him, for he was obliged to give Benson one hundred guineas to obtain a general release, and Tim fearing the noise of the thing had undone his reputation, resolved to go over to America and settle there.

A gentleman at Bristol who traded largely to the plantations offered him his assistance in the affair, and matters being quickly adjusted between them, Tim, to show himself grateful, and a man of honour, was married privately to Jenny, whom he resolved should be the companion of his future fortunes, as she had hitherto been the constant solace of all his sorrows. But before they set out, he thought it proper to make a journey to London, as well as to provide some necessary articles in the profession he intended to follow, as to make an end of a little affair which we have before related, and which lay very hard upon his conscience. To town then came Jenny and he, and took a lodging near Tower Street, where in about a fortnight's time, Mr. Benson had put everything in order for his voyage. The day before he sat out on his return for Bristol, he wrote the following letter to the old gentleman he had robbed, and who as he informed himself, was still living at the same place.

Sir,

Under the pressure of severe necessity my misfortunes tempted me to commit so great a piece of villainy as the robbing you in Red Lion Fields. You may remember, sir, that I took from you a green purse, in which was seventy guineas, and two diamond rings, the one of a large, the other of a less value. The first comes to you enclosed in this, the latter, the same necessity which urged me so far as to take them, obliged me some months after to dispose of, which I did for fourteen pounds. As a satisfaction for the injury I did you, be so good, sir, as to accept of the enclosed note of one hundred pounds, which I hope will amount to the whole value of those things I took from you, and may I flatter myself, procure your pardon, the only thing wanting to making him easy, who is,

Sir, Your most obedient Humble Servant.

This he took care to convey by a ticket-porter of whose fidelity he was well assured, and having despatched this affair, he let slip nothing to make his intended voyage successful. His skill in his profession was such that he soon had as much business in the plantation where he settled, as he knew what to do with, and in seven or eight years' practice, acquired such an estate as was sufficient to furnish him with all the necessaries of life, upon which he lived when he gave this account to the gentleman who communicated it to me. And as it is an instance of a return of virtue not often to be met with, I thought it might be as useful as any other relation which hitherto had a place in this



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confession.



May 9, day: John Gillingham, an highwayman and footpad, etc., was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²²¹

As want of education hath brought many who might otherwise have done very well in the world to a miserable end, so the best education and instructions are often of no effect to stubborn and corrupt minds. This was the case of John Gillingham, of whom we are now to give an account. He had been brought up at Westminster School, but all he acquired there was only a smattering of learning and a great deal of self-conceit, fancying labour was below him, and that he ought to live the life of a gentleman. He associated himself with such companions as pretended to teach him this art of easily attaining money. He was a person very inclinable to follow such advices, and therefore readily came into these proposals as soon as they were made. Amongst the rest of his acquaintance, he became very intimate with Burnworth, and made one of the number in attacking the chair of the Earl of Scarborough, near St. James's Church, and was the person who shot the chairman in the shoulder.

As he was a young man of a good deal of spirit, so he committed abundance of facts in a very short space; but the indefatigable industry which the officers of Justice exerted, in apprehending Frazier's desperate gang, soon brought him to the miserable end consequent from such wicked courses. He was indicted for assaulting Robert Sherly, Esq., upon the highway, and taking from him a watch value £20. He was a second time indicted for assaulting John du Cummins, a footman, and taking from him a silver watch, a snuff-box, and five guineas in money. Both of which facts he steadily denied after his conviction, but there was a third crime of which he was convicted, viz., sending a letter to extort money from Simon Smith, Esq., and which follows in these words:

Mr. Smith.

I desire you to send me twenty guineas by the bearer, without letting him know what it is for, he is innocent of the contents if your offer to speak of this to anybody— My blood and soul, if you are not dead man before monday morning; and if you don't send the money, the devil dash my brains out, if I don't shoot you the first time you stir out of doors, or if I should be taken there are others that will do your business for you by the first opportunity, therefore pray fail not —.

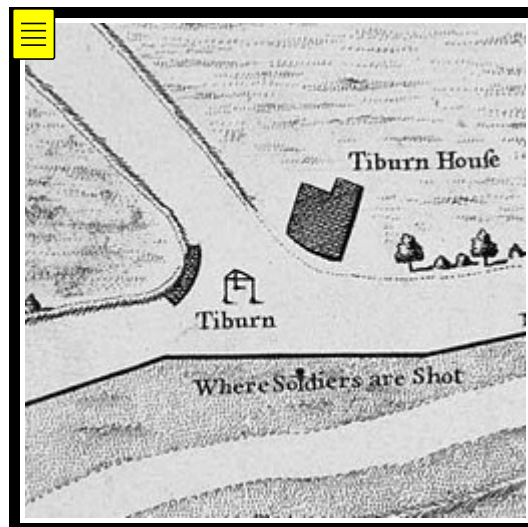
221. LIVES OF THE MOST REMARKABLE CRIMINALS WHO HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED FOR MURDER, THE HIGHWAY, HOUSEBREAKING, STREET ROBBERIES, COINING OR OTHER OFFENCES / COLLECTED FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS AND AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS, AND PUBLISHED IN 1735 / Edited by Arthur L. Hayward

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Strike me to instant D— if I am not as good as my word.
To Mr. Smith in Great George Street over against the
Church near Hanover Square.

He confessed that he knew of the writing and sending this epistle, but denied that he did it himself, and indeed the indictment set forth that it was in company with one John Mason, then deceased, that the said conspiracy was formed. Under sentence of death, he behaved himself very sillily, laughing and scoffing at his approaching end, and saying to one of his companions, as the keeper went downstairs before them, *Let us knock him down and take his keys from him. If one leads to heaven, and the other to hell, we shall at least have a chance to get the right!* Yet when death with all its horror stared him in the face, he began to relent in his behaviour, and to acknowledge the justness of that sentence which had doomed him to death. At the place of execution he prayed with great earnestness, confessed he had been a grievous sinner, and seemed in great confusion in his last moments. He was about twenty years of age when he died, which was on the 9th of May, 1726, at Tyburn.



John Cotterell, a thief, etc., was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²²²

The miseries of life are so many, so deep, so sudden, and so irretrievable, that when we consider them attentively, they ought to inspire us with the greatest submission towards that Providence which directs us and fills us with humble sentiments

222. LIVES OF THE MOST REMARKABLE CRIMINALS WHO HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED FOR MURDER, THE HIGHWAY, HOUSEBREAKING, STREET ROBBERIES, COINING OR OTHER OFFENCES / COLLECTED FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS AND AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS, AND PUBLISHED IN 1735 / Edited by Arthur L. Hayward

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of our own capacities, which are so weak and incapable to protect us from any of those evils to which from the vicissitudes of life we are continually exposed.

John Cotterell, the subject of this part of our work, was a person descended of honest and industrious parents, who were exceedingly careful in bringing him up as far as they were able, in such a manner as might enable him to get his bread honestly and with some reputation. When he was grown big enough to be put out apprentice, they agreed with a friend of theirs, a master of a vessel, to take him with him two or three voyages for a trial. John behaved himself so well that he gained the esteem

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



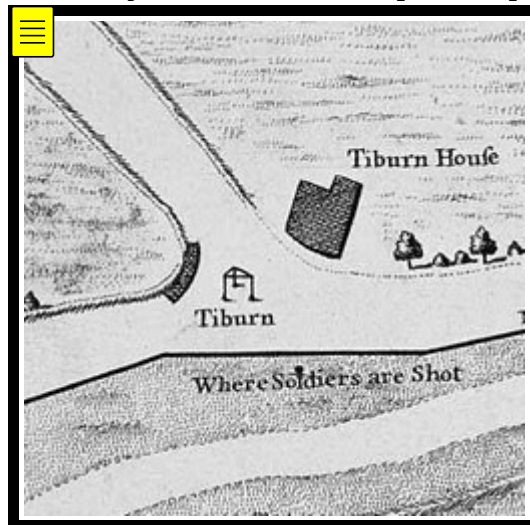
of his master and the love of all his fellow-sailors. When he had been five years at sea, his credit was so good, both as to his being an able sailor and an honest man, that his friends found it no great difficulty to get him a ship, and after that another. The last he commanded was of the burthen of 200 tons, but he sustained great losses himself, and greater still, in supporting his eldest son, who dealt in the same way, and with a vessel of his own carried on a trade between England and Holland. Through these misfortunes he fell into circumstances

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so narrow that he lay two years and a half in Newgate, for debt. Being discharged by the Act of Insolvency, and having not wherewith to sustain himself, he broke one night into a little chandler's shop, where he used now and then to get a halfpenny-worth of that destructive liquor gin; and there took a tub with two pounds of butter, and a pound of pepper in it. But before he got out of the shop he was apprehended, and at the next sessions was found guilty of the fact.

While under sentence of death he behaved with the greatest gravity, averred that it was the first thing of that kind he had ever done; indeed, his character appeared to be very good, for though his acquaintance in town had done little for him hitherto, yet when they saw that they should not be long troubled with him, they sent him good books, and provided everything that was necessary for him; so that with much resignation he finished his days, with the other malefactors, at Tyburn, in the fifty-second year of his age, on the 9th day of May, 1726.



Catherine Hall Hayes, who had murdered her husband John Hayes, was burned at the stake outside London as a “bloody and inhumane Murderess, etc.” until her body had been quite reduced to ashes, while Thomas Billings was [hanged](#) for that same murder on the Tyburn gallows, and then his corpse was cut down and carried over to the gibbet, where it was hung up in chains.²²³



Though all crimes are in this nature foul, yet some are



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apparently more heinous, and of a blacker die than others. Murder has in all ages and in all climates been amongst the number of those offences held to be most enormous and the most shocking to human nature of any other; yet even this admits sometimes of aggravation, and the laws of England have made a distinction between the murder of a stranger, and of him or her to whom we owe a civil, or natural obedience. Hence it is that killing a husband, or a master is distinguished under the name of *petit* treason. Yet even this, in the story we are about to relate, had several heightening circumstances, the poor man having both a son and a wife imbrueing their hands in his blood. Catherine Hall, afterwards by her marriage, Catherine Hayes, was born in the year 1690, at a village in the borders of Warwickshire, within four miles of Birmingham. Her parents were so poor as to receive the assistance of the parish and so careless of their daughter that they never gave her the least education. While a girl she discovered marks of so violent and turbulent a temper that she totally threw off all respect and obedience to her parents, giving a loose to her passions and gratifying herself in all her vicious inclinations.

About the year 1705, some officers coming into the neighbourhood to recruit, Kate was so much taken with the fellows in red that she strolled away with them, until they came to a village called Great Ombersley in Warwickshire, where they very ungenerously left her behind them. This elopement of her sparks drove her almost mad, so that she went like a distracted creature about the country, until coming to Mr. Hayes's door, his wife in compassion took her in out of charity. The eldest child of the family was John Hayes, the deceased; who being then about twenty-one years of age, found so many charms in this Catherine Hall that soon after he coming into the house he made proposals to her of marriage. There is no doubt of their being readily enough received, and as they both were sensible how disagreeable a thing it would be to his parents, they agreed to keep it secret. They quickly adjusted the measures that were to be taken in order to their being married at Worcester; for which purpose Mr. John Hayes pretended to his mother that he wanted some tools in the way of his trade, viz., that of a carpenter, for which it was necessary he should go to Worcester; and under this colour he procured also as much money as, with what he had already had, was sufficient to defray the expense of the intended wedding. Catherine having quitted the house without the formality of bidding them adieu, and meeting at the appointed place, they accompanied each other to Worcester, where the wedding was soon celebrated. The same day Mrs. Catherine Hayes had the fortune to meet with some of her quondam acquaintance at Worcester. They understanding that she was that day married, and where the nuptials were to be solemnized, consulted among themselves how to make a penny of the bridegroom. Accordingly deferring the execution of their intentions until the evening, just as Mr. Hayes was got into bed to his wife, coming to the house where he lodged, they forcibly entered the room, and dragged the bridegroom away, pretending to impress him for her Majesty's service.

This proceeding broke the measures Mr. John Hayes had concerted



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with his bride, to keep their wedding secret; for finding no redemption from their hands, without the expense of a larger sum of money than he was master of, he was necessitated to let his father know of his misfortune. Mr. Hayes hearing of his son's adventures, as well of his marriage and his being pressed at the same time, his resentment for the one did not extinguish his affection for him as a father, but that he resolved to deliver him from his troubles; and accordingly, taking a gentleman in the neighbourhood along with him, he went for Worcester. At their arrival there, they found Mr. John Hayes in the hands of the officers, who insisted upon detaining him for her Majesty's service; but his father and the gentleman he brought with him by his authority, soon made them sensible of their errors, and instead of making a benefit of him, as they proposed, they were glad to discharge him, which they did immediately. Mr. Hayes having acted thus far in favour of his son, then expressed his resentment for his having married without his consent; but it being too late to prevent it, there was no other remedy but to bear with the same. For sometime afterwards Mr. Hayes and his bride lived in the neighbourhood, and as he followed his business as a carpenter, his father and mother grew more reconciled. But Mrs. Catherine Hayes, who better approved of a travelling than a settled life, persuaded her husband to enter himself a volunteer in a regiment then at Worcester, which he did, and went away with them, where he continued for some time. Mr. John Hayes being in garrison in the Isle of Wight, Mrs. Hayes took an opportunity of going over thither and continued with him for some time; until Mr. Hayes, not content with such a lazy indolent life (wherein he could find no advantage, unless it were the gratifying his wife) solicited his father to procure his discharge, which at length he was prevailed upon to consent to. But he found much difficulty in perfecting the same, for the several journeys he was necessitated to undertake before it could be done, and the expenses of procuring such discharge, amounted to sixty pound. But having at last, at this great expense and trouble, procured his son's release, Mr. John Hayes and his wife returned to Worcestershire; and his father the better to induce him to settle himself in business in the country, put him into an estate of ten pound *per annum*, hoping that, with the benefit of his trade, would enable them to live handsomely and creditably, and change her roving inclinations, he being sensible that his son's ramble had been occasioned through his wife's persuasions. But Mr. John Hayes representing to his father that it was not possible for him and his wife to live on that estate only, persuaded his father to let him have another also, a leasehold of sixteen pound *per annum*; upon which he lived during the continuance of the lease, his father paying the annual rent thereof until it expired.

The characters of Mr. John Hayes and his wife were vastly different. He had the repute of a sober, sedate, honest, quiet, peaceable man, and a very good husband, the only objection his friends would admit of against him was that he was of too parsimonious and frugal temper, and that he was rather too indulgent of his wife, who repaid his kindness with ill usage, and frequently very opprobrious language. As to his wife, she was on all hands allowed to be a very turbulent, vexatious person, always setting people together by the ears, and never free from quarrels and controversies in the neighbourhood, giving ill



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advice, and fomenting disputes to the disturbance of all her friends and acquaintance.

This unhappiness in her temper induced Mr. John Hayes's relations to persuade him to settle in some remote place, at a distance from and unknown to her for some time, to see if that would have any effect upon her turbulent disposition; but Mr. Hayes would not approve of that advice, nor consent to a separation. In this manner they lived for the space of about six years, until the lease of the last-mentioned farm expired; about which time Mrs. Hayes persuaded Mr. John Hayes to leave the country and come to London, which about twelve months afterwards, through her persuasions he did, in the year 1719. Upon their arrival in town they took a house, part of which they let out in lodging, and sold sea coal, chandlery-ware, etc., whereby they lived in a creditable manner. And though Mr. Hayes was of a very indulgent temper, yet she was so unhappy as to be frequently jarring, and a change of climate having made no alteration in her temper, she continued her same passionate nature, and frequent bickerings and disputes with her neighbours, as well as before in the country.

In this business they picked up money, and Mr. Hayes received the yearly rent of the first-mentioned estate, though in town; and by lending out money in small sums, amongst his country people improved the same considerably. In speaking of Mr. Hayes to his friends and acquaintance she would frequently give him the best of characters, and commend him for an indulgent husband; notwithstanding which, to some of her particular cronies who knew not Mr. Hayes's temper, she would exclaim against him, and told them particularly (above a year before the murder was committed) that it was no more sin to kill him (meaning her husband) than to kill a mad dog, and that one time or other she might give him a jolt.

Afterwards they removed into Tottenham Court Road, where they lived for some time, following the same business as formerly; from whence about two years afterwards, they removed into Tyburn Road,²²⁴ a few doors above where the murder was committed. There they lived about twelve months, Mr. Hayes supporting himself chiefly in lending out money upon pledges, and sometimes working at his profession, and in husbandry, till it was computed he had picked up a pretty handsome sum of money. About ten months before the murder they removed a little lower to the house of Mr. Whinyard, where the murder was committed, taking lodgings up two pairs of stairs. There it was that Thomas Billings, by trade a tailor, who wrought journey-work in and about Monmouth Street; under pretence of being Mrs. Hayes's countryman came to see them. He did so, and continued in the house about six weeks before the death of Mr. Hayes.

He (Mr. Hayes) had occasion to go a little way out of town, of which his wife gave her associates immediate notice, and they thereupon flocked thither to junket with her until the time they expected his return. Some of the neighbours out of ill-will which they bore the woman, gave him intelligence of it as soon as he came back, upon which they had abundance of high words, and at last Mr. Hayes gave her a blow or two. Maybe this difference was in some degree the source of that malice which she afterwards vented upon him.

About this time Thomas Wood, who was a neighbour's son in the

224. The old name for Oxford Street.



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country, and an intimate acquaintance both of Mr. Hayes and his wife, came to town, and pressing being at that time very hot he was obliged to quit his lodgings; and thereupon Mr. Hayes very kindly invited him to accept of the convenience of theirs, promising him moreover, that as he was out of business, he would recommend him to his friends, and acquaintances. Wood accepted the offer, and lay with Billings. In three or four days' time, Mrs. Hayes having taken every opportunity to caress him, opened to him a desire of being rid of her husband, at which Wood, as he very well might, was exceedingly surprised, and demonstrated the business as well as cruelty there would be in such an action, if committed by him, who besides the general ties of humanity, stood particularly obliged to him as his neighbour and his friend. Mrs. Hayes did not desist upon this, but in order to hush his scruples would fain have persuaded him that there was no more sin in killing Hayes than in killing a brute-beast for that he was void of all religion and goodness, an enemy to God, and therefore unworthy of his protection; that he had killed a man in the country, and destroyed two of his and her children, one of which was buried under an apple tree, the other under a pear tree, in the country. To these fictitious tales she added another, which perhaps had the greatest weight, viz., that if he were dead, she should be the mistress of fifteen hundred pounds. *And then, says she, you may be master thereof, if you will help to get him out of the way. Billings has agreed too, if you'll make a third, and so all may be finished without danger.*

A few days after this, Wood's occasions called him out of town. On his return, which was the first day of March, he found Mr. Hayes and his wife and Billings very merry together. Amongst other things which passed in conversation, Mr. Hayes happened to say that he and another person once drank as much wine between them as came to a guinea, without either of them being fuddled. Upon this Billings proposed a wager on these terms, that half a dozen bottles of the best mountain wine should be fetched, which if Mr. Hayes could drink without being disordered, then Billings should pay for it; but if not, then it should be at the cost of Mr. Hayes. He accepting of this proposal, Mrs. Hayes and the two men went together to the Brawn's Head, in New Bond Street, to fetch the wine. As they were going thither, she put them in mind of the proposition she had made them to murder Mr. Hayes, and said they could not have a better opportunity than at present, when he should be intoxicated with liquor. Whereupon Wood made answer that it would be the most inhuman act in the world to murder a man in cool blood, and that, too, when he was in liquor. Mrs. Hayes had recourse to her old arguments, and Billings joining with her, Wood suffered himself to be overpowered. When they came to the tavern they called for a pint of the best mountain, and after they had drank it ordered a gallon and a half to be sent home to their lodgings, and Mrs. Hayes paid ten shillings and sixpence for it, which was what it came to. Then they all came back and sat down together to see Mr. Hayes drink the wager, and while he swallowed the wine, they called for two or three full pots of beer, in order to entertain themselves. Mr. Hayes, when he had almost finished the wine, began to grow very merry, singing and dancing about the room with all the gaiety which is natural to having taken a little too much wine. But Mrs. Hayes was so fearful of his not having his dose, that



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she sent away privately for another bottle, of which having drunk some also, it quite finished the work, by depriving him totally of his understanding; however, reeling into the other room, he there threw himself across the bed and fell fast asleep. No sooner did his wife perceive it than she came and excited the two men to go in and do the work; whereupon Billings taking a coal-hatchet in his hand, going into the other room, struck Mr. Hayes therewith on the back of the head. This blow fractured the skull, and made him, through the agony of the pain, stamp violently upon the ground, in so much that it alarmed the people who lay in the garret; and Wood fearing the consequence, went in and repeated the blows, though that was needless since the first was mortal in itself, and he already lay still and quiet. By this time Mrs. Springate, whose husband lodged over Mr. Hayes's head, on hearing the noise came down to enquire the reason of it, complaining at the same time that it so disturbed her family that they could not rest. Mrs. Hayes thereupon told her that her husband had had some company with him, who growing merry with their liquor were a little noisy, but that they were going immediately, and desired she would be easy. Upon this she went up again for the present, and the three murderers began immediately to consult how to get rid of the body.

The men were in so much terror and confusion that they knew not what to do; but Mrs. Hayes quickly thought of an expedient in which they all agreed. She said that if the head was cut off, there would not be near so much difficulty in carrying off the body, which could not be known. In order to put this design in execution, they got a pail and she herself carrying the candle, they all entered the room where the deceased lay. Then the woman holding the pail, Billings drew the body by the head over the bedside, that the blood might bleed the more freely into it; and Wood with his pocket penknife cut it off. As soon as it was severed from the body, and the bleeding was over, they poured the blood down a wooden sink at the window, and after it several pails of water, in order to wash it quite away that it might not be perceived in the morning. However, their precautions were not altogether effectual, for the next morning Springate found several clots of blood, but not suspecting anything of the matter, threw them away. Neither had they escaped letting some tokens of their cruelty fall upon the floor, stain the wall of the room, and even spin up against the ceiling, which it may be supposed happened at the giving the first blow.

When they had finished the decollation, they again consulted what was next to be done. Mrs. Hayes was for boiling it in a pot till nothing but the skull remained, which would effectually prevent anybody's knowing to whom it belonged; but the two men thinking this too dilatory a method, they resolved to put it in a pail, and go together and throw it in the Thames. Springate, hearing a bustling in Mr. Hayes's room for some time, and then somebody going down stairs, called again to know who it was and what was the occasion of it (it being then about eleven o'clock). Mrs. Hayes answered that it was her husband, who was going a journey into the country, and pretended to take a formal leave of him, expressing her sorrow that he was obliged to go out of town at that time of night, and her fear lest any accident should attend him in his journey.

Billings and Wood being thus gone to dispose of the head, went towards Whitehall, intending to have thrown the same into the



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river there, but the gates being shut, they were obliged to go forward as far as Mr. Macreth's wharf, near the Horseferry at Westminster, where Billings setting down the pail from under his great coat, Wood took up the same with the head therein, and threw it into the dock before the Wharf. It was expected the same would have been carried away by the tide, but the water being then ebbing, it was left behind. There were also some lighters lying over against the dock, and one of the lightermen walking then on board, saw them throw the pail into the dark; but by the obscurity of the night, the distance, and having no suspicion, they did not apprehend anything of the matter. Having thus done, they returned home again to Mrs. Hayes's where they arrived about twelve o'clock and being let in, found Mrs. Hayes had been very busily employed in washing the floor, and scraping the blood off from it, and from the walls, etc. After which, they all three went into the fore room, Billings and Wood went to bed there, and Mrs. Hayes sat by them till morning.

On the morning of the second of March, about the dawning of the day, one Robinson a watchman saw a man's head lying in the dock, and the pail near it. His surprise occasioned his calling some persons to assist in taking up the head, and finding the pail bloody, they conjectured the head had been brought thither in it. Their suspicions were fully confirmed therein by the lighterman who saw Billings and Wood throw the same into the dock, as before mentioned.

It was now time for Mrs. Hayes, Billings, and Wood to consider how they should dispose of the body. Mrs. Hayes and Wood proposed to put it in a box, where it might lie concealed till a convenient opportunity offered for removing it. This being approved of, Mrs. Hayes brought a box; but upon their endeavouring to put it in, the box was not big enough to hold it. They had before wrapped it up in a blanket, out of which they took it; Mrs. Hayes proposed to cut off the arms and legs, and they again attempted to put it in, but the box would not hold it. Then they cut off the thighs, and laying it piecemeal in the box, concealed them until night.

In the meantime Mr. Hayes's head, which had been found as before, had sufficiently alarmed the town, and information was given to the neighbouring justices of the peace. The parish officers did all that was possible towards the discovery of the persons guilty of perpetrating so horrid an action. They caused the head to be cleaned, the face to be washed from the dirt and blood, and the hair to be combed, and then the head to be set upon a post in public view in St. Margaret's churchyard, Westminster, so that everybody might have free access to see the same, with some of the parish officers to attend, hoping by that means a discovery of the same might be attained. The high constable of Westminster liberty also issued private orders to all the petty constables, watchmen, and other officers of that district, to keep a strict eye on all coaches, carts, etc., passing in the night through their liberty, imagining that the perpetrators of such a horrid fact would endeavour to free themselves of the body in the same manner as they had done the head.

These orders were executed for some time, with all the secrecy imaginable, under various pretences, but unsuccessfully; the head also continued to be exposed for some days in the manner described, which drew a prodigious number of people to see it, but without attaining any discovery of the murderers. It would



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be impertinent to mention the various opinions of the town upon this occasion, for they being founded upon conjecture only, were far wide of the truth. Many people either remembered or fancied they had seen that face before, but none could tell where or who it belonged to.

On the second of March, in the evening, Catherine Hayes, Thomas Wood, and Thomas Billings took the body and disjointed members out of the box, and wrapped them up in two blankets, viz., the body in one, and the limbs in the other. Then Billings and Wood first took up the body, and about nine o'clock in the evening carried it by turns into Marylebone Fields, and threw the same into a pond (which Wood in the day time had been hunting for) and returning back again about eleven o'clock the same night, took up the limbs in the other old blanket, and carried them by turns to the same place, throwing them in also. About twelve o'clock the same night, they returned back again, and knocking at the door were let in by Mary Springate. They went up to bed in Mrs. Hayes's fore-room, and Mrs. Hayes stayed with them all night, sometimes sitting up, and sometimes lay down upon the bed by them.

The same day one Bennet, the king's organ-maker's apprentice, going to Westminster to see the head, believed it to be Mr. Hayes's, he being intimately acquainted with him; and thereupon went and informed Mrs. Hayes, that the head exposed to view in St. Margaret's churchyard, was so very like Mr. Hayes's that he believed it to be his. Upon which Mrs. Hayes assured him that Mr. Hayes was very well and reproved him very sharply for forming such an opinion, telling him he must be very cautious how he raised such false and scandalous reports, for that he might thereby bring himself into a great deal of trouble. This reprimand put a stop to the youth's saying anything about it, and having no other reason than the similitude of faces, he said no more about it. The same day also Mr. Samuel Patrick, having been at Westminster to see the head, went from thence to Mr. Grainger's at the Dog and Dial in Monmouth Street, where Mr. Hayes and his wife were intimately acquainted, they and most of their journeymen servants being Worcestershire people. Mr. Patrick told them that he had been to see the head, and that in his opinion it was the most like to their countryman Hayes of any he ever saw.

Billings being there then at work, some of the servants replied it could not be his, because there being one of Mrs. Hayes's lodgers (meaning Billings) then at work, they should have heard of it by him if Mr. Hayes had been missing, or any accident had happened to him; to which Billings made answer, that Mr. Hayes was then alive and well, and that he left him in bed, when he came to work in the morning. The third day of March, Mrs. Hayes gave Wood a white coat and a pair of leathern breeches of Mr. Hayes's, which he carried with him to Greenford, near Harrow-on-the-Hill. Mrs. Springate observed Wood carrying these things downstairs, bundled up in a white cloth, whereupon she told Mrs. Hayes that Wood was gone down with a bundle. Mrs. Hayes replied it was a suit of clothes he had borrowed of a neighbour, and was going to carry them home again.

On the fourth of March, one Mrs. Longmore coming to visit Mrs. Hayes, enquired how Mr. Hayes did, and where he was. Mrs. Hayes answered, that he was gone to take a walk, and then enquired what news there was about town. Her visitor told her that most



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people's discourse run upon the man's head that had been found at Westminster; Mrs. Hayes seemed to wonder very much at the wickedness of the age, and exclaimed vehemently against such barbarous murderers, adding, *Here is a discourse, too, in our neighbourhood, of a woman who has been found in the fields, mangled and cut to pieces. It may be so,* replied Mrs. Longmore, *but I have heard nothing of it.*

The next day Wood came again to town, and applied himself to his landlady, Mrs. Hayes, who gave him a pair of shoes, a pair of stockings and a waistcoat of the deceased, and five shillings in money, telling him she would continue to supply him whenever he wanted. She informed him also of her husband's head being found, and though it had been for some time exposed, yet nobody had owned it.

On the sixth of March, the parish officers considering that it might putrify if it continued longer in the air, agreed with one Mr. Westbrook, a surgeon, to have it preserved in spirits. He having accordingly provided a proper glass, put it therein, and showed it to all persons who were desirous of seeing it. Yet the murder remained still undiscovered; and notwithstanding the multitude which had seen it, yet none pretended to be directly positive of the face, though many agreed in their having seen it before.

In the meantime Mrs. Hayes quitted her lodgings, and removed from where the murder was committed to Mr. Jones's, a distiller in the neighbourhood, with Billings, Wood, and Springate, for whom she paid one quarter's rent at her old lodgings. During this time she employed herself in getting as much of her husband's effects as possibly she could, and amongst other papers and securities, finding a bond due to Mr. Hayes from John Davis, who had married Mr. Hayes's sister, she consulted how to get the money. To which purpose she sent for one Mr. Leonard Myring, a barber, and told him that she, knowing him to be her husband's particular friend and acquaintance, and he then being under some misfortunes, through which she feared he would not presently return, she knew not how to recover several sums of money that were due to her husband, unless by sending fictitious letters in his name, to the several persons from whom the same were due. Mr. Myring considering the consequences of such a proceeding declined it. But she prevailed upon some other person to write letters in Mr. Hayes's name, particularly one to his mother, on the 14th of March, to demand ten pounds of the above-mentioned Mr. Davis, threatening if he refused, to sue him for it. This letter Mr. Hayes's mother received, and acquainting her son-in-law Davis with the contents thereof, he offered to pay the money on sending down the bond, of which she by a letter acquainted Mrs. Hayes on the twenty-second of the same month.

During these transactions, several persons came daily to Mr. Westbrook's to see the head. A poor woman at Kingsland, whose husband had been missing the day before it was found, was one amongst them. At first sight she fancied it bore some resemblance to that of her husband, but was not positive enough to swear to it; yet her suspicion at first was sufficient to ground a report, which flew about the town, in the evening, and some enquiries were made after the body of the person to whom it was supposed to belong but to no purpose.

Mrs. Hayes, in the meanwhile, took all the pains imaginable to propagate a story of Mr. Hayes's withdrawing on account of an



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unlucky blow he had given to a person in a quarrel, and which made him apprehensive of a prosecution, though he was then in treaty with the widow in order to make it up. This story she at first told with many injunctions of secrecy, to persons who she had good reason to believe would, notwithstanding her injunctions, tell it again. It happened, in the interim, that one Mr. Joseph Ashby, who had been an intimate acquaintance of Mr. Hayes, came to see her. She, with a great deal of pretended concern, communicated the tale she had framed to him. Mr. Ashby asked whether the person he had killed was him to whom the head belonged; she said, No, the man who died by Mr. Hayes's blow was buried entire, and Mr. Hayes had given or was about to give, a security to pay the widow fifteen pounds *per annum* to hush it up. Mr. Ashby next enquired where Mr. Hayes was gone; she said to Portugal, with three or four foreign gentlemen.

He thereupon took his leave; but going from thence to Mr. Henry Longmore's, cousin of Mr. Hayes, he related to him the story Mrs. Hayes had told him and expressed a good deal of dissatisfaction thereat, desiring Mr. Longmore to go to her and make the same enquiry as he had done, but without saying they had seen one another. Mr. Longmore went thereupon directly to Mrs. Hayes's, and enquired in a peremptory tone for her husband. In answer she said that she had supposed Mr. Ashby had acquainted him with the misfortune which had befallen him. Mr. Longmore replied he had not seen Mr. Ashby for a considerable time and knew nothing of his cousin's misfortune, not judging of any that could attend him, for he believed he was not indebted to anybody. He then asked if he was in prison for debt. She answered him, No, 'twas worse than that. Mr. Longmore demanded what worse could befall him. As to any debts, he believed he had not contracted any. At which she blessed God and said that neither Mr. Hayes nor herself owed a farthing to any person in the world. Mr. Longmore again importuning her to know what he had done to occasion his absconding so, said *I suppose he has not murdered anybody?* To this she replied, he had, and beckoning him to come upstairs, related to him the story as before mentioned.

Mr. Longmore being inquisitive which way he was gone, she told him into Herefordshire, that Mr. Hayes had taken four pocket pistols with him for his security, viz., one under each arm, and two in his pockets. Mr. Longmore answered, 'twould be dangerous for him to travel in that manner; that any person seeing him so armed with pistols, would cause him to be apprehended on suspicion of being a highwayman. To which she assured him that it was his usual manner; the reason of it was that he had like to have been robbed coming out of the country, and that once he was apprehended on suspicion of being an highwayman, but that a gentleman who knew him, accidentally came in, and seeing him in custody, passed his word for his appearance, by which he was discharged. To that Mr. Longmore made answer that it was very improbable of his ever being stopped on suspicion of being an highwayman, and discharged upon a man's only passing his word for his appearance; he farther persisted which way he was supplied with money for his journey. She told him she had sewn twenty-six guineas into his clothes, and that he had about him seventeen shillings in new silver. She added that Springate, who lodged there, was privy to the whole transaction, for which reason she paid a quarter's rent for her at her old lodgings, and the better to maintain what she had averred, called



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Springate to justify the truth of it. In concluding the discourse, she reflected on the unkind usage of Mr. Hayes towards her, which surprised Mr. Longmore more than anything else she had said yet, and strengthened his suspicion, because he had often been a witness to her giving Mr. Hayes the best of characters, viz., of a most indulgent, tender husband.

Mr. Longmore then took leave of her and returned back to his friend Mr. Ashby; when, after comparing their several notes together, they judged by very apparent reasons that Mr. Hayes must have had very ill play shown him. Upon which they agreed to go to Mr. Eaton, a Life Guardman who was also an acquaintance of Mr. Hayes's, which accordingly they did, intending him to have gone to Mrs. Hayes also, to have heard what relation she would give him concerning her husband. They went and enquired at several places for him, but he was not then to be found; upon which Mr. Longmore and Mr. Ashby went down to Westminster to see the head at Mr. Westbrook's. When they came there, Mr. Westbrook told them that the head had been owned by a woman from Kingsland, who thought it to be her husband, but was not certain enough to swear it, though the circumstances were strong, because he had been missing from the day before the head was found. They desired to see it and Mr. Ashby first went upstairs to look on it, and coming down, told Mr. Longmore he really thought it to be Mr. Hayes's head, upon which Mr. Longmore went up to see it, and after examining it more particularly than Mr. Ashby, confirmed him in his suspicion. Then they returned to seek out Mr. Eaton, and finding him at home, informed him of their proceedings, with the sufficient reasons upon which their suspicions were founded, and compelled him to go with them to enquire into the affair.

Mr. Eaton pressed them to stay to dinner with him, which at first they agreed to, but afterwards altering their minds, went all down to Mr. Longmore's house and there renewed the reasons of their suspicions, not only of Mr. Hayes's being murdered (being satisfied with seeing the head) but also that his wife was privy to the same. But in order to be more fully satisfied they agreed that Mr. Eaton should in a day or two's time go and enquire for Mr. Hayes, but withal taking no notice of his having seen Mr. Longmore and Mr. Ashby. In the meantime Mr. Longmore's brother interfered, saying, that it seemed apparent to him that his cousin (Mr. Hayes) had been murdered, and that Mrs. Hayes appeared very suspicious to him of being guilty with some other persons, viz., Wood and Billings (who she told him, had drunk with him the night before his journey). He added, moreover, that he thought time was not to be delayed, because they might remove from their lodgings upon the least apprehensions of a discovery. His opinion prevailed as the most reasonable, and Mr. Longmore said they would go about it immediately. Accordingly he immediately applied to Mr. Justice Lambert and acquainted him with the grounds of their suspicions and their desire of his granting a warrant for the apprehension of the parties. On hearing the story the justice not only readily agreed with them in their suspicions, and complied with their demand, but said also he would get proper officers to execute it in the evening, about nine o'clock, putting Mrs. Hayes, Thomas Wood, Thomas Billings, and Mary Springate into a special warrant for that purpose.

At the hour appointed they met, and Mr. Eaton bringing two officers of the Guards along with them, they went altogether to



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the house where Mrs. Hayes lodged. They went directly in and upstairs, at which Mr. Jones, who kept the house, demanded who and what they were. He was answered that they were sufficiently authorised in all they did, desiring him at the same time to bring candles and he should see on what occasion they came. Light being thereupon brought they went all upstairs together. Justice Lambert rapped at Mrs. Hayes's door with his cane; she demanded who was there, for that she was in bed, on which she was bid to get up and open it, or they would break it open.

After some time taken to put on her clothes, she came and opened it. As soon as they were in the room they seized her and Billings, who was sitting upon her bedside, without either shoes or stockings on. The justice asked whether he had been in bed with her. She said no, but that he sat there to mend his stockings. *Why, then,* replied Mr. Lambert, *he has very good eyes to see to do it without fire or candle,* whereupon they seized him too. And leaving persons below to guard them, they went up and apprehended Springate. After an examination in which they would confess nothing, they committed Billings to New Prison, Springate to the Gate House, and Mrs. Hayes to Tothill Fields Bridewell.

The consciousness of her own guilt made Mrs. Hayes very assiduous in contriving such a method of behaviour as might carry the greatest appearance of innocence. In the first place, therefore, she entreated Mr. Longmore that she might be admitted to see the head, in which request she was indulged by Mr. Lambert, who ordered her to have a sight of it as she came from Tothill Fields Bridewell to her examination. Accordingly Mr. Longmore attending the officers to bring Mrs. Hayes from thence the next day to Mr. Lambert's, ordered the coach to stop at Mr. Westbrook's door. And as soon as he entered the house, being admitted into the room, she threw herself down upon her knees, crying out in great agonies, *Oh, it is my dear husband's head! It is my dear husband's head!* and embracing the glass in her arms kissed the outside of it several times. In the meantime Mr. Westbrook coming in, told her that if it was his head she should have a plainer view of it, that he would take it out of the glass for her to have a full sight of it, which he did, by lifting it up by the hair and brought it to her. Taking it in her arms, she kissed it, and seemed in great confusion, withal begging to have a lock of his hair; but Mr. Westbrook replied that he was afraid she had had too much of his blood already. At which she fainted away, and after recovering, was carried to Mr. Lambert's, to be examined before him and some other Justices of the Peace. While these things were in agitation, one Mr. Huddle and his servant walking in Marylebone Fields in the evening, espied something lying in one of the ponds in the fields, which after they had examined it they found to be the legs, thighs, and arms of a man. They, being very much surprised at this, determined to search farther, and the next morning getting assistance drained the pond, where to their great astonishment they pulled out the body of a man wrapped up in a blanket; with the news of which, while Mrs. Hayes was under examination, Mr. Crosby, a constable, came down to the justices, not doubting but this was the body of Mr. Hayes which he had found thus mangled and dismembered. Yet, though she was somewhat confounded at the new discovery made hereby of the cruelty with which her late husband had been treated, she could not, however, be prevailed on to make any



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discovery or acknowledgment of her knowing anything of the fact; whereupon the justices who examined her, committed her that afternoon to Newgate, the mob attending her thither with loud acclamations of joy at her commitment, and ardent wishes of her coming to a just punishment, as if they were already convinced of her guilt.

Sunday morning following, Thomas Wood came to town from Greenford, near Harrow, having heard nothing further of the affair, or of the taking up of Mrs. Hayes, Billings, or Springate. The first place he went to was Mrs. Hayes's old lodging; there he was answered that she had moved to Mr. Jones's, a distiller, a little farther in the street. Thither he went, where the people suspected of the murder said Mrs. Hayes was gone to the Green Dragon in King Street, which is Mrs. Longmore's house; and a man who was there told him, moreover, that he was going thither and would show him the way; Wood being on horseback followed him, and he led him the way to Mr. Longmore's house. At this time Mr. Longmore's brother coming to the door, and seeing Wood, immediately seized him, and unhorsing him, dragged him indoors, sent for officers and charged them with him on suspicion of the murder. From thence he was carried before Mr. Justice Lambert, who asked him many questions in relation to the murder; but he would confess nothing, whereupon he was committed to Tothill Fields Bridewell. While he was there he heard the various reports of persons concerning the murder, and from those, judging it impossible to prevent a full discovery or evade the proofs that were against him, he resolved to name an ample confession of the whole affair. Mr. Lambert being acquainted with this, he with John Madun and Thomas Salt, Esqs., two other justices of the peace, went to Tothill Fields Bridewell, to take his examination, in which he seemed very ingenuous and ample declaring all the particulars before mentioned, with this addition that Catherine Hayes was the first promoter of, and a great assistance in several parts of this horrid affair; that he had been drawn into the commission thereof partly through poverty, and partly through her crafty insinuations, who by feeding them with liquors, had spirited them up to the commission of such a piece of barbarity. He farther acknowledged that ever since the commission of the fact he had had no peace, but a continual torment of mind; that the very day before he came from Greenford he was fully persuaded within himself that he should be seized for the murder when he came to town, and should never see Greenford more; notwithstanding which he could not refrain coming, though under an unexpected certainty of being taken, and dying for the fact. Having thus made a full and ample confession, and signed the same on the 27th March, his *mittimus* was made by Justice Lambert, and he was committed to Newgate, whither he was carried under a guard of a serjeant and eight soldiers with muskets and bayonets to keep off the mob, who were so exasperated against the actors of such a piece of barbarity that without that caution it would have been very difficult to have carried him thither alive.

On Monday, the 28th of March, after Mrs. Hayes was committed to Newgate, being the day after Wood's apprehension, Joseph Mercer going to see Mrs. Hayes, she told him that as he was Thomas Billings's friend as well as hers; she desired he would go to him and tell him 'twas in vain to deny any longer the murder of her husband, for they were equally guilty, and both must die for



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it. Billings hearing this and that Wood was apprehended and had fully confessed the whole affair, thought it needless to persist any longer in a denial, and therefore the next day, being the 29th of March, he made a full and plain discovery of the whole fact, agreeing with Wood in all the particulars; which confession was made and signed in the presence of Gideon Harvey and Oliver Lambert, Esqs., two of his Majesty's justices of peace, whereupon he was removed to Newgate the same day that Wood was.

Wood and Billings, by their several confessions, acquitting Springate of having any concern in the aforesaid murder, she was soon discharged from her confinement.

This discovery making a great noise in the town, divers of Mrs. Hayes's went to visit her in Newgate and examine her as to the and motives that induced her to commit the said fact. Her acknowledgment in general was: that Mr. Hayes had proved but an indifferent husband to her; that one night he came home drunk and struck her; that upon complaining to Billings and Wood they, or one of them, said such a fellow (meaning Mr. Hayes) ought not to live, and that they would murder him for a halfpenny. She took that opportunity to propose her bloody intentions to them, and her willingness that they should do so; she was acquainted with their design, heard the blow given to Mr. Hayes by Billings, and then went with Wood into the room; she held the candle while the head was cut off, and in excuse for this bloody fact, said the devil was got into them all that made them do it. When she was made sensible that her crime in law was not only murder, but petty treason, she began to show great concern indeed, making very strict enquiries into the nature of the proof which was necessary to convict, and having possessed herself with a notion that it appeared she murdered him with her own hands, she was very angry that either Billings or Wood should, by their confession, acknowledge her guilty of the murder, and thereby subject her to that punishment which of all others she most feared, often repeating that it was hard they would not suffer her to be hanged with them! When she was told of the common report that Billings was her son, she affected, at first, to make a great mystery of it; said he was her own flesh and blood, indeed, but that he did not know how nearly he was related to her himself; at other times she said she would never disown him while she lived, and showed a greater tenderness for him than for herself, and sent every day to the condemned hold where he lay, to enquire after his health. But two or three days before her death, she became as the ordinary tells us a little more sincere in this respect, affirming that he was not only her child, but Mr. Hayes's also, though put out to another person, with whom he was bred up in the country and called him father. There are generally a set of people about most prisons, and especially about Newgate, who get their living by imposing on unhappy criminals, and persuading them that guilt may be covered, and Justice evaded by certain artful contrivances in which they profess themselves masters. Some of these had got access to this unhappy woman, and had instilled into her a notion that the confession of Wood and Billings could no way affect her life. This made her vainly imagine that there was no positive proof against her, and that circumstantial only would not convict her. For this reason she resolved to put herself upon her trial (contrary to her first intentions; for having been



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asked what she would do, she had replied she would hold up her hand at the bar and plead guilty, for the whole world could not save her). Accordingly, being arraigned, she pleaded not guilty, and put herself upon her trial. Wood and Billings both pleaded guilty, and desired to make atonement for the same by the loss of their blood, only praying the Court would be graciously pleased to favour them so much (as they had made an ingenuous confession) as to dispense with their being [hanged](#) in chains. Mrs. Hayes having thus put herself upon her trial, the King's Counsel opened the indictment, setting forth the heinousness of the fact, the premeditated intentions, and inhuman method of acting it; that his Majesty for the more effectual prosecution of such vile offenders, and out of a tender regard to the peace and welfare of all his subjects, and that the actors and perpetrators of such unheard of barbarities might be brought to condign punishment, had given them directions to prosecute the prisoners. Then Richard Bromage, Robert Wilkins, Leonard Myring, Joseph Mercer, John Blakesby, Mary Springate, and Richard Bows, were called into Court; the substance of whose evidence against the prisoner was that the prisoner being interrogated about the murder, when in Newgate, said, the devil put it into her head, but, however, John Hayes was none of the best of husbands, for she had been half starved ever since she was married to him; that she did not in the least repent of anything she had done, but only in drawing those two poor men into this misfortune; that she was six weeks importuning them to do it; that they denied it two or three times, but at last agreed; her husband was so drunk that he fell out of his chair, then Billings and Wood, carried him into the next room, and laid him upon the bed; that she was not in that room but in the fore room on the same floor when he was killed, but they told her that Billings struck him twice on the head with a pole-axe, and that then Wood cut his throat; that when he was quite dead she went in and held the candle whilst Wood cut his head quite off, and afterwards they chopped off his legs and arms; that they wanted to get him into an old chest, but were forced to cut off his thighs and arms, and then the chest would not hold them all; the body and limbs were put into blankets at several times the next night, and thrown into a pond, that the devil was in them all, and they were all drunk; that it would signify nothing to make a long preamble, she could hold up her hand and say she was guilty, for nothing could save her, nobody could forgive her; that the men who did the murder were taken and confessed it; that she was not with them when they did it; that she was sitting by the fire in the shop upon a stool; that she heard the blow given and somebody stamp; that she did not cry out, for fear they should kill her; that after the head was cut off, it was put into a pail, and Wood carried it out; that Billings sat down by her and cried, and would lie all the rest of the night in the room with the dead body; that the first occasion of this design to murder him was because he came home one night and beat her, upon which Billings said this fellow deserved to be killed, and Wood said he would be his butcher for a penny; that she told them they might do as they would do it that night it was done; that she did not tell her husband of the design to murder him, for fear he should beat her; that she sent to Billings to let him know it was in vain to deny the murder of her husband any longer, for they were both guilty, and must both die for it.



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Many other circumstances equally strong with those before mentioned appeared, and a cloud of witnesses, many of whom (the thing appearing so plain) were sent away unexamined. She herself confessed at the bar her previous knowledge of their intent several days before the fact was committed; yet foolishly insisted on her innocence, because the fact was not committed by her own hands. The jury, without staying long to consider of it, found her guilty, and she was taken from the bar in a very weak and faint condition. On her return to Newgate, she was visited by several persons of her acquaintance, who yet were so far from doing her any good that they rather interrupted her in those preparations which it became a woman in her sad condition to make.

When they were brought up to receive sentence, Wood and Billings renewed their former requests to the Court, that they might not be hung in chains. Mrs. Hayes also made use of her former assertion, that she was not guilty of actually committing the fact, and therefore begged of the Court that she might at least have so much mercy shown her as not to be burnt alive. The judges then proceeded in the manner prescribed by Law, that is, they sentenced the two men, with the other malefactors, to be hanged, and Mrs. Hayes, as in all cases of petty treason, to die by fire at a stake; at which she screamed, and being carried back to Newgate, fell into violent agonies. When the other criminals were brought thither after sentence passed, the men were confined in the same place with the rest in their condition, but Mrs. Hayes was put into a place by herself, which was at that time the apartment allotted to women under condemnation.

Perhaps nobody ever kept their thoughts so long and so closely united to the world, as appeared by the frequent messages she sent to Wood and Billings in the place where they were confined, and that tenderness which she expressed for both of them seemed preferable to any concern she showed for her own misfortunes, lamenting in the softest terms of having involved those two poor men in the commission of a fact for which they were now to lose their lives. In which, indeed, they deserved pity, since, as I shall show hereafter, they were persons of unblemished characters, and of virtuous inclinations, until misled by her. As to the sense she had of her own circumstances, there has been scarce any in her state known to behave with so much indifference. She said often that death was neither grievous nor terrible to her in itself, but was in some degree shocking from the manner in which she was to die. Her fondness for Billings hurried her into indecencies of a very extraordinary nature, such as sitting with her hand in his at chapel, leaning upon his shoulder, and refusing upon being reprimanded (for giving offence to the congregation) to make any amendment in respect of these shocking passages between her and the murderers of her husband, but on the contrary, she persisted in them to the very minute of her death. One of her last expressions was to enquire of the executioner whether he had hanged her dear child, and this, as she was going from the sledge to the stake, so strong and lasting were the passions of this woman.

The Friday night before her execution (being assured she should die on the Monday following) she attempted to make away with herself; to which purpose she had procured a bottle of strong poison, designing to have taken the same. But a woman who was in the place with her, touching it with her lips, found that it



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burnt them to an extraordinary degree, and spilling a little on her handkerchief, perceived it burnt that also; upon which suspecting her intentions, she broke the phial, whereby her design was frustrated.

On the day of her execution she was at prayers, and received the Sacrament in the chapel, where she still showed her tenderness to Billings. About twelve, the prisoners were severally carried away for execution; Billings with eight others for various crimes were put into three carts, and Catherine Hayes was drawn upon a sledge to the place of execution; where being arrived, Billings with eight others, after having had some time for their private devotions, were turned off.

After which Catherine Hayes being brought to the stake, was chained thereto with an iron chain running round her waist and under her arms and a rope about her neck, which was drawn through a hole in the post; then the faggots, intermixed with light brush wood and straw, being piled all round her, the executioner put fire thereto in several places, which immediately blazing out, as soon as the same reached her, with her arms she pushed down those which were before her. When she appeared in the middle of the flames as low as her waist, the executioner got hold of the end of the cord which was round her neck, and pulled tight, in order to strangle her, but the fire soon reached his hand and burnt it, so that he was obliged to let it go again. More faggots were immediately thrown upon her, and in about three or four hours she was reduced to ashes.

In the meantime, Billings's irons were put upon him as he was hanging on the gallows; after which being cut down, he was carried to the gibbet, about one hundred yards distance, and there hung up in chains.

We have said so much of this malefactor in the foregoing life, yet it was necessary, in order to preserve the connection of that barbarous story, to leave the particular consideration of these two assistants in the murder of Mr. Hayes to particular chapters, and therefore we will begin with Billings. Mrs. Hayes, some time before her execution, confidently averred that he was the son both of Mr. Hayes and of herself, that his father not liking him, he was put out to relations of hers and took the name of Billings from his godfather. But Mr. Hayes's relations confidently denying all this, and he himself saying he knew nothing more than that he called his father a shoemaker in the country, who some time since was dead. He was put apprentice to a tailor with whom he served his time, and then came up to London to work journey-work, which he did in Monmouth Street, lodging at Mr. Hayes's and believed himself nearly related to his wife, who from the influence she always maintained over him, drew him

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to the commission of that horrid fact.

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



But the most certain opinion is that he was found in a basket upon the common, near the place where Mrs. Hayes lived before she married Mr. Hayes, that he was at that time of his death about twenty-two or twenty-three years old; whereas it evidently appeared by her own confession, that she had been married to Mr. Hayes but twenty years and eight months. He was put out to nurse by the charge of the parish, to people whose names were Billings, and when he was big enough to go apprentice, was bound to one Mr. Wetherland, a tailor, to whom the parish gave forty shillings with him. It is very probable he might be a natural son of Mrs. Hayes's, born in her rambles (of which we have hinted) before her marriage, and dropped by her in the place where he was found.

As to the character of Billings in the country he was always reputed a sober, honest, industrious young man. During the time he had worked in town, he had done nothing to impeach that reputation which he brought up with him, and might possibly have lived very happily, if he had not fallen into the temptation of this unfortunate woman, who seems to have been born for her own

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undoing and for the destruction of others. Whatever knowledge he might have of that relation in which he stood to Mrs. Hayes, certain it is that she always preserved such an authority over him that in her presence he would never answer any questions but constantly referred himself to her, or kept an obstinate silence; he affected, also, a strange fondness for her, kissing her cheek when she fainted in the chapel at Newgate, and behaving himself when near her, in such a manner as gave great offence to the spectators. As to the remorse he had for the horrid crime he had committed, those who had occasion to know him while under confinement thought him sincere therein; but the Ordinary, whose place it is to be supreme judge in these matters, told the world in his account of the behaviour and confession of the malefactors, that he was a confused, hard-hearted fellow, and had few external signs of penitence; and a little farther, when possibly he was in a better humour, he says that in all appearance he was very penitent for his sins, and died in the Communion of the Church of England, of which he owned himself an unworthy member.





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LIFE OF THOMAS WOOD, A MURDERER²²⁵

This malefactor, Thomas Wood, was born at a place called Ombersley, between Ludlow and Worcester, of parents in very indifferent circumstances, who were therefore able to give him but little education. He was bred up to no settled business, but laboured in all such country employments as require only a robust body for their performance. When the summer's work was over, he used to assist as a tapster at inns and alehouses in the neighbourhood of the village where he was born, and by the industry, care, and regularity which he observed in all things, gained a very great reputation as an honest and faithful servant with all that knew him.

His mother having been left in a needy condition, with several small children, she set up a little alehouse in order to get bread for them. Thomas was very dutiful, and as his diligence enabled him to save a little money, so he was by no means backwards in giving her all the assistance that was in his power. Some few months before his death, he grew desirous of coming to London, which he did accordingly, and worked at whatsoever employment he could get both with fidelity and diligence; but a fleet being then setting out for the Mediterranean, press-warrants were granted for the manning thereof, and the diligence that was used in putting them in execution gave great uneasiness to Wood, who, having no settled business, was afraid of falling into their hands. Whereupon he bethought himself of his countryman, Mr. Hayes, to whom he applied for his advice and assistance. Mr. Hayes kindly invited him to live with them in order to avoid that danger, and he accordingly lay with Mr. Billings, as has been before related. Mr. Hayes was moreover so desirous of doing him service that he applied himself to finding out such persons as wanted labourers in order to get him into business, while Mrs. Hayes, in the meantime, made use of every blandishment to seduce the fellow into following her wicked inclinations. Perceiving that both Billings and he had religious principles then in common with ordinary persons, she artfully made even those persons' dispositions subservient to her brutal and inhuman purpose.

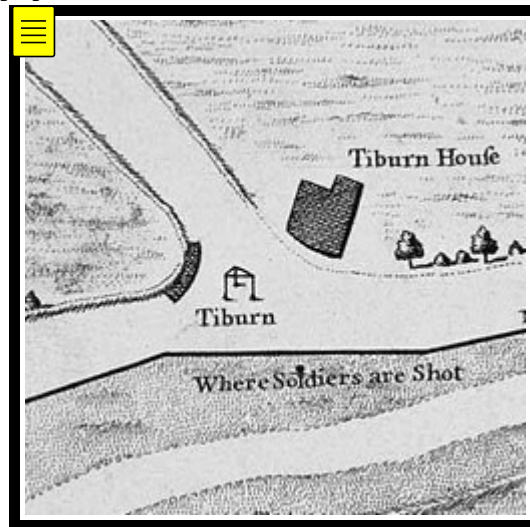
It seems that Mr. Hayes had fallen, within a few years of his death, into the company of some who called themselves Free-thinkers and fancy an excellency in their own understandings because they are able to ridicule those things which the rest of the world think sacred. Though it is no great conquest to obtrude the belief of anything whatsoever on persons of small parts and little education, yet they triumph greatly therein and communicate the same honour of boasting in their pupils. Mr. Hayes now and then let fall some rather rash expression, as to his disbelief of the immortality of the soul, and talked in such a manner on religious topics that Mrs. Hayes persuaded Billings and Wood that he was an Atheist, and as he believed his own soul of no greater value than that of a brute beast, there could be no difference between killing him and them. It must be indeed acknowledged that there was no less oddity in such propositions

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than in those of her husband; however, it prevailed, it seems, with these unfortunate men; and as she had already persuaded them it was no sin, so when they were intoxicated with liquor she found it less difficult than at any other time, to deprive them also of the humanity, and engage them in perpetrating a fact so opposite not only to religion but to the natural tenderness of the human species. Wood, as he yielded to her persuasions with reluctance, so he was the first who showed any true remorse of conscience for that cruel act of which he had been guilty; his confession of it being free and voluntary, and at the same time full and ingenious. Two days after receiving sentence, his constitution began to give way to the violence of a feverish distemper, which by a natural death prevented his execution, he dying in Newgate, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, much more pitied than either Billings or Mrs. Hayes who suffered at Tyburn. And thus with Wood we put a period to the relation of a tragedy which surprised the world exceedingly at the same time it happened, and will doubtless be read with horror in succeeding generations.



May 13: Captain Jaen was [hanged](#) for murder on the Tyburn gallows outside London, and then his corpse was put in chains to be hung up on the gibbet.²²⁶

Though there is not perhaps any sin so opposite to our nature as cruelty towards our fellow creatures, yet we see it so thoroughly established in some tempers, that neither education nor a sense of religion are strong enough to abate it, much less to wear it out. The person of whom we are speaking, John Jaen, was the son of parents in very good circumstances at Bristol, who they bred him up to the knowledge of everything requisite to a person who was to be bred up in trade, and he grew a very tolerable proficient as well in the knowledge of the Latin tongue, as in writing and accounts, for his improvement in all which he was put under the best masters. When he had finished that course of learning which his friends thought would qualify him for what they designed him, he was immediately put apprentice to a cooper in Bristol, where he served his time with

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both fidelity and industry. When it was expired, he applied himself to trade with the same diligence, and sometimes went to sea, till in the year '24 he became master of a ship called the *Burnett*, fitted out by some merchants at Bristol, for South Carolina. In his return from this voyage he committed the murder for which he died.

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



On the 25th April, 1726, an Admiralty Sessions was held at the Old Bailey, before the Hon. Sir Henry Penrice, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, assisted by the Honourable Mr. Baron Hale, at which Captain Greagh was indicated for feloniously sinking the good ship called the *Friendship*, of which he was commander; but as there appeared no grounds for such a charge, he was acquitted. Afterwards Captain John Jaen, of Bristol, was set to the bar, and arraigned on an indictment for wilfully and inhumanly murdering one Richard Pye, who had been cabin-boy, in the month of March, in the year 1724. It appeared by the evidence produced against him that he either whipped the boy himself or caused him to be whipped every day during the voyage; that he caused him to be tied to the mainmast with ropes for nine days together, extending his arms and legs to the utmost, whipping



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him with a cat (as it is called) of five small cords till he was all bloody, then causing his wounds to be several times washed with brine and pickle. Under this terrible usage the poor wretch grew soon after speechless. The Captain, notwithstanding, continued his cruel usage, stamping, beating and abusing him, and even obliging him to eat his own excrements, which forcing its way upwards again, the boy in his agony of pain made signs for a dram, whereupon the captain in derision took a glass, carried it into the cabin, and made water therein, and then brought it to the boy to drink, who rejected the same. The lamentable condition in which he was made no impression on the captain, who continued to treat him with the same severity, by whipping, pickling, kicking, beating, and bruising him while he lingered out his miserable life. On the last day of this he gave him eighteen lashes with the aforesaid cat of five tails, in a little time after which the boy died. The evidence farther deposed that when the boy's body was sewn up in a hammock to be thrown overboard it had in it as many colours as there are in a rainbow, that his flesh in many places was as soft as jelly, and his head swelled as big as two. Upon the whole it very fully appeared that a more bloody premeditated and wilful murder was never committed, and Sir Henry Penrice declared, that in all the time he had had the honour of sitting on the Bench he never heard anything like it, and hoped that no person who should sit there after him should hear of such an offence.

Under sentence of death he behaved with a great deal of piety and resignation though he did not frequent the public chapel for two reasons, the first because the number of strangers who were admitted thither to stare at such unhappy persons as are to die are always numerous and sometimes very indiscreet; the second was, that he had many enemies who took a pleasure in coming to insult him, and as he was sure either of these would totally interrupt his devotions, he thought it excusable to receive the assistance of the minister in his own chamber. As to the general offences of his life, he was very open in his confession, but as to the particular fact for which he suffered, he endeavoured to excuse it by saying he never intended to murder the boy, but only to correct him as he deserved, he being exceedingly wicked and unruly; he charged him with thieving in their voyage out, being yet worse as they came home, and that particularly one evening when he was asleep in the cabin, the lad broke open his lockers, and took out a bottle of rum, of which he drank near a pint, making himself therefor so drunk that his excrements fell involuntarily from him, which stunk so abominably that it awakened him (the Captain), whereupon he called in several of his men, who found the boy in a sad condition, and were obliged to sit down and smoke tobacco in order to overcome the stench he had raised. This produced the terrible punishment of tying him to the mast for several days and the offering him his excrements which he rejected.

Notwithstanding the captain owned all this, yet he could not forbear reflections on those who gave testimony against him at his trial, charging them with perjury and conspiracy to ruin him, though nothing like it appeared from the manner in which they delivered their testimony. As the time of his death approached nearer, the fear thereof, and remorse of conscience, brought the captain into so weak and low a state that he could scarce speak or attend to any discourses of others, but lay in



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a languishing condition, often fainting, and in fine appearing not unlike a person who had taken something to produce a sudden death, in order to prevent an ignominious one. Yet when such suspicions were mentioned to him, he declared that they were without ground, that he had never suffered such a thought once to enter into his head. His wife, who attended him constantly while in prison, said she loved him too well to become his executioner, and that she was positive since his commitment, he had had nothing unwholesome administered to him.

As he was carried to execution, he was so very much spent, that it was thought he would hardly have lived to have reached it. There he had the assistance of a minister of distinction, who prayed with him till the instant he was thrown off, which was on the 13th day of May, 1726, being then about twenty-nine years of age. As soon as he was cut down, he was put in chains, in order to be hung up.

June 27, Thursday (Old Style): William Bourn was [hanged](#) for theft on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²²⁷

As the want of education, from a multitude of instances, seems to be the chief cause of many of those misfortunes which befall persons in the ordinary course of life, so there are some born with such a natural inaptitude thereto, that no care, no pains, is able to conquer the stubborn stupidity of their nature, but like a knotty piece of wood, they defy the ingenuity of others to frame anything useful out of such cross-grained materials. This, as he acknowledged himself upon all occasions, was the case of the malefactor we are now speaking of, who was descended of honest and reputable parents, who were willing in his younger years to have furnished him with a tolerable share of learning; but he was utterly incorrigible, and though put to a good school, would never be brought to read or write at all, which was no small dissatisfaction to his parents, with whom in other

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respects he agreed tolerably well.

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



Proverbs Chap. I. Ver. 27, 28.
*When percereth as dissolution, and their
 destruction cometh as a whirlwind, when
 destruction cometh upon them, then they shall
 call upon God, but he will not answer.*

When of age to be put out apprentice, he was placed with a hatter in the city of Dublin, to whom he served his time honestly and faithfully; as soon as he was out of his time, he came up to London in order to become acquainted with his business. He had the good luck, though a stranger, to get into good business here, but was so unfortunate as to fall into the acquaintance of two lewd women, who fatally persuaded him that thieving was an easier way of getting money to supply their extravagant expenses than working. He being a raw young lad, unacquainted with the world, was so mad as to follow their advice, and in consequence thereof snatched a show-glass out of the shop of Mr. Lovell, a goldsmith in Bishopsgate Street, in which there was four snuff-boxes, eight silver medals, six pairs of gold buttons, five diamond rings, twenty pairs of ear-rings, sixty-four gold rings, several gold chains, and other rich goods, to the amount of near £300, with all of which he got safe off, though discovered soon afterwards by his folly in endeavouring to dispose of them. He threw aside all hopes of life as soon as he was apprehended, as having no friends to make intercession likely to procure a



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pardon. He was, indeed, a poor young creature, rather stupid than wicked and his vices more owing to his folly than to the malignity of his inclinations. He seemed to have a just notion both of the heinousness of that crime which he had committed and of the shame and ignominy he had brought upon himself and his relations. He was particularly affected with the miseries which were likely to fall upon his poor wife for his folly, and when the day of his death came, he seemed very easy and contented under it, declaring, however, at last that he died in the communion of the Church of Rome. This was on the 27th of June, 1726, being then not much above eighteen years old.

John Murrel, a horse thief, and William Hollis, a thief and housebreaker, were [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²²⁸

This malefactor was descended of very honest and reputable parents in the county of York, who took care not only that he should read and write tolerably well, but also that he should be instructed in the principles of religion. They brought him up in their own way of business, which was grazing of cattle (both black cattle and horses), and afterwards selling them at market. As he grew up a man, he settled in the same occupation, farming what is called in Yorkshire a grazing room, for which he paid near a hundred pounds a year rent, and dealt very considerably himself in the same way which had been followed by his parents. He married also a young woman with a tolerable fortune, who bore him several children, five of which were alive at the time of his execution, and lived with their mother upon some little estate she had of her own.

For some years after his marriage he lived with tolerable reputation in the country, but being lavish in his expenses, he quickly consumed both his own little fortune and what he had with his wife, and then failing in his business, a whim took him in the head to come to London, whither also he brought his son. Here he soon fell into bad company, and getting acquaintance with a woman whom he thought was capable of maintaining him, he married her, or at least lived with her as if they had been married, for a considerable space; the news of which reaching his wife in the country, affected her so much that she had very nigh fallen into a fit of sickness. Thereupon her friends demonstrated to her, in vain, how unreasonable a thing it was for her to give herself so much pain about a man who treated her at once with unkindness and injustice; in spite of their remonstrances she came up to London, in hopes that her presence might reclaim him. But herein she was utterly mistaken, for he absolutely denied her to be his wife, and even persuaded his son to deny her also for his mother, which the boy with much fear and confusion did; and the poor woman was forced to go down into the country again, overwhelmed with sorrow at the ingratitude of the one and the undutifulness of the other. However, Murrel still went on in the same way with the woman he had chosen for his companion.

There is all the reason imaginable to suppose that he did not take the most honest ways of supporting himself and his mistress. However, he fell into no trouble nor is there any



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direct evidence of his having been guilty of any dishonesty within the reach of the Law, until he ran away with a mare from a man in town, as to which he excused himself by saying that she had formerly been his own, and that there having nothing more than a verbal contract between them, he thought fit to carry her off and sell her again. Sometime afterwards, going down to Newcastle Fair (for he still continued to carry on some dealing in horse-flesh) he fell there into the company of some merchants in the same way, who found means to get gains and sell very cheap, by paying nothing at the first hand. Among these, there was a country man of his who went by the name of Brown, with whom Murrel had formerly had an acquaintance. This fellow knowing the company in general to be persons of the same profession, began to talk very freely of his practices in that way (viz., of horse stealing), and amongst other stories related this. He said he once rode away with an officer's horse, who had just bought it with an intent to ride him up to London; he carried the creature into the West, and having made such alterations in his mane and tail as he thought proper, sold him there to a parson for thirteen guineas, which was about seven less than the horse was worth. But knowing the doctor had another church about eight miles from the parish in which he lived, and that there was a little stable at one angle of the churchyard, where the horse was put up during service, he resolved to make bold with it again. Accordingly, when the people were all at church, having provided himself with a red coat and a horse-soldier's accoutrements, he picked the stable door, clapped them on the priest's beast, and rode him without the least suspicion as hard as conveniently he could to Worcester. There he laid aside the habit of a cavalier, and transforming himself into the natural appearance of a horse-courser, he sold the horse to a physician, telling him at the time he bought it, that it would be greatly the better for being suffered to run at grass a fortnight or so. *No doubt on it*, said he; *but I had some design of so doing*.

Yet they were much sooner executed than at first they were intended to have been, by an accident which happened the very day after the beast came into the hands of the physician; for one evening as Brown was taking a walk in the skirts of the city, who should he perceive but his old Cornish parson and his footman, jogging into town. Guilt struck him immediately with apprehensions at their errand relating to him, so that walking up and down, nor daring to go into the town for fear of being taken up and at last supposing it the only way to rid him of danger, he caught the horse once more in the doctor's close, and having stolen a saddle and bridle out of the inn where he lodged, he rode on him as far as Essex.

There he remained until Northampton Fair, where he sold the horse for the third time, for twenty-seven guineas, to an officer in the same regiment with him from whom it had been first stolen, on whose return from Flanders it was owned and the captain who bought it (though he refused to lose his money) yet gave as good description as he could of the person who sold it. Upon this the other officer put out an advertisement, describing both the man and the horse, and offering a reward of five guineas for whoever should apprehend him. This advertisement roused both the parson and the doctor, and the former took so much pains to discover him that he was at length apprehended in Cornwall,



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where at the assizes he was tried and convicted for the fact. But the captain who was the original possessor of the horse was so much pleased with his ingenuity that he procured a reprieve for him, and carried him abroad with him where he continued until the peace of Utrecht, when he returned home and fell to his old way of living, by which he had submitted himself unto the time in which he fell into company with Murrel, and had then bought five or six horses which had been stolen from the South, to be disposed of at the fair.

Murrel liked the precedent, and put it in practice immediately by stealing a brown mare which belonged to Jonathan Wood, for which he was shortly after apprehended and committed to Newgate. At the next sessions at the Old Bailey he was tried and convicted on very clear evidence, and during the space in which he lay under condemnation, testified a true sorrow for his sins, though not so just a sense of that for which he died as he ought to have had, and which might have been reasonably expected. For as horse-stealing did not appear any very great sin to him at the time of his committing it, so now, when he was to die for it, such an obstinate partiality towards ourselves is there naturally grafted in human nature that he could not forbear complaining of the severity of the Law, and find fault with its rigour which might have been avoided. What seemed most of all to afflict him under his misfortune was that he saw his son and nearest relations forsake him, and as much as they could shun having anything to do with his affairs. Of this he complained heavily to the minister of the place, during his confinement in Newgate, who represented to him how justly this had befallen him for first slighting his family, and leaving them without the least tenderness of respect, either to the ties of a husband, or the duty of a parent; so he began to read his sin in his punishment, and to frame himself to a due submission to what he had so much merited by his follies and his crimes.

When he was first brought up to receive sentence, he counterfeited being dead so exactly that he was brought back again to Newgate, but this cheat served only to gain a little time; for at the next sessions he was condemned and ordered for execution, which he suffered on the 27th of June, 1726, being then between forty and fifty years of age.

This unhappy lad was born in Portugal, while the English army served there in the late war. His father was drum-major of a regiment, but had not wherewith to give his child anything but food, for intending to bring him up a soldier, he perhaps thought learning an unnecessary thing to one of that profession. During the first years of his life the poor boy was a constant campaigner, being transported wherever the regiment removed, with the same care and conveniency as the kettle [drum] and knapsack, the only thing besides himself which make up the drum-major's equipage. When he grew big, he got, it seems, on board a man-of-war in the squadron that sailed up the Mediterranean. This was a proper university for one who had been bred in such a school; so that there is no wonder he became so great a proficient in all sorts of wickedness, gaming, drinking, and whoring, which appear not to such poor creatures as sins, but as the pleasures of life, about which they ought to spend their whole care; and, indeed, how should it be otherwise, where they know nothing that better deserves it.

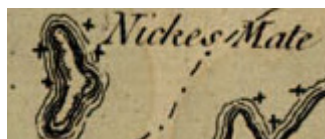
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When he came home to England his father dying, he was totally destitute, except what care his mother-in-law was pleased to take of him, which was, indeed, a great deal, if he would have been in any degree obedient to her instructions. But instead of that he looked upon all restraints on his liberty as the greatest evil that could befall him. Wherefore, leaving his mother's house, he abandoned himself to procuring money at any rate to support those lewd pleasures to which he had addicted himself. It happened that he lodged near one John Mattison, a working silversmith, into whose house he got, and stole from thence no less than one hundred and forty silver buckles, the goods of one Samuel Ashmelly. For this offence he was apprehended, and committed to Newgate; at the next sessions he was tried, and on the evidence of the prosecutor, which was very full and direct, he was convicted, and having no friends, he laid aside all hopes of life, and endeavoured as far as poor capacity would give him leave to improve himself in the knowledge of the Christian Faith, and in preparing for that death to which his follies and his crimes had brought him. The Ordinary, in the account he gives of his death, says that he was extremely stupid, a thing no ways improbable considering the wretched manner in which he had spent the years of his childhood and his youth. However, at last either his insensibility or having satisfied himself with the little evil there is in death compared with living in misery and want, furnished him with so much calmness that he suffered with greater appearance of courage than could have been expected from him. Just before he died he stood up in the cart, and turning himself to the spectators, said, *Good people, I am very young, but have been very wicked. It is true I have had no education, but I might have laboured hard and lived well for all that; but gaming and ill-company were my ruin. The Law hath justly brought me where I am, and I hope such young men as see my untimely fate will avoid the paths which lead unto it. Good people, pray for our departing souls, as we do, that God may give you all more grace than to follow us thither.* He suffered with the malefactors before-mentioned, being at the time of his execution between seventeen and eighteen years old.

- July 4: In Boston, Governor William Dummer and his council condemned William Fly and his men Samuel Cole and Henry Grenville as [pirates](#). Two days before their execution they would be taken to Mr. Coleman's church in Boston — but would find they cared little for his sermon. (At about this same point in time, Captain Bellamy and seven others were coming ashore at Eastham, and were similarly being captured, condemned, and executed.)²²⁹

229. This William Fly had been a boatswain aboard a negrero engaged in the slave trade and had led a mutiny killing the captain, renaming his ship *Fame's Revenge*. For about a month he had pirated vessels along the New England coast, until captured off of the coast of Newburyport. Fly was known during his short career to whip his captives with up to 100 lashes. He would go to be [hanged](#) on Nix's Mate island in Boston Harbor with a nosegay in his hand, and fix the noose around his own neck while chiding the hangman for not knowing his craft.





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H-NET REVIEW:
KEVIN P. McDONALD ON VILLAINS OF ALL NATIONS:
ATLANTIC PIRATES IN THE GOLDEN AGE

MARCUS REDIKER.
VILLAINS OF ALL NATIONS:
ATLANTIC PIRATES IN THE GOLDEN AGE.
BOSTON: BEACON PRESS, 2004.²³⁰

Devils on the Deep Blue Sea

Accounts of pirates and piracy, ranging from the fantastical to the historical and everywhere in between, have been recorded since antiquity, when trading vessels were first constructed to move people and goods via waterways. Pirates plundered periodically throughout the ancient Aegean, but it was Roman jurisprudence that first characterized the watery brigands as *hostes humani generis*, enemies of all mankind, in a bid to protect a claim of imperial sovereignty upon the seas that linked their cross-continental empire. This legal designation, notably absent in the Hellenic era, was re-invoked two millennia later by the courts of the early modern mercantile empires for similar imperial objectives. As these latter-day maritime empires expanded beyond their familiar home waters, their desire to control the seas and the jurisdictional claims of sovereignty followed in the wakes of their carracks, caravels, fly-boats, and frigates. Regulating and enforcing this tenuous authority was a herculean task, however, and pirates from all regions demonstrated over time that they were indeed not enemies of all humankind; instead, they nearly always found friendly ports of call in which to trade their looted cargoes, spend their equitably divided shares, and debauch themselves in drunken orgies. This socioeconomic aspect of piracy was *de rigueur* until the peak of the golden age of piracy, roughly 1716 to 1726, the decade explored under the revealing historical lens of Marcus Rediker. In this fine collection of essays, Professor Rediker has provided a welcome addition to the growing subfield of pirate studies and created a worthy companion volume to his landmark maritime labor history, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*.²³¹ In the admirable tradition of the late E.P. Thompson, Rediker fashions his social and cultural histories from below, with special thematic emphasis placed upon work, class, and power. The author posits mariners as proto-industrial

230. Reviewed by: Kevin P. McDonald, Department of History, University of California – Santa Cruz. Published by: H-Atlantic (December 2005)

231. Rediker's initial foray into the field of piratology was his seminal article, "'Under the Banner of King Death': The Social World of Anglo-American Pirates, 1716 to 1726," *William and Mary Quarterly*, ser. 3, 38 (1981): pp. 203-227. See also, Rediker, *BETWEEN THE DEVIL AND THE DEEP BLUE SEA: MERCHANT SEAMEN, PIRATES, AND THE ANGLO-AMERICAN MARITIME WORLD, 1700-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987); and Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *THE MANY-HEADED HYDRA: SAILORS, SLAVES, COMMONERS, AND THE HIDDEN HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ATLANTIC* (Boston: Beacon Press; London: Verso, 2000). [2]. David Starkey, "Pirates and Markets," in *BANDITS AT SEA: A PIRATES READER*, ed. C.R. Pennell (NY: New York UP, 2001).



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laborers, the ship as a factory at sea, and pirates as libertarian heroes and anarchic rebels who fought against the brutality and hierarchy of the navy, but most especially against authoritarian merchant captains and the injustices of the wage labor regime. Readers familiar with Rediker's scholarship will find similar content in *Villains of All Nations*, as many of the same protagonists, arguments, sources, and illustrations materialize in these pages. Memorable themes of hydrarchy and Libertalia are recounted, as the class antagonisms of terra firma are turned upside down in the wooden world of the pirate ship, and a dialectic of violence and terror develops between these pirates and the ruling classes of the emerging nation-states, especially Great Britain. The eight chapters are arranged thematically and can be read in any order, though the first essay serves as an introduction and sets the tone of the volume, beginning with the execution of the Anglo-American pirate, William Fly, upon the Boston gallows. Chapter 2 explains the circumstances that gave rise to the peak period of pirate activity, particularly from the perspective of the sailors who "went on the account." The next chapter describes the social origins and demographics of pirate crews--overwhelmingly poor working seamen--who either mutinied and seized a merchant vessel, or more commonly, volunteered to join when a pirate boarded their vessel. Chapter 4 details the democratic and egalitarian culture of the pirate ship, including the election of captains and quartermasters, the drawing up and signing of articles, the equitable division of plunder, and an early modern version of health and life insurance, all of which can be traced to the seventeenth-century practices of Caribbean freebooters. The fifth essay elucidates upon the "distribution of justice" meted out by pirate crews upon their victims and the social contempt they held "for the merchant captain, the royal official, and the system of authority those figures represented and enforced" (p. 85). Chapter 6, revised from a previously published essay, engages the infamous women pirates, Anne Bonny and Mary Read, and is derived mostly from Captain Charles Johnson's contemporary account. Chapter 7 describes the rhetorical, military, and legal campaign initiated by the ruling classes to "extirpate [pirates] out of the world," and the final essay explores the symbolic origins of the Jolly Roger and "the interrelated themes of death, apocalypse, hell, and self-destruction--fundamental matters of life and death and what they might have meant to these poor, motley, seafaring people in the early eighteenth century" (p. 153). An epigrammatic conclusion ends the volume, leaving the reader somewhat dangling, like one of the many condemned pirates described in such fascinating detail throughout the preceding pages. The essays are strongly supported by the author's skillful use of metropolitan and colonial newspaper articles, travel accounts, religious sermons, official correspondence, state papers, admiralty records, and other court documents. Rediker also leans heavily on the contemporary *General History of the Pyrates* (1724) by Captain Charles Johnson, though some scholars, as well as library catalogues, have continued to maintain [Daniel Defoe](#) as its true author. The most imaginative use of sources occurs in chapter 6, where the author juxtaposes an early eighteenth-century allegorical painting of piracy with Eugène Delacroix's 1830 masterpiece, *Liberty Leading the People*, claiming that its



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inspiration lies in the illustration on the frontispiece of the Dutch translation of Johnson's General History. In addition, the author has compiled a database of 778 pirates -the best available to date- that he draws upon for statistical purposes, especially in chapters 2 and 3. While endlessly engaging, there are some questionable aspects. The heroic stature granted these violent villains is somewhat disconcerting, as many pirates consistently engaged in the brutal torture of victims for sadistic purposes and the pursuit of personal wealth as much as for any alleged political agenda. Furthermore, while pirates undoubtedly came from all nations, the ones described herein are decidedly anglocentric, as are the majority of sources. In addition, the author's reasonable contention that piracy made a major impact on the Atlantic trade is based mainly on anecdotal evidence and would greatly benefit from more detailed quantitative data compiled from a wider range of sources, especially Spanish, Dutch, French, and Portuguese archival materials. Finally, Rediker's insistence that pirates "ruptured the Middle Passage" elides the more fundamentally complicit role played by pirates -from the Elizabethan era onward- in building up the slave trade (p. 145). Careful periodization is the key to explaining these generational aspects of a long and complex history, and in the decade following the War of the Spanish Succession, when thousands of seamen and legally commissioned privateers suddenly found themselves unemployed, Rediker's anti-authoritarian characterization of pirates is certainly well founded. The limited temporal scope, illuminating in its focus, at the same time obfuscates the more complex and often contradictory roles played by pirates and privateers -often one and the same- at the behest of merchants and colonial administrators throughout most of the early modern era. Indeed, the overall process of early European colonizing efforts, beginning with the induction by the Portuguese of the extortionate cartaze system in the Indian Ocean region, might properly be framed as state-sponsored piracy. In the Atlantic world, the conspicuous exploits of Drake, Raleigh, Cavendish, and Hawkins, as well as the abandoned privateer staging post at Roanoke, are only the most obvious evidence of this, while less notable but equally revealing markers include the French settlement attempt at Fort Caroline in La Florida, the Scots effort in Darien, and the Puritan scheme of settling Old Providence Island near the Spanish Main. Throughout the seventeenth century, moreover, French, English, and Dutch buccaneers operated, with tacit support, if not official sponsorship, throughout the Caribbean basin, attacking Spanish ships and towns while selling their plunder in bustling pirate havens like Port Royal, Jamaica. As the lucrative sugar trade began to take hold, merchants and administrators became less tolerant toward the freebooters, and the buccaneers shifted their bases accordingly, forum-shopping for friendly ports along the North Atlantic seaboard and finding refuge in places like Charleston, New York, and Newport, while expanding their hunting grounds and networks to the South Sea and the rich trading world of the Indian Ocean region.

Indeed, over the longue durée, cyclical patterns of piracy can be identified, as David J. Starkey has noted, with a marked increase in piratical activities following periods of European warfare, for example, from 1603 to 1616, 1714 to 1726, and 1815



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to 1825.[2] These short-wave cycles, as transient phases, might otherwise undermine any wider historical significance of Rediker's anti-statist villains if not for the deep and lasting impact these particular pirates have maintained in the popular culture. The recent Disney blockbuster *Pirates of the Caribbean*, with a sequel planned for release next summer, has demonstrated a continuing popular fascination with pirates, and this is translating into more and more serious scholarly attention. As historians of Marcus Rediker's caliber and imagination continue to unveil the fascinating societies, vibrant cultures, and remarkable lives of pirates, the history of this generation of pirates must now be integrated into a longer history, in which we will see significant changes over time. In so doing, the history of the Atlantic, indeed, of the globe, can only come more sharply into focus, and the seas, along with the islands, ports, and littorals that adjoin them, will continue to be recognized in their proper context as spaces of cultural, political, economic, and social interaction.

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August 23: At the Tyburn gallows outside London, Edward Reynolds and John Claxton *alias* Johnston were [hanged](#) for theft, etc., while Thomas Smith was hanged as a highwayman and Mary Standford as a pickpocket and thief.²³²

There is a certain commendable tenderness in human nature towards all who are under misfortunes, and this tenderness is in proportion to the magnitude of those evils which we suppose the pitied person to labour under. If we extend our compassion to relieving their necessities, and feeling a regret for those miseries which they undergo, we undoubtedly discharge the duties of humanity according to the scheme both of natural religion and the laws laid down in the Gospel. Perhaps no object ever merited it from juster motives than this poor man, who is the subject of the following pages. His parents were people in tolerable circumstances in Southwark; his father was snatched from him by death, while he was yet a child, but his mother, as far as she was able, was very careful that he should not pass his younger days without instruction, and an uncle he then had, being pleased with the docile temper of the youth, was at some expense also about his education. By this means he came to read and write tolerably well, and gained some little knowledge of the Latin tongue; and having a peculiar sweetness in his behaviour, it won very much upon his relations, and encouraged them to treat him with great indulgence.

But unfortunately for him, by the time he grew big enough to go out apprentice, or to enter upon any other method of living, his

232. LIVES OF THE MOST REMARKABLE CRIMINALS WHO HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED FOR MURDER, THE HIGHWAY, HOUSEBREAKING, STREET ROBBERIES, COINING OR OTHER OFFENCES / COLLECTED FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS AND AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS, AND PUBLISHED IN 1735 / Edited by Arthur L. Hayward



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friends suddenly dropped off, and, by their death becoming in great want of money, he was forced to resign all the golden hopes he had formed and for the sake of present subsistence submit to becoming footman to a gentleman, who was, however, a very good and kind master to him, till in about a year's time he died also, and poor Smith was again left at his wits' end. However, out of this trouble he was relieved by an Irish gentleman, who took him into his service, and carried him over with him to Dublin. There he met with abundance of temptations to fall into that loose and lascivious course of life which prevails more in that city, perhaps, than in any other in Europe. But he had so much grace at that time as to resist it, and after a stay there of twenty months, returned into England again, where he came into the service of a third master, no less indulgent to him than the two former had been. In this last service an odd accident befell him, in which, though I neither believe myself, nor incline to impose on my readers that there was anything supernatural in the case of it, yet I fancy the oddness of the thing may, under the story I am going to tell, prove not disagreeable.

In a journey which Thomas had made into Herefordshire, with his first master, he had contracted there an acquaintance with a young woman, daughter to a farmer, in tolerable circumstances. This girl without saying anything to the man, fell it seems desperately in love with him, and about three months after he left the country, died. One night after his coming to live with this last master, he fancied he saw her in a dream, that she stood for some time by his bedside, and at last said, *Thomas, a month or two hence you will be in danger of a fever, and when that is over of a greater misfortune. Have a care, you have hitherto always behaved as an honest man; do not let either poverty or misfortunes tempt you to become otherwise;* and having so said, she withdrew. In the morning the fellow was prodigiously confounded, yet made no discovery of what had happened to any but the person who lay with him, though the thing made a very strong impression on his spirits, and might perhaps contribute not a little to his falling ill about the time predicted by the phantom he had seen.

This fever soon brought him very low, and obliged him to make away with most of his things in order to support himself. Upon recovery he found himself in lamentable circumstances, being without friends, without money, and out of business. Unfortunately for him, coming along the Haymarket one evening, he happened to follow a gentleman somewhat in liquor, who knowing him, desired that he would carry him home to his house in St. Martin's Lane, to which Thomas readily agreed. But as they were going along thither, a crowd gathered about the gentleman, who became as quarrelsome as they, and took it into his head to box one of the mob, in order to do which more conveniently, he gave Smith his hat and cane, and his wig. Smith held them for some time, the mob forcing them along like a torrent, till the gentleman, whose name was Brown, made up a court near Northumberland House, and Smith thereupon marched off with the things, the necessity he was under so far blinding him that he made no scruple of attempting to sell them the next day; by which means Mr. Brown hearing of them, he caused Smith to be apprehended as a street-robber, and to be committed to Newgate, though he had the good luck, notwithstanding, to get all his things again. It seems he visited the poor man in prison, and



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if he did not prevaricate at his death, made him some promises of softening at least, if not of dropping the prosecution, which, as Smith asserted, prevented his making such a preparation for his defence as otherwise he might have done; which proved of very fatal consequence to him, since on the evidence of the prosecutor he was convicted of the robbery and condemned.

Never poor creature suffered more or severer hardships in the road of death than this poor man did, for by the time sentence was passed, all that he had was gone, and he had scarce a blanket to cover him from downright nakedness, during the space he lay in the hold under sentence. As he was better principled in religion than any of the other malefactors, he had retained his reading so well as to assist them in their devotions, and to supply in some measure the want of somebody constantly to attend them in their preparation for another world. So he picked up thereby such little assistances from amongst them as prevented his being starved before the time appointed for their execution came.

As this man did not want good sense, and was far from having lost what learning he had acquired in his youth, so the terrors of an ignominious death were quickly over with him, and instead of being affrighted with his approaching fate, he considered it only as a relief from miseries the most piercing that a man could feel, under which he had laboured so long that life was become a burden, and the prospect of death the only comfort that was left. He died with the greatest appearance of resolution and tranquillity on the 3rd [23rd?] August, 1726, being then about twenty-three years of age.

Notwithstanding the present age is so much celebrated for its excellency in knowledge and politeness, yet I am persuaded both these qualities, if they are really greater, are yet more restrained than they have been any time herefore whatsoever. The common people are totally ignorant, almost even of the first principles of religion. They give themselves up to debauchery without restraint, and what is yet more extraordinary, they fancy their vices are great qualifications, and look on all sorts of wickedness as merit.

This poor wretch who is the subject of our present page was put to school by his parents, who were in circumstances mean enough; but from a natural aversion to all goodness he absolutely declined making any proficiency therein. Whether he was educated to any business I cannot take upon me to say, but he worked at mop-making and carried them about to the country fairs for sale, by which he got a competency at least, and therefore had not by any means that ordinary excuse to plead that necessity had forced him upon thieving. On the contrary, he was drawn to the greatest part of those evils which he committed, and which consequently brought of those which he suffered, by frequenting the ring at Moorfields—a place which since it occurs so often in these memoirs, put me under a kind of necessity to describe it, and the customs of those who frequent it.

It lies between Upper and Middle Moorfields, and as people of rank, when they turn vicious, frequent some places where, under pretence of seeing one diversion in which perhaps there is no moral evil, they either make assignations for lewdness, or parties for gaming or drinking, and so by degrees ruin their



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estates, and leave the character of debauchees behind them, so those of meaner rank come thither to partake of the diversions of cudgel-playing, wrestlings, quoits, and other robust exercises which are now softened by a game of toss-up, hustle-cap, or nine-holes, which quickly brings on want; and the desire continuing, naturally inclines them to look for some means to recruit. And so, when the evening is spent in gaming, the night induces them to thief under its cover, that they may have wherewith to supply the expenses of the ensuing day. Hence it comes to pass that this place and these practices hath ruined more young people, such as apprentices, journeymen, errand-boys, etc., than any other seminary of vice in town. But it is time that we should now return to the affairs of him who hath occasioned this digression.

In the neighbourhood of this place Reynolds found out a little alehouse to which he every night resorted. There were abundance of wicked persons who used to meet there, in order to go upon their several villainous ways of getting money; Reynolds (whose head was always full of discovering a method by which he might live more at ease than he did by working) listened very attentively to what passed amongst them. One Barnham, who had formerly been a waterman, was highly distinguished at these meetings for his consummate knowledge in every branch of the art and mystery of cheating. He had followed such practices for near twenty years, and commonly when they came there at night they formed a ring about the place where he sat and listened with the greatest delight to those relations of evil deeds, which his memory recorded.

It happened one evening, when these worthy persons were assembled together, that their orator took it in his head to harangue them on the several alterations which the science of stealing had gone through from the time of his becoming acquainted with its professors. In former days, said he, knights of the road were a kind of military order into which none but decayed gentlemen presumed to intrude themselves. If a younger brother ran out of his allowance, or if a young heir spent his estate before he had bought a tolerable understanding, if an under-courtier lived above his income, or a subaltern officer laid out twice his pay in rich suits and fine laces, this was the way they took to recruit; and if they had but money enough left to procure a good horse and a case of pistols, there was no fear of their keeping up their figure a year or two, till their faces were known. And then, upon a discovery, they generally had friends good enough to prevent their swinging, and who, ten to one, provided handsomely for them afterwards, for fear of their meeting with a second mischance, and thereby bringing a stain upon their family. But nowadays a petty alehouse-keeper, if he gives too much credit, a cheesemonger whose credit grows rotten, or a mechanic that is weary of living by his fingers-ends, makes no more ado, when he finds his circumstances uneasy, but whips into a saddle and thinks to get all things retrieved by the magic of those two formidable words, *Stand and Deliver*. Hence the profession is grown scandalous, since all the world knows that the same methods now makes an highwayman, that some years ago would have got a commission. *But hark ye*, says one of the company, *in the days of those gentlemen highwaymen, was there no way left for a poor man to get his living out of the road of honesty? Puh! Ay*, replied



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Barnham, a hundred men were more ingenious then than they are now, and the fellows were so dexterous that it was dangerous for a man to laugh who had a good set of teeth, for fear of having them stole. They made nothing of whipping hats and wigs off at noon-day; whipping swords from folks' sides when it grew dusk; or making a midnight visit, in spite of locks, bolts, bars, and such like other little impediments to old misers, who kept their gold molding in chests till such honest fellows, at the hazard of their lives, came to set at liberty. For my part, continued he, I believe Queen Anne's war swept away the last remains of these brave spirits; for since the Peace of Utrac (as I think they call it) we have had a wondrous growth of blockheads, even in our business. And if it were not for Shephard and Frazier, a hundred years hence, they would not think that in our times there were fellows bold enough to get sixpence out of a legal road, or dare to do anything without a quirk of the law to screen them. All his auditors were wonderfully pleased with such discourses as these, and when the liquor had a little warmed them, would each in their turn tell a multitude of stories they had heard of the boldness, cunning, and dexterity of the thieves who lived before them. In all cases whatever, evil is much sooner learnt than good, and a night debauch makes a ten times greater impression on the spirits than the most eloquent sermon. Between the liquor and the tales people begin to form new ideas to themselves of things, and instead of looking on robbery as rapine and stealing as a villainous method of defrauding another, they, on the contrary, take the first for a gallant action, and the latter for a dexterous piece of cunning; by either of which they acquire the means of indulging themselves in what best suits their inclinations, without the fatigue of business or the drudgery of hard labour.

Reynolds, though a very stupid fellow, soon became a convert to these notions, and lost no time in putting them in execution, for the next night he took from a person (who it seems knew him and his haunts well enough) a coat and a shilling, which when he came to be indicted for the fact, he pretended they were given him to prevent his charging the prosecutor with an attempt to commit sodomy—an excuse which of late years is grown as common with the men, as it has long been with the women to pretend money was given them for flogging folks, when they have been brought to the bar for picking it out of their pockets; hoping by this reverberation of ignominy to blacken each other so that the jury may believe neither. However, in this case, it must be acknowledged that Reynolds went to death with the assertion that he received the coat and the shilling on the before-mentioned account, and that he did not take it by violence, which was the crime whereof he was convicted.

He had married a poor woman, who lived in very good reputation both before and after; by her he had three children, and though he had long associated himself with other women, and left her to provide for the poor infants, yet he was extremely offended because she did not send him as much money as he wanted under his confinement, and he could not forbear treating her with very ill language when she came to see him under his misfortunes. As he was a fellow of little parts and no education, so his behaviour under condemnation was confused and unequal, as it is reasonable to suppose it should be, since he had nothing to support his hopes or to comfort him against those fears of death



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which are inseparable from human nature. However, he sometimes showed an inclination to learn somewhat of religion, would listen attentively while Smith was reading, and as well as his gross capacity would give him leave, would pray for mercy and forgiveness. At chapel he behaved himself decently, if not devoutly, and being by his misfortunes removed from the company of those who first seduced him into his vices, he began to have some ideas of the use of life when he was going to leave it; and his thoughts had received certain ideas (though very imperfect ones) of death and a future state, when the punishment appointed by Law sent him to experience them. He died on the 23rd of August, 1726, being then upwards of twenty-six years of age.

This unhappy malefactor was amongst the number of those who, through want of education, was the more easily drawn into the prosecution of such practices as became fatal to him. His father was a common sailor belonging to the town of Sunderland, who had it not in his power to breed him in a very extraordinary manner; and what little he was able to do was frustrated by the evil inclinations of his son, who instead of applying himself closely while he remained at school, loitered away his time, and made little or no proficiency there. His head, as those of most seamen's children do, ran continually on voyages and seeing foreign countries, with which roving temper the father too readily complied, and while yet a boy, unacquainted with any kind of learning and unsettled in the principles of religion, he was sent forth into the world to pick up either as he could. The first voyage he made was up the Straits, where he touched at Gibraltar, and went soon after to Leghorn, the port to which they were bound. Being a young sprightly lad the mate carried him on shore with him, and being a man of intrigue, made use of him to go between him and an Irish woman, who was married to an Italian captain of a ship. The lady's husband was in Sicily, and they therefore apprehended themselves to be secure; she proposed to the mate the carrying off of jewels and other things, to the amount of some thousand crowns, and then flying with him from Italy. The project had certainly succeeded if it had not been for their imprudence; for the mate, who passed for her cousin, being continually in the house for three days before the ship went away, a suspicion entered into some of the neighbours (as they often do amongst Italians) that there was something more than ordinary concealed under the frequency of his visits. They therefore dispatched a messenger to Signor Stefano di Calvo, the captain's brother, with the account of their surmises. He came immediately to Leghorn, and going directly to his brother's house, found his sister had packed up all his valuable effects, and having loaded the boy with as much as he could carry, was on the point of setting out with him for the vessel. Stefano dragged her back into an inner apartment, where he locked her in, and afterwards fastened the doors of the outward apartment, through which they passed thither. But Jack, seeing how things went, laid down his burden and fled as hard as he could drive to the port, where he gave notice to the master of their disappointment, and caused the vessel immediately to weigh anchor and stand to sea, as fearing the consequences of the affair, which he knew would make a great noise, and might possibly turn to the detriment of his owners. Claxton had hitherto done nothing that was criminal within the



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eye of the Law, though while at sea he was continually employed in some mischievous trick or other. When he came into England the ship happened to go to Yarmouth, and as all places were alike to him, so short a stay there engaged him to marry a young woman who had some little matter of money, with which he proposed to do for himself some little matter at sea, and taking the greatest part of it with him, came up to London in order to see after a good voyage.

But this was the most fatal journey he ever made, for falling unfortunately into the hands of bad women and their companions, they quickly drew him to be as bad as themselves; so that forgetting the poor woman he had married, and regardless of the business which brought him up to town, he gave himself up entirely to the pursuit of such villainies as they taught him, and in a short space became as expert a proficient as any in the gang.

Some of them had consulted together to rob a woodmonger's house of a considerable quantity of plate, but there was one difficulty to be encountered, without overcoming which there was no hopes of success. The woodmonger's maid carried up the keys every night to her master (the outer court having a gate to it), and unless they could call upon some stratagem either to prevent the gate being shut, or to gain the means of unlocking it, their attempt was certainly in vain. In order to bring this to pass, they put Jack, who was a neat little fellow, into a very good habit, and found means to introduce him to the acquaintance of the wench at a neighbouring chandler's shop, where he took lodgings. In a fortnight's time he prevailed upon Mrs. Anne to come out at twelve of the clock to meet him, which she could not do without leaving the great gate ajar, having first carried up the key to her master, though for her own conveniency she had thus left it upon a single lock. While she and her sweetheart were drinking punch and making merry together, the rest of the confederates got into the house and carried away silver plate to the value of £80, leaving everything behind them in so good order that the maid, who was a little tipsy into the bargain, discovered nothing that night. Going to acquaint her lover with the accident as soon as it was found out, to her great surprise she was informed that he was removed, having carried away all the things before his landlord and landlady were up. The girl carefully concealed the passage, knowing how fatal it would be to her if it should reach her master's ears; but for her spark, she heard no more of him until his commitment to Newgate for another fact, for which he was ordered for transportation.

Being on board the vessel with the rest of the convicts, he soon procured the favour of the master to be let to go out upon deck, and being a strong able sailor, he ingratiated himself so far as to meet no worse usage than any other sailor in the ship. On their arrival at the Canaries, where by stress of weather they were obliged to put in, a quarrel happened between the master of their vessel and the captain of a Jamaicaman homeward bound. It ended in a duel with sword and pistol, and the captain of the transport having carried John with him, he behaved so well upon this occasion that he promised him his liberty as soon as they arrived in America, which he honorably performed; and Jack was so indefatigable in his endeavours to get home that he arrived at London six weeks before the captain came back.

He herded again with his old crew, though before he was able to



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do much mischief amongst them he was apprehended for returning from transportation, and was at the next sessions tried and convicted. By this time the captain who had carried him was arrived, and hearing of John's misfortune, he made such interest as procured the sentence of death to be changed into a second transportation.

Such narrow escapes, one would have imagined, might have taught him how dangerous a thing it was to dally with the laws of the nation in any respect whatsoever; and yet, when he was on shore in New England, where the master took care to provide him with as easy a service as a man could have wished, as soon as the captain's back was turned, he found means to give the planter the slip, and in nine months' time revisited London a second time. Whether he intended to have gone on in the old trade or no is impossible for us to determine, but this we are certain, that he had not been in England many weeks ere a person who made it his business to detect such as returned from transportation clapped him up in his old lodging at Newgate, brought him to his trial, and convicted him the third time. As soon as he had received sentence, he relinquished all hopes of life, and as in all this time he had never made any enquiry after his wife at Yarmouth, so he would not now bring an odium upon her and her family by sending to them, and making his misfortune public in the place where they lived.

The man seemed to be of an easy, tractable disposition, readily yielding to whatever those who conversed with them desired to bring him to, whether it were good or evil. He attended with great seeming piety and devotion to the books which Thomas Smith read to his fellow prisoners, and gained thereby a tolerable notion of the duty of repentance, and that faith which men ought to have in Jesus Christ. Thus by degrees he brought himself to a perfect indifference as to life or death, and at the place of execution showed neither by change of colour, or any other symptom any extraordinary fear of his approaching dissolution; and having conformed very devoutly to the prayers said by the Ordinary, after a short private devotion, he submitted to his fate with the afore-mentioned malefactors Smith and Reynolds, being then about twenty-eight years old or thereabouts.



This unfortunate woman was born of very good parents, who sent her to school, and caused her to be bred up in every other respect so as to be capable of performing well in her station of the world, and doing her duty towards God, from a just notion of religion. But it happening, unluckily, that she set her mind on nothing so much as the company of young men and running about with them to fairs and such other country diversions, her friends were put under the necessity of sending her to London, a thing which they saw could not be avoided.



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When she came to town, she got in one or two good places, which she soon lost from her forward behaviour; and having been seduced by a footman, she soon became a common street walker, and practised all the vile arts of those women who were a scandal to their sex. When she was young, she was tolerably handsome, and associated herself with one Black Mary, whose true name was Mary Rawlins, a woman of notorious ill-fame, and who, from being kept by a man of substance in the City, by her own ill-management was turned upon the town, and reduced to getting her bread after the infamous manner of the inmates of Drury. These two Marys used to walk together between Temple Bar and Ludgate Hill, where sometimes they met with foolish young fellows out of whom they got considerable sums, though at other times their adventures produced so little that they were obliged to part with almost every rag of clothes they had; nay, they were now and then reduced so low that one was obliged to stay at home while the other went out.

Mary Rawlins, contrary to the rules established amongst the sisterhood, married a man who had been a Life-Guardsman, and so was obliged to remove her lodgings to go with him into a little court near King Street, Westminster. Some of my readers may perhaps imagine that either her love for her husband, or the fear of his authority, might work a reformation, but therein they would be highly mistaken for he proposed no other end to himself than plundering her of those presents she received from gallants, so that whenever evening drew on, he was very assiduous for her to turn out (as they phrase it), that is to go upon the street-walking account picking pockets. She had not followed this trade long before she became so uneasy under it that one night meeting with her old companion Standford, she persuaded her to remove into a new quarter of the town, whither she fled to her from her husband. They there carried on their intrigues together, and lived much more at their ease than they had done before; for being now got towards Wapping, they drew in the sailors when they had any money to part with for their favours, and getting into acquaintance with some navy solicitors, they found means to raise them cash, at the rate of 60 per cent. to the broker, and as much to the whore.

Thus they lived till Standford took it in her head to serve her partner as she had done her before, for finding a man mad enough to marry her, she was fool enough to consent to the marriage. But after living with the man for about a year, she repented her bargain, and left him, as Rawlins had done hers. Some time after this she contracted an acquaintance with another man, at that time servant to a person in the City. By him she had a child, which as it increased her necessary expense, so it plunged her into the greater difficulty of knowing how to supply it. However, fancying her gains would be larger if she plied by herself, she totally left the company of her former associates, and applied herself with an infamous industry to her shameful trade of prostitution.

Not long after she had entered upon this single method of street-walking, she fell into the company of a gentleman who was more than ordinary amorous of her, and who after treating her with a supper, lay with her, and (as she said) gave her four guineas; but he on the contrary charged her with picking his pocket of a shagreen book, a silk handkerchief, and the money before mentioned. For this fact she was committed to Newgate, and soon



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after tried and convicted, notwithstanding her excuse of the man bestowing it on her as a present.

After she had received sentence, some of her friends gave her hopes of having it changed into a transportation pardon, but this she rejected utterly, declaring that she had rather die not only the most ignominious, but the most cruel death that could be invented at home, rather than be sent abroad to slave for her living. Such strange apprehensions enter into the head of these unhappy creatures, and hinder them from taking the advantage of the only possibility they have left of tasting happiness on this side of the grave; and as this aversion to the plantations has so bad effects, especially in making the convicts desirous of escaping from the vessel, or of flying out of the country whither they were sent, almost before they have seen it, I am surprised that no care has been taken to print a particular and authentic account of the manner in which they are treated in those places. I know it may be suggested that the terror of such usage as they are represented to meet with there has often a good effect in diverting them from such acts as they know must bring them to transportation; yet though I confess I have heard this more than once repeated, yet I am far from being convinced, and I am thoroughly satisfied that instead of magnifying the miseries of their pretended slavery, or rather of inventing stories that make a very easy service pass on these unhappy creatures for the severest bondage, the convicts should be told the true state of the case, and be put in mind that instead of suffering death, the lenity of our Constitution permitted them to be removed into another climate no way inferior to that in which they were born, where they were to perform no harder tasks than those who work honestly for their bread in England do. And this, not under persons of another nation, who might treat them with less humanity, but with those who are no less English for their living in the New, than if they dwelt in Old England, people famous for their humanity, justice, and, piety,²³³ and amongst whom they are sure of meeting with no variation of manners, customs, etc., unless in respect of the progress of their vices which are at present more numerous there than in their motherland. I say if pains were taken to instil into these unhappy persons such notions, at the same time demonstrating to them that from being exposed either to want and necessity from the loss they had sustained of this reputation, and being thereby under a kind of force in following their old courses, and as soon as discharged from the fears of death (supposing a free pardon could be procured) obliged to run a like hazard immediately after, they might probably conceive justly of that clemency which is extended towards them, and instead of shunning transportation, flying from the country where they are landed as soon as they have set their foot in them, or neglecting opportunities they might have on their first coming there, and be brought to serve their masters faithfully, to endure the time of their service cheerfully, and settle afterwards in the best manner they are able, so as to pass the close of their life in an honest, easy and reputable manner. Now it too often happens that their last end is worse than their first, because those who return from transportation being sure of death if apprehended, are led

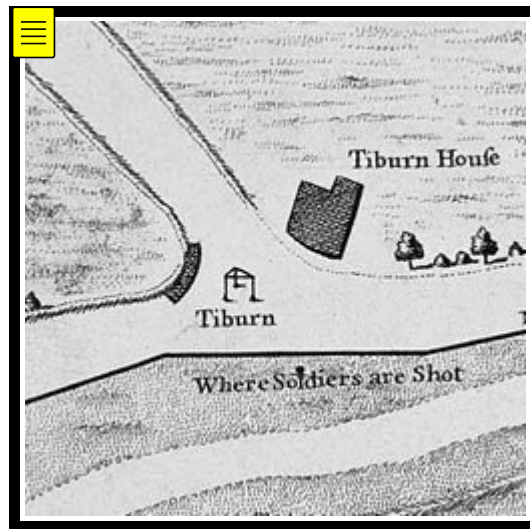
233. A New Hampshire law regulating the behaviour of masters towards their white servants enacts, "if any man smite out the eye or tooth of his manservant or maid-servant or otherwise maim or disfigure them much, unless it be mere casualty, he shall let him or her go free from his service and shall allow such further recompense as the Court of Quarter Sessions shall adjudge them." A good example of New England humanity and justice.

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thereby to behave themselves worse and more cruelly than any malefactors, whatsoever.

But to return to Mary Standford, who led us into this digression. She showed little or no regard for anything; no, not even for her own child, who, she said, she hoped would be well taken care of by the parish, and added that she had been a great sinner, for which she hoped God would forgive her, praying as well as she could, both while under sentence and at the place of execution. She declared that she bore no malice either against her prosecutor, or any other person, and in this disposition she finished her life at Tyburn, the same day with the aforementioned malefactors, being at that time near thirty-six years of age.



September 12, Monday or 21, Wednesday: Jane Martin, *alias* Lloyd, “a cheat and a thief, etc.,” John Cartwright, a thief, Mary Robinson, a shoplifter, Frances *alias* Mary Blacket, a highwaywoman, Jane Holmes *alias* Barret *alias* Frazer, a shoplifter, Katherine Fitzpatrick *alias* Green *alias* Boswell, a shoplifter, and William Allison, who stole from his master, were hanged on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²³⁴

Nothing deserves observation more than the resolution, or rather obstinacy, with which some criminals deny the facts they have committed, though ever so evidently proved against them. There are two evils which follow from a hasty judgment formed from this consideration; the first is, that people either instigated through malice, or rashly and by mistake, swear against innocent persons from a presumption that nobody would be so wicked as to die with a lie in their mouths; the other fault consists in imagining that the prosecutor is never in the wrong, but believing that covetousness or revenge can never bring people to such a pitch as to take away the life of another to gain money, or glut their passions. Our experience convinces us that either of these notions taken generally is wrong in itself, and that even as many have died in the profession of falsehoods, so some have suffered though innocent of the crime for which they died. The true use, therefore, of this reflection is that where life is concerned, too much care cannot be taken to sift the truth, since appearances often deceive us and circumstances are

234. LIVES OF THE MOST REMARKABLE CRIMINALS WHO HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED FOR MURDER, THE HIGHWAY, HOUSEBREAKING, STREET ROBBERIES, COINING OR OTHER OFFENCES / COLLECTED FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS AND AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS, AND PUBLISHED IN 1735 / Edited by Arthur L. Hayward



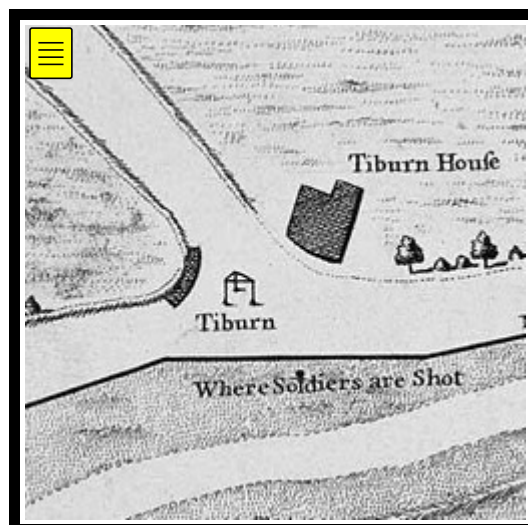
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sometimes strong where the evidence, if the whole affair were known, would be but weak.

Mary Blacket, which was the real name of this unfortunate woman, was the daughter of very mean parents, who yet were so careful of her education that they brought her up to read and write tolerably well, and to do everything which could be expected from a household servant, which was the best station they ever expected she would arrive at. When she grew big enough to go out, they procured for her a service in which as well as in several others, while a single woman, she lived with very good reputation. After this she married a sailor, and for all her neighbours knew, lived by hard working while he was abroad. Then on a sudden she was taken up and committed to Newgate, for assaulting William Whittle, in the highway, and taking from him a watch value £4, and sixpence in money, on the 6th of August, 1726.

When sessions came on, the prosecutor appeared and swore the fact positively upon her, whereupon the jury found her guilty, though at the bar she declared with abundance of asseverations that she never was guilty of anything of that sort in her life, and insisted on it that the man was mistaken in her face. While under sentence of death, she behaved herself with great devotion, and seemed to express no concern at leaving the world, excepting her only apprehensions that her child would neither be taken care of nor educated so well after her decease, at the charge of the parish, as hitherto it had been. Yet with respect to the crime for which she was to die, she still continued to profess her innocency thereof, averring that she had never been concerned in injuring anybody by theft, and charging the oath of the prosecutor wholly upon his mistake, and not upon wilful design to do her prejudice. At chapel, as well as in the place of her confinement, she declared she absolutely forgave him who had brought her to that ignominious end, as freely as she hoped forgiveness from her Creator; and with these professions she left the world at Tyburn, on the same day with the before-mentioned malefactor, being then about thirty-four years of age, persisting even at the place of execution in the denial of the fact.



The indiscretions of youth are always pitied, and often excused even by those who suffer most by them; but when persons grown



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up to years of discretion continue to pursue with eagerness the most flagitious courses, and grow in wickedness as they grow in age, pity naturally forsakes us, and they appear in so execrable a light that instead of having compassion for their misfortunes we congratulate our country on being rid of such monsters, whom nothing could tame, nor the approach even of death in a natural way hinder them from anticipating it by drawing on a violent one through their crimes.

I am drawn to this observation from the fate of the miserable woman of whom we are now speaking. What her parents were, or what her education it is impossible to say, since she was shy of relating them herself; and being seventy years old at the time of her execution, there was nobody then living who could give an account about her. She was indicted for stealing a silver cup, in company with Jane Holmes, and also stealing eighty yards of cherry-coloured mantua silk, value five pounds, in company with the aforesaid Jane Holmes, the property of Joseph Brown and Mary Harper, on the 24th of December. On these facts she was convicted as the rest were, in the evidence of Burton, whom, as is usual in such cases, they represented as a woman worse than themselves, and who had drawn many of them into the commission of what she now deposed against them.

As to this old woman Mary Robinson, she said she had been a widow fourteen years, and had both children and grandchildren living at the time of her execution; she said she had worked as hard for her living as any woman in London. Yet when pressed thereupon to speak the truth and not wrong her conscience in her last moments, she did then declare she had been guilty of thieving tricks; but persisted in it that the evidence Burton had not been exactly right in what she had sworn against her. It was a melancholy thing to see a woman of her years, and who really wanted not capacity, brought into those lamentable circumstances, and going to a violent and ignominious death, when at a time when she could not expect it would be any long term before she submitted to a natural one.

Possibly my readers may wonder how such large quantities of silk were conveyed away. I thought, therefore, proper to inform them that the evidence Burton said they had a contrivance under their petticoats, not unlike two large hooks, upon which they laid a whole roll of silk, and so conveyed it away at once, while one of their confederates amused the people of the shop in some manner or other until they got out of reach; and by this means they had for many years together carried on their trade with great success and as much safety, until the losses of the tradesmen ran so high as to induce them to take the method before-mentioned, which quickly produced a discovery, not only of the persons of the offenders, but of the place also where they had deposited the goods. By this means a good part of them were recovered, and those who had so long lived by this infamous practice were either detected or destroyed; so that shoplifting has been thereby kept under ever since, or at least the offenders have not ventured in so large a way as before.

But to return to the criminal of whom we are to treat. She said she was not afraid of death at all, though she confessed herself troubled as to the manner in which she was to die, and reflected severely upon Burton, who had given evidence against her. By degrees she grew calmer, and on the day of her execution appeared more composed and cheerful than she had done during all her



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troubles. She suffered at the same time with the malefactors before mentioned, and in her years looked as if she had been the mother of those with whom she died.

This woman was the daughter of parents in very good reputation, about an hundred miles off in the country. While they lived they took care to breed her to understand everything as became a gentlewoman of a small fortune, and in her younger years she was tractable enough; but her parents dying while Jane was but a girl, she came into the hand of guardians who were not altogether so careful as they ought. Before she was of age she married a young gentleman who had a pretty little fortune, which he and she quickly confounded; insomuch that he became a prisoner in the King's Bench for debt. Being thus destitute, and in great want of money, she set her wits to work to consider ways and means of cheating people for her support, in which she became as dexterous as any who ever followed that infamous trade. Yet her husband (as she herself owned) was a man of strict honour, and so much offended at these villainies that he used her with great severity thereupon, but that had no effect, for she still continued the old trade, putting on the saint until people trusted her, and pulling off the mask as soon as she found there was no more to be got by keeping it on.

Amongst the rest of her adventures in this way she once took it in her head that it was possible for her to set up a great shop, entirely upon credit, for except some good clothes she had nothing else to go to market with. Accordingly she first took a shop not far from Somerset House, and having caused some bales of brick-bats to be made up, sent them thither in a cart with one of her confederates, which was safely deposited in that which was to pass for the warehouse. A carpenter was sent for, who was employed in making shelves, drawers, and other utensils for a haberdasher's shop. Then going to the wholesale people in that way, she found means to draw them in to six or seven hundred pounds worth of goods to the house which she had taken. All of this stuff the Saturday night following, she caused to be carried over into the Mint, a practice very common with the infamous shelterers there who preserve their pretended privileges.

Mrs. Martin having got some acquaintance in a tolerable family, and having a very fair tongue, she quickly wheedled them into a belief of her being able to do great matters by her interest with some person of distinction, whose name she made use of on this occasion, and thereby got several presents and small sums of money, and (if she herself were to be believed) among the rest a silver cup. Whether her failing in her promises really provoked the people to swearing a theft upon her, or whether (which is more probable) she took an opportunity of conveying it secretly away, certain it is that for this she was prosecuted, and the fact appearing clear enough to the jury, was thereupon convicted and ordered for transportation. This afflicted her at least as much as if she had been condemned to instant death, and therefore she applied herself continually to thinking which way it might be eluded, and she might escape. Soon after her going abroad, she effected what she so earnestly desired, and unhappily for her returned again into England.

The numerous frauds she had committed had exasperated many people against her, who as soon as it was rumoured that she was come back again, never left searching for her until they found



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her out, and got her committed to Newgate; and on the record of her conviction being produced the next sessions, and the prosecutor swearing positively that she was the same person, the jury, after a short consultation, brought her in guilty, and she received sentence of death, from which, as she had no friends, she could not hope to escape. When she found death was inevitable, she fell into excessive agonies and well-nigh into despair. The reflection on the many people she had injured gave her so great grief and anxiety of mind that she could scarce be persuaded to get down a sufficient quantity of food to preserve her life until the time of her execution. But the minister at Newgate having demonstrated to her the wickedness and the folly of such a course, she by degrees came to have a better sense of things; her mind grew calmer, and though her repentance was accompanied with sighs and tears, yet she did not burst out into those lamentable outcries by which she before disturbed both herself and those poor creatures who were under sentence with her. In this disposition of mind she continued until the day of her death, which was on the 12th of September, 1726, being between twenty-seven-and-eight years of age, in the company of the before-mentioned malefactors, Cartwright, Blacket, Holmes, Fitzpatrick, Robinson, and William Allison, a poor country lad of about twenty-five, apparently of an easy gentle temper who had been induced into the fact, partly through covetousness, and partly through want.

In the summer of the year 1726, shoplifting became so common a practice, and so detrimental to the shopkeepers, that they made an application to the Government for assistance in apprehending the offenders; and in order thereto, offered a reward and a pardon for any who would discover their associates in such practices. It was not long before by their vigilance and warmth in carrying on the prosecution, they seized and committed several of the most notorious shoplifters about town, and at the next several ensuing sessions convicted six or seven of them, which seems to have pretty well broke the neck of this branch of thieving ever since.

The malefactor of whom we are now speaking pretended to have been the daughter of a gentleman of some rank in a northern county. Certain it is that the woman had had a tolerable education, and neither in her person, nor in her behaviour betrayed anything of vulgar birth. Yet those whom she called her nearest relations absolutely disowned her on her application to them, and would not be prevailed on to take any steps whatsoever in order to procure her a reprieve.

When between fifteen and sixteen years old, she came up to London to her aunt, as she asserted, much against the will of her relations. At that time she was not ugly, and therefore a young man in the neighbourhood began to be very assiduous in his courtship to her, hoping also that the persons she talked of, as her father and brothers in the country, would give him a sum of money to set up his trade. Miss Jenny was a forward lass, and the fellow being a spruce young spark, soon prevailed over her affections, and they were accordingly privately married, though it proved not much to her advantage. For her husband finding no money come, began to use her indifferently, upon which she fell into that sort of business which goes under the name of a Holland's Trader, and gave the best opportunities of vending



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goods that are ill come by, at a tolerable price, and with little danger.

Whether in the life-time of this husband or afterwards, I cannot say, but she fell into the acquaintance of the famous Jonathan Wild, and possibly received some of his instructions in managing her affairs in the disposal of stolen goods; but as Jonathan's friendships were mostly fatal, so in about a year's time afterwards she was apprehended upon that score, and shortly after was tried and convicted, and thereupon ordered for transportation. She continued abroad for two years or somewhat more; and then, under pretence of love to her children, ventured over to England again, where it was not long before she got acquainted with her old crew, who, if they were to be believed upon their oaths, were inferior to her in the art or mystery of shoplifting. However it were, whether by selling stolen goods, or by stealing them, certain it is that she ran into so much money that an Irish sharper thought fit, about Christmas before her death, to marry her in order to possess himself of her effects; which without ceremony he did upon her being last apprehended, disposing of every thing she had, and taking away particularly a large purse of old gold, which by her industry she had collected against a rainy day.

The woman who became an evidence against her swore so positively on the several indictments, and what she said was corroborated with so many circumstances, that the jury found her guilty on the four following indictments, viz.: for stealing 20 yards of straw-ground brocaded silk, value £10, the goods of John Moon and Richard Stone, on the 1st of June, 1726; of stealing, in the shop of Mr. Mathew Herbert, 40 yards of pink-coloured mantua silk, value £10, on the 1st of May, in the same year; of stealing, in company with Mary Robinson, a silver cup of the value of £5, the goods of Elizabeth Dobbinson, on the 7th January; of stealing, in the company of Mary Robinson aforesaid, 80 yards of cherry-coloured mantua silk value £5, the goods of Joseph Bourn and Mary Harper, on the 24th December.

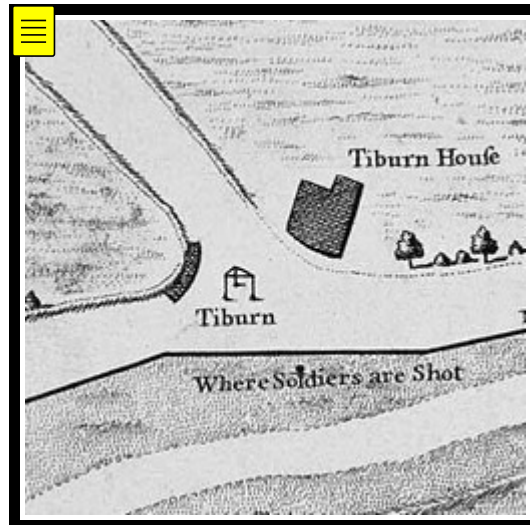
Notwithstanding the clearness of the evidence given against her, while under sentence of death she absolutely denied not only the several facts of which she was convicted, but of her having been ever guilty of any theft during the whole life. Yet she confessed her acquaintance with Jonathan Wild, nay, she went so far as to own having bought stolen goods, and disposing of them, by which she had got great sums of money. She was exceedingly uneasy at the thoughts of dying, and left no method untried to procure a reprieve, venting herself in most opprobrious terms against some whom she would have put upon procuring it for her, by pretending to be their near relation, though the people knew very well that she had nothing to do with them or their family; and she herself had been reprov'd for naking such pretensions by the ministers who assist condemned persons; yet she still persisted therein, and on the Ordinary of Newgate's acquainting her that the gentleman she called her father died the week before, suddenly, she fell into a great agony of crying, and as soon as she came a little to herself, reproached, though in very modest terms, the unnatural conduct of those she still averred to be so nearly related to her.

Nothing could be more fond than she was of her children, who were brought to Newgate to see her, and over whom she wept bitterly, and expressed great concern at her not having saved

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wherewith to support them in their tender years. At last, when she lost all hopes of life, instead of growing calmer and better reconciled to death, as is frequent enough with persons in that sad condition, on the contrary, she became more impatient than ever, flew out into excessive passions and behaved herself with such vehemency and flights of railing, that she did not a little disturb those who lay under sentence in the same place with her. For this she was reprimanded by the keepers, and exhorted to alter her behaviour by the minister of the place, which had at last so good an effect upon her that she became more quiet for the two or three last days of her life; in which she professed herself exceedingly grieved for the many offences of her misspent life, declaring she heartily forgave the woman who was an evidence against her, and who she believed was much wickeder than herself, because as this criminal pretended, she had varied not a little from the truth. At the place of execution she was more composed than could have been expected, and with many prayers that her life might prove a warning to others, she yielded up her last breath, at Tyburn, on the same day with the before-mentioned malefactors, being then about thirty-four years of age.



After once the mercers had got Burton, who was the evidence, into their hands, she quickly detected numbers of her confederates, several of whom were apprehended, and chiefly on her evidence, convicted. Amongst the rest was this Katherine Fitzpatrick, who was born in Lincolnshire, of parents far from being in low circumstances, and who were careful in bestowing on her a very tolerable education. In the country she discovered a little too much forwardness, and though London was a very improper place in which to hope for her amendment, yet hither her friends sent her, where she quickly fell into such company as deprived her of all sentiments, either of virtue or honesty. What practices she might pursue before she fell into shoplifting I have not been able to learn, and will not therefore impose upon my readers at the expense of a poor creature, who is so long ago gone to answer for her offences, which, as they were doubtless many of themselves, so they shall never be increased by me.

Being a woman of a tolerable person, notwithstanding her not having the best of characters, she got a man in the mind to marry



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her, to whom she made an indifferent good wife; and though he was not altogether clear from knowing of her being concerned with shoplifters, yet he was so far from giving her the least encouragement therein that they were on the contrary continually quarrelling upon this subject; and whenever, from any circumstances, he guessed she had been thieving, he beat her severely. Yet all this was to no purpose, she still continued to treat in the old path and associated herself with a large number of women, who were at this time busy in stealing silks out of the shops, either in the absence of the master, or under the pretence of seeing others. It is observable not only of Katherine Fitzpatrick, of whom we are now speaking, but also of all the persons who died for this offence, that they were extremely shy of making detailed confessions, though ready enough to confess in general that they had been grievous sinners, and that the punishment they were to undergo was very just from the hand of God. Fitzpatrick, as well as the former criminal Holmes, charged Burton the evidence with disingenuity in what she delivered on her oath against them, and yet Fitzpatrick could not absolutely deny having been guilty of a multitude of offences as to shoplifting, so that it is highly probable, even if the evidence erred a little in immaterial circumstances, that in the main she swore truth.

The particular facts on which Fitzpatrick was convicted, were: (1) stealing 19 yards of green damask valued at £9, the goods of Joseph Giffard and John Ravenal, on July the 29th, 1724; (2) Taking 10 yards of green satin out of the shop of John Moon and Richard Stone, value £3, on the 10th February, 1724/25; (3) Stealing, in company with another person, 50 yards of green mantua, value £10, the goods of John Autt, May the 5th, 1725; (4) Stealing 63 yards of modena and pink italian mantua, the goods of Joshua Fairy, February 24, 1724/25. These dates were all of them somewhat more than a twelvemonth before the time of her apprehension, and she insisted on it that she had left off committing any such thing for a considerable space, which made the evidence envy her, and so brought on the prosecution.

As she was a woman of good natural parts, and had not utterly lost that education which had been bestowed upon her, she was not near so much confuted at the apprehensions of death as people in her circumstances usually are. She said she was glad she had some reformation in her life before this great evil came upon her, because she hoped her repentance was the more sincere as it had not proceeded from force; yet she was very desirous of life when first condemned, and, like Mrs. Holmes, pleaded her belly, in hopes her pregnancy might have prevented her execution. But a jury of matrons found neither of them to be quick with child; yet both to the time of their death averred they were so, and seemed exceedingly uneasy that their children should die violent deaths within them.

When the time of her execution drew very near, she called her thoughts totally off from worldly affairs, and seemed to apply herself to the great business which lay before her, with an earnestness and assiduity seldom to be seen in such people. The assistance she had from her friends abroad were not large, but she contented herself with a very spare diet, being unwilling that anything should call her off from penitence and religious duties. She seemed to have entirely weaned her affections from the desire of life, and never showed any extraordinary emotions,

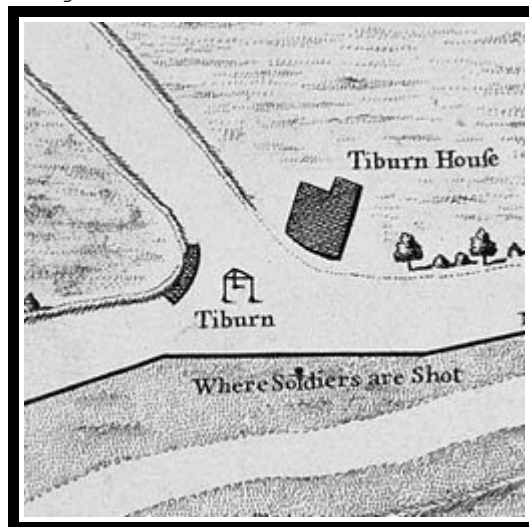
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except on the visit of her youngest child, in the nurse's arms, at the first sight of which she fell into strong convulsion fits, from which she was not brought to herself without great difficulty. She sometimes expressed a little uneasiness at the misfortunes which had befallen her after she had left off that way of living, but upon her being spoken to by several reverend persons, who explained and vindicated the wisdom and justice of Providence, she acquiesced under its decrees, and without murmuring submitted to her fate.

A little before she died, she, with the rest of the shoplifters, was asked some questions concerning one Mrs. Susanna, who was suspected of having been in some degree concerned with her. Mrs. Fitzpatrick and Mrs. Holmes each of them declared that they knew nothing evil about her. Mrs. Fitzpatrick did indeed say that she had some little acquaintance with the woman, and knew that she got her living by selling coffee, tea, and some other little things, yet never was concerned in any ill practices in relation to them, or anybody else she knew of. After having done this public justice, she, with great meekness, yielded up her breath at Tyburn, the 6th of September, 1726, being then about thirty-eight years of age.



This unhappy young man [William Allison] was born in Yorkshire, of a tolerable family, who had been sufficiently careful in having him instructed in whatever was necessary for a person of his condition, breeding him up to all works of husbandry in general, and also qualifying him in every respect for a gentleman's service; in one of which capacities they were in hopes he would not find it difficult to get his bread. He lived with several persons in the country with unspotted reputation, until at last a whim came into his head of coming up to London. An uncle of his procured him a very good service with one Mr. Charvin, a mercer in Paternoster Row, with whom he stayed for some time with great satisfaction on both sides; for his master was highly pleased with the careful industry of the young man's temper, and Cartwright on the other side had not the least reason to complain, considering the great kindness and indulgence with which he was used. But some young fellows of loose principles taking notice of Cartwright's easy and tractable temper, quickly drew him into becoming fond of their company and conversation. Every other Sunday he was permitted to go out where he would,



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until nine o'clock at night, and these young fellows meeting at a fine alehouse not far from his master's house, whither they began to bring Yorkshire John (as they called him), there they usually ran over the description of the diversions of the town, and of those places round it which are most remarkable for the resort of company. These were new scenes to poor John, who was unacquainted with any representation better than a puppet show, or recreation of a superior nature to bullbaitings at a country fair; and therefore his thoughts were extremely taken up with all he heard, and his companions were so obliging that they took abundance of pains to satisfy such questions as he asked them, and were often soliciting him to go and partake with them at plays, dancing-bouts, and all the various divertisements to which young unthinking youths are addicted. He wanted not many intreaties to comply with their request, but money, the main ingredient in such delights, was wanting, and of this he at last acknowledged the deficiency to one of the young men his companions. This fellow took no notice of it at that time, farther than to wish he had more, and to tell him that a young man of his spirit ought never to be without and that there were ways and means enough to get it, if a man had not as much cash as courage.

He repeated these insinuations often, without explaining them at all, until frequent stories of the fine sights at the theatres and elsewhere had so far raised poor John's curiosity that one evening he entreated his companion to let him into the bottom of what he meant. The cunning villain turned it at first into a jest and continued to banter him about his being a country put, and so forth, until he perceived it was past twelve o'clock, and knew that it was too late for him to get in at home; then he told him that if he promised never to reveal it, he would tell him what he meant. John being full of liquor swore he would not, and the other replied, *Why, here you stand complaining of the want of money, while I warrant you, there's a hundred or two pounds in your master's drawer under the counter. Maybe there may, said Cartwright, but what's that to me? Nay, replied the other, nothing, if you have not the courage to go and fetch it; why now, you can get in I'm sure. Come, I'll put you in a way of never being taken.*

Cartwright, who was half drunk, remembered that there was a parcel of gold in the drawer, and that it was in his power to get at a silver watch and some plate, so that he fatally yielded to the temptations of his companion, and thereupon the next morning, conveyed to him the watch, fourscore pounds in money, and three silver spoons. They shared the greatest part of the booty, of which Cartwright was quickly cheated, and though he fled with the remainder as far as Monmouthshire, in Wales, yet some way or other he was there detected, committed prisoner to the county gaol and then sent up to London, where a few days after his arrival he was tried and convicted.

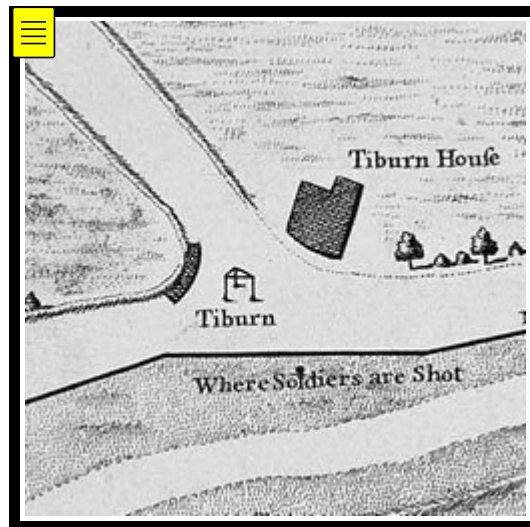
Never poor wretch suffered deeper affliction than he did, in the reflection of his follies, for giving up all hopes of life, he spent the whole interval of time between sentence and execution in grieving for the sorrows he had brought upon himself and the stain his ignominious death would leave upon his family. His companion, in the meantime, was fled far enough out of the reach of Justice, so that Cartwright had nothing to expect but death to which he patiently submitted, acknowledging upon all

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occasions the justice of that sentence which had befallen him, and wishing that his death might be sufficient to warn other young men in such circumstances, as his once were, from falling into faults of that kind, which had brought him to ruin and shame. Yet though he laid aside all desires relating to worldly things, he yet expressed a little peevishness from the neglect shown towards him by his friends in the country, who though they knew well enough of his misfortunes, yet they absolutely declined doing anything for him, from a notion perhaps that it might reflect upon themselves. Above all things Cartwright manifested a due sense of the ingratitude he had been guilty of towards so good a master as the gentleman whom he robbed had been to him, he therefore prayed for his prosperity, even with his last breath, and declared he died without malice or ill-will against any person whatsoever.

At the place of his execution he attended very devoutly to the prayers, but did not say anything to the people more than to beg of them to take warning by him, after the rope was fixed about his neck. He was executed at Tyburn, on Monday, the 21st of September, 1726, being then about twenty-three years of age, a remarkable instance of how far youth, even of the best principles, is liable to be corrupted, if they are not carefully watched over and may justify those restraints which parents and masters, from a just apprehension of things, put upon their children or servants.



November 3, Thursday: Joseph Shrewsbury *alias* Smith, a robber, etc., and Anthony Drury, a highwayman, were hanged on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²³⁵

This unhappy criminal of whom we are now to speak was the son of parents in so mean circumstances that they were not able to give him any education at all; yet they were careful in carrying him constantly to church with them, and instructing him as far as they were able in the principles of the Christian faith, and did everything that narrow capacity would give them leave, in order to enable him to get his bread in some honest employment. Then they put him out apprentice to a tanner in the

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neighbourhood, a very honest, considerate man, who treated him with all the indulgence and kindness he could have wished throughout the time of his apprenticeship. But he was so unfortunate as to fall into the company of a set of giddy young people who were totally addicted to merry-making and dancing, which when he had once got into the road of, he so neglected his business that his master, after abundance of reproofs, was obliged to part with him.

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



He had not at that time any designs of doing anything like the fact for which he afterwards suffered, but continuing still to frequent his dancing-mates' company, they promised to put him into a road to supply him with money enough to live without working, provided he had courage to do as they would have him; and he, without considering what he did, giving consent to their motions, went out one evening with David Anderson, Country Will and Jenny Austin, and after a while they stripped one Thomas Collier, and robbed him of his coat and waistcoat, hat, and a pair of silver buckles and other things, with a half guinea in gold, and twenty-five shillings in silver. For this offence he was quickly after committed, apprehended, and sent to Newgate,

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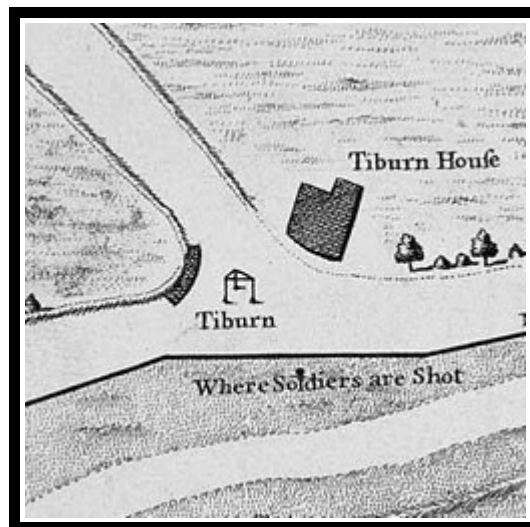
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where, upon a plain proof of the fact, he was convicted and ordered for execution.

When the poor man was under sentence of death, he sufficiently repented those idle hours he had consumed in dancing, and in the other merriments into which he had been led by his companions. He was now sensible how easily he might have lived if he had taken the advice of his kind master, who with so much pains endeavoured not only to instruct him in his profession, but also to reclaim him from those follies in which he saw him engaged. The thoughts of death threw him into violent agonies from whence his natural sense (of which he had a great deal) at last in some measure recovered him; and when upon the coming down of the death warrant, he saw there were no hopes left for him in this life, he applied himself with very great ardency to secure happiness in the next.

He declared that the fact for which he died was the first he ever committed, and that the depositions against him were not exactly conformable to truth. A day or two before his death, he appeared to be very calm and very cheerful, submitted with a perfect resignation to the lot which had befallen him, and at the place of execution exhorted the people not to let their curiosity only be satisfied in the sight of his wretched death, but he warned them also from the commission of such crimes as might bring them to a like fate. He suffered on the 3rd of November, 1726, at Tyburn, being then about twenty-two years of age.



This unfortunate man, whose fate made a great noise in the town at the time it happened, was born of parents neither mean in family nor fortune, in the county of Norfolk, where he received his education, on which no little pains and expense were bestowed. As to the particular circumstances of his life in his most early years, as no exact accounts have come to my hands, so I do not think myself obliged to frame any adventures for the entertainment of my readers, a practice very common, yet I think unjustifiable in itself. All that I can is that it appears he lived at Oxford and Bicester before he came to Wendover, at which place he had a house and family at the time of his death.

He was not, as far as I am able to learn, bred up to any particular profession whatever, his parents leaving him in circumstances capable of supporting himself. However, whether



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he arrived at it after some misfortunes, or had it discovered to him before, certain it is that he gained some knowledge in the act of curing smoking chimneys, by which he got very considerably, and from whence he derived the name of the Smoky Chimney Doctor, by which he was commonly known in the county of Bucks.

Some few years before his death, he married a widow gentlewoman at Oxford, of a considerable fortune. The world (though something too largely) reported that she had fifteen hundred pounds. However it were, he still addicted himself to women, and in all probability made her but an indifferent husband, since she took so little care about him, when in the midst of so great calamities. However it were, he maintained a tolerable character in the neighbourhood, and his credit had not been impeached in any degree when he committed the fact I am going to relate.

On the twenty-fifth of September, 1726, he attacked the Bicester wagon as it was coming from London, and committed the following robberies therein, viz., he took from Thomas Eldridge, fifteen moidores, two hundred and ten guineas, eighty half-guineas, and the goods and money of Mr. Burrows. He was likewise indicted and found guilty for assaulting Sarah, the wife of Robert King, on the highway, and robbing her of two shillings and sixpence. As likewise on a third indictment, for assaulting the aforesaid Thomas Eldridge, and taking from him a calico gown and petticoat, value twenty shillings, the goods of Giles Betts. There was a fourth indictment against him for assaulting Mary, the wife of Joseph Page, and taking from her two shillings and sixpence, but the three former being all capital, the court did not think proper to try him upon this.

While he lay under sentence of death he did not discover any signs of excessive fear, but appeared rather perplexed and confused than dispirited or dejected. He entertained at first great hopes of a reprieve, at least in order to be transported, and for obtaining it he spent a great deal of time writing to several friends who he thought might be instrumental in procuring it. However, he was far from neglecting the concerns of his soul, but read daily with much seeming diligence several little books proper for a man in his condition, and whenever he attended at chapel behaved with the utmost gravity, praying, if we may guess from exterior signs, with much fervour and devotion. He was a man very well acquainted with the principles of the Christian religion, and was in all appearance better persuaded of the merit and efficacy of his Saviour's passion than people often are in his condition.

As to his capacity, it appeared to have been very tolerable in itself, and to have received many advantages from education. How he acquired the art of curing smoky chimneys is not very well known, he having been bred up to no trade whatsoever, but coming into the world with a little fortune left him by his parents, he lived thereupon with a tolerable reputation, until the time of his marriage.

When he was first under sentence he was very desirous of having his wife come to town, and for that purpose wrote her several pressing letters, to which he received no answer. This gave him great disturbance. He thereupon wrote to a friend in the country, who lived near her, on whom also he had a strong dependance, entreating him to go to his wife and solicit her not absolutely to desert him in his extreme calamity, but to come



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up to town with him, in order to make their last efforts for his preservation. This epistle, however, proved in the main as unsuccessful as the rest, though it procured him an answer, wherein the person he wrote to informed him that his wife was extremely lame, insomuch that she could not put on her own clothes; that her servant was gone; that she had no money wherewith to defray the expenses of a journey to town, much less to assist him in his distress. As for himself, his friend excused his coming by reason of a great cold which he had caught in London when he came up before to attend Mr. Drury's affairs. Hereupon the unfortunate criminal bethought himself of another expedient, which he imagined would not fail of engaging Mrs. Drury to come to London. He informed her by letter, that in the beginning of his troubles he had pawned some silver plate in town for four-and-twenty pounds, that it was more than double the value, and might probably be lost on his death. To this his friend wrote him back that if anybody would take the plate out, and give advice thereof to Mrs. Drury, she would repay them, and gratify them also for their trouble. When this letter came to the poor man's hand he said he was satisfied that his wife did not desire he should live, however he heartily forgave her. He constantly denied that he had ever been concerned in any act of a like kind with that for which he died. He acknowledged that with what his wife had, and the business he followed, he might have lived very genteelly in the country; that he had not indeed, been very prudent in the management of his affairs; however, it was no necessity that forced him on the base and wicked act for which he died, the sole cause of his committing which was, as he solemnly protested, the repeated solicitations of King, the wagoner, who for a considerable time before represented the attempt to him as a thing no way dangerous in itself, and which would bring him a very large sum of ready money. As soon as King perceived that his insinuations begun to make some impression, he opened himself more fully as to the facility of robbing the Bicester wagon, *Wherein, says he, you will find generally a pretty handsome sum of money; and as to opposition, depend on it you shall meet with none.* At last these speeches prevailed on him, and it was agreed that the wagoner should have half the booty for his advice and assistance; and the better to conceal it, Drury, was directed to rob King's wife of about four pounds, which was all she had about her.

A minister of the Church of England, who was either acquainted with Mr. Drury, or out of charitable intention, attended him at the request of his friends, took abundance of pains to give him just notions of his duty in that unfortunate slate into which his folly had brought him; he repeated to him the reasons which render a public confession necessary from those who die by judgment of the Law; he exhorted him not to equivocate, or even extenuate in his declarations concerning his offence. Mr. Drury heard him with great patience, seemed to be much affected with the remonstrances which were made to him, and finally promised that he would act sincerely in the confessions he made to the public; adding that he had none in whom to trust but God alone, and therefore he would not offend him. The reverend divine to whom he spoke approved his resolution, and promised to afford him all the assistance in his power till death.

As soon as the criminal was satisfied that all applications that had been made for mercy were ineffectual, and that there was not



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the least probability of a pardon, he immediately sent for the clergyman before-mentioned, and desired to receive the Sacrament at his hands, to which the gentleman readily assented, uttering only a short previous exhortation unto a true repentance, open and genuine confession, and full and free forgiveness unto all who had ever injured him, or unto whom he bore any ill will. Mr. Drury, therefore, before he received the Elements, owned in express terms his being guilty of the fact for which he died, affirmed the truth of what he had formerly said concerning the wagoner, declared that he forgave both him and his own wife sincerely, and that having now in some measure eased his mind, he was no longer afraid of death.

Mr. Drury, even after receiving sentence, was indulged by the keepers of Newgate in having a room to himself in the Press Yard, which afforded him leisure and privacy for his devotions; and he seemed, especially for the last days of his life, to make proper use of those conveniences by excluding himself from all company and applying earnestly to God in prayer for the forgiveness of his sins. During the two or three days succeeding that whereon he received sentence, a gentlewoman attended pretty constantly upon him. Who she was we can neither say, nor is it very material; but Mr. Drury appealing to her in the presence of some persons, as to the truth of what he alleged concerning King, the wagoner, she desired to relate what she knew as to that point. The account she gave was to this purpose. *Mr. Drury carried me out of town with him in a chaise to Wendover. On the road we were met by the wagoner he speaks on, who desired Mr. Drury to step out, for he wanted to speak with him. Thereupon he complying with the wagoner's request, they walked together to a considerable distance, and there stopping talked to each other very earnestly for some time.* As to the subject of their discourse she declared she could say nothing, but as they came back to the chaise, the wagoner said, *You need not be afraid, you will be sure to get what you want.* To say truth, it was very odd for a single man to rob a wagon to which so many people belonged, in company with several other wagons, without any opposition, though it be likewise true that he did not attempt any of the rest.

Some persons of quality were prevailed on by his earnest solicitations and the circumstances we have before mentioned to endeavour the procuring him a pardon, but it was in vain; and it would have certainly have been much better for the man if he never had any hopes given him, for though he did not depend as much on promises as men in his miserable condition frequently do, yet the desire of life, sometimes excited the hopes of it, and thereby took off his thoughts from more weighty concerns, or at least made him more languid and confused than otherways he would have been, for the very day before his death he still entertained some expectations of mercy.

The evening before he suffered a woman knocked at his chamber door, and earnestly desired to speak a few words to him. He accordingly came towards the door and asked her what it was she would have to say to him. The woman, after expressing much sorrow for his misfortunes, told him she was desired by a person to whom she had been servant, if the thing were possible, to learn from his own mouth what he had to say against the wagoner. Mr. Drury replied that he had never had any thought of robbing wagons, or any such thing, if the wagoner had not advised and



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pressed him to it; so that his blood, the loss of his life, and all he had in the world lay upon that man. Then shutting the door he returned to his devotions, and continued to them all the evening and until the night was considerably spent.

As death drew near it seemed not to affect him so much as might be expected. On the morning of his execution he appeared not only easy, but cheerful, attended at the prayers at chapel with much composure, and went out of Newgate without any sign of fright or disturbance of mind. On the road to Tyburn he appeared serious but melancholy, spoke a good deal concerning the errors of his former life, said he had never been addicted to drinking, but had conversed too much with bad women, which had made his wife jealous, and caused home to be very uneasy. He seemed truly penitent for these offences, as he confessed them without any questions being asked by those about him.

At the place of execution his courage did not forsake him. He still preserved a great deal of serenity in his countenance, and when he was desired to acquaint the people with anything he had to say concerning the crime for which he died, he spoke with a strong voice, and repeated what he had formerly alleged about King, the wagoner, adding that he advised him also to rob the Banbury wagon; and that notwithstanding he talked of his wife's having four pounds about her, yet he took but three shillings, whereon the third indictment was founded, on which he was convicted. He then complained of his wife's unkindness, and both prayed for the spectators, and desired their prayers for him. As he was leaning on the side of the cart, the Ordinary told him that a man had charged him the day before with having married a man's daughter at Norwich, who is still living. Mr. Drury answered, he was reproached by many people, and he forgave them all, he then called to a gentleman who was near the gallows and spoke to him about his estate, which he had before settled. Afterwards he exhorted the people to live virtuously, and be warned by his example, and then submitted patiently to his fate, on Thursday, the third of November, 1726, being at that time of his decease about twenty-eight years of age.



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Alice Green, a cheat, thief, and housebreaker who managed to escape being [hanged](#) through the consideration of some gentlemen who took pity at her plight, went to the colonies and there married and made a credit of herself.²³⁶

Amongst these melancholy relations of misery and death, I fancy it is some ease to my readers, as well as to myself, when the course of my memoirs leads me to mention a story as full of incidents, and followed by a less tragic end than the rest. This woman, whose life I am about to relate, was the daughter of an under-officer to one of the colleges at Oxford. As the doctrine of making up small salaries by taking up large perquisites prevails there as well as elsewhere, Alice's father made a shift to keep himself, his wife and five children in a handsome manner out of £60 a year, and what he made besides of his place.

An affectation of gentility had infected the whole family, the old man had a good voice and played tolerably well on the fiddle. This drew abundance of the young smart fellows of the university to his house, and that of course engaged his three daughters to take all the pains they were able to make themselves agreeable. The mother had great hopes that fine clothes and a jaunty air might marry her daughters to some gentlemen of tolerable fortunes, and that one of them, at least, might have a chance of catching a fellow commoner with a thousand or two *per annum*, for which reason Miss Molly, Miss Jenny, and Miss Alice were all bred to the dancing school, taught to sing prettily, and to touch the spinet with an agreeable air. In short, the house was a mansion of politeness, and except the two brothers, one of which was put out apprentice to a carpenter, and the other to a shoemaker, there was not a person to be seen in it who looked, spoke or acted as became them in their proper station of life. But it is necessary that we should come to a more particular

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description.

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



Old Peter, their father, was a man of mean birth, and of a sort of accidental education. From his youth up he had lived in Oxford, and from the time he was able to know anything, within the purlieus of a college, from whence he had gleaned up a few Latin sentences, scraps of poetry, and as the masterpiece of his improvements, had acquired a good knack of punning. All these mighty qualifications were bent to keep a good house, and drinking two or three quarts of strong ale, accompanied with a song, and two or three hours' scraping at night. The mother, again, was the last remnant of a decayed family, who charged its ruin on the Civil Wars. She was exceedingly puffed up with the notions of her birth, and the respect that was due to a person not sprung from the vulgar. Her education had extended no farther than the knowledge of preserving, pickling and making fricasees, a pretty exact knowledge in the several kinds of points and a judgment not to be despised in the choice of lace, silks and ribbons. She affected extravagance that she might not appear mean, and troublesomely ceremonious that she might not seem to want good manners. Clothes for herself and her



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daughters, a good quantity of china and some other exuberances of a fancy almost turned mad with the love of finery, made up the circle of what took up her thoughts, the daughters participating in their parents' tempers. But what was wonderful indeed, the sons were honest, sober, industrious young men.

In the midst of all this mirth and splendour, the father died, and left them all totally without support other than their own industry could procure for them, slender provision indeed! Miss Molly, the eldest, was about twenty-two at the time of her father's death, and her sisters were each of them younger than her, and Alice a year younger than Jenny, and about eighteen. The mother was at her wits' end to know how to procure a living for herself and them, but an old gentleman in one of the colleges, to whom Peter had been very useful, and who therefore retained a grateful sense of his service, was so kind as to give fifty pounds towards putting out the daughters, and took care to see the youngest Alice placed with a mantua-maker in London. Molly fell into a consumption, as was generally said, for the love of a young gentleman who used to spend his evenings at her father's, and who marrying a young lady of suitable birth and fortune to himself, was retired into Shropshire. Jenny ran away with a servitor, and was lost to her mother and her friends; so that Alice had it in her power to be tolerably provided for, if she had inclined to have lived virtuously, and not to have frustrated the offers of a good fortune. But she was wild and silly from her cradle, born without capacity to do good to herself, and indued only with such cunning as served her to ruin others.

The first intrigue she had after her coming up to London was with a young fellow who was clerk to a Justice of the Peace in the neighbourhood. Before he saw Alice he had been a careful, industrious young man, and through his master's kindness had picked up some money; but from the time that his master had a suit of clothes made up with Alice's mistress, and which occasioned her first coming about the house, poor Mr. Philip became the victim of her charms, and moped up and down like a hen that had lost her chickens. It was not long before the Justice's daughters found out his passion, and having communicated their discovery to the maids, exposed him to be the laughing stock of the whole house. Never was a poor young fellow so pestered! One asked him whether he liked the wife with three trades? Another was enquiring whether he had cast up the amount of remnants of silk, shreds of lace, and the savings that might be made out of linings, facings, and robings? The Justice took notice that Philip had left off reading the news, and the old lady wondered whether he had forgotten playing upon the organ in her husband's study. But all this served rather to increase than to abate his passion, so that he neglected no opportunity of meeting and paying his addresses to his mistress.

Alice was no less careful on her side, and in a short space it was agreed that she should run away from her mistress, of whom she was grown heartily weary, and that Philip should counterfeit most excessive grief at his loss, in order to prevent the least suspicion of his being privy thereto. Having adjusted this, it was not long before they put their design into execution, and Philip first having provided a lodging for her in Brewer Street, she, on a Sunday in the evening, when all the rest of the family were out, removed from her mistress's house in a court near the



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Strand, taking all that belonged to her in a hackney-coach, leaving the key at an alehouse. Philip had so good a character that the grief he affected on this occasion passed for reality upon all the house, and the flight of Alice had no other effect than to excite a new spring of railery on the loss of his mistress. He laid out the greatest part of what he had saved during five years' service in furnishing out two rooms for her very neatly, passing himself, where she lodged, for the son of a gentleman of fortune in the country, who had married against his friends' consent, and was therefore obliged to keep his wife in a place of privacy until things at home could be made easy. For some time the lovers lived mighty happily together, and nothing was wanting to complete Philip's wishes than that they were married, for Alice never making such a proposal, now and then disturbed his thoughts, and put him a little out of humour. Things remained in this state with a little alteration for about five months, until an Irish captain coming to lodge pretty near where Philip had placed Alice, he found a way to see her twice or thrice, and being a fellow of a smooth tongue, a handsome person and an immoderate assurance, it was not long before he became master of her affections. The temper of Philip having been always too grave for her, in about three weeks' time she let the captain into the truth of the whole story, and at his persuasion, during the time Philip was at Surrey assizes, sold off the furniture of her lodgings, and directing a letter to be left for him at his master's house by the Penny Post, moved off with her new gallant.

It would be impossible, should I attempt to describe it, to describe the agony the poor young fellow was in at the receipt of Alice's epistle, in which she told him flatly she was weary of him and had got another gallant; and saying that if he tried to look after her or give her any other uneasiness, she would send a full account of all things to his master. The jilt was sensible this would keep him quiet, for as he depended solely upon his favour, so a story of this sort would have inevitably deprived him of it for ever. It answered her intent, and the force he put upon his passions cost him a severe fit of sickness. Alice, in the meanwhile, indulged for about a week with her Irish captain, at the end of which he beat her and turned her out of doors. It was in vain for her to talk of her goods and her clothes; the captain had carried her amongst a set of his acquaintance, who on the first quarrel called her a thousand foolish English whores, and bid her go back to her Justice's clerk again. In the midst of her affliction, with nothing on but a linen gown, and about three shillings in her pocket, the watchman coming his rounds, found her sitting on the steps at the door where the captain lodged. He asked her what she did there, she said her husband and she had quarrelled and he had shut her out. The watchman was going away, satisfied with the answer, when the captain called out at the window, told him she was a street-walker, and bid him take her away. The landlady confirmed this, and the fellow laying fast hold of her shoulder, compelled her to go with him to the watch-house. However, a shilling procured her liberty and a favourable report to the constable that she was an honest young woman, who had the misfortune to be married to a bad husband, who turned her into the street, and she was afraid would not suffer her to come in again that night. Upon hearing this, the constable bid her sit



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down by the fire, gave her a glass of brandy and promised her she should be as safe and as easy as the place would allow her for that night.

But unluckily for Alice, as she went to take the glass out of the constable's hand, he knew her face, and happening to be the baker who served the mantua-maker with bread, where she lived, the next morning he conducted Mrs. Alice, much against her will, home to her mistress. One of her fellow-apprentices ran with the news to the Justice's, and one of the daughters whispered it in Philip's ears, as he was writing a recognizance in the Justice's book. Philip no sooner heard it but he fell down in a swoon, and about half an hour was spent before they could bring him again to himself. The young lady who had played him the trick, immediately quitted the room, and he opening his eyes, and perceiving her gone, pretended it was a sudden fit, and that he had been used to them when a child.

Much as he had suffered by this ungrateful woman, he took the first opportunity to go to a coffee-house within a door or two of her mistress, in order to learn what had become of her. There was but one person who had been trusted with his ever having visited her at all, and they too, were ignorant that she had ever run away with him. Philip therefore sent for his confidant, from whom he received information, that after snivelling and crying for a hour or two, she took advantage of being left alone in a parlour (although the door was locked), and getting out at the window into the backyard, made a shift to scramble over the top of the house of office into the court, and so made her escape to the waterside, where her mistress found she had taken a pair of oars. But though they followed her to Falcon Stairs, yet they were not able to retrieve her. Philip at this news was exceedingly grieved, and returned home again very disconsolate on this occasion.

Alice, in the meantime, lurked about in St. George's Fields till evening, and then crossing the bridge, walked on towards St. James's. However dirty and despicable her dress, yet as she had a very pretty face and a very engaging manner of speaking at first sight, she drew in a merchant's book-keeper, as she walked down Cornhill, to carry her to a certain tavern at the corner of Bishopsgate Street; where, after a good supper and a bottle or two of wine, she engaged him to take her to a lodging, and by degrees to give her a great deal of fine clothes, in return for which she flattered him so greatly that he grew as fond of her and as much a fool as ever Philip had been.

In the meantime her sister, who was much of her disposition, had been turned off by a young fellow she had run away with from Oxford, and in a miserable condition had trotted up to town, in order to see whether she could have better luck with another gallant. One night, as she was strolling through Leadenhall Street in her vocation, she saw her sister Alice and the book-keeper who kept her, walking home with a servant, and a candle and lanthorn before them. Jenny did not think fit to speak to them, but dogging them privately home, called upon her sister the next day and was mighty well received. The couple now took every opportunity (notwithstanding the allowance of the book-keeper) to enable Alice to stroll out with her together, and wandered about nightly in quest of adventures, till it began to grow towards ten o'clock, and the fear of a visit from her keeper drove Alice to her lodgings.



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This trade, without any remarkable accident, was practised for about three months, when on a sudden the book-keeper vanished, and for three weeks' time Alice heard not a word of him. This threw both the sisters into a heavy peck of troubles, and the more because he had always kept it a secret in whose family he lived and went to the people where Alice lodged by another name than his own. However they got money enough by sparks they picked up to live pretty easily together, and that no misfortune might go too near their hearts, they fell to drinking a quart of brandy a day. It seems the woman at whose house they lodged was herself given to drinking, and so by treating her they fell into the same vice. The landlady in return was mighty civil to them, and every now and then invited them downstairs to drink with her. One evening when they were below stairs, there happened to be some discourse about a trial at the Sessions House, whereupon Alice expressed her desire of seeing the trials, and her sister agreeing in the request, their landlady agreed to carry them the next morning. Accordingly they were at Sessions House by the time the Court was set, and the two young sluts were exceedingly merry at the wretched appearances the poor creatures made at the bar. In the midst of their mirth, a man was brought up to plead to his indictment, who had only a blanket wrapped over his shirt to keep him from the weather; they were laughing and talking to some of the people behind them, when Jenny patted her sister to take notice of what the man was charged with. Alice listened and heard the indictment read, which was for breaking open an escritoire and taking out of it ninety guineas, two diamond rings and a good tweezer. When the clerk had done reading, the criminal answered with a low voice, *Not Guilty*, and the keeper thereupon took him from the bar. As he turned, his face being towards them, Alice saw that it was the book-keeper who had lived with her, and in a low voice whispered her sister, *As I hope to live, it is our Tom*. They did not stay much longer, but began to consider as soon as they got home what was to be done. Alice was sensible that the tweezer-case mentioned in the indictment had been given her, and was under a thousand frights and fears that it should be discovered and was above all wondrous careful of her landlady, that she did not go any more to the trials that Sessions.

The day they heard that sentence was passed, Jenny went to one of the runners at Newgate, and giving him a shilling, asked what had become of such a person. The fellow answered that he was to be transported. Jenny came immediately home with the news to her sister. She shed a few tears and said, what if he should want in Newgate? *Nay*, says Jenny, *let him want what he will, I'm sure you shall not be fool enough to pawn your things to relieve him*; and as her fit of compassion was soon over, so they determined to remove their lodgings for fear that if he were under necessity, as they could not well doubt he was, considering the figure he made at his trial, he might send to her. But they needed not to have been under any apprehensions of that sort, for shame and grief had brought him so low that the gaol distemper seizing on him, he died the same week he had been tried, and the runner to whom Jenny had given the shilling, remembering her face, stopped her in the street, and told her the news. When Alice heard it, she pretended to fall into fits, and express abundance of sorrow and concern. The sorrows were not, however, so deep but that brandy and two days' time effaced



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them so well that she dressed in the best manner she was able, in order to go out and look for a spark.

Unfortunately for her, her amours produced the usual consequence, a loathsome distemper, which seizing about the same both her sister and herself, through want of proper care, ruined both their constitutions; and the ill consequence being increased by the use of improper food, they were soon after in such a condition that their infamous trade of prostitution fell off, and they were in danger of starving and rotting. In this distress they knew not what to do, till at last advising with an old woman whom they had scraped acquaintance with, she readily offered them the use of her house, and to engage for them a surgeon, who should complete their cure. The sisters were overjoyed at this, and in a hurry accepted her offer, removing themselves and what little valuable movables they had the next week.

They were received with great courtesy and kindness, and the old woman, from an acquaintance of three weeks, assured them that they were no less dear to her than if they had been her own daughters. This treatment continued until they were in the height of a salivation, and then they were acquainted with usage of another sort. This distemper was very expensive, their course of physic very troublesome, it required much attendance, they were strangers to her, and so by degrees the old woman got from them most of the trinkets they brought with them. So that when they were come a little to themselves, and nourishing food was proper to restore them to perfect soundness, they had no way left to procure it but by pawning or selling their clothes, which being quickly done and the money spent, nakedness and poverty became their companions.

Thus plunged in misery, they were exposed to the daily insults of the bawd, who treated them with great cruelty now she had them absolutely in her power. Alice was so very uneasy under it, that having one night got a few clean things about her, she resolved to venture out in a thin linen gown, to see what might be done to free them from these difficulties. She had not got lower than Southampton Street, in the Strand, before a gentleman well dressed, though much in liquor, invited her to go with him to his chambers. He carried her as far as Essex Street, and then turning down to the Temple, brought her into rooms up two pair of stairs, richly furnished. She saw nobody that he had to attend him, but everything seemed in very exact order, and so without further ceremony to bed they went. His weight of liquor soon forced him to sleep, but Alice, whose head was full of the miseries she had so long gone through, arose, put on her clothes and searching his pockets, found a gold watch, nineteen guineas and a large gold medal. She was so much surprised with the richness of this booty, and yet this being her first fact, so confounded within herself, that she knew not well what to do. At last, with great difficulty she forced open the chamber door, which he had locked (and laid the key where she could not find it). Next she came to the outer doors of the chambers, in which the key was, and so there was no difficulty in getting out; but then finding it impossible to shut the door after her without locking it, she even did so, and carried away the key.

She made all the haste she could home to her landlady, and without considering the consequence, paid her six pounds which she demanded, and got some clothes out of her hands, which she



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had retained as a security for the money. Then she removed with her sister, as secretly as she could, to an inn in Smithfield, and from thence, the next day, they removed to a little lodging in narrow lane by St. John's, where downright fear made them keep so much within doors that they had almost spent all their money in six weeks' time, without thinking of any method to get more.

At last, Jenny, as being least in danger, equipped herself as well as she could, and ventured about nine o'clock one evening into the streets. She walked about half an hour without meeting with any adventure, but at last picked up an innocent country lad. They had not gone far towards a tavern before the constable and his body-guard of watchmen surprised and hurried them away to the Wood Street Compter. There she remained until the next day, when it was intimated to her that if she could produce a couple of guineas they would be looked upon as good bail. She sent for her sister Alice, who not having so much money, foolishly offered the gold medal as a security. Some of the limbs of the Law thereabouts, were acquainted with the gentleman of the Temple who lost it, and it being shown up and down to know its value, they declared it was stolen, and Alice, instead of procuring her sister's liberty, was forced into the same prison, and confined with her. As it was about three weeks to sessions, they were permitted to remain at the Compter during that time. This was a deeper plunge into misfortune than they had ever yet known, and the fear of hanging was so strong that Alice, in order to avoid it, resolved upon making an application to a person to whom otherwise she would never have made herself known. Who should this be but Philip, who was lately married, but still did the business of his old master the Justice, and therefore was always to be met with at his house, though he had now got a little place upon which he was capable of living pretty handsomely. Alice's letter reached him just as he was sitting down to dinner. The surprise he was in was so great that it could not be hid from the company. However, to cover the cause of it, he pretended that it brought him news of a person being gone off for whom he was bail, and which obliged him not to lose a minute in going to see what might be done. So putting on his hat, and entreating some gentlemen who were at the table with him not to disturb themselves, for he should be back in half an hour, away he went directly to the Compter. And having influence over the people in power there, he prevailed to have her let out to an adjacent tavern.

The affliction she had gone through had altered but not impaired her beauty. Philip, ill-used as he had been by her, could not forbear bursting into tears at the sight of the miserable condition in which she was. As soon as his surprise was a little over, she acquainted him with the true state of the case, and begged his assistance in prevailing on the injured gentleman to soften the prosecution. He promised her all that was in his power, but desired to know after what manner she intended to live, in case her liberty could ever be regained. She cried and promised to work hard for her living rather than fall into that miserable plight again, and then told him how unfortunately it happened that her sister also was involved in the same calamity. At parting, Philip presented her with a guinea, and told her she should have the same every week while she remained there, assuring her also that he would not fail coming to her the next



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day at noon, and informing her of the temper in which he found her antagonist.

It happened that the Templar was Philip's intimate acquaintance, and had a seat near his father's house in the country. Philip told him the truth of the story, and how he came to interest himself so far in the affair. The gentleman was not hard to be prevailed on, and said he did not conceive it would be of any service to the women to let them be set at liberty, considering the course of life they would be obliged immediately to fall into for bread; that for his part, he inclined rather to procure them liberty to transport themselves, and that they might not be destitute in a strange country, he was not averse, notwithstanding his loss, to give them something towards putting them in a condition of getting their livelihood when they got over. Philip readily agreed to this, though he was fearful of its proving an expedient little agreeable to the women. However, the next day, when he went, he sent for them both to the tavern, and proposed it. Alice said it was the most agreeable thing that could have befallen her. She was sensible of the manner in which she had lived in her native country, and of the difficulty there would be of her amending here, and though her sister Jenny was at first very averse, yet she quickly brought her to be as complying as herself and to wish nothing more than the possibility of living honest in any of the plantations.

Philip carried this news at night to the Temple and the gentleman there, who was a great humorist, was so much taken with the temper and spirit of Alice, that he would needs see her again, and thereupon accompanied Philip the next day to the place of her confinement. There everything was soon settled, the Templar procured their discharge, put them to board at a house which he could command, and bargained with a captain of a New England vessel for their passage thither; not as for persons who had been guilty of any misdeeds here, but as of young women of good families, who were unwilling to go to service here, and had therefore got their friends to raise as much money as would send them over there, where perhaps they might meet with better fortune.

In short, their two benefactors furnished them with things to the amount of two hundred pounds, accompanied them themselves on board the vessel, and recommended them to the captain with as much earnestness as if they had been near relations. Coming in this light into the abroad, they were received with great hospitality, and treated with much kindness and respect; and in fine, after remaining here about a year, Jenny married a gentleman of as good fortune as any in the country, and her sister, not long after, had the same luck. Jenny did not indeed survive it long, but Alice outlived her first husband, and marrying a second, returned into England where she is still living in as much respect and esteem as any gentlewoman in the county where she inhabits.

February 12, Sunday (1726, Old Style): Robert Haynes, a murderer, etc., was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²³⁷

As from a multitude of instances in the course of these memoirs
237. LIVES OF THE MOST REMARKABLE CRIMINALS WHO HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED FOR MURDER, THE HIGHWAY, HOUSEBREAKING, STREET ROBBERIES, COINING OR OTHER OFFENCES / COLLECTED FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS AND AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS, AND PUBLISHED IN 1735 / Edited by Arthur L. Hayward



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it has been shown how great a misfortune it is to be destitute of education, so from the following life it will appear that an improper education is as dangerous as none at all.

Robert Haynes, the criminal whose history we are to give at present, was the son of persons in Ireland, of none of the best circumstances, who yet afforded him a very good education, causing him to be instructed not only in the Latin, but also in the Greek tongue, in both of which to the day of his death he attained a tolerable knowledge. His father, it seems, though he had done everything for his son in breeding him a scholar, though when he grew up to man's estate he had nothing to give him, and was forced to let him come over to England to list himself in the Foot Guards. His officers gave him always the character of a quiet, inoffensive lad, who injured nobody, nor was himself addicted to those vices which are common to the men of his profession. On the contrary, he retained yet strong notions of those religious principles in which he had been educated. He addicted himself much to reading, and though his spirit was not a little broken by the consideration of that low life by which he was obliged to stoop, yet he preserved a becoming spirit and a very gentleman-like behaviour upon all occasions; so that the officers of his regiment very much regretted that misfortune which brought him to an untimely end. Of the occasion of this we come next to speak, since his youth and the regularity of his life prevented any other of his adventures coming to our notice. It happened one Sunday evening, as he was walking along St. James's Park, with two other soldiers, they met two men and two women. Haynes unluckily kissed one of the women, upon which one of the men turned and broke his head. As was insisted even to the time of the death of this unfortunate person, the swords of both were drawn; however that were, he gave his antagonist a wound in the breast of which he died. For this he was apprehended and committed prisoner to Newgate. At the ensuing sessions of the Old Bailey he was indicted for wilfully murdering Edward Perry, by giving him a wound on the left part of the right breast near the short ribs, of the depth of twelve inches, and of the length of one. He was also indicted a second time on the Statute of Stabbing, and a third time upon the coroner's inquest for wilful murder. On all three of which, notwithstanding his defence, and the witnesses he called, he was found guilty; and although some honourable persons took a great deal of pains to procure a pardon or reprieve for him, yet it proved of no purpose, but he and the afore-mentioned malefactor were put into the death warrant and ordered for execution.

For himself he had little hopes from the endeavours of his friends and therefore behaved himself as if he had had none, being not only constant and devout at the public exercises in the chapel, but also ardent in his devotions in private and by himself. As the youth wanted not good sense, and had not forgot the education he had received in Ireland, so in every respect while under sentence of death he performed what could be expected from a man of courage, and a Christian, under his circumstances. A minister, out of charity, visited him several times and prayed with him, exhorting him always to make a dear and candid confession of the fact, and, since there were no hopes, not to go to death with a lie between his lips. Yet he persisted still in what he had at first declared, and continued to assert the truth of that declaration, until the gaol sickness



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brought him so low, that he was scarce able to speak at all. In this low slate of health he continued until within two or three days of his death, when he began to pick up strength a little; and as soon as he was able to go up the stairs, he attended as usual the devotions of the chapel. In this frame and disposition of heart he remained until the day of his execution came, upon which he appeared not only calm but cheerful, received the Sacrament as is usual with malefactors at the day of their death, and behaved at it in a very pious and religious manner.

When he came to Tyburn he stood up, and intended to have spoken to the people, but finding himself too weak, he referred to a paper which he delivered to Mr. Applebee, a printer, and which contained the substance of what (if he had been able) he would have there spoken; and then, after a few private ejaculations, he easily resigned up his breath at the same time with the other malefactor, being then in the one-and-twentieth year of his age. I thought proper to insert the copy of that letter I have before spoken of, and it follows verbatim.

Good people,

I am to suffer by Law an ignominious death (God's will be done) which untimely end I never expected. I am a youth and it's above twelve months since I enlisted into his Majesty's Service. The character of my behaviour in that time I will leave to my acquaintance to declare; my character was sufficiently testified at my trial, by gentlemen of worth and honour. I pray God bless them for their Christian charity. I praise God my resolution to live uprightly was no constraint; as for the cause I suffer, and the horrid imputation I am charged with which is rendered murder (from my soul I abhor) I now declare as I expect salvation, I am unjustly accused, but I freely forgive my persecutors, as I hope to be forgiven; for what I did was accidental, and in my own vindication. The real truth is as follows:

The two soldiers that were my evidence desired my company to drink with them. As we were returning home through the Park, passing by two women, and being warm with liquor, I presumed to give one of them a kiss; the other was a married woman, and resenting my freedom, called out to her husband, Edward Perry deceased, and to Toms that walked before, both entire strangers to me. They returned, Toms advanced towards me speaking abruptly, and struck me over the head and shoulders with a stick, which stunned me; likewise he urged the deceased to quarrel with me. The deceitful Perry enraged, swore he would see me out, and struck me with his sword in his scabbard over the head. He drew his sword and made several passes at me, I still retreated till provoked to draw my sword to preserve myself. This affair was in the night. I received a wound in my right hand thumb, and a thrust through my coat. This I declare to be the whole truth, as I shall answer before my great God; though my persecutors, Toms and the deceased man's wife, swore quite the reverse, which took place to my ruin. I pray God forgive them their trespasses, as I hope forgiveness for my own. I pray God bless my good colonel for his care and endeavours for my safety; I pray God bless him with length of days and prosperity



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in all his undertakings. I thank God, I never wronged man, woman, or child, to my knowledge, nor was I ever inclined to quarrel. I heartily beg of God pardon and forgiveness for my sins, and I confide in the merits of my dear Saviour, who died for the World. I was baptized and bred a member of the Church of England (though an unworthy and unfortunate one) in which Communion I hope for salvation through my blessed Redeemer.
Sunday, February the 12th, 1726.
Robert Haynes



February 13, Monday (1726, Old Style): William Miller, a highwayman, etc., was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²³⁸

As necessary correction is often a method by which, when young people begin to stray into the paths of vice, they are deterred and brought back again into the road of virtue; yet when this is incautiously inflicted or done in a violent manner, it frequently excites worse thoughts than would otherwise probably have entered the breasts of young people thus punished; and instead of hindering them from committing trivial offences, puts them on doing the worst things imaginable in order to deliver them from a state more hateful to them than death itself. This criminal William Miller, was the son of very honest parents who lived at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, who took care to give him a good education, and what was much more commendable, a good example. They put him out apprentice to a tradesman at Alnwick, with whom he might have lived tolerably well had it not been for the churlishness of his master's temper, who was continually picking quarrels with him, and thereupon beating him inhumanly. At last an accident happened which supplied a continual fund of anger and resentment and this was on account of William's losing a horse, which, though his friends paid for, yet every time it came into his masters head there was a battle between them; for Miller being now grown pretty big made resistance when he struck him, and not seldom got the better of him, and beat him in his turn. This occasioned such disturbances and falling out between them that at last Miller took a resolution for leaving him for good and all, and determined to live as he could, up and down

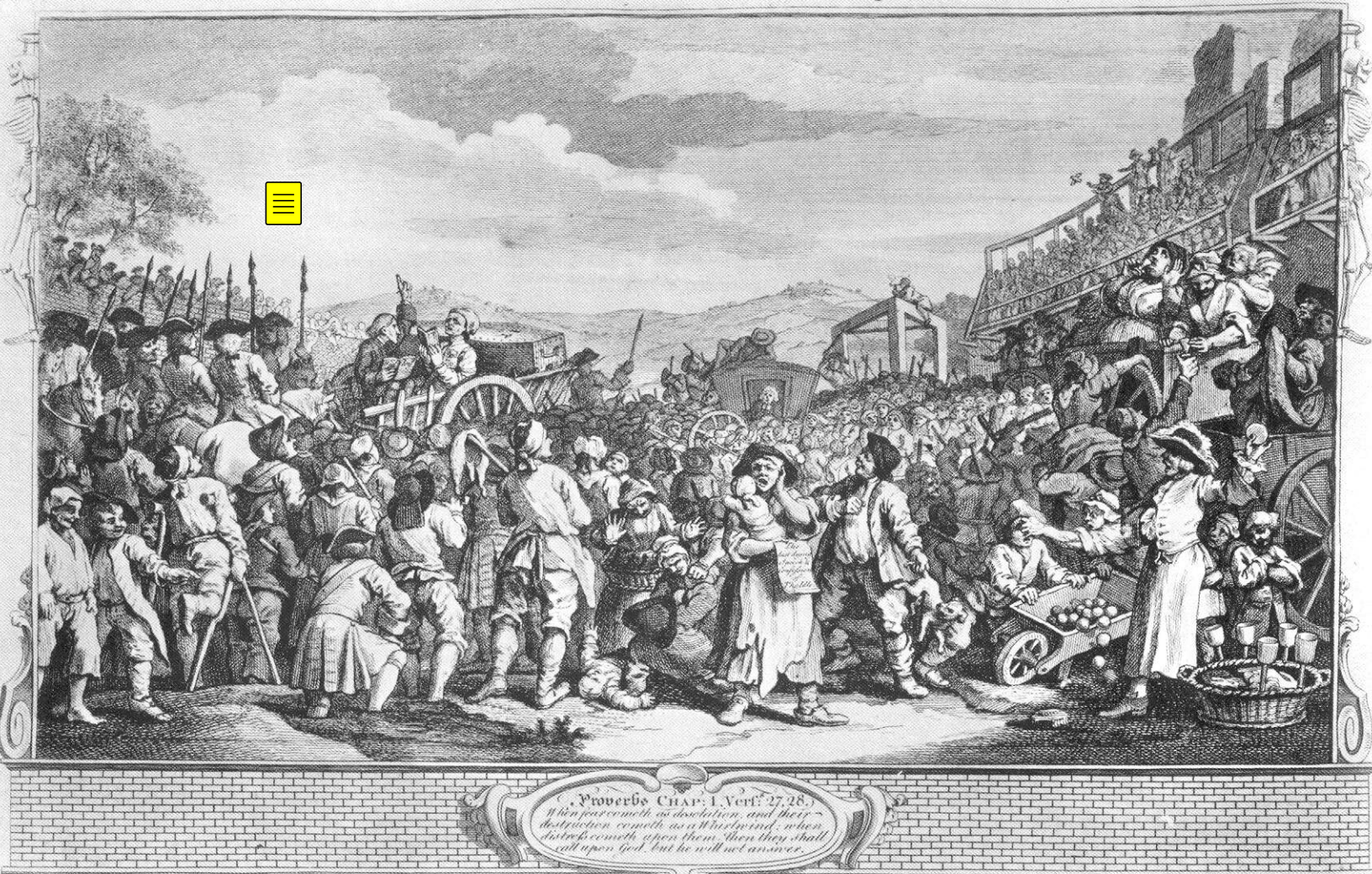
238. LIVES OF THE MOST REMARKABLE CRIMINALS WHO HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED FOR MURDER, THE HIGHWAY, HOUSEBREAKING, STREET ROBBERIES, COINING OR OTHER OFFENCES / COLLECTED FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS AND AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS, AND PUBLISHED IN 1735 / Edited by Arthur L. Hayward

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the country.

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.

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At first he was so lucky as to meet with a man who employed him readily, treated him with kindness, and gave him good advice, without accompanying his reproofs with blows; but upon discovering that his man William had not served out his time, but had only five years and a half with his master, he absolutely refused to suffer him to work any longer. It was with great reluctance that Miller parted with this master, and he became every day after more and more uneasy, because he found no other master would let him work with them, upon the same account; so that by degrees he was reduced to the great necessity in the country, and though he was willing to work, yet could not tell which way to turn his hand.

In the midst of these perplexities, he bethought himself of coming up to London, which he put in execution. On his arrival there he listed himself as a soldier in one of the regiments of Guards, and as it is no very hard matter in this town, got abundance of amorous affairs upon his hands. With one woman he lived a short time after his coming up to London, but her he soon turned off for the sake of another, who was a blacksmith's



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wife, and whom he married, notwithstanding her first husband was then to his acknowledge alive. This was, indeed, the source of a great part of his misfortunes, since what between the woman's drinking and the money which the husband got out of him for permitting him to live quietly with her, he was (notwithstanding he had learnt a new employment, viz., that of a basket maker) miserably poor; and the woman having brought him a child to increase his expenses, he was at last forced, whether he would or no, to leave her and it both. After this he associated with another woman, and at length married her also, with whom he lived quietly enough until the time of his death. These numerous intrigues drew him in consequence into a multitude of other vices, which both lost him his reputation, and damaged his understanding, especially when he came to drink hard, which he at last did to such a degree that he was seldom or never sober, or if he were, the reflecting on his misfortunes pushed him on getting drunk as fast as he could—a case but too common amongst the meaner sort of people, who as they have no philosophy of learning to support them, endeavour to drown all care by sopping.

Whether Miller really intended to go a-robbing at the time he committed the fact for which he died, or whether drunkenness and the sense, even in that condition which he retained of his misfortune, on a sudden suggested to him the stripping of the old man Nicholas Bourn under the favour of the night, certain it is (though from motives we cannot determine) that he attacked the man and took from him his coat and hat. On the injured person's crying out a watchman ran immediately to his assistance, and with his pole, notwithstanding Miller drew his bayonet, knocked him down, and so seized him and delivered him up to Justice. At the next sessions at the Old Bailey he was indicted for this fact, and the same was very fully and clearly proved against him; yet though he had no friends capable of procuring him either a reprieve or pardon, he had the good luck to remain a considerable space under condemnation, viz., from one sessions to another, before the report was made, and so had the greater leisure left him for repentance.

During the space he lay in the condemned hold he expressed a very hearty sorrow for all his offences and particularly regretted his having addicted himself so much to the company of women, which, as it at first led him into expenses, naturally brought him into narrow circumstances; and his necessities unfortunately put him upon taking the fatal method of supplying himself. Yet in the midst of these tokens of penitence and contrition several women came still about him, so he resolved to send the child he had by the second down to his friends in the country, not doubting, as he said, but that they would take care of it. And for the last of those who went for his wife, he really looked upon her as such, and therefore treated her with more kindness and affection than he did any of the rest. However, doubtless they were no great help to him in his preparations for death. And amongst the other miseries produced, to our view, this is not a small one, that they continue to pursue us even to the last, and fasten so strongly about our thoughts and inclinations that as at first, they defeated all consideration, so in the end they are in danger of preventing a hearty and sincere repentance.

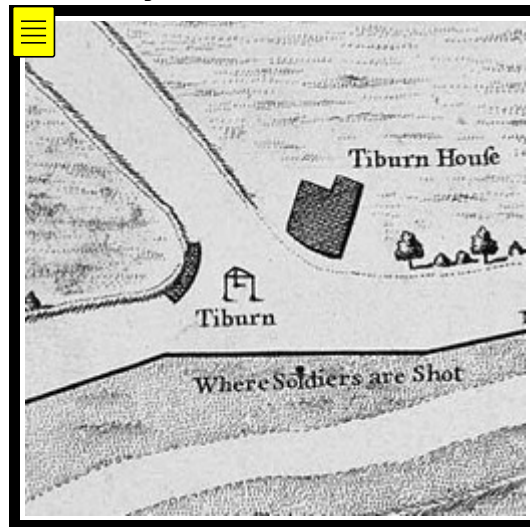
As to the particular fact for which he was to die, he



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acknowledged himself guilty thereof, but for all that objected to the several circumstances that were sworn against him at his trial; nor could all the arguments that were used towards him persuade him that those trifling variations (for as he himself represented them they were no more) were not now at all material to him, but that as he justly deserved to die according to his own confession, it signified little to him whether the particular steps taken in his apprehension were exactly stated by the Court or not. As the day of his execution drew near, he receded a little from these objections, and began to set himself in earnest to acquire that calmness with which every reasonable man would desire to meet death. The women he forbid visiting him, refused to eat or drink anything but what was absolutely necessary to support Nature, plied himself regularly and constantly to his devotions, and seemed to have nothing at heart but to reconcile himself to that Divine Being, who by the multitude of his crimes he had so much offended. To say truth, it was not a little wonderful that a person after continuing for such a length of time in the practice of wickedness and debauchery, should at last be capable of applying himself with such zeal and attention to the duties of a dying man. He yielded up his life the 13th of February, 1727, at Tyburn, being then twenty-six years of age.



April 11, Tuesday (Old Style): The Court of General Sessions of the Peace of Essex County in the Massachusetts Bay Colony ordered Jonathan Duston of Haverhill to pay maintenance on his illegitimate daughter by Elizabeth Webster, born during January 1726. He filed an appeal against this ruling. (In 1732, this deadbeat daddy would go through the whole court process again with another singlewoman of Haverhill, Sarah Petty.)

An Account of the horrid murder of Mr. Widdington Darby, committed in his chambers in the Temple, on the 11th of April, 1727, for which one Henry Fisher was apprehended and committed to Newgate, from whence he would be able to escape, and thus would never be [hanged](#).²³⁹

The deceased Mr. Darby was a young gentleman who made an extraordinary good appearance in the world. He generally wore fine rings, rich snuff boxes, and an extraordinary gold watch

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about him. These things possibly tempted a needy person of his acquaintance to be guilty of that barbarous murder which was committed upon him. He lived in the chambers belonging to Sir George Cook's office in the Temple. His servant lived in another place, and went home every night. It happened the night before, or rather in that wherein he was murdered, that Mr. Darby had a good deal of company with him, who supping late, they did not go away until eleven o'clock, when Mr. Darby's servant also retired to his lodgings. The next morning, being Tuesday, about nine o'clock, Mr. Darby was found dead in the said office, his skull penetrated with a pistol ball, his ear and hand cut, his rings, watch and other valuables taken away, besides his escritoire broken open, and his money and linen taken from thence.

The next day the coroner's inquest sat thereon, but being able to make no discovery of the murder, they thought fit to adjourn *sine die*, as soon as the coroner had made an order for the interment of his corpse which was done accordingly in a vault in the church of St. Andrew's, Holborn.

Some time passed before any light was got into this affair. At length, Mr. Moody, who had been upon the coroner's inquest who had sat on the body of Mr. Darby, received information that one Fisher, who had been in very bad circumstances, and as an acquaintance had been relieved under him by the deceased Mr. Darby, was all on a sudden, since the committing of that murder, observed to have a great deal of money. He had paid some debts which had been troublesome to him and was observed to have some valuable things about him which had never been seen before. These circumstances appearing altogether very suspicious, Mr. Moody acquainted Mr. York with it, who had been very assiduous in taking all measures possible for the discover of this horrid assassination. He falling readily into Mr. Moody's opinion, they agreed together that the likeliest method to find out the truth was to go to Mr. Willoughby, who was Fisher's landlord, and known to be a very honest man. Accordingly they went to him in a tavern in Southampton Street, where they understood he was, and falling into discourse about Mr. Darby's murder, they insinuated to him the suspicions they had of his lodger.

Returning to his house, Fisher being away, Mr. Willoughby went to his room and broke open a box, and found in it the top and bottom of a snuff-box, a vizard mask, and a pair of laced ruffles. The remains of the snuff-box Mr. York knew to have belonged to the deceased, and had reason to suspect the ruffles also to have been his, so that it was immediately agreed to go before the Honourable Sir William Thompson,²⁴⁰ in order to procure a warrant. There they made an affidavit of the several circumstances attending their discovery, and Sir William upon the examination also of a lady (who produced a piece of lace before she had seen the ruffle, and declared that if it were Mr. Darby's it must tally therewith, which on a comparison it did exactly) granted a warrant. It appeared also at the same time, upon the oath of Mr. Willoughby, that the day Mr. Darby was murdered, Fisher borrowed half-a-crown of him to pay his washerwoman, and was in the utmost necessity for money.

A woman swore that a person very like Fisher was hovering about Mr. Darby's chambers the night the murder was committed, and it

240. Sir William Thompson (1678-1739) was Recorder of London in 1715, Solicitor General two years later, and in 1729 became baron of the Exchequer.



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was proved by the oath of another person that Fisher came not to his lodgings till two o'clock on Tuesday morning, on which Mr. Darby was murdered. About eight o'clock a porter came and informed Fisher of Mr. Darby's being murdered, at which he shewed little concern and locked himself up for some hours.

Things being thus over at Sir William Thompson's, Mr. Willoughby, Mr. York, and Mr. Moody, returned to Fisher's lodgings. About two o'clock in the morning he came in, and they seized him, having a constable and proper assistance for that purpose. On Sunday noon, he was carried before Sir William Thompson in order to be examined, where he said:

That about the latter end of the week in which Mr. Darby was murdered, as he was passing through Lincoln's Inn Fields, about four in the afternoon, he took up under the wall of Lincoln's Inn Gardens, a white paper parcel in which were contained several things of great value belonging to the deceased; some of the diamonds he acknowledged he sold to a jeweller in Paternoster Row for ten guineas, the watch he pawned for nine guineas to a person at a brazier's in Bond Street, and sold the gold chain and swivels to a person in Lombard Street. He absolutely denied all knowledge of the murder, and said that at the time it happened he was at a billiard table in Duke Street, by St. James's. When taken there was found upon him two of Mr. Darby's rings with the stones taken out, wrapped up in a paper, with his seal the arms of which were taken out, and in these circumstances he was committed to Newgate.

Soon after this the coroner granted his warrant, and an order being thereupon obtained from the Commons, Mr. Darby's body was taken up and in the presence of several persons, his head opened by an eminent surgeon, who found a large lacerated wound near the left ear, the temporal bone on that side being very much fractured, several pieces of which stuck in the brain on the same side. He found, likewise, the temporal bone on the other side, exactly opposite, broken; the pieces thereof were not removed from their places, but easily removed upon his attempting to take them away. He took out the brain and the bullet dropped upon the pillow which lay upon the ground under his head. It appeared, upon comparing the said bullet taken out of the head, with some other bullets found in custody of Henry Fisher (at that time in Newgate on suspicion of the murder) that it seemed to have been cast in the same mould; and when weighing it with one of these bullets, it was very little lighter, and it fitted the bore of one of the pistols which was found in Fisher's custody, even that pistol which by some signs were looked on to have been discharged, though afterwards loaded again.

This Fisher was the son of a very eminent clothier in the West of England, who had sent him to London, and put him out clerk to an attorney, and had done everything in his power which he was able, and which was reasonable for him to do. But he being extravagant, lived far beyond the rate which was consistent with the supplies he received from his father; so that when pressed by his necessities, he had often applied to Mr. Darby for relief. When in Newgate he affected a most unreasonable gaiety and unconcernedness in his behaviour, although the circumstances were so strong against him as occasioned it to prevail as the general opinion that he would be convicted. However, he and the famous Roger Johnson took the advantage of the workmen labouring



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on the cells which were then building, and by breaking a hole through a place done up only with lath and plaster, they got down one of the workmen's ladders, and so made their escape. Johnson was afterwards retaken and tried for breaking prison, but alleging it was done by Fisher, he was acquitted, and this Henry Fisher, the supposed murderer of Mr. Darby, was never heard of since.

August 11, Friday (Old Style): Thomas Timms, Thomas Perry, and Edward Brown, footpads, were [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²⁴¹

This poor unhappy man, Thomas Timms, was the son of mean parents in the country and as indifferently educated as he was born, so that his future ill-deeds were capable of some little extenuation. With much to-do his friends and parents raised money enough to put him out apprentice to a chair-carver, with whom he lived easily and honestly during the space of his apprenticeship, coming out of it with the character of an honest religious young lad, which he maintained after he was set up and married. He had probably continued to maintain it to the end of his life if he had not fallen into unhappy circumstances, by being out of work. This obliged him to come up to Town, where for a while he lived pretty well upon his business; but at last it so far fell off that he was obliged to list himself a soldier in the first regiment of Guards. Notwithstanding this he worked still at his trade, as much as it was possible for him to do, and to perform his duty; but misfortunes still crowding upon him, he grew at first melancholy, and at last took to drinking in the company of bad women, who soon drew him into thinking of taking dishonest methods to obtain money for the support of

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their debaucheries.

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Proverbs Chap. I. Ver. 27, 28.
When percerueth as discipline, and their
disturbance cometh as a whirlwind, when
disturbance cometh upon them, then they shall
call upon God, but he will not answer.

Amongst other of his acquaintance there was a woman who had formerly lived with a very eminent lawyer in the City. It was said she had a greater familiarity with her master than she ought to have had, from whence she took the liberty to cheat him most egregiously, especially by counterfeiting receipts from most of the tradesmen with whom her master had any dealing, by which means she retained in her own hands the money which she should have paid him. Some months after, however, the roguery was discovered, and her master being newly married, he took this opportunity to discharge her suddenly. However, he promised her, if she went into any lodgings, and gave him notice, he would take care she should not want, until she could get herself into some way of business or other.

This gentleman had three clerks, all of good families and good fortunes. The wench, after she was out of the house, first went into a neighbourhood where the eldest of these clerks and his relations were very well known. Here she took upon her to be his wife, and said that they were privately married for fear of disobliging his relations. By the help of this she got so far



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into credit that she took up near a hundred and twenty pounds worth of things before the least apprehension was had of her being a cheat; and then removing her lodgings, she fixed herself in a first floor within a few doors of the guardian of her master's second clerk. She gave it out there as she had done before, that she was secretly married to this young gentleman; and on the credit thereof she took up near a hundred pounds in silks and shifts. But just as she was on the point of moving off and playing the same game with the third, she was detected and committed to Bridewell. From thence she found means of escape by wheedling one of the keeper's servants, and afterwards took lodgings in the house where this Timms worked.

Whether she had any hand in persuading him to go out robbing or no, I cannot take upon me to say, but soon after, he, with his companions, Perry and Brown, on the 3rd of May, went out with a design to rob upon Hounslow Heath. All that night they lay in the fields; the next morning they met a poor old man, who telling them he had no money, they let him go without misusing him. Not long after they stopped Samuel Sells coming from Windsor, in his chair. He, it seems, kept a public-house there. Him they commanded to deliver, whereupon he gave them three half-crowns, but they toasting upon it that it was too little, he thereupon gave them ten shillings more, which both he and his companions averred was all that they took from him, though Sells at their trial, swore to a much larger sum, and that one of them held a truncheon over him, and threatened him with abundance of oaths in case he made any resistance. All of them denied this part of the charge, even to death, and said that though they had truncheons, yet they made no use of them, but kept them either in their breasts or under their coats.

Thomas Perry, the second of these malefactors, was born of parents in such wretched circumstances that when he was grown a good big lad, and death suddenly snatched them away, he found himself destitute of money, of business and even of clothes to cover him. He thereupon traveled up to London, and put himself apprentice to a glass-grinder, with whom he served his time very honestly and faithfully. Then he married and lived by working very hard in a reputable manner for about a twelve month, after which he listed in the first regiment of Foot Guards, in which he served till the Peace of Utrecht and Flanders, after the conclusion of which he returned to London in the same regiment, in which he continued to serve till this misfortune overtook him. For the last year of his life, he had, it seems, led a more loose and extravagant course than in all his days before, contracting an acquaintance with several women of the town, creatures who are the utter ruin of all such unhappy men, especially of all unlettered unexperienced persons as fall into their snares.

Some little time before he joined with Timms and his other companion in this robbery, he had the misfortune of having his leg bit by a dog at Windsor, where he was quartered. Having no friends, and but a small allowance to subsist on, he fell under great miseries there, and on his return to Town, those who had formerly employed him in glass-grinding, taking distaste at his rude and wicked behaviour, refused to have anything more to do with him. He readily gave way to the solicitations of Timms, who, as he declared, first proposed their going upon the highway, a crime which hitherto had not entered into Perry's



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head. However, he yielded too readily thereto, and with the persons who had shared in his crimes, came to share an ignominious and untimely death.

While under sentence, he applied himself with great seriousness and attention both to the public devotions of the chapel and to what was privately read to them in the place of their confinement, so that though he was very illiterate, he was far from being obstinate, and though he wanted the advantages of education, he was not deficient in grace, so we may therefore hope he might obtain mercy.

Edward Brown, the last of these unfortunate criminals, drew his first breath in the city of Oxford, and by the care of his parents, attained to a tolerable degree of knowledge in the Christian faith, as also in writing, reading and whatsoever was necessary in that station of life which his parents designed for him. Being arrived at an age proper to be put out an apprentice, they placed him with a glass-grinder, to whom he served an apprenticeship faithfully, and to his good liking when out of time. He worked hard as a journeyman, married a wife, and lived in reputation and credit for some small space; but falling unluckily into loose company, he gave himself up entirely to drinking, and running after bad women, which soon ruined him in the country and obliged him to come up to London for the sake of subsistence. How long he had been there, or of what standing his acquaintance was with the other two criminals, I cannot take upon me to say, only he in general was a fellow of greater openness in his behaviour than any of the criminals before mentioned. He said that they had all taken their cups pretty freely together, and had spent every farthing that they had amongst them; it was then resolved to go upon the highway for a supply, but he could not say who was the proposer of the scheme; that he himself had a sword and cane, and the rest truncheons, when they attacked Mr. Sells. He [Sells] gave them at two several times, seventeen shillings, and when they pressed for still more, said he had but eighteen pence about him, and begged they would let him have that to come to town with, which he said they agreed to, and did not offer him any ill-usage whatsoever.

At the same time these unhappy men were under sentence of death, Alexander Jones, John Platt, Mary Reynolds, Silvia Sherlock and Anne Senior were also condemned for several offences, and as is but too common with persons in their condition, all of them entertained strong notions of reprieves or pardons, so that when the death warrant came down, and these three found themselves ordered for execution, they were not a little surprised. But as they had much natural courage they made even that surprise turn to their advantage, and applied themselves with greater earnestness than ever to the duties necessary to be practised by people in their sad state.

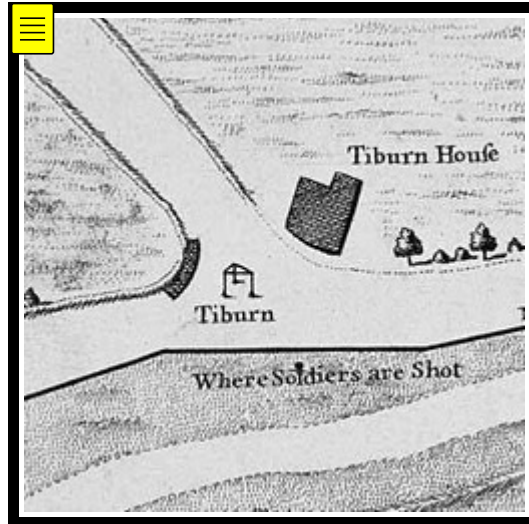
When the day of their execution came, they were carried in one cart to Tyburn, and as they had been companions in that single action which had brought all of them to death, so there was nobody to share in that unhappy fate with them, nor were they disturbed with the sorrows of other criminals, which often distract one another's devotions at Tyburn. On the contrary, their behaviour was grave and decent, their public devotions were closed with a Psalm, and with many demonstrations of repentance they resigned their lives, on the 11th of August, 1727; Timms being about twenty-eight years of age, Perry near



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forty, and Brown somewhat less than twenty-four years old, at the time of their execution.



November 20, Monday (Old Style): John Turner, *alias* Civil John was [hanged](#) as a highwayman, and John Johnson as a coiner, on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²⁴²

One of the most dangerous passions which can enter the breasts of young people, though at the same time it be one of the most common, is the love of finery and a mean and foolish ambition to appear better dressed than becomes their station, in hopes of imposing upon the world as persons of much higher rank than they really are. This inconsiderate, ridiculous pride brings along with it such a numerous train of bad consequences that of necessity it makes the person inflamed by it unhappy and often miserable for life. In the case now before us a was still more fatal by adding a violent and ignominious death.

John Turner was the son of a person in tolerable circumstances, in the county of Cornwall, where he received an education proper for that condition of life in which he was likely to pass through the world. His father was a man of good sense, and of a behaviour much more courteous and genteel than is usual among persons of ordinary condition in a county so remote from London. He was extremely desirous that his son should be like him in this respect, and therefore he continually cautioned him against falling into that rough boorish manner of behaving which is natural to uneducated clowns, and makes them shocking to everybody but themselves. In this respect John was very compliant with his father's temper, and being put out apprentice to a peruke-maker, his obliging carriage endeared him so much, not only to his master and the family but also to the gentlemen on whom, as customers to the shop, he sometimes waited, that they took a peculiar liking to the boy and were continually

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giving him money as a reward for his diligence and assiduity.

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But John's obliging temper took a turn very fatal to himself, as well as very little suspected by his friends and relations. For having been made use of by some young sparks at Exeter (the place where he served his time) to carry messages to their mistresses, he from thence conceived so strong an inclination to become a beau and a gallant that, in order to it, he broke open his master's escritoire and took away a considerable sum of money. With this he came up to London and went to live as a journeyman with an eminent peruke-maker at the Court end of the town. There his easy and obsequious temper made him very agreeable to everybody, and his behaviour was so just and open that nobody in the neighbourhood had a better character than himself. Yet he was far from giving over those extravagancies the earnest desire of committing which had brought him to town; for nobody in his station made so handsome a figure as Mr. Turner.

His amours with the wenches in the neighbourhood were very numerous, though out of a point of honour he was careful enough in endeavouring to conceal them. But as they naturally led him



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into an expensive way of living, which what he got by his trade could in no degree support, he quickly found himself obliged to take to new methods, and thought none so concise and convenient as going upon the road. This he did for some time without arousing the least suspicion, behaving himself towards those whom he robbed with such gentleness and good manners, putting his hat into the coach and taking what money they thought fit to give him, nay, sometimes returning a part of that, if the dress or aspect of the person gave him room to suspect that their wants were as great as his. From this extraordinary conduct he obtained the name of Civil John, by which he was very well known to the stage coachmen, wagoners, and other such persons who travelled the Western road.

Common fame, which ordinarily multiplies the adventures of men of his profession, circulated a multitude of stories about him which had not the least foundation in fact, and served only to make the poor man more remarkable, and consequently the more easy to be taken; which was, accordingly, the effect of those foolish encomiums which the vulgar bestowed upon so genteel a robber. About six weeks after he had taken to this unfortunate course of life; and while he yet preserved an unstained reputation in the neighbourhood in which he lived, he was apprehended for a robbery committed on Mr. Air, from whom he took but an inconsiderable sum; yet the fact being clearly proved against him at the next session at the Old Bailey, he was convicted, and having no relations capable of making interest sufficient to obtain a reprieve, he lost all hopes of life. Under sentence he conducted himself with much calmness, penitence, and resignation, confessing the truth of that charge which had been laid against him, acknowledging the justice of the Law in this sentence, and disposing himself to submit to it with much cheerfulness and alacrity.

This great change in his circumstance and manner of living, added to his own uneasy reflections upon those misfortunes into which vanity and ostentation had brought him, soon reduced him by sickness to so weak a state that he was incapable, almost, of coming to chapel alone. Notwithstanding this, he continued to frequent it, some of the people about the prison being so kind as to help him upstairs. As his vices arose rather from the imitation of those fine gentlemen on whom he had waited while a lad, so he did not carry them to that height which most of these unhappy persons are wont to do; on the contrary he was very sober, little addicted to gambling, and never followed the common women of the town. But dress, dancing bouts, and the necessary entertainments for carrying on his amours were the follies which involved him in these expenses, for the supply of which he thus hazarded his soul and forfeited his life.

When the death warrant came down his sickness had brought him so low that Nature seemed inclined to supersede the severity of the Law; but too short a time which intervened between it and its execution, and so he came to suffer a violent death at Tyburn a day or two before, perhaps, he would otherwise have yielded up his breath in his bed. Little could be expected of a person in his weak condition, at the place of execution, where, when he arrived he was utterly unable to stand up. However, with a faint voice he desired the prayers both of the minister who attended them and of the spectators of his execution, which happened on the 20th of November, 1727, in the twenty-sixth year



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of his age.



In excuse of taking base measures to procure money there is no plea so often urged as necessity, and the desire of providing for a family otherwise in danger of want. The reason of this is pretty evident, since nothing could be a greater alleviation of such a crime. But the word necessity is so equivocal that it is hard to fix its true meaning, and unless that can be done, it will be as hard to judge of the reasonableness of such an excuse. John Johnson, the criminal on whose life we are next to cast an eye, was born of a very honest and reputable family in the county of Nottingham, and received in his youth the best education they were capable of giving him. By this he became able to read tolerably and write well enough for that business to which he was bred, viz., a tailor. Throughout his apprenticeship he behaved himself virtuously and industriously, and left his master with the character of a faithful and deserving young man. When his time was out, and he had wrought for some time as a journeyman in the country, the common whim of coming up to London seized him; and after he had spent some time in town in working hard at his trade, he married a wife with whom he lived in good correspondence for many years, with the esteem and respect of all who knew him. But his family increasing and he consequently finding the charge of maintaining them rise higher than formerly, and, what was worse, that all he was capable of doing could not maintain them, he grew very melancholy.

After considering several projects for making his circumstances more easy, he at last pitched upon going into Lincolnshire, as a place where the cheapness of provisions might balance the number of mouths he had to feed. But he had not been long there before he discovered his mistake, for the smallness of wages made everything rather dearer than cheaper, which plunged him into new difficulties, and rendered him incapable of ease or satisfaction. While his wits were thus on the rack, and his invention stretched to the uttermost in order to find out some means or other to recoup his pockets, he unfortunately fell into the company of a man who, under the pretence of being his most zealous friend, became, though perhaps unwittingly, the instrument of his utter ruin. For his appearing ever disconsolate and melancholy gave the countryman an opportunity of prying into the cause of his concern, which he soon discovered to be the narrowness of his circumstances. As we naturally find ease in communicating our afflictions to others, so Johnson was ready enough to inform him of the truth of his affairs, and the man no less assiduous in endeavouring to help him out of these straits into which he had fallen.

At last, his Lincolnshire acquaintance told him there was but one way of recovering his misfortunes and living like a man



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without labour, to which Johnson began now to have a great aversion, and therefore he eagerly desired to be acquainted with this delightful way of getting on. With a grave face his associate told him that what he was about to propose could not be effected without some risk, but that a man could not expect to live without trouble or without hazard. Johnson said it was true, and desired only to be informed wherein the hazard consisted, as he would make no scruple of running it, for he lacked courage as little as any man.

Upon this his companion opened to him his whole scheme, which consisted in a method of counterfeiting the silver coin to a tolerable degree of likeness. Johnson was easily drawn in, for he thought there could be no speedier way of getting money than making it. His country friend helped him to the necessary implements, and Johnson applied himself with such earnestness to his new occupation that in a very short time he greatly outdid his master, giving the false money he had made so perfect a similitude to the specie for which he made it that it was impossible to distinguish it by the eye. But thinking it much more hazardous to attempt putting off in the country than it would be in London, and his fellow labourer being of the same opinion, they first went to work and coined a considerable sum according to their method, and they came up to dispose of it, as Johnson had proposed.

By this time misfortune and remorse had taught the poor man whose life we are writing to addict himself too much to drinking, especially to strong liquors, so that the first experiment he made of the practicability of getting rid of his false money was in putting off two sixpences to a distiller for gin, in which he succeeded without being suspected. But going to a shoemaker's and buying there a ready-made pair of shoes, he was seized for attempting to pay the man with two bad half-crowns, which though they looked pretty well to the eye, were nevertheless much too light when they came to be weighed against the metal that it was intended they should pass for.

When carried before a Justice his heart soon failed him and almost as soon as he was asked he revealed the whole truth of the matter, impeaching both the countryman who had taught him and a person with whom they had trusted the secret here in town. However, his confession was of little benefit to him, for at the next sessions he was capitally convicted and from thenceforward cast off all hopes of life. As he was a man who did not lack good natural parts, during the short time he had to live he endeavoured to make his prayer to God for the forgiveness of the many errors of his life, attending also constantly at the time of public devotion. Yet for all this he could not be persuaded that there was any great degree of guilt in what he had done, but imagined on the contrary that he was much more innocent than his fellow malefactors, regretting, however, the heavy misfortune he had brought upon himself and family, two of his children dying during the time of his imprisonment, and his wife and third child coming upon the parish. In which sentiments he continued until the day of his execution, which was on the same with the before-mentioned John Turner, this criminal being then about fifty years of age.



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February 12, Thursday: The Reverend [Cotton Mather](#) died.

On the other side of the pond, James Sherwood, George Weedon, and John Hughs, street robbers and footpads, were being [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²⁴³

Amongst the many artifices by which vice covers itself from our apprehension, there is no method which it more commonly takes, and yet better succeeds in, than by putting on a mask of virtue and thereby imposing the most flagitious actions upon us as things indifferent, sometimes as things which may gain applause. This was exactly the case with the persons whose lives we are now about to write, who were all of them young men of tolerable education, but giving way to their vicious inclinations, they associated themselves together for the better carrying on those evil practices by which they supported their extravagances, into which lewd women especially had betrayed them.

James Sherwood, who was the eldest of them, and also went by the name of Hobbs, was the son of but mean parents, who, however, took all the pains that were in their power to educate him in the best manner they were able. When he grew up they put him out apprentice to a waterman, with whom he served his time, and was afterwards a seaman in a man-of-war. When at home he spent his time in the worst company imaginable, viz., idle young men and lewd, infamous women. As he had naturally a good understanding and quick apprehension, he quickly became adroit in every mystery of wickedness to which he addicted himself. However, Justice soon overtook him and his first companions in wickedness; upon which he turned evidence and saved his own life by sacrificing theirs. He was transported soon afterwards, but upon his finding it difficult to live abroad without working (a thing, for which he had an intolerable aversion) he took the

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first opportunity that offered of returning home again.

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



When he returned he fell to his old practices, taking up his lodgings at the house of one Sarah Payne, a most infamous woman who was capable of seducing unwary youths for the commission of the greatest villainies, and then ready to betray them to death, either to benefit or secure herself. By hers and Sherwood's means George Weedon was drawn in, a young man of very reputable parents, who had been brought up with the greatest care in the principles of virtue and true religion. It seems, however, that having contracted an acquaintance with a lewd and artful woman, who drew him into an excessive fondness for her, he yielded to the solicitations of Sherwood and his landlady, and took to such courses as they suggested, in order to supply himself with money for the entertainment of that strumpet who was his ruin. It was but a few days before his apprehension that he had been induced to quit the house of his mother, who had ever treated him with the greatest tenderness and affection, and instead thereof had taken lodging with the before-mentioned Payne, who continually solicited him to commit robberies and thefts.

At length John Hughs, *alias* Hews, another young man, joined



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them. Though bred up carefully to the trade of a shoemaker by his father, who was of the same profession, yet for many years he had addicted himself to picking pockets and such other low kinds of theft, but had never done any great robbery until he fell into the hands of Sherwood and Weedon; with whom he readily agreed to associate himself, and to go with them out into Moorfields and such other places near Town as they thought most convenient in order to waylay and rob passengers, and at other times, when such opportunities did not offer, to break open houses, and to divide their profits equally amongst them. These designs were hardly made before they were put into execution and a very short space elapsed before they had committed many robberies and burglaries, always bringing the booty home and spending it lewdly and extravagantly in the house of that abandoned monster, Sarah Payne.

It may not be amiss to take notice here how common a thing it is for such wicked old sinners as this woman was, to set up houses of resort for lewd and abandoned women of the town, who, first getting young men into their company on amorous pretences, by degrees bring them on from one wickedness to another, till at last they end their lives at the gallows, and thereby leave these wretches at liberty to bring others to the same miserable fate. These agents to the Prince of Darkness are usually women who have an artful way of flattering and a pleasing deceitfulness in their address. By this means they, without much difficulty, draw in young lads at their first giving way to the current of their lewd inclinations, and before they are aware, involve them in such expenses as necessarily lead to housebreaking or the highway for a supply. When once they have made a step of this kind, by which their lives are placed in the power of those old practitioners in every kind of wickedness, they are from thenceforward treated as slaves and forced to continue, whether they will or no, in a repeated course of the like villainies until they are arrested by the hand of Justice. Then, none so ready to become evidences against them as those abominable wretches by whom they were at first seduced.

Such was the fate that befell these three unhappy young men, of whose courses information being given, they were all apprehended and committed close prisoners to Newgate, and at the next ensuing sessions not a few indictments were found against them. The first indictment they were all three arraigned upon was for felony and burglary in breaking open the house of one William Meak, in the night-time, and taking from thence twelve Gloster cheeses. But the evidence appearing clear only against Sherwood, alias Hobbs, he alone was convicted and the other two acquitted. They were then indicted a second time for breaking open the house of Daniel Elvingham, in the night-time, and taking out of it several quantities of brandy and tobacco; upon which both Sherwood and Weedon were, from very full evidence, convicted. On a third indictment for breaking into the house of Elizabeth Cogdal, and taking thence eight pewter dishes and twenty pewter plates, they were all found guilty; Sherwood and Weedon also being a fourth time convicted for a robbery on the highway, which was proved upon them by the testimony of their landlady, Sarah Payne.

Under sentence of death they all testified great sorrow for the offences of their misspent lives. Weedon was of a better temper than the two other, retained a greater sense of the principles



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of religion upon which he had been brought up in his youth and exceeded his companions in seriousness and steadiness in his devotions. Sherwood had been a much longer proficient in all kinds of wickedness than the other two, having practised several kinds of thefts for nearly eighteen years together, and this had habituated him so much to sin that he showed much less penitence than either of his companions. Hughs had been a thief in a low degree for some years before he fell into the confederacy of Sherwood and Weedon, to which, as he frankly owned, he was drawn by his own previous inclination rather than the persuasions of any of his companions.

As the time of their death approached they seemed much more affected than formerly they had been; in which frame of mind they continued till they suffered, which was on the 12th of February, 1728, Sherwood being in his twenty-sixth year, Hughs in the twenty-third, and Weedon in the twenty-second year of his age.

March 27, Wednesday (Old Style): Martin Bellamy, a thief, highwayman and housebreaker, was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²⁴⁴

This criminal was amongst the number of those whom long practice had so hardened in his offences that he took up the humour of glorying in them, even under his confinement, and persisted in it to the hour of his death, drawing up, when under sentence (or at least giving instructions by which it was drawn up) an account of the several street-robberies, burglaries, and other crimes which he had committed, in a style which too plainly showed that nothing in his miserable condition afflicted him but the thought of his ignominious death he was to suffer, not even the reflection of those crimes which had so deservedly brought him to his fate. By trade he was a tailor and a good workman in his business, by which he lived in good credit for some time. It seems he married a woman whose friends, at least, were very honest people, and highly displeased with the villainous course of life he led. Insomuch that upon his being apprehended and sent to Bridewell on suspicion, his wife's brother came to him there in order to know where the prosecutor lived, that, as he said, he might go and make some proposals for making up the affair. Bellamy gave him the best account he could, and the man finding out the person, advised him to prosecute Martin with the utmost severity, in hopes, no doubt, that he should in this way rid his sister of a very bad husband. However, Bellamy was so irritated by the attempt that he would never cohabit with her afterwards, but with implacable hatred pursued her and her family with all the mischiefs he was able.

The methods which he and his gang mostly took in robbing, according to the account which, as I have before said, he has left us of himself, were chiefly these: the gang having met together in the evening used to go, three or four in a company, to visit the shops of those tradesmen who deal in the richest sort of toys²⁴⁵ and other goods that are portable and easily conveyed away. Then one of the company cheapens something or other, making many words with the shopkeeper about the price,

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245. Trinkets and such trifles, not children's playthings.



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thereby giving an opportunity to some of his companions to hand things of value from one to another till they were insensibly vanished, the honest shopkeeper being left to deplore the misfortune of having such light-fingered customers find the way to his shop. Another practice of theirs, to the same laudable purpose, was carried on after this manner: three or four of them walked up and down several streets, which by observation they had found fitted for their purpose, and on perceiving things of any value lying in a parlour, they, with an engine contrived for that purpose, suddenly threw up the sash; and notwithstanding there being persons in the room, they would venture to snatch it out and often get clear off before the people who saw them could recover themselves from the surprise. But if there was nobody in the way, then one of their associates, slipping off his shoes, stole softly into the room and handed out whatever was of most value to his companions without doors.

But Bellamy was not only adroit in these ordinary practices, but was also perfectly acquainted with the art and mystery of counterfeiting hands; and as an instance thereof, upon which he much valued himself, he used to relate a trick of that sort which he put upon the late Jonathan Wild, after this manner: having accustomed himself for some time to frequent the levee of that infamous agent of thieves, he became so well acquainted with Jonathan's manner of writing and also with the persons who gave him credit on particular occasions when money was low. Whereupon he took occasion to forge a note from the said Wild to one Wildgoose, servant at an inn, who used to be Jonathan's banker upon emergencies, who, on receipt of the note, paid Bellamy the contents thereof without hesitation. A few days after, Mr. Wild and his correspondent met. The forgery was soon detected and Jonathan immediately gave directions to that infamous band of villains who were always in his pay and under his direction, to leave no means untried for the apprehending Bellamy, who from Wildgoose's description he knew to be the man who had been guilty of the forgery.

In the search after him they were so assiduous that in a very short space they surprised him at a house in Whitefriars, where he was forced to fly up to a garret in order to conceal himself. His pursuers thinking they had now lodged him pretty securely, sent notice of it to their master. But Martin perceiving a long rope lying upon a bed in the room where he hid himself, resolved for once to venture his neck; and having fastened it as well as he could, he slipped down by it into the street, with so great agility that none of his attendants perceived it till he was in the street, by which time he got so much the start of them that they found it but in vain to pursue him, and therefore laid by all thoughts of catching him until another opportunity.

However, the trick he had played them made them so diligent in pursuing him that it was but a very short time before they surrounded him in a brandy-shop in Chancery Lane, seized him and brought him in a coach to the Elephant and Castle alehouse, Fleet Street, from whence they dispatched advice to Jonathan of his apprehension. It happened that that great man was gone to bed when the message arrived with this news; however it was carried up and Jonathan with an air of generosity bid the fellow return and inform his people that he would take Mr. Bellamy's word, and that he might meet him with safety the next morning at his levee. Bellamy, who well knew the temper of the man, failed not to pay



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his court at the time appointed and adjourning to the Baptist Head tavern in the Old Bailey, after drinking a refreshing bottle, he presented Mr. Wild with five guineas, by way of atonement for the offence which he had committed against him. Jonathan was so well appeased by the intervention of the golden advocates that he promised not only to forgive him, himself, but also to prevail with Mr. Wildgoose to do the same, provided he entered into a bond for the repayment of the ten guineas. This was a condition easily submitted to by Martin in his present circumstances. This danger thus got over, he returned to his old profession without running any further hazard of Jonathan's interruption.

About this time the gang to which he belonged entered upon a new method of housebreaking, which they effected by stealing the keys which fastened the pins in shopkeepers' window-shutters and thereby removing the greatest difficulty they had of getting in. This trade they carried on successfully for a good space; though now and then they miscarried in their attempts, particularly at a goldsmith's shop in Russell Court, where, having got into the shop and being about to remove a show-glass, a man who lay in the shop suddenly started up and presenting a blunderbuss with a great presence of mind told the thieves that he was tender of shedding their blood and therefore advised them to get off as soon as they could. They took his advice and withdrew accordingly, with great confusion. But the same night they had, as Mr. Bellamy expresses it, much better luck at a toy-shop not far from the same place, where, entering the house, they found the maid sitting by the fire. She at first screamed, but they soon made her silent, and then proceeded to carry off the show-glass, with all the boxes that were contained in it.

Not long after this they broke off the padlock from a toy-shop in Swithin's Alley, in Cornhill. Not being able afterwards to enter the house they fell to work next upon the thick timber that supports the shutters, and after labouring at it about an hour, forced it off, whereupon all the shutters dropping down at once into the court, made so great a clatter that they doubted not that all the neighbourhood was alarmed, and thought it would be no ill night's work if, after such an accident, they had the good luck to escape. Upon which they endeavoured to shift, everyone for himself. However, seeing nobody alarmed at the noise of the falling of the shutters and that during two hours' time the watch had never passed that way, they took courage at last: and returned, entered the house, and putting up the most valuable goods, went off without any molestation.

A multitude of robberies of the same kind he confessed, but as they are narrated in the account we have so often mentioned, it would be a kind of imposition on our readers to transcribe those accounts there. Wherefore, in the following articles concerning him, we shall make no use at all of any that is to be found there. During the space he led this life he cohabited with one Amy Fowles, who passed for his wife and bore him several children. At last, though he had so often escaped, he was apprehended for a burglary committed on the house of Mr. Holliday, in Bishopsgate Street, and upon very full evidence was convicted at the ensuing sessions at the Old Bailey. After his commitment to Newgate he entered, it seems, into a treaty with a certain Justice of the Peace for making a full discovery of all his accomplices, which might at that time have contributed very much



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to the public advantage; but in the interim some person had talked thereof too openly, it came to the ears of one who collected news for a daily paper. This man thereupon went to Bellamy, making the poor fellow believe that he came to him by the direction of some persons in power (a thing not at all unlikely, considering that a proclamation had been issued but very little before for the better encouraging the discovery of and bringing first offenders to justice). And having by this means drawn the poor fellow into a confession of several robberies and burglaries, he digested it, or got somebody to do it for him, into proper paragraphs which were inserted the next day in a newspaper and gave thereby an opportunity to the persons impeached, of making their escape. This rogue, therefore defeated Bellamy of all hopes of pardon and hindered the public from receiving any benefit from his confession. All which enormous villainies were perhaps perpetrated for the sake of a poor crown, the utmost that could be expected by the collector for procuring this extraordinary passage big with so much mischief, and which in its consequences produced little better than a murder, since it is possible that Bellamy's life might have been saved if a right use had been made of his confession. At his trial he behaved with great impudence and during the time he lay under sentence continued to affect that gaiety which amongst persons of his profession is too often mistaken for bravery and true courage. But when the fatal day approached he, as is common with most of them, sank much in his spirits and had a great deal to do to recover himself so as to be able to read the following paper, which he had written for that purpose and brought with him to the tree, which, as the words of a dying man, I publish verbatim:

A Copy of the paper read by Martin Bellamy at the Place of Execution

Gentlemen, I am brought here to suffer an ignominious death for my having wilfully transgressed against the known laws of God and my country. I fear there are too many here present who come to be witnesses of my untimely end rather out of curiosity than from a sincere intention to take warning by my unhappy fate. You see me here in the very prime of my youth, cut off like an untimely flower in the rigorous season, through my having been too much addicted to a voluptuous and irregular course of life, which has been the occasion of my committing those crimes for which I am now to suffer. As the laws of God as well as of men call upon me to Lay down my life as justly forfeited by my manifold transgressions, I acknowledge the justice of my sentence, patiently submit to the same without any rancour, ill-will or malice to any person whatsoever; hoping through the merits of Christ Jesus (who laid down His life for sinners, and who upon the cross pronounced a pardon for the repenting thief under the agonies of death) to be with Him permitted to partake of that glorious resurrection and immortality He has been so graciously pleased to promise to the sincere penitent. I earnestly exhort and beg of all here present to think seriously of eternity—a long and endless eternity!—in which we are to be rewarded or punished according to our good or evil actions in this world; that you will all



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take warning by me and refrain from all wilful transgressions and offences. Let a religious disposition prevail upon you, and use your utmost endeavours to forsake and fly from sin. The mercies of God are great, and He can save even at the last moment of life. Yet do not therefore presume too much, lest you provoke Him to cast you off in His anger, and become fearful examples of His wrath and indignation. Let me prevail upon you to forget and forgive me all the offences and injuries I have committed or promoted in action, advice or example; and entreat your prayers for me that the Lord would in mercy look down upon me in the last moment of my life.

His Prayer

Look down in mercy, O God, I beseech Thee, upon me a miserable, lost, and undone sinner. Number not my transgressions nor let my iniquities rise up in judgment against me. Wash me and I shall be clean; purge me and I shall be free from offence. Though my sins be as scarlet, they shall be whiter than snow if Thou pleasest but to receive me amongst those whom Thou hast redeemed, that I may sing praises to the Most High and extol Thy Holy Name in the courts of Heaven for ever and ever more. Amen.

He suffered on the 27th of March, 1728, being then about eight-and-twenty years of age.



May 20: William Russell, Robert Crouch, William Holden, Christopher *alias* Thomas Rawlins, Isaac Ashley *alias* Alseby, John Rouden *alias* Hulks, Edward Benson *alias* Brown *alias* Boyston, George Gale *alias* Kiddy George, Thomas Crowder, James Toon, John Hornby, William Sefton, and Richard Nichols, thieves, street-robbers, footpads housebreakers, etc., were [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²⁴⁶

Although the insolency of those street-robbers to whose gang the malefactors we are now speaking of belong be at present too recent a fact to be questioned, yet possibly in future times 'twill be thought an exaggeration of truth to say that even at noon-day, and in the most open places in London, persons were stopped and robbed. The offenders for many months escaped with impunity, until those crimes became so frequent and the terrors of passengers so great that the Government interposed in an extraordinary manner, a royal proclamation being issued offering one hundred pounds reward for apprehending any offender, and also promising pardon to any who submitted and revealed their

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accomplices. This brought numbers of young rash youths who had engaged in this wicked course of life to a violent and ignominious death.

William Russell was descended from persons of honourable family and unblemished reputation. In his youth he had received a tolerable education, which even in his misfortunes rendered him more civilized than any of his companions. He was a young fellow of tolerable good sense, ready wit, and great courage; he always spoke frankly of the wickedness of his own life and acknowledged that sensual pleasures were only what he aimed at in the course of life he led; yet he had never been able to reap any satisfaction in them, but had been always miserable in his own mind, from the time he pursued those base methods of gaining money. His father being gone over to Ireland, and he left at liberty to pursue what methods he thought best, evil women and bad company soon prevailed with him to fall into those methods which afterwards led him to the gallows.

Robert Crouch, the second of these criminals, was born at Dunstable, of very honest parents who afforded him as good an education as it was in their power to give; and then, upon his own inclination to follow the business of a butcher, bound him to one in Newgate Market, with whom he served his time. But as soon as he was out of it he addicted himself to gaming, drinking and whoring, and all the other vices which are so natural to abandoned young fellows in low life. Dalton, who was an evidence against him, was one of the chief persons of his gang, and specially persuaded Crouch to join with him, though he had very little occasion to fall into such ways of getting money, since his father was a man in very good circumstances, who designed to set his son in his trade in a short time, having not the least suspicion that this melancholy accident would intervene.

William Holden, the third of these unhappy persons, was born of very mean parents, had little education, and had followed no particular trade, but had sometimes gone to sea, and at other times driven a hackney coach; so that throughout the whole course of his life he had been continually plunged in the grossest debaucheries, whereby he became ripe for such practices as he and his associates afterwards went upon.

It does not appear, from the papers that I have, that any of these criminals had followed that infamous course of life for above a year, when Dalton, to save his own life, surrendered and made a confession by which these and the rest of his associates were quickly apprehended and committed dose prisoners to Newgate. At the ensuing sessions at the Old Bailey they were all indicted for assaulting one Martha Hide on the highway, and taking from her a broad-cloth coat, value forty shillings; a looking-glass, value thirty shillings; a woman's nightgown; and other goods, to the value of thirty shillings more. To prove this charge James Dalton was produced, who swore that about nine o'clock at night himself and the prisoners overtook the prosecutor, Martha Hide, in Fleet Street; and observing that she had a bundle they resolved to take it from her. In order to accomplish their design they followed her into Lincoln's Inn Fields, where Robert Crouch, *alias* Bob the Butcher, knocked her down and Russell took up the bundle and ran away with it. Upon their opening thereof the looking-glass fell out and was broke all to pieces. The rest of the things they sold to one Sarah Watts, who made it her business to buy stolen goods and kept



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what in their cant is called a 'lock', that is a place for the receipt of such things. Dalton swore, moreover, that not having carefully examined the things, they were extremely mortified to hear afterwards that there was forty shillings in specie wrapped up in a rag, which the woman that bought them got into the bargain.

Martha Hide, herself, deposed that crossing Lincoln's Inn Fields she was knocked down and the bundle taken from her as Dalton had before related. One Solomon Nicholas deposed that not long after, Russell and Crouch quarrelling between themselves at a brandy-shop, Russell said to his companion, *If you offer to meddle with Nicholas I'll cut the coat off your back, for it's the woman's coat that we knocked down in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and I have as much right to it as you have.* It appeared, also, by another witness, that Crouch pawned an old coat to pay for the altering of this, and after taking off a cloth cape which it had at the time of its being stolen, he caused a velvet one to be sewn on in its room. Mr. Willis, the constable, was the last witness called for by the prosecutor. He swore that at the time that he apprehended the prisoner Russell, he acknowledged that the goods before-mentioned were stolen and sold for one pound two shillings, but said he did not value it, since he should die in the company of such brave fellows.

The jury withdrawing after hearing this evidence, returned soon after and found them guilty, and sentence of death was passed upon them, at one of the fullest sessions which had happened for many years at the Old Bailey, there being twenty-two men and seven women capitally convicted.

As these unhappy men could have little hope of life, considering the nature and notoriety of their offences; they ought certainly to have laid aside all other thoughts and have applied themselves strictly, beseeching pardon of God for their numberless offences against Him. Instead of this, there appeared too much affectation of unconcernedness in all of them, especially in Russell, who, being confined in the same cell with Holden, said to his companion a day or two before his death, with an air of indifference, *I'll undertake, Will, to procure a coach to carry off our bodies from the place of execution; but I must leave it to the care of your fraternity* (meaning the hackney coachmen) *to prevent their being seized on by the surgeons.* Holden heard all this very gravely, assented to the proposition without altering his countenance or giving any other mark of his concern for that infamous death which shortly they were both to suffer.

Russell also took a certain pleasure in speaking of the state of street-robbing at the time they left the world. He averred that the town was much mistaken in imagining that the king's proclamation had effectually crushed their fraternity, into which opinion they perhaps might be drawn by seeing so many of them perish in so short a time; which, he said, did not lessen their society, but would, notwithstanding that, put all that remained of them upon bolder exploits than ever, to show that they were yet unchanged. In which conjecture he was not very much out. However, he said, gentlemen might now safely walk the streets without fear of having their pockets picked, for that Benjamin Branch, who died the last sessions, and Isaac Ashley, who was to suffer with him, were the two neat masters in that way, and were capable of earning fifteen or sixteen shillings



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by it in two or three hours' time; sorting the fruits of their industry into several parcels, from the value of sixpence to half a crown apiece as dexterously as any milliner in London. After the coming out of the death warrant Russell laid aside much of his boldness, appeared with more gravity at prayers and expressed greater sorrow for his misspent life than he had done before. Crouch carried himself very quietly all along, but could not forbear being unseasonably merry and jocose upon several occasions, smiling at chapel and affecting to talk with greater gaiety than became his condition. He himself owned that this was very unbecoming in a person so near an ignominious death, but he said it was in his temper, and he could not help it. He frankly acknowledged the enormity of that course of life which for some years past he had led, acknowledged that on the coming out of the king's proclamation he had resolved on a four years' voyage to sea, but was prevented from putting it in execution by Dalton's information. As the time of their death drew near he became more and more sensible of his miserable condition and the danger there was of losing his soul as well as his body. William Holden at first denied very strongly his being in any degree guilty of the fact for which he died; but when he heard that Russell had owned it and at the same time confessed that he was concerned in it, thinking it no further use to adhere to that denial he retracted it and acknowledged that he had been a great sinner, and had committed several thefts before that for which he died. In a word, these three, as they had been companions together in wickedness and fellow-sufferers in the punishment which their crimes had drawn upon them, so they appeared to be all of them sensibly touched with sorrow and remorse for that multitude of crimes which they had committed, endeavouring to merit the pardon of God by hearty prayers and a sincere repentance. Russell, however, declared but a day or two before his execution that Dalton, the evidence, had proposed to him to join in that information he gave against their companions, but that he scorned to save his life by so mean a practice as betraying those who had received him into their friendship.

Their deportment at the place of execution was resolute without obstinacy or impenitence, and the last moments of their lives were full of seriousness, without any marks of timorousness or confusion. Russell was about twenty-five, Crouch about twenty, and Holden somewhat more than twenty-eight years of age at the time they suffered, which was on Monday, 20th of May, 1728.

Although the several criminals whose lives we are now going to relate do not so well tally with one another, they having been of different gangs and dying for various offences, yet as they were all apprehended in consequence of the before-mentioned proclamation, were street-robbers and most of them not unknown to each other, I thought it would be better to speak of them here all at once rather than divide them into several lives. I have very little to say of any of them worthy the attention of the reader.

To begin, then, with Christopher, *alias* Thomas Rawlins. He was the son of very honest parents here in town, who brought him up as well as their circumstances would permit, and when he grew big enough to go out to a trade put him apprentice to a silversmith with whom he served out his time with tolerable



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reputation. But being a lad of great gaiety and spirit, having much addicted himself to the company of young fellows of a like disposition, frequented dancing meetings, and taken delight in everything but his business, such inclinations as these easily betrayed him to the commission of the greatest crimes and a certain alertness in his temper made him very acceptable to those debauched young fellows who were his usual companions to such places. Whether he was at first seduced by the persuasions of others to the committing thefts and robberies, or whether those necessities to which their extravagancies had reduced them put him and his associates on taking such measures for filling their purses, is hard to be determined. But certain it is that for some time before his being apprehended he had been very busy in committing such exploits and for his courage and dexterity was looked upon as one of the chief of the gang.

Isaac Ashley, who was Rawlins's companion, and who went commonly amongst them by the nickname of Black Isaac, was a fellow of a very different cast. His parents were poor people, who had, indeed, taken as much care as was in their power of his education and afterwards provided for him as well as they were able, putting him out to a weaver in Spitalfields. But he made them a very ill return for all their care and tenderness, proving an obstinate, idle and illiterate fellow, willing to do nothing that was either just or reputable, and who, except for his dexterity in pocket-picking was one of the most stupid, incorrigible wretches that ever lived. He followed the practice of petty thieving for a considerable space, but though he got considerably thereby, he lost his money continually at gaming, and so remained always in one state, viz., very poor and very wicked; which is no very uncommon case amongst such sort of miserable people, who lavishly waste what they hazard their souls and throw away their lives to obtain.

John Rouden, *alias* Hulks, the latter being his true name, had the advantage of a very tolerable education, the effects of which were not obliterated by his having been many years addicted to the vilest and most flagitious course of life that can possibly be imagined. The principles with which he had been seasoned in his youth served to render him more tractable and civilized when under his last misfortunes, unto which he fell with the two afore-mentioned malefactors; they being all indicted for assaulting one Mr. Francis Williams on the highway, and taking from him a silver watch value three pounds, two guineas and a moidore,²⁴⁷ on the 28th of February, 1728. The prosecutor deposed that going in a hackney coach, between Wading Street and St. Paul's School he heard the coachman called on to stop; immediately after which a man came up to the side of the coach, presented a pistol and demanded his money. Four more presented themselves at the coach windows, offering their pistols and saying they had no time to lose. One of them thereupon thrust his hand into his fob and took out his money and his watch. Jones next produced the watch to the Court and said he had it from Dalton, who was the third witness called to support the indictment. He deposed that himself, the three prisoners at the bar, and another person not yet taken, were those that attacked the coach; that himself came up first and Rouden afterwards, who took the watch, as himself did the money, Rawlins and he secreting one guinea from their companions and

247. A Portuguese gold coin current in England, worth about 23s.



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afterwards pawning the watch for two guineas more. Mr. Willis, the constable, swore that having received information of certain disorderly persons, he thereupon went and apprehended Dalton, the evidence, who, making an ingenious confession, told him of the robbery committed on Mr. Williams and where the prisoners then were; whereupon he went immediately to apprehend them also. Dalton produced a pistol after he was apprehended, and declared that Rawlins had the fellow to it which was loaded with a slug. When they came to the place where the prisoners were, Rawlins and Rouden made an obstinate defence, sword in hand, and were with great difficulty taken, while Ashley hid himself under the bed, in hopes of making his escape in the confusion. Mr. Willis's brother swore to taking a pistol from Rawlins, such as Dalton had described, and which was loaded with a slug.

The prisoners had nothing to say in their defence except flatly denying everything, and averring that they did not so much as know Dalton. But Mr. Wyatt being produced, swore to the contrary of that, affirming that they were very intimate and that they all lodged together at his house. The jury having received their charge from the judge, took but a small time to consider, and then returning, brought in their verdict that they were all guilty; whereupon at the close of the sessions they received sentence with the rest.

Edward Benson was the son of very reputable persons in the City of London, who had taken all due care in providing him a suitable education with respect both to the principles of learning and of religion; and when he was at years of discretion, they put him out apprentice to a silver-wire-drawer. In himself he was a young man of good understanding, of a sweet temper and but too tractable in his disposition, which seems to have been the cause of most of his misfortunes. For during the time of his apprenticeship, being so unlucky as to fall into bad company, he was easily seduced to following their measures; although he was far enough from being naturally debauched, and seemed to have no great vice but his inclination to women, which occasioned his marrying two wives, who notwithstanding lived peaceably and quietly together. The papers I have do not give any distinct account of the manner in which he first came to join in the execrable employment of plundering and robbing in the streets, and therefore it may be presumed he was drawn into it by his companions whom we are next to mention.

George Gale, *alias* Kiddy George, was a perfect boy at the time of his suffering death, and though descended of very honest parents, who no doubt had given him some education in his youth, yet the uninterrupted course of wickedness in which he lived from the time of his being able to distinguish between wrong and right had so perfectly expunged all notions of justice or piety, that never a more stupid or incorrigible creature came into this miserable state. Thomas Neeves²⁴⁸, who had been their associate in all their villainies, was the person who gave information against him, Benson, and several other malefactors we shall hereafter speak of. Gale, as is common with such people, complained vehemently against the evidence who had undone him. As death approached he shed tears abundantly, but was so very ignorant that he expressed no other marks of penitence for his offences.

248. See page 463.



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Thomas Crowder was a young man of an honest family and of a very good education. His friends had put him out apprentice to a cabinet-maker. Before he was out of his time he thought fit to go to sea, where, for aught appears by our papers, he behaved himself very honestly and industriously. Coming home from a voyage, a little before his death, he was so unfortunate as to fall into the company of Neeves, the evidence, who, pretending to have money and an inclination to employ it in the Holland trade, prevailed on poor Crowder to attend him three or four days, in which space Neeves was married and had great junkettings with his new wife and her friends. In the midst of this they were all apprehended, and Neeves, with how much truth must be determined at the Last Day, put this unhappy man into his information and gave evidence against him at his trial, when Benson, Gale and this Crowder were indicted for assaulting James Colver on the highway, and taking from him a watch value forty shillings, and five shillings in money. For this offence, chiefly on the oath of Neeves, they were all capitally convicted.

James Toon was another of those unhappy persons who suffered on the oath of Neeves. He had spent his time mostly upon the water, having been a seaman for several years, and after that a bargeman. He was a young man of tolerable good sense, very civil in his behaviour and in nothing resembling those who are ordinarily addicted to robbing and thieving. His parents were persons in tolerable circumstances, and had taken a due care of his education. The particular crime for which he died was assaulting James Flemming, in the company of George Gale and Edward Brown, *alias* Benson, and taking from him, the said Flemming, a silver watch value forty shillings, and two guineas in money, the third of April.

John Hornby had been bred for some time at school, being

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descended of honest parents, who put him apprentice to a joiner.

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



But being naturally inclined to idleness and vice, in a short time he had occasion to take base and illegal methods to acquire money. His necessities were also increased through foolishly marrying a woman, while he was yet a perfect boy and knew not how to maintain her. Picking pockets was his first resource, and the method of thieving which he always liked best and got most money at; but being of a very easy temper, his companions found it no hard thing to persuade him into taking such other methods of robbing as they persuaded him would be more beneficial, and in this Benson seems to have been one of his chief advisers. In himself, Hornby was good-natured and much less rude and boisterous than some of his companions. He had been but a very short time engaged in the street-robbing practice and did not seem to have courage or boldness sufficient to make himself considerable amongst his companions in those enterprises, which in all probability was the reason that while under confinement they treated him but very indifferently, and sometimes went so far as to give him ill names and blows, which he endured without saying much, and seemed perfectly resigned to the several



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punishments which his own iniquities had brought upon him. The crime for which he died was a robbery committed on the highway, upon the person of one Edward Ellis, from whom was taken a silver watch, value four pounds, and two guineas in money.

William Sefton was born in Lancashire, and during the life-time of his father received a tolerable education. But on his mother's marrying another husband, Sefton, who had been bred a barber and peruke-maker, finding things not to go to his mind, came up to London. But changing place did not seem to make him much easier, so that after having led an unsettled life for a considerable space, he became at length a common soldier. 'Twill be easily imagined that this choice of his did not much better his fortunes and possibly the company which his military life obliged him to keep served only to increase his courage so far as to enable him to take a purse on the highway; a practice he had pursued with pretty good success a considerable time before he was taken. But being a naming, close fellow, he robbed with so much precaution that he was little suspected until taken up for the offence for which he died, which was for assaulting Henry Bunn on the highway, and taking from him a silver watch, two pieces of foreign gold, and two pounds eleven shillings in money.

Richard Nichols was a man in the middle age of life, of a grave and civil deportment, of good character, and who was a barber and peruke-maker. He had lived by his profession without the least suspicion of his being guilty of any such crime as that for which he died. He was convicted, chiefly on the evidence of Neeves, for feloniously stealing nine silver watches and a gold watch, the property of Andrew Moran and others in the dwelling-house of the said Moran. As there was nothing remarkable in this man's life, and as it did appear that he was not flagrantly guilty of any other vice except drinking and wasting his own money, so it would be needless to dwell longer upon his adventures prior to his condemnation; therefore we shall go on to speak of the behaviour of these criminals while they remained under sentence of death.

Christopher Rawlins seemed to retain much of his old boisterous temper, and though he would bring himself to speak with more decency concerning the great duty of repentance which now alone remained for them to practise, yet in a little time he would fly out into strange and blasphemous expressions, for which being reprov'd by William Russell, whom we have before mentioned as being under sentence at the same time, he answered, *What does it signify to prepare ourselves, since we have passed through so wicked a life in this world and have now so short a time to remain in it?* He frequently expressed a despair of God's mercy though after the death warrant came down he appeared somewhat more easy, and in a better disposition to offer up his prayers to the Almighty. As to the crimes for which he suffered, he readily and ingenuously confessed them, owning the justice of the sentence which had been passed upon him and expressed this sense of the multitude of offences which he had committed, such as he acknowledged deserved no mercy here, nor, without the interposition of the mercy of God hereafter. Yet in the midst of these expressions of penitence he could not forbear doing something in his old way, and a few days before his execution actually cut the tassels from the pulpit cushion in the chapel. Ashley was very frank in his confessions of numberless thefts



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which he had committed in the course of his wicked and licentious life; but he peremptorily denied that he had any concern whatsoever in the robbery for which he was to die, and this was confirmed by Rawlins and Benson, who said that they, indeed, committed it, but that Ashley was no ways concerned therein. However, as far as his stupid disposition would give him leave, he sometimes expressed great penitence for the deeds which he had committed. Yet the Sunday before his death he stole five or six handkerchiefs at chapel, of which when the Ordinary spoke to him at the place of execution, he only said that it was true, but that he must have something to subsist on.

Rouden acknowledged the justice of his sentence, that he was guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, and behaved in every respect like a true and sincere penitent. Benson showed the same easiness and sweetness of temper which he had always been remarkable for, even to the last moment of his life. He expressed, indeed, much sorrow for his having lived deliberately in a continued course of adultery with two women who both of them averred that they had been lawfully married to him. He frankly confessed his own guilt, and that the sentence of the Law was just, dying, as far as we are able to judge, in a composed and penitent disposition of mind.

George Gale, though he owned he had for some time been a thief, yet he absolutely denied his having any concern in the robberies before mentioned; but he averred that Neeves, knowing his character, took the advantage of putting him in the information, as knowing that he had neither friends nor interest to make his innocence appear. Indeed, Benson did so far confirm what Gale had said that he owned he alone committed the robbery for which he was convicted, and to this they both adhered to their last moments at the place of execution, where Gale wept bitterly, and with all outward tokens of sorrow confessed the multitude of sins he had committed throughout the whole course of his life. Thomas Crowder persevered even to death in denying any concern with Neeves, further than his being deluded with the hopes of joining with him in a trade to Holland and France; yet the Ordinary tells us in his account of these criminals that he had reason to believe that Crowder, notwithstanding this, was guilty, because a gentleman averred that he had owned as much to him in the chapel the very day he died.

James Toon continued to behave with a uniform submission to the decrees of Providence, absolutely denied his being guilty of the fact for which he was convicted, yet acknowledged that he had led a very sinful life, and therefore looked on it as a great mercy of the Providence of God that he had so much time to reflect and repent in. Hornby wept and lamented grievously for the miseries which he had brought on himself and those who were related to him, said he had for a long time been guilty of illegal practices, but would not acknowledge that he had been guilty of that for which he was condemned.

Sefton appeared under condemnation to have a very just idea of the wretched state he was in, the necessity there was of preventing, by a thorough repentance, a yet more severe judgment than that under which he then lay. He acknowledged the crime for which he died, said he had been drawn to the commission of it by the persuasion of a person whom he named, and at the place of execution declared he died sorry for all his sins and in charity with mankind. He had hardly been turned off a minute



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before the rope broke and he fell to the ground, but the sheriff's men laying hold on him, he was soon tied up again and so executed in pursuance of his sentence.

Richard Nichols, as he always behaved with great decency and was of a sober, serious and religious disposition, so he constantly affirmed (though without vehemence or any signs of passion) that he knew nothing of the robbery whereof he stood convicted, but that his life was basely sworn away by Neeves the evidence, without the least grounds whatsoever, he having never associated himself with street-robbers or been concerned in any sort of thieving whatever. In this he persisted to the time of his death, repeating it and averring it at the place of execution; and, indeed, there is the greatest reason to believe that he spoke nothing but the truth, because Thomas Neeves, the witness, when he came afterwards to die at Tyburn, did acknowledge that he knew nothing of Nichols, nor had ever seen him before his being committed at the Justice's, and begged that God would pardon his crying sin of perjury and murder in taking the life of an innocent man.

These malefactors suffered on the 20th of May, 1728; Rawlins being twenty-two, Ashley, twenty-six; Rouden, twenty-four; Benson, twenty-four; Gale, seventeen; Crowder, twenty-two; Toon, twenty-five; Hornby, twenty-one; Sefton, twenty-six; and Nichols, forty years of age.



June 26: Richard Hughs and Bryan Macguire, highwaymen and footpads, were [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²⁴⁹

Idleness, lewd women and bad company are the sum total of those excuses urged by criminals when they come to be punished, even for the most flagrant offences. With just reason Richard Hughs exclaimed on them all, for from youth upwards he had ever addicted himself to laziness and a dislike to that business to which he was bred, viz., that of a bricklayer. Following loose women was the thing in which he took most delight, and was probably the occasion of his subsequent misfortunes. The immediate cause of them was his acquaintance with William Sefton before-mentioned, with whom he joined in a confederacy to rob on the highway, a thing to which his necessities in some measure drove him, since he had squandered all he had in the world on those abandoned women with whom he conversed, and had contracted so bad a reputation that he found it hard to be employed in his business.

Into this wretched confederacy entered also the other offender,

249. LIVES OF THE MOST REMARKABLE CRIMINALS WHO HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED FOR MURDER, THE HIGHWAY, HOUSEBREAKING, STREET ROBBERIES, COINING OR OTHER OFFENCES / COLLECTED FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS AND AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS, AND PUBLISHED IN 1735 / Edited by Arthur L. Hayward



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Bryan Macguire, an Irishman born in the county of Wicklow. He had been bred a sawyer, but was never very well pleased with the trade which required so much hard labour. However, he worked at it some time after he came to England, but some of his countrymen persuading him that it was much easier to live by sharpening, a practice they very well understood, he readily fell into their sentiments and soon struck out a new method of cheating, which brought them in more and with less hazard than any of the ways pursued by his associates. The artifice was this: by repeated practice he found a way to pull his tongue so far back into his throat that he really appeared to have none at all, and by going to coffee-houses and other places of public resort for the better sort of people, he, by pretending to be dumb and then opening his mouth and showing them what looked only like the root of a tongue, obtained large charities. He had great success in this cheat for a long time, but at last was discovered by a gentleman's blowing some snuff into his throat, which, by setting him a-coughing, detected the imposture.

Then, being very straitened, he fell in with Sefton and Hughs with whom having cheated and tricked for a little space, they at last came all to an agreement of going together upon the highway and sharing their booty equally amongst them. However, their partnership was of no very long continuance, for in nine or ten days they were all apprehended and brought to condign punishment. Hughs had been a soldier as well as Sefton, and had quitted the Army to go upon the highway, which was a very luckless occasion for him. Being quickly apprehended he was charged with five several capital indictments, to all of which, when he came to be arraigned, he resolutely pleaded guilty; and when admonished by the Court that the crimes with which he was charged were felonies without benefit of clergy, he persisted therein, saying that he would not give the judge nor the gentlemen of the jury unnecessary trouble.

Macguire was indicted on four of the indictments which had been preferred against Hughs, and capitally convicted upon them all. He was no sooner under sentence than he declared himself to be of the communion of the Church of Rome. However, he attended constantly at the chapel, seemed to listen earnestly to what was said there, and made responses very regularly to the several prayers, a thing which Papists very seldom comply with. However, Bryan appeared to be a very reasonable man in this respect, saying that he hoped God would be satisfied with that imperfect atonement which he was able to make for his offences, and would not impute it to him as a sin that he had taken all occasions which offered of presenting his petitions for remission. In this disposition he continued until the day of his execution, when both he and Hughs appeared very composed and penitent, desiring the prayers of those who were witnesses of their death, submitting thereto with all exterior marks of proper resignation, on the 26th day of June, 1728; Hughs being twenty-four and Macguire twenty-eight years of age or thereabouts.

September 11, Saturday: James How, *alias* Harris, a highwayman and thief, and Griffith Owen, Samuel Harris, and Thomas Medline, highwaymen and footpads, were [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²⁵⁰

250. LIVES OF THE MOST REMARKABLE CRIMINALS WHO HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED FOR MURDER, THE HIGHWAY, HOUSEBREAKING, STREET ROBBERIES, COINING OR OTHER OFFENCES / COLLECTED FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS AND AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS, AND PUBLISHED IN 1735 / Edited by Arthur L. Hayward



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Though, generally speaking, the old saying holds true that nobody becomes superlatively wicked at once, yet it may be also averred that a long and habitual course of vice at last so hardens the soul that no warnings are sufficient, no dangers so frightful, nor reflections so strong as to overcome lewd inclinations, when their strength has become increased by a long unrestrained indulgence.

The criminal of whom we are now to speak was a native of the town of Windsor, in the county of Berks. His parents were honest people in middling circumstances, who yet took such care of his education that he was fit for any business to which he would have applied himself. But he, on the contrary, continuing to lead a lazy and indolent course of life, sauntering from one place to another, and preferring want and idleness to industry and labour, at last became so burdensome to his relations that with much ado they sent him to sea. There being of a robust constitution and of a bold, daring spirit, he quickly gained some preferment in the ship on board of which he sailed and might possibly have done very well if he had continued at sea for any time, having the good luck to serve on board the admiral's vessel, and to be taken notice of as a sprightly young fellow, capable of coming to good.

But alas! James soon blasted this prospect of good fortune, for no sooner was he on shore than laying aside all the views he had formed of rising in the Navy, he associated himself with some of his old companions. They persuaded him to take a purse, as the shortest and easiest method of supporting those expenses into which his inclinations for sensual pleasures naturally plunged him. He too easily listened to their persuasions and from that time forward he left nothing unstolen upon which he could lay his fingers.

Punishment did not pursue his crimes with a leaden pace; on the contrary, he had scarce offended ere she made him sensible of the offences. Bridewells, prisons, duckings, lashings, and beatings of hemp were made familiar to him by his running through them several times in the space of a few years. At length, as he increased the guilt of his crimes, so he added to the weight of his sufferings; for after having been at Newgate several times for lesser offences, he was at last committed for a felony, and being convicted thereof, was ordered for transportation. Rightly conceiving that if he was carried into the Plantations he would be obliged to work very hard, which he most dreaded, in order to escape he forged a letter as from a certain man of quality directing that he should be set at liberty in order to serve as a good hand on board of one of his Majesty's ships. His old ill luck pursuing him, the forgery was detected and he was thereupon ordered to remain two years at hard labour in Bridewell; but when he was brought thither, the keeper absolutely refused to have anything to do with him. They knew him of old and said that he was a fellow only fit to make the other criminals who were there unruly, by projecting and putting them into way of making their escape. Upon this he was carried back to Newgate and remained a prisoner for that space of time. How he came by his liberty again I cannot take upon me to say; all that appears from my papers is that he made a very ill use of it as soon as he obtained it, returning immediately to the commission of those crimes for which he had before forfeited it. At length turning housebreaker he was committed for feloniously



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stealing five pounds out of the house of John Spence, for which fact, at the sessions following, a bill of indictment was found against him, and he was thereupon arraigned.

At first he insisted that overtures had been made in order to procure discoveries from him, and therefore he desired that he might be admitted an evidence. The Court informed him that they would enter into no altercations with a prisoner at the bar; that he had heard the nature of the charge preferred against him; and that now they could hear nothing from him unless he pleaded guilty or not guilty. He persisted obstinately in his first demand, and in consequence thereof obstinately refused to plead. Whereupon he was told from the Bench that such behaviour was not a proper method to excite the mercy of the Court, that it was not in their power to comply in any degree with what he desired, but that on the contrary they should proceed to pass sentence upon him as a mute, by which he would be subjected to a much greater and more grievous punishment than if he were found guilty of the crime of which he was accused. All this made no impression upon the criminal; he said he could but die, and the manner in which he died was indifferent to him. And so sentence, as is usual in such cases, was pronounced upon him, and he was ordered to be carried back and put into the press. But when he had carried it so far, and found there was no avoiding that cruel fortune which was appointed for such obstinate persons as himself, he desired time till the next morning to consider his plea, which being permitted him, he that time pleaded guilty.

While under sentence of death something very extraordinary occurred in relation to this malefactor. It seems that one Mrs. Dawson had a parcel of plate, consisting of two silver tankards, two silver mugs, a silver cup and a punch ladle, seven pounds sixteen shillings in money, and a great quantity of papers of considerable value, stolen out of her house. She suspected one Eleanor Reddey, and caused her to be apprehended, who thereupon confessed that she opened the door of her mistress's house in the night-time and let in one William Read; that she saw him take away the plate and watched, in the meantime, to observe if anyone came. Upon this confession she herself was convicted, but no evidence appearing against William Read, who was tried with her, he was acquitted.

After she received sentence of death she declared herself absolutely innocent of the fact for which she was to die, affirming that as soon as she was taken up some neighbours persuaded her to make such a confession, and to charge William Read with stealing the things, assuring her that if she did so, she would preserve herself by coming a witness against him. Being a silly timorous creature in herself, and terrified by their suggesting that if she did not take the method they proposed, somebody would infallibly swear against her, she with much ado assented; and being carried before Justice Jackson, made and signed such a confession as is before mentioned.

But How, *alias* Harris, whose life we are now writing, declared that he, himself, robbed Mrs. Dawson, and that he had a considerable quantity of the plate and most of the papers in his power, offering to restore them if the said Mrs. Dawson had interest enough to procure a pardon either for himself or Eleanor Reddey. But the Ordinary assured him that Mrs. Dawson could do no such thing, and at the same time exhorted him to make what restitution was in his power, since otherwise his



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repentance would remain imperfect and small hope could be given him of his meeting with forgiveness from an offended God. At first this seemed to have little or no weight with the criminal; he expressed himself very civilly when spoken to on that head, but peremptorily refused to do anything towards making satisfaction to Mrs. Dawson, unless she could do something for him or the woman.

But when death approached nearer he began to relent, sent for the Ordinary and told him that, as for the plate, it was indeed out of his power, but for that the papers, he had caused them to be brought in a box which he delivered and desired they might be kept carefully, because he was sensible that they were of great value to their owner.

At the place of execution he seemed desirous only of clearing his wife from any imputation of being concerned with him in any of his villainies and then suffered with much resignation, on the 11th of September, 1728, being near thirty-eight years of age.

Griffith Owen, the first of these unhappy criminals, was the son of very honest parents who had given him a very good education in respect both of letters and religion. When he was grown up they put him out apprentice to a butcher in Newgate Market, with whom he served his time, though not without committing many faults and neglecting his business in a very marked degree, addicting himself too much to idle company, the usual incitements to those crimes for the commission of which he

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afterwards suffered.

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



His companion Harris, if Owen were to be believed, first proposed robbing as an expedient to the supply of their pockets, to which he too readily gave way; and having once ventured to attack he never suffered himself nor his companions to cool. For the space of about six weeks, keeping themselves still warm with liquor, they committed five or six robberies, for which at last they were all apprehended. And as they had been companions together in wickedness, so they shared also in imprisonment and death as the consequences of those offences they had committed. Samuel Harris, though he had received a very tolerable education as to reading and writing, yet he never applied himself to any business, but served bricklayers as a labourer, in company with his fellow-sufferer Medline. But having been all his life addicted to lust and wickedness, he proposed robbing to his companions as the most feasible method of getting money wherewith to support their debauches and the strumpets who used to partake with them at their houses of resort. He confirmed what Owen had said, and acknowledged that during the time they continued their robberies, never any people in the world led



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more profligate and more uneasy lives than they did; being always engaged in a continual circle of drunkenness, violence and whoredom; while their minds were continually agitated with the fear of being apprehended, so that they never enjoyed peace or quiet from the time of their betaking themselves to this course of life unto the day of their apprehension and coming to the gallows.

Thomas Medline was born more meanly than either of his companions, and had so little care taken of him in his youth, that he could neither read nor write. However, he applied himself to working hard as a labourer to the bricklayers, and got thereby for some time sufficient wherewith to maintain himself and his family. At last, giving himself over to drink, he minded little of what became of his wife and children, and falling unhappily about the same time into the acquaintance of the before-mentioned malefactor Harris, he was easily seduced by him to become a partner in his crimes and addicted himself to the highway.

It was but a very short space that they continued to exercise this their illegal and infamous calling, for venturing to attack one Mr. Barker, on the Ware Road, and not long after Dr. Edward Hulse,²⁵¹ they were quickly apprehended for those facts, and after remaining some time in Newgate, were brought to their trials at the Old Bailey.

There it was sworn by Mr. Barker, that he observed them drinking at an alehouse at Tottenham, the very evening in which he was robbed; and that apprehending them to be loose and disorderly persons he took more than ordinary notice of their faces; that about a mile from Edmonton church they came up with him, and notwithstanding he told them he knew them, they pulled him off his horse and robbed him of five pounds and sixpence; that returning the next day to the place where he was robbed, he found sevenpence, which he supposed they had dropped in their hurry. On the second indictment it was desposed by one Mr. Hyatt that he suspected the prisoners, from the description given by Mr. Barker and Doctor Hulse, to be the persons who had robbed them; he thereupon apprehended them upon suspicion, and that Mr. Barker, as soon as he saw them, swore to their faces.

Doctor Hulse deposed that they were the persons who robbed him of his watch and money, and that he had particularly remarked Owen as having a scar on his face. Thomas Bennett, the doctor's coachman, swore that Owen was the man who got upon the coach-box and beat him, and afterwards robbed his master; that not contented therewith, they beat the witness again, knocked out one of his teeth, and broke his own whip about him. Henry Greenwood confirmed this account in general, but could not be positive to any of the faces except that of Owen. The jury, in this proof, without any long stay found them all guilty.

While under sentence of death they all behaved themselves with as much penitence and seeming sorrow for their offences as was ever seen amongst persons in their condition. They attended as often as Divine Worship was celebrated in the chapel, and appeared very desirous of instruction as to those private prayers which they thought necessary to put up to God, when carried back to their several places of confinement.

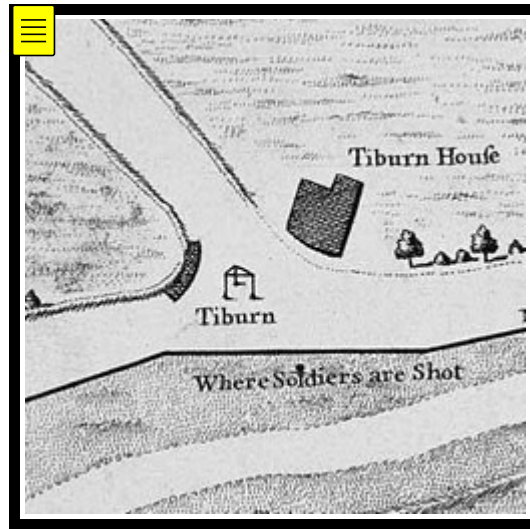
Harris seemed a little uneasy at the Ordinary's remonstrating with him that he was more guilty than the rest, inasmuch as he

251. An eminent Whig doctor who was later appointed physician to George II. He was created a baronet in 1739.

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first incited them to the falling into those wretched methods by which they brought shame and ruin upon themselves. He answered that there was little difference in their dispositions, having been all of them addicted for many years to the greatest wickedness which men could practise; that his companions were no less ready than he to fall upon such means of supporting themselves in sensual delights. As he averred this to their faces they did not contradict it, but seemed to take shame to themselves and to sorrow alike for the evils they had committed. They ended their lives at Tyburn, on the 11th of September, 1728, with all outward signs of true repentance; Owen being twenty, Harris twenty-nine, and Medline thirty-nine years of age at the time of their execution.



November 11, Thursday: According to the [Concord](#) Town Record, “Aaron Heywood ye son of Decon Samll Heywood and Elisabeth his wife Died Novr. 11:1728”

On the other side of the pond, Peter Levee, John Featherby, Stephen Burnet, *alias* Barnet, *alias* Barnham, and Thomas Vaux, street-robbers, footpads, thieves, etc., were being [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²⁵²

In the course of these memoirs I have more than once remarked that a ridiculous spirit of vainglory is often the source of those prodigious mischiefs which are committed by those abandoned persons, who addict themselves to open robberies, and the carrying on, as it were, a declared war against mankind. Theft and rapine may to some appear odd subjects for acquiring glory, and yet it is certain that many, especially of the younger criminals, have been chiefly instigated in their most daring attempts from a vain inclination to be much talked of, in order to which this seemed to them the shortest course. But these observations that I have made will be better illustrated from the following lives, than they could have been any other way. Peter Levee was descended from honest and reputable parents, who gave him a very good education, and afterwards bound him out apprentice to a silk weaver; but such as the perverse

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disposition of this unfortunate Lad, such his love of gaming, and such his continual inclination to debauched company, that nothing better could be expected from him than what afterwards befell him. Yet his understanding was very tolerable, he did not

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



Proverbs Chap. I. Ver. 27, 28.

When fear cometh as desolation, and their destruction cometh as a whirlwind; when distress cometh upon them, then they shall call upon God, but he will not answer.

want a sufficient share of wit, and in a word his capacity altogether might have enabled him to have lived very well, if his prodigious vices had not prevented it by hurrying him into misfortunes. It was remarkable in this criminal that his long habit of carrying in the detestable trade of stealing, to which he had incurred himself in every shape as much as possible, had given so odd a cast to his visage that it was impossible for a man to look him in the face without immediately guessing him to be a rogue.

While yet a boy, he had been so accustomed to confinement in the Compter, especially in Wood Street, that he had contracted a friendship with all the under-officers in that prison, who treated him with great leniency as often as he came there. Picking pockets, sneaking goods out of shops, snatching them through windows, and such other petty facts, were the employments of his junior years. As he grew bigger, he grew riper



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in all sorts of villainy, though never a fellow had worse luck in dishonest attempts, for he was always detected, and very frequently had gone through the lesser punishments of the Law, such as whipping and hard labour. At one time he lay four years in Newgate for a fine, and this finished the course of his villainous education, for from the time he got out, he never ceased to practice robbing in the streets, and on the roads to the villages near London, until he and his companions fell into the hands of Justice, and went altogether to their last adventure at Tyburn.

John Featherby, the second of these criminals, had received a greater share of education than any of the rest. His father had been a man of tolerable circumstances, and with great care provided that this young fellow should not be ignorant of anything that might be necessary or convenient for him to know in that business for which he designed him, viz., a coach-painter. But he did not live to see him put apprentice to it, which his mother afterwards took care to do, and consequently he had not the misfortune of seeing him live so scandalous a life, and die so shameful a death.

His understanding was tolerable, but his behaviour so rude, boisterous and shocking that he left no room even for that compassion to which all men are naturally prone when they see persons under sentence of death. The desire of appearing brave and making the figure of a hero in low life was in all probability the occasion of his acting so odd a part, and as he was generally looked upon as their chief by those unfortunate creatures who were of his gang, possibly he put on this ferocity in his manner in order to support his authority, and preserve that respect and superiority of which these wretches are observed to be inexpressibly fond.

Stephen Burnet, *alias* Barnet, *alias* Barnham, which was his true name, was a child when he died, and a thief almost from his cradle. His parents, who were people of worth, sent him to school with a design, doubtless, that he should have acquired some good there; but Stephen made use of that time to visit a master of his own choosing, the celebrated Mr. Jonathan Wild, at whose levy he was a pretty constant attendant and while an infant he was a most assiduous companion and assistant to the famous Blueskin.

My readers may be perhaps inquisitive how an infant of eight years old could in any way assist a person of Blueskin's profession. For their information, then, perhaps for their security, I must inform them that while Blueskin and one of his companions bought a pair of stockings, or two or three pairs of gloves in a large Shop, Stephen used to creep on all fours under the counter, and march off with goods perhaps to the value of ten, twelve, or twenty pounds. But, alas, he was not the youngest of Mr. Wild's scholars. I myself have seen a boy of six years old tried at the Old Bailey for stealing the rings of an oyster women's fingers as she sat asleep by her tub, and after his being acquitted by the compassion of the jury, Jonathan took him from the bar, and carrying him back upon the leads, lifted him up in his arms, and turning to the spectators, said, *Here's a cock of the game for you, of my own breeding up.*

But to return to Barnham. His friends no sooner found out the villainy of his inclinations, but they took all methods imaginable to wean him from his vices. They corrected him



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severely; they offered him any encouragements on his showing the least visible sign of amendment, they put him to seven several trades upon liking. But all this was to no purpose, nothing could persuade him to forsake his old trade, which following with indefatigable industry, he made a shift to reach the gallows of an old offender, at almost nineteen years of age.

After he, Featherby, Vaux and Levee became acquainted, they suffered no time to be lost in perpetrating such facts as were most likely to supply them with money, roving abroad almost every night, in quest of adventures and returning very seldom without some considerable prey. Perhaps my readers may be inquisitive as to what became of all this money. Why, really, it was spent in drink, gaming and in whores, three articles which ran so high amongst these knight-errants in low life that Barnham and two more found a way to lavish an hundred and twenty pounds on them in three weeks.

On one of his nocturnal expeditions, in company with Levee and Featherby, they robbed one Mr. Brown, in Dean's Court by St. Paul's Churchyard, of a gold watch and thirteen guineas; upon which the gentleman thought fit, it seems, to offer in the newspapers a reward of five guineas for restoring the watch. Not many days after, he received a penny-post epistle from Mr. Barnham, in which he was told that if he came to a field near Sadler's Wells, and brought the promised reward of five guineas along with him, he should there meet a single person at half an hour after six precisely, who would restore him his watch without doing him any injury whatsoever. At the time appointed the gentleman went thither, found Barnham walking alone, well dressed with a laced hat on, who immediately came up to him, and receiving the five guineas presented him with his watch.

Mr. Brown having no more to do with him, immediately turned round about to go back, upon which Barnham produced a pistol ready cocked from under his coat. *You see, says he, it is in my power to rob you again; but I scorn to break my word of honour.* Levee and Featherby, it seems, were posted pretty near and, as they all declared, intended to have shot the gentleman if he had brought anybody with him, or had made the least opposition or noise.

At Kingston assizes he was tried for a robbery committed in Surrey, but for want of sufficient evidence was acquitted, upon which he returned immediately to his old trade. About three months before he was apprehended for the last time, he came into Little Britain (the place where he was born), produced a silver spoon and fifteen shillings in money, declared it to be the effects of that day's exploits, and then climbing up a lamp-post, thrust his head through the iron circle in which in winter time the lamp is placed, declaring to the neighbours who called him and advised him to reform, that within three months he would do something that should bring him to be hanged in the same place. As to the time he was not mistaken, though he was a little out as to the manner and place of his execution, and we mention this fact only to show the amazing wickedness of so young a man, of which we shall hereafter have occasion to say a great deal more.

Thomas Vaux was a fellow of no education at all. Whether he had been bred to any employment or not I am not able to say, but that which he followed was sweeping of chimneys, the profits of which he eked out with thefts, in which he continued



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undiscovered for a long space of time. In himself he was a fellow void of almost every good quality, disliked even by his own companions for his brutal behaviour which he still kept up even under his misfortunes, and ceased not to behave with an obstinate perverseness even to the last moment of his life.

The fact for which all this gang suffered was for robbing one Mr. Clark, at the corner of Water Lane, in Fleet Street,²⁵³ which at their trial, was proved upon them by witnesses in the following manner:

Mr. Clark, the prosecutor, deposed that going in a coach from St. Paul's to the Inner Temple, he saw three or four persons dogging it from a toy-shop at the corner of St. Paul's Churchyard; that he scarce lost sight of them until he came to the end of Water Lane, where Barnham and Vaux stopped the coach; he then looked out and saw them very plainly. Levee stepped into the coach, put his hand into his pocket, and tore his breeches down in taking out the things; Featherby all the while holding a pistol to his breast. The things they took from him were a silver watch, value four pounds, a diamond ring, three pounds eleven shillings in silver and fourteen guineas.

Then the confessions of Levee and Barnham before Sir William Billers, Knight and Alderman, were read, in which they owned that they committed the robbery on Mr. Clark, and that Featherby and Vaux assisted therein. Sir William also attested that they made the said confession freely and without any promises made, or being threatened in case of refusal. Thomas Wood swore that going to apprehend Featherby and one Cable, in a house in Blue Boar's Head Alley, in Barbican, they both snapped their pistols at him, but that neither of them went off.

Mary Vaux, wife of the prisoner Thomas Vaux, having first excused herself from giving any testimony against her husband, deposed that she saw the rest of the prisoners commit the robbery at the end of Water Lane, and that Levee got into the coach. Upon which evidence taken altogether the jury found them guilty without going out of the Court.

When they received sentence of death, they all behaved themselves very audaciously, except Levee who appeared penitent, and excused himself of the misbehaviour he had been guilty of at his trial. During the time they remained under sentence of death in Newgate, this last mentioned criminal, Levee, appeared truly sensible of that miserable state in which he was. He attended the public devotion at Chapel with great seriousness, except when his audacious companions pulled him and disturbed him, when he would sometimes smile. As he had passed through the former part of his life without thought or reflection, so he seemed now awakened all at once to a just sense of his sins. In a word, he did every thing which so short a space could admit of, to convince those who saw him that he minded only the great business he had to do, viz., the making of his peace with that God who he had so much offended.

Featherby, as has been said, persisted in that brutal behaviour for which he had been remarkable amongst his gang. At chapel he disturbed the congregation by throwing sticks at a gentleman, laughing and talking to his companions, sometimes insulting and beating those who were near him, and in fine encouraged the rest of his companions to behave in such a manner that the keepers were reduced to the necessity of causing them all four to be

253. Now called Whitefriars Street.



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chained and nailed down in the old condemned hold, for fear of their committing some murder or other before they died, which they often threatened they would do. There they continued for three or four days, until upon the promise of amendment and behaving better for the future, they were released, brought back again to their respective cells, and at times of public devotion up to chapel.

When the death warrant came down, Featherby pretended to be much more moved than could be expected, seemed in dreadful agonies at the remembrance of his former wicked and impudent behaviour, prayed with great fervency, and said he hoped that God would yet have mercy on him. Barnham continued unmoved to the last. He did, indeed, abstain from ill-language and disturbing people at chapel, but employed his time in his cell, in composing a song to celebrate the glorious actions of himself and his companions. This was work he very much valued himself upon, and sending for the person who usually prints the dying speeches, he desired it might be inserted, but it containing incitements to their companions to go on in the same trade, in the strongest terms he was capable of framing them in, his design was frustrated, and they were not published.

Vaux behaved a little more civilly after their being stapled down in the condemned hold, but throughout the time of his confinement appeared to be a very obstinate and incorrigible fellow. Levee was twenty-four years old; Featherby about the same age; Barnham near nineteen; and Vaux twenty-three, at the time they suffered, being on the 11th of November, 1728, in company with nine other malefactors.

A Paper written by Featherby's own hand, which he delivered to the Ordinary of Newgate in the Chapel immediately before they went to be executed.

As it is my sad misfortune to come to this untimely end, I think it my duty to acknowledge the justice of Almighty God, and that of my country, and I humbly implore pardon of the Divine Goodness, and forgiveness of all that I have injured, or any ways offended. It is a sad reflection upon my spirit that I have had the blessing and advantage of honest and pious parents, whose tender care provided for my education, so that I might have lived to God's glory, their comfort and my own lasting felicity. But I take shame to myself, and humbly acknowledge that by the evil ways I of late followed I neglected my duty to my great Creator, and brought grief to my dear and tender mother. And having thus far, and much more, effended against God and man, I hope and earnestly desire, that no prudent nor charitable person will reflect upon my good mother, or any other friend or relation for my shameful end.



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John Featherby



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1729

Peter Kelley, *alias* Owen, *alias* Nisbet was [hanged](#) for murder on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²⁵⁴

Whether there be really any gradation in crimes, or whether we do not mistake in supposing the transgression of one Law of God more heinous than that of another, would be a point too difficult and too abstract for us to enter into, but as human nature is more shocked at the shedding of blood than at any other offence, we may be allowed to treat those who are guilty of it as bloody and unnatural men, who besides their losing all respect towards the laws of God, show also a want of that compassion and tenderness which seems incident to the human species.

The unhappy person of whom we are now to speak, was by birth an Irishman, and his true name Mackhuen, but upon his coming over into England he thought fit to change it for Owen, thereby inclining to avoid being taken for any other person than an Englishman. His parents were, it seems, persons so low in the world that they could not afford him any education, so that he was unable either to write or read at the time of his death. However, they put him out apprentice to a weaver, with whom having served his time, he came over to England, and worked for a little time at his trade. But growing idle, and being always inclined to sotting, he chose rather to go errands, or to do

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anything rather than work any longer.

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



It seems he played with great dexterity upon two jews' harps at a time, and this serving to entertain people of as loose and idle a disposition as himself, he thereby got a good deal of money, or least drink (which was to him all one, for without it he could not live), and his delight in an alehouse was so great that he seldom cared to be out of it. People in such houses finding they got money by his playing upon the jews' harp, and thereby keeping people longer at the pot than otherwise they were inclined to stay, used to encourage Peter by helping him to errands; but amongst all the persons who were so kind as to supply his necessities, there was one Nisbet, an old joiner in the neighbourhood, who was never weary of doing him kindnesses. Having repeated these often and for a long time together, Kelley at last began to call the old man father, and there seemed to be an inviolable friendship between them, Peter always preserving some respect towards him, though he seemed to have lost it towards everybody else. One night, however, or rather morning, for it was near two o'clock, Kelley came with many signs of terror and confusion to

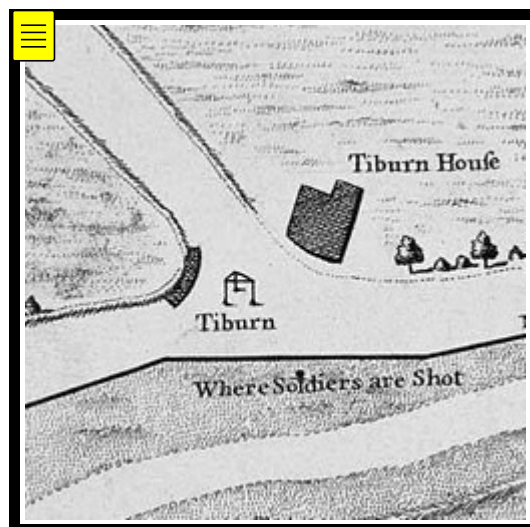
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the watch-house, and there told the constable and attendants that old Nisbet was murdered and lay weltering in his bed and a razor by him. The watch, knowing Peter to be a wild, half-witted drunken fellow, gave little heed to his discourse, and so far they were from crediting it that they turned him out of the watch-house, and bid him get about his business. In the morning old Nisbet's lodgers not hearing him stir at his usual hour, went to the door, and there made a noise in order to awake him. Having no answer upon that, they sent for a proper officer and broke the door open, where they found the old man with his throat cut in a most barbarous fashion, overflowed with the torrent of his own blood, which was yet warm. No sooner did the particulars of this horrid murder begin to make a noise, but the watch calling to mind what Kelley had told them, immediately suspected him for the murder, and caused him quickly to be apprehended and committed to Newgate.

On the trial the strongest circumstances imaginable appeared against him, so much that the jury, without much hesitation, found him guilty, and he, after a pathetic speech from the Bench, of the nature and circumstances of his bloody crime, received sentence of death with the rest. Under conviction he appeared a very stupid creature, though as far as his capacity would give him leave he showed all imaginable signs of penitence and sorrow, and attended with great gravity and devotion at the public service in the chapel, notwithstanding he professed himself to be in the communion of the Church of Rome. He acknowledged the deceased Mr. Nisbet to have been extraordinarily kind and charitable to him, even to as great a degree as if he had been his own child, but as to the murder, he flatly denied his committing it, or his having any knowledge of its being committed; and though he was strongly pressed as to the nature of those circumstances on which the jury had found him guilty, and which were so strong as to persuade all mankind that their verdict was just, yet he continued still in the same mind, protesting his own clearness from that bloody and detestable crime. In this disposition of mind he suffered at Tyburn, being at that time about forty years of age or somewhat under.





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February 27, Thursday (1728, Old Style): Thomas Neeves, a street-robber and thief, was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²⁵⁵

There are some persons so amazingly destitute of reason, so exceedingly stupid, and of so sleepy a disposition of mind, that neither advice, nor danger, nor punishment are capable of awaking them; they pass through life in a continual lethargy of wickedness, nor can they be obliged to open their eyes even when at the point of death.

How shocking, how horrid soever such a character may be, certain it is that the criminal Neeves, of whom we are now speaking, deserved no better. His parents, though mean, had not omitted the care of his education so far but that he had learned to read and write, which they thought qualification sufficient for the business in which they intended to breed him, viz., a cane chair-maker, to which employment they put him apprentice. He did not serve out his time with his master, for having got into an acquaintance with some lewd, debauched persons, he, whose inclination from his youth turned that way, went totally into all their measures, and quitting all thoughts of an honest

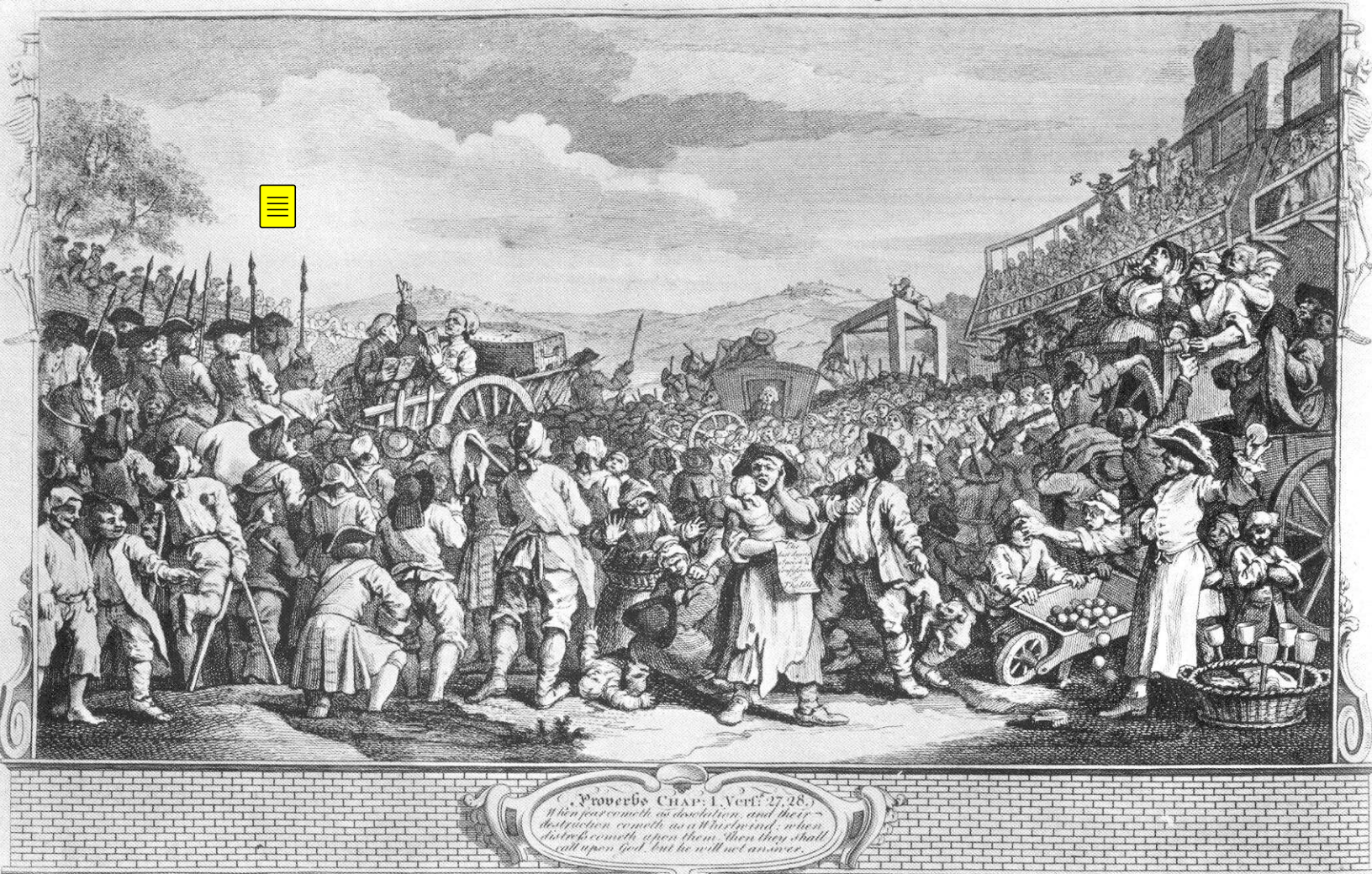
255. LIVES OF THE MOST REMARKABLE CRIMINALS WHO HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED FOR MURDER, THE HIGHWAY, HOUSEBREAKING, STREET ROBBERIES, COINING OR OTHER OFFENCES / COLLECTED FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS AND AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS, AND PUBLISHED IN 1735 / Edited by Arthur L. Hayward

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livelihood, thought of nothing but picking and stealing.

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



He associated himself with a woman of the same calling, who probably furthered him in all his attempts, in consideration of which he married her, and they were both together in Newgate for their several offences. In the former part of this volume²⁵⁶ we have mentioned his becoming a witness against several street-robbers, who were executed upon his evidence; of whom George Gale, *alias* Kiddy George, Thomas Crowder, James Toon, and John Hornby, denied the commission of those particular facts which he swore upon them, and Richard Nichols (who was a grave sober man) went to death and took it upon his salvation, that he was never concerned either in that act for which he died, or in any other of the same kind during the course of his life.

As the town naturally abhors perjuries which affect men's lives, and are not very well affected towards evidences even when they do not exceed the truth, so the misfortune of Neeves being a second time apprehended, instead of creating pity, gave the public a general satisfaction. At the sessions following his confinement he was indicted for privately stealing out of the

256. See page 445.



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shop of Charles Lawrence a corduroy coat value thirteen shillings. In respect of this robbery, the prosecutor deposed that Thomas Neeves, about seven in the evening, came into his shop, he being a salesman, and enquired for a dimity waistcoat; one accordingly was shown him, but they not at all agreeing in the price, Neeves on a sudden turned towards the door, and having with some earnestness cursed the prosecutor, snatched up a coat and ran away. Upon which Mr. Lawrence followed him, crying out, *Stop Thief!* which Neeves himself also bawled out as loud as he could until he was taken. Upon this evidence the jury found him guilty.

Under sentence of death his behaviour was much of a piece with what it was before. As to his confession, he would make none, saying he would give no occasion for books or ballads to be made about him. Even in chapel he behaved himself so rudely that he occasioned great disturbance, and put the keepers under a necessity of treating him with more severity than was usual to persons under his miserable condition. When alone in his cell he expressed great diffidence of the mercy of God, seemed to be in a slate of despair, and though he was often pressed to declare whether depositions he had given against the afore-mentioned street robbers were true or not, he either waived making an answer, or used so much evasion or equivocation that it still remained doubtful whether he swore truth or no.

As his end drew yet nearer, he appeared more and more confused and uneasy, but not a bit more penitent or ready to confess, notwithstanding that several persons, and some of them of distinction had applied to him in the cells and earnestly exhorted him to that purpose. He also drank excessively, though so near his end, and his conscience so loaded with such a weight of horrible offences.

Yet it is very probable that he would have been much more tractable in his temper and ingenuous in his confessions, if he had not been continually visited and kept warm by a certain bad woman he at that time owned for his wife. This wretched creature was employed by some persons who thought themselves in danger if Neeves should once become truly penitent, to keep him full of idle thoughts and delusive promises to the very hour of his death, in which (from the temper of the fellow), they flattered themselves his cowardice would make them safe. In which wicked design both they and she succeeded but too well, for he continued careless, obstinate and impenitent to the last moment of his life, and at the place of execution staggered and was scarce able to stand, bawling out to a man in a coach who was to carry away his body, until the Ordinary reprimanded him and told him he believed he had drunk too much that morning; to which Neeves answered, *No indeed, Sir, I only took a dram.* He then besought him that a Psalm might be sung, which request of his being complied with, he yet could not forbear smiling while they were singing.

The father and wife of Mr. Nichols, the barber so often mentioned, got into the cart and earnestly enquired whether the deposition he had given against him was the truth or not. Neeves, thereupon, with tears in his eyes owned that it was not, and thence fell into a greater agony than he had ever been perceived in before, beseeching God to have mercy on him for shedding innocent blood, into which he had been induced by the persuasion of others, who represented it to him as a means for getting money



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both for them and him, owning that he never saw Nichols in his life before they were at the justices together. After this he cried two or three times unto God to forgive him, and so was turned off with the rest on the 27th of February, 1729, being then about twenty-eight years of age.

March 24, Monday (1728, Old Style): Henry Gahogan, coiner, and William Marple and Timothy Cotton, highwaymen, were [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²⁵⁷

That violence with which, in this age, young people pursue the gratification of their passions without considering how far they therein violate the laws of God and their country, is the common and natural source of those many and great afflictions which fall upon them; and though they do now always bring them to such exemplary punishment as befel the criminal whose memoirs we have undertaken to transmit to posterity, yet they fail not of making them exceedingly uneasy and grievously unhappy, consequences unavoidably entailed on these destructive pleasures, so contrary to the nature of man's soul, and so derogatory from that excellence to the attainment of which he was created. Although one would imagine these observations must naturally occur at some time or other to the minds of persons who ever think at all concerning the design of their own being yet experience convinces us that they very seldom do, and if they do, they make but very little impression.

William Marple, the first of these criminals, was descended from parents of very tolerable fortune, as well as unblemished reputation. Their care had not only gone so far in providing him with useful and common learning, but had also been careful in bestowing on him an excellent education in schools both in town and country. The use he made of them you will quickly hear, which cannot however be mentioned as a reflection on his unhappy parents, who were as industrious to have him taught good, as he was in pursuing evil.

When he grew to years capable of being put out to business, the unsettled giddiness of his temper sufficiently appeared, for being put out to three several trades at his own request, he could not bring himself to any of them, but went at last to a fourth which was that of a joiner, with whom he stayed a considerable space. But before the expiration of his time he fell in love with a young woman and married her, which coming with other stories to his master's ears, occasioned such difference that they parted.

Marple was prodigiously fond of his new married wife, and what is a pretty rare circumstance in this age, his fondness proved the greatest advantage possible to him, for the young woman being in herself both virtuous and industrious, her temper (as it is natural for us to imitate what we love) made so great an impression upon Marple that from a wild, loose and extravagant young man, he became a sober, diligent and honest workman, labouring hard to get his bread, and living at home with his wife in the greatest tranquility and with the utmost satisfaction. But the agreeable beauty of this scene was soon darkened, or rather totally destroyed, by the death of his wife; for no sooner were the transports of his melancholy over than

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he returned to his old course of life. And in order to efface effectually that grief which still hung over him, he removed out of town to an adjacent village, where he quickly contracted an intimate acquaintance with a young woman, and thereby almost at once put all thoughts of sorrow and honesty quite out of his head. This creature was of a very different disposition from Marple's late wife. She had no regard for the man, farther than she was able to get money out of him; and provided she had wherewith to buy her fine clothes and keep her in handsome lodgings, she gave herself no trouble how he came by it, and this carriage of hers in a short time put him upon illegal methods of obtaining money.

Who were his first companions in his robberies is not in my power to say; it was generally looked upon that one Rouden seduced him, but Marple declared this to be false, and perhaps the best account that can be given is that he was led to it by his own evil inclinations, and his necessities in which they had brought him. However it were, during the time he practised going upon the road nobody committed more robberies than he himself did, preying alike upon all sorts of people, and taking from the poor what little they had, as well as plundering the rich of what they could much better spare.

In Marylebone Fields he and his companion Cotton met with a poor woman with a basket on her head, who gained her livelihood by selling joints of meat to gentlemen's families. The first thing they did was to search her basket, in which there was a fine leg of mutton, which these gentlemen thought fit to dress and eat next day for dinner. They then commanded her to deliver her money, which she declared was a thing out of her power, because she had none about her; upon which they took her pocket and turned it out, where finding seven shillings, Marple struck and abused the woman for daring to tell him a lie.

Amongst the rest of the acquaintance that Marple picked up, was a young man who had a very rich uncle who, though he was very willing to do anything which might be for the real good of his nephew, did not think it at all reasonable to waste his fortune in the supply of the young man's extravagances. This spark, with another, acquainted Marple how easy a thing it would be to rob the old man of a considerable sum of money. They readily came into the project, and accordingly it was put into execution; Marple and the nephew actually committing the robbery, and the other man standing at the door till they came out. The booty they got was about thirty-six guineas, which they divided into three parts. In a very short time, Marple was apprehended and committed to Newgate for this very fact. However, the old man would not prosecute him, because he would not expose his relation.

Yet this was no warning to Marple who continued his old trade, and committed thirty or forty robberies in a very short space. Drinking was a vice he abhorred, and the chief cause for which he addicted himself to this life of rapine was his associating himself with all sorts of lewd women, amongst whom he became acquainted with the infamous Elizabeth Lion,²⁵⁸ mistress to Jack Shepherd, who grew quickly too impudent and abusive for Marple's conversation, for when he fell under his misfortunes he declared that she was the vilest and most abominable wretch that ever lived. However, to the immodest, lascivious carriage of this



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woman, he owed the sudden dislike he took to that sort of cattle; which became so strong that he no longer frequented their company, but married a second wife, a young woman of a handsome person, of a good character, and who, as he said, was totally ignorant of the measures he took for getting money.

Timothy Cotton, the second of these malefactors, was descended of mean, yet honest parents, who in his infancy had not spared to give him a very good education, and bred him to get an honest livelihood to the trade of a poulterer. In this, when he grew up, he was for a time very industrious, and got thereby sufficient to have maintained himself and his family, as well as he could reasonably expect; but happening unluckily to call into the acquaintance and conversation of lewd women, they soon took up so much of his thoughts, his time and his money, that he was obliged to think of easier methods of getting it than those to which hitherto he had applied himself. For it is a truth deducible from uninterrupted experience that a whore is not to be maintained at the same easy expense with a wife. Cotton found this to his cost, for he had not committed above five robberies, of which three were with his companion Marple, who had been his schoolfellow, before he was apprehended.

The first of their exploits, I have already told you, was plundering the poor woman's basket. The second was upon the Hampstead Road, where they stopped the coach and robbed the passengers. Three gentlemen coming by on horseback, Marple presented his pistol, and commanded them to ride off as hard as they could; but the fear with which they were seized made them so far mistake his words as to apprehend he bid them deliver, and so they went very readily to work, putting their hands into their pockets to satisfy his demands. But Marple having no guess of their intention, and perceiving them to stand still, repeated his order to them to ride off, with greater vehemency than before, which as soon as they apprehended they very readily complied with, and rode off as hard as their horses would carry them. A little while after this they robbed one Stout, who was servant to Captain Trevor, of his hat, two pounds of butter, his buckles, five and sixpence in money, and some other trivial things. For this fact they were both apprehended, and at the next sessions at the Old Bailey tried and convicted upon very full evidence.

Under sentence of death Marple appeared with less concern than is usually seen in persons under such unfortunate circumstances. He however confessed a multitude of offences with which he was not charged, as well as that particular crime for which he was convicted. He said he had never any strong inclination to drunkenness or gaming, but that addicting himself to the company and conversation of bad women had been the sole occasion of all his misfortunes. He particularly regretted his want of respect towards his parents, and especially towards his mother, who had given him the best of advice, though he had trifled with and abused it. He said that he often struck and abused those whom he robbed, but not so as to endanger their lives, and therefore he hoped they would forgive him, and join their prayers with his for his forgiveness at the hand of God.

Cotton was more tender and more penitent, expressed great sorrow for his numerous offences, and besought Almighty God to accept of a sincere, though late repentance. They both of them protested that their wives had not anything to do with their



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affairs, that they never advised them, nor were so much as privy to the offences they had committed. Then both of them suffered with much penitence and resignation, on the 24th of March, 1729, Marple being about thirty, and Cotton near twenty-five years of age.

March 31, Monday (Old Style): Robert Blake, coiner, was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²⁵⁹

Notwithstanding the number of those who have been executed for this offence, yet of late years we have had frequent instances of persons who rather than groan under the burden of poverty or labour hard to get an honest livelihood, have chosen this method of supplying their extravagances and consequently have run their heads into a halter.

Henry Gahogan, an Irishman of mean parents (who had however bestowed so much education upon him that he attained writing a very fair hand), in order to get his bread set up the business of a writing-master in that part of Ireland, where there were few masters to strive against him. Here he behaved for some time so well, that he got the reputation of being an honest industrious young man; but whether business fell off, or that his roving temper could no longer be kept within bounds, the papers I have do not authorise me to determine.

He went upon his travels, and passed through a great part of Europe in the quality, as may be conjectured, of a gentleman's servant, until two or three years before his death, about which time he brought over the art of coining into England, which he had been taught by a countryman of his, as an easy and certain resource whenever his difficulties should straiten him so far as to make its assistance necessary. This happened no very long time after his coming over thence, for in a short time his extravagancies reduced him so much that one of his countrymen thought he did him a great service in recommending him to one Blake, for an usher, which Blake at that time set up to teach young gentlemen to fence, having a school for that purpose near the Temple.

Thither Gahogan came accordingly, and after staying for two days successively, and finding no scholars came, he opened the case to his master that was to have been and told him how easy it was to get money and live well, provided they had but utensils for coining, and soon after he showed him a specimen of his art, which he performed so dexterously that at first sight they promised themselves prodigious matters therefrom. They engaged one Ferris, who formerly had wrote as a clerk to a gentleman of Lincoln's Inn and the Temple, but adventuring to trust another person with that secret, he soon after made a confession and impeached them all. Upon which this Gahogan, Blake and the before-mentioned Ferris, together with two women, came to be tried for this offence on an indictment of high treason.

The evidence was very clear, and notwithstanding the assurance with which Blake and Gahogan behaved at the bar, and the perplexed defence which was made by Ferris (who fancied himself so sure of being acquitted that he directed horses to be hired in order to his going down to a country assizes, there to assist as solicitor for a notorious offender), the jury, after a short

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stay, brought them in guilty, but acquitted the women, of whom the one was the mother of this Gahogan and the other the mistress or wife of the said Robert Blake, of whom we are next to speak. He was by birth also of the Kingdom of Ireland, his parents being people of some condition, who gave him a very good education and afterwards put him out apprentice to a linendraper. After he was out of his time he married a woman with some little fortune, by whom he had three children, and after misusing her greatly, went away from her into England. Here he led a loose, debauched life, and subsisted himself, to give it the best phrase, rather upon the ingenuity of his head than the industry of his hands. Here he found means to draw aside a farmer's daughter, to whom he was married, and whom he involved so far in his misfortunes, as to bring her to the bar with himself for high treason, where her marriage was so far of service to her that it excused her from bearing a share in his conviction.

After they were found guilty, Gahogan expressed much penitence and sorrow, acknowledged the heinous offences of which he had been guilty, and expressed particular concern for the ill-usage he had given his poor mother, whom he had often beaten and abused, for whom he was once committed to Bridewell on that score, which effectually ruined what little reputation he had left. Before the day of execution came he was exceedingly poor and destitute, so that he had scarce clothes wherewith to cover him, or food sufficient to preserve that life which was so suddenly to be finished at the gallows. As far as we are able to judge from the man's outward behaviour, he was a sincere and hearty penitent, only it was with great difficulty he forgave the persons concerned in his prosecution, which however at last he declared he did, and passed with great resignation and piety, though by a violent death from this world to another, and we may charitably hope, a better.

As to Blake, his behaviour was not so much of a piece at first, but when he perceived death inevitable, notwithstanding his having procured a reprieve for a week, and thereby escaped dying with his companion Gahogan, the prospect of his approaching dissolution wrought so far upon him that with much seeming penitence he made a frank confession of all his offences, reflecting chiefly on himself for having deserted his wife, and living for so many years with other women. When the week for which he had procured a reprieve was expired, he was carried alone on a hurdle, which is usual in cases of high treason, and being come to the place of execution he stood up and spoke to those who were present in the following terms:

Good People,

I am brought here justly to suffer death for an offence the nature of which I did not so well comprehend at the time I committed it. I have been the greatest of all sinners, addicted to every kind of lust, and guilty of every manner of crime, excepting that of murder only. You that are assembled here to see the unfortunate exit of an unhappy man, take warning from my fate, and avoid falling into those extravagancies which necessarily bring persons to those straits which have forced me upon taking undue courses for a supply. This is the end proposed by the Law for making me a spectacle, and I pray God with my last breath that you may make that use of it.



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After this he betook himself to some private devotions, and then suffered with great constancy and resignation of mind. He was executed on the 31st of March, 1729, being then about thirty-eight years of age. Gahogan died on the 24th of the same month, being then thirty years of age.

May 16: John Upton, a [pirate](#) under Captain Cooper of the *Night Rambler*, was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²⁶⁰

No laws in any civilized nations are more severe than those against piracy, nor are they less severely executed, and the criminals who suffer by them are usually the least pitied, or rather the most detested of all who come to die an ignominious death by the sentence of the Law. Of old they were styled *hostes humani generis*, and the oldest systems we have of particular institutions have treated them with a rigor suitable to their offence. With respect to those who fall into the hands of British justice, it must be remarked that they usually plead as an excuse for what they have done their being forced into [pirates'](#) service, and as it is well known that numbers are really forced into crimes they detest, so the lenience of our judicators generally admit whatever proofs are probable in such a case. But where the contrary appears, and the acts of piracy plainly arise from the wicked dispositions of the offenders, the Royal Mercy is less frequently extended to them than to any other sort of criminal whatever.

As to the prisoner of whom we are to speak, John Upton was born at Deptford, of very honest parents who gave him such an education as fitted their station, and that in which they intended to breed him. When grown up to be a sturdy youth, they put him out apprentice to a waterman, with whom he served out his time faithfully, and with a good character. Afterwards he went to sea and served for twenty-eight years together on board a man-of-war, in the posts of either boatswain or quartermaster. Near the place of his birth he married a woman, took a house and lived very respectably with her during the whole course of her life, but she dying while he was at sea, and finding at his return that his deceased wife had run him greatly in debt, clamours coming from every quarter, and several writs being issued out against him, he quitted the service in the man-of-war, and went immediately in a merchantman to Newfoundland. There by agreement he was discharged from the ship and entered himself for eighteen pounds *per annum* into the service of a planter in that country in order to serve him in fishing and furring, the chief trade of that place; for Newfoundland abounding with excellent harbours, there is no country in the world which affords so large and so plentiful a fishery as this does. However its climate renders it less desirable, it being extremely hot in the summer and as intensely cold in the winter, when the wild beasts roam about in great numbers, and furnish thereby an opportunity to the inhabitants of gaining considerably by falling them, and selling their furs.

Upton having served his year out was discharged from his master, and going to New England, he there, in the month of July, 1725, shipped himself on board the *Perry* merchantman bound for

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Barbadoes. The ship was livred and loaded again, the captain designing them to sail for England, whereupon Upton desired leave to go on board his Majesty's ship *Lynn*, Captain Cooper. But Captain King absolutely refusing to discharge him in order thereto, on the ninth of November, 1725, he sailed in the aforesaid vessel for England.

On the twelfth of the same month, off Dominica, they were attacked by a [pirate](#) sloop called the *Night Rambler*, under the command of one Cooper. The pirate immediately ordered the captain of the *Perry* galley to come on board his ship, which he and four of his men did, and the pirate immediately sent some of his crew on board the *Perry* galley, who effectually made themselves masters thereof, and as Upton said, used him and the rest of the persons they found on board with great inhumanity and baseness, a thing very common amongst those wretches. Upton also insisted that as to himself, one of the pirate's crew ran up to him as soon as they came on board and with a cutlass in his hand, said with an oath, *You old son of a bitch, I know you and you shall go along with us or I'll cut out your liver*, and thereupon fell to beating him fore and aft the deck with his cutlass.

The same evening he was carried on board the pirate sloop, where, according to his journal, three of the [pirates](#) attacked him; one with a pistol levelled at his forehead demanded whether he would sign their articles, another with a pistol at his right ear, swore that if he did not they would blow out his brains, while a third held a couple of forks at his breast, and terrified him with the continual apprehensions of having them stabbed into him. Whereupon he told them that he had four young infants in England, to whom he thought it his duty to return, and therefore begged to be excused as having reason to decline their service, as well as a natural dislike to their proceedings. Upon which, he said, he called his captain to take notice that he did not enter voluntarily amongst them. Upon this the pirate said they found out a way to satisfy themselves by signing for him, and this, he constantly averred, was the method of his being taken into the crew of the *Night Rambler*, where he insisted he did nothing but as he was commanded, received no share in the plunder, but lived wholly on the ship's allowance, being treated in all respect as one whom force and not choice had brought amongst them.

But to return to the *Perry* galley, which the pirates carried to the Island of Aruba, a maroon or uninhabited island, or rather sand bank, where they sat the crew ashore and left them for seventeen days without any provision, except that the surgeon of the pirate now and then brought them something in his pocket by stealth. On the tenth of December the pirates saw a sail which proved to be a Dutch sloop, which they took, and on board this Upton and two others who had been forced as well as himself were put, from whence as he said, they made their escape. After abundance of misfortunes and many extraordinary adventures, he got on board his Majesty's ship *Nottingham*, commanded by Captain Charles Cotterel, where he served for two years in the quality of quartermaster. He was then taken up and charged with piracy, upon which he was indicted at an Admiralty sessions held in the month of May, 1729, when the evidence at his trial appeared so strong that after a short stay the jury found him guilty.

But his case having been very differently represented, I fancy



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my readers will not be displeased if I give them an exact account of the proofs produced against him.

The first witness who was called on the part of the Crown was Mr. Dimmock, who had been chief mate on board the *Perry* galley, and he deposed in the following terms:

On the twelfth of November, 1725, we sailed from Barbadoes on the *Perry* galley bound for England. On the 14th, about noon, we were taken by the *Night Rambler*, [pirate](#) sloop, one Cooper commander. Our captain and four men were ordered on board the pirate sloop, part of the pirate's crew coming also on board the *Perry*. Wherein they no sooner entered, but the prisoner at the bar said, *Lads, are ye come? I'm glad to see ye; I have been looking out for ye for a great while.* Whereupon the pirates saluted him very particularly, calling him by his name, and the prisoner was as busy as any of the rest in plundering and stripping the ship on board of which he had served, and the rest who belonged to it, the very next day after being made boatswain of the pirate. The same day I was carried on board the pirate sloop, tied to the gears and received two hundred lashes with a cat o' nine tails which the prisoner Upton had made for that purpose; after which they pickled me, and the prisoner Upton stabbed me in the head near my ear with a knife, insomuch that I could not lay my head upon a pillow for fourteen days, but was forced to support it upon my hand against the table; and when some of the pirate's crew asked me how I did, upon my answering that I was as bad as a man could be and live, the prisoner, Upton, said *D—n him, give him a second reward.*

It was also further deposed by the same gentleman that at the island of Aruba, the prisoner was very busy in stripping the *Perry* galley of the most useful and valuable parts of her rigging, carrying them on board the pirate, and making use of them there. He had also in his custody several things of value, and particularly wearing apparel, belonging to one Mr. Furnell, a passenger belonging to the said *Perry* galley; and when it was debated amongst the [pirates](#), and afterwards put to the vote, whether the crew of the said galley should have their vessel again or no, John Upton was not only against them, but also proposed burning the said vessel, and tying the captain and mate to one of the masts in order to their being burnt too.

Mr. Eaton, the second mate of the ship, was the next witness called. He confirmed all that had been sworn by Mr. Dimmock, adding that the day they were taken the pirates asked if he would consent to sign their articles, which he refused. Whereupon they put a rope about his neck, and hoisted him up to the yard's arm, so that he totally lost his senses. He recovered them by some of the pirate's crew pricking him in the fleshy parts of his body, while others beat him with the flat of their swords. As soon as they perceived he was a little come to himself they put the former question to him, whether he would sign their articles. He answered, *No*, a second time. One of the crew thereupon snatched up a pistol, and swore he would shoot him through the head; but another of them said, *No, d—n him, that's too honourable a death; he shall be hanged.* Upon this they pulled him up by the rope again, and treated him with many other



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indignities, and at last in the captain's cabin, pulled a cap over his eyes and clapped a pistol to his head; then he expected nothing but immediate death, a person having almost jabbed his eye out with the muzzle of the pistol, but at last they did let him go. He swore, also, that when the pirates' articles were presented to him to sign, he saw there the name of John Upton, he being well acquainted with his hand.

Mr. Furnell, a passenger in the ship, was the third evidence against the prisoner. He deposed to the same effect with the other two, adding that John Upton was more cruel and barbarous to them than any of the other pirates, insomuch that when they were marooned, and under the greatest necessities for food, Upton said, *D—n them, let them be starved*, and was the most active of all the rest in taking the goods, and whatever he could lay his hands on out of the *Perry* galley.

In his defence the prisoner would fain have suggested that what the witnesses had sworn against him was chiefly occasioned by a malicious spleen they had against him. He asserted that he was forced by the pirates to become one of their number and was so far from concerned with them voluntarily that he proposed to the mate, after they were taken, to regain the ship, urging that there were but thirteen of the pirates on board, and they all drunk, and no less than nine of their own men left there who were all sober; that the mate's heart failed him, and instead of complying with his motion, said, *This is a dangerous thing to speak of; if it should come to the pirates' ears we shall be all murdered*, and therefore entreated the prisoner not to speak of it any more. The mate denied every syllable of this, and so the prisoner's assertions did not weigh at all with the jury. After they had brought in their verdict, Mr. Upton said to those who swore against him, *Lord! What have you three done?*

Under sentence of death he behaved himself with much courage, and yet with great penitence. He denied part of the charge, viz., that he was willingly one of the [pirates](#), but as to the other facts, he confessed them with very little alteration. He averred that the course of his life had been very wicked and debauched, for which he expressed much sorrow, and to the day of his death behaved himself with all outward mark of true repentance. At the place of execution, he was asked whether he had not advised the burning of the *Perry* galley, with Captain King and the chief mate on board. He averred that he did not in any shape whatsoever either propose or agree to an act of such a sort. Then, after some private devotions, he submitted to his sentence, and was turned off on the 16th day of May, 1729, being then about fifty years of age.

May 19, Thursday: Jephthah Bigg, an incendiary and a writer of threatening letters, was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²⁶¹

I have already taken notice in the life of Bryan Smith²⁶² of the Act of Parliament on which the proceedings against these letter-writers are grounded. One would be surprised that after more examples than one of that kind, people should yet be found so foolish as well as wicked as to carry on so desperate an

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enterprise, in which there is scarce any probability of meeting with success; yet this unfortunate person of whom we are now to speak, who was descended of mean parents, careful however of giving him a very good education, fell upon this project, put into his head by being a little out of business, and so in one moment cancelled all his former honesty and industry, and hazarded a life which soon after became forfeited.

His friends had put him out apprentice to a gunstock maker, to which he served out his time honestly and with a good character. Afterwards he continued to work at his business with several masters and tolerable reputation, until about a year before the time of his death, when he was out of work, by reason he had disobliged two or three persons for whom he had wrought, and had also been guilty of some extravagancies which had brought him into narrow circumstances. These straits it is to be supposed put him upon the fatal project of writing a letter to Mr. Nathaniel Newman, senior, a man of a very good fortune, threatening him that unless he sent the sum of eighty-five guineas to such a place, he would murder him and his wife, with other bloody and barbarous expressions. This not having its effect, he wrote him a second letter by the penny post, demanding one hundred guineas, with grievous threatenings in case they were not sent. This soon made a very great noise about town, and put Mr. Newman upon all methods possible for detecting the author of these villainous epistles, and as everybody almost looked upon it as a common case, to which any gentleman who is supposed to be rich might be liable, such indefatigable pains were taken that in a short time the whole mystery of iniquity was discovered and Bigg apprehended.

At the next sessions at the Old Bailey he was indicted capitally for this offence, and after the counsel for the prosecutor had fully opened the heinous nature of the crime, Peter Salter was the first witness called to prove it upon the prisoner. He deposed that Jephthah Bigg came to him where he was at work in the Minories, and desired him to go with him, having something to say to him of consequence; whereupon the witness would have gone to the sign of the Ship where he used, but the prisoner would needs go to the Sieve in the Little Minories. There he communicated to him his design, and then prevailed on Salter to go to the Shoulder of Mutton alehouse at Billingsgate, where Bigg directed him to call for drink, and to wait until a porter came to him with a parcel directed to John Harrison, when if he suspected anything, he should come to the prisoner at the King's Head alehouse, on Fish Street Hill. This the evidence performed punctually, whereupon Bigg sent him a second time to the Blackboy, in Goodman's Fields, where a second parcel was left, though of no value. Whereupon Bigg would have had the evidence Salter concerned in a third letter to the same purpose, but Salter declined it and dissuaded him as much as lay in his power, from continuing to venture on such hazardous things. Upon which the prisoner replied, *You need not fear. Nothing can hurt you; my life is in your hands; but if ever you reveal the matter, you shall share the same fate.*

John Long, servant to Mr. Newman, deposed that he delivered two penny post letters to his master on the 20th and 27th of March. Other witnesses swore as to the sending of the parcels, and the jury on the whole, seeing the fact to be well proved against the prisoner, found him guilty.



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Under sentence of death at first the poor man behaved himself like one stupid. He pretended that he did not know the offence that he had committed was capital, and afterwards exclaimed against the hardness of the Law which made it so; but some little pains being taken with him in those points, he was soon brought over to acknowledge the justice of his sentence, and the reasonableness of that Statute which enacted it into a capital offence.

As the day of his death drew nigh he was still more and more drowned in stupidity and lost to all thought or concern for this world or that to come, at least as to outward appearance. Some said he was a Roman [Catholic](#), but while the poor wretch retained his senses, he said nothing that could give any ground for a suspicion of that sort. He heard the discourses which the Ordinary made to him, with as much patience as the rest did, and when he visited him in the cell, did not express any uneasiness thereat. Indeed, in the passage to execution, there were two fellows in the cart who would fain have had the minister desist from his duty, urging the same reason, that the criminal was in communion with another Church. The man, himself, seemed stupid and speechless all the way, yet when he was turned off, the reverend Ordinary tells us, he went off the stage crying out aloud, *O Lord! etc.* This seems to me a very indecent way of concluding a dying speech, but as it is that which is generally used, I shall not stay to bestow any further reflections upon it. He died on the 19th of May, 1729, being about twenty-five years of age.



July 25, Friday (Old Style): King George bought out the Lords Proprietors, finalizing [South Carolina](#)'s transformation into a Royal Colony.

James Cluff was [hanged](#) for murder on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²⁶³

To curb our vicious inclinations and to restrain those passions from the sudden transports of which cruel and irreparable mischiefs are done, is without doubt the best end of all instructions; and for my own part, I cannot help thinking that this very book may contribute as much to this purpose as any other that has been published for a long time. That vices are foul in their nature is certainly true, and that they are fatal in their consequences, those who, without consideration pursue them, feel. There are few who will take time to convince themselves of the first, but no man can be so blind as to mistake the latter after the perusal of these memoirs, in which I have

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been particularly careful to describe the several roads by which our lusts lead us to destruction; and have fixed up Tyburn as a beacon to warn several men from indulging themselves in sensual pleasures.

This unfortunate person we are now going to give the public an account of was the son of very honest people who kept a public-house in Clare Market. They were careful in sending him to school, and having taught him there to read and write etc., sufficiently to qualify him for business, then put him apprentice to the Swan Tavern near the Tower. There he served his time carefully and with a good character, nor did his parents omit in instructing him in the grounds of the Christian religion, of which having a tolerable understanding he attained a just knowledge, and preserved a tolerable remembrance unto the time of his unhappy death.

After he was out of his time, he served as a drawer at several public houses, and behaved himself civilly and honestly without any reflections either on his temper or his honesty until he came to Mr. Payne's, who kept the Green Lettuce, a public house in High Holborn, where the accident fell out which cost him his life.

It seems there lived with him as a fellow servant, one Mary Green, whom some suggested he had an affection for; but whether that were so or not, did not very clearly appear, but on the contrary it was proved that they had many janglings and quarrels together, in which Cluff had sometimes struck her. However it was, on the 11th of April, 1729, Mary Green being at dinner in a box by herself, Cluff came in and went into the box to her, where he had not continued above four or five minutes before he called to his mistress, who was walking up and down, *Madam, pray come here*. By this time the maid was dead of a wound in her thigh, which pierced the femoral artery. There was a noise heard before the man himself came out, and the wench was dead before her mistress came in.

However, Cluff was immediately apprehended, and at the ensuing sessions at the Old Bailey he was indicted for the murder of Mary Green, by giving her a mortal wound in the right thigh, of the breadth of one inch, and of the depth of five inches, of which she instantly died. He was a second time indicted upon the coroner's inquest for the said offence, and also a third time upon the Statute of Stabbing. However the evidence not being clear enough to satisfy the jury, on his trial he was acquitted by them all. But this not at all satisfying the relations of the deceased Mary Green, her brother William Green brought an appeal against him, which is a kind of proceeding which has occasioned several popular errors to take rise. Therefore it may not be improper to say something concerning it for the better information of our readers.

Appeals are of two sorts, viz., such as are brought by an innocent person, and such as are brought by an offender confessing himself guilty, who is commonly called an approver. An innocent person's appeal is the party's private action, prosecuting also for the Crown, in respect of the offence against the public, and such a prosecution may be either by writ or by bill. As to the writ of appeal, it is an original issuing out of Chancery and remarkable in the Court of King's Bench only. Bills of Appeal are more common and contain in them the nature both of a writ and a declaration, and they may be received by



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commissioners of gaol delivery or justices of assize. Those which are in use at present in capital cases are four, viz., Appeals of Death, of Larceny, of Rape and of Arson. The first is both the most common and that of which we are particularly to speak. It is to be brought by the wife or heir of the person deceased, unless they be guilty of the murder, and then the heir may have an appeal against the wife, or if he be accused the next heir may have it against him. The appellant must be heir general to the deceased, and his heir male (for by *Magna Charta* a woman cannot have an appeal of death for any but her husband) and in the appeal also it must be set forth how the appellant is heir unto the deceased. As to the time in which an appeal may be brought, it is by the Statute of Gloucester²⁶⁴ restrained within a year and a day from the time of the deed done. There is great nicety in all the proceedings on appeals of death and everything must be set forth with the greatest exactness imaginable. The appellant hath also the liberty of pleading as many pleas, or to speak more properly, to take issue on as many points as he thinks fit. He is tried by a jury, and on his being found guilty, the appellant hath an order for his execution settled by the Court; but when the appellee is acquitted, the appellant is chargeable with damages on such a prosecution, provided there appear to have been no just cause for the commencement thereof.

But to return to the case of Cluff, which led us into this discourse. The evidence at his trial upon the appeal was, as to its substance thus. Mrs. Diana Payne, at the Green Lettuce in Holborn, deposed that the prisoner James Cluff and the deceased Mary Green were both of them her servants; that about a quarter of an hour before Mary Green died, she saw the prisoner carry out a pot of drink; that while she was walking in the tap-house with her child in her arms, she saw Mary Green go down into the cellar and bring up two pints of drink, one for a customer and another for herself, which she carried into a box where she was at dinner; that about four or five minutes before the accident happened, Cluff came in, and went to the box to the deceased, and in about four minutes cried out, *Madam, pray come hither*; that the witness thereupon went to the door of the box and saw the deceased on her backside on the floor, and the prisoner held her up by the shoulders, while the blood ran from her in a stream; that on seeing her, she said to the prisoner, *James, what have you done?* To which he answered, *Nothing, Madam*. Whereupon this evidence enquired whether he had seen her do anything to herself, he replied. *No*, the deceased at that time neither speaking nor stirring, but looking as if she were dead. However, the prisoner at that time said he saw her have a knife in her hand in the cellar, and the witness being prodigiously affrighted called her husband and ran for an apothecary.

Mr. John Payne, husband of the first witness, deposed to the same purpose as his wife, adding that no struggling was heard when the blows were given and that she had no knife in her hand when she came out of the cellar; that in the morning between nine and ten o'clock, a young man came in, who, as he was informed, had been formerly a sweetheart of the deceased; that this person drank a pint of drink and smoked a pipe, the deceased sitting by him some little time, during which as he believed the stranger kissed her; at which, as they stood before the bar, he

264. Passed by a Parliament held at Gloucester in 1278 and dealing with actions at law.



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observed the prisoner's countenance alter, as if he were out of humour at somewhat, although he could not say that he had ever heard of courtship between them; adding, that when the prisoner went into the box where the deceased was at dinner, he did take notice of his throwing the door after him with an unusual violence.

Mr. Saunders, who happened that day to dine at Mr. Payne's house, confirmed all the former evidence, deposing moreover, than when Mr. Payne gave the prisoner some harsh language, the prisoner replied, *Sir, I am as innocent as the child is at my mistress's breast*; that the prisoner also pretended the deceased took a knife in her hand when she went into the cellar, upon which this evidence and Mr. Payne went down, and found not a drop of blood all the way. Mr. Saunders also deposed that the prisoner was out of the way when the deceased went to draw drink, and that they saw no knife in her hand.

Mr. Cox, the surgeon, deposed that he saw the deceased lying upon her back, amid a vast stream of blood which had issued from her; that upon the table among other knives he had found one amongst them which was a little bloody and answered exactly to the cut, it going through her apron, a stuff petticoat and a strong coarse shift. The wound was in her thigh, going obliquely upwards, and therefore, as he thought, could not have been given by the deceased herself. The knife, too, was as he said, laid farther than the deceased could have carried it after the receipt of the wound, which being in the femoral artery must be mortal in a minute, or a minute and a half at most. He observed, also, that under her chin and about her left ear there seemed to have been some violence used, so as to have caused a stagnation of the blood. This deposition was confirmed by another surgeon and apothecary, and also in most of its material circumstances by a surgeon who looked on her on behalf of the prisoner.

Cluff asked very few questions, and Mr. Daldwin being called for the appellant, swore that at nine o'clock in the morning he was at Mr. Payne's and saw the prisoner and the deceased quarrelling, that he looked maliciously and was an ill-natured fellow. Here the counsel of the appeal rested their proof, and the prisoner made no other defence than absolutely denying the fact. After his counsel had said what they thought proper on the nature and circumstances that had been sworn against him, the jury withdrew, and after a short stay brought in the prisoner guilty.

During the space he was confined, between their verdict and his death, he behaved with a calmness very rare to be met with. He attended the public devotion of the chapel very gravely and devoutly, behaved quietly and patiently in his cell, never expressed either fear or uneasiness at his approaching death, nor ever let fall a warm expression against his prosecutors, but on the contrary always spoke well of them, and prayed heartily for them. When pressed, by the ministers who attended him, not to pass into the other world with a lie in his mouth, but to declare sincerely and candidly how Mary Green came by her death, he at first looked a little confused, but at last seeming to recollect himself, he said, *Gentlemen, I know it is my duty to give glory unto God, and to take shame unto myself for those sins I have committed in my passage through this life. I therefore readily acknowledge that my offences have been black*



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in their nature, and many in number; but for the particular crime I am to suffer death as the punishment of it, I know no more of it than the child that is unborn, nor am I able to say in what manner she came by her death. And in this he continued to persist unto the time of his death, appearing to be very easy under his sufferings and did not change countenance when he was told the day was fixed for his execution, as it is ordinarily observed the other malefactors do.

As he passed through Holborn to the place of execution, he desired the cart might stop at his master's house, which accordingly it did. Cluff thereupon called for a pint of wine and desired to speak with Mr. Payne. Accordingly he came out, and then he addressed himself to him in these words. *Sir, you are not insensible that I am going to suffer an ignominious death for what I declare I am not guilty of, as I am to appear before my Great Judge in a few moments, to answer for all my past sins. I hope you and my good mistress will pray for my poor soul. I pray God bless you and all your family.* Then he spoke to somebody to bid the carman go on. It was remarkable that he spoke this with great composedness and seeming cheerfulness.

At the place of execution he did not lose anything of that cheerful sedateness which he had preserved under the course of his misfortunes, but made the responses regular to the prayers in the cart and standing up, addressed himself in these words to the multitude. *Good People, I die for a fact I did not commit. I have never ceased to pray for my prosecutors most heartily, ever since I have been under sentence. I wish all men well. My sins have been great, but I hope for God's mercy through the merits of Jesus Christ.* Then a Psalm was sung at his own request. Afterwards, overhearing somebody say that his mistress was in a coach hard by his execution, he could not be satisfied until somebody went to search and coming back assured him she was not there. As the cart was going away he spoke again to the people saying, *I beg of you to pray for my departing soul. I wish I was as free from all other sins as I am of this for which I am now going to suffer.*

He desired of his friends that his body might be carried to Hand Alley in Holborn, and from thence to St. Andrew's Church, to lie in the grave with his brother. He suffered on the 25th of July, 1719 [1729?], being then about thirty-two years of age.

August 22: Thomas James Grundy and Joseph Kemp were [hanged](#) for housebreaking, and Benjamin Wileman as a highwayman, on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²⁶⁵

When we meet with accounts of persons doubly remarkable for the multitude of their offences and the tenderness of their age, it is almost impossible for us to determine whether we should most pity or detest a mind so preternaturally abandoned to wickedness as to transcend its usual course, and make itself remarkable as a sinner, before taken notice of as a man.

This was exactly the case with the unfortunate criminal whom we are now to mention. He was the son of parents in the lowest circumstances, who yet had strained those circumstances to give him a tolerable education, which he, instead of improving, forgot as fast as it was possible, and seemed solicitous about

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nothing but out-doing in villainy all his contemporaries of the same unhappy cast. During his junior years he addicted himself continually to picking and stealing whatever he could lay his hands on, and although his father had been exceedingly careful in causing him to be taught his own trade of a weaver, yet he seldom or never worked at it, but went on at this rate, from one crime to another, until he at last arrived at those which brought him to the ignominious end, and thereby rendered him a subject for our memoirs.

At twelve years old, he took up the trade of housebreaking, to which he applied himself very closely, for the last six years of his life. Hampstead, Highgate, Hackney, and other villages round the town were the places which he generally made choice of to play his tricks in, and as people are much more ingenious in wickedness than ever they are in the pursuit of honest employments, so by degrees he became (even while a boy) the most dexterous housebreaker of his time; insomuch that as is usual amongst those unhappy people, the gang commended him so much, that believing himself some great person, he went on with an air of confidence, in the commission of a multitude of burglaries, in and about the streets of this metropolis.

Young as he was at that time, he plunged himself, as it were with industry, into all manner of lusts, wickedness and illegal pleasures, which, as it wasted all he acquired by the thefts he committed, so it injured his health and damaged his understanding to such a degree that when he came to die, he could scarce be looked on as a rational creature.

The offence which proved fatal to him was the breaking into the house of Mr. Samuel Smith, in the night-time, on the 31st of May, 1729, with an intent to steal. At his trial the prosecutor swore that between the hours of eleven and one of the dock of the night laid in the indictment he was called up by his neighbours, and found that his window was broken open; whereupon, searching about very narrowly, he at last found the prisoner got up the chimney, and landing on the pole whereon the pothooks hung. In his defence the prisoner told the Court that meeting with a person who said he lodged in the prosecutor's house, and it being late, he accepted the man's proposition to lie with him; thereupon his new acquaintance carried him to Mr. Smith's, let him in, and then ran away, so that he had never seen or heard of him since. This relation being every way improbable and ridiculous, the jury very readily found him guilty of the fact, and he with the rest, on the last day of the sessions received sentence of death accordingly.

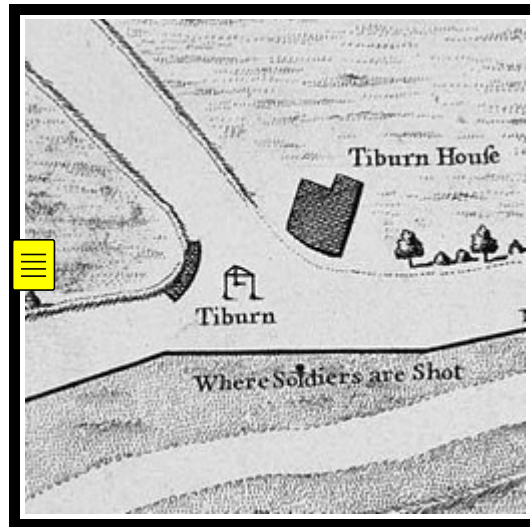
While he lay in the cells, his behaviour was as stupid in all outward appearance as ever had appeared in any who came to that miserable place. However, he persuaded his companions, of whom we shall speak hereafter, to attempt breaking out and to encourage them told them that there was no brick or free stone wall in the world could keep him in, if he had but a few tools proper for loosening the stones. These were quickly procured, and Grundy put his companions into so proper a method of working, that if a discovery had not been made on the Sunday morning in a very few hours space they would have broken their way into Phoenix Court, and so have undoubtedly got off. But as soon as the keepers came to the knowledge of their design, they removed the three persons concerned in it, into the old condemned hold, and there stapled them down to the ground.

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Then this lad began to repent. He wept bitterly, but said it was not so much for the fear of death as the apprehension of his soul being thrown into the pit of destruction and eternal misery. However, by degrees, he recovered a little spirit, confessed all the enormities of his past life, and begged pardon of God, and of the persons whom he had injured. If we were to attempt an account of them, it would not only seem improbable but incredible; and therefore, as there was nothing in them otherwise extraordinary than as they were committed by a lad of his age, we shall not dwell any longer upon them than to inform our readers that with much sorrow, and grievous agonies, he expired at Tyburn, on the 22nd of August, 1729, being about eighteen years old.



We have often, in the course of these lives, observed to our readers that loose women are generally the causes of those misfortunes which first bring men to the commission of felonious crimes, and, as a just consequence thereof, to an ignominious death. It may yet seem strange, how, after so many instances, there are still to be found people so weak as for the sake of the caresses of these strumpets to lavish away their lives, at the same time that they are putting their souls into the greatest hazard. If I may be allowed to offer my conjecture in this case, I should be apt to account for it thus: that in the present age, the depravity of men's morals being greater than ever, they addict themselves so entirely to their lusts and sensual pleasures that having no relish left for more innocent entertainments, they think no price too great to purchase those lewd enjoyments, to which, by a continued series of such actions, they have habituated themselves beyond their own power to retire.

This unfortunate person, Joseph Kemp, was son to people in very mean circumstances, in Holborn, who yet procured him a very good education in a public charity-school. When of age to be put out to employment, his friends made him apply himself to the heads of the parish, who put him out to a glazier, with whom he served out his time with the character of a very honest young man. By that time his parents had thriven pretty well in the world through their own industry, and so, on his setting up a shop, they gave him sixty pounds to begin with. But unfortunately for him, he had ere now seen a woman of the town, on whom he had



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irretrievably fixed his affections, and was absolutely resolved on living with her, though ever so great ruin should prove the consequence of the purchase.

In pursuance of this unfortunate resolution, he no sooner had received the aforesaid sum, but proposals of marriage were immediately offered to this object of his affections, notwithstanding that he well knew she at that time conversed with two men, styling each of them her husband. However, as Kemp was the most likely to maintain her in idleness and plenty, she, without much trouble, suffered herself to be prevailed on to let him, by a legal matrimony, increase the number of her husbands. This, as it was but probable, was speedily followed by his breaking in his business, and being totally undone, which, though it was a great misfortune, and an evil new to poor Kemp, only reduced the lady to her former manner of living, which was by thieving whatever she could come at. A little while after, she was ruined even in this business, for being detected, she was committed to Newgate, and was in great danger of lying there for life. Poor Kemp was still as fond of her as ever. He carried her all the money he could get, and lamenting to her that it was not in his power to raise more, she immediately flew into a passion, stormed and swore at him, bid him go and break houses, rob people in the streets, or do anything which would get money, for money she wanted and money she would have. He foolishly complied with her request and having provided himself with the necessary implements for housebreaking, he soon put her in possession of a large quantity of plate, which being converted into money, easily procured her liberty, the consequence of which was that she lavished whatever he brought her upon other men.

Yet even her perfidy could not cure him; he was still as much her slave as ever, and failed not venturing body and soul to procure whatever might give her pleasure. In this unhappy state a considerable space of time was spent, until, for some other thievish exploits of her own, Kemp's wife was apprehended, convicted and transported. One would have thought this might have put an end to his crimes of the same sort, but it seems he was too far plunged into the mire of rapine and debauchery ever to struggle out, so that no sooner was she safely on board the transport vessel but he found out a new mistress to supply her place; as if he had been industrious in destroying his fortune and careful about nothing but arriving as soon as possible at the gallows.

By the time he made his second marriage, which in itself was illegal while the first wife was living, his credit was totally exhausted, his character totally ruined, and no manner of subsistence left but what was purchased at the hazard of his soul and the price of his life; and as housebreaking was now become his sole business, so he pursued it with great eagerness, and for a while with as great success. But it was not long before he was apprehended, and committed close to Newgate for a multitude of charges of this kind against him.

At the following sessions at the Old Bailey, he was indicted for burglariously breaking open the house of Sarah Pickard, and feloniously taking thence thirty-six gold rings and stone rings, three silver watches, several pieces of silver plate, and divers other goods of considerable value. The prosecutrix, Mrs. Pickard, deposed that her house was fast shut between then and



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eleven o'clock at night, and found broken open at five of the clock the next morning, and that one Kemp, a person related to the prisoner, found a short strong knife left in the yard, together with an auger, which he knew to belong to the prisoner. In confirmation of this Mr. Kemp deposed that the prisoner had shown him the knife; Joanna Kemp and Jonathan Auskins deposed likewise to the same thing, and Samuel Gerrard, the constable, swore that when with the two preceding witnesses he went to search the house of the aforesaid prisoner, and found therein several things belonging to Mrs. Pickard, the prisoner then confessed that he committed burglary alone and not by the persuasion or with the assistance of any other person whatsoever.

The prisoner said very little in his own defence, and the jury thereupon, without hesitation, found him guilty; as they did also upon two other indictments, the one for breaking the house of James Wood, and the other for breaking the house of Mrs. Mary Paget, and stealing thence plate to a considerable value; the facts being dearly proved by John Knap, who had been an accomplice, and turned evidence to save himself. His last wife was indicted and tried with him, but acquitted.

Under sentence of death he was seized with a disease which held him for the greater part of the time permitted by Law for him to repent, and by reason of that distemper he was so deaf that he was scarce capable of instruction. However, he appeared to be fully sensible of the great danger he was in, of suffering much more from the just anger of God than that sentence of the Law which his crimes had drawn upon him. He bewailed with much passion and concern that wicked course of life which for many years past he had led, seemed exceedingly grieved at the horror of those reflections, and to mourn with unfeigned penitence his forgetfulness of the duties he owed towards God, and to his neighbours. As the hour of death approached, he resumed somewhat of courage, and at the place of execution died with all outward marks of a repenting sinner.

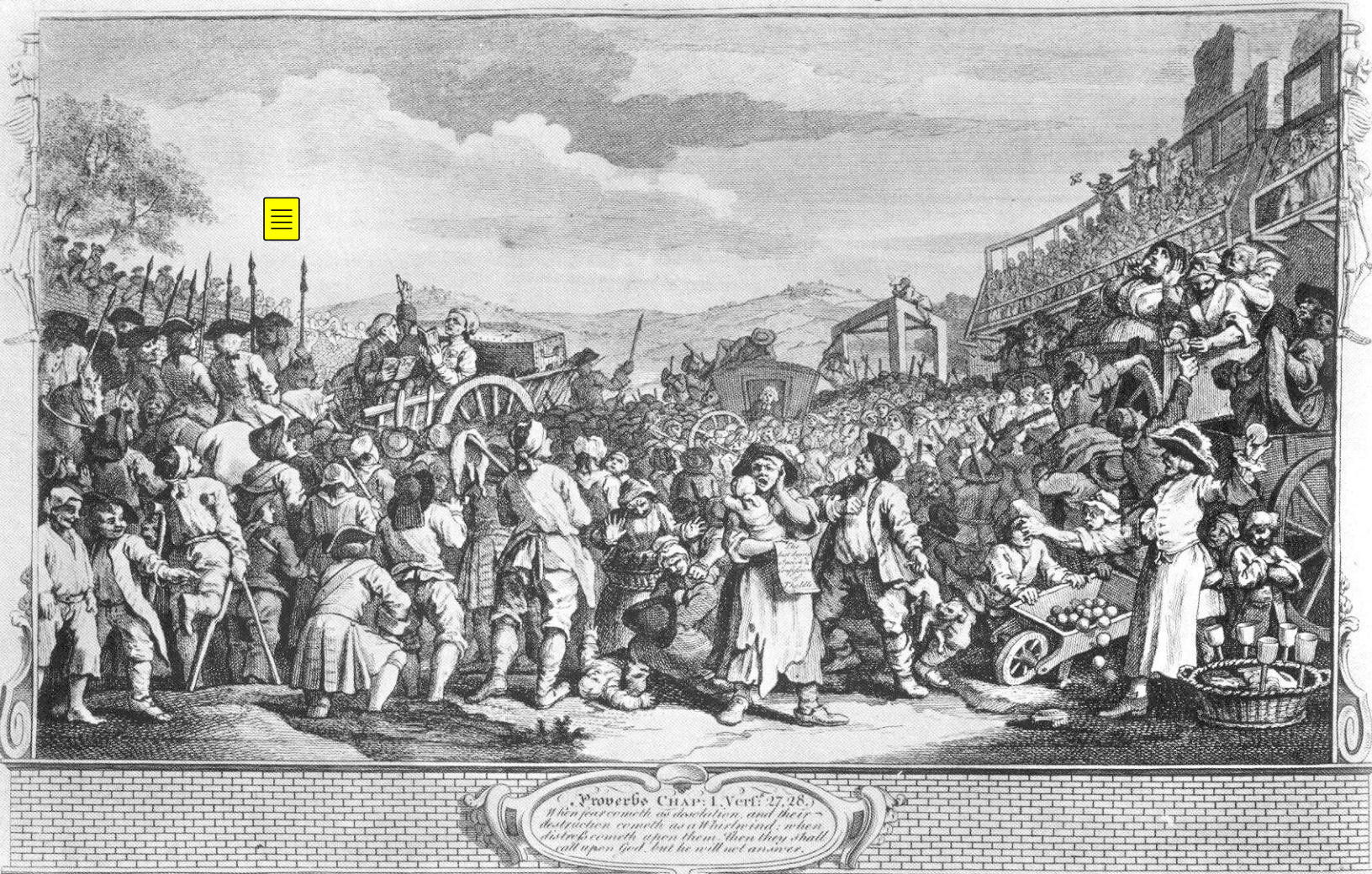
His wife came up into the cart and took her last adieu of him, in the most tender manner that can be imagined. He died on the 24th of August, 1729, being then in the twenty-fourth year of his age, and left behind him the following paper, which seems to have been what he intended to have said to the people at the time of his death, and therefore we, according to custom,

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thought it not proper to be omitted in this account.

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



THE PAPER

Good People,

My father and mother brought me up tenderly and honestly, and always gave me good advice, whilst I was under their care. They put me apprentice to a glazier. My master not being so careful of me as he ought to have been, I took to ill courses, and before my time was expired, married a woman that brought me to this untimely end; for she could not live upon what I got at my trade, and out of my over-fondness for her, I did whatever she required, or requested of me. At length she was taken up for some fact, and transported. Then I married a second wife, and she was as good as the other was bad. She would do anything to help to support me that I might not commit any wickedness, but I could not take her advice, but still ran on in my wicked course of life, till I was overtaken by my folly. For if we think ourselves safe in committing sin, God will certainly find such out, because He is just, and will



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punish accordingly. This my miserable end, I would have all take warning by, and that they follow not the devices of the world, the snares whereof are apt to lead men into evil courses, unless they endeavour to shun them, and seek the grace of God to assist and enable them for the good of all men, and ask pardon of God for my evil doings, and forgiveness of all whom I have wronged, and particularly the forgiveness of God to those who have sworn away my life. I beg reflections pass not upon my wife, for I declare, whatever wrongs she may have committed, was through my persuasion, of herself being inclinable to good. I would lastly request that the follies and vices which have brought me to this untimely end may not by any means be a cause to afflict my grievous parents, both father and mother, but would have all to consider when ever they are persuaded to any manner of ways, tending to their ruin, they would likewise remember to call upon God to help and assist them, in shunning such, and all other wicked courses. Good people, pray for me, that God may receive me through his mercies, which I trust he will.

Newgate, August 22nd, 1729.

Joseph Kemp

Amongst the many other ill consequences of a debauched life and wicked conversation, it may be reckoned, perhaps, no small one that they render men liable to suspicions, imprisonments and even capital punishment, when at the same time, they may be innocent of the particular fact with which they are charged; nor in such a case is the conviction of an innocent person so great a reflection on any, as on themselves having rendered such an accusation probable.

Benjamin Wileman, of whom we are now to speak, was the son of honest parents in the city of Dublin. They gave him a very good education at school, and when he was fit to go out apprentice, his father bred him to his own trade, which was that of a tailor. When he grew weary of that business, he listed himself as a soldier, and in that state of life passed twelve years, a sufficient space of time to acquire those numerous vices which are so ordinary amongst the common sort of men, who betake themselves to a military employment. Then he came over into England and lived here, as he himself said, by working at his own trade; though certain it is, that he led a most debauched and dissolute life, associating himself with those of his countrymen who of all others were the most abandoned in their characters. In fine, in all the associations of his life he seemed to proceed without any other design than that of gratifying his vicious inclinations.

In the midst of this terrible course of folly and wickedness he was apprehended for a highwayman, committed to Newgate, and at the ensuing sessions capitally indicted for two robberies, the one committed on William Hucks, Esq., and the other on William Bridges, Esq. On the first indictment it was deposed by the prosecutor that he believed Wileman to be the person who attacked him. John Doyle, who owned himself to have been an accomplice in the robbery, swore that Wileman and he committed it together, and that he paid Wileman five guineas and a half for his share of the gold watch and other things which were taken



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from the gentleman. As to the second fact, Mr. Bridges gave evidence that he was robbed on the highway and lost a sword, a hat, a pocket-book and a bank-note for twenty pounds. Doyle gave evidence in this, as in the former case, declaring that Wileman and he committed the fact together.

Then Elizabeth Jones being produced, swore that the same day she met Doyle and Wileman booted and spurred and very dirty in Bedford Row, and that they showed her the bank note, which when shown to her, she deposed to be the same. Arabelle Manning deposed that on the night of the day the robbery was committed, the prisoner Wileman and Doyle gave her a dram at a gin-shop in Drury Lane, and that one of them let fall a paper, and taking it up again, said that the loss of it would have been the loss of twenty pounds.

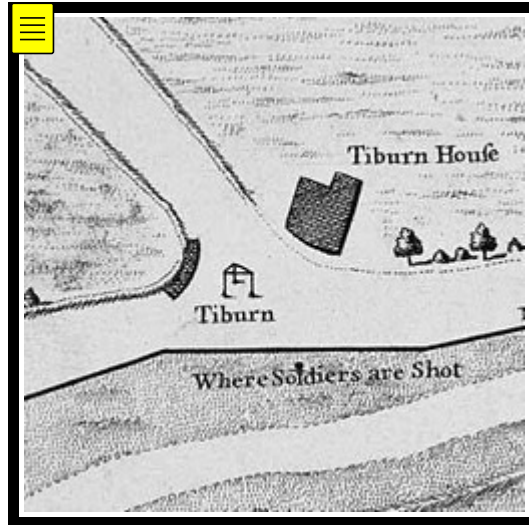
The prisoner objected to the character of Doyle, Jones and Manning, and called some persons as to his own, but the jury thinking the fact sufficiently proved, found him guilty on both indictments. Under sentence of death, his behaviour was very regular, professing a deep sorrow and repentance for a very loose life which he had led, and at the same time peremptorily denying that he had any hand in, or knew anything of either of those facts which had been sworn against him, and for which he was to die.

Notwithstanding that the most earnest entreaties were made use of to induce him to a plain and sincere confession, yet he continued always to assert his innocence as to thieving, letting fall sharp and invidious expressions against the evidence of Doyle whom he charged with swearing against him only to preserve another guilty person from punishment, whom Wileman intended to prosecute and had it is his power to convict. The effects of his former good education were very serviceable to him in this his great and last misfortune, for he seemed to have very just notions of those duties which were incumbent upon him in his miserable state; therefore, especially towards the latter part of his time, he appeared gravely at chapel and prayed fervently in his cell until the boy James Grundy, whom we have mentioned before, put it in to his head to make his escape; for the attempting which they were all carried (as we have said before) into the old condemned hold and there stapled down to the ground. As there is no courage so reasonable as that which is founded on Christian principles, so neither constitutional bravery nor that resolution which arises either from custom, from vanity, or from other false maxims preserves that steady firmness at the approach of death which gives true quiet and peace of mind in the last moments of life, taking away through the certainty of belief, those terrors which are otherwise too strong for the mind, and which human nature is unable to resist. Wileman's conduct under his misfortunes, fully verified this observation in its strongest sense; he only retained just notions of religion and this enabled him to support his affliction after a very different manner from that in which it affected his two companions; or as it had done himself before, from a just contemplation of the mercy of God, and the merits of his Saviour, he had brought himself to a right idea of the importance of his soul, and thereby took himself off from the superfluous consideration of this world and stifled those uneasy sensations with which men are naturally startled at the approach of death. Yet he did not in all this time alter a jot in his confession,

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but asserted calmly that he was innocent, and that Doyle had perjured himself in order to take away his life. At the place of execution his wife came to him, embraced him with great tenderness, and all he said there in relation to the world was that he hoped nobody would reflect upon her for the misfortune which had befallen him, and then, with great piety and resignation in the midst of fervent ejaculations, yielded up his last breath at Tyburn, at the same time with the malefactor before mentioned, being at the time of his decease about forty-three years of age.



November 21: John Dyer, a thief, highwayman, and housebreaker, William Rogers, a thief, William Simpson, a horse thief, and Robert Oliver, *alias* William Johnson, a thief, were [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²⁶⁶

My readers cannot but remember the mention often made of this criminal, in the former volumes. He was, at the time of his death, one of the oldest offenders in England, and as he was at some pains to digest his own story that is, the series of his villainies into writing, so what we take from thence, will at once be authentic and entertaining to our readers.

He was born of honest and mean parents at Salisbury, who took care, however, to bestow on him a very tolerable education, and when he grew up, put him out apprentice to a shoemaker, where he soon made a beginning in those pernicious practices to which

266. LIVES OF THE MOST REMARKABLE CRIMINALS WHO HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED FOR MURDER, THE HIGHWAY, HOUSEBREAKING, STREET ROBBERIES, COINING OR OTHER OFFENCES / COLLECTED FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS AND AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS, AND PUBLISHED IN 1735 / Edited by Arthur L. Hayward

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he so assiduously afterwards addicted himself. The first thing

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



he did, was robbing a chandler's chop at Collinburn, in the county of Wilts, of the money box, in which was thirty shillings, and got clear off. Some time after, his master sending him on a Sunday to a village just by, to get twelve pennyworth of halfpence at a chandler's shop, Dyer finding nobody at home, cut the bar of the window, got in thereat, and rifled the house. The booty he found did not amount to above three half-crowns, but he added to that the taking away what currants and raisins there were in the shop, which piece of covetousness had well-nigh cost him his life, for being suspected and charged with the fact, he had only time to hide the money. Having searched him in vain, they turned some of the plums out of his coat pocket, but he readily averring that he bought them at Andover Market, there being nobody who could falsify it, he escaped for that time. His matter shortly after sending him with five pounds to buy leather, Dyer picking up a companion, as wicked as himself, he persuaded him to join in a story of his being robbed of the aforesaid sum of money, which, upon his return, he told his master, and the boy vouching it firmly, they were believed. Some



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small space from this, being sent amongst his master's customers to receive some money, he picked up about three pounds, and then went off immediately for Salisbury, where he became acquainted with an idle young woman; which bringing him once more into necessity, he went one day into the market to see what he might be able to lay hands on. There he observed a young woman to receive money, and watching her out of town, he took an opportunity to knock her down, robbing her, and dragging her into a wood, where he lay with her, and then bound her fast to a tree.

From thence he went to a village in Hampshire, where he wrought journey-work at his trade; and getting acquainted with a young woman, he lodged at her mother's house, where he soon got the daughter with child, and persuaded her to rob the old woman, and go with him to Bristol. There they lived together profusely until all the money was spent, and then she and her child went back to her mother, who received them very gladly. Dyer did not think fit to return, but went to make his mother a visit at Salisbury, where he continued not long before he took an opportunity of robbing her of fifty pounds, and thence marched off to Bristol, where he gamed most of the money away. Then he retired to a town in Wiltshire, where cohabiting with a widow woman, they found means to get so good credit as to take the town in (as Mr. Dyer expressed it) for thirty pounds. Then packing up they marched off to a place at a considerable distance, where Dyer entered into partnership with a collier, being to advance fifty pounds, thirty of which he paid down and the rest was to pay monthly; but before the first payment became due the collier broke, and his partner, Dyer, thereupon thought it convenient to remove to some other place.

He pitched, therefore, upon the city of Hereford, where he worked honestly for a space, until being in company one night with a higgler, he heard the man say he should go to a place called Ross to buy fowls. Dyer answered that he did not care if he went with him, and in their journey, taking the advantage of a proper place he stopped his companion and robbed him. The man gave him two shillings out of his pocket, but Dyer suspecting he must have some more money to buy fowls with, searched the hampers and took out twelve pounds. Taking the man's horse also, he rode it forty miles outright, after which he went to Marlborough in Wiltshire, and stayed there a fortnight. But venturing to steal a silver mug, he was for that fact apprehended and committed close prisoner there, in order to be tried for it next assizes, but before that time, he found a weak place in the prison, and breaking it made his escape.

From thence he went to an aunt's house, about seven or eight miles from Salisbury, where he stayed until her husband grew so uneasy that he was obliged to take his leave. He travelled then to a sister of his, and meeting there with an old schoolfellow and relation, he quickly persuaded the lad to become as bad as himself, drawing him in to rob his mother of fifty shillings, with which small stock they two were set up for their old trade of gaming. But the robbery they had committed was quickly detected. However, Dyer so well tutored his associate that the boy could neither by threats nor promises be brought to own it, yet their denials had not the least weight with their relations. They were thoroughly convinced of their being guilty, and therefore were determined that they should be punished, for



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which purpose they carried them before a neighbouring Justice of Peace, who committed them to Bridewell to hard labour.

As Dyer could not endure imprisonment, especially when hard labour was added to it, so he very speedily contrived a method to free himself and his companion from their fetters, which was by leaping down the house of office,²⁶⁷ which a few days afterwards they did and got clear off.

These various difficulties and narrow escapes seemed to make no other impression upon Dyer than to give him a greater liking than ever to such sort of villainous enterprises. He stole as many horses out of New Forest as came to three-score pounds, and afterwards setting up for a highwayman, committed a multitude of facts in that neighbourhood, which he has with great care related in the account he published of his life. Amongst the rest he stripped a poor maid-servant, who was just come out of a place, of all the money she had, viz., a gold ring, and a box of clothes, and so left her without either necessities or money. At Winchester he disposed of the clothes and linen which he took from the poor woman. At an alehouse in High Street he fell into company with a lace-man, from whom he learned, by some little conversation, that he was going to Amesbury Fair in Wiltshire. Dyer told him he was going thither too, and so along they journeyed together. When they arrived there, they put up their horses at the sign of the Chopping Knife, and while the lace-man went out to take a stand to sell his goods in, Dyer demanded the box of lace of the landlord, as if he had been the man's partner; then calling for his horse, while the landlord's back was turned, he rode clear off from them all.

On the Plain, going towards Devizes, he overtook a Scotch pedlar. Dyer it seems knew him, and called him by his name, asking him if he had any good handkerchiefs, upon which the poor man let down the pack off his back and showed him several. Dyer told him, after looking over the goods, that he did not want to buy anything, but must have what he pleased for nothing. The Scotchman, upon that, put himself in a posture of defence, but Dyer drawing his pistols on him soon obliged him to yield, and tied him with some of his own cloth fast to the post of a wall. He then went and rifled the pack, taking thence nine pounds odd in money, a great parcel of hair, which he sold afterwards for eight pounds, six dozen handkerchiefs, and a quantity of muslin. Then he released the pedlar again, and bid him go and take care of the rest of his pack, Mr. Dyer being then in some hurry to look out for another booty.

A very small time after our plunderer met with an old shepherd, who had sold a good parcel of sheep. Dyer attacked him with his hanger and the old man, though he had nothing but his stick, made a very good defence. However, at last he was overcome and lost seventy-two pounds which he had taken at the market. Dyer being by this time full of money, he thought fit to go to Dorchester in Wilts, where by the usual course of his extravagances, he lessened it in a very short time; and then persuading a poor butcher of the town, who had broke, to become his companion, he soon taught him from being unfortunate to become wicked. They agreed very well together (as Mr. Dyer says) until he caught his new partner endeavouring to cheat him as well as he had taught him to rob other people. But after some hard words the butcher confessed the fact, and promised to be

267. This may mean that they dropped themselves into the cess-pit and made their way out through another opening.



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honest to him for the future; which being all that Dyer wanted, a new agreement was made, and they went to work again in their old occupation.

The first exploit they went upon afterwards was at Woodbury Hill Fair, in Dorsetshire, where as soon as the fair was over, Mr. Dyer, in his merry style, tells us their fair began, for observing a cheeseman who received about fourscore pounds, they watched him so narrowly that about a mile from the fair they attacked him and bid him deliver. With a heavy heart the old man suffered himself to be rifled, though he had paid away a far greater part of the money, and had not above twelve pounds about him, yet he sighed as if he would have broken his heart at the loss, while Dyer and his companion were as much out of humour at the disappointment and gave him several smart lashes with their whips, telling him that he should never pay money when gentlemen waited to receive it.

A small time after this robbery they committed another upon a hop-merchant, who was riding with his wife. They searched him very carefully for money, but could find none, until Dyer beginning to curse and swear and threatening to kill him, his wife cried out, *For Heaven's sake, do not murder my husband and I'll tell you where his money is.* Accordingly, she declared it was in his boots, upon which Dyer cut them off his legs and found fifty guineas therein, then taking their leave of the merchant and his wife, Dyer very gratefully thanked her for her good office. From thence they went down to Sherbourne, and each of them having got a mistress, they lived there very merrily for a considerable space, living in full enjoyment of those gross sensualities in which they alone reaped satisfaction at the expense of such honest people as they had before plundered.

Here they had intelligence of a certain grazier who was going down into the country to buy lean beasts, upon which they followed him and robbed him of all the money he had, which was about fourscore-and-ten pounds. So large a sum proved only a fund for extravagance, a use to which these men put all the money they laid their hands on. Hampshire being so lucky a place, Dyer and his comrade went next to Ringwood, where the butcher fell sick, and lay for some time, until their money was almost consumed. But then growing well again, Dyer took him down to Bath, where they robbed the stage-coaches from Bath to London, and as they returned from London to Bath again, until the road became so dangerous that they hired persons to guard them for the future; and notwithstanding they so often practised this villainy, they never were in danger but once, when a gentleman fired a blunderbuss at them but missed them both, whereupon they robbed the coach, and afterwards whipped him severely with their horse whips.

Their next expedition was to Hungerford, where they stayed about two months, in which time Dyer made a match for the butcher with a widow woman of his own trade; but just as they were going to be married, somebody discovered both his and the butcher's occupation, and thereupon obliged them to quit Hungerford, and to take their road to Newbury, with more precipitation than they were wont to do. In the road to Reading they robbed a tallow-chandler, and then galloped to Reading, where they had like to have been taken by the information of the Bath coachman; but they being pretty well mounted and riding hard night and day got safe down to Exeter in Devonshire, where, as the securest



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method, they agreed to part by consent. The butcher went back to Devonshire again, and Dyer must needs go to visit his friends at Salisbury, and then after a short stay with them set out for London.

The fear he was under of being discovered if he came into the direct road made him take a roundabout way in his journey, and thereby put it in his power to rob four Oxford scholars; from two of them he took their watches and their money, but though he searched the other two very diligently could find nothing, upon which he rode away with the booty he had taken. But the two whom he had robbed quickly called him back again, and told him their companions had money, if he had but wit enough to find it. Whereupon Dyer began to examine the first very strictly, and found his money put under his buttons, and his watch thrust into his breeches. On search of the second, he discovered his money put up in the cape of his coat, but his watch he had hustled to one of his companions, who held it out, which as soon as Dyer saw he took it away. It is surprising that men should be possessed with so odd a spirit that because they have lost all themselves, they must needs have others plundered into the bargain. However, Dyer thought it a good job, and with the help of this money he came up to London.

When he arrived here, he worked honestly for some time at his trade, with a very noted shoemaker upon Ludgate Hill. Soon after, he removed to a lodging in Leather Lane, and worked there for twelve months. At last he got into the company of a common woman of the town, and she very quickly brought him into his old condition, for being much in debt and often arrested, Dyer, who was at present very fond of her, was obliged to bail her or get her bailed. Hearing that he had a legacy of ten pounds a year in an Exchequer Annuity, she would never let him alone until he had disposed of it, which at last he did, for about fourscore pounds. The first thing that was done after the receipt of the sum of money was to clothe madam in Monmouth Street, in an handsome suit of blue flowered satin, with everything agreeable thereto. On their return home the man of the house where they lodged flew into a great passion, said he'd never suffer her to wear such fine clothes unless he was paid what was due to him. Mr. Dyer in his memoirs gives us this story, dressed out with abundance of oaths and such like decoration, which we will venture to leave out, and relate the adventure, as it gives a very good idea of such sort of houses, otherwise in his own language.

The bawd, while her husband was swearing, took Mr. Dyer upstairs, and there with a wheedling tone asked him if Moll should not bring them a quartern of brandy to drink his and his spouse's health, but before Dyer could give her an answer, she issued a positive command herself, whereupon up comes Moll and the quartern. The mistress poured out half of it into one glass which she drank off to the health of Mr. and Mrs. Dyer, adding with great complaisance. *Well, indeed your Alice is a fine woman when she's dressed. I love to see a handsome woman with all my heart. Come, Moll, fill t'other quartern, and bid Mrs. Dyer come to her spouse; and d'ye hear, tell my husband that Mrs. Dyer desires to drink a glass of brandy with him.*

On this message up comes the husband, and clapping down by him took him by the hand, with an abundance of seeming courtesy, said, *Pray, Mr. Dyer, don't let you and I fall out. I may, in*



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my passion, have let fall some provoking words to your wife, but I can't help it, 'tis my way, and I really want money so that it almost makes me mad. I'll tell you what; your spouse, Mr. Dyer, owes me almost nine pounds, now if you'll give me five guineas, I'll give you a receipt in full. Upon which our cully of a robber, thinking to save so much money, paid it him down, and madam seemed to be highly pleased.

As soon as this was over and the receipt given, his lady said to Dyer, *Come my dear, we'll go and take a walk and see Mrs. Sheldon.* Thither they went. No sooner were they in the house, but after the first compliments were passed, Mrs. Sheldon said, *We were just talking of you when you came in, Mr. Dyer, and of that small matter your spouse owes us.* Says Dyer, *How much is it?* But two-and-forty shillings, says Mrs. Sheldon. Upon which the fool took the money out of his pocket and paid it. A little while after this, Dyer's mistress thought fit to quarrel with one of her female acquaintances whom she had made her confidante, by which means the story came out that she was not a penny in debt either to her landlord or Mrs. Sheldon, but that she wanted money and was resolved to make hay while the sun shone.

One would have thought that a fellow so versed in villainy, and so given up to all sorts of debauchery, would have immediately discarded a woman who showed him such tricks, but on the contrary he grew fonder of her, removed her to another lodging, and lavished all he had on her. But as a new misfortune, one morning early a man knocked at the door, which he taking to be one of her gallants, went in his shirt to the window. The man enquired whether one Mrs. Davis was there, upon which Dyer's mistress in a great agony, said. *O, la, John, it's my husband come from sea, what shall I do?* Upon this, Dyer hustled on his clothes and went downstairs to another harlot, and by there until his first lady and her husband came downstairs.

However, it was not long before the seaman had an account of Dyer's familiarity with his wife, and thereupon thinking to get money out of him brought his action against him; but Dyer got himself bailed, and soon after arrested him for meat, drink and lodging for his wife for several months, for which he lay in the Compter for a considerable time, and at last was obliged to give Dyer ten pounds to make it up.

At last, when money ran low, Dyer's love on a sudden went all out. He dismissed his mistress and not finding another quickly to his mind, took up a sudden resolution to marry and live honest. It was not long before he prevailed on an honest woman, and accordingly they were joined together in wedlock. Dyer thereupon provided himself with a cobbler's stall in Leather Lane, worked hard and lived well. But as his inclinations were always dishonest, he could not long confine himself to honesty and labour, but in a short space meeting with a young man in the neighbourhood, who was very uneasy in his circumstances, and on ill terms with his friends, and very much disordered in his mind on account of the misfortunes under which he laboured, Dyer began immediately to cast eyes upon him as one who would make him a fit companion.

It seems the other had exactly the same thoughts, and one day as they were walking together in the fields, says the stranger to him, *I'll tell you what; if you knew how affairs stand with me, you would advise me. I must either go upon the highway, or*



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into gaol. That's a hard choice, replied Dyer; but did you ever do anything of that kind? No, said the other, indeed, not hitherto. Well, then, says his tutor again, have you any pistols? No, replied he, but I intend to pawn my watch and buy some. The bargain was soon made between them. One night they robbed a man by the Old Spa,²⁶⁸ the same night they robbed another by Sadler's Wells. Two or three days after, they robbed a chariot, and took from persons in it thirty pounds. The young practitioner in thieving thought this a rare quick way of getting money and therefore followed it very industriously in the company of his assistant. In Lincoln's Inn Fields they were hard put to it, for after they had committed a robbery, abundance of watchmen gathered about them, whom they suffered to advance very near them, but then firing two or three pistols over their heads they all ran, and suffered the robbers to go which way they would. A multitude of other facts they committed, until Dyer got into that gang who robbed on Blackheath, of whom we have given some account.

It is observable that Dyer, in his own narrative, gives not the least account of his turning evidence and hanging a great number of his associates, many of whom, as has been said in the former volume,²⁶⁹ charged him with having first drawn them into the commission of crimes and then betrayed them. It seems this was among the circumstances of his life which did not afford him any mirth, a thing to which throughout the course of his memoirs he is egregiously addicted. However it was, I must inform my reader that he remained for near seven years a prisoner in Newgate after his being an evidence, until at last he found means to get discharged at the same time with one Abraham Dumbleton, who was his companion in his future exploits, and suffered with him at the same time. When they were at the bar, in order to their being discharged out of Newgate, the Recorder, with his usual humanity, represented to them the danger there was of their coming to a bad end, in case they should be set at liberty and get again into the company of their old comrades who might seduce them to their former practices, and thereby become the means of their suffering a violent and ignominious death; advising them at the same time rather to submit to a voluntary transportation, whereby they would gain a passage into a new country, inhabited by Englishmen, where they might live honestly without dread of those reproaches to which they would be ever liable here. But they insisting upon their discharge and promising to live very honestly for the future, their request was complied with, and they were set at liberty.

One of the first crimes committed by Dyer afterwards was robbing a victualler coming over Bloomsbury Market,²⁷⁰ between one and two o'clock in the morning, and from whom, having thrown him down and stopped his mouth, they took his silver watch, seventeen shillings in money, two plain rings, and the buckles out of his shoes. They robbed another man in the Tottenham Court Road coming to town, tied him and then took from him two-and-forty shillings. Dyer also happening to be one day a little cleaner and better dressed than ordinary, was taken notice of in Lincoln's Inn Fields by one of those abominable, unnatural wretches who addict themselves to sodomy. He pretended to know

268. Spa Fields, Clerkenwell, was a notorious spot for footpads.

269. See pages 121, 122.

270. This was at the south-west corner of Bloomsbury Square.



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him at first, and desired him to step to the tavern with him and drink a glass of wine, which the other readily complied with. In the tavern, Dyer took notice that the gentleman had a good diamond ring upon his finger, and then suddenly taking notice of a hackney-coach which drove by with a single gentleman in it, he pretended it was a friend of his and that he needs must go down and speak a word with him. Under pretence of doing which, he went clear off with the diamond ring. Two or three days after, he met the same person with a man in years, and of some consideration. Upon his asking Dyer how he came to go off in that manner from the tavern, he, who was accustomed to such salutations, gave him a rough answer, and the spark fearing a worse accusation might be alleged against himself, thought fit to go off without making any more words about it.

I am not able to say how long after, but certainly it could be no very considerable space before he and Dumbleton robbed Mr. Bradley, in Kirby Street, by Hatton Garden, of his hat and wig, at the same time trampling on him, beating him, and using him in the most cruel manner imaginable, as was sworn by Mr. Bradley upon their trial. However, by affrighting the watch with their pistols, they got off safe and a night or two after broke open a linen-draper's shop, and took out a large parcel of linen. For these two facts they were shortly after apprehended, and on very full evidence convicted at the Old Bailey.

Under sentence of death, Dyer said he was sorry for his offences, but spoke of them in a manner that showed he had but a slight sense of those heinous crimes in which he had continued so long. His narrative that he left behind him, and which was published the day before his execution, is a manifest proof of the ludicrous terms which those unhappy creatures affect in the relation of their own adventures. However, it becomes us not to judge concerning the sentiments of a person who in his last moments professed himself a penitent. Instead of doing which, we shall produce the speech he made at the place of execution.

Good People,

I desire all young men to take warning by my ignominious death, and to forsake evil company, especially lewd women, who have been the chief cause of my unhappy fate. I hope, and make it my earnest request that nobody will be so ill a Christian as to reflect on my aged parents, who took an early care to instruct me, and brought me up a member, though a very unworthy one, of the Church of England. I hope my misfortunes will be a warning to all youth, especially some whom I wish well; I will not name them, but hope, if they see this, they will take it to themselves. I die in charity with all men, forgiving and hoping to be forgiven myself, through the merits of my blessed Saviour Jesus Christ.

He died on the 21st of November, 1729, being thirty-one years



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of age.



The first of these persons was descended from very mean parents, who had, however, given him a tolerable education, so far as to qualify him by reading and writing for any ordinary kind of business, to which they intended to breed him on his coming to a fit age. They put him out apprentice to a shoemaker, with whom he lived out his time, with the approbation of his master and all who knew him. Afterwards he married a wife and worked for some time honestly as a journeyman at his trade, being exceedingly fond of his new wife. But she being a woman who liked living in a better state than he could afford by what he gained at his work, and he being desirous to live more at home, and yet maintain her plentifully too, at last came to picking and thieving; and being detected in stealing some shoes out of a shop, he was for that crime transported.

In Maryland and Virginia he continued some time working at his trade with masters there, who gave him great encouragement, so that he might have lived very happily there, if he had not been desirous of coming to England. His mind ran continually on his wife. It was for her sake that he at first had fallen into these practices, and to enjoy her conversation was almost the only thing which tempted him to return home.

On his arrival here, it was no doubt with the greatest uneasiness that he heard his wife, as soon as ever he went abroad, cohabited with another man and could never afterwards be brought to see him, or give him any assistance, no not when he was under his last and great misfortunes. Her unkindness afflicted the unhappy man so much that he grew careless of his safety, and thereby became speedily apprehended, and was tried for his offence in returning before the time was expired; and the fact being clear he was at once convicted.

Under sentence of death, he seemed to deplore nothing so much as the unkindness of his wife, who would not so much as afford him one visit, when he had hazarded, and even sacrificed his life to visit her. He confessed that he had been guilty of that crime for which he had formerly been transported, but denied that he lived in such a course of wickedness and debauchery as most malefactors do. On the contrary, he said he was heartily sorry for his sins, and hoped that God would accept his imperfect repentance.

William Simpson was a young man of very good parents in Gloucestershire, who had taken care to educate him carefully, both in the knowledge of letters and of true religion, and they then put him out apprentice to a tailor; but not liking that employment, he did not follow it, but lived with a relation of his who was a great farmer in the country. There, it seems, he stole a black gelding to the value of ten pounds, for which he



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was quickly apprehended and committed to prison, and upon very full evidence convicted. The unhappy youth said that nothing but idleness and an aversion to any employment were the causes of his committing an act of such a nature, so contrary to the principles in which he had been instructed, and to which he was not tempted by ill-company, or driven to by any straits. Under sentence of death he behaved with great modesty, penitence and civility, was desirous of being instructed and did everything that could be expected from a man in his miserable condition.

Robert Oliver, *alias* William Johnson, was born of parents of tolerable circumstances in Yorkshire, they bred him at school, and afterwards bound him apprentice to a tallow-chandler. After he was out of his time, he got somehow or other into the service of Mrs. North, where he robbed one Joseph Heppworth of seven-and-forty guineas. As soon as he had done it, he went to Moorgate and gave two-and-twenty of them for a horse, upon which he rode down into his own country, where he exchanged it for another horse, getting four guineas to boot. But the person who had lost the money being indefatigable, and imagining that he might have gone down into his own country, followed him thither, and after some time seized him and got him confined in Beverley gaol. But it seems he found a way to make his escape from thence, and so getting to London, skulked up and down here for some time, until at last he was discovered and committed to Newgate and at the ensuing sessions at the Old Bailey was tried and convicted for the aforesaid offence.

Under sentence he behaved himself stupidly, not seeming to have a just concern for the offence which he had committed. He was sullen, would say very little, did not deny the crime for which he died, but yet did not seem to have that compunction which might have been expected from a man in his sad condition.

At the place of execution Rogers said little; Simpson acknowledged lewd women had been his ruin; Robert Oliver acknowledged that he had been a vicious, unruly, young man, who had hearkened to no advice, but addicted to nothing but the accomplishment of his vices. They were all desirous of prayers, and after they were celebrated they submitted to their deaths very patiently; and with pious ejaculations, they were executed on the 21st of November, 1739 [1729?], Rogers being forty years of age, Simpson nineteen, and Oliver twenty-two.

December 22: James Drummond was [hanged](#) for robbery and William Caustin and Geoffrey Younger were [hanged](#) as footpads on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²⁷¹

Folly and wickedness, as it were, naturally lead men to poverty, shame and misfortunes, but when such miseries overtake persons who lived soberly and in all outward appearance honestly, it is apt to create wonder at first, and afterwards to excite compassion.

The unhappy man of whom we are now speaking was the son of a sailor, who brought him when but a boy of three years of age up to London, and then dying, left him to the care of his mother, who was too poor to give him any education. However, he went to sea, and being a young man ingenious enough in himself, and very tractable in his temper, he soon became a tolerable proficient

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in the practical part of navigation. This recommended him to pretty constant business, whereby he got enough to maintain himself and his family handsomely enough, if he had thought fit to have employed it that way; which for a considerable space of time he did, keeping up a very good reputation in the neighbourhood where he lived, and serving with a fair character on board several men-of-war, going up the Baltic with squadrons sent thither to preserve the Swedish coast from being insulted by the Moscovites.

After his return, he served on board the fleet which destroyed that of the Spaniards in Sicily. He was afterwards coxswain in the Admiral, when they served in the Mediterranean, and on the coast of Spain, but coming home at last and being weary of going to sea, he took up the trade of selling china and some small goods about the country; in which he got so established a character that the gentlemen with whom he chiefly dealt would have trusted him a hundred pounds on his word, and never anything gave a greater shock to his neighbours and acquaintances than the news of his being apprehended for a highwayman. However, it seems he had been engaged to that course by his brother, notwithstanding that till then he had lived not only honestly, but with tolerable sentiments of religion.

The method in which he was drawn to turn robber on a sudden was thus. On the 19th of October, 1729, his brother came to him as he was working on the outside of a ship on the other side of the water, and invited him to go out with him to a public house, to which at first he was very unwilling; but at last suffering himself to be prevailed upon, he and his brother went together to a house not far distant, where they drank to a higher pitch than James Drummond had ever done before. His brother all along insinuated how advantageous a trade the highway was, owning he had followed nothing else for some years past, and saying there was not the least hazard run in it, at the same time advising his brother to quit labouring hard, and to take to it, too. James was now grown so drunk that he hardly knew what he did, so that after much persuasion he got up behind his brother upon the same horse, but was afterwards set down, it being judged by both of them to be better to rob on foot, while he who was well armed and well mounted might be able to defend them both. Having come to this fatal agreement, they immediately set about those enterprises which they had consulted together.

The first robbery they committed was upon Mr. William Isgrig, from whom they took sixteen guineas, seven half-guineas, three broad pieces, one moidore, twenty shillings in silver, and a watch value two pounds. Not satisfied with this the same night they attacked one Mr. Wakeling, on the same road, and took from him a silver watch, and three or four shillings in money, though not without much resistance, Mr. Wakeling having drawn his sword and defended himself for a considerable time; but perceiving one of the rogues to be a footpad, he followed him so closely, and made such an outcry to the watch, that after a long pursuit and a sharp struggle with him, they took James Drummond prisoner. His brother after firing a pistol or two, rode off as fast as he could. At the ensuing sessions at the Old Bailey he was indicted for both offences and upon very full and dear evidence convicted.

It was impossible to describe the agonies which this unhappy man suffered while under sentence of death, the sense of his own



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condition, the reflection on his former character, unsullied and untainted amongst his whole neighbourhood, the consideration of leaving a wife and five small children behind him, with small provision for their support, and what was worse exposed to the reflection of the world on the score of an unhappy father, scandalous in the last actions of his life, and ignominious in his death. However, returning to his former principles of piety and religion, he comforted himself under the weight of all his misfortunes, by leaning on the mercy of God, praying fervently to Him to grant him patience and protection under those dreadful evils which he suffered. He acknowledged all to be exactly true which was deposed against him at his trial, confessed the justice of his sentence, and prepared to undergo it with as much submission and resignation as was possible, and indeed perhaps no criminal ever behaved with more penitence than he did. He died on Monday, the 22nd of December, 1729, being then forty years of age.

The first of these unhappy men, William Caustin, was born somewhere in the country, but the particular place is not mentioned in any papers I have before me. Neither am I able to say of what condition his parents were, yet whether poor or rich they afforded him a very tolerable education, and when he was grown big enough to be put out apprentice, bound him to a barber, to whom he served out his time with remarkable fidelity. When out of his time he married a wife and set up for himself; yet whether through inevitable misfortunes, or for want of good management, I cannot say, but he failed in a very short time after, and so was reduced to be a journeyman again. However, his character remained so unblemished that he was never out of business, nor ill-treated by any masters where he worked. On the contrary, he was caressed wherever he came, and treated with as much civility as if he had been a relation to those whom he had served.

His wife unfortunately falling sick upon his hand, he became thereby thrown out of business, and in that time falling into ill company, their repeated solicitations prevailed with him to go for once upon the highway, which accordingly he did, and committed, in company with Geoffrey Younger and the evidence, a robbery on William Bowman, taking from him a guinea and thirteen shillings, for which he was very quickly after apprehended, and the fact being plainly and fully proved, he was convicted, it being the only fact he ever committed.

Geoffrey Younger, his companion, was descended of very honest creditable parents in Northamptonshire. There he was put apprentice to a baker, to whom he served his time out very honestly and faithfully. Afterwards he came up to London, and lived here for seven years as a journeyman, in as good a reputation as it was possible for a young man to have. But having by that time got a good quantity of clothes, and about ten pounds in his pockets, he began to think himself too good to work, and unfortunately falling into the company of some idle debauched persons of both sexes, they soon led him into a road of ruin. Amongst these was one Bradley, a fellow of his own business, whose company of all others, he most affected. This fellow having addicted himself to the pursuit of the most scandalous vices, easily drew in Younger to go with him to a house where gamesters resorted and advising him to venture his money,



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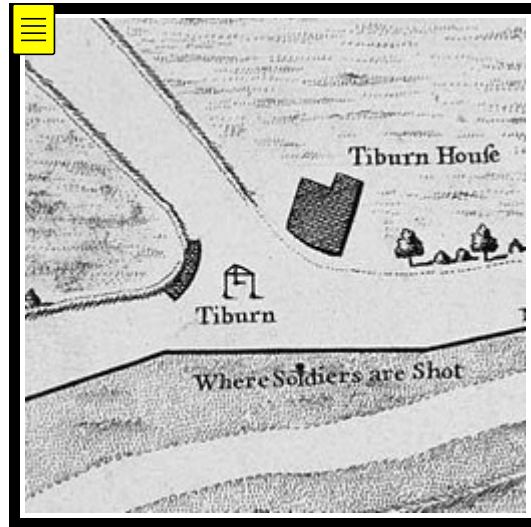
Younger was good enough to take his advice, and so was bubbled out of every farthing of his money.

Surprised and confounded at this extraordinary turn, which had reduced him to indigence in a moment, he did nothing but lament his own hard fortune, and curse his indiscretion for coming to such a place. Bradley endeavoured to cheer him, telling him he would yet put him in a way to get money, and thereupon proposed going with him upon the highway; in order to encourage him to which, he told him that at such a place they should meet with a man who had fourscore pounds about him. So after abundance of arguments, Younger yielded, and out they went. From that time forwards he gave a loose to all his brutal inclinations, associated himself with nobody but common whores and thieves, spent his time in gaming, when not engaged in a worse employment, and never, after his acquaintance with Bradley, thought of doing anything either just or honest. But his course was of no very long continuance, for having committed four or five robberies, the last of which was in the company of William Caustin, they were both apprehended, and as has been said, upon very full evidence convicted.

Under sentence of death they both of them blamed Bradley the evidence, as the person who had drawn then first to the commission of those crimes for which they were now to answer with their lives. Caustin's wife died while he was under sentence, and he thereby lost what little comfort he had under his afflictions. However, he endeavoured to compose himself the best he could, to suffer that judgment which the Law had pronounced upon him, and which he himself acknowledged to be just. Younger, on the other hand, was exceedingly timorous and so terribly affrighted at the approach of death that he scarce retained his senses. He confessed very freely the enormities of his former life; said that a more dissolute person than himself never lived; cried out against the evidence Bradley, as the author of his misfortunes; charged him with having painfully endeavoured to seduce him. But in the midst of this he wept bitterly, and showed a great terror at the approach of his execution than was seen amongst any of the rest who suffered with him, his countenance being so much altered, that it was hardly possible for anybody to know him, who had been acquainted with him before, insomuch that he looked for many weeks before his execution like a person who had been already dead and buried. As the day of dissolution approached, it was hoped that he would recover more courage, but instead of that he became so terribly frightened that he could scarce speak, or show any signs of life when he was brought to Tyburn. However, there he did gather spirits a little, and spoke to the crowd to take warning by him, and avoid coming to that fatal place. He said that he had been guilty of but five robberies in all his life; said he forgave his prosecutors and the evidence who swore against him; and in this disposition they both died at the same time with the malefactors before mentioned, Caustin being thirty-six years of

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age, and Younger about thirty-four.



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Ebenezer Ellison, an Irishman, was [hanged](#) as a thief in Dublin.²⁷²

With respect to this malefactor I have nothing to acquaint the world with but what is taken from his own speech which was printed at Dublin, and said to be published there by his own desire for the common good. It made a great noise there then, and may perhaps serve to entertain you now, wherefore I proceed to give it you in his own words.

I am now going to suffer the just punishment of my crimes, prescribed by the Law of God and my country. I know it is the constant custom that those who come to this place should have speeches made for them, and cried about in their own hearing as they are carried to execution; and truly they are such speeches that although our fraternity be an ignorant illiterate people, they would make a man ashamed to have such nonsense and false English charged upon him, even when he is going to the gallows. They contain a pretended account of our birth and family, of the facts for which we are to die, of our sincere repentance, and a declaration of our religion. I cannot expect to avoid the same treatment with my predecessors. However, having an education one or two degrees better than those of my rank and profession, ever since my commitment I have been considering what might be proper for me to deliver upon this occasion.

And first, I cannot say from the bottom of my heart that I am truly sorry for the offence I have given to God and the world; but I am very much so for the bad success of my villainies, in bringing me to this untimely end; for it is plainly evident, that after having some time ago obtained a pardon from the Crown, I again took up my old trade. My evil habits were so rooted in me, and I was grown unfit for any other kind of employment; and therefore, although in compliance with my friends I resolved to go to the gallows after the usual manner, kneeling with a book in my hand and my eyes lift up, yet I shall feel no more devotion in my heart than I observed in some of my comrades, who have been drunk among common whores the very night before their execution. I can say further from my own knowledge, that two of my own fraternity, after they had been [hanged](#) and wonderfully came to life, and made their escapes, as it sometimes happens, proved afterwards the wickedest rogues I ever knew, and so continued until they were hanged again for good and all; and yet they had the impudence at both times they went up to the gallows to smite their breasts and lift up their eyes to Heaven all the way.

Secondly, from the knowledge I have of my own wicked

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dispositon, and that of my comrades, I give it as my opinion that nothing can be more unfortunate to the public than the mercy of Government in even pardoning and transporting us, unless we betray one another, as we never fail to do if we are sure to be well paid, and then a pardon may do good. By the same rule, it is better to have but one fox in a farm than three or four, but we generally make a shift to return after being transported, and are ten times greater rogues than before, and much more cunning. Besides, I know it by experience, that some hopes we have of finding mercy when we are tried, or after we are condemned, is always a great encouragement to us.

Thirdly, nothing is more dangerous to idle young fellows than the company of those odious common whores we frequent, and of which this town is full. These wretches put us upon all mischief to feed their lust and extravagance. They are ten times more bloody and cruel than men. Their advice is always not to spare us if we are pursued, they get drunk with us, and are common to us all, and yet if they can get anything by it, are sore to be our betrayers.

Now, as I am a dying man, something I have done which may be of good use to the public, I have left with an honest man and indeed the only honest man I ever was acquainted with – the names of all my wicked brethren, the present places of abode, with a short account of the chief crimes they have committed in many of which I have been their accomplice, and heard the rest from their own mouths. I have likewise set down the names of those we call our setters, of the wicked houses we frequent, and of those who receive and buy our stolen goods. I have solemnly charged this honest man, and have received his promise upon oath, that whenever he hears of any to be tried for robbing or housebreaking, he will look into his list, and he if finds the name there of the thief concerned, to send the whole paper to the Government. Of this I here give my companions fair and public warning, and I hope they will take it.

In the paper above-mentioned, which I left with my friend, I have also set down the names of the several gentlemen whom we have robbed in Dublin streets for three years past. I have told the circumstances of those robberies, and shown plainly that nothing but the want of common courage was the cause of their misfortunes. I have therefore desired my friends that whenever any gentleman happens to be robbed in the streets, he will get the relation printed and published with the first letters of those gentlemen's names, who by their want of bravery are likely to be the cause of all the mischief of that kind, which may happen for the future. I cannot leave the world without a short description of that kind of life which I have led for some years past and is exactly the same with the rest of our wicked brethren.

Although we are generally so corrupted from our childhood as to have no sense of goodness, yet something heavy always hangs about us. I know not what it is, that



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we are never easy until we are half drunk among our whores and companions, nor sleep sound, unless we drink longer than we can stand. If we go abroad in the day, a wise man would easily find us to be rogues by our faces, we have such suspicious, fearful and constrained countenances, often turning back and sneaking through narrow lanes and alleys. I have never failed of knowing a brother thief by his looks, though I never saw him before. Every man amongst us keeps his particular whore, who is however common to us all when we have a mind to change. When we have got a booty, if it be money, we divide it equally among our companions, and soon squander it on our vices in those houses that receive us, for the master and mistress and very tapster go snacks, and besides make us pay treble reckonings. If our plunder be plate, watches, rings, snuff-boxes and the like, we have customers in all quarters of the town to take them off. I have seen a tankard sold, worth fifteen pounds to a fellow in — Street, for twenty shillings, and a gold watch for thirty. I have set down his name, and that of several others in the paper already mentioned. We have setters watching in corners, and by dead walls, to give us notice when a gentleman goes by, especially if he be anything in drink. I believe in my conscience, that if an account were made of a thousand pounds in stolen goods, considering the low rates we sell them at, the bribes we must give for concealment, the extortions of alehouse reckonings, and other necessary charges there would not remain fifty pounds clear to be divided among the robbers, and out of this we must find clothes for whores, besides treating them from morning until night, who in requital award us with nothing but treachery and the pox, for when our money is gone, they are every moment threatening to inform against us, if we will not get out to look for more. If anything in this world be like Hell, as I have heard it described by our clergy, the truest picture of it must be in the back room of one of our alehouses at midnight, where a crew of robbers and their whores are met together after a booty, and are beginning to grow drunk, from that time until they are past their senses, in such a continued horrible noise of cursing, blasphemy, lewdness, scurrility, and brutish behaviour, such roaring and confusion, such a clatter of mugs and pots at each other's heads, that Bedlam in comparison is a sober and orderly place. At last they all tumble from their stools and benches, and sleep away the rest of the night, and generally the landlord or his wife, or some other whore, who has a stronger head than the rest, picks their pockets before they awake. The misfortune is, that we can never be easy until we are drunk, and our drunkenness constantly exposes us to be more easily betrayed and taken. This is a short picture of the life I have led, which is more miserable than that of the poorest labourer who works for fourpence a day; and yet custom is so strong that I am confident, if I could make escape at the foot of the gallows, I should be following the same course



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this very evening. Upon the whole, we ought to be looked upon as the common enemies of mankind, whose interest it is to root us out like worms, and other mischievous vermin, against which no fair play is required. If I have done service to men in what I have said, I shall hope to have done service to God, and that will be better than a silly speech made by me full of whining and canting, which I utterly despise, and have never been used to yet such a one I expect to have my ears tormented with as I am passing along the streets. Good people, fare ye well; bad as I am, I leave many worse behind me, and I hope you shall see me die like a man, though a death contrary.
E.E.

January: On [St. Helena](#), despite all their wood collection for the distillation of [arrack](#), and for the fueling of their huge limekiln to enable new construction, there was a petition for the destruction of goats over a 10-year period. They really expected that this alone would be enough to re-establish the island's long-lost expanses of woodland. Their wishful fantasies would continue.

The Quaker Peace Testimony was not extended in Pennsylvania to the nonprosecution of criminals. Thus, when [Friend](#) David Lloyd (1656-1731), an adherent of the testimony, needed to deal with the situation of a burglar who had been sentenced to [hang](#), he was able to write that this man "justly deserves to die ... it may be of ill consequence to spare him."²⁷³

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

February 17: Robert Drummond was [hanged](#) as a highwayman, Ferdinando Shrimpton was hanged as a highwayman and a murderer, and William Newcomb was hanged for housebreaking on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²⁷⁴

Robert Drummond was the brother of James Drummond, whom we have before mentioned. He had formerly dealt in hardwares, and thereby lived with some reputation in the town of Sunderland, nobody ever dreaming that he went upon the highway for money. But it was not long that he continued even to put this mask upon his villainy, but on the contrary gave way to his wild and debauched temper, and committed a thousand extravagancies, which soon created suspicions, and occasioned his being apprehended on suspicion of a robbery. This clearly being made out at the ensuing assizes, he was thereupon convicted, pardoned, and transported. But he soon found a way to return into England, and grew one of the most daring and mischievous robbers that ever infested the road.

The multitude of his robberies made his person so well known that it is wonderful he should so long escape, especially considering the roughness and cruelty of his temper, he never using anybody well, firing upon any who attempted to ride away from him, and beating and abusing those who submitted to him. He drew in, as has been said before, his brother James, and deserting him when pursued and in danger, he was the occasion of his death. It was also suspected that Shrimpton and he were

273. It must be noted that the [Quaker](#) case for nonviolence in Pennsylvania was considerably weakened by this support for [capital punishment](#).

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the persons who committed those robberies for which Knowland and Westwood were executed. However it were, he continued for a considerable space after the two Shrimptons and he robbed together, committing sometimes nine or ten robberies in one night, until they were all three apprehended, and William Shrimpton became an evidence against them.

Ferdinando Shrimpton, the other malefactor, was a person well educated, though his father was one of the greatest highwaymen in England. He [the father] lived at Bristol, and behaved in outward appearance so well that he was never suspected, but unluckily one evening some constables coming into an inn hastily to apprehend another person, his guilty heart making him afraid that they were come in search of nobody but himself, he thereupon immediately drew a pistol and shot one of them dead, for which murder being convicted, he readily confessed his former offences, and after his execution for the aforesaid crime, was hung in chains.

As for this unhappy man, his son, he had been bred to no trade, but after his father's death served as a foot-soldier in the Guards and eked out his pay by taking the same steps which his father had done before him. Never any fellow was of a bolder and of a more audacious spirit than he, and after he had once associated himself with Drummond, they quickly forced William Shrimpton, who was Ferdinando's cousin, to commit one or two facts with him, and afterwards he would never suffer him to be quiet.

On Hounslow Heath, it seems, Shrimpton robbed a man of a horse, a silver watch and some money. The man applied himself to Shrimpton when he was apprehended, begging that he would find a way to help him to his horse again. Shrimpton promised he would, and for a guinea was as good as his word, though the gelding was worth fifteen pounds; but for his watch, nothing either was, or as they pretended could be, told about it. But that was only for fear of disobliging the pawnbroker where they had sent it, for Shrimpton afterwards, upon the owner's thirty-four shillings by his wife, had it again, though Ferdinando was very much disobliged that he received but half a crown for his trouble.

Drummond, he and his cousin being seized, William turned evidence against them, and at the ensuing sessions at the Old Bailey, Shrimpton being indicted for the murder of Simon Prebent, Mr. Tyson's coachman, and Robert Drummond for aiding and abetting, and assisting him, they were both upon full evidence convicted, as they were also convicted for a robbery on the highway, on Mr. Tyson, after the death of the coachman. They were a third time indicted together for assaulting Robert Furnel on the highway, taking from him a watch of great value, a guinea and a half, some silver and a whip, together with some other things of value. They were also indicted afresh for assaulting Jonathan Cockhoofs on the highway, taking from him a bay gelding, value nine pounds, several roasting pigs and pieces of pork, etc.; of all which they were found guilty, the fact being as clear and as strong against them as possible.

Under sentence of death, they behaved themselves with great obstinacy and resolution, refused to give any account of their crimes, but in general would say that they were great and notorious offenders. As to the fact committed by Knowland and Westwood, they would not positively say it was done by them, though they could not deny it. Only when pressed upon it,

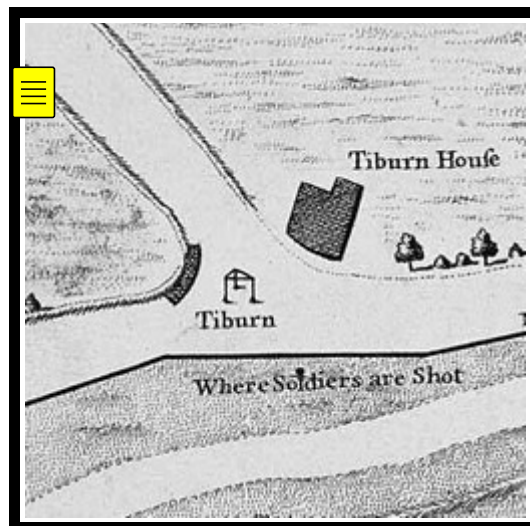
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Drummond would say in a passion, *What, would you have us take upon us all the robberies that were committed in the country?* This was all that could be got from him, even when he was at the point to die and the wife of Knowland earnestly begged that he would tell the truth, as he was now entering into another world, and the owning or not owning of those facts could no ways prejudice them.

As to the barbarous murder committed upon Mr. Tyson's coachman, it did not seem to make the least impression upon their spirits. Shrimpton, by whose hands the man was killed, never appeared one whit more uneasy when the sermon on murder was peculiarly preached on his account, but on the contrary talked and jested with his companions as he was wont to do. In a word more hardened, obstinate and impenitent wretches were never seen; for as they were wanting in all principles of religion, so they were void even of humanity and good nature. They valued blood no more than they did water, but were ready to shed the first with as little concern as they spilt the latter. Inured in wickedness and rapine, old in years and covered in offences, they yielded their last breaths at Tyburn, with very little sign of contrition or repentance, on the 17th of February, 1730, Drummond being about fifty, and Shrimpton about thirty years of age.



Though the many instances we have, of late years, had of amazing wickednesses committed by lads one would scarce believe were capable of executing, much less of contriving schemes so full of guining and of guilt, ought in a great measure to prevent our being surprised at anything of the same kind, let it be committed by ever such a stripling, yet I confess it was not without wonder



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that I perused the papers relating to this unfortunate young man—so strong an instance of a great capacity for mischief at the same time that he never once evidenced either care or ability in succeeding in an honest way. On the contrary, he was assiduous only to attain as much money as might put him on the road of debauchery, and then stupidly gave himself up to squandering it in the gratification of his lusts, until indigence brought to rack his inventions again, and his second attempt proving abortive, brought him to the gallows.

He was born of honest parents, who took care enough in his education to qualify him for the business of a shoemaker, for which they designed him, and to which they put him apprentice. He had not served above three years of his time, before he robbed his master of a very considerable sum of money. The man having a respect for his family, put him away without prosecuting him. His father took him home, but, however, reproaching him very often for the villainous facts he had committed, he went away from him and lay about the town, intending to take the first opportunity that offered of stealing a good booty, and march off into the country.

At last, after consulting with himself for some time, he fixed upon a banker's shop in Lombard Street, within two doors of the church of St. Edmund the King, thinking with himself that if once he could get into that shop, he should make himself at a blow. In order to it he got into the church overnight and stayed there until morning, when, just as it began to grow light, he steered downstairs into the shop, having got over the top of Mr. Jenkin's house, and watching his opportunity, laid hold of a single bag and slipped out of doors with it. The booty was indeed a large one, for it happened that what he took was all gold, which was upwards of eight hundred guineas. This put it in his power to show himself in that state of life which he most admired, for sending for a tailor he had two or three suits of fine clothes made, bought a couple of geldings, hired a footman in livery to attend him, and thus equipped set out for the horse races at Newmarket.

Women and gaming very soon reduced the bulk of his gold and in six or seven months, finding his pockets very low, he returned to London to replenish himself. The good success he before had in robbing a banker, and his knowing nobody was so likely to furnish him with ready money, put him upon making the like attempt at Mr. Hoare's, into whose house he got and endeavoured to conceal himself as conveniently as he could for that purpose. But being detected and apprehended on the roof of the house, whither he had fled to avoid pursuit, he was committed to Newgate, and at the next sessions at the Old Bailey, was tried for burglary, and convicted.

Under sentence of death he behaved with great mildness and civility. He confessed his having been as great a sinner as his years would give him leave, addicted to whoring, drunkenness, gaming and having quite obliterated all the religious principles which his former education had instilled into him. However, he endeavoured to retrieve as much as possible the knowledge of his duty, and to fulfil it by praying to Almighty God for the forgiveness of his many offences; and in this disposition of mind he departed this life, on the 17th of February, 1730, being about nineteen years of age.



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February 20: An earthquake table lists the two quakes on this day as “1730FEB20 0100 X 42.80 70.60 5 MA CAPE ANN” and “1730FEB20 0500 X 42.80 70.60 5 MA CAPE ANN.” Cape Ann is in fact hit more often than any other area in New England.

John Everett was [hanged](#) as a highwayman on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²⁷⁵

This unfortunate man, who, in the course of his life, made some noise in the world, was the son of honest and reputable parents at Hitchen, in Hertfordshire. They gave their son all the education necessary to qualify him for such business as he thought proper to put him to, which was that of a salesman; but before his time was expired he went over to Flanders, and served in the late War there, in several sieges and battles; where he behaved so well as to be preferred to the post of a serjeant in the Honourable General How's regiment of foot. But returning to England upon the peace, and being quartered at Worcester he there purchased his discharge.

Coming up to London he betook himself, for bread, to the office of a bailiff in Whitechapel Court, in which station he continued for about seven years until he fell into misfortunes, chiefly through the means of one C—th. To shelter himself from a gaol, which threatened him at that time, he was forced to go into the Foot Guards, where he served in the company commanded by the right Honourable the Earl of Albemarle; but unluckily for him, having commenced an acquaintance with Richard Bird at the aforesaid Mr. C—th's, Bird told him he perceived they were much in a case, that is, they both wanted money, and that therefore looking upon him (Everett) to be a man who could be trusted, he would propose to him an easy method for supply. This method was neither better nor worse than robbing on the highway.

To this proposition Everett readily agreeing, they immediately joined, provided proper utensils for their co-partnership, and soon after practised their trade with great success in the counties of Middlesex, Essex, Surrey and Kent, particularly robbing the Dartford coach, from the passengers of which they took a portmanteau, wherein was contained jewels, money and valuable goods to a very great amount. But spending as fast as they got it, they were never the better for the multitude of facts they committed, but were in a continual necessity of hazarding body and soul for a very precarious subsistence.

A short time after, they robbed the Woodford stage-coach and found in it only one passenger worth plundering. From him they took a gold watch and some silver, but the gentleman expressing a great concern at the loss of his watch, they told him if he would promise faithfully to send such a sum of money to such a place, they would let him have it again. On Hounslow Heath they attacked two officers of the army, who were well mounted and guarded with servants armed with blunderbusses. They took their gold watches and money from them, though the officers endeavoured to resist, but they forced them to submit to the well-known doctrine of passive obedience before they acquitted them. The watches (pursuant to a treaty they made with them on the spot) were afterwards left at Young Man's Coffee House, Charing Cross, where the owners had them again on payment of twenty guineas, as stipulated in the said treaty between the

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parties.

Another robbery they committed was on Squire Amlo (of Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane), in Epsom Lane, turning up to Epsom. When he was attacked he drew a sword and made several passes at them as he sat in an open chaise; but notwithstanding his resolution in opposing them, they by force took two guineas, a silver watch, and his silver-hilted sword, and some parchment writings of a considerable value. On his submission and request for his writings, they accordingly delivered them up, let him pass and helped him to his watch again, being in the hands of Mr. Corket, a pawnbroker in Houndsditch. They also took opportunities to rob all the butchers and higlers from Epping Forest to Woodford, particularly one old woman, who wore a high crowned hat of her mother's as she said, which hat they took and searched, and out of the lining of it found three pounds and delivered her the hat again. On Acton Common they also met two chariots with gentlemen and ladies in them and robbed them in money, watches and other things to the value of forty pounds. My readers, from these instances, must have a tolerable notion of Everett's humour, it may prove entertaining, therefore, to give them a specimen of his own manner of relating his adventures, and therefore I insert the following ones in his own words.

Soon after our last achievement, my old comrade Dick Bird, and I, stopped a coach in the evening on Hounslow Heath, in which (amongst other passengers) were two precise, but courageous Quakers, who had the assurance to call us Sons of Violence; and refusing to comply with our reasonable demands jumped out of the coach to give us battle. Whereupon we began a sharp engagement, and showed them the arm of flesh was too strong for the Spirit, which seemed to move very powerful within them. After a short contest (though we never offered to fire, for I ever abhorred barbarity, or the more heinous sin of murder) through the cowardly persuasions of their fellow-travellers they submitted, though sore against their inclinations. As they were stout fellows and men every inch of them, we scorned to abuse them, and contented ourselves with rifling them of the little Mammon of unrighteousness which they had about them, which amounted to about thirty or forty shillings and their watches. The rest in the coach, whose hearts were sunk into their breeches, Dick fleeced without the least resistance.

There was one circumstance of this affair which created a little diversion, and therefore with my readers leave, I will relate it. The Precisions for the most part, though they are plain in their dress, wear the best of commodities, and though a smart toupee²⁷⁶ is an abomination, yet a bob-wig, or a natural of six or seven guineas' price, is a modest covering allowed by the saints. One of the prigs was well furnished in this particular, and flattering myself it would become me, I resolved to make it lawful plunder. Without any further ceremony, therefore, than alleging exchange was no robbery, I napped his poll, and dressed him immediately

276. This was a small wig covering only the top of the head; a bob-wig was short and tied at the back with a large bow; a natural was a large, full wig, in which the hair was made to look like natural locks.



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in masquerade with an old tie-wig, which I had the day before purchased of an antiquated Chelsea pensioner for half-a-crown. The other company, though in doleful dumps for the loss of the coriander seed, could not forbear grinning at the merry metamorphosis, for our Quaker now looked more like a devil than saint. As companions in distress ever alleviate its weight, they invited him with a general laugh into their leathern convenience again, wished us a goodnight, and hoped they should have no farther molestation on the road. We gave then the watch-word, and assured them they should not, then tipped the honest coachman a shilling to drink our healths, and brushed off the ground.

About a week or ten days later, my brother Dick and I projected a new scheme more nimble than the former, to take a purse without the charge of horse hire. Millington Common was determined to be the scene of action. We sauntered for some time upon the green and suffered several to pass by without the least molestation, but at last we espied two gentlemen well-mounted coming towards us, who we imagined might be able to replenish our empty purses, so we prepared for an attack. After the usual salutation, I stopped the foremost and demanded his cash, his watch and other appurtenances thereunto belonging, and assured him I was a brother of an honourable but numerous family; that to work I had no inclination and to beg I was ashamed, and that I had at present no other way for a livelihood, if such a demand at first view ought appear a little immodest or unreasonable, I hoped he would excuse it, as necessity and not choice was the fatal inducement. My brother Dick was as rhetorical in his apologies with the hindermost, whom he dismounted. We used them with more good manners and humanity than the common pads, who act for the most part rather like Turks and Jews than Christians, in such enterprises, to the eternal scandal of the profession. We contented ourselves with what silver and little gold they had about them, which to about three or four pounds, and their gold watches, one of which, as well I remember, was of Tompion's make, and which I afterwards pawned for five guineas to a fellow that the week after broke, and ran away with it, so that I had not the opportunity of restoring it again to the proper owner, for which I heartily beg his pardon. As we must own the gentlemen behaved well and came unto our measures without the least resistance, so they must do us the justice to acknowledge that we treated them as such and neither disrobed nor abused them. We thought it, however, common prudence to cut the girths of their horses' saddles, and secure their bridles for fear of a pursuit.

Thus flushed again with success, we made the best of our way to Brentford, and there took the ferry; but Fortune, though she is fair, yet she is a fickle mistress, her smiles are often false and very precarious. Before we had got ashore, we heard the persons had got scent of us, and our triumph had like to have ended in captivity. When we were three parts over, and out of danger of



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drowning, we told the ferrymen our distress, gave them ten shillings, and obliged them to throw their oars into the Thames. The agreeable reward and the fears of being thrown in themselves in case of a denial, made them readily consent. In we plunged after them, and soon made the shore. Though we looked like Hob just drawn out of the well, those that saw us only imagined it was a drunken frolic. Our expeditious flight soon dried our clothes, and without catching the least cold, we both arrived safe that night at London.

We congratulated each other, you may imagine on our happy and narrow escape, and solaced ourselves after the fatigue of the day, with a mistress and a bottle.

I have copied these pages from Mr. Everett's book that my readers might have a clear and just idea of those notions which these unhappy men entertain of the life they lead, and hope they may be of some use in giving such youths as are too apt to be taken with their low kind of jests, a just abhorrence of committing villainy, merely to divert the mob, and make themselves the sole topic of discourse in alehouses and cellars.

But to return to Everett. He was taken up on suspicion and committed to New Prison, where he continued three years, behaving himself so well in the prison that the justices ordered him his liberty, and he was thereupon made turnkey of that place. In this post he continued to act so honestly that he got a tolerable reputation, taking the Red Lion alehouse, in Turnmill Street, Cow Cross, in order to live the better; resigning his place as turnkey as soon as he was settled in it.

He who succeeded him was a footman to the Duchess of Newcastle's and not being very well acquainted with the nature of his new office, he was very industrious to prevail with Everett to return to his former condition, and accept the key from him. Promises and entreaties were not long made in vain. Everett was sensible there was money to be got,²⁷⁷ and therefore, upon the fair promises of the new keeper, became turnkey again. But when he had shown his master the art of governing such a territory as his was; when he had instructed him in the secrets of raising money, and shown him the methods of managing the several sorts of prisoners that were committed to its care, his superior quickly gave him to understand that he had now done all he wanted, and the next kind office would be to quit this place; for it is with those sort of people as with some in a higher station, though they at first caress men who are better acquainted with affairs than themselves, in order to improve their own knowledge, yet no sooner do they think themselves qualified to go on without their assistance, but they grow uneasy at such services, and are never quiet until they are rid of men whose abilities are their greatest faults.

A little after Everett was turned out to make room for the keeper's brother, he had the additional misfortune to keep an account with a person who too hastily demanded his money, and John, not being able to pay it, therefore upon arrested him, and threw him into gaol. He quickly turned himself over to the Fleet, where he first took the rules, and then got into the Thistle and Crown Alehouse, in the Old Bailey. There he lived for a while and afterwards took the Cock in the same place, where he lived for three years with an indifferent reputation, until he was

277. The scandalous system of bleeding prisoners for every little necessity and comfort made gaoloring a very profitable trade.



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prevailed on to take the Fleet Cellar²⁷⁸, and became very busy in the execution of the then Warden's project, until the committee of the House of Commons thought fit to commit both of them to Newgate.

This effectually undid him, for while he was a prisoner there, the brewer made a seizure of his whole stock of beer, to the value of three hundred pounds, and this it was, as he himself said, which posted him out upon the highway again. Whether we may depend upon those protestations he had made that he should never otherwise have gone upon the road again, but have lived and died free, at least from that sort of wickedness which indeed he had reason to dislike, since he had saved his life by impeaching Bird his companion, who was **hanged** at Chelmsford at the assizes held there for the County of Essex. When he had once taken this resolution in his head, it was not long before he equipped himself with necessaries for his employment.

The first robbery he committed was upon a lady in a chariot, and the lady desiring that he would put up his pistol for fear of frightening a child of six years old in the coach with her, he did so, and took from her a guinea and some silver, without touching her gold watch, or any other valuable things that she had about her. He had scarce committed the robbery, before the lady's husband and another gentleman and his company came up, and the accident being related to them, they immediately pursued him as hard as their horses could gallop; and came so close up with him, that he was hardly got into the Globe Tavern, in Hatton Garden, and sent away his horse, before they passed by the door. As soon as he thought they were out of sight, he slipped away with all the precaution he was able, and got into a little blind alehouse in Holborn, where he had scarce lit a pipe, and called for a tankard of drink, before he perceived both the gentlemen looking very earnestly about, though he now looked upon himself as out of all danger.

It was a very short time after, that he committed the last fact, which was the robbing of Mrs. Manley²⁷⁹, and a lady, who was in a chariot with her, a black boy being behind in the coach. He got safe enough off and into town, after this robbery; but how it was I cannot tell, his neighbours suspected him, and talked of him as a highwayman, and reported very confidently that he was taken up, as it seems he was, but was discharged again for want of evidence. He was speedily seized again, and being committed to Newgate, was brought to his trial at the Old Bailey for the said fact.

Mrs. Ellis deposed that the prisoner was the person who robbed the coach, and that she observed him follow it when they came out of town. Mrs. Manley deposed also to his being the person who robbed them, and William Coffee, a negro boy, who was behind the coach, swore positively to his face. Several men who were present at his being apprehended, swore that he had a pistol, dagger, six bullets, a flint and powder horn about him, under a red rug coat.

His defence was very trivial, and the jury upon a short consultation, found him guilty. Under sentence of death, he behaved very indifferently, sometimes appearing tolerably cool, at others in a grievous passion, especially at the keepers, if they refused him such liberties as he thought fit to ask. When

278. That is, managed the sale of liquor in the Fleet.

279. Author of THE NEW ATLANTIS and sundry political pamphlets and libels, plays and novels.



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he was first condemned, he flattered himself with hopes of life, if it were possible for him to prevail on the ladies whom he had robbed to petition in his favour; in order to induce them to which, he wrote the following letter, though to no purpose, for the death warrant came down suddenly and he was included with the before-mentioned prisoners.

THE LETTER

Madam,

I crave leave, with all humility and respect, to address you and Madam Ellis, and with the utmost submission and concern, do humbly beg your pardons for the fears and surprise my misfortunes reduced me to put you and the children into, whose cries moved so much compassion in me that I had not power to pursue with any rigour my desperate designs, which your ladyship must have perceived by the consternation I was struck into on a sudden. My sole intention was, if I could have got £50 to settle myself in a public house, and to take up an honest course of life, and do own at best it is a very heinous crime. Yet, madam, you will recollect after what manner I treated you, and at the same time consider the methods taken by others on the like occasion. This necessity I was drove to, by adhering to a certain master I lately served, and to obey his wicked and pernicious commands, in following his wicked and pernicious counsels, brought me to poverty, and consequently to this unhappy state I now labour under, and was become almost as much as himself, the scorn and hatred of mankind. I say, madam, if you will be so good as to consider all these unhappy circumstances, and that necessity admits of no contradiction, they will, I am persuaded, inspire compassion in generous souls (a character you both deservedly bear); and as a fellow-creature, I beg mercy at your ladyship's hands, by signing a petition to the Recorder for me, to the end, he may be induced to make a favourable report, and thereby move his most sacred Majesty to clemency, by the sentence to some other corporal punishment, and shall dedicate the rest of my days in praying for both your happiness and prosperity in this world, and eternal felicity and bliss in that to come, and crave leave, with due deference, madam, to subscribe myself,
Your ladyship's most devoted, Afflicted humble servant,
John Everett

The Ordinary of Newgate, in the account he has given of this prisoner, has drawn as bad a character as he is able, and in order to it, has gathered together all the ill-terms he could think of, even though some of them are contrary to one another. The truth is, that the fellow in himself had abundance of ill-qualities, with some good ones, and especially good nature of which he had a very large share. Lewd women were what brought him to his ruin, for to their company he continually addicted himself, and with his low intrigues amongst them is the book I have mentioned stuffed from one end to the other. As to religion, it is certain he had very little of it before he was confined, so it is not very likely that he should make any great proficiency while he remained there. He was careless,



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indeed, under his misfortunes, but did not give himself up to any loose or profane expressions, but on the contrary attended at Chapel with decency at least, if not with devotion.

Some attempts were made to save his life, by engaging him to make discoveries in an affair of high concern, but all was ineffectual, and he suffered on the 20th of February, 1729-30, with less apprehension than might have been expected from a man under his unhappy circumstances. The executioner, to put the prisoner sooner out of his pain, jumped upon his shoulders, and thereby broke the rope, but he was soon tied up again, and there remained until the rest were cut down.

At the time of his execution, he was forty-four years of age or thereabouts.

February 28: Henry Knowland and Thomas Westwood, footpads, were [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²⁸⁰

Henry Knowland was the son of a father of the same name who was a butcher. He received tolerably good education at school, and was brought up by his father to his own business; but he was of a lewd disposition, continually running after whores, keeping lewd company, gaming and drinking until he was able neither to stand nor go. He married his first cousin, who had formerly been the wife of Neeves, the evidence. It seems this very Knowland had been put into Whitechapel gaol upon her swearing a robbery against him for taking a gold chain off her neck, but that affair being accommodated, he a little after married her, which was perhaps no small cause of his future ruin.

He was always dishonest in his principles, and ready to lay hold of any money without ever thinking of paying it again. At Smithfield he used to be very dextrous in cheating country graziers of their cattle. The method by which he did it was generally thus. Taking advantage of a countryman whom he saw looked unacquainted with things, he struck a bargain as soon as possible, and for any price he pleased, for his goods; then stepping in to drink a mug and receive the money, Knowland had an accomplice already planted, who coming hastily into the room told him with a submissive air that a gentleman at such a place desired to speak with him. Upon this he, arising in a hurry, tells the countryman he would return immediately and pay him his money, while the attendant in the meanwhile drove off with the beast; and so the poor man was left without hopes of seeing either the money or bullock and perhaps ruined into the bargain for being obliged to pay his master for the beast that was lost. Thomas Westwood, the second of these offenders, was a man descended of very mean parents, who either had it not in their power, or were so careless as to afford him little or no education. He himself, also, was a stupid, obstinate fellow, who never took any pains to attain the least degree of knowledge, but contented himself with living like a beast, in a continual round of eating and drinking and sleeping. By trade he was a sawyer, and when he wanted business in his trade, which, as the Ordinary tells us, he often did bring a poor purblind creature, he either sold sawdust about town, or else practised as a bailiffs follower, a profession which led him into yet greater

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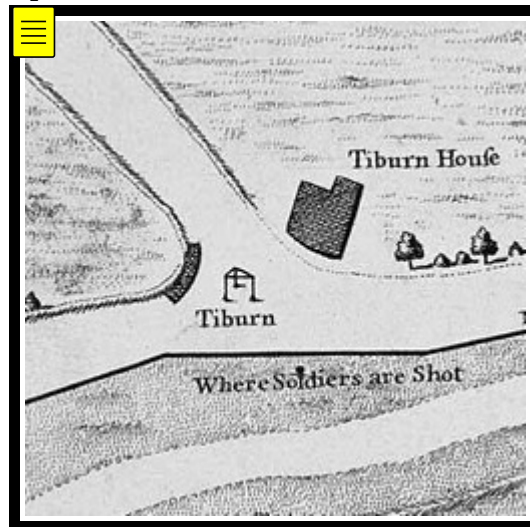
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debaucheries and extravagancies than otherwise possible he might have ever fallen into.

Knowland and he were apprehended on suspicion for being robbers, and were tried at the Old Bailey on four indictments, all said to have been committed on the same day, viz., on the 23rd of November, 1729. The first was for assaulting John Molton in an open field, putting him in fear, and taking from him four shillings; the second was for assaulting Mary Butler and taking from her sixpence in money; the third was for assaulting Nicholas Butler, and taking from him half a guinea and one shilling; the fourth was for assaulting Anne Nailor, and taking from her three and sixpence in money.

The prosecutors on all these indictments swore positively to the prisoners' faces. Mr. Butler was desperately wounded (the Ordinary says he was mortally wounded) but through God's grace recovered. In their defence they called a great number of people to prove them in other places at the time those robberies were committed, which they positively swore, but the jury giving credit to the prosecutors' evidence, they were both found guilty. However, they absolutely denied the crimes to the last suffering at Tyburn with great marks of sorrow and loud exclamations to God to have mercy on their souls, the 28th of February, 1730. Knowland being twenty-four years of age, and Westwood twenty-seven, at the time of their deaths.



After March 1: Hugh Houghton, *alias* Awton, *alias* Norton, who had robbed the Bristol Mail, [hanged](#) himself by his belt and handkerchief from the window bars of his prison cell.²⁸¹

This unfortunate person was the son of honest and reputable people of Lancaster, who took care to give him a very good education, sufficient to have fitted him for any trade whatever. Afterwards they bound him out apprentice to a wine-cooper, to whom he served out his time very carefully and honestly, and appeared in his temper and disposition to be a civil, good-natured young man. For some time after his coming out of his time, he followed his trade of a wine-cooper, but being pressed on board a man-of-war, during the French War in the late Queen's

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time, he behaved himself so well on board that he acquired the goodwill of all his officers, attained to the degree of a midshipman, and was afterwards gunner's mate, receiving also a title to five pound *per annum*, out of the Pension Chest at Chatham.

After this he came to London, married a wife and was a housekeeper in town; and for his better support got himself into the Horse Guards, where he served with reputation, until some small time before his death, when some clothes of value being taken away, and he being strongly suspected on that score was dismissed the service, whereby he fell into great difficulties for want of money.

It seems that for many months before his death he had frequented the house of one Mr. Marlow, and was indebted to him for a considerable sum of money, but one day he came and discharged it, having for that purpose changed a twenty pound bank-note at a brewer's not far distant. But the Bristol mail happening about that time to be robbed, and the bank-note, after various circulations, being discovered to be one of those taken out of it, Houghton was thereupon seized and committed, being at the next sessions brought to his trial at the Old Bailey for the fact, when the course of the evidence appeared against him as follows. He was arraigned on an indictment for dealing from Stephen Crouches, on the King's highway, after putting him in fear, a sorrel gelding value five pounds, the property of Thomas Ostwich, a mail value four pounds, and fifty leather bags, value five pounds, the property of our Sovereign Lord the King, on the first of March, 1730.

Stephen Crouches deposed that on the day laid in the indictment, he was going with the Bristol and Gloucester mail, being near Knightsbridge, a man of the prisoner's size, who spoke like him, came out of the gateway and bid him stand; that he laid the horse to the farther side of a field, commanded him to show him the Bristol bag, which he took and went off with the horse, leaving this evidence bound with his hands behind him, threatening to murder him in case he made the least noise.

Daniel Burton deposed that the prisoner Houghton had more than once proposed to him the robbing of the Bristol mail, and upon his refusing to be concerned in it, would then have had him rob their landlady, Mrs. Marlow, which when her husband came to know, he turned him out of doors.

The next witness that was called was Mr. Marlow, who deposed that on the 2nd of March, the prisoner Houghton paid him five pounds which was owing to him, having changed for that purpose a bank-note of twenty pounds at Mr. Broadhead's the brewer. Then the note itself was produced, which had been paid by Mr. Broadhead to Mr. King, a factor, and by him to Mr. Dictorine's man, in Thames Street, and by him again to the servant of Messrs. Knight and Jackson, by whom it was brought into Court, an endorsement being upon it not to be paid till the fifth of May. But Mr. Marlow being asked as to his being acquainted by Burton with the prisoner's attempts to persuade him to robbing the Bristol mail, and afterwards robbing his house, Mr. Marlow answered that he did not remember he had ever been told such a thing, but that he did indeed know the prisoner together with one Masa, was for scandalous practices turned out of the Guards. William Burligh deposed that he took out of the prisoner's pocket a pocket-book in which was several notes, which pocket-



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book the prisoner said he took up in Covent Garden. Mr. Langley, the Turnkey of Newgate, deposed that after he was committed to his custody, he searched his pocket and found therein three bank-notes of Mr. Hoare, which he gave to Mr. Archer. Mr. Archer deposed that he did receive such notes, which were so taken as had been before sworn by Mr. Langley.

There were some other persons produced who swore to some slips of leather which were found in Houghton's lodgings, and which were believed to be cut out of the bag which were taken from the Bristol Mail. The prisoner in his defence said he believed there was a trap laid for him and exclaimed against Burton. Two women positively deposed that Houghton all that night was not out of his lodgings. But the jury notwithstanding that, gave so much credit to the evidence offered for the King, that they found him guilty.

Under sentence of death, he said that he had hitherto lived free from most of those enormous vices into which criminals are usually plunged, who came to his unhappy fate. He said that through the course of his life he had always been a good husband, a loving parent, and had provided carefully for his family; that he had served the Government twelve years by land, and twelve years by sea, and in all that time never had any reflection upon him until the unhappy accident in the Guards, which he said he was not guilty of, and had been since confessed by another man. As to the fact for which he was to die, he said that the same day the mail was robbed (which was on a Sunday morning) at six or seven o'clock he found a bundle of papers which he took up, and perceived them to be a parcel taken out of the Bristol mail, and therefore having perused them carefully, and taken out of them such as he judged proper, he being at that time out of business and in great want, put up the rest of them in a sheet of paper, directed to the Post Master General, and laid them down in the box-house at Lincoln's Inn Fields, being afraid to go with them to the office, because a great reward was offered for the robber. And that he, having changed a twenty-pound bank-note, paid five pounds of it away to his landlord, Mr. Marlow. He reflected also very severely on the evidence given against him by Mr. Burton, which he said was the very reverse of the truth. Burton having often solicited him to go upon the highway as the shortest method of easing his misfortunes and bringing them both money.

As he persisted in averring the confession he made to be the truth, it was objected to him that it was a story, the most improbable in the world, that when a man had hazarded his life to rob the Bristol mail, he should then throw away all the booty, and leave it in such a place as Covent Garden, for any stranger to take up as he came by; yet neither this nor anything else that could be said to him had so much weight as to move him to a free confession of his guilt, but on the contrary, he gave greater and more evident signs of a sullen, morose and reserved disposition, spoke little, desired not to be interrupted, made general confessions of his sins, pleased himself with high conceits of the Divine Mercy, and endeavoured as much as possible to avoid conferences with anybody, and especially declined speaking of that offence for which he was to die.

When he first came to Newgate, the keepers had, it seems, a strong apprehension that he would attempt something against his own life, and upon this suspicion they were very careful of him,



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and enjoined a barber who shaved him in prison to be so, lest he should take that occasion to cut his throat. Yet nothing of this happened until the day of his execution, when the keepers coming to him in the morning, found him praying very devoutly in his cell; but about twenty minutes after, going thither again, they perceived he had fastened his sword belt which he wore always about him to the grate of the window which looked out of his cell, to the end of which he tied his handkerchief, and having then adjusted that about his neck, he strangled himself with it, and was dead when the keepers opened the doors to look in.

The Ordinary makes this remark upon his exit, that it is to be feared he was a hypocrite and that little of what he said can be believed. For my part, I am far from taking upon me either to enter into the breasts of men or pretend to set bounds to the mercy of God, and therefore without any further remarks, shall conclude his life with informing my readers that at the time he put an end to his own being, he was about forty-eight years of age, and a man in his person and behaviour very unlikely to have been such a one as it is to be feared (notwithstanding all his denials) he really was.



April 5: Stephen Dowdale was [hanged](#) for theft on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²⁸²

This unfortunate man was the son of parents in good circumstances in the Kingdom of Ireland, who were very careful of giving him the best education they were capable of, both as to letters and as to the principles of the Christian religion. Yet from some hope they had of his succeeding in a military way, they chose rather to let him serve in the army than breed him to any particular trade. It seems he behaved so well in the regiment of dragoons in which he served, that his officers advanced him to the post of sergeant, and just as the Peace was concluded, he had hopes of being made a quartermaster. But the regiment then being broke, his hopes were all dissipated, and he thrown into the world to shift for himself as well as he could.

In Ireland he remained with his friends some years, but finding by degrees that their kindness cooled, and that it would be impossible for him to subsist much longer upon the bounty of his relations, he thereupon resolved to come over at once to England and endeavour to live here by his wits. The gaming tables were the places where he chiefly resorted, but finding that fortune was a mistress not to be depended upon he resolved to take some

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more certain method of living, and for that purpose associated himself with ten or a dozen knights of the road. He continued his practices without the least suspicion for a very considerable time, in all which he appeared one of the greatest beaux at the other end of the town.

But growing uneasy in the midst of that seeming gaiety in which he lived, and being under some apprehensions that one or more of his companions was meditating means of making peace with the government at the expense of his life, he resolved to prevent them; and thereupon surrendered himself of his own accord into the hands of a constable, and gave the best information he was able against all his confederates. But however it was, most of them had previous knowledge of the warrants issued against them, and thereby made their escapes. Others who were apprehended were acquitted by the jury, notwithstanding this evidence against them, so that the public not being likely to reap any benefit by his discovery, some people thought proper to turn his own confession upon himself. Accordingly, at the next Sessions at the Old Bailey, he was indicted for feloniously stealing a gold watch value twenty pounds, out of the house of Thomas Martin, on the 30th of August preceding the indictment. He was also indicted a second time for feloniously stealing a diamond ring out of the shop of John Tribble, on the 25th of August. Both these facts were in the information he had made, and therefore the proof was dear and direct against him, and beyond his power to avoid by any defence.

Under sentence of death he behaved himself with great resignation, seemed to be very penitent for those numerous offences he had committed, though now and then he let fell expressions which showed that he thought himself hardly dealt with by those who had received his confession. However, what with fear and concern, and what with the moistness of the place wherein he was confined, he fell into a grievous distemper, which quickly increased into a high fever, which affected his senses, and shortly after took away his life, just as a very worthy gentleman in the commission for the peace for Middlesex had procured his life, which was thus ended by the course of Nature though in the cells of Newgate, he being then in the forty-fourth year of his age. He died on the 5th of April, 1730.

May 12 (Old Style): Abraham Israel, a Jew, was [hanged](#) for theft on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²⁸³

As it is a very ordinary case for fiction to be imposed on the world for truth, so it sometimes happens that truth hath such extraordinary circumstances attending it, as well nigh bring it to pass for fiction. The adventures of this unhappy man, who was a Hebrew by nation, have something in them strange, and which excite pity; for a man must be wanting in humanity who can look upon a young person endowed with the natural advantage of a good genius, lightened by the acquired accomplishments of learning, fall of a sudden from an honest and reputable behaviour into debauchery, wickedness and rapine, methods that lead to certain destruction, and as it were to drag men to violent and shameful deaths.

This unfortunate person, Abraham Israel, was born of parents of

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the Hebrew nation, of good character and in good circumstances, at Presburg, in the kingdom of Hungary. They were exceedingly desirous of giving their son a good education, and therefore sent him to study in the Jewish College at Prague, in Bohemia, where they allowed him about two hundred pounds Stirling a year. He improved under the tuition of the rabbis there to a great degree, insomuch that he was admired by them as a prodigy of learning. His behaviour in every other way being unblamable, and therefore not spending above half what his father sent him, he distributed the rest among the indigent scholars there, of all nations and religions. As a mark of his early and polite genius, we have thought proper to entertain our readers with a short description of the city of Prague, which he wrote in the German tongue, and which on this occasion we have ventured to translate into English.

Prague is the capital of the Kingdom of Bohemia, which, as if protected by nature, is encompassed round with high mountains. Throughout all Europe there is no soil in general more fertile or better adapted to the plough. The fruits there are excellent and great quantities of fowl are plentiful almost to excess, the cattle are large and excellent. In fine nothing is poor, wretched or miserable there except the people, who are slaves to their lords, and never enjoy even the fruits of their own hard labour. But to return to Prague, it is a city situated on a hill, part of it stretching down the plain, having the river Muldau running through it. The buildings are of so large extent that this city is divided into three, and by some into four cities. The old city lies on the east of the river, is exceedingly populous, and houses in that quarter fair, but old-fashioned. Here is the quarter assigned unto our nation (i.e., the Jews) where we enjoy greater privileges and are treated with more lenity than in any other part of Germany. The heads of our people deal to very great advantage in jewels and precious stones dug out of the Bohemian mines. The lesser town on the other side of the river is more beautiful in its building than the old town, has fine gardens and stately palaces, among which there is the famous one of Count Wallenstein, the magnificence of which, may be the better guessed from our knowing that a hundred houses were pulled down to make room for it. Its hall is thought one of the finest in all Europe, its gardens are wonderfully stately, and the stables which he built here for his horses are almost beyond description, marble pillars parted the standing of each horse from another. The racks were of polished steel, and their mangers of the finest marble, and over the head of each stand was placed the figure of each horse, as large as the life. This famous man who was the greatest captain of his time, after having built this sumptuous palace, re-established the Emperor's power, almost utterly broken by the Swedes, growing at last too powerful for a subject, or as the Germans say, endeavouring to make himself master of the Kingdom of Bohemia, he was, if not by the command, at least by the connivance of the Emperor Ferdinand, privately assassinated in the city of Egra, in the year 1634, by



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certain Irish officers, in whom he reposed the greatest confidence. Since his time Prague has seen no greater powerful persons among her countrymen; on the contrary, the inhabitants now in general are poor, their habits mean, the Hebrew nation being obliged, both men and women, to wear a particular garb. Its streets are dirty, and nothing but the Imperial Palace preserves anything of its ancient grandeur; the same fate hath befallen the other Bohemian cities, and thus in a land of Paradise the people live like slaves.

When at the age of thirteen, the unfortunate Abraham was recalled by his father from college, at his return home, every one was surprised at that prodigious knowledge which he had acquired while at Prague. Those of their nation who resided at Presburg desired Abraham's father that his son might, according to the custom of the Hebrews, read in the synagogue, which accordingly he did with great and deserved applause. His relations, and the rich Jews of the town, loaded him the next day with valuable presents, in order to show their veneration for the religion and learning of their ancestors; but these encouragements being heaped on a vain and ambitious temper, were the ruin of a youth hitherto virtuous in his conduct and passionately fond of learning. For growing on a sudden conceited with his own abilities, puffed up with the vanity of having excelled his equals, he began to addict himself to acquire higher accomplishments, grew fond of music, delighted in dancing-schools, would needs be taught fencing and riding, and from the studies preparative to making a grave rabbi, jumped all of a sudden to the qualities necessary to finish a Jewish fop. His relations soon showed by the alteration of their conduct how little they approved of his new state of life, but that signified nothing to him, he still went on at his old rate; until at last perceiving his parents would do nothing for him, he went with an idle woman to Amsterdam. There he was uneasy, not knowing what course of life to take, but at last submitted to wearing a livery, and got into service. He behaved himself amongst the Spanish Jews so well that they gave him a recommendation to Baron Swaffo in England, upon which he came over thither, and entered into his service. He recommended him to Mr. Jacob Mendez da Costa, where he stayed for some time, with a good character as a diligent servant. From him he went to Mr. Villareal on College Hill. It seems that while he continued at the Hague, he fell in love with a young woman there, who continually ran in his head after his coming over hither. As soon, therefore, as he got money enough, he went over to the Hague, on purpose to make her a visit. When he came there, he found she was gone, which made him very uneasy, yet he resolved not to go to Amsterdam, whither he heard she went from the Hague.

However, it was not long before she was thrown in his way, for upon his coming over again to London, where he got into the service of Mr. Jacob Mendez da Costa, he heard at a barber's shop of a young maid just brought over from Holland who was then at her uncle's in St. Mary Axe, not knowing where to get a place. Upon enquiring her name, he found it to be his old acquaintance and mistress at the Hague. It was not long before he turned out the cook at the place where he lived, and brought her home in her place.

For a while she behaved like an honest and industrious servant,



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but one night as Abraham went to bed, he saw her opening an escrutoire with a knife, which she said she could at any time do. Abraham at first forbid her, but she by her endearments, quickly brought him over to her party, insomuch that after having lain with her, he consented to rummage the escrutoire. In it they found diamond rings and other jewels to a very great value. The wench said to him, holding up a fine diamond ring, *Abraham, you might take this, and it would prove the making of us both.* But the fellow would not listen to her. However, they agreed to take five guineas, which when they had done, they went to bed together according to custom.

Sometime after they begged a holiday and going out borrowed some more money from the same bank, but staying out all night she lost her place, whereupon she went back to her uncle's, and afterwards got a place in Winchester Street. There Abraham visited her, and suspecting that she was with child, asked her very gravely and kindly whether it were so or not? She said, *No*, and pretended to want money, upon which he turned back and gave her a guinea. Some time after he came to see her again, asked her the same question, and had the same answer, yet in a few hours after she caused him to be apprehended by the parish officers, the expenses whereof cost him five guineas immediately, and he was obliged to deposit fourteen guineas more as a security that he would indemnify the parish.

This threw him out of his place, and though he got into another, and behaved well in it, yet going into the service of Mr. John Mendez da Costa, he became there so uneasy on account of his child, and some other troublesome affairs, that he ventured on stealing eight silver spoons, five silver forks, two pair of silver canisters, a diamond ring value two hundred and fifty pounds, a pair of diamond ear-rings worth ninety pounds, three diamond buckles, and other goods of a great value. For this fact he was prosecuted, and on very full evidence convicted.

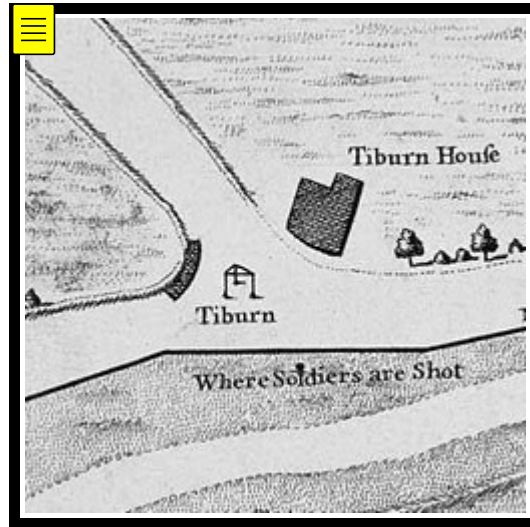
Under sentence of death, the Ordinary informs us that he appeared to be better acquainted with Hebrew than is common amongst Jews. He came up to the chapel rather for the air than for devotion. However, he one day sung part of a Psalm. His hatred against his prosecutor was strong and unconquerable, for when the minister told him it was his duty to forgive him, he said he did not know whether it was or no according to their law, and sometimes said that Heaven might deal with the same justice by him hereafter, as he had been dealt with here.

As the time of his death approached, he grew graver, and read more constantly in those books he had in Hebrew characters of his own religion. However, he wrote a letter to the gentleman he robbed in very harsh terms, and applied to him some of the imprecations of the hundred and ninth Psalm. At the place of execution he had two men with him, who were muttering something or other in his ear. He had a little Hebrew prayer-book in his hand, and read in it. When being again persuaded to forgive his prosecutor, he at last, in a faint voice, answered that he did, and then submitted to his fate at Tyburn, on the 12th of May, 1730, being then about twenty-two years of age. He had several relations who had a great deal of money in England, and they

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took care of his body.



May 13: James Dalton was [hanged](#) for theft on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²⁸⁴

The character of this criminal is already so infamous, and his crimes so notorious that I may spare myself any introductory observation which I have made use of as to most of the rest with respect to his birth. He was so unfortunate as to have the gallows hereditary to his family, his father, who was by birth an Irishman, and in the late Wars in Flanders a sergeant, coming over here was indicted and [hanged](#) for a street robbery. After his death, Dalton's mother married a butcher, who, not long before Dalton's death, was transported, and she herself for a like crime shared in the same punishment.

This unhappy young man himself went between his father's legs in the cart when he made his fatal exit at Tyburn. It has, indeed, remained a doubt whether Dalton the father were a downright thief or not; his own friends say that he was only a cheat, and one of the most dexterous sharpers at cards in England. It seems he fell in with some people of his own profession, who thought he got their money too much easily, and therefore made bold to fix him with a downright robbery.

As for James Dalton the younger, from his infancy he was a thief and deserved the gallows almost as soon as he wore breeches. He began his pranks with robbing the maid where he went to school. By eleven years old he got himself into the company of Fulsom and Field, who were evidences against Jonathan Wild and Blueskin, and in their company committed villainies of every denomination, such as picking pockets, snatching hats and wigs, breaking open shops, filching bundles at dusk of the evening. All the money they got by these practices was spent among the common women of the town, whose company they frequented. Then the Old Bailey and Smithfield Cloisters became the place of their resort, from whence they carried away goods to a considerable quantity, sold them at under-rates, and squandered away the money upon strumpets.

Towards Smithfield and the narrow lanes and allies about it, are

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the chief houses of entertainment for such people, where they are promiscuously admitted, men or women, and have places every way fitted for both concealing and entertainment. The man and woman of the house frequently take their commodities off their hand at low prices, and the women who frequent these sort of places help them off with what trifling sums of money they receive; for though they are utterly devoid of education, yet dinning and flattery are so perfectly practised by them, that these bewitched young robbers make no scruple of venturing soul and body to acquire wherewith to purchase their favours, which are frequently attended with circumstances that would send them rotten to their graves, if the gallows did not intercept and take them before they are got half way. But it happened that Field was apprehended, and to save himself immediately made an information against his companions, named Dalton and Fulsom, whereupon they were obliged to be very cautious and durst venture out only in the night. It happened that in Broad Street, St. Giles's they met about twelve o'clock at night a captain in the Foot-Guards. Dalton commanded the gentleman to surrender, but persons of his cloth seldom parting with their money so peaceably, there happened a skirmish, in which Fulsom knocked him down, and afterwards they rifled him, taking some silver and a leaden shilling out of his pocket, together with a pocket book, which had some bank notes in it, and therefore was burnt by them for fear it should betray them. But in this fact, Dalton, who had not even honesty enough for a thief, cheated his companion of seven guineas and a watch.

The woman to whom they sold their stolen goods was one Hannah Britton, who, upon Lambert's being committed to New Prison, was named in his information, taken up and committed to Newgate. At the sessions after she was convicted for that offence, and thereupon whipped from Holborn Bars to St. Giles's Pound; which proceeding so affrighted Dalton that he resolved for a time to retire out of London.

Thereupon he and one of his companions went down to Bristol, to see what they could make at the Fair. But they were not over-lucky in their country expedition, for they were apprehended for breaking a shop open, and tried at the assizes; but the witness not being able to swear directly to their persons, they were acquitted through the defect of evidence. As soon as they were out of prison, Dalton returned to London as speedily as he was able, where joining himself with the remainder of the old gang, shortly after his arrival they broke open a toy-shop near Holborn Bars, and carried off eight hundred pounds worth of goods, with a pretty large sum in ready money. Of the goods they did not make above two hundred and fifty pounds, and for the ready money, which was about twenty pounds, they shared it amongst them.

Dalton about that time frequenting a house near Golden Lane, found doxies there to help him off with it, and reduced him to the necessity of making t'other large stride in the way to Tyburn. Not long after, therefore, he committed a robbery in the road to Islington, for which being taken up he brought three who personated a doctor, apothecary and surgeon at his trial, who swore that the time the robbery was said to have been committed he was sick and even at the point of death, upon which he was acquitted.

But as this was a narrow escape, so his liberty was of no long



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continuance, for his companion Fulson, being apprehended for a felony, to save himself, made an information against his comrades, and amongst the rest named Dalton, and gave so exact an account of his haunts that he was quickly after apprehended, and at the ensuing sessions convicted and ordered for transportation.

At sea a great storm arising, they were glad to call up such of the criminals as they thought might be of use towards managing the ship, amongst whom was James Dalton, who no sooner was upon deck but he was contriving to make the crew mutiny and seize the ship. In a very little time he brought enough of them to be of his mind in order to execute their intent, and accordingly got the fire-arms and made themselves masters of the ship, and obliged the men to navigate her to a little port near Cape Finisterre, in Spain, where they robbed the ship of about a hundred pounds, and then went on shore and travelled by land to Vigo. They were scarce got thither before the ship arrived, and the captain charged them with the piracy they had committed; but from the lenity of the Spanish Government, they quickly got released, without giving the captain any satisfaction. The Governor, when they were discharged from their confinement, gave them a pass in which, after reciting their names, he styled them all English thieves, which putting them in no small fright, they resolved to prevent its doing them a mischief, committed it to the flames, and then ran the hazard of travelling the country without one. This, accordingly, they did, until they met with a Dutch ship, the master of which readily gave them a passage to Amsterdam, from whence Dalton and two or three more, found means to get over again to England, and came up to London.

On their arrival here they fell to robbing with such fury that the streets were hardly safe when the sun was set; but Dalton apprehending that this trade would not last long, resolved to make a country expedition, in order to get out of the way. Thereupon down he went again to his old city of refuge, Bristol. There he did not continue long before he was apprehended for breaking open a linen-draper's shop but the burglary not being clearly proved, the jury found him guilty of the felony only, whereupon he was once more transported to Virginia.

He did not continue long in that plantation before growing weary of labour, he thought fit to threaten his master, so that the man was glad to discharge him, and thought himself happy of getting rid of such a servant. Upon which Dalton soon found out one Whalebone, a fellow of a like disposition with himself; and they went about stealing boats and negroes, running away with them and selling them in other colonies. At last Dalton met with a ship which carried him for England. By the way he was pressed on board the *Hampshire* man-of-war, in which he was a spectator of the last siege of Gibraltar.²⁸⁵

On his return he received his wages and lived on it for a little time. Then he with Benjamin Branch and William Field, took to snatching of pockets. At last they took Christopher Rawlins into their society and in a few months' time they three snatched five hundred pockets. Amongst the rest Dalton cut off one from a woman's side at St. Andrew's, Holborn, for which Branch being in company was taken and executed, although Dalton and Rawlins did all they could to have made up the affair with the prosecutor but in vain. This trade therefore being at an end, he and his

285. On Feb. 22, 1727, when the Spaniards attacked with 20,000 men and were repulsed with a loss of 5,000. The English lost 300.



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companion Rawlins fell next to robbing coaches in the streets, and being once more apprehended, he found himself under a necessity of making an information against his companions, six or seven of whom were executed upon his evidence. He also received ten guineas to swear against Nichols the peruke-maker, but after he received the money, his conscience checked him, and though he did not return it, yet he absolutely refused to give any evidence against him. But Neeves, who had been taken into the same plot, went through with it, and as has been said before, hanged him for a fact which he never committed.²⁸⁶

A multitude of wives Dalton married during his life, and many of them were alive at the time of his decease, four of them coming at once to see him in Newgate when under his last misfortune, and appearing at that time to be very friendly together. He had not been long out of Newgate before he fell to his old practices, and a few sessions after was apprehended, and tried for stopping the coach of an eminent physician with an intent to rob it. For this he was sentenced to a fine and imprisonment, which upon insulting the court was ordered to be in one of the condemned cells in Newgate. But he did not remain long there, being the very next sessions brought to his trial on an indictment for robbing John Waller in a certain field or open place near the highway, putting him in fear of his life, and taking from him twenty-five handkerchiefs, value four pounds, five ducats value forty-eight shillings, two guineas, a three guilder piece, a French pistol, and five shillings in silver, on the 22nd of November, 1729. The prosecutor deposed, that being a Holland trader, the prisoner met with him as he was drinking at the Adam and Eve at Pancras, in his return from Hampstead, where he had sold some goods, and received a little money; that Dalton perceiving it grow dark, desired to walk to town with him, and that they had a link with them, which Dalton put out in the fields, and then knocked him down, beat him and abused him, and then robbed him of the things mentioned in the indictment; and that he threatened to blow his brains out if he made any noise or called for help. He swore also to a pistol which had been produced against Dalton on a former trial.

In his defence the prisoner insisted peremptorily upon his innocence, charged the prosecutor with being a common affidavit man, and a fellow of as bad if not worse character than himself. However, in order to falsify some circumstances which he had deposed against him, Dalton called three witnesses, Charles North, Edward Brumfield, and John Mitchell, who were all prisoners in Newgate, but were permitted by the Court to come down. Some of them contradicted the prosecutor as to a gingham waistcoat which he had sworn Dalton wore in Newgate. They swore also to the prosecutor's visiting Dalton there, and owing that he never damaged him a farthing in his life. But the jury on the whole found him guilty, and he received sentence of death.

As he had little reason to hope for pardon, so he never deluded himself with false expectations about it, but applied himself, as diligently as he was able, to repent of those manifold sins and offences which he had committed. He confessed very frankly the manifold crimes and horrid enormities in which he had involved himself. He seemed to be very sensible of that dreadful state into which his own wickedness had plunged him. He behaved himself gravely when at public prayers at the chapel, and

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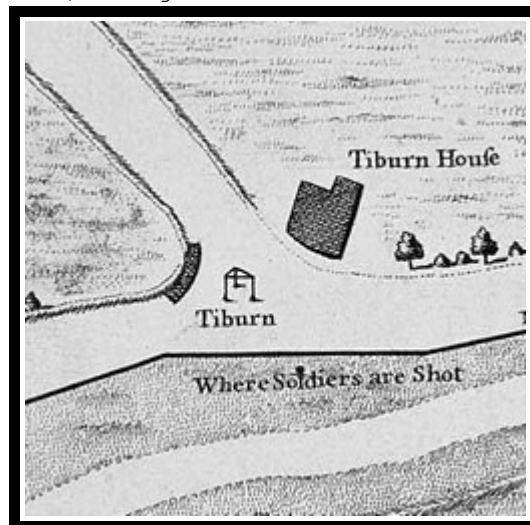
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applied himself with great diligence to praying and singing of Psalms when in his cell; but as to the particular crime of which he was convicted, that he absolutely denied from first to last, with the strongest asseverations that not one word of all the prosecutor's evidence was true, and indeed there has since appeared great likelihood that he spoke nothing but the truth. For this Waller going on in the same fact after the death of Dalton, became an evidence against many others, sometimes in one country by one name, by and by in another country by another name. In Cambridgeshire, particularly, he convicted two men for a robbery whose lives were saved by means of the Clerk of the Peace entertaining some suspicion of this Mr. Waller's veracity. But as practices of this sort, though they may continue undiscovered for some time, rarely escape for good and all, so Waller's fate came home to him at last; for a worthy magistrate suspecting the truth of an information which he gave before him by another name, and he coming afterwards and owning his true name to be Waller, he was apprehended for the perjury contained in the said examination, and committed to Newgate, and at the next sessions at the Old Bailey received sentence for this offence to stand in the pillory near the Seven Dials. He had scarce been exalted above five minutes, before the mob knocked him on the head, for which fact Andrew Dalton, who did it to revenge the death of his brother, the criminal of whom we are now speaking, together with one Richard Griffith, at the time I am now writing, are under sentence of death.

But to return to James Dalton, he continued to behave uniformly and penitently all the time he lay under conviction, and as the friends and relations of Nichols applied themselves to him about clearing the innocence of their deceased friend, he said that Neeves himself actually committed the fact, which he swore upon the person they mentioned, and that he was entirely innocent of whatever was laid to his charge.

When the bellman came to repeat the verses, which he always does the night before the malefactors are to die, Dalton illuminated his cell with six candles. In his passage to the place of execution he appeared very cheerful. When he arrived there, having once more denied in the most solemn manner the fact for which he was to suffer, he yielded up his breath at Tyburn, the 13th of May, 1730, being then somewhat above thirty years of age.





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June 1, Monday (Old Style): Captain George Scott, just turned 24 years of age, set out in his *Little George* for a [Middle Passage](#) across the Atlantic Ocean. Crammed beneath the decks of his sloop was a cargo of 35 black men and 61 black women and black children, on their way to [Newport](#), [Rhode Island](#) and to a market for human flesh.

English society placed a high value on appropriate conduct. For instance, on this day at the Tyburn [gallows](#) outside London, John Doyle and John Young were paying a price for their crimes as highwaymen.²⁸⁷

When once men have plunged themselves so far into sensual pleasures as to lose all sense of any other delight than that arises from the gratification of the senses, there is no great cause of wonder if they addict themselves to illegal methods of gaining wherewith to purchase such enjoyments; since the want of virtue easily draws on the loss of all other principles, nor can it be hoped from a man who has delivered himself over to the dominion of these vices that he should stop short at the lawful means of obtaining money by which alone he can be enabled to possess them.

Common women are usually the first bane of those unhappy persons who forfeit their lives to the Law as the just punishment of their offences; these women, I say, are so far from having the least concern whether their paramours run any unhappy courses to obtain the sums necessary to supply their mutual extravagance, that on the contrary they are ever ready, by oblique hints and insinuations, to put them upon such dangerous exploits which as they are sure to reap the fruits of, so sometimes when they grow weary of them, they find it an easy method to get rid of them and at the same time put money in their own pockets. Yet so blind are these unhappy wretches, that although such things fall out yearly, yet they are never to be warned, but run into the snare with as much readiness as if they were going unto the possession of certain and lasting happiness. But to come to the adventures of the unhappy person whose life we are going to relate. John Doyle was born in the town of Carrough, in Ireland, and of very honest parents who gave him as good education as could be expected in that country, instructing him in writing and accounts, and made some progress in Latin. When he was fit for a trade, his friends agreed to put him out, and not thinking they should find a master good enough for him in a country place, they sent him to Dublin, and bound him to a tallow-chandler and soap-boiler in St. Thomas's Street, whom he faithfully served seven years, and his master gave him a good character. Being out of his time, his master prevailed with him to work journey-work for him, which he did for nine months; but having got acquainted by that time with some of the town ladies and pretending to his friends that he was in hopes of better business, his friends remitted him fifty pounds to help him forward.

He lived well while that money lasted, but when it was almost spent, he knew not what to turn himself to, for working did not agree with him. He took a resolution to come to England, and on the 19th of April, 1715, he came over in a packet-boat. Having no more money left than three pounds ten shillings, and not seeing which way he could get a further supply unless he went to work, which he could not endure, he resolved to rob on the

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highway; and to fit him for it, he bought a pair of pistols at West Chester which cost him forty shillings. He continued in that city till the Chester coach was to go for London. At four miles distant from the town he attacked it, and robbed four passengers that were in it of fourteen pounds, six shillings and ninepence, two silver watches and a mourning ring, which was the first attempt of that kind that ever he made in his life; then he went off a by-way undiscovered.

Having got a pretty good booty, he travelled across the country to Shrewsbury, and having stayed there about two days, he happened to meet a man that had been formerly a collector on the road, who had a horse to sell. He bought the horse for seven guineas, though indeed it was worth twenty, as it proved afterwards; no man soever was master of a better bred horse for the highway. He was not willing to stay long at Shrewsbury, so he went from thence and going along the country, met two ladies in a small chaise, with only one servant and a pair of horses. He robbed them of a purse with twenty-nine half guineas, nine shillings in silver and twopence brass, and two gold watches. The servant who rode by had a case of pistols which he took from him, and then made off undiscovered. His horse at that time was much better acquainted with coming up to a coach door than he was. Sometime afterwards he passed across the country, and came to Newbury, in Berkshire, where he remained for about fourteen days, during which time he was very reserved and kept no company. But growing weary, he departed from that place the same morning that the Newbury coach was to set out for London: and when it was about five miles distant from the town of Newbury, he came up to the coach door, and making a ceremony, as became a man of business, demanded their all, which they very readily consented to deliver, which proved to be about twenty-nine pounds in money, a silver watch, a plain wedding ring, a tortoiseshell snuff box, and a very good whip.

There was also a family ring which a gentleman begged very hard for, whereupon by his earnest application he gave it back, and the man assured him he would never appear against him. He was a man of honour, for he happened to meet him some time after at the Rummer and Horseshoe in Drury Lane, where he treated Doyle handsomely, and showed him the ring, and withal declared that he would not be his enemy on any account whatsoever.

Doyle being at this time a young beginner, thought what he got for the preceding time to be very well, and in a few days after this arrived at Windsor, where he stayed one night, and there being a gentleman's family bound for London, that lay that night at the Mermaid Inn in the town, he changed his lodging and removed to the inn; and having stayed there that night, he minded where they put their valuable baggage up. The next morning he paid his reckoning and came away, and got about four miles out of the town before them; then coming up and making the usual ceremony, he demanded their money, watches and rings. The gentleman in the coach pulled out a blunderbuss, but Doyle soon quelled him by clapping a pistol to his nose, telling him that if he stirred hand or foot he was a dead man. Then he made him give his blunderbuss first, then his money which was fifty guineas, fifteen shillings in silver, and five-pence in brass, a woman's gold watch and a pocket book in which were seven bank-notes, which the gentleman said he took that day in order to pay his servants' wages. After this he made the best of his way to



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London and got into James's Street, Westminster, where he drank a pint of wine, and then crossed over to Lambeth, and put up his horse at the Red Lion Inn, and stayed there that night.

The next morning he came to the Coach and Horses in Old Palace Yard, Westminster, where he dined, and about seven at night departed from thence and went to the Phoenix gaming-house in the Haymarket, to which place, he said, he believed a great many owe their ruin. He remained some time at the Phoenix, and seeing them gaming hard, he had a mind to have a touch at it; when coming into the ring he took the box in his turn, and in about thirty minutes lost thirty-seven pounds, which broke him. But having some watches about him, he went immediately to the Three Bowls in Market Lane, St. James, and pawned a gold watch for sixteen guineas; and returning back to the Phoenix went to gaming a second time, and in less than an hour recovered his money and forty-three pounds more. And seeing an acquaintance there he took him to the Cardigan's Head tavern, Charing Cross, and made merry. That night he lay at the White Bear in Piccadilly, and stayed there until the next evening, after which, having paid his reckoning, he went to Lambeth to his landlord who had his horse in his care, and remained there that night. The next morning he went away having discharged the house.

Having then a pretty sum of money about him, he had an inclination to see the country of Kent, and accordingly went that day to Greenwich, and put up his horse while he went to see the Hospital; and having baited the horse he parted from thence, and going over Blackheath, he happened to meet a gentleman, who proved to be Sir Gregory Page. Doyle took what money he had about him, which was about seventy guineas in a green purse, a watch, two gold seals and eighteen pence in silver. That night he rode away to Maidstone, and from thence to Canterbury.

In a few days he returned to London, and was for a long time silent, even for about six months, and never robbed or made an attempt to rob any man, but kept his horse in a very good order, and commonly went in an afternoon to Hampstead, sometimes to Richmond, or to Hackney. In short, he knew all the roads about London in less than six months as well as any man in England. His money beginning now to grow short, not having turned out so long, and the keeping his horse on the other hand being costly, he resolved that his horse should pay for his own keeping, and turned out one evening and robbed a Jew of seventy-five pounds, and of his and his lady's watches, a gold box and some silver, and returned to town undiscovered. The next day Doyle went Brentford way, and coming to Turnham Green stayed some time at the Pack Horse, where he saw two Quakers on horseback. He rode gently after them till they got to Hounslow Heath, where he secured what money they had, which was something above a hundred pounds. They begged hard for some money back, when he gave them a guinea, taking from them their spurs and whips, and at some distance threw them away. Those two men, as he found some days after by the papers, were two meal factors that were going to High Wycombe market in Buckinghamshire, to buy either wheat or flour.

This last being a pretty good booty, he had a mind afterwards to go for Ireland and accordingly set out for his journey thither. He took shipping at King's Road near Bristol, on board a small vessel bound to Waterford, where he arrived and stayed



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at the Eagle in Waterford three days, and from thence went directly to Dublin. Doyle was not long in Dublin before he became acquainted with his wife, whom he courted for some time and was extravagant in spending his money on her. He also soon got acquainted with one N. B., a man now alive, and they turned out together. None was able to stand against them, for they had everything that came in their way, and in plain terms, there was not a man that carried money about him, within eight miles of Dublin, but if they met him they were sure to get what he had. Being grown so wicked Doyle was at length taken for a robber and committed to Newgate, then kept by one Mr. Hawkins, who used him so barbarously that he wished himself out of his hands. Accordingly he got his irons off and broke out of the gaol. Hawkins knowing all the bums²⁸⁸ in Dublin, sent them up and down the city to take him, but to no purpose. However, they rooted him fairly out of that neighbourhood.

Then he returned to Waterford, where he appointed his wife and friend should meet him, which they did; and in about four hours after he came there he found them out, and there being a ship bound for Bristol, he sent them on board, agreed with the captain and went himself on board the same night. They hoisted their sails and got down to the Passage near Waterford, but the wind proving contrary, they were obliged to return back, and then concluded it was determined for Doyle to be taken; which he had been had he kept on board, but he luckily got on shore, when it was agreed to go to Cork. There they met with an honest cock of a landlord, and he kept himself very private, making the poor man believe that his companion and he were two that were raising men for the Chevalier's²⁸⁹ service, and that their keeping so private proceeded from a fear of being discovered. The poor man had then a double regard for them, he being a lover in his heart of —. Doyle then sent his wife to seek for a ship; but Hawkins having pursued him from Dublin, happened to see her, and dogged her to the ship where she went on board, sending officers to search, for he was sure he should find him there. He was mistaken, but they took his poor wife up to see if they could make her discover where he was, and ordered a strong guard to bring her to Cork gaol. A boat was provided to bring her on shore, but she telling the men some plausible stories that her husband was not the man they represented him to be, one of the watermen having stripped off his clothes in order to row, and there being a great many honest fellows in the boat, they assisted her in putting on waterman's clothes, which as soon as done, she fairly got away from them, and came and acquainted Doyle that Hawkins was in town, and how she had been in danger. They then concluded on leaving Cork, hired horses that night, and came to a place called Mallow, within ten miles of Cork. The next day they travelled to Limerick, where Doyle bought a horse, bridle, etc., and went towards Galloway, and in all his journey round about got but two prizes, which did not amount to above fifteen pounds.

Sometime after, his wife was transported, which gave him a great deal of concern, and he could not be in any way content without her. So getting some money together he went to Virginia, and having arrived there soon met with her, having had intelligence where to enquire for her. The first house he came into was one

288. i.e., bailiffs, informers and spies.

289. The Pretender, whose name was only to be mentioned with baited breath.



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William Dalton's, who had some days before bought the late noted James Dalton,²⁹⁰ who was then his servant, whom he very often used to send along with Doyle in his boat to put him on board a ship. Then he thought it his best way to buy his wife's liberty, which he did, paying fifteen pounds for it.

He had then a considerable deal of money about him, and removed from that part of the country where she was known and went to New York. Being arrived there he soon got acquainted with some of his countrymen, with whom he had used to go a-hunting and to the horse races; so he spent some time in seeing the country. By chance he came to hear of a namesake of his, that lived in an island a little distant from New York, and being willing to see any of his name, he sent for him, and according to Doyle's request, he wrote to him that he would come the next day, which he did, and proved to be his uncle. The old man was overjoyed to see Doyle, and carried him home with him, where he stayed a long time, and spent a great deal of money.

His uncle was very much affronted at Doyle's ill-treatment of the natives, whom he severely beat, insomuch that the whole place was afraid of him, and all intended to join and take the law of him. Soon after he departed from New York and went to Boston, where he remained some time, and at length he resolved within himself to settle and work at his trade, thinking it better to do so than to spend all his money, and be obliged to return to England or Ireland without a penny in his pocket. He did so, and having agreed with a master he went to work, and was very saving and frugal.

He remained with that man till by his wife's industry he had got, including what was his own, about two hundred pounds English money. Then he advised his wife to go for Ireland in the first ship that was bound that way, laying all her money out to twenty pounds, and shipped the goods which he had brought on board for her account. She then went to Ireland and Doyle for England, promising to go over to her as soon as he could get some money, for he had then an inclination to leave off his old trade of collecting.

Being arrived at London, he met with a certain person with whom he joined, and as he himself terms it, never had man a braver companion, for let him push at what he would, his new companion never flinched one inch. They turned out about London for some time, and got a great deal of money, for nothing hardly missed them. They used a long time the roads about Hounslow, Hampstead, and places adjacent, until the papers began to describe them, on which they went into Essex, and robbed several graziers, farmers and others. Then they went to Bishop's Stortford, in Hertfordshire, where they robbed one man in particular who had his money tied up under his arm in a great purse. Doyle says that he had some intelligence from a friend that the man had money about him, he made him strip in buff, and then found out where he lodged it, and took it, but he did not use him in any way ill, for he says it was the man's business to conceal it, as much as his to discover it.

Doyle and his partner hearing of a certain fair which was to be held a few days after, they resolved to go to it, and coming there took notice who took most money. In the evening they took their horses, and about three miles distant from the town there was a green, over which the people were obliged to come from the



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fair. There came a great many graziers and farmers, whom they robbed of upwards of eight hundred pounds. At this time Doyle had in money and valuable things, such as diamonds, rings, watches, to the amount of about sixteen hundred pounds. His partner had also a great deal of money, but not so much as Doyle, by reason that he (D) had got some very often which he had no right to have a share of.

Doyle went again for Ireland, and carried all his money with him, and having a great many poor relations, distributed part of it amongst them; some he lent, which he could never get again, and in a little his money grew short, having frequented horse races and all public places. However, before all was spent he returned to England. Following his old course of life, he happened into several broils, with which a little money and a few friends he got over. In a short space of time he became acquainted with Benjamin Wileman. They two, with another person concerned with them, committed several robberies. At length they were discovered, apprehended and committed to Newgate. Wileman, it seems, had an itching to become an evidence against Doyle and W. G. But Doyle made himself an evidence, being really, as he said, for his own preservation and not for the sake of any reward.

Doyle's wife being for a second time transported, he went with her in the same ship, and having arrived in Virginia, slaved there some time, until he began to grow weary of the place. But as he was always too indulgent to her, he bought her her liberty, and shipped her and himself on board the first ship that came to England, when in seven weeks time they arrived in the Downs. Soon after they came up to England, but were not long in town before his wife was taken up for returning from transportation, and committed to Newgate, where she remained until the sessions following, and being brought upon her trial, pleaded guilty. When they came to pass sentence upon her, she produced his Majesty's most gracious pardon, and was admitted to bail to plead the same, and thereupon discharged. Doyle, a short time after, went to the West of England, where he slaved some time, following his old way of life; and associating himself with a certain companion, got a considerable sum of money, and came to Marlborough. And having continued some time in that neighbourhood, they usually kept the markets, where they commonly cleared five pounds a day. Going from Marlborough they came to Hungerford, and put up their horses at the George Inn; and having ordered something for dinner, saw some graziers on the road, but one of them being an old sportsman, and a brother tradesman of Doyle's formerly, he knew the said Doyle immediately, by the description given of him, and very honestly came to him, and told him that he had a charge of money about him, and withal begged that he would not hurt him, since he had made so ingenuous a confession, desiring Doyle to make the best of his way to another part of the country, telling him at the same time where he lived in London, and that if he should act honourably by him, he would put a thousand pounds in his pocket in a month's time. According to the grazier's directions, Doyle and his companions departed, but having met, as Doyle phrases it, with a running chase in their cross way, which they had taken for safety, they were obliged to return back into the main road again, and by accident put up at the same inn where the grazier and his companions were that evening. The grazier, as soon as



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he saw Doyle, came in and drank a bottle with him, and then retired to his companions, without taking any manner of notice of him.

As they came for London, they took everything that came into their net, and in three days time Doyle paid his brother sportsman, the grazier, a visit, who received him handsomely, and appointed him to meet him the next market day at the Greyhound in Smithfield, in order to make good part of his promise to him. Doyle and his companion went to him, put up their horses at the same inn and passed for country farmers. This grazier, who formerly had been one of the same profession being now grown honest and bred a butcher, was then turned salesman in Smithfield, and sold cattle for country graziers, and sent them their money back by their servants who had brought the cattle to town. Having drunk a glass of wine together, they began to talk about business, and the grazier being obliged to go into the market to sell some beasts, desired Doyle and his companion to stay there until he returned. When he came he gave them some little instructions how they should proceed in an affair he had then in view to serve them in, and having taken his advice, they rode out of town; and it being a West Country fair they rode Turnham Green way.

They had not time to drink a pint of wine before the West Country chapman came ajogging along. They took two hundred and forty pounds from him, making (as D. terms it) a much quicker bargain with him than he had done with the butcher at Smithfield. The chapman begged hard for some money to carry him home to his family, and after they had given him two guineas, he said to them that he had often travelled that road with five hundred pounds about him, and never had been stopped. To which Doyle replied, that half the highwaymen who frequented the road were but mere old women, otherwise he would never have had that to brag of, and then parted. Doyle says that the honest man at Smithfield had poundage of him as well as from the grazier, so that he acted in a double capacity.

That night they came to London, and having put up their horses, put on other clothes and went to Smithfield, where not finding the butcher at home, they write a note and left it for an appointment to meet him at the Horn Tavern in Fleet Street, where they had not stayed long before he came. After taking a cheerful glass they talked the story over, and out of the booty Doyle gave turn fifty guineas, after which the butcher promised to be his friend upon a better affair. After paying the reckoning they parted and appointed to meet the next market day at Smithfield. They went at the time appointed, and having drunk a morning glass, stepped into the market and stayed some time. Their brother sportsman being very busy, he made excuse to Doyle and his companion, telling them there was nothing to be done in their way till the evening, desiring them to be patient. They remained in and about Smithfield till then, and market being entirely over, their friend came up to the place appointed, and showed them a man on horseback to whom he had just paid fifty pounds. Doyle and his companion immediately called for their horses, took leave of their friend, and kept in sight of the countryman until he was out of town. And when he was got near the Adam and Eve, at Kensington, they came up to him, and made a ceremony, as became men of their profession. He was very unwilling to part from his money, making an attempt to ride away, but they soon



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overtook him, and after some dispute took every penny that he received in Smithfield, and for his residing gave him back only a crown to bear his charges home. In his memoirs Doyle makes this observation, that they always robbed between sun and sun, so that the persons robbed might make the county pay them that money back if they thought fit to sue them for it.²⁹¹ Next morning Doyle and his companion came to the place appointed, and not meeting with their brother sportsman sent for him, where they drank together, and talked as usual about business, paying him poundage out of what money they had collected on his information (for they usually dealt with him as a custom-house officer does by an informer); after which they parted for that time, and did not meet for a month after.

Afterwards they went up and down Hertfordshire, but got scarce money enough to bear their expenses; but where there were small gettings they lived the more frugally, for Doyle observed that if the country did not bear their expenses wherever he travelled, he thought it very hard, and that if he failed of gaming one day, he commonly got as much the next as he could well destroy.

Hitherto we have kept very close to those memoirs which Mr. Doyle left behind him, which I did with this view, that my readers might have some idea of what these people think of themselves. I shall now bring you to the conclusion of his story, by informing you that finding himself beset at the several lodgings which he kept by way of precaution, he for some days behaved himself with much circumspection; but happening to forget his pistols, he was seized, coming out of an inn in Drury Lane, and though he made as much resistance as he was able, yet they forced him unto a coach and conveyed him to Newgate. It is hard to say what expectations he entertained after he was once apprehended, but it is reasonable to believe that he had strong hopes of life, notwithstanding his pleading guilty at his trial, for he dissembled until the time of the coming down of a death warrant, and then declared he was a Roman Catholic, and not a member of the Church of England, as he had hitherto pretended.

He seemed to be a tolerably good-natured man, but excessively vicious at the same time that he was extravagantly fond of the woman he called his wife. He took no little pleasure in the relations of those adventures which happened to him in his exploits on the highway, and expressed himself with much seeming satisfaction, because as he said, he had never been guilty of beating or using passengers ill, much less of wounding or attempting to murder them. In general terms, he pretended to much penitence, but whether it was that he could not get over the natural vivacity of his own temper, or that the principles of the Church of Rome, as is too common a case, proved a strong opiate in his conscience, however it was, I say, Doyle did not seem to have any true contrition for his great and manifold offences. On the contrary, he appeared with some levity, even when on the very point of death.

He went to execution in a mourning coach; all the way he read with much seeming attention in a little Popish manual, which had been given him by one of his friends. At the tree he spoke a little to the people, told them that his wife had been a very good wife to him, let her character in other respects be what

291. Passengers robbed on the highway between sunrise and sunset, could sue the county for the amount of their loss, it being the duty of the officials to keep the roads safe.

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it would. Then he declared he had left behind him memoirs of his life and conduct, to which he had nothing to add there, and from which I have taken verbatim a great part of what I have related. And then, having nothing more to offer to the world, he submitted to death on the first of June, 1730, but in what year of his age I cannot say.

However, before I make an end of what relates to Mr. Doyle, it would be proper to acquaint the public that the vanity of his wife extended so far as to make a pompous funeral for him at St. Sepulchre's church, whereat she, as chief mourner assisted, and was led by a gentleman whom the world suspected to be of her husband's employment.



I have more than once remarked in the course of these memoirs that of all crimes, cruelty makes men the most generally hated, and that from this reasonable cause, that they seem to have taken up an aversion to their own kind. This was remarkably the case of the unhappy man of whom we are now speaking.

He was, it seems, the son of very honest and industrious parents, his father being a gardener at Kensington. From him he received as good an education as it was in his power to give him, and was treated with all the indulgence that could be expected from a tender parent; and it seems that after five years' stay at school, he was qualified for any business whatsoever. So after consulting his own inclinations he was put out apprentice to a coach-maker in Long Acre, where he stayed not long; but finding all work disagreeable to him, he therefore resolved to be gone,

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let the consequence be what it would. When this resolve was once

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



taken, it was but a very short time before it was put into execution. Living now at large, and not knowing how to gain money enough to support himself, and therefore being in very great straits, he complied with the solicitations of some hackney-coachmen, who advised him to learn their trade. They took some pains to instruct him, employed him often, and in about six months time he became perfect master of his business, and drove for Mr. Blunt, in Piccadilly. His behaviour here was so honest that Mr. Blunt gave him a good character, and he thereby obtained the place of a gentleman's coachmen. In a short time he saved money and began to have some relish for an honest life; and continuing industriously to hoard up what he received either in wages or vales [tips] at last by these methods he drew together a very considerable sum of money.

And then it came into his head to settle himself in an honest way of life, in which design his father gave him all the encouragement that was in his power, telling him in order to do it, he should marry an honest, virtuous woman. Whereupon, with the advice and consent of his parents, he married a young woman



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of a reputable family from Kentish Town, who, as to fortune, brought him a pretty little addition to his own savings, so that altogether he had, according to his own account, a very pretty competency wherewith to begin the world.

For some time after his marriage he indulged himself in living without employment, but finding such a course wasted his little stock very fast, he began to apply his thoughts to the consideration of what course was the most likely to get his bread in. After beating his brains for some little time on this subject he at last resolved on keeping a public-house; which agreeing very well with his father's and relations' notions, he thereupon immediately took the King's Arms, in Red Lion Street, where for some time he continued to have very good business. In all, he remained there about five years, and might in that time have got a very pretty sum of money if he had not been so unhappy as to grow proud, as soon as he had anything in his pocket. It was not long, therefore, before he gave way to his own roving disposition, going over to Ireland, where he remained for a considerable space, living by his wits as he expresses it, or, in the language of honest people, by defrauding others.

But Ireland is a country where such sort of people are not likely to support themselves long; money is far from being plentiful, and though the common people are credulous in their nature, yet tradesmen and the folks of middling ranks are as suspicious as any nation in the world. The county of West Meath was the place where he had fixed his residence for the greatest part of the time he continued in the island, but at last it grew too hot for him. The inhabitants became sensible of his way of living, and gave him such disturbance that he found himself under an indispensable necessity of quitting that place as soon as possibly he could; and so having picked up as much money as would pay for his passage, he came over again into England, out of humour with rambling while he felt the uneasiness it had brought upon him, but ready to take it up again as soon as ever his circumstances were made a little easy, which in his present condition was not likely to happen in haste.

His friends received him very coldly, his parents had it not in their power to do more for him. In a word, the countenance of the world frowned upon him, and everybody treated him with that disdain and contempt which his foolish behaviour deserved. However, instead of reclaiming him, this forced him upon worse courses. His wife, it seems, either died in his absence, or was dead before he went abroad, and soon after his return he contracted an acquaintance with a woman, who was at that time cook in the family of a certain bishop; her he courted and a short time after, married. She brought him not only some ready money, but also goods to a pretty large value. Young being not a bit mended by his misfortunes, squandered away the first in a very short time, and turned the last into ready money. However, these supplies were of not very long continuance, and with much importunity his friends, in order, if it were possible, to keep him honest, got him in a small place in the Revenue, and he was put in as one of the officers to survey candles. In this post he continued for about a twelvemonth, and then relapsing into his former idle and profligate courses, he was quickly suspected and thereby put to his shifts again, though his wife at that time was in place, and helped him very frequently with money. This, it seems, was too servile a course for a man of Mr. Young's



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spirit to take, so that he picked up as much as bought him a pair of pistols, and then went upon the highway, to which it seems the foolish pride of not being dependant upon his wife did at that time not a little contribute. In his first adventure in this new employment, he got fifteen guineas, but being in a very great apprehension of a pursuit, his fears engaged him to fly down to Bristol, in order, if it were possible, to avoid them. After staying there some considerable time, he began at last to take heart, and to fancy he might be forgotten. Upon these hopes he resolved with himself to come up towards London again; and taking advantage of a person travelling with him to Uxbridge, he made use of every method in his power to insinuate himself into his fellow traveller's good graces. This he effected, insomuch that at High Wycombe, in Buckinghamshire, as Young himself told the story, he prevailed on him to lend him three half-crowns to defray his expenses, pretending that he had some friend or relation hard by who would repay him. But unfortunately for the man, he had talked too freely of a sum of money which he pretended to have about him. It thereupon raised an inclination in Young to strip him and rob him of this supposed great prize; for which purpose he attacked him in a lone place, and not only threatened him with shooting him, but as he pretended, by his hand shaking, was as good as his word, and actually wounded him in such a manner as he in all probability at that time took to be mortal; but taking advantage of the condition in which the poor man was, he made the best of his way off, and was so lucky as to escape for the present, although that crime brought him afterwards to his execution.

When he had considered a little the nature of the fact which he had committed, it appeared even to himself of so black and barbarous a nature that he resolved to fly to the West of England, in order to remain there for some time. But from this he was deterred by looking into a newspaper and finding himself advertised there; the man whom he had shot being also said to be dead, this put him into such a consternation that he returned directly to London, and going to a place hard by where his wife lived, he sent for her, and told her that he was threatened with an unfortunate affair which might be of the greatest ill-consequence to him if he should be discovered. She seemed to be extremely moved at his misfortunes, and gave him what money she could spare, which was not a little, insomuch that Young at last began to suspect she made bold now and then to borrow of her mistress; but if she did, that was a practice he could forgive her. At last he proposed taking a lodging for himself at Horsely Down,²⁹² as a place the likeliest for him to be concealed in. There his wife continued to supply him, until one Sunday morning she came in a great hurry and brought with her a pretty handsome parcel of guineas. Young could not help suspecting she did not come very honestly by them. However, if he had the money he troubled not his head much which way he came by it, and he had so good a knack of wheedling her that he got twenty pounds out of her that Sunday.

A very few days after, intelligence was got of his retreat, and the man whom he had robbed and shot made so indefatigable a search after him, that he was taken up and committed to the New Gaol, and his wife, a very little time after, was committed to

292. This district, at the Dockhead end of Tooley Street, was at that time a sort of No Man's Land, where horses were grazed and a few poverty-stricken wretches lived in sheds and holes in the ground.



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Newgate for breaking open her lady's escrutoire, and robbing her of a hundred guineas. This was what Young said himself and I repeat it because I have his memoirs before me. Yet in respect to truth, I shall be obliged to say something of another nature in its due place; but to go on with our narration according to the time in which facts happened.

A *Habeas Corpus* was directed to the sheriff of Surrey, whereupon Young was brought to Newgate, and at the next sessions of the Old Bailey was indicted for the aforesaid robbery, which was committed in the county of Middlesex. The charge against him was for assaulting Thomas Stinton, in a field or open place near the Highway, and taking from him a mare of the value of seven pounds, a bridle value one shilling and sixpence, a saddle value twelve shillings, three broad-pieces of gold and nine shillings in silver, at the same time putting the said Thomas Stinton in fear of his life.

Upon this indictment the prosecutor deposed that meeting with the prisoner about seven miles on this side of Bristol, and being glad of each other's company, they continued and lodged together till they came to Oxford; where the prisoner complaining that he was short of money, the prosecutor lent him a crown out of his pocket, and at Loudwater, the place where they lodged next night, he lent him half a crown more. The next morning they came for London, and being a little on this side of Uxbridge, Young said he had a friend in Hounslow who would advance him the money which he had borrowed from the prosecutor, and thereupon desired Mr. Stinton to go with him thither, to which he agreed; and Young thereupon persuaded him to go by a nearer way, and under that pretence after making him leap hedges and ditches, at last brought him to a place by the river side, where on a sudden he knocked him off his horse, and that with such force that he made the blood gush out of his nose and mouth.

As soon as Young perceived that the prosecutor had recovered his senses a little, he demanded his money, to which Mr. Stinton replied, *Is this the manner in which you treat your friend? You see, I have not strength to give you anything.* Whereupon Young took from him his pocket-book and money. And Mr. Stinton earnestly entreating that he would give him somewhat to bear his expenses home, in answer thereto Young said, *Ay, I'll give you what shall carry you home straight,* and then shot him in the neck, and pushing him down into the ditch, said, *Lie there.* Some time after with much ado, Mr. Stinton crawled out and got to a house, but saw no more of the prisoner, or of either of their mares.

George Hartwell deposed that he helped both the prisoner and the prosecutor to the inn where they lay at Oxford. Sarah Howard deposed that she kept the inn or house where they lodged at Loudwater the night before the robbery was committed. And all the witnesses, as well as the prosecutor being positive to the person of the prisoner, the charge seemed to be as fully proved as it was possible for a thing of that nature to admit.

The prisoner in his defence did not pretend to deny the fact, but as much as he was able endeavoured to extenuate it. He said, that for his part he did not know anything of the mare; that the going off the pistol was merely accidental; that he did, indeed, take the money, and therefore, did not expect any other than to suffer death, but that it would be a great satisfaction to him, even in his last moments, that he neither had or ever intended



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to commit any murder. But those words in the prosecutor's evidence, *I'll give you something to carry you home, and Lie there* (that is in the ditch) being mentioned in summing up the evidence to the jury, Young, with great warmth and many asseverations, denied that he made use of them. The jury, after a very short consideration, being full satisfied with the evidence which had been offered, found him guilty.

The very same day his wife was indicted for the robbery of her mistress, when the fact was charged upon her thus: that she on a Sunday, conveyed Young secretly upstairs in her mistress's house, where she passed for a single woman; that he took an opportunity to break open a closet and to steal from thence ninety guineas, and ten pounds in silver; a satin petticoat value thirty shillings, and an orange crepe petticoat were also carried off; and she asking leave of her lady to go out in the afternoon, took that opportunity to go quite away, not being heard of for a long time. Upon her husband being apprehended for the fact for which he died, somebody remembered her and the story of her robbing her mistress, caused her thereupon to be apprehended. Not being able to prove her marriage at the time of her trial, she was convicted, and ordered for transportation. This was a very different story from that which Young told in his relations of his wife's adventure, but when it came to be mentioned to that unhappy man and pressed upon him, though he could not be brought to acknowledge it, yet he never denied it; which the Ordinary says, was a method of proceeding he took up, because unwilling to confess the truth, and afraid when so near death to tell a lie.

When under sentence of death, this unfortunate person began to have a true sense of his own miserable condition; he was very far from denying the crime for which he suffered, although he still continued to deny some of the circumstances of it. The judgment which had been pronounced upon him, he acknowledged to be very just and reasonable, and was so far from being either angry or affrighted at the death he was to die that on the contrary he said it was the only thing that gave his thoughts ease. To say truth, the force of religion was never more visible in any man than it was in this unfortunate malefactor. He was sensible of his repentance being both forced and late, which made him attend to the duties thereof with an extraordinary fervour and application. He said that the thoughts of his dissolution had no other effect upon him than to quicken his diligence in imploring God for pardon. To all those who visited him either from their knowledge of him in former circumstances, or, as too many do, from the curiosity of observing how he would behave under those melancholy circumstances in which he then was, he discoursed of nothing but death, eternity, and future judgment. The gravity of his temper and the serious turn of his thoughts was never interrupted in any respect throughout the whole space of time in which he lay under condemnation; on the contrary, he every day appeared to have more and more improved from his meditations and almost continual devotions, appearing frequently when at chapel wrapped up as it were in ecstasy at the thoughts of heaven and future felicity, humbling himself, however, for the numberless sins he had committed, and omitting nothing which could serve to show the greatness of his sorrow and the sincerity of his contrition.

The day he was to die, the unfortunate old man his father, then



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upwards of seventy years of age, came to visit him, and saw him haltered as he went out to execution. Words are too feeble to express that impetuosity of grief which overwhelmed both the miserable father and the dying son. However, the old man, bedewing him with a flood of tears, exhorted him not to let go on his hopes in Christ, even in that miserable conjuncture; but that he should remember the mercy of God was over all his works, and in an especial manner was promised to those who were penitent for their sins, which Christ had especially confirmed in sealing the pardon of the repenting thief, even upon the cross.

At the place of execution he appeared scarce without any appearance of terror, much less of obstinacy or contempt of death. Being asked what he did with the pocket-book which he took from Mr. Stinton, and which contained in it things of very great use to him, Young replied ingeniously that he had burnt it, for which he was heartily sorry, but that he did not look into or make himself acquainted with its contents. Just before the cart drew away, he arose and spoke to the people, and said, *The love of idleness, being too much addicted to company, and a too greedy love of strong liquors has brought me to this unhappy end. The Law intends my death for an example unto others; let it be so, let my follies prevent others from falling into the like, and let the shame which you see me suffer, deter all of you from the commission of such sins as may bring you to the like fatal end. My sentence is just, but pray, ye good people, for my soul, that though I die ignominiously here, I may not perish everlastingly.*

He was executed the first of June, 1730, being at the time about thirty-nine years of age.

October 7, Wednesday (Old Style): Thomas Polson, *alias* Hitchin was [hanged](#) for having been a footpad and highwayman, Samuel Armstrong was hanged for housebreaking, and Nicholas Gilburn was hanged as a highwayman on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²⁹³

Habit is the most dangerous of all evils. The transports of passion are sometimes prevented from having fatal effects, either by the precautions of those with whom we quarrel, or because a sudden reflection of our own minds checks our hand. But where men have abandoned themselves to wickedness, and given themselves up to the commission of every kind of evil without restraint, there is little hope to be entertained of their ever mending; and if the fear of a sudden death work a true repentance, it is all that can be hoped.

As for this unfortunate man of whose actions the course of our memoirs obliges us to treat, he was descended from parents who lived at Marlow, in the county of Salop, who were equally honest in their reputations, and easy in their circumstances. They spared nothing in the education of their son, and it is hard to say whether their care of him was more or his application was less. Even while a child and at school he gave too evident symptoms of that lazy, indolent disposition which attended him so flagrantly and was justly the occasion of all the misfortunes of his succeeding life. Learning was of all things his aversion. It was with difficulty that he was taught to read and write. As to employment, his father brought him up to husbandry and the

293. LIVES OF THE MOST REMARKABLE CRIMINALS WHO HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED FOR MURDER, THE HIGHWAY, HOUSEBREAKING, STREET ROBBERIES, COINING OR OTHER OFFENCES / COLLECTED FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS AND AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS, AND PUBLISHED IN 1735 / Edited by Arthur L. Hayward



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business of a rural life.

When he was of age his father gave him an estate of twenty pounds *per annum*, freehold, and got him into a very good farm. He procured for him also a wife, who had ten pounds a year more of her own, and settled him in such a manner that no young man in the country had a better prospect of doing well than himself. But, alas! to what purpose are the endeavours of others, where a man studies nothing so much as to compass his own ruin? On a sudden he took a love to card-playing, and addicted himself to it with such earnestness that he neglected his business and squandered his money. Want was what of all things he hated, except work, and therefore rather than labour to retrieve, he bethought himself of an easier way of getting money, and that was to steal.

His first attempt was upon his father, whom he robbed of a considerable sum of money. He not being in the least suspected, a poor maid who lived in the house bore the blame for about six months, and nobody in all that time being charged with it but her, there was at last a design in the old man's head to prosecute her. This reaching young Polson's ear, he resolved not to let an innocent person suffer, which was indeed a very just and honourable act, whereupon he wrote an humble letter to his father, acknowledging his fault, begging pardon for his offences, and desiring that he would not prosecute the poor woman, or suffer her to be any longer under the odium of a fact of which she had not the least knowledge. This, to be sure, had its effect on his father, who was a very honest and considerate man. He took care to restore the wench to her good character and his favour, though for a while he with just reason continued to frown upon his son. At last paternal tenderness prevailed, and after giving him several cautions and much good advice, he promised, on his good behaviour, to forgive him what had past. The young man promised fairly, but falling quickly into necessities, want of money had its old effect upon him again, that is, impatient to be at his old practices, tired with work, and yet not knowing how to get money, he at length resolved to go into Wales and steal horses.

This project he executed, and took one from one Mr. Lewis of a considerable value. He sold it to a London butcher for about sixteen pounds, at a village not far from Shrewsbury. That money did him a little good, and therefore the next time he was in a strait he readily bethought himself of Wales. Accordingly he equipped himself with a little pad, and out he set in quest of purchase. At a little inn in Wales he met with a gentleman whom he had reason to suppose had money about him, whereupon our highwayman was very industrious first to make him drink, and then to get him for a bed-fellow, both of which designs he in the end brought to pass, and by that means robbed him of six pounds odd money, taking care to go in the morning a different road from what he had talked of, and by that means easily escaped what pursuit was made after him.

When he had committed this fact he retired towards Canterbury, giving himself over entirely to thieving or cheating, on which design he traversed the whole county of Kent, but found the people so cautious that he did it with very little advantage; until at last coming near Maidstone, he observed a parcel of fine linen hanging upon a hedge. He immediately bethought himself that though the people were wise, yet their hedges might



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be otherwise, upon which stepping up to it, he fairly stripped it of ten fine shirts, and so left the people who had washed them to account for it. After this exploit, he made the best of his way to London, where he speedily sold the stolen linen for five pounds to a Life Guardsman; and when he had spent a good part of it, down he went into Norfolk. And being afraid that the inhabitants would take notice of a stranger setting up his abode there for any considerable time, he thought fit to pretend to be very lame. Having continued as long as he thought proper in this place, he took his opportunity to carry off a fine mare out of the grounds of Sir John Habbard, Baronet, now the Right Honourable the Lord Blickling. This was one of the most dangerous feats he ever committed in his life, for the scent was so strong upon him, and so quickly followed, that he was forced to take a multitude of byways to get to London, where he set her up in the Haymarket. However he quickly found there was no possibility of disposing of her here, information having been given of her to all the great jockeys; so that for present money he was obliged to borrow four guineas of the man at the inn, and to leave her in his hands by way of security, which was making but a poor hand of what he had hazarded his life for.

By this time his father had received some intelligence of his way of living, and out of tenderness of its consequences, wrote to him assuring him of forgiveness for all that was past, if he would come down into the country and live honestly. Such undeserved tenderness had some weight even with our criminal himself, and he at last began to frame his mind to comply with the request of so good a father. Accordingly, down he came, and for a little space, behaved himself honestly and as he should do; but his old distemper, laziness quickly came in his way, and finding money not to come in so fast as he would have it, he began to think of his old practice again, and prepared himself once more to sally out upon his illegal adventures. For this purpose taking with him a little mare of his brothers, for at that time he had no horse proper for the designs he went on, forth he rode in search of prey.

Wales was the place he first visited, and after riding up and down for a good while without meeting with any purchase worth taking, he at last unluckily stumbled upon a poor old man in Flintshire, who had one foot already in the grave. From him he took a silver watch, worth about five pounds, and five shillings in money, which was all the poor man had, and making thereupon the greatest haste he could out of the country, he got clear away before it was discovered. After this he came again to London, where what little money he had he lavished away upon women of the town.

It was not long before want overtook him again, upon which he determined to visit Yorkshire, in hopes of raising some considerable booty there. All the way down, according to his common practice, he bilked the public-houses, and at last arriving at Doncaster, began to set heartily about the work for which he came down. On a market day, he robbed an old farmer of forty shillings and a pair of silver buckles, taking his horse also from him, which, when he had ridden about fifteen miles across country, he turned loose. He rambled from thence on foot, as well as he could, in order to get into his native country of Shropshire, where after the commission of a multitude of such actions, none of which afforded him any great booty, he arrived.



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His father took him home again, and he lived for eleven months tolerably honest. However, to keep his hand in use, he now and then stole a shoulder of mutton, a joint which he particularly loved; but sometimes to please his father he would work a little, though it always went much against the grain. At last he quarrelled with his wife, and thereupon threatened to go away again, which very quickly after he did, turning his course, notwithstanding his former ill-success into Yorkshire once more. He was at several of the races in that county, and having no particular business at any place, did nothing but course the country round, pilfering and stealing whatever came in his way; insomuch that at one inn, finding nothing else to lay his hands on, he stole the people's sheets off the bed he lay in, and marched off in the morning so early, that he was out of danger before they perceived the theft.

But finding that he could not do any considerable matter amongst the people, who are cunning to a proverb, he bethought himself of returning to London, and the society of those strumpets in which he took a delight. However, all the way on the road he made a shift to pick up as much as kept him pretty well all the way. On his arrival in town he set up his place of residence in an inn near Leather Lane, Holborn, where he remained one whole day to rest himself after the fatigue of his northern journey. There he reflected on the sad state in which his affairs were, being without money and without friends, justly disregarded by his friends in the country, and hated and despised by all his neighbours. His debts, too, amounted there to near a hundred and forty pounds, so that there was no hopes in going back. The result of these cogitations was that the next day he would go out on the road towards Hampstead, and see what might be made there. He accordingly did so, but with very ill success. However, he returned a second time and had no better; the third day, towards evening, he observed an old gentleman in a chaise by himself, whom he robbed of six guineas, a watch, a mourning-ring, and nine and sixpence in silver, and then making over the fields got home very safe.

For three days he thought fit to remain within doors, under pretence of sickness, fearing lest he should be advertised and described in the public prints; but finding nothing of that happened, he grew bold, and for about fourteen nights continued the same trade constantly, getting, sometimes, two or three pieces, and sometimes losing his labour and getting nothing at all. At length, waiting pretty late for an old man, who, as he was informed, was to come that night with eight hundred pounds about him, although he was so feeble that a child might be able to take it from him, he at length grew impatient, and resolved to rob the first man he met. This proved to be one Mr. Andrews, who raised so quick a pursuit upon him that he never lost sight of him until the time of his being apprehended, when he was carried to Newgate and prosecuted the next sessions for the aforesaid robbery.

He was then indicted for taking from the said Thomas Andrews, after putting him in fear, six or seven shillings in money, a bay mare, bridle and saddle, and a cane, on the 23rd of July, 1730. The evidence was exceedingly clear, he having, as I have said, never gone out of sight, from the time of the robbery to the time he was taken. Under sentence of death the prisoner behaved with great piety and resignation. He showed great



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concern for the offences of his former life, and testified the utmost sorrow for having blemished an honest family by the shame of his vices and their just punishment. The night before his execution he wrote a letter to his parents in the country, which though it be written in a very uncouth style, yet I have thought fit to insert it *verbatim*, because there is a strain in it of unusual confusion and concern, expressing the agony of a dying man with more truth and tenderness than the best penned epistle could have done.

Honoured Parents,
My duty to both, my love to my brother-in-law. I wish to God I had been ruled by you, for now I see the evil of my sin, but I freely die, only the disgrace I have brought on you, my wife and children. I wrote to my wife last Saturday was seven night but had no answer, for I should have been glad to have heard from you before I die, which will be on Wednesday the seventh of this instant October, hoping I have made my peace with God Almighty. I freely forgive all the world, and die in charity with all people. Had it not been for Joyce Hite's sister and Mr. Howel, I might have starved, he told me it has cost him fifteen shillings on my account, and he gave me four more. I desire Thomas Mason will give my wife that locket for my son.
I have nothing more to say, but my prayers to God for you all day and night, and for God's sake, be as kind to my poor wife and children as in your power lies. I desire there might be some care taken of that Estate at Minton for my son. Mr. Botfield hath the old writings, and I beg you will get them and give them to my wife, and pray show her this letter and my love to her, and my blessing to my children, begging of her as I am a dying man to be good to them, and not make any difference in them, but be as kind to one as the other, and if she is able to put the boy to some trade. Mr. Waring and Thomas Tomlings have each of them a book of mine, pray ask for them, which is all I have to say, but my prayers to God for you all, which is all from your Dying Son, Richard Polson. In my Cell. October the 6th. P.S. My love to all my friends. Pray show this letter to my wife as soon as you can, and desire of her to bring up my children in the fear of the Lord, and to make my son a scholar if she is able. There is five of us to die.

In this disposition of mind, and without adding anything to his former confessions he suffered on the seventh of October, 1730, being then in the thirty-third year of his age.





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I have heretofore remarked the great danger there is in having a bad character, and keeping ill-company, from the probability of truth which it gives to every accusation that either malice or interest may induce men to bring against one.

This malefactor was the son of parents in tolerable circumstances, who were careful of his education, and when he grew up bound him apprentice to Captain Matthews, commander of a vessel which traded to Guinea and the West Indies. He behaved at sea very well, and had not the least objection made to his character when he came home. Happy had it been for him if he had gone to sea again, without suffering himself to be tainted with the vices of this great city.

Unfortunately for him, he fell in love with a young woman, and lived with her for some time as his wife. His fondness for this creature drew him to be guilty of those base actions which first brought him to Newgate and the bar at the Old Bailey, and so far blasted his character and unfortunately betrayed him to his death. In the company of this female he quickly lavished what little money he had, and not knowing how to get more, he fell into the persuasions of some wicked young fellows who advised him to take to robbing in the streets. Certain it is that he had not made many attempts (he himself said none) before he was apprehended, and that the first fact he was ever concerned in was stealing a man's hat and tobacco box in Thames Street. This was committed by his companion, who gave them to him, and then running away, left him to be answerable for the fact, for which being indicted at the next sessions at the Old Bailey, he was found guilty, but it being a single felony only it did not affect his life.

However, having been seen there by one Holland, who turned evidence, he thought fit to save his own life by swearing him into the commission of a burglary which himself and one Thomas Griffith actually committed. However, his oath being positive, and the character of this unhappy lad so bad, the people who were robbed were induced to prosecute him with great vehemence, and the jury, on the same presumptions, found him guilty. Griffith, who received sentence with him but afterwards had a pardon, acknowledged that he himself was guilty, but declared at the same time that this unhappy young man was absolutely clear of what was laid to his charge, Holland and himself being the only persons who committed that burglary, and took away the kitchen things which were sworn against him. Moreover, that Armstrong coming to Newgate, and seeing Holland and speaking to him about something, Holland took that opportunity of asking who Armstrong was, and what he came there for, being told the story of his conviction for the hat and wig, he thought fit to add him to his former information against Griffith, and so by swearing against two, effectually secured himself. In this story both the unhappy person of whom we are speaking and Thomas Griffith, who was condemned for and confessed the fact agreed, and Armstrong went to death absolutely denying the fact for which he was to suffer.

At the place of execution his colour changed, and though at other times he appeared to be a bold young man, yet now his courage failed him, he trembled and turned pale, besought the people to pray for his soul, and in great agony and confusion, submitted to death on the seventh day of October, 1730, being at the time of his death about twenty-two years of age.



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This unfortunate person was born at Ballingary, near Limerick, in the west of Ireland, of parents in very tolerable circumstances, who gave him a very good education; but perceiving that he had a martial disposition, they resolved not to cross it, and therefore, though he was not above fourteen years of age, got him recommended to an officer, who received him as a dragoon. He served about four years with a very good reputation in the army; but he had a brother who then rode in a regiment of horse, who wrote to him from London, and encouraged him to come over into England, which occasioned his writing to his officer to desire his discharge. To this his officer readily agreed.

He went thereupon from the north of Ireland to the west, to his friend, where having equipped himself with clothing, linen and other necessaries, he then came to London, expecting to meet his brother. But on his arrival here he was disappointed, and that disappointment, together with his want of money, made him very uneasy. At last, in order to procure bread, he resolved to list himself in the Foot Guards. He did so, and continued in them for about two years, during which time, he says in his dying declaration, that he did duty as well, and appeared as clean as any man in the company; nay, in all that time, he avers that he never neglected his guard but once, which was very fatal to him, for it brought him into the acquaintance of those who betrayed him to measures which cost him his life. For being taken up and carried to the Savoy for the afore-mentioned offence, he had not been long in prison before Wilson, who had been concerned with Burnworth, *alias* Frazier, and the rest in the murder of Mr. Ball in the Mint; and one Mr. G—, an old highwayman, though he had never conversed with him before, came to pay him a visit.

They treated him both with meat and drink, seemed to commiserate his condition very much, and promised him that he should not want twelvepence a day, during the time in confinement. This promise was very well kept, and Gilburn in a few days obtained his liberty. The next day he met Wilson in St. James's Park, who after complimenting him upon his happy deliverance, invited him to a house in Spring Gardens to drink and make merry together. Gilburn readily consented, and after discoursing of courage, want of money, the miseries of poverty, and some other preparatory articles, Wilson parted with him for that time, appointing another meeting with him at eleven o'clock the next morning. There Wilson pursued his former topic, and at last told him plainly that the best and shortest method to relieve their wants was to go on the highway; and when he had once made this step, he scrupled not to make a further, telling Gilburn that there was no such danger in those practices as was generally apprehended, for that with a little care and circumspection the gallows might be well enough avoided, which he said was plain enough from his own adventures, since he had lived several years in the profession, and by being cautious enough to look about him, had escaped any confinement.

Gilburn heard this account with terror. He had never committed anything of this kind hitherto, and knew very well that if he once engaged he could never afterwards go back. Wilson seemed not at all uneasy at his pause, but artfully introducing discourse on other subjects, plied him in the meanwhile with liquor, until he saw him pretty warm, and then resumed the story



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of his own adventures and of the facility of acquiring money when a man is but well stored with courage and has ever so little conduct. This artifice unfortunately had its effect, Wilson's conversation and the fumes of liquor prevailing so far upon Gilburn that, as he himself phrased it, he resolved at last upon business.

The day following, Gilburn provided himself with pistols, and removed his quarters to go and live with Wilson, who encouraged him with all the arguments he was able to stick to his new profession, and Gilburn in return swore he would live and die with him. So at night they went out together in quest of adventures. The road they took was towards Paddington. A little after they were come into the fields, they attacked a gentleman and took from him eight shillings, with which Gilburn was very much pleased, though they had little luck after, so that they returned at last to their lodgings, weary and fatigued, and were obliged to mount guard the next morning. When their guard was over, they were, as Mr. Gilburn expresses it in his last speech, as bare as a bird's arse, so no time was to be lost, and accordingly that very night they made their second expedition. Nobody coming in their way, Gilburn began to fret, and at last falling into a downright passion, swore he would rob the first man he met. He was as good as his word, and the booty he got proved a tolerable provision for some days.

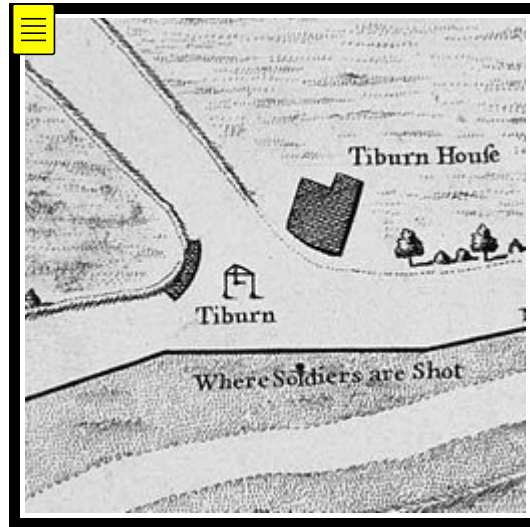
But guard-day drawing nigh again, Wilson told him there was no mounting without money, and the same methods were taken as formerly; but as the leagues by which men are united in villainy are liable to a thousand inconveniencies which are uneasily born, and yet hard to be remedied, so Wilson's humours being very different from that of Gilburn, they soon began to differ about the money they acquired by plunder. At last, coming one night very much tired and fatigued to a public-house where Wilson was acquainted, they called for some drink to refresh themselves, which when they had done, Gilburn was for dividing the money, himself standing in need of linen and other necessaries. Wilson, on the other hand, was for having a bowl of punch, and words thereupon arose to such a height that at last they fell to fighting. This quarrel was irreconcilable, and they absolutely parted company, though Gilburn unfortunately pursued the same road; and having robbed a gentleman on horseback of several yards of fine padusoy, he was shortly after apprehended and committed to Newgate.

At first he absolutely denied the fact, but when he was convicted, and saw no hopes of pardon, he acknowledged what had been sworn against him by the prosecutor to be true, attended with much gravity at chapel, and seemed to be greatly afflicted through a due sense of those many sins which he had committed. Wilson, his companion, had a little before been executed at Kingston, and Gilburn with all outward signs of contrition, suffered the same death at Tyburn, at the same time with the before-mentioned malefactor, being at the time of his death

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about twenty-two years of age.



November 16, Monday (Old Style): James O'Bryan, Hugh Morris, and Robert Johnson, highwaymen and street-robbers, were hanged on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²⁹⁴

Amongst the many flagrant vices of the present age, there is none more remarkable than the strange property we see in young people to commit the most notorious crimes, provided they may thereby furnish themselves with money enough to support their lavish expenses in vices which in former times were scarce heard of by lads of that age, at which our boldest highwaymen begin to exert themselves now.

The first of these unfortunate lads, James O'Bryan, was born at Dublin, was brought over hither young, and had a good education given him which he had very little inclination to make a proper use of. Nothing could persuade him to go out to a trade; on the contrary, he pretended he would apply himself to his father's employment, which was that of a plasterer. But as working was required, he soon grew out of humour with it, and addicted himself wholly to strolling about the streets with such wicked lads as himself, and so was easily drawn in to think of supplying himself with money by the plunder of honest people, in order to carry on those debaucheries in which, though a lad, he was already deeply immersed.

Women, forsooth, drew this spark away from the paths of virtue and goodness at about sixteen years old, after which time he lost all sense of duty to his parents, respect of laws divine or human, and even care of himself. It seems he found certain houses in Chick Lane, where they met abundance of loose young men and women, accustomed themselves to every kind of debauchery which it was possible for wicked people to commit or the most fruitful genius to invent. Here he fell into the company of his two companions, Morris and Johnson.

The first of these was the son of an unfortunate tradesman who had once kept a great shop, and lived in good reputation in the Strand, but through the common calamities of life, he was so unfortunate as to break, and laying it too much to heart, died

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soon after it, happy, however, in one thing, that he did not live to see the deplorable end of his son by the hand of justice. Robert Johnson was the son of honest parents, and had a very good education, but put it to a very ill use; for having all his life time been addicted to pilfering and thieving, at last he fell into the company of these unfortunate young men who led him a directer way to the gallows than perhaps he might have found himself. One of his chief inducements to forfeit reputation and hazard life by engaging in street robberies, was his commencing an amour with his father's servant-maid, and not long after falling into a multitude of such like adventures, the ready road to inevitable ruin.

These three sparks, together with Bernard Fink, and another person who turned evidence against them, came all at the same time to a resolution of attacking people in the streets; and having provided themselves with pistols and whatever else they thought necessary for putting their design in execution, they immediately set about it, and though but boys, committed bolder and more numerous robberies than had ever hitherto been heard of. It may, indeed, seem surprising that lads of their age should be able to intimidate passengers, but when it is considered that having less precaution than older rogues, they were more ready at firing pistols or otherwise injuring those whom they attacked, than any set of fellows who had hitherto disturbed the crown, this wonder will wear off.

It was not above two months that they continued their depredations, but in that time they had been exceedingly busy, and had committed a multitude of facts. One gentleman whom they attacked in Lincoln's Inn Fields, refused to surrender, and drew his sword upon Morris. That young robber immediately fired his pistol, and the rest coming to his assistance, the gentleman thought it but prudent to retire, the noise they made having alarmed the watch and so prevented his losing anything.

After this it became a very common practice with them, as soon as they stopped anybody, to clap a pistol under their nose, and bid them smell at it, while one of their companions, with a thousand execrations, threatened to blow their brains out if they made the least resistance. As soon as the business of the night was over, they immediately adjourned to their places of rendezvous at Chick Lane, or to other houses of the same stamp elsewhere, and without the least consideration of the hazards they had run, squandered the wages of their villainies upon such impudent strumpets as for the lucre of a few shillings prostituted themselves to them in these debaucheries.

Mr. O'Bryan was the hero of this troop of infant robbers; he valued himself much on never meddling with small matters or committing any meaner crime than that of the highway. It happened he had a mistress coming out of the country and he would needs have his companions take each of them a doxy and go with him as far as Windsor to receive her. They readily complied, and at Windsor they were all seized and from thence brought to town, two of their own gang turning evidence, so that on the clearest proof, they were all three convicted.

Under sentence of death they behaved with great audacity, seemed to value themselves on the crimes they had committed, caused several disturbances at chapel and discovered little or no sense of that miserable condition in which they were. O'Bryan died a Papist, and in the cart read with great earnestness a book of



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devotions in that way. He wrote a letter to his father the day before he died, and also something which he called verses to his sister, both of which I have subjoined *verbatim* that my readers may have the better idea of the capacity of those poor creatures.

To Mr. Terrance O'Bryan, living in Burleigh Street in the Strand. Honoured Father and Mother,
The uneasiness I give you is more terror to me than the thoughts of death, but pray make yourselves as easy as you can, for I hope I am going to a better place; for God is my refuge and my strength, and my helper in time of tribulation, and pray take care of my brother now whilst he is young, and make him serve God, and keep him out of bad company. If I had served God as I ought to have done, and kept out of bad company, I had not come to this unhappy misfortune, but I hope it is for the good of my soul, it is good I hope what God has at present ordained for me, for there is mercy in the foresight of death, and in the time God has given me to prepare for it. A natural death might have had less terror, for in that I might have wanted many advantages which are now granted me. My trust is in God, and I hope he won't reward me according to my deserts. All that I can suffer here must have an end, for this life is short, so are all the sufferings of it, but the next life is Eternal. Pray give my love to my sister, and desire her not to neglect her duty to God. I hope you are all well, as I am at present, I thank God. So no more at present.

From your unhappy and undutiful son, James O'Bryan.

The verses sent by James O'Bryan to his sister two days before his execution:

My loving tender sister dear,
From you I soon must part I fear.
Think not on my wretched state,
Nor grieve for my unhappy fate,
But serve the Lord with all your heart,
And from you He'll never part.
When I am dead and in my tomb,
For my poor soul I hope there's room,
In Heaven with God above on high,
I hope to live eternally.

At the time of their execution James O'Bryan was about twenty, Hugh Morris seventeen, and Robert Johnson not full twenty years of age, which was on the 16th of November, 1730.

December 23, Wednesday (Old Style): Abraham White, Francis Sanders, John Mines, *alias* Minsham, *alias* Mitchell, Constance Buckle, and Joshua Cornwall, thieves and housebreakers, were [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside London.²⁹⁵

Of these unfortunate lads, Abraham White was born of mean parents who had it not in their power to give him much education, but taught him, however, the business of a bricklayer, which was his father's trade, and by which, doubtless, if he had been

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careful, he might have got his bread. But he unfortunately addicting himself from childhood to drinking and lewd company, soon plunged himself into all manner of wickedness, and quickly brought on a fatal necessity of stepping into the road of the gallows; and associating himself with Sanders and Minsham, they had all gone together upon the road for about six weeks before they were taken.

Francis Sanders was a young fellow of very tolerable arts and education. He had been put out apprentice to a stay-maker, attained to a great proficiency in his trade; and by the help of his friends, who were very willing to lend him their assistance, he might have done very well in the world if it had not been for that unfortunate inclination to roving, which continually possessed him. His acquaintance with a certain bad woman was in all probability the first cause of his addicting himself to ill-courses, and as in the papers I have before me relating to him, her history is also contained, I thought it would not be unentertaining to my readers if I ventured to insert it. This woman's true name was Mary Smith. She was brought up, while young, from her native country of Yorkshire to London, where getting into the service of an eminent shopkeeper, she might, had she been honest and industrious, have lived easily and with credit; but unfortunately both for herself and her master's apprentice, the young man took a liking to her, and one night, having first taken care to make himself master of the key of her door, he came out of his chamber into hers, where after a faint resistance, he got to bed to her. Their correspondence was carried on for a good while without suspicion, but the young man having one night stole a bottle of rum with a design that it should make his mistress and he merry together before they went to bed, they inconsiderately drank so heartily of it that the next morning they slept so sound that their master and mistress came upstairs at ten o'clock, and found them in bed together. Upon this, the wench, without more ado, was turned out of doors, and was forced to live at an alehouse of ill-repute, where Sanders used to come of an evening, and so got acquainted with her.

John Minsham was an unfortunate wretch, born of mean parents, and equally destitute of capacity or education. From the time he had been able to crawl alone, he had known scarce any other home than the street. Shoe-blacks and such like vagabonds were his constant companions, and the only honest employment he ever pretended to was that of a hackney-coachman, which the brethren of the whip had taught him out of charity.

Thus furnished with bad principles, and every way fitted for those detestable practices into which they precipitated themselves, they first got into one another's company at a dram-shop near St. Giles in the Fields, much frequented by Constance Buckle, a most lewd and abandoned strumpet, and one Rowland Jones, a fellow of as bad principles as themselves. One night, having intoxicated themselves with the vile manufacture of the house, they went out, after they had spent their money, and in Bloomsbury Square attacked one John Ross, from whom they took away a hat value five shillings, and fourpence halfpenny in money. This man, it seems, lived the very next door to the gin-shop where they frequented. Going there the next day, to make complaint, he was immediately told that the people who had robbed him had sold his hat, and were coming thither by and by



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to drink the money out in gin. Upon this information Ross procured proper assistance, and the people keeping their appointment pretty exactly, were all surprised and taken.

In the confusion they were under when first apprehended, Minsham and Sanders in part owned the fact, but Rowland Jones making a full and frank discovery, was accepted as an evidence, and produced against them at their trial at the ensuing sessions at the Old Bailey, where, upon full evidence, they were all convicted of this fact, and Francis Sanders, Constance Buckle, and Robert Tyler, were indicted for assaulting Richard Smith on the highway, putting him in fear, and taking from him a hat value five shillings.

Rowland Jones, the evidence, deposed that the night the robbery was committed he was in company with the prisoners at a brandy shop, where having drunk until they were all pretty much elevated, they went out in order to see what they could pick up. And not far from the place they went from, overtaking a man whom they saw had a pretty good hat on, Sanders hit him a blow in the face, and that not doing the business, he repeated it, and at the second blow, the hat fell off from his head, whereupon Constance Buckle caught it and clapped it under her coat. The constable deposed that by the information of Rowland Jones, he apprehended the prisoners. Constance Buckle acknowledged that she was in their company when the man was knocked down and the hat taken, whereupon the jury, without withdrawing, found them guilty, and they received sentence of death.

The woman Constance Buckle pleaded her being with child, and a jury of matrons being impannelled, they found she was quick, and thereby procured her a respite of execution, and soon after her sentence was changed to transportation. The rest, under conviction, behaved themselves very indifferently, and manifested sufficiently that though custom and an evil disposition might make them bold in the commission of robberies, yet when death looked them steadily and unavoidably in the face, all that resolution forsook them, and in their last moments they behaved with all the appearances of terror which are usually seen in souls just awakened to a due sense of their guilt. They died on the 23rd of December, 1730; White being eighteen, Sanders near eighteen, and Minsham sixteen years of age.



Though vices are undoubtedly the chief instruments that bring unhappy persons to that ignominious death which the Law hath appointed for enormous offences, yet it very often happens that folly rather than wickedness brings them first into the road of ruin; in which, led on by delusive hopes, they continue to run until a disastrous fate overtakes them, and puts an end at once to their vicious race, and to their lives. The criminal whose memoirs at present employ our pen is such an example as I hope,

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while it entertains, may also instruct my readers to avoid his errors.

This unfortunate man was the son of reputable and honest parents in the town of Brigg in the county of Lincoln. Their circumstances were such as enabled them to give him an education; and the desire they had of doing everything that was possible for their son inclined them not to be wanting in this particular. His mother, was fond of him to a fault, and being permitted by her indulgence to run up and down amongst young people of his own age, riding across the country to friends and other diversions of a like nature, he lost all liking to things of a serious nature, and without thinking how to procure the necessaries of life, was altogether taken up in enjoying those pleasures to which he had the greatest inclination. In the midst of this pleasant situation of things (at least as it appeared to him at that time) the prospect was darkened by the death of his mother. His friends retained for him a due paternal affection, but had no notion of permitting him to go on the life he led, and therefore to break him of that as well as to make him acquainted with an honest method of getting his living, his father put him out apprentice to a baker in Hull.

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.





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But as kindness seemed of all things the most fatal to this unhappy man, so the acquaintance and friendship which his master had for Cornwall's family became a new means of leading him into misfortune, for treating the young man rather with a tenderness due to a son than that severity which is usually practised towards apprentices and servants, it gave him an opportunity of renewing his old course of life. Instead of inclining him to behave in a manner which might deserve such lenity, it gave him, on the contrary, occasion frequently to abuse it by running from one dancing bout and merry-making to another, without the least care of his master's business, who out of downright affection forbore to restrain his follies with that harshness which they deserved, and which any other person would have used.

At length, having acquired so great a habit of laziness and so strong an aversion to business that he found it impossible for him to live longer in the country, he came up to London, that great receptacle of those who are either unable or unwilling to live anywhere else. Here he got into service as a footman with several persons of worth, and discharged his duty well (as indeed it was a kind of life which of all others suited him best), so that he obtained a tolerable reputation whereby he got into the service of one Mr. Fenwick, a gentleman of affluent fortune. Here it was that through desire of abounding in money he either drew in others, or was drawn in himself to commit that crime which cost him his life.

It seems that in Mr. Fenwick's family there was a great deal of plate used, which stood on a buffet. This tempted Cornwall, and it is highly likely gave him the first notion of attempting to rob the house. When he had once formed this project he resolved to take in one Rivers, a debauched companion of his, as a partner in the designed theft.

This Rivers was certainly easy enough prevailed on to join in the commission of this fact, and after several meetings to consult upon proper measures, Rivers at last proposed that their scheme should be put in execution as soon as possible; and that he might the more perfectly conceive how it was to be managed, he went home with Cornwall, and looked upon the house. Soon after this they held their last consultation, and Cornwall saying to Rivers that he must bring some other persons to assist him, Rivers made choice of one Girst, and coming with him at the appointed hour, Cornwall in his shirt opened the door and let them in. In the buffet there stood a lighted candle in a silver candle-stick, by which they were directed to the rest of the plate, which as soon as they had taken out, they placed all together upon the carpet, and fell next to rifling Mr. Fenwick's bureau, and took out a great quantity of linen, a lady's lace, the tea equipage, and two silver canisters. Then making it up in a bundle, it was carried to River's lodgings in Vinegar Yard, Drury Lane.

All this could not be performed with so little noise as not to disturb the family. Mr. Fenwick himself heard the noise, being awakened by his wife, who had heard it for some time, but it ceasing they fell asleep again until one of the servants came up in the morning, and told his master that the house had been robbed, the plate taken away, and a window in the back parlour left open, about which, as he could observe no marks of violence, he was led to suspect it was opened by somebody in the family; upon which Cornwall and a maid in the house were immediately



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thought to have a hand in. However, as there was no sort of proof, Mr. Fenwick forbore seizing them at that time, and contented himself with advertizing his plate; which advertisement coming into the hands of a pawnbroker, to whom a part of it had been pledged, he immediately gave notice that it was pawned to him by Rivers. A warrant being upon this obtained for the searching of River's lodging, a note was there found, directed to Thomas Rivers, Glover, in Guy's Court, Vinegar Yard, Drury Lane, in which were these words:

Dear Tom,

Let me see you at seven o'clock to-morrow morning, at the Postern Spring, Tower Hill, be sure.

Joshua Cornwall.

Upon this Cornwall was immediately taken up and Girst readily offered himself an evidence. In a few days after, sessions coming on, Joshua Cornwall and Thomas Rivers were indicted for burglariously breaking the house of Nicholas Fenwick, Esq., and taking thence divers pieces of plate, to the value of eighty-five pounds nineteen shillings, holland shirts to the value of twenty pounds, and other goods of the said Mr. Fenwick, on the 8th day of September, 1730. This indictment being fully proved, the jury found Thomas Rivers guilty thereof. But being dubious whether Joshua Cornwall, as a servant within the house of Mr. Fenwick, could be properly convicted of burglariously breaking into his said master's house, they found their verdict as to him special; which the judges having considered, they were unanimously of opinion that the crime was in its nature a burglary. Whereupon, at the following sessions at the Old Bailey, the criminal was brought to the bar, and being acquainted with their lordships' opinion, received sentence of death.

Under conviction, he behaved himself with great penitence, said he had not been guilty of many of those atrocious crimes commonly practised by such as come to that fatal end whither his folly had led him. At the place of execution he, with great fervency, justified the character of a young woman who had lived fellow-servant with him at Mr. Fenwick's. He declared, as he was a dying man, that she was not in the least privy to the injury done her master, and that he had no other than an acquaintance with her, without either having, or attempting any criminal conversation with her. Having done this justice, he seemed to die with much composure, in the twenty-second year of his age, on the 23rd of December, 1730.



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THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE AND SURPRISING ADVENTURES OF

JOHN GOW, ALIAS SMITH,

A MOST NOTORIOUS PIRATE AND MURDERER²⁹⁶

The principal use to which a work of this nature can be applied is to engage persons to refuse the first stirrings of their passions, and the slighted emotions of vice in their breasts, since they see before their eyes so many sad examples of the fatal consequences which follow upon rash and wicked enterprises, of which the following history exhibits as extraordinary an instance as perhaps is anywhere to be found.

In giving an account of this malefactor, we are obliged to begin with his embarking on board the vessel which he afterwards seized and went a-pirating in. It was called the *George* galley, and was of about two hundred tons burden, commanded by Oliver Ferneau, a Frenchman, but a subject of the Crown of England, who entertained this Gow as a private seaman only, but afterwards, to his great misfortune, preferred him to be the second mate in the voyage of which we are next to speak.

Captain Ferneau being a man of reputation among the merchants of Amsterdam, got a voyage for his ship from thence to Santa Cruz on the coast of Barbary, to load beeswax, and to carry it to Genoa, which was his delivering port; and as the Dutch, having war with the Turks of Algiers, were willing to employ him as an English ship, so he was as willing to be manned with English seamen, and accordingly among the rest, he unhappily took on board this Gow with his wretched gang, such as MacCauly, Melvin, Williams and others. But not being able to man themselves wholly with English or Scots, he was obliged to take some Swedes, and other seamen to make his complement, which was twenty-three in all. Among the latter sort, one was named Winter, and another Peterson, both of them Swedes by nation, but wicked as Gow and his other fellows were. They sailed from the Texel in the month of August, 1724, and arrived at Santa Cruz on the second of September following, where having a super-cargo on board, who took charge of the loading, and four chests of money to purchase it, they soon got the beeswax, on board, and on the third of November they appointed to set sail to pursue the voyage.

That day the ship having lain two months in the road at Santa Cruz, taking in her lading, the captain made preparations to put to sea, and the usual signals for sailing having been given, some of the merchants from on shore, who had been concerned in furnishing the cargo, came on board in the forenoon to take their leave of the captain, and wish him a good voyage, as is usual on such occasions. Whether it was concerted by the whole gang beforehand, we know not, but while the captain was treating and entertaining the merchants under the awning upon the quarter

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deck, as is the custom in those hot countries, three of the seamen, viz., Winter and Peterson, two Swedes, and MacCauly a Scotchman, came rudely upon the quarter deck as if they took the opportunity because the merchants were present, believing the captain would not use any violence with them in the presence of the merchants.

They made a long complaint of all their ill-usage, and particularly of their provisions and allowance, as they said, being not sufficient nor such as was ordinarily made in other merchant ships, seeming to load the captain, Monsieur Ferneau, with being the occasion of it, and that he did it for his private gain, which however had not been true. If the fact had been true, the overplus of provisions (if the stores had been more than sufficient) belonged to the owners, not to the captain, at the end of the voyage, there being also a steward on board to take the account. In making this complaint they seemed to direct their speech to the merchants as well as to the captain, as if they had been concerned in the ship, or as if desiring them to intercede for them with the captain, that they might have redress and a better allowance.

The captain was highly provoked at this rudeness, as indeed he had reason, it being a double affront to him as it was done in the view of the merchants who were come on board to him, to do him an honour at parting. However, he restrained his passion, and gave them not the least angry word, only that if they were aggrieved they had no more to do but to let him have know of it; that if they were ill-used it was not by his order that he would enquire into it and if anything was amiss it should be rectified, with which the seamen withdrew, seemingly well satisfied with his answer.

About five the same evening they unmoored the ship and hove short upon their best bower anchor, awaiting the land breeze (as is usual on that coast) to carry them out to sea; but instead of that, it fell stark calm, and the captain fearing the ship would fall foul of her own anchor, ordered the mizen top-sail to be furled. Peterson, one of the malcontent seamen, being the nearest man at hand seemed to go about it, but moved so carelessly and heavily that it appeared plainly he did not care whether it was done or no, and particularly as if he had a mind the captain should see it and take notice of it. Which the captain did, for perceiving how awkwardly he went about it, he spoke a little tartly to him, and asked him what was the reason he did not stir a little and furl the sail. Peterson, as if he had waited for the question, answered in a surly tone, and with a kind of disdain, *So as we eat, so shall we work*. This he spoke aloud, so that he might be sure the captain heard him and the rest of the men also, and it was evident that as he spoke in plural numbers, *We*, so he spoke their minds as well as his own, and words which they all agreed to before.

The captain, however, though he heard plain enough what he said, took not the least notice of it, or gave him the least reason to believe he had heard him, being not willing to begin a quarrel with the men and knowing that if he took any notice at all of it, he must resent it and punish it too.

Soon after this, the calm went off, and the land breeze sprang up, and they immediately weighed and stood out to sea; but the captain having had these two bustles with his men just at their putting to sea, was very uneasy in his mind, as indeed he had



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reason to be; and the same evening, soon after they were under sail, the mate being walking on the quarter deck, he went, and taking two or three turns with him, told him how he had been used by the men, particularly how they affronted him before the merchants, and what an answer Peterson had given him on the quarter deck, when he ordered him to furl the mizen top sail. The mate was as surprised at these things as the captain, and after some other discourse about it, in which it was their unhappiness not to be so private as they ought to have been in a case of such importance, the captain told him he thought it was absolutely necessary to have a quantity of small arms brought immediately into the great cabin, not only to defend themselves if there should be occasion, but also that he might be in a posture to correct those fellows for their insolence, especially should he meet with any more of it. The mate agreed that it was necessary to be done, and had they said no more, or said this more privately, all had been well, and the wicked design had been much more difficult, if not the execution of it effectually prevented.

But two mistakes in this part was the ruin of them all. First, that the captain spoke it without due caution, so that Winter and Peterson, the two principal malcontents, who were expressly mentioned by the captain to be corrected, overheard it, and knew by that means what they had to expect if they did not immediately bestir themselves to prevent it. The other mistake was that when the captain and mate agreed that it was necessary to have arms got ready, and brought into the great cabin, the captain unhappily bid him go immediately to Gow, the second mate and gunner, and give him orders to get the arms cleared and loaded for him, and to bring them up to the great cabin; which was in short to tell the conspirators that the captain was preparing to be too strong for them, if they did not fall to work with him immediately.

Winter and Peterson went immediately forward, where they knew the rest of the mutineers were, and to whom they communicated what they had heard, telling them that it was time to provide for their own safety, for otherwise their destruction was resolved on, and the captain would soon be in such a posture that there would be no muddling with him. While they were thus consulting, as they said, only for their own safety, Gow and Williams came into them with some others to the number of eight, and no sooner were they joined by these two, but they fell downright to the point which Gow had so long formed in his own mind, viz., to seize upon the captain and mate, and all those that they could not bring to join with them; in short, to throw them into the sea, and to go upon the account. All those who are acquainted with the sea language know the meaning of that expression, and that it is, in few words, to run away with the ship and turn [pirates](#).

Villainous designs are soonest concluded; as they had but little time to consult upon what measures they should take, so very little consultation served for what was before them, and they came to this short but hellish resolution, viz., that they would immediately, that very night, murder the captain and such others as they named, and afterwards proceed with the ship as they should see cause. And here it is to be observed that though Winter and Peterson were in the first proposal, namely to prevent their being brought to correction by the captain, yet



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Gow and Williams were the principal advisers in the bloody part, which however the rest came into soon; for, as I said before, as they had but little time to resolve in, so they had but very little debate about it but what was first proposed was forthwith engaged in and consented to.

It must not be omitted that Gow had always had the wicked game of pirating in his head, and that he had attempted it, or rather tried to attempt it before, but was not able to bring it to pass; so he and Williams had also several times, even in this very voyage, dropped some hints of this vile design, as they thought there was room for it, and touched two or three times at what a noble opportunity they had of enriching themselves, and making their fortunes, as they wickedly called it. This was when they had the four chests of money on board and Williams made it a kind of jest in his discourse, how easily they might carry it off, ship and all. But as they did not find themselves seconded, or that any of the men showed themselves in favour of such a thing, but rather spoke of it with abhorrence they passed it over as a kind of discourse that had nothing at all in it, except that one of the men, viz., the surgeon, once took them up short for so much as mentioning such a thing, told them the thought was criminal and it ought not to be spoken of among them, which reproof was supposed cost him his life afterwards.

As Gow and his comrade had thus started the thing at a distance before, though it was then without success, yet they had the less to do now, when other discontents had raised a secret fire in the breasts of the men; for now, being as it were mad and desperate with apprehensions of their being severely punished by the captain, they wanted no persuasions to come into the most wicked undertaking that the devil or any of his angels could propose to them. Nor do we find that upon any of their examinations they pretended to have made any scruples or objections to the cruelty of the bloody attempt that was to be made, but came to it at once, and resolved to put it in execution immediately, that is to say, the very same evening.

It was the captain's constant custom to call all the ship's company into the great cabin every night at eight o'clock to prayers, and then the watch being set, one went upon deck, and the other turned in, or, as the seamen phrase it, went to their hammocks to sleep; and here they concerted their devilish plot. It was the turn of five of the conspirators to go to sleep, and of these Gow and Williams were two. The three who were to be upon the deck were Winter, Rowlinson, and Melvin, a Scotchman. The persons they immediately designed for destruction were four, viz., the captain, the mate, the super-cargo, and the surgeon, whereof all but the captain were gone to sleep, the captain himself being upon the quarter deck.

Between nine and ten at night, all being quiet and secure, and the poor gentlemen that were to be murdered fast asleep, the villains that were below gave the watch-word, which was, *Who fires next?* At which they all got out of their hammocks with as little noise as they could, and going in the dark to the hammocks of the chief mate, super-cargo and surgeon, they cut all their throats. The surgeon's throat was cut so effectually that he could struggle very little with them, but leaping out of his hammock, ran up to get upon the deck, holding his hand upon his throat. But he stumbled at the tiller, and falling down had no breath, and consequently no strength to raise himself, but died



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where he lay.

The mate, whose throat was cut but not his windpipe, struggled so vigorously with the villain who attacked him that he got away from him and into the hold; and the super-cargo, in the same condition, got forwards between decks under some deals and both of them begged with the most moving cries and entreaties for their lives. And when nothing could prevail, they begged with the same earnestness for but a few moments to pray to God, and recommend their souls to mercy. But alike in vain, for the wretched murderers, heated with blood, were past pity, and not being able to come at them with their knives, with which they had begun the execution, they shot them with their pistols, firing several times upon each of them until they found they were quite dead.

As all this, even before the firing, could not be done without some noise, the captain, who was walking alone upon the quarter-deck, called out and asked what was the matter. The boatswain, who sat on the after bits, and was not of the party, answered he could not tell, but he was afraid there was somebody overboard; upon which the captain stepped towards the ship's side to look over. Then Winter, Rowlinson and Melvin, coming that moment behind him, laid hands on him, and lifting him up, attempted to throw him overboard into the sea; but he being a nimble strong man, got hold of the shrouds and struggled so hard with them that they could not break his hold. Turning his head to look behind him to see who he had to deal with, one of them cut his throat with a broad Dutch knife; but neither was that wound mortal, for the captain still struggled with them, and seeing he should undoubtedly be murdered, he constantly cried up to God for mercy, for he found there was none to be expected from them. During this struggle, another of the murderers stabbed him with a knife in the back, and that with such a force that the villain could not draw the knife out again to repeat his blow, which he would otherwise have done.

At this moment Gow came up from the butchery he had been at between decks, and seeing the captain still alive, he went close up to him and shot him, as he confessed, with a brace of bullets. What part he shot him in could not be known, though they said he had shot him in the head; however, he had yet life enough (though they threw him overboard) to take hold of a rope, and would still have saved himself but they cut that rope and then he fell into the sea, and was seen no more.

Thus they finished the tragedy, having murdered four of the principal men in command in the ship, so that there was nobody now to oppose them; for Gow being second mate and gunner, the command fell to him, of course, and the rest of the men having no arms ready, not knowing how to get at any, were in utmost consternation, expecting they would go on with the work and cut their throats. In this fright everyone shifted for himself. As for those who were upon deck, some got up in the round tops, others got into the ship's head, resolving to throw themselves into the sea rather than be mangled with knives and murdered as the captain and mate, etc., had been. Those who were below, not knowing what to do, or whose turn it should be next, lay still in their hammocks expecting death every moment, and not daring to stir lest the villains should think they did it in order to make resistance, which however they were in no way capable of doing, having no concert one with another, not knowing anything



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in particular of one another, as who was alive or who was dead. Had the captain, who was himself a bold and stout man, been in his great cabin with three or four men with him, and his fire-arms, as he intended to have had, those eight fellows had never been able to have done their work. But every man was taken unprovided, and in the utmost surprise, so that the murderers met with no resistance; and as for those what were left, they were less able to make resistance than the other, so that, as has been said, they were in the utmost terror and amazement, expecting every minute to be murdered as the rest had been. But the villains had done. The persons who had any command were dispatched, so they cooled a little as to blood. The first thing they did afterwards, was to call up all the eight upon the quarter deck, where they congratulated one another, and shook hands together, engaging to proceed by joint consent in their resolved design, that is, of turning pirates. In order to which, they unanimously chose Gow to command the ship, promising all subjection and obedience to his orders, so that we must now call him Captain Gow, and he, by the same consent of the rest, named Williams his lieutenant. Other officers they appointed afterwards.

The first orders they issued was to let all the rest of the men know that if they continued quiet and offered not to meddle with any of their affairs, they should receive no hurt, but chiefly forbade any man to set a foot abaft the main mast, except they were called to the helm, upon pain of being immediately cut to pieces, keeping for that purpose one man at the steerage door, and one upon the quarter deck with drawn cutlasses in their hands. But there was no need for it, for the men were so terrified with the bloody doings they had seen, that they never offered to come in sight until they were called.

Their next work was to throw overboard the three dead bodies of the mate, the surgeon, and the super-cargo, which they said lay in their way; that was soon done, their pockets being first searched and rifled. From thence they went to work with the great cabin and with all the lockers, chests, boxes and trunks. These they broke open and rifled, that is, such of them as belonged to the murdered persons, and whatever they found there they shared among themselves. When they had done this, they called for liquor, and sat down to drinking until morning, leaving the men, as above, to keep guard, and particularly to guard the arms, but relieved them from time to time as they saw occasion.

By this time they had drawn in four more of the men to approve of what they had done, and promised to join with them, so that now there were twelve in number, and being but twenty-four at first, whereof four were murdered, they had but eight men to be apprehensive of, and those they could easily look after. So the next day, they sent for them all to appear before their new captain, where they were told by Gow what his resolution was, viz., to go a-cruising or to go upon the account. If they were willing to join with them and go into their measures, they should be well used, and there should be no distinction among them but they should all fare alike; he said that they had been forced to do what they had done by the barbarous usage of Ferneau, but that there was now no looking back; and therefore, as they had not been concerned in what was past, they had nothing to do but to act in concert, do their duty as sailors, and obey orders for the good of the ship, and no harm should come to any of them.



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As they all looked like condemned prisoners brought up to the bar to receive sentence of death, so they all answered by a profound silence, which Gow took as they meant it, viz, as a consent because they durst not refuse. So they were then permitted to go up and down everywhere as they used to do, though such of them as sometimes afterwards showed any reluctance to act as principals, were never trusted, always suspected and very often severely beaten. Some of them were in many ways inhumanly treated and that particularly by Williams, the lieutenant, who was in his nature a merciless, cruel, and inexorable wretch, as we shall have occasion to take notice of again in its place.

They were now in a new circumstance of life, and acting upon a different stage of business, though upon the same stage as to the element, the water. Before they were a merchant ship, laden upon a good account, with merchants' goods from the coast of Barbary, and bound to the coast of Italy; but they were now a crew of pirates, or as they call them in the Levant, Corsairs, bound nowhere but to look out for purchase and spoil wherever they could find it. In pursuit of this wicked trade they first changed the name of the ship, which was before called the *George* galley, and which they called now the *Revenge*, a name, indeed, suitable to the bloody steps they had taken. In the next place they made the best of the ship's forces. The ship had but twelve guns mounted when they came out of Holland, but as they had six more good guns in the hold with cartridges and everything proper for service (which they had in store through being freighted for the Dutch merchants, and the Algerians being at war with the Dutch), they supposed they might want them for defence. Now they took care to mount them for a much worse design, so that now they had eighteen guns, though too many for the number of hands they had on board. In the third place, instead of pursuing their voyage to Genoa with the ship's cargo, they took a clear contrary course, and resolved to station themselves upon the coasts of Spain and Portugal, and to cruise upon all nations; but what they chiefly aimed at was a ship with wine, if possible, for that they wanted extremely.

The first prize they took was an English sloop, belonging to Pool, Thomas Wise commander, bound from Newfoundland with fish for Cadiz. This was a prize of no value to them, so they took out the master, Mr. Wise and his men, who were but five in number, with their anchors, cables and sails, and what else they found worth taking, and sunk the vessel. The next prize they took was a Scotch vessel, bound from Glasgow with herrings and salmon from thence to Genoa, and commanded by one Mr. John Somerville, of Port Patrick. This vessel was likewise of little value to them, except that they took as they had done from the other, their arms, ammunition, clothes, provisions, sails, anchors, cables, etc., and everything of value, and sunk her too as they had done the sloop. The reason they gave for sinking these two vessels was to prevent their being discovered, for as they were now cruising on the coast of Portugal, had they let their ships have gone with several of their men on board, they would presently have stood in for shore, and have given the alarm, and the men-of-war, of which there were several, as well Dutch as English, in the river of Lisbon, would immediately have put out to sea in quest of them, and they were very unwilling to leave the coast of Portugal until they had got a ship with wine, which they very much wanted.



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After this they cruised eight or ten days without seeing so much as one vessel upon the seas, and were just resolving to stand more to the to the coast of Galicia, when they descried a sail to the southward, being a ship about as big as their own, though they could not perceive what force she had. However they gave chase, and the vessel perceiving it, crowded from them with all the sail they could make, hoisting up French colours, and standing away to the southward. They continued the chase three days and nights, and though they did not gain much upon her, the Frenchman sailing very well, yet they kept her in sight all the while and for the most part within gunshot. But the third night, the weather proving a little hazy, the Frenchman changed her course in the night, and so got clear of them, and good reason they had to bless themselves in the escape they had made, if they had but known what a dreadful crew of rogues they had fallen among if they had been taken.

They were now gotten a long way to the southward and being greatly disappointed, and in want of water as well as wine, they resolved to stand away for the Madeiras, which they knew were not far off; so they accordingly made the island in two days more, and keeping a large offing, they cruised for three or four days more, expecting to meet with some Portuguese vessel going in or coming out. But it was in vain, for nothing stirred. So, tired with waiting, they stood in for the road, and came to anchor, though at a great distance. Then they sent their boat towards the shore with seven men, all well armed, to see whether it might not be practicable to board one of the ships in the road, and cutting her away from her anchors, bring her off; or if they found that could not be done, then their orders were to intercept some of the boats belonging to the place, which carry wines on board the ships in the road, or from one place to another on the coast. But they came back again disappointed in both, everybody being alarmed and aware of them, knowing by their posture what they were.

Having thus spent several days to no purpose, and finding themselves discovered, at last (being apparently under a necessity to make an attempt somewhere) they stood away for Porto Santo,²⁹⁷ about ten leagues to the windward of Madeiras, and belonging also to the Portuguese. Here putting up British colours, they sent their boat ashore with Captain Somerville's bill of health, and a present to the governor of three barrels of salmon, and six barrels of herrings, and a very civil message, desiring leave to water, and to buy some refreshments, pretending to be bound to —.

The Governor very courteously granted their desire, but with more courtesy than discretion went off himself, with about nine or ten of his principal people, to pay the English captain a visit, little thinking what kind of a captain it was they were going to compliment, and what price it might have cost them. However, Gow, handsomely dressed, received them with some ceremony, and entertained them tolerably well for a while. But the Governor having been kept as long by civility as they could, and the refreshments from the shore not appearing, he was forced to unmask; and when the Governor and his company rose up to take their leave, to their great surprise they were suddenly surrounded with a gang of fellows with muskets, and an officer at the head of them. These told them, in so many words, they

297. The most northerly of the islands.



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were the captain's prisoners, and must not think of going on shore any more until the water and provisions which were promised should come on board.

It is impossible to conceive the consternation and surprise the Portuguese gentry were in, nor is it very decently to be expressed. The poor Governor was so much more than half dead with fright that he really befouled himself in a piteous manner, and the rest were in not much better condition. They trembled, cried, begged, crossed themselves, and said their prayers as men going to execution, but it was all one, they were told flatly that the captain was not to be trifled with, that the ship was in want of provisions, and they would have them, or they should carry them all away. They were, however, well enough treated, except for the restraint of their persons, and were often asked to refresh themselves; but they would neither eat nor drink any more all the while they stayed on board, which was until the next day in the evening, when to their great satisfaction they saw a great boat come off from the fort, and which came directly on board with seven butts of water, a cow and a calf, and a good number of fowls.

When the boat came alongside and delivered the stores, Captain Gow complimented the Governor and his gentlemen, and discharged them to their great joy, and besides that gave them in return for their provisions two cerons of beeswax, and fired them three guns at their going away. It is to be supposed they would have a care how they went on board any ship again, in compliment to their captain, unless they were very sure who they were. Having had no better success in this out of the way run to the Madeiras, they resolved to make the best of their way back again to the coast of Spain and Portugal. They accordingly left Porto Santo the next morning with a fair wind, standing directly for Cape St. Vincent or the Southward Cape.

They had not been upon the coast of Spain above two or three days, before they met with a New England ship, one Cross commander, laden with slaves, and bound for Lisbon, being to load there with wine for London. This was also a prize of no value to them, and they began to be very much discouraged with their bad fortune. However, they took out Captain Cross and his men, which were seven or eight in number, with most of the provisions and some of the sails, and gave the ship to Captain Wise, the poor man whom they took at first in a sloop from Newfoundland; and in order to pay Wise and his men for what they took from them, and make them satisfaction, as they called it, they gave to Captain Wise and his mate twenty-four cerons of wax, and to his men who were four in number, two cerons of wax each. Thus they pretended honesty, and to make reparation of damages by giving them the goods which they had robbed the Dutch merchants of, whose super-cargo they had murdered.

The day before the division of the spoil they saw a large ship to windward, which at first put them into some surprise, for she came bearing down directly upon them, and they thought she had been a Portuguese man-of-war, but they found soon after that it was a merchant ship, had French colours and bound home, as they supposed from the West Indies; and so it was, for they afterwards learned that she was laden at Martinico and bound for Rochelle. The Frenchmen not fearing them came on large to the wind, being a ship of much greater force than Gow's ship, carrying thirty-two guns and eighty men, besides a great many passengers.



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However, Gow at first made as if he would lie by for them, but seeing plainly what a ship it was, and that they should have their hands full of her, he began to consider; and calling his men together upon the deck, told them what was in his mind, viz., that the Frenchman was apparently superior in force in every way; that they were but ill-manned, and had a great many prisoners on board, and that some of their own people were not very well to be trusted; that six of their best hands were on board the prize; and that all they had left were not sufficient to ply their guns and stand by the sails, and that therefore as they were under no necessity to engage, so he thought it would be next to madness to think of it.

The generality of the men were of Gow's mind, and agreed to decline the fight, but Williams, his lieutenant, strenuously opposed it; and being not to be appeased by all that Gow could say to him, or any one else, flew out into a rage at Gow, upbraiding him with being a coward, and not fit to command a ship of force. The truth is, Gow's reasoning was good, and the thing was just, considering their own condition; but Williams was a fellow incapable of any solid thinking, had a kind of savage, brutal courage, but nothing of true bravery in him, and this made him the most desperate and outrageous villain in the world, and the most cruel and inhuman to those whose disaster it was to fall into his hands, as had frequently appeared in his usage of the prisoners under his power in this very voyage. Gow was a man of temper, and notwithstanding all the ill-language Williams gave him, said little or nothing but by way of argument against attacking the French ship, which would certainly have been too strong for them; but this provoked Williams the more, and he grew so extraordinary an height, that he demanded boldly of Gow to give his orders for fighting, which Gow declining still Williams presented his pistol at him, and snapped it, but it did not go off, which enraged him the more.

Winter and Peterson standing nearest to Williams, and seeing him so furious, flew at him immediately, and each of them fired a pistol at him. One shot him through the arm, and the other into his belly, at which he fell, and the men about him laid hold of him to throw him overboard, believing he was dead; but as they lifted him up, he started violently out of their hands, and leaped directly into the hold, and from thence ran desperately into the powder-room with his pistol cocked in his hand, swearing he would blow them all up. He had certainly done it, if they had not seized him just as he had gotten the scuttle open, and was that moment going to put his hellish resolution into practice.

Having thus secured the distracted, raving creature, they carried him forward to the place which they had made on purpose between decks to secure their prisoners, and put him amongst them, having first loaded him with irons, and particularly handcuffed him with his hands behind him, to the great satisfaction of the other prisoners, who knowing what a butcherly furious fellow he was, were terrified to the last degree to see him come in among them, until they beheld the condition he came in. He was, indeed, the terror of all the prisoners, for he usually treated them in a barbarous manner, without the least provocation, and merely for his humour, presenting pistols to their breasts, swearing he would shoot them that moment, and then would beat them unmercifully, and all



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for his diversion as he called it. Having thus laid him fast, they presently resolved to stand away to the westward, by which they quitted the Martinico ship, who by that time was come nearer to them, and farther convinced them they were in no condition to have engaged her, for she was a stout ship and full of men. All this happened just the day before they shared their last prize among the prisoners, in which they put on such a mock face of doing justice to the several captains and mates and other men, their prisoners, whose ships they had taken away, and to whom now they made reparation, by giving them what they had taken violently from another, so that it was a strange medley of mock justice made up of rapine and generosity blended together.

Two days after this they took a Bristol ship bound from Newfoundland to Oporto with fish. They let her cargo alone, for they had no occasion for fish, but they took out almost all their provisions, all the ammunition, arms, etc., and her good sails, also her best cables, and forced two of her men to go away with them, and then got ten of the Frenchman on board and let her go. But just as they were parting with her, they consulted together what to do with Williams the lieutenant, who was then among the prisoners and in irons. And after a short debate, they resolved to put him on board the Bristol-man and send him away too, which accordingly was done, with directions to the master to deliver him on board the first English man-of-war they should meet with, in order to get his being hanged for a pirate, as they jeeringly called him, as soon as he came to England, giving the master an account of some of his villainies.

The truth is, this Williams was a monster rather than a man. He was the most inhuman, bloody and desperate creature that the world could produce, and was even too wicked for Gow and all his crew, though they pirates and murderers, as has been shown. His temper was so savage, so villainous, so merciless, that even the pirates themselves told him it was time he was hanged out of the way.

One instance of the barbarity of Williams cannot be omitted, and will be sufficient to justify all that can be said of him. When Gow gave it as a reason against engaging with the Martinico ship, that he had a great many prisoners on board, and some of their own men that they could not depend on, Williams proposed to have them all called up one by one, and to cut their throats and throw them overboard—a proposal so horrid that the worst of the crew shook their heads at it. Gow answered him very handsomely, that there had been too much blood spilled already; yet the refusing this, heightened the quarrel, and was the chief occasion of his offering to pistol Gow himself. After which his behaviour was such as made all the ship's crew resolved to be rid of him, and it was thought if they had not had an opportunity to send him away, as they did by the Bristol ship, they would have been obliged to have hanged him themselves. This cruel and butchery temper of Williams being carried to such a height, and so near to the ruin of them all, shocked some of them, and as they acknowledged gave some check in the heat of their wicked progress, and had they had an opportunity to have gone on shore at that time, without falling into the hands of Justice, it is believed the greatest part of them would have abandoned the ship, and perhaps the very trade of a pirate too. But they had dipped their hands in blood, and Heaven had no doubt determined to bring them, that is, the chief of them, to the gallows for



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it, as indeed they all deserved, so they went on. When they put Williams on board the Bristol-man, and he was told what directions they gave with him, he began to relent, and made all the intercession he could to Captain Gow for pardon, or at least not to be put on board the ship, knowing that if he was carried to Lisbon, he should meet with his due from the Portuguese, if not from the English; for it seems he had been concerned in some villainies among the Portuguese before he came on board the George galley. What they were he did not confess, nor indeed did his own ship's crew trouble themselves to examine him about it. He had been wicked enough among them, and it was sufficient to make them use him as they did. It was more to be wondered, indeed, that they did not cut him to pieces upon the spot and throw him into the sea, half on one side of the ship, and half on the other, for there was scarce a man in the ship but on one occasion or other had some apprehensions of him, and might be said to go in danger of his life from him. But they chose to shift their hands of him this bloodless way, so they double fettered him and brought him up. When they brought him among the men, he begged they would throw him into the sea and drown him; then entreated for his life with a meanness which made them despise him, and with tears, so that one time they began to relent. But then the devilish temper of the fellow overruled it again, so at last they resolved to let him go, and did accordingly put him on board, and gave him many a hearty curse at parting, wishing him a good voyage to the gallows, which was made good afterwards, though in such company as they little thought of at that time. The Bristol captain was very just to him, for according to their orders, as soon as they came to Lisbon, they put him on board the *Argyle*, one of His Majesty's ships, Captain Bowles commander, then lying in the Tagus, and bound home for England, who accordingly brought him home. Though, as it happened, Heaven brought the captain and the rest of the crew so quickly to an end of their villainies that they all came home time enough to be [hanged](#) with their lieutenant. But to return to Gow and his crew. Having thus dismissed the Bristol-man, and cleared his hands of most of his prisoners, with the same wicked generosity he gave the Bristol captain thirteen cerons of beeswax, as a gratuity for his trouble and charge with the prisoners, and in recompense, as he called it, for the goods he had taken from him, and so they parted. This was the last prize they took, not only on the coast of Portugal, but anywhere else, for Gow, who, to give him his due, was a fellow of council and had a great presence of mind in cases of exigence, considered that as soon as the Bristol ship came into the river of Lisbon, they would certainly give an account of them, as well of their strength, and of their station in which they cruised, and that consequently the English men-of-war (of which there are generally some in that river) would immediately come abroad to look for them. So he began to reason with his officers that the coast of Portugal would be no proper place at all for them, unless they resolved to fall into the hands of the said men-of-war, and they ought to consider immediately what to do. In these debates some advised one thing, some another, as is usual in like cases. Some were for going to the coast of Guinea, where, as they said, was purchase²⁹⁸ enough, and very rich ships to be taken; others were for going to the West Indies,

298. The word is here used in its original sense, indicating something acquired by seeking—or hunting—*pour chasser*.



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and to cruise among the Islands, and take up their station at Tobago; others, and not those of the most ignorant, proposed standing in to the Bay of Mexico, and joining in with some of a new sort of pirates at St. Jago de la Cuba, who are all Spaniards, and call themselves *Guarda del Costa*, that is Guard ships for the coast (though under that pretence they make prize of ships of all nations, and sometimes even of their own countrymen too, but especially of the English), but when this was proposed, it was answered they durst not trust the Spaniards. Others said they should go first to the islands of New Providence [Bahama Islands], or to the mouth of the Gulf of Florida, and then cruising on the coast of North America, and making their retreat at New Providence, cruise from the Gulf of Florida, north upon the coast of Carolina, and as high as the Capes of Virginia.

But nothing could be resolved on, until at last Gow let them into the secret of a project, which, as he told them, he had long had in his thoughts, and this was to go away to the North of Scotland, near the coast of which, as he said, he was born and bred, and where he said, if they met with no purchase upon the sea, he could tell them how they should enrich themselves by going on shore. To bring them to concur with this design, he represented the danger they were in where they were, the want they were in of fresh water, and of several kinds of provisions, but above all, the necessity they were in of careening and cleaning their ship; that it was too long a run for them to go to southward, and that they had not provisions to serve them till they could reach to any place proper for that purpose, and might be driven to the utmost distress, if they should be put by from watering, either by weather or enemies.

Also, he told them, if any of the men-of-war came out in search of them, they would never imagine they were gone away to the northward, so that their run that way was perfectly secure, and he could assure them of his own knowledge that if they landed in such places as he should direct, they could not fail of considerable booty in plundering some gentlemen's houses, who lived secured and unguarded very near the shore; and that though the country should be alarmed, yet before the Government could send any men-of-war to attack them, they might clean their ship, lay in a store of fresh provisions, and be gone. Beside that, they would get a good many stout fellows to go along with them upon his encouragement, so that they should be better manned than they were yet, and should be ready against all events.

These arguments and their approaching fate concurring, had a sufficient influence on the ship's company to prevail on them to consent, so they made the best of their way to the northward; and about the middle of January they arrived at Carristoun,²⁹⁹ in the Isles of Orkney, and came to an anchor in a place which Gow told them was safe riding under the lee of a small island at some distance from the port. But now their misfortunes began to come on, and things looked but with an indifferent aspect upon them, for several of their men, especially such of them as had been forced or decoyed into their service, began to think of making their escape from them, and to cast about for means to bring it to pass.

The first to take an opportunity to go away was a young man who was originally one of the ship's company, but was forced by fear

299. The island of Carrick.



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of being murdered (as has been observed) to give a silent assent to go with them. It was one evening when the boat went on shore, for they kept a civil correspondence with the people of the town, that this young fellow, being one of the ship's crew and having been several times on shore before, and therefore not suspected, gave them the slip and got away to a farm-house which lay under a hill out of sight. There, for two or three pieces-of-eight, he got a horse, and soon by that means escaped to Kirkwall, a market town and chief of the Orkneys, about twelve miles from the place where the ship lay. As soon as he came there he surrendered himself to the Government, desiring protection, and informed them who Gow was, and what the ship's crew were, and upon what business they were abroad, with what else he knew of their designs, as to plundering the gentlemen's houses, etc. Upon this they immediately raised the country, and got a strength together to defend themselves.

But the next disaster that attended the pirates (for misfortunes seldom come alone) was more fatal than this, for ten of Gow's men, most of them likewise forced into their service, went away with the long-boat, making the best of their way for the mainland of Scotland. These men, however they did it, or what shift soever they made to get so far, were taken in the Firth of Edinburgh, and made prisoners there.

Hardened for his own destruction and Justice evidently pursuing him, Gow grew the bolder for the disaster, and notwithstanding that the country was alarmed, and that he was fully discovered, instead of making a timely escape, he resolved to land, and so put his intended project of plundering the gentlemen's houses into execution, whatever it cost him.

In order to this he sent the boatswain and ten men on shore the very same night, very well armed, directing them to go to the house of Mr. Honeyman of Grahamsey, sheriff of the county, and who was himself at that time, to his great good fortune, from home. The people of the house had not the least notice of their coming, so that when they knocked at the door, it was immediately opened. Upon which they all entered the house at once, except one Panton, who they set sentinel and ordered him to stand at the door to secure their retreat, and to hinder any from coming in after them. Mrs. Honeyman and her daughter were extremely frightened at the sight of so many armed men coming into the house, and ran screaming about like people distracted, while the pirates, not regarding them, were looking about for chests and trunks, where they might expect to find some plunder; and Mrs. Honeyman in her fright coming to the door asked Panton, the man who stood sentinel there, what the meaning of it all was. He told her freely they were pirates, and that they came to plunder her house. At this she recovered some courage, and ran back into the house immediately, and knowing where her money lay, which was very considerable and all in gold, she put the bag in her lap and boldly rushing by Panton, who thought she was only running from them in a fright, carried it all off, and so made her escape with the treasure.

The boatswain being informed that the money was carried off, resolved to revenge himself by burning the writings and papers, which they call there the charters of their estates, and are always of great value in gentlemen's houses of estates but the young lady, Mr. Honeyman's daughter hearing them threaten to burn the writings, watched her opportunity, and running to the



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charter-room where they lay, tied the most considerable of them up in a napkin and threw them out of the window, jumped out after them herself, and escaped without damage, though the window was one storey high at least.

However, the pirates had the plundering of all the rest of the house besides, and carried off a great deal of plate, and things of value, and forced one of the servants, who played very well on the bagpipes, to march along, piping before them, when they carried it off to the ship. The next day they weighed anchor, intending though they had cleaned but one side of the ship, to put out to sea and quit the coast. But sailing eastward, they came to anchor again at a little island called Calf Sound. And having some further mischief in their view here the boatswain went on shore again with some armed men; but meeting with no other plunder they carried off three women, whom they kept on board some time and used so inhumanly that when they set them on shore again they were not able to go or stand, and it is said one of them died on the beach where they left them.

The next day they weighed again, holding the same course eastward, through the openings between the islands, till they came off Ross Ness; and now Gow resolved to make the best of his way for the Island of Eday, to plunder the house of Mr. Fea, a gentleman of a considerable estate, and with whom Gow had some acquaintance, having been at school together, when they were youths. On the 13th of February in the morning, Gow appearing with his ship off Calf Sound, Mr. Fea and his family were very much alarmed, not being able to get together above six or seven men for his defence. He therefore wrote a letter to Gow intending to send it on board as soon as he should get into the harbour, to desire him to forbear the usual salutes, with his great guns, because Mrs. Fea his wife was so very much indisposed, and this as he would oblige his old school fellow; telling him at the same time that the inhabitants were all fled to the mountains, on the report of his being a [pirate](#), which he hoped would not prove true. In which case, he should be very ready to supply him with all such necessities as the island would afford, desiring him to send the messengers safe back, at whose return the alarms of the people would immediately be at an end.

The tide it seems runs extremely rapid among those islands, and the navigation is thereby rendered very dangerous and uncertain. Gow was an able seaman, but was no pilot for that place, and which was worse, he had no boat to assist in case of extremity, to ware the ship, and in turning into Calf Sound, he stood a little too near the point of a little island called the Calf, and which lay in the middle of the passage. Here his ship missing stays, was in great danger of going on shore; to avoid which, he dropped an anchor under his foot, which taking good hold, brought him up, and he thought the danger was over. Gow was yet in distress and had no remedy but to send his small boat on shore to Mr. Fea to desire his assistance, that is to say, to desire him to lend him a boat to carry out an anchor and heave off the ship. Mr. Fea sent back the boat, and one James Laing in it, with the letter already mentioned. Gow sent him back immediately with an answer, by word of mouth, viz., that he would write to nobody, but if Mr. Fea would order his people to assist him with a boat to carry out an anchor, he would reward them handsomely. In the meantime Mr. Fea ordered his great boat, for he had such a one as Gow wanted, to be staved and launched into the water

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and sunk, and the masts, sails and oars to be carried out of sight. While this was doing Mr. Fea perceived Gow's boat coming on shore, with five persons in her. These men having landed on the main island, left their boat on the beach, and altogether marched directly up to the mansion house. This put him into some surprise at first, however, he resolved to meet them in a peaceable manner, though he perceived they were all double-armed. When he came up to them, he entreated them not to go up to the house, because of the languishing condition of his wife, who was already frightened with the rumours which had been raised of their being pirates, and that she would certainly die with the fear she was in for herself and family, if they came to the door.

The boatswain answered they did not desire to fright his wife, or anybody else, but they came to desire the assistance of his boat, and if he would not grant them so small a favour, he had nothing to expect from them but the utmost extremity. Mr. Fea returned that they knew well enough he could not venture to give them or lend them his boat or any help, as they appeared to be such people as were reported, but that if they would take them by force, he could not help himself. But in the meantime, talking still in a friendly manner to them, he asked them to go to a neighbouring house, which he said was a change-house, that is a public-house, and take a cup of ale with him. This they consented to, seeing Mr. Fea was alone; so they went all with him. In the meantime Mr. Fea found means to give secret orders that the oars, masts and sails of the pirates' boat should be all carried away, and that a quarter of an hour after they had sat together, he should be called hastily out of the room, on some pretence or other of somebody to speak with him; all which was performed to a tittle. When he was got from them, he gave orders that his six men, who before he had got together, and who were now come to him well armed, should place themselves at a certain stile behind a thick hedge, and which was about half way between the alehouse and his own house, saying that if he came that way with the boatswain alone, they should suddenly start out upon them both, and throwing him down, should seize upon the other, but that if all the five came with him, he would take an occasion to be either before or behind them, so that they might all fire upon them, without danger of hurting him.

Having given these orders, and depending upon their being well executed, he returned to the company and having given them more ale, told them he would gladly do them any service that he could lawfully do, and that if they would take the trouble of walking up to his house in a peaceable manner so that his family might not be frightened with seeing him among them, they should have all the assistance that was in his power. The fellows (whether they had taken too much ale, or whether the condition of their ship and the hopes of getting a boat to help them, blinded their eyes, is not certain) fell with ease into this snare, and agreed readily to go along with Mr. Fea; but after a while resolved not to go all of them, only deputed the boatswain to go, which was what Mr. Fea most desired.

The boatswain was very willing to accept of the trust, but it was observed he took a great deal of care of his arms, which were no less than four pistols, all loaded with a brace of bullets each, nor would he be persuaded to leave any of them behind him, no not with his own men. In this posture, Mr. Fea



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and the boatswain walked along together very quietly, until they came to the stile, having got over which Mr. Fea, seeing his men all ready, turned short about upon the boatswain, and taking him by the collar, told him he was his prisoner and the same moment, the rest of his men rushing in upon them, threw both down, and so secured the boatswain, without giving him time so much as to fire one pistol. He cried out, indeed, with all his might to alarm his men, but they soon stopped his mouth by first forcing a pistol into it, and then a handkerchief; and having disarmed him, bound his hands behind him and his feet together. Then Mr. Fea left him there under a guard, and with his other five men, but without arms, at least such that could be seen, returned to the alehouse to the rest. The house having two doors, they divided themselves and rushing in at both doors at the same time, they seized the four men before they were aware, or had time to lay hold of their arms. They did indeed what men could do, and one of them snapped a pistol at Mr. Fea, but it did not go off, and Mr. Fea at the same time snatching at the pistol to divert the shot if it had fired, struck his hand with such force against the cock, as very much bruised it.

They were all five now in his power, and he sent them away under a good guard to a village in the middle of the island, where they were kept separate from one another, and sufficiently secured. Mr. Fea then despatched expresses to the gentlemen in the neighbouring island to acquaint them with what he had done, and to desire their speedy assistance, also desiring earnestly that they would take care that no boat should go within reach of the pirates' guns. And at night Mr. Fea caused fires to be made upon the hills round him, to alarm the country, and ordered all the boats round the Island to be hauled up upon the beach, as far as it was possible, and disabled also, lest the pirates should swim from the ship, and get any of them into their possession.

Next day, the 4th, it blew very hard all day, and in the evening about high water, it shifted to W.N.W., upon which the pirates set their sails, expecting to get off and so to lay it round the island, and put out to sea. But the fellow who was ordered to cut the cable, missing several strokes, the cable checked the ship's way, and consequently on a sudden she took all aback. Then the cable being parted when it should have been held, the ship ran directly on shore on the Calf Island, nor could all their speed prevent it. With an air of desperation Gow told them they were all dead men, nor could it indeed be otherwise, for having lost the only boat they had, and five of their best hands, they were able to do little or nothing towards getting their ship off; besides, as she went on shore at the top of high water, and a spring tide, there was no hope of getting her off afterward. Wherefore the next morning, being Monday, the 15th, they hung out a white flag, as a signal for a parley, and sent a man on shore upon Calf Island, for now they could go on shore out of the ship at half flood.

Now Mr. Fea thought he might talk with Gow, in a different style from what he did before; so he wrote a letter to him, wherein he complained of the rude behaviour of his five men, for which he told him, he had been obliged to seize on them, and make them prisoners, letting him know that the country being all alarmed would soon be too many for him, and therefore advised him to surrender himself peaceably, and be the author of a quiet



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surrender of the rest, as the only means to obtain any favour; and then he might become an evidence against the rest, and so might save his own life. This letter Mr. Fea sent by a boat with four armed men to the island, to be given to the fellow that Gow had sent on shore, and who waited there; at the same time, he gave them a letter from Gow to Mr. Fea, for now he was humbled enough to write, which before he refused. Gow's letter to Mr. Fea was to let him have some men and boats, to take out the best of the cargo, in order to lighten the ship, and set her afloat; offering himself to come on shore and be hostage for the security of men and boats and to give Mr. Fea a thousand pounds in goods for the service. He declared at the same time, that if this small succour was refused him, he would take care nobody should better himself by his misfortunes, for rather than they would suffer themselves to be taken, they would set fire to the ship, and would all perish together.

Mr. Fea replied to this letter that he had a boat indeed, that would have been fit for his service, but that she was staved and sunk; but if he would come on shore quietly without arms, and bring his carpenter with him to repair the boat, he might have her. Mr. Fea did this to give Gow an opportunity to embrace his first offer of surrendering. But Gow was neither humble enough to come in nor sincere enough to treat with him fairly, if he had intended to let him have the boat; and if he had, it is probable that the former letter had made the men suspicious of him, so that now he could do nothing without communicating it to the rest of the crew. About four in the afternoon Mr. Fea received an answer to his last letter, the copy of which is exactly as follows:

From on board our Ship the *Revenge*, Feb. 16th, 1725.

Honoured Sir,

I am sorry to hear of the irregular proceedings of my men; I gave no orders to that effect, and what hath been wrongfully done to the country, was contrary to my inclinations. It is my misfortune to be in this condition at present; it was in your power to have done otherwise in making my fortune better. Since my being in the country, I have wronged no man, nor taken anything but what I have paid for. My design in coming was to make the country better, which I am still capable to do, providing you are just to me. I thank you for the concern you have for my bad fortune, and am sorry I cannot embrace your proposal as to being evidence, my people have already made use of that advantage. I have by my last signified my design of proceeding, provided I can procure no better terms. Please to send James Laing on board to continue till my return. I should be glad to have the good fortune to commune with you upon that subject. I beg that you would assist me with a boat, and be assured I do no man harm, were it in my power, as I am now at your mercy. I cannot surrender myself prisoner, I'd rather commit myself to the mercy of the seas; so that if you will incline to contribute to my escape, I shall leave my ship and cargo at your disposal.

I continue, Honoured Sir etc., John Smith

Upon this letter, and especially that part wherein Gow desired



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to commune with him, Mr. Fea, believing he might do some service in persuading him to submit, went over to Calf Island and went on shore alone, ordering his boat to lie in readiness to take him in again, but not one man to stir out of her, and calling to Gow with a speaking trumpet desired him to come on shore. This the other readily did, but Mr. Fea, before he ventured, wisely foresaw that whilst he was alone upon the Island, the pirates might unknown from him, get the ship by different ways, and under cover of shore might get behind and surround him. To prevent which, he set a man upon the top of his own house, which was on the opposite shore and overlooked the whole island, and ordered him to make signals with his flag, waving his flag once for every man that he saw come on shore, but if four or more came on shore, then to keep the flag waving continually, till he (Mr. Fea) should retire. This precaution was very needful, for no sooner was Mr. Fea advanced upon the island, expecting Gow to come on shore to meet him, but he saw a fellow come from the ship, with a white flag, a bottle, a glass and a bundle, then turning to his own house, he saw his man make the signals appointed, and that the man kept the flag continually waving. Upon which he immediately retired to his boat, and he was no sooner got into it, but he saw five fellows running under shore, with lighted matches and grenadoes in their hands to have intercepted him, but seeing him out of their reach, they retired to the ship.

After this the fellow with the white flag came up and gave Mr. Fea two letters; he would have left the bundle, which he said was a present to Mr. Fea, and the bottle which he said was a bottle of brandy, but Mr. Fea would not take them, but told the fellow his captain was a treacherous villain, and he did not doubt that he should see him hanged, and as to him (the fellow) he had a great mind to shoot him; upon which the fellow took to his heels, and Mr. Fea being in his boat did not think it worth while to land again to pursue him. This put an end to all parley for the present, but had the pirates succeeded in this attempt, they would have so far gained their point, either that they must have been assisted, or Mr. Fea must have been sacrificed.

The two letters from Gow were one for Mr. Fea, and the other for his wife. The first was much to the same purpose as the former, only that in this Gow requested the great boat with her masts, sails and oars, with some provisions to transport themselves whither they thought fit to go for their own safety, offering to leave the ship and cargo to Mr. Fea, and threatening that if the men-of-war arrived (for Mr. Fea had given him notice that he expected two men-of-war) before he was thus assisted, they would set fire to the ship, and blow themselves up, so that as they had lived so they would die together. The letter to Mrs. Fea was to desire her to intercede with her husband, and plead that he was their countryman and had been her husband's schoolfellow, etc. But no answer was returned to either of these letters.

On the 17th, in the morning, contrary to expectation, Gow himself came on shore upon the Calf Island³⁰⁰, unarmed except for his sword, and alone, only one man at a distance, carrying a white flag, making signals for a parley. Mr. Fea, who by this time had gotten more people about him, immediately sent one Mr.

300. According to Johnson's HISTORY OF THE PIRATES (Chap. XVIII) Gow's real motive for returning to the Orkneys was to wed a girl whose parents had repulsed him on account of his poverty. She was the daughter of one Mr. G——, a well-to-do man.



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Fea, of Whitehall, a gentleman of his own family, with five other persons well-armed over the island, with orders to secure Gow if it were possible by any means, either dead or alive. When they came on shore, Gow proposed that one of them, whose name was Schottary, a master of a vessel, should go on board the ship as hostage for this Gow's safety, and Schottary consenting, Gow himself conducted him to the ship's side.

Mr. Fea perceiving this from his own house, immediately took another boat and went over to the island himself, and while he was expostulating with his men for letting Schottary go for hostage, Gow returned, and Mr. Fea made no hesitation, but told him that he was his prisoner. At this Gow started and said that it ought not to be so, since there was a hostage delivered for him. Mr. Fea said he gave no order for it, and it was what they could not justify, and since Schottary had ventured without orders, he must take his fate, he would run the venture of it; but he advised Gow, as he expected good usage himself, that he would send the fellow who carried his white flag back to the ship with orders for them to return Schottary in safety, and to desire Winter and Peterson to come with him. Gow declined giving any such orders, but the fellow said he would readily go and fetch them, and did so, and they came along with him. When Gow saw them, he reproached them for being so easily imposed on, and ordered them to go back to the ship immediately, but Mr. Fea's men, who were too strong for them, surrounded them and took them all. When this was done, they demanded Gow to deliver his sword, but he said he would rather die with it in his hand, and begged them to shoot him, but was denied; and Mr. Fea's men disarming him of his sword, carried him with the other two into their boat, and after that to the main island, where Mr. Fea lived.

Having thus secured the captain, Mr. Fea prevailed with him to go to the shore over against the ship, and to call the gunner and another man to come on shore on Calf Island, which they did. But they were no sooner there, but they also were surrounded by some men which Mr. Fea had placed out of sight upon the island for that purpose. Then they made Gow call to the carpenter to come on shore, still making them believe they would have a boat; and Mr. Fea went over and met him alone, and talking with him, told him they could not repair the boat without help and without tools. So persuading him to go back and bring a hand or two with him, and some tools, some oakum, nails, etc., the carpenter being thus deluded, went back and brought a Frenchman and another with him, with all things proper for their work. All of whom, as soon as they came on shore, were likewise seized and secured by Mr. Fea and his men.

But there were still a great many men in the ship, whom it was necessary to bring if possible to a quiet surrender; so Mr. Fea ordered his men to make a feint as if they would go to work upon the great boat which lay on the shore upon the island but in sight of the ship. There they hammered and knocked and made a noise as if they were really caulking and repairing her, in order to her being launched off and put into their possession; but towards night he obliged Gow to write to the men that Mr. Fea would not deliver the boat until he was in possession of the ship, and therefore he ordered them all to come on shore, without arms, and in a peaceable manner. This occasioned many debates in the ship, but as they had no officers to guide them and were all in confusion, they knew not what to do. So after some time



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bewailing their hard fate, and dividing what money was left in the ship among them, they yielded and went on shore, and were all made prisoners, to the number of eight-and-twenty, including those who were secured before.

Being now all secured and in custody in the most proper places in the island, Mr. Fea took care to give notice to the proper officers in the country, and by them to the Government of Edinburgh, in order to get help for the carrying them to England. The distance being so great, it took up some time; for the Government at Edinburgh not being immediately concerned in it, but rather the Court of Admiralty of Great Britain, expresses were dispatched from thence to London, that his Majesty's pleasure might be known; in return to which, orders were despatched into Scotland to have them immediately sent up into England with as much expedition as the case would admit. Accordingly they were brought up by land to Edinburgh first, and from thence being put on board the *Greyhound* frigate, they were brought by sea to England. This necessarily took up a great deal of time, so that had they been wise enough to improve the hours that were left, they had almost half a year's time to prepare themselves for death, though they cruelly denied the poor mate of a few moments to commend his soul to God's mercy, even after he was half murdered before. They were most of them in custody the latter end of January, and were not executed till the 11th of June.

The *Greyhound* arrived in the river the 25th of March, and the next day came to an anchor at Woolwich; and the [pirates](#) being put into boats appointed to receive them, with a strong guard to attend them, were brought on shore on the 30th, and conveyed to the Marshalsea prison in Southwark, where they were delivered to the keepers of the said prison, and were laid in irons. There they had the mortification to meet Lieutenant Williams, who was brought home by the *Argyle* man-of-war, from Lisbon, and had been committed to the same prison but a very few days before.

Indeed, as it was a mortification to them, so it was more to him, for though he might be secretly pleased that those who had so cruelly, as he called it, put him into the hands of Justice by sending him to Lisbon, were brought into the same circumstances with himself, yet on the other hand, it could not but be a terrible mortification to him that here were now sufficient witnesses found to prove his crimes against him, which were not so easy to be had before.

Being thus laid fast, it remained to proceed against them in due form, and this took up some long time still. On Friday, the 2nd of April, they were all carried to Doctors' Commons, where the proper judges being present, they were examined; by which examination the measures were taken for the farther proceedings. For as they were not equally guilty, so it was needful to determine who it was proper to bring to an immediate trial, and who, being less guilty, were more proper objects of the Government's clemency, as being under force and fear and consequently necessitated to act as they did; and also who it might be proper to single out as an evidence against the rest. After being thus examined they were remanded to the Marshalsea. On Saturday, the 8th of May, the five who were appointed for evidence against the rest, and whose names are particularly set down in its place, were sent from the Marshalsea prison to Newgate, in order to give their information.



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Being thus brought up to London, and committed to the Marshalsea prison, and the Government being fully informed, what black uncommon offenders they were, it was thought proper to bring them to speedy justice. In order to this, some of them, as has been said, who were less criminal than the rest, and who apparently had been forced into their service, were sorted out, and being examined (giving first an account of themselves, and then of the whole fraternity) it was thought fit to make use of their evidence for the more clear detecting and convincing of the rest. These were George Dobson, John Phinnes, Timothy Murphy, and William Booth.

These were the principal evidences, and were indeed more than sufficient, for they so exactly agreed in their evidence, and the prisoners ([pirates](#)) said so little in their defence, that there was no room for the jury to question their guilt, or to doubt the truth of any part of the account given in. Robert Read was a young man, mentioned before, who escaped from the boat in the Orkneys, where he surrendered himself, after getting a horse at a farmer's house, and conveying himself to Kirkwall, the chief town of the said Orkneys. Nevertheless, he was brought up as a prisoner with the rest, nor was he made use of as an evidence but was tried upon most, if not all the indictments with the rest. But Dobson, one of the witnesses, did him the justice to testify that he was forced into their service, as others were, for fear of having their throats cut, as many had been served before their faces, and that in particular he was not present at, or concerned in any of the murders for which the rest were indicted. Upon which evidence, he was acquitted by the jury. Also he brought one Archibald Sutor, the man of the house said before to be a farm-house, as to whether the said Read made his escape in the Orkneys, who testified that he did so escape to him, and that he begged him to procure him a horse, to ride off to Kirkwall, which he did, and there he surrendered himself; also he testified that Read gave him (Sutor) a full account of the ship and the pirates that were in her, and what they were; and that he (Sutor) revealed it all to the collector of the Customs, by which means the country was alarmed, and he added, that it was by this man's means that all the prisoners were apprehended (though that was going too far, for 'tis plain, that it was by the vigilance and courage of Mr. Fea, chiefly, that they were reduced to such distresses as obliged them to surrender). However, it was true that Read's escape did alarm the country, and that he merited very well of the public for the timely discovery he made, so he came off clear as indeed it was but just, for he was not only forced to serve them, but as Dobson testified for him, he had often expressed his uneasiness at being obliged to act with them, and that he wished he could get away, and he was sincere in those wishes, as appeared by his taking the first opportunity he could get to put it in practice. This Dobson was one of the ten men who ran away with the pirates' long-boat from the Orkneys, and who were afterwards made prisoners in the Firth of Leith, and carried up to Edinburgh. Gow was now a prisoner among the rest in the Marshalsea. His behaviour there was sullen and reserved, rather than penitent. It had been hinted to him by Mr. Fea, as by others, that by his behaviour he should endeavour to make himself an evidence against others, and to merit his life by a ready submission, and obliging others to do the like. But Gow was no fool, and he



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easily saw there were too many gone before who had provided for their own safety at his expense, and besides that he knew himself too deeply guilty of cruelty and murder to be accepted by public justice as an evidence, especially where so many other less criminals were to be had. This made him, with good reason, too, give over any thoughts of escaping by such means as that; and perhaps seeing so plainly that there was no room for it might be the reason why he seemed to reject the offer, otherwise he was not a person of such nice honour as that we should suppose he would not have secured his own life at the expense of his comrades. Gow appeared to have given over all thoughts of life, from the first time he came to England. Not that he showed any tokens of his repentance, or any sense of his condition suitable to that which was before him, but continuing sullen and reserved, even to the very time he was brought to the bar, when he came there, he could not be tried with the rest, for the arraignment being made in the usual form, he refused to plead. The Court used all the arguments which humanity dictates in such cases,³⁰¹ to prevail on him to come into ordinary course of other people in like government, laying before him the sentence of the law in such cases, namely that he must be pressed to death, the only torturing execution which however they were obliged to inflict.

But he continued inflexible, carried on his obstinacy to such a height as to receive the sentence in form, as usual in such cases. The execution being appointed to be done the next morning, he was carried back to Newgate in order to it. But whether he was prevailed with by argument and the reasons of those about him, or whether the apparatus for the execution and the manner of the death he was to die terrified him, we cannot say, but the next morning he yielded, and petitioned to be allowed to plead, and he admitted to be tried in the ordinary way. Which being granted, he was brought to the bar by himself and pleaded, being arraigned again upon the same indictment upon which he had been sentenced as a mute, and was found guilty.

Williams the lieutenant, who was put on board the Bristol ship (as hath been said) with orders to deliver him on board the first English man-of-war they should meet with, comes, of course, to have the rest of his history made up in this place. The captain of the Bristol ship, though he received his orders from the crew of pirates and rogues, whose instructions he was not obliged to follow, and whose accusation of Williams they were not obliged to give credit to, yet punctually obeyed the order, and put him on board the *Argyle*, Captain Bowler, then lying in the port of Lisbon and bound for England; who, as they took him in irons, kept him so, and brought him to England, in the same conditions. But as the pirates did not send any of their company, nor indeed could they do it, along with him to be evidence against him, and the men who went out of the pirate ship on board the Bristol ship, being till then kept as prisoners on board the [pirate](#) ship (and perhaps could not have said enough, or given particular evidence, sufficient to convict him in a course of justice), Providence supplied the want by bringing the whole crew to the same place; for Williams was in the Marshalsea prison before them, and by that means they furnished sufficient evidence against Williams also, so that they were all tried together.

301. One of these humane arguments, according to Johnson, *op. cit.*, consisted in tying his thumbs together with whipcord, "which was done several times by the executioner and another officer; they drawing the cord until it broke."



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In Williams's case the evidence was as particular as in Gow's, and Dobson and the other swore positively that Williams boasted that after MacCauly had cut the super-cargo's throat imperfectly, he (Williams) murdered him, and added that he would not give him time to say his prayers, but shot him through the head. Phinnes and Timothy Murphy testified the same, and to show the bloody disposition of this wretch, William Booth testified that Williams proposed afterwards to the company that if they took any more ships they should not encumber themselves with the men, having already so many prisoners that in case of a fight they should not be safe with them; but that they should take them and tie them, back to back, and throw them all overboard into the sea.

It should not be omitted here also in the case of Gow himself (as I have observed in the introduction) that Gow had long meditated the kind of villainy which he now put in practice, and that it was his resolution to turn pirate the first opportunity he should get, whatever voyage he undertook, and that I observed he had intended it on board a ship in which he came home from Lisbon, and failed only for want of a sufficient party. So this resolution of his is confirmed by the testimony and confession of James Belvin, one of his fellow-criminals, who upon trial declared that he knew that Gow and the crew of the *George* galley had a design to turn pirates from the beginning, and added that he discovered it to George Dobson, in Amsterdam, before the ship went out to sea. For the confirmation of this, George Dobson was called up again, after he had given his evidence upon the trials, and being confronted by Belvin, he did acknowledge that Belvin had said so, and that in particular he had said that the boatswain had a design to murder the master and some others and run away with the ship. Being asked why he did not immediately reveal it to the master, Captain Ferneau, he answered that he heard Belvin tell the mate of it, and that the mate told the captain; but the captain made light of it. But the boatswain finding himself discovered, refused to go, upon which Gow was made second mate, and Belvin was made boatswain; and he had been as honest afterwards as before (whereas on the contrary, he was as forward and active as any of them, except that he was not in the first secret nor in the murders), he might have escaped what afterwards became so justly his due. But as they acted together, Justice required that they should suffer together, and accordingly, Gow and Williams, Belvin, Melvin, Winter, Peterson, Rowlinson and MacCauly, received the reward of their cruelty and blood at the gallows, being all executed together on the eleventh of June.

It happened that Gow being a very strong man, and giving a kind of spring, it so strained the rope that, on some people pulling him by the legs, it broke and he fell down, after he had remained about four minutes suspended. His fall stunned him a little, but as soon as he was taken up, he recovered himself so far as to be able to ascend the ladder a second time, which he did with very little concern, dying with the same brutal ferocity which animated all his actions while alive. His body hangs in chains over against Greenwich, as that of Williams does over against



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Blackwall.

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1731

October: Captain Macferson and four others were tried for piracy and hanged.



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1732

June 4, Sunday (Old Style): The 1st [hanging](#) in England for the crime of forgery.³⁰²

302. The greatest number of executions for that crime would occur during 1818 with 24 such hangings. The final such hanging would take place on December 31, 1829.

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1735

During this year someone prepared, from original papers and authentic memoirs, three volumes entitled LIVES OF THE MOST REMARKABLE CRIMINALS WHO HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED FOR MURDER, THE HIGHWAY, HOUSEBREAKING, STREET ROBBERIES, COINING OR OTHER OFFENCES, and published these volumes in [London](#). The volumes gave the history of hangings at England's most active turn-off location, the triple-tree gallows erected at the crossroads known as Tyburn just to the west of London, during the span of years in which such executions had been public spectacles.



July: We learn from a pamphlet by the Reverend Samuel Moody that a native American servant, known as Samson and as Patience Boston, had killed a child out of her tribulation of mind, and had then confessed in order to satisfy some inner demon that demanded she be “guilty of Murder indeed.” Having enacted this sin, she then was able to seek forgiveness of the Lord, and find it, apparently, and in this month at the age of 23, in York, Patience was fully catechized and prayed with and then [hanged](#) by the neck until she was dead.

The Reverend Moody characterized this as a

marvellous Work of sovereign and superabundant Grace.



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1736

The Massachusetts code for punishment was fairly standardized, as far as getting yourself [hanged](#) went:

	Theft	Burglary
Strike 1	fine or whip	brand on forehead
Strike 2	treble damages, an hour on the gallows with a rope around the neck, then thirty stripes at the whipping post	an hour on the gallows with a rope around the neck, then thirty stripes at the whipping post
Strike 3	hang	hang



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1738

Abigail Davis's novel *HANGING KATHERINE GARRET* (Heritage Press, 2003) uses a 21st-century protagonist to research the mysteries surrounding the 1737 trial of Katherine Garret, a Pequot accused of infanticide in Saybrook, [Connecticut](#), and her [hanging](#) in this year in New London.

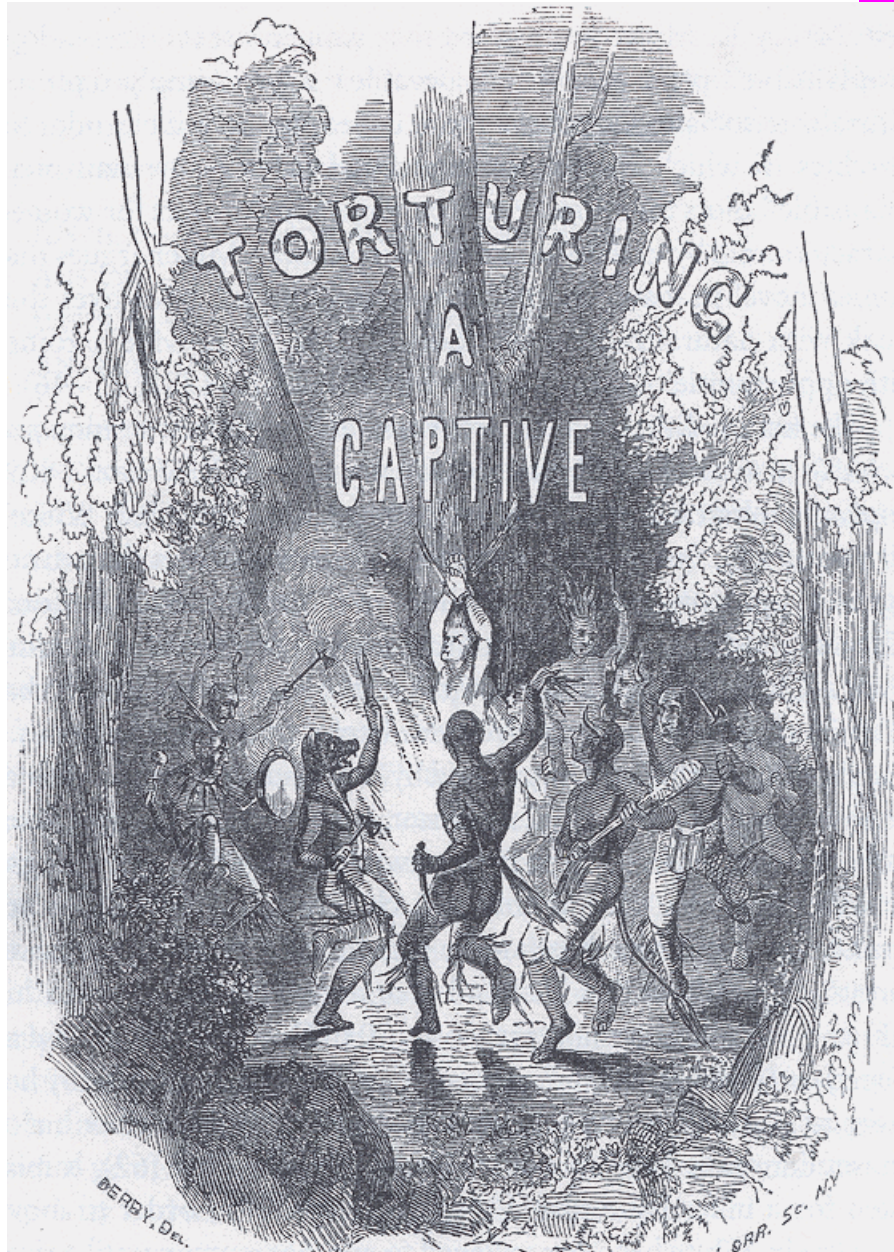
Some sailors were [hanged](#) at [Newport, Rhode Island](#) for having been guilty of a mutiny at sea.

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May 28, Sunday (Old Style): [Joseph-Ignace Guillotin](#) was born at Saintes. The story has it that the infant's mother had gone into labor while watching the [torture](#) execution of a man on the wheel.

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[LA GUILLOTINE](#)



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1739

April 7: Richard (Dick) Turpin, highwayman, was hanged at York.



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1740

The General Court of Massachusetts, upon the suggestion of the royal governor, Jonathan Belcher, considered awarding to a descendent of [Friend Mary Dyer](#), one Samuel Dyer, a sum of money in compensation for sufferings inflicted by [Boston](#) upon his ancestor. The offer of blood money was declined, the descendant writing to the court that he found “their sense of the injury and injustice committed” to be sufficient for him and his family. He added that they

freely forgave all the actors in that dismal catastrophe.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

COLDBLOODED MURDER

January 19: The Quakers of Pennsylvania, responding to demands for the creation and funding of an obligatory militia, pointed out that there was a subtle differentiation to be made between military violence and police violence. To kill “a burglar who broke into our houses, plundered us of our goods, and perhaps would have murdered too, if he could not have otherwise accomplished his ends” would be to kill someone who was violating “laws human and divine,” whereas to kill a soldier would be to kill someone who supposed himself to be acting “in the discharge of his duty” and in “obedience to the commands of his sovereign.” –Very different, to kill someone who knew he was doing wrong, versus someone who was supposing incorrectly that he was doing right! –OK, you understand now, right?³⁰³

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

November 24, day (Old Style): William Duell, a murderer, was [hanged](#) at Tyburn in [London](#) and without this being noticed by the executioner made it all the way to the dissection table unconscious but still alive.³⁰⁴

303. It is to be noted that the [Quaker](#) case for nonviolence in Pennsylvania was being considerably weakened by their support for [capital punishment](#).

304. Of course, you’re hoping that this story had a happy ending.

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1741



March/April: In [New-York](#), a series of suspicious fires and reports of slave conspiracy led to a general hysteria³⁰⁵ similar to the hysteria that had developed in Spring 1712.

The series of “suspicious” fires began with the destruction of Fort George, the Governor’s residence. This set off a panic among the white residents, that the [enslaved](#) community (numbering over 2,000 out of the city’s population of 11,000) was intending in [servile insurrection](#) to set fire to the city, in order to kill whites as they attempted to extinguish the flames.³⁰⁶

The resulting Salem-like (or McCarthyesque) show trials, held throughout that spring and summer, would find over 100 [slaves](#) guilty of arson and/or conspiracy to commit murder. About 70 would be deported, 18 [hanged](#), and 13 burned at the stake.



Commenting on the Scorsese movie “Gangs of New York”:
 “In my own research of New York history, through first-person accounts and newspaper reports, I have found that our past was often at least as violent and squalid, if not more so, than the movie depicts.”

— Kevin Baker



Per Daniel Horsmanden’s THE [NEW-YORK](#) CONSPIRACY, OR THE HISTORY OF THE NEGRO PLOT: WITH THE JOURNAL OF THE PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE CONSPIRATORS AT NEW-YORK IN THE YEARS 1741-2: TOGETHER WITH SEVERAL INTERESTING TABLES CONTAINING THE NAMES OF THE WHITE AND BLACK PERSONS ARRESTED ON ACCOUNT OF THE CONSPIRACY, THE TIMES OF THEIR TRIALS, THEIR SENTENCES, THEIR EXECUTIONS BY BURNING AND HANGING, NAMES OF THOSE TRANSPORTED, AND THOSE DISCHARGED: WITH A VARIETY OF OTHER USEFUL AND HIGHLY INTERESTING MATTER (1741/1742), and A JOURNAL OF THE PROCEEDINGS IN THE DETECTION OF THE CONSPIRACY FORMED BY SOME WHITE PEOPLE, IN CONJUNCTION WITH NEGRO AND OTHER SLAVES, FOR BURNING THE CITY OF NEW-YORK IN AMERICA AND MURDERING THE INHABITANTS (1744):

The parties accused of the conspiracy were numerous, and
 305. Read all about it in Jill Lepore’s new LIBERTY, SLAVERY, AND CONSPIRACY IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MANHATTAN (NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005). —This just in: anything written by Jill Lepore is worth your undivided attention. Also relevant: Thomas J. Davis’s A RUMOR OF REVOLT (Amherst MA: U of Massachusetts P, 1985) and Daniel Horsmanden’s THE NEW YORK CONSPIRACY (Boston MA: Beacon Press, 1971).

306. Clearly, there’s a terminology problem here. In an effort to resolve this terminology issue, at the Republican National Convention in [New York](#) during August 2004 –at which the Republican Party would for four days make an effort to strip from its face its mask of hostility to the plight of the downtrodden and reveal its true countenance of benevolent conservatism and concern– these people would be sensitively referred to by a Hoosier Republican running for the US Senate as “involuntary immigrants.”

So, perhaps, this is a good point at which to insert a story about involuntary immigrants that has been passed on to us by Ram Varmha, a retired IBM engineer whose father had briefly served as Maharaja after the independence of Cochin. He relates the story as narrated to him by his paternal grandmother who lived in Thripoonithura, Cochin: “When my grandmother (born 1882) was a young girl she would go with the elder ladies of the family to the Pazhayannur Devi Temple in Fort Cochin, next to the Cochin Lantha Palace built by the Dutch (Landers = Lantha), which was an early establishment of the Cochin royal family before the administration moved to Thripoonithura. My grandmother often told us that in the basement of the Lantha Palace, in a confined area, a family of Africans had been kept locked up, as in a zoo! By my Grandmother’s time all the Africans had died. But, some of the elder ladies had narrated the story to her of ‘Kappiries’ (Africans) kept in captivity there. It seems visitors would give them fruits and bananas. They were well cared for but always kept in confinement. My grandmother did not know all the details but according to her, ‘many’ years earlier, a ship having broken its mast drifted into the old Cochin harbor. When the locals climbed aboard, they found a crewless ship, but in the hold there were some chained ‘Kappiries’ still alive; others having perished. The locals did not know what to do with them. Not understanding their language and finding the Africans in chains, the locals thought that these were dangerous to set free. So they herded the poor Africans into the basement of the Cochin Fort, and held them in captivity, for many, many years! I have no idea when the initial incident happened, but I presume it took place in the late 1700s or early 1800s. This points to the possibility that it was, in fact, a slave ship carrying human cargo from East Africa to either the USA or the West Indies. An amazing and rather bizarre story. Incidentally, this is not an ‘old woman’s tale’! Its quite reliable. My grandmother would identify some of the older ladies who had actually seen the surviving Kappiries.”



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business by degrees multiplied so fast upon the grand jury, which bore the burthen of this inquiry, that there would have been an immediate necessity for others to have lent a helping hand in taking examinations from the beginning, if the judges had not found it expedient to examine the persons accused, upon their first taking into custody, whereby it seemed most likely the truth would bolt out, before they had time to cool, or opportunity of discoursing in the jail with their confederates, who were before committed.

The examinations thus taken by the judges, were soon after laid before the grand jury, who interrogated the parties therefrom in such manner, as generally produced from them the substance of the same matter, and often something more, by which means there accrued no small advantage; for though were the last examination brought to light new discover, yet it will be seldom found, there is any thing in such further examinations contradictory to the former, but generally a confirmation of them; and in such case, the setting forth the same at large, may not be thought a useless tautology; not that this will happen often, and where it does, it will be chiefly found in the examinations and confessions of negroes, who, in ordinary cases, are seldom found to hold twice in the same story; which, for its rarity therefore, if it carried not with it the additional weight of the greater appearance of truth, may make this particular the more excusable; and further, this is a diary of the proceedings, that is to be exhibited, therefore, in conformity to that plan, nothing should be omitted, which may be of use. All proper precautions were taken by the judges, that the criminals should be kept separate; and they were so, as much as the scanty room in the jail would admit of; and new apartments were fitted up for their reception: but more particular care was taken, that such negroes as had made confession and discovery, and were to be made use of as witnesses, should be kept apart from the rest, and as much from each other, as the accommodations would allow of, in order to prevent their caballing from each other first, as well upon the trials, as otherwise, and then generally confronted with the persons they accused, who were usually sent for and taken into custody upon such examinations, if they were to be met with; which was the means of bringing many others to a confession, as well as were newly taken up, as those who had long before been committed, perhaps upon slighter grounds, and had insisted upon their innocence; for they had generally the cunning not to own their guilt, till they knew their accusers. But notwithstanding this was the ordinary method taken, both by the judges and grand jury, to send for the parties as soon as impeached, (which however might sometimes through hurry be omitted) yet several who happened then to be out of the way, were afterwards forgot, and slipped through our fingers, from the multiplicity of business in hand, as will hereafter appear; which therefore is particularly recommended to the notice of their owners.

The trouble of examining criminals in general, may be easily guessed at; but the fatigue in that of negroes, is not to be conceived, but by those that have undergone the drudgery. The difficulty of bringing and holding them to the truth, if by chance it starts through them, is not to be surmounted, but by the closest attention; many of them have a great deal of craft; their unintelligible jargon stands them in great stead, to



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conceal their meaning; so that an examiner must expect to encounter with much perplexity, grope through a maze of obscurity, be obliged to lay hold of broken hints, lay them carefully together, and thoroughly weigh and compare them with each other, before he can be able to see the light, or fix those creatures to any certain determinate meaning.

April 21, Tuesday (Old Style): At [New-York](#), the great [servile insurrection](#) conspiracy. Of those captured, 13 black slaves would be burned at the stake, 18 would be [hanged](#), and 70 would be sold to the islands of the Caribbean.³⁰⁷

At a Supreme Court of judicature held for the province of New York, at the city-hall of the city of New York, on Tuesday, April 21, 1741-Present, Frederick Philipse, esq. Second justice; Daniel Horsmanden, esq. third justice.

The grand jury were called. The following persons appeared, and were sworn-viz.:

Mr. Robert Watts, merchant, foreman; Messrs. Jeremiah Latouche, Joseph Read, Anthony Rutgers, John M'Evers, John Cruger, jun. John Merritt, Adoniah Schuyler, Isaac De Peyster, Abraham Keteltass, David Provoost, Rene Hett, Henry Beekman, jun. David Van Horne, George Spencer, Thomas Duncan, Winant Van Zant, merchants. Mr. Justice Philipse gave the charge to the grand jury, as followeth:

Gentlemen of the grand jury,

It is not without some concern, that I am obliged at this time to be more particular in your charge, than for many preceding terms there hath been occasion. The many frights and terrors which the good people of this city have of late been put into, by repeated and unusual fires, and burning of houses, give us too much room to suspect, that some of them at least, did not proceed from mere chance, or common accidents; but on the contrary, from the premeditated malice and wicked pursuits of evil and designing persons; and therefore, it greatly behoves us to use our utmost diligence, by all lawful ways and means to discover the contrivers and perpetrators of such daring and flagitious undertakings: that, upon conviction, they may receive condign punishment; for although we have the happiness of living under a government which exceeds all others in the excellency of its constitution and laws, yet if those to whom the execution of them (which my lord Coke calls the life and soul of the law) is committed, do not exert themselves in a conscientious discharge of their respective duties, such laws which were intended for a terror to the evil-doer, and a protection to the good, will become a dead letter, and our most excellent constitution turned into anarchy and confusion; every one practising what he listeth, and doing what shall seem good in his own eyes: to prevent which, it is the duty of all grand juries to inquire into the conduct and behaviour of the people in their respective counties; and if, upon examination, they find any to have transgressed the laws of the land, to present them, that so they may by the court be put upon their trial, and then either to be discharged or punished according to their demerits.

I am told there are several prisoners now in jail, who have been committed by the city magistrates, upon suspicion of having been

307. Supreme Court of Judicature of New-York, "New York Conspiracy," Journal of the Proceedings Against the Conspirators, at New York in 1741.



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concerned in some of the late fires; and others, who under pretence of assisting the unhappy sufferers, by saving their goods from the flames, for stealing, or receiving them. This indeed, is adding affliction to the afflicted, and is a very great aggravation of such crime, and therefore deserves a narrow inquiry: that so the exemplary punishment of the guilty (if any such should be so found) may deter others from committing the like villainies; for this kind of stealing, I think, has not been often practised among us.

Gentlemen,

Arson, or the malicious and voluntary burning, not only a mansion house, but also any other house, and the out buildings, or barns, and stables adjoining thereto, by night or by day, is felony at common law; and if any part of the house be burned, the offender is guilty of felony, notwithstanding the fire afterwards be put out, or go out of itself.

This crime is of so shocking a nature, that if we have any in this city, who, having been guilty thereof, should escape, who can say he is safe, or tell where it will end?

Gentlemen,

Another Thing which I cannot omit recommending to your serious and diligent inquiry, is to find out and present all such persons who sell rum, and other strong liquor to negroes. It must be obvious to every one, that there are too many of them in this city; who, under pretence of selling what they call a penny dram to a negro, will sell to him as many quarts or gallons of rum, as he can steal money or goods to pay for.

How this notion of its being lawful to sell a penny dram, or a pennyworth of rum to a slave, without the consent or direction of his master, has prevailed, I know not; but this I am sure of, that there is not only no such law, but that the doing of it is directly contrary to an act of the assembly now in force, for the better regulating of slaves. The many fatal consequences flowing from this prevailing and wicked practice, are so notorious, and so nearly concern us all, that one would be almost surprised, to think there should be a necessity for a court to recommend a suppression of such pernicious houses: thus much in particular; now in general.

My charge, gentlemen, further is, to present all conspiracies, combinations, and other offences, from treasons down to trespasses; and in your inquiries, the oath you, and each of you have just now taken will, I am persuaded, be your guide, and I pray God to direct and assist you in the discharge of your duty. Court adjourned until to-morrow morning ten o'clock.

The grand jury having been informed, that Mary Burton could give them some account concerning the good stolen from Mr. Hogg's, sent for her this morning, and ordered she should be sworn; the constable returned and acquainted them, that she said she would not be sworn, nor give evidence; whereupon they ordered the constable to get a warrant from a magistrate, to bring her before them. The constable was some time gone, but at length returned, and brought her with him; and being asked why she would not be sworn, and give her evidence? she told the grand jury she would not be sworn; and seemed to be under some great uneasiness, or terrible apprehensions; which gave suspicion that she knew something concerning the fires that had lately happened: and being asked a question to that purpose, she gave no answer; which increased the jealousy that she was privy to them; and as it was



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thought a matter of the utmost concern, the grand jury was very importunate, and used many arguments with her, in public and private, to persuade her to speak the truth, and tell all she knew about it. To this end, the lieutenant governor's proclamation was read to her, promising indemnity, and the reward of one hundred pounds to any person, confederate or not, who should make discovery, etc. She seemed to despise it, nor could the grand jury by any means, either threats or promises, prevail upon her, though they assured her withal, that she should have the protection of the magistrates, and her person be safe and secure from harm; but hitherto all was in vain: therefore, the grand jury desired alderman Bancker to commit her; and the constable was charged with her accordingly; but before he had got her to jail, she considered better of it, and resolved to be sworn, and give her evidence in the afternoon.

Accordingly, she being sworn, came before the grand jury; but as they were proceeding to her examination, and before they asked her any questions, she told them she would acquaint them with what she knew relating to the goods stolen from Mr. Hogg's, but would say nothing about the fires.

This expression thus, as it were providentially, slipping from the evidence, much alarmed the grand jury; for, as they naturally concluded, it did by construction amount to an affirmative, that she could give an account of the occasion of the several fires; and therefore, as it highly became those gentlemen in the discharge of their trust, they determined to use their utmost diligence to sift out the discovery, but still she remained inflexible, till at length, having recourse to religious topics, representing to her the heinousness of the crime which she would be guilty of, if she was privy to, and could discover so wicked a design, as the firing houses about our ears; whereby not only people's estates would be destroyed, but many person might lose their lives in the flames: this she would have to answer for at the day of judgment, as much as any person immediately concerned, because she might have prevented this destruction, and would not; so that a most damnable sin would lie at her door; and what need she fear from her divulging it; she was sure of the protection of the magistrates? or the grand jury expressed themselves in words to the same purpose; which arguments at last prevailed, and she gave the following evidence, which however, notwithstanding what had been said, came from her, as if still under some terrible apprehensions or restraints.

Deposition, No. 1.-Mary Burton, being sworn, deposeth,

1. "That Prince (a) and Caesar (b) brought the things of which they had robbed Mr. Hogg, to her master, John Hughson's house, and that they were handed in through the window, Hughson, his wife, and Peggy receiving them, about two or three o'clock on a Sunday morning. (c) 2. "That Caesar, prince, and Mr. Philipse's negro man (Cuffee) used to meet frequently at her master's house, and that she had heard them (the negroes) talk frequently of burning the fort; and that they would go down to the Fly (d) and burn the whole town; and that her master and mistress said, they would aid and assist them as much as they could. 3. "That in their common conversation they used to say, that when all this was done, Caesar should be governor, and Hughson, her master, should be king. 4. "That Cuffee used to say, that a great many people had too much, and others too little; that his old



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master had a great deal of money, but that, in a short time, he should have less, and that he (Cuffee) should have more. 5. "That at the same time when the things of which Mr. Hogg was robbed, were brought to her master's house, they brought some indigo and bees wax, which was likewise received by her master and mistress. 6. "That at the meetings of the three aforesaid negroes, Caesar, Prince and Cuffee, at her master's house, they used to say, in their conversations, that when they set fire to the town, they would do it in the night, and as the white people came to extinguish it, they would kill and destroy them. 7. "That she has known at times, seven or eight guns in her master's house, and some swords, and that she has seen twenty or thirty negroes at one time in her master's house; and that at such large meetings, the three aforesaid negroes, Cuffee, Prince and Caesar, were generally present, and most active, and that they used to say, that the other negroes durst not refuse to do what they commanded them, and they were sure that they had a number sufficient to stand by them. 8. "That Hughson (her master) and her mistress used to threaten, that if she, the deponent, ever made mention of the goods stolen from Mr. Hogg, they would poison her; and the negroes swore, if ever she published, or discovered the design of burning the town, they would burn her whenever they met her. 9. "That she never saw any white person in company when they talked of burning the town, but her master, her mistress, and Peggy."

This evidence of a conspiracy, not only to burn the city, but also destroy and murder the people, was most astonishing to the grand jury, and that any white people should become so abandoned as to confederate with slaves in such an execrable and detestable purpose, could not but be very amazing to every one that heard it; what could scarce be credited; but that the several fires had been occasioned by some combination of villains, was, at the time of them, naturally to be collected from the manner and circumstances attending them.

The grand jury therefore, as it was a matter of the utmost consequence, thought it necessary to inform the judges concerning it, in order that the most effectual measures might be concerted, for discovering the confederates; and the judges were acquainted with it accordingly.

SUPREME COURT

Friday, May 1.

Present, the second and third justices.

The king against Caesar and prince, negroes. On trial.

The jury called, and the prisoners making no challenge, the following persons were sworn, viz.:

Roger French, John Groesbeek, John Richard, Abraham Kipp, George Witts, John Thurman, Patrick Jackson, Benjamin Moore, William Hamersley, John Lashier, Joshua Sleydall, John Shurmur.

These two negroes were arraigned on two indictments, the twenty fourth of April last; the one for their entering the dwelling house of Robert Hogg, of this city, merchant, on the first day of March then last past, with intent then and there to commit some felony; and for feloniously stealing and carrying away then and there the goods and chattels of the said Robert Hogg, of the value of four pounds five shillings sterling, against the form of the statutes in such case made and provided, and against the peace of our sovereign lord the king, his crown and dignity.

The other for their entering the dwelling house of Abraham



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Meyers Cohen in this city, merchant, on the first day of March with the intent then and there to commit some felony; and for feloniously stealing and carrying away then and there the goods and chattels of the said Abraham Meyers Cohen of the value of five pounds sterling, against the form of the statutes, etc. And against the king's peace, etc.

To each of which indictments they pleaded, not guilty.

The Attorney General having opened both the indictments, he with Joseph Murray, Esq. of council for the king, proceeded to examine the witnesses, viz.,

For the king, Mrs. Hogg, Mrs. Boswell, Christopher Wilson, Rachina Guerin, Mr. Robert Hogg, Mr. Robert Watts, Margaret Sorubiero, alias Kerry, Abraham Meyers Cohen, James Mills, Thomas Wenman, John Moore, Esq. Cornelius Brower, Anthony Ham, Mary Burton.

For the prisoners, Alderman Bancker, Alderman Johnson, John Auboyneau.

The prisoners upon their defence denied the charge against them. And,

The evidence being summed up, which was very strong and full, and the jury charged, they withdrew; and being returned, found them guilty of the indictments.

Ordered, that the trials of the Hughsons and Margaret Kerry, be put off until Wednesday of the 6th inst.

Court adjourned until Monday morning, 4th May, at ten o'clock. (a) Caesar.

SUPREME COURT Friday, May 8

Present, the second and third justices.

The king against Caesar and Prince, negroes.

The prisoners having been capitally convicted on two several indictments for felony, and being brought to the bar the court proceeded to give sentence; which was passed by the second justice as followeth:

You, Caesar and Prince, the grand jury having found two indictments against each of you, for feloniously stealing and taking away from Mr. Hogg, and Mr. Meyers Cohen, sundry goods of considerable value. To these indictments you severally pleaded not guilty; and for your trials put yourselves upon God and the country; which country having found you guilty, it now only remains for the court to pronounce that judgment which the law requires, and the nature of your crimes deserve.

But before I proceed to sentence, I must tell you, that you have been proceeded against in the same manner as any white man, guilty of your crimes, would have been. You had not only the liberty of sending for your witnesses; asking them such questions as you thought proper; but likewise making the best defence you could; and as you have been convicted by twelve honest men upon their oaths, so the just judgement of God has at length overtaken you.

I have great reason to believe, that the crimes you now stand convicted of, are not the least of those you have been concerned in; for by your general characters you have been very wicked fellows, hardened sinners, and ripe, as well as ready, for the most enormous and daring enterprizes, especially you, Caesar: and as the time you have yet to live is to be but very short, I earnestly advise and exhort both of you to employ it in the most diligent and best manner you can, by confessing your sins, repenting sincerely of them, and praying God of his infinite



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goodness to have mercy on your souls: and as God knows the secrets of your hearts, and cannot be cheated or imposed upon, so you must shortly give an account to him, and answer for all your actions; and depend upon it, if you do not truly repent before you die, there is a hell to punish the wicked eternally. And as it is not in your powers to make full restitution for the many injuries you have done the public; so I advise both of you to do all that in you is, to prevent further mischiefs, by discovering such persons as have been concerned with you, in designing or endeavouring to burn this city, and to destroy its inhabitants. This I am fully persuaded is in your power to do if you will; if so, and you do not make such discovery, be assured God almighty will punish you for it, though we do not: therefore I advise you to consider this well, and I hope both of you will tell the truth.

And now, nothing further remains for me to say, but that you Caesar, and you Prince, are to be taken hence to the place whence you came, and from thence to the place of execution, and there you, and each of you, are to be hanged by the neck until you be dead. And I pray the Lord to have mercy on your souls.

Ordered, that their execution be on Monday next, the eleventh day of this instant, between the hours of nine and one of the same day. And further ordered that after the execution of the said sentence, the body of Caesar be hung in chains.

Court adjourned till Monday morning next ten o'clock.

August 29, Saturday (Old Style): A young white man who was being referred to as John Ury, presumably from Ireland, was [hanged](#) in [New-York](#). This probably wasn't his name. He had been charged with being a [Catholic](#) priest, which was a crime because General James Oglethorpe, the founder of Georgia, had allegedly uncovered a plot by Spanish priests "to burn every English town in the Colonies," and, also, with having made a practice of aiding and abetting the town's negroes, many of whom were Catholic. This hanging was the culmination of a spasm in which, over a period of a few weeks, a grand total of 21 white New-Yorkers had been interrogated under [torture](#) (4 of them then hanged), 14 black New-Yorkers burned at the stake, 20 black New-Yorkers hanged in chains, and 71 black New-Yorkers seized and sold into slavery. How had this spasm of fears of [servile insurrections](#) begun? Well, do you remember having learned in school of a poem by Samuel Woodworth, titled "The Old Oaken Bucket"? This poem refers to the Tea Water Pump at the junction of what is now Park Row and Roosevelt Street in New-York. Near this pump with its oaken bucket and its tea-colored water was a groggery and roominghouse for negroes, run by an immigrant shoemaker named Long John Hughson. It was rumored that Long John was a fence who bought stolen goods from the city's negro sneak-thieves. One of the tenants in this boardinghouse was this young white man, and in addition, the Hughsons were harboring, as their servant girl, a 16-year-old white orphan named Mary Burton. The *Flamborough*, an English man-'o-war, had entered New-York harbor with a Spanish prize ship they had captured, and aboard this prize ship were a number of black Catholics who insisted they were not slaves but freeborn sailors. Nevertheless they were of course sold into slavery and flogged repeatedly. Mary Burton, observing the young white tenant washing and bandaging the black men's whip wounds, and giving these enslaved men rum, went to the authorities with a tale which was almost certainly concocted in order to gain for herself some personal notice. This crew had allegedly been overheard bragging about how, on February 28th, they had gotten some silverware and a little money at the Robert Hogg residence at Broad and South William Streets. The Hughson family and 2 of the black Catholic sailors, who were being referred to in New-York as "Prince" and "Caesar," were [tortured](#) by the police to obtain a confession. Then, suddenly, in March, there was a fire at Governor's House that destroyed a number of structures, including King's Chapel — and fires were breaking out all over the English settlement on Manhattan Island. There was a rumor that a negro had been seen jumping out of the window of a burning building. A woman named Earle was watching 3 black men walk together down Broadway when she heard one of them exclaim "Fire! Fire! Scorch! Be more mebbe by 'n by!" Soon there



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were 154 blacks being held in the New-York jail, “every black man who cannot give a satisfactory account of himself.” Again Mary Burton stepped forward, this time to seek a reward of £100 that had been offered by the Common Council for evidence regarding this “Negro Plot to burn the city.” She swore she had overheard Long John Hughson conspire with these black men to be made King of New-York, with the slave called “Caesar” to become Governor, and Catholic black man, called “Jack,” to command a black army. A white prisoner who had been accused of robbing the Lieutenant Governor obtained his freedom by corroborating her story. Hundreds of white families fled the city while white mobs roamed the city looking for blacks to kill and succeeding in finding, and burning at the stake, 2 black New-Yorkers. On May 11th, “Prince” and “Caesar,” having been tried and found guilty, were hanged. On June 12th, it taking longer to try and convict a white family, this Mr. and Mrs. Hughson and an associated Peggy Kerry of the boardinghouse were hanged. They had protested their entire innocence to the last. The body of Long John Hughson was gibbeted and hung in chains on Battery Point as “a lesson to other conspirators.” Near where the Nathan Hale statue now is in City Hall park, 2 black New-Yorkers called “Quace” and “Cuffee” were burned simultaneously, on stakes 50 feet apart, while the others were burned not there or collectively but individually, at a site about 100 yards farther to the north. At this time Mary Burton stepped forward a 3d time, to identify Mr. Hughson’s mysterious tenant as a Catholic priest in plain clothes and as the ringleader of the Negro Plot to burn the city. And this man confessed that in fact he was a priest, and that he had said Mass many times, and that he had taught black adults and children to read and write. Finally, when after this execution of this priest being referred to as “John Ury,” Mary Burton’s allegations continued, and continued to become more and more preposterous, the authorities turned against her as well. She was stoned in the streets, and it is possible that she committed suicide or was confined in a madhouse.

ANTI-CATHOLICISM

November 21, Saturday (Old Style): Friend Samuel Chew, a [Quaker](#) magistrate of Pennsylvania on his way to becoming a non-Quaker, demanded to be informed how his fellow Quaker magistrates could be easy in their consciences when they “forcibly put another to death, after his hands are tied behind him,” for a crime, when they remained uneasy in their consciences about the military killing of people who were in “unlawful resistance.” This was entirely too much: soon the other members of his Duck Creek monthly meeting would publicly disown him for this considered opposition to state-sanctioned coldblooded murder.

COLDBLOODED MURDER

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

December 31, Thursday (Old Style): Believing that Roman Catholic priests had on orders from Spain been inciting [slaves](#) to burn [New-York](#), and that this had been the cause of the series of suspicious fires that had broken out in the Big Apple during March and April of this year, 4 whites and 18 blacks were [hanged](#) and 13 blacks were burned at the stake. For their supposed complicity or affiliation in [servile insurrection](#), 71 slaves were “deported,” that is, sold south. (General James Oglethorpe would report this news to the trustees in a letter of May 28, 1742. He would also mention fires at Charles Town, and a Negro insurrection in Carolina in which Mr. Bathurst and above 20 white people and 40 Negroes were killed.)



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1744

October: Thomas and James Greentree were fined £10 each because they had refused to impound their goats at Peak Gutt on [St. Helena](#) for inspection. They were advised that they were being treated mercifully, because disobeying the law was the beginning of rebellion and the consequence of rebellion was of course [execution](#).

“Voted by ye Chh yt as things appear at present our Sister Sarah Robbins about ye last of May was guilty of ye Sin of [Drunkenness](#) & in Consideration thereof ye She be debarred from Communion in ye Special ordinances of ye Gospel for a Season, — yt we will privately use Means for her Conviction, & are ready to hear with Candour any thing which She may offer in her own Vindication within Six weeks from this Time.”³⁰⁸

308. An excerpt from the records of the 1st Parish in Brewster MA on Cape Cod, which was formerly the 1st Parish in Harwich.



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1745

January 18, Friday (1744, Old Style): The contemptible long-term petty criminal [Samuel Smith](#) whom the 12-year-old [John Thoreau](#) perhaps would hear and then see [hanged](#) in Concord, Massachusetts on December 26, 1799 was on this day born in Middleton, Connecticut. (This would put this man close to his 55th birthday when he ascended to the platform just after Christmas and a few days prior to the turn of the 19th Century.)

“MAGISTERIAL HISTORY” IS FANTASIZING: HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY



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1752

In England, the enactment of An Act for better preventing the horrid Crime of Murder, 25 Geo. 2, c. 37, 1752, meant that henceforward, the practice of dissecting, and the practice of gibbeting, would become additional punishments that were to be meted out to the corpses of murderers alone.

HANGING



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1755

September: In [Charlestown](#) in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, the [slaves](#) Mark, Phillis, and Phebe, along with Quaco and Robin, were convicted of murdering the slavemaster, Captain John Codman.³⁰⁹

Having ascertained that their master had, by his will, made them free at his death, they poisoned him in order to obtain their liberty so much the sooner.

Phillis, since she was a woman, was [burned alive](#). Mark, since he was a man and, knowing how to read and write, the evident leader of the slave conspiracy,³¹⁰ was dragged by horses to his place of execution on the town common, throttled, disemboweled³¹¹ and [beheaded](#), and then his body was hung up in chains by the side of the public thoroughfare.

[SERVILE INSURRECTION](#)

309. Captain John Codman was the son of Stephen Codman and Elizabeth Randall Codman of Charlestown, born on October 4, 1696. He married Parnell Foster, daughter of Richard Foster, and she died on September 15, 1752, at the age of 56.

310. He was known, for instance, to have read the BIBLE through.

311. The records suggest he was noticed to be already dead, rather than merely unconscious, while he was being disemboweled.

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1760

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), some sailors were [hanged](#) for having been guilty of a mutiny at sea.

Some of the [Quaker](#) group in [Newport](#), including some of the elders and some of the ministers, were, however little superior in morality to such condemned persons, for they were not only slavemasters but also were still entangled in the [international slave trade](#). For instance, at this point the Wanton family that would produce [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) was still engaging in this trade. Friend [John Woolman](#) wrote that he and his companions “in bowedness of spirit went to the [Yearly Meeting](#) at Newport, where I understood that a large number of slaves were imported from Africa and then on sale by a member of our Society.... At this time I had a feeling of the condition of Habakkuk as thus expressed: ‘When I heard, my belly trembled, my lips quivered, my appetite failed, and I grew outwardly weak. I trembled in myself that I might rest in the day of trouble.’ I had many cogitations and was sorely distressed.” Habakkuk 3:16 is of course a graphic description of the wrath of God; the verse concluding with “I sigh for the day of distress to dawn over my assailants.”



Friend John engaged in a successful effort to read in [Yearly Meeting](#) session a petition to the [Rhode Island](#) legislature to discourage the importation of [slaves](#). Apparently he got through this with his customary delicate, compassionate, and forceful persuasion. Having been able to read the petition aloud in the hearing of Friends, he “felt easy to leave the essay amongst Friends, for them to proceed on it as they believed best.”

Then, however, the [Yearly Meeting](#) took up the question of lotteries, and Friend John evidently was not able to maintain his temperance. He reports that “The matter was zealously handled by some on both sides.... And in the heat of zeal, I once made reply to what an ancient Friend said, which when I sat down I saw that my words were not enough seasoned with charity, and after this I spake no more on the subject. ...Some time after ... I, remaining uneasy with the manner of my speaking ... could not see my way clear to conceal my uneasiness, but was concerned that I might say nothing to weaken the cause in which I had laboured. And then after some close exercise and hearty repentance for that I had not attended closely to the safe guide, I stood up and ... acquainted Friends that though I dare not go from what I had said as to the matter, yet I was uneasy with the manner of my speaking, as believing milder language would have been better. As this was uttered in some degree of creaturely abasement, it appeared to have a good savor amongst us, after a warm debate.” Woolman had managed to rein in his anger and distress during his careful and skillful management of his antislavery petition, using the emotional energy to power his compassion, discernment, and charity toward the [slaveholders](#) themselves, but then during the discussion of lotteries his anger had slipped out. Following the general Meeting, however Woolman was able to meet with a number of slaveholding ministers, elders, overseers, and others, and was able to report that “My exercise was heavy and I was deeply bowed in spirit before the Lord, who was pleased to favour with the seasoning virtue of Truth, which wrought a tenderness amongst us, and the subject was mutually handled in a calm and peaceable spirit.”



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Visit, in Company with Samuel Eastburn, to Long Island, Rhode Island, Boston, etc. —
Remarks on the Slave-Trade at Newport; also on Lotteries — Some Observations on the
Island of Nantucket.

FOURTH Month, 1760. — Having for some time past felt a sympathy in my mind with Friends eastward, I opened my concern in our Monthly Meeting, and, obtaining a certificate, set forward on the 17th of this month, in company with my beloved friend Samuel Eastburn. We had meetings at Woodbridge, Rahway, and Plainfield, and were at their Monthly Meeting of ministers and elders in Rahway. We laboured under some discouragement, but through the invisible power of truth our visit was made reviving to the lowly-minded, with whom I felt a near unity of spirit, being much reduced in my mind. We passed on and visited most of the meetings on Long Island. It was my concern from day to day, to say neither more nor less than what the Spirit of truth opened in me, being jealous over myself lest I should say anything to make my testimony look agreeable to that mind in people which is not in pure obedience to the cross of Christ.

The spring of the ministry was often low, and through the subjecting power of truth we were kept low with it; from place to place they whose hearts were truly concerned for the cause of Christ appeared to be comforted in our labours, and though it was in general a time of abasement of the creature, yet, through His goodness who is a helper of the poor, we had some truly edifying seasons both in meetings and in families where we tarried. Sometimes we found strength to labour earnestly with the unfaithful, especially with those whose station in families or in the Society was such that their example had a powerful tendency to open the way for others to go aside from the purity and soundness of the blessed truth.

At Jericho, on Long Island, I wrote home as follows: —

24th of the Fourth Month, 1760.

DEARLY BELOVED WIFE, — We are favoured with health; have been at sundry meetings in East Jersey and on this island. My mind hath been much in an inward, watchful frame since I left thee, greatly desiring that our proceedings may be singly in the will of our Heavenly Father.

As the present appearance of things is not joyous, I have been much shut up from outward cheerfulness, remembering that promise, "Then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord"; as this from day to day has been revived in my memory, I have considered that His internal presence in our minds is a delight of all others the most pure, and that the honest-hearted not only delight in this, but in the effect of it upon them. He regards the helpless and distressed, and reveals His love to His children under affliction, who delight in beholding His benevolence, and in feeling divine charity moving in them. Of this I may speak a little, for, though since I left you I have often an engaging love and affection towards thee and my daughter and friends about home, and going out at this time, when sickness is so great amongst you, is a trial upon me; yet I often remember there are many widows and fatherless, many who have poor tutors, many who have evil examples before them, and many whose minds are in



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captivity; for whose sake my heart is at times moved with compassion, so that I feel my mind resigned to leave you for a season, to exercise that gift which the Lord hath bestowed on me, which though small compared with some, yet in this I rejoice that I feel love unfeigned towards my fellow-creatures. I recommend you to the Almighty, who, I trust, cares for you, and under a sense of His heavenly love remain,
Thy loving husband, J. W.

We crossed from the east end of Long Island to New London, about thirty miles, in a large open boat; while we were out, the wind rising high, the waves several times beat over us, so that to me it appeared dangerous, but my mind was at that time turned to Him who made and governs the deep, and my life was resigned to Him; as He was mercifully pleased to preserve us, I had fresh occasion to consider every day as a day lent to me, and felt a renewed engagement to devote my time, and all I had, to Him who gave it.

We had five meetings in Narraganset, and went thence to Newport on Rhode Island. Our gracious Father preserved us in an humble dependence on Him through deep exercises that were mortifying to the creaturely will. In several families in the country where we lodged, I felt an engagement on my mind to have a conference with them in private, concerning their slaves; and through divine aid I was favoured to give up thereto. Though in this concern I differ from many whose service in travelling is, I believe, greater than mine, yet I do not think hardly of them for omitting it; I do not repine at having so unpleasant a task assigned me, but look with awfulness to Him who appoints to His servants their respective employments, and is good to all who serve Him sincerely.

We got to Newport in the evening, and on the next day visited two sick persons, with whom we had comfortable sittings, and in the afternoon attended the burial of a Friend. The next day we were at meetings at Newport, in the forenoon and afternoon; the spring of the ministry was opened, and strength was given to declare the Word of Life to the people.

The day following we went on our journey, but the great number of slaves in these parts, and the continuance of that trade from thence to Guinea, made a deep impression on me, and my cries were often put up to my Heavenly Father in secret, that He would enable me to discharge my duty faithfully in such way as He might be pleased to point out to me.

We took Swansea, Freetown, and Taunton in our way to Boston, where also we had a meeting; our exercise was deep, and the love of truth prevailed, for which I bless the Lord. We went eastward about eighty miles beyond Boston, taking meetings, and were in a good degree preserved in an humble dependence on that arm which drew us out; and though we had some hard labour with the disobedient, by laying things home and close to such as were stout against the truth, yet through the goodness of God we had at times to partake of heavenly comfort with those who were meek, and were often favoured to part with Friends in the nearness of true gospel fellowship. We returned to Boston and had another comfortable opportunity with Friends there, and thence rode back a day's journey eastward of Boston. Our guide being a heavy man, and the weather hot, my companion and I expressed our freedom to go on without him, to which he consented, and we respectfully



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took our leave of him; this we did as believing the journey would have been hard to him and his horse.

In visiting the meetings in those parts we were measurably baptized into a feeling of the state of the Society, and in bowedness of spirit went to the Yearly Meeting at Newport, where we met with John Storer from England, Elizabeth Shipley, Ann Gaunt, Hannah Foster, and Mercy Redman, from our parts, all ministers of the gospel, of whose company I was glad. Understanding that a large number of slaves had been imported from Africa into that town, and were then on sale by a member of our Society, my appetite failed, and I grew outwardly weak, and had a feeling of the condition of Habakkuk, as thus expressed: "When I heard, my belly trembled, my lips quivered, I trembled in myself, that I might rest in the day of trouble." I had many cogitations, and was sorely distressed. I was desirous that Friends might petition the Legislature to use their endeavours to discourage the future importation of slaves, for I saw that this trade was a great evil, and tended to multiply troubles, and to bring distresses on the people for whose welfare my heart was deeply concerned. But I perceived several difficulties in regard to petitioning, and such was the exercise of my mind that I thought of endeavouring to get an opportunity to speak a few words in the House of Assembly then sitting in town.

This exercise came upon me in the afternoon on the second day of the Yearly Meeting, and on going to bed I got no sleep till my mind was wholly resigned thereto. In the morning I inquired of a Friend how long the Assembly was likely to continue sitting, who told me it was expected to be prorogued that day or the next. As I was desirous to attend the business of the meeting, and perceived the Assembly was likely to separate before the business was over, after considerable exercise, humbly seeking to the Lord for instruction, my mind settled to attend on the business of the meeting; on the last day of which I had prepared a short essay of a petition to be presented to the Legislature, if way opened. And being informed that there were some appointed by that Yearly Meeting to speak with those in authority on cases relating to the Society, I opened my mind to several of them, and showed them the essay I had made, and afterwards I opened the case in the meeting for business, in substance as follows: —

I have been under a concern for some time on account of the great number of slaves which are imported into this colony. I am aware that it is a tender point to speak to, but apprehend I am not clear in the sight of Heaven without doing so. I have prepared an essay of a petition to be presented to the Legislature, if way open; and what I have to propose to this meeting is that some Friends may be named to withdraw and look over it, and report whether they believe it suitable to be read in the meeting. If they should think well of reading it, it will remain for the meeting to consider whether to take any further notice of it, as a meeting, or not.

After a short conference some Friends went out, and, looking over it, expressed their willingness to have it read, which being done, many expressed their unity with the proposal, and some signified that to have the subjects of the petition enlarged upon, and signed out of meeting by such as were free, would be more suitable than to do it there. Though I expected



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at first that if it was done it would be in that way, yet such was the exercise of my mind that to move it in the hearing of Friends when assembled appeared to me as a duty, for my heart yearned towards the inhabitants of these parts, believing that by this trade there had been an increase of inquietude amongst them, and way had been made for the spreading of a spirit opposite to that meekness and humility which is a sure resting-place for the soul; and that the continuance of this trade would not only render their healing more difficult, but would increase their malady.

Having proceeded thus far, I felt easy to leave the essay amongst Friends, for them to proceed in it as they believed best. And now an exercise revived in my mind in relation to lotteries, which were common in those parts. I had mentioned the subject in a former sitting of this meeting, when arguments were used in favour of Friends being held excused who were only concerned in such lotteries as were agreeable to law. And now, on moving it again, it was opposed as before; but the hearts of some solid Friends appeared to be united to discourage the practice amongst their members, and the matter was zealously handled by some on both sides. In this debate it appeared very clear to me that the spirit of lotteries was a spirit of selfishness, which tended to confuse and darken the understanding, and that pleading for it in our meetings, which were set apart for the Lord's work, was not right. In the heat of zeal, I made reply to what an ancient Friend said, and when I sat down I saw that my words were not enough seasoned with charity. After this I spoke no more on the subject. At length a minute was made, a copy of which was to be sent to their several Quarterly Meetings, inciting Friends to labour to discourage the practice amongst all professing with us.

Some time after this minute was made I remained uneasy with the manner of my speaking to the ancient Friend, and could not see my way clear to conceal my uneasiness, though I was concerned that I might say nothing to weaken the cause in which I had laboured. After some close exercise and hearty repentance for not having attended closely to the safe guide, I stood up, and, reciting the passage, acquainted Friends that though I durst not go from what I had said as to the matter, yet I was uneasy with the manner of my speaking, believing milder language would have been better. As this was uttered in some degree of creaturely abasement after a warm debate, it appeared to have a good savour amongst us.

The Yearly Meeting being now over, there yet remained on my mind a secret though heavy exercise, in regard to some leading active members about Newport, who were in the practice of keeping slaves. This I mentioned to two ancient Friends who came out of the country, and proposed to them, if way opened, to have some conversation with those members. One of them and I, having consulted one of the most noted elders who had slaves, he, in a respectful manner, encouraged me to proceed to clear myself of what lay upon me. Near the beginning of the Yearly Meeting, I had had a private conference with this said elder and his wife concerning their slaves, so that the way seemed clear to me to advise with him about the manner of proceeding.

I told him I was free to have a conference with them all together in a private house; or, if he thought they would take it unkind to be asked to come together, and to be spoken with in the



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hearing of one another, I was free to spend some time amongst them, and to visit them all in their own houses. He expressed his liking to the first proposal, not doubting their willingness to come together; and, as I proposed a visit to only ministers, elders, and overseers, he named some others whom he desired might also be present. A careful messenger being wanted to acquaint them in a proper manner, he offered to go to all their houses, to open the matter to them, — and did so. About the eighth hour the next morning we met in the meeting-house chamber, the last-mentioned country Friend, my companion, and John Storer being with us. After a short time of retirement, I acquainted them with the steps I had taken in procuring that meeting, and opened the concern I was under, and we then proceeded to a free conference upon the subject. My exercise was heavy, and I was deeply bowed in spirit before the Lord, who was pleased to favour with the seasoning virtue of truth, which wrought a tenderness amongst us; and the subject was mutually handled in a calm and peaceable spirit. At length, feeling my mind released from the burden which I had been under, I took my leave of them in a good degree of satisfaction; and by the tenderness they manifested in regard to the practice, and the concern several of them expressed in relation to the manner of disposing of their negroes after their decease, I believed that a good exercise was spreading amongst them: and I am humbly thankful to God, who supported my mind and preserved me in a good degree of resignation through these trials.

Thou who sometimes travellest in the work of the ministry, and art made very welcome by thy friends, seest many tokens of their satisfaction in having thee for their guest. It is good for thee to dwell deep, that thou mayest feel and understand the spirits of people. If we believe truth points towards a conference on some subjects in a private way, it is needful for us to take heed that their kindness, their freedom and affability, do not hinder us from the Lord's work. I have experienced that, in the midst of kindness and smooth conduct, to speak close and home to them who entertain us, on points that relate to outward interest, is hard labour. Sometimes, when I have felt truth lead towards it, I have found myself disqualified by a superficial friendship; and as the sense thereof hath abased me and my cries have been to the Lord, so I have been humbled and made content to appear weak, or as a fool for His sake; and thus a door hath been opened to enter upon it. To attempt to do the Lord's work in our own way, and to speak of that which is the burden of the Word in a way easy to the natural part, doth not reach the bottom of the disorder. To see the failings of our friends, and think hard of them, without opening that which we ought to open, and still carry a face of friendship, tends to undermine the foundation of true unity. The office of a minister of Christ is weighty, and they who now go forth as watchmen have need to be steadily on their guard against the snares of prosperity and an outside friendship.

After the Yearly Meeting we were at meetings at Newtown, Cushnet, Long Plain, Rochester, and Dartmouth. From thence we sailed for Nantucket, in company with Ann Gaunt, Mercy Redman, and several other Friends. The wind being slack we only reached Tarpawling Cove the first day; where, going on shore, we found room in a public-house, and beds for a few of us, — the rest slept on the floor. We went on board again about break of day,



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and though the wind was small, we were favoured to come within about four miles of Nantucket; and then about ten of us got into our boat and rowed to the harbour before dark; a large boat went off and brought in the rest of the passengers about midnight. The next day but one was their Yearly Meeting, which held four days, the last of which was their Monthly Meeting for business. We had a labourious time amongst them; our minds were closely exercised, and I believe it was a time of great searching of heart. The longer I was on the island the more I became sensible that there was a considerable number of valuable Friends there, though an evil spirit, tending to strife, had been at work amongst them. I was cautious of making any visits except as my mind was particularly drawn to them; and in that way we had some sittings in Friends' houses, where the heavenly wing was at times spread over us, to our mutual comfort. My beloved companion had very acceptable service on this island.

When meeting was over, we all agreed to sail the next day if the weather was suitable and we were well; and being called up the latter part of the night, about fifty of us went on board a vessel; but, the wind changing, the seamen thought best to stay in the harbour till it altered, so we returned on shore. Feeling clear as to any further visits, I spent my time in my chamber, chiefly alone; and after some hours, my heart being filled with the spirit of supplication, my prayers and tears were poured out before my Heavenly Father for His help and instruction in the manifold difficulties which attended me in life. While I was waiting upon the Lord, there came a messenger from the women Friends who lodged at another house, desiring to confer with us about appointing a meeting, which to me appeared weighty, as we had been at so many before; but after a short conference, and advising with some elderly Friends, a meeting was appointed, in which the Friend who first moved it, and who had been much shut up before, was largely opened in the love of the gospel. The next morning about break of day going again on board the vessel, we reached Falmouth on the Main before night, where our horses being brought, we proceeded towards Sandwich Quarterly Meeting. Being two days in going to Nantucket, and having been there once before, I observed many shoals in their bay, which make sailing more dangerous, especially in stormy nights; also, that a great shoal which encloses their harbour prevents the entrance of sloops except when the tide is up. Waiting without for the rising of the tide is sometimes hazardous in storms, and by waiting within they sometimes miss a fair wind. I took notice that there was on that small island a great number of inhabitants, and the soil not very fertile, the timber being so gone that for vessels, fences, and firewood, they depend chiefly on buying from the Main, for the cost whereof, with most of their other expenses, they depend principally upon the whale fishery.³¹²

312. I considered that as towns grew larger, and lands near navigable waters were more cleared, it would require more labour to get timber and wood. I understood that the whales, being much hunted and sometimes wounded and not killed, grow more shy and difficult to come at. I considered that the formation of the earth, the seas, the islands, bays, and rivers, the motions of the winds and great waters, which cause bars and shoals in particular places, were all the works of Him who is perfect wisdom and goodness; and as people attend to His heavenly instruction, and put their trust in Him, He provides for them in all parts where he gives them a being; and as in this visit to these people I felt a strong desire for their firm establishment on the sure foundation, besides what was said more publicly, I was concerned to speak with the women Friends in their Monthly Meeting of business, many being present, and in the fresh spring of pure love to open before them the advantage, both inwardly and outwardly, of attending singly to the pure guidance of the Holy Spirit, and therein to educate their children in true humility and the disuse of all superfluities. I reminded them of the difficulties their husbands and sons were frequently exposed to at sea, and that the more plain and simple their way of living was the less need there would be of running great hazards to support them.



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I also encouraged the young women to continue their neat, decent way of attending themselves on the affairs of the house; showing, as the way opened, that where people were truly humble, used themselves to business, and were content with a plain way of life, they had ever had more true peace and calmness of mind than they who, aspiring to greatness and outward show, have grasped hard for an income to support themselves therein. And as I observed they had so few or no slaves, I had to encourage them to be content without them, making mention of the numerous troubles and vexations which frequently attended the minds of the people who depend on slaves to do their labour.

We attended the Quarterly Meeting at Sandwich, in company with Ann Gaunt and Mercy Redman, which was preceded by a Monthly Meeting, and in the whole held three days. We were in various ways exercised amongst them, in gospel love, according to the several gifts bestowed on us, and were at times overshadowed with the virtue of truth, to the comfort of the sincere and stirring up of the negligent. Here we parted with Ann and Mercy, and went to Rhode Island, taking one meeting in our way, which was a satisfactory time. Reaching Newport the evening before their Quarterly Meeting, we attended it, and after that had a meeting with our young people, separated from those of other societies. We went through much labour in this town; and now, in taking leave of it, though I felt close inward exercise to the last, I found inward peace, and was in some degree comforted in a belief that a good number remain in that place who retain a sense of truth, and that there are some young people attentive to the voice of the Heavenly Shepherd. The last meeting, in which Friends from the several parts of the quarter came together, was a select meeting, and through the renewed manifestation of the Father's love the hearts of the sincere were united together.³¹³ From Newport we went to Greenwich, Shanticut, and Warwick, and were helped to labour amongst Friends in the love of our gracious Redeemer. Afterwards, accompanied by our friend John Casey from Newport, we rode through Connecticut to Oblong, visited the meetings in those parts, and thence proceeded to the Quarterly Meeting at Ryewoods. Through the gracious extendings of divine help, we had some seasoning opportunities in those places. We also visited Friends at New York and Flushing, and thence to Rahway. Here our roads parting, I took leave of my beloved companion and true yokemate Samuel Eastburn, and reached home the 10th of Eighth Month, where I found my family well. For the favours and protection of the Lord, both inward and outward, extended to me in this journey, my heart is humbled in grateful acknowledgments, and I find renewed desires to dwell and walk in resignedness before Him.

313. The poverty of spirit and inward weakness, with which I was much tried the fore part of this journey, has of late appeared to me a dispensation of kindness. Appointing meetings never appeared more weighty to me, and I was led into a deep search whether in all things my mind was resigned to the will of God; often querying with myself what should be the cause of such inward poverty, and greatly desiring that no secret reserve in my heart might hinder my access to the divine fountain. In these humbling times I was made watchful, and excited to attend to the secret movings of the heavenly principle in my mind, which prepared the way to some duties, that, in more easy and prosperous times as to the outward, I believe I should have been in danger of omitting.

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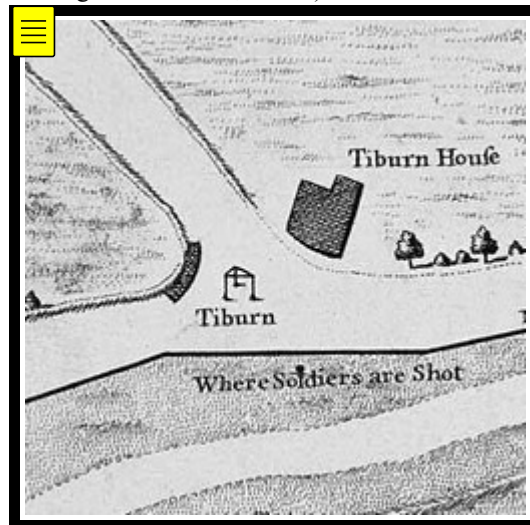
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No image of Friend John ever was made

May 5, Monday: Laurence Shirley, 4th Earl Ferrers, was **hanged** on the Tyburn gallows outside London. (This is the only peer of the realm to be hanged for murder, so far.)





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1762

October: [Dr. Erasmus Darwin](#) dissected the cadaver of a [hanged](#) “malefactor.”





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1765

April 24, Wednesday: The General Court having authorized the construction of a new [gallows](#), [Boston](#) sheriff Stephen Greenlief asked if it would be all right to move the gallows to a little rise on the left side of the Neck beyond the clay pond, a site at which he felt it would be somewhat more convenient for him to hang people.

In the Margeride Mountains of south-central France there had been a series of roughly a hundred or so gruesome rural killings. The victims had been mostly women and adolescents pasturing their flocks, and they seemed to have fallen prey to some mysterious creature that the gazettes were referring to, increasing their sales greatly, as *la bête du Gévaudan*. The corpses were generally found with their throats torn out. Most of Europe had been captivated by the story and several high-profile hunting expeditions had been arranged, including by King Louis XV (who had recently lost a war), whose delegates tracked down and killed several suspiciously large wolves. Why contemporaries supposed this to have been the work of some mysterious monster rather than merely a pack of wolves is not now clear, but the church was clearly profiting because the Bishop of Mende was blaming the spiritual failings of the inhabitants themselves for their misfortune — this beast had been sent by God to punish them for a local shortage of piety. There were a few survivors, who reported that the beast in question looked to them like a wolf but was much larger, about as big as a calf. The head was like that of a large dog, with small straight ears and a large mouth which exposed very large teeth. It had a broad chest. Although its fur was red, its back was streaked with black. On this day Jean-Francois Tassy de Montluc reported to the intendant Ballainvilliers that his own brother had gone off to join the d'Ennevals as they attempted with dogs to track down the mysterious monster. (Eventually a large wolf would be shot by a local hunter and a legend would develop that this had required “a blessed silver bullet,” and when the monster’s stomach had been opened there had been found human remains.)



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1767

Charles Lynch had been born in 1736 into what would seem to have been a Roman Catholic family on a plantation in [Virginia](#). By 1754, while Charles was about eighteen years of age, his mother Sarah Clark Lynch had begun to invite neighbors into her home to worship in the Quaker manner. There is, however, no mention of her husband's involvement in such religious activities. In 1757, three years later, while her son Charles was about 21 years of age, these people had organized South River Meetinghouse as a monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), and Charles would have been considered as a member of that body. However, in this year, when Charles won election to the Virginia House of Burgesses, this participation in civil government of course led to his disownment, since at that time Quakers were not allowing themselves to take the requisite oaths or to hold such public office. (Had he not been [disowned](#) for this, then certainly he would have been disowned later for taking part in the revolutionary fighting, if not for owning slaves.) Therefore, when he served as a district Judge during the revolutionary fighting, he was in no sense acting as a Quaker. It should be mentioned, also, that while Judge Lynch did in those hectic times dispense a "summary" sort of justice, what he dispensed was never capital punishment: there is no record of his having ordered that any person brought before him be [hanged](#) or otherwise executed. The stories of the tree in the yard, the one which was used after court as the hanging tree, are to the best of my knowledge merely further accretions to the nice legend of "Lynch Law," and are to be dismissed alongside the ridiculous accretion "Judge Lynch was a Quaker."

In this year Cesare Beccaria, in *ON CRIMES AND PUNISHMENT*, was insisting that there was no justification for the state's taking of life. Soon [capital punishment](#) would be abolished in Austria and in Tuscany.



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1771

By this point judges in [London](#) were asking the King to pardon fully half of those unfortunates whom the law was requiring them to (pretend to) sentence to death.

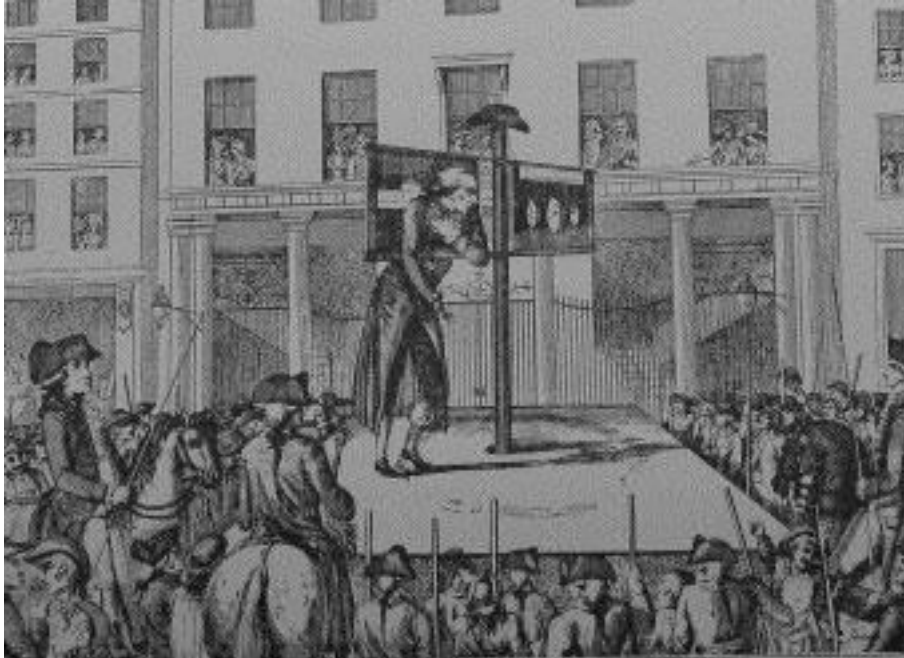
HANGING

This intriguing statistic comes from Netta Murray Goldsmith's *THE WORST OF CRIMES: HOMOSEXUALITY AND THE LAW IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LONDON* (Ashgate, 1998). She has discovered that in cases involving sodomy, judges regularly adopted a very high standard of proof because it was a capital offense, which would only be expected, but that **also** they adopted the same very high standard of proof even in cases of attempted sodomy, which was a mere misdemeanor and quite mildly punished. Why would that have been the case, had they seriously disapproved of sodomy? She has studied 17 sodomitical cases involving 22 men, taking place between 1730 and 1751, and has found that in only one case was a man who had been found guilty of the capital offense of sodomy then actually hanged. Even the notoriously severe Judge Sir Francis Page declined to sentence to death the several sodomites tried before him, adopting instead very stringent legal requirements designed to allow him to acquit them despite overwhelming evidence against them of "the worst of all possible crimes."—And this was going on around 1750, a time when public opinion (as revealed in newspapers etc.) had turned decidedly **against** leniency due to concern over the rising crime rate. An interesting series of cases beginning in 1745 involved one Richard Manning, found guilty of attempted sodomy after having been observed in the full act with a consenting partner (who also was convicted) but sentenced only to be whipped, rather than hanged. In 1746 this Manning who had been whipped was again indicted, this time for having made a sodomitical assault upon a porter at an inn — this time he was sentenced by the judge, Sir Thomas Denison,

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to stand in the pillory and then serve a year in gaol, and fined one shilling.



In 1752 Manning again was brought into Old Bailey, charged with the capital offense of having stolen a silver watch from a man he had met while strolling at night in St. James's Park. The judge in this case was the one who had tried him in 1746, but rather than sentence him to death for this grand larceny Sir Thomas Denison merely ordered him transported for seven years. In 1751 Sir Thomas sentenced to death, as required, a man who had sodomized a 12-year-old boy and then turned around and took steps a month later to ensure that the pederast would be pardoned. While the 50 offenses that had called for death in the late seventeenth century were being increased by 33 more capital offenses under King George II and a further 63 under King George III, there was simultaneously growing a very sharp difference between the rhetoric, which was severe, and the practice, which was lenient.

HOMOSEXUALITY

December 17, Tuesday: A French official was condemned to be [hanged](#) for admitting foreign [tobacco](#) into the country.



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1772

In his gallows speech before the church congregation of [Concord](#) on December 26, 1799, [Samuel Smith](#) would aver that early on he had led “an honest industrious life, entirely free, not only from the crime, but without any inclination fraudulently to take the property of another person,” but that then at the age of 27 (roughly this year 1772) he had had an unhappy love affair which had involved the theft from him of all he possessed –some \$200– and in result had been led “frequently to the excessive use of ardent spirits, which caused me very soon to commit the crime of theft, of which I was suspected, apprehended and committed to Litchfield gaol & tried, found guilty, and publicly punished.”

HANGING

HOWEVER, HISTORY'S NOT MADE OF WOULD. WHEN SOMEONE REVEALS SOMETHING LIKE THE ABOVE, IN WHICH THE REALITY OF THE PRESENT OF 1772 IS INFORMED BY THE PUTATIVE REALITY OF A BUNCH OF THINGS THAT AS OF 1772 HAD NEVER HAPPENED YET, S/HE DISCLOSES THAT WHAT IS BEING CRAFTED IS NOT REALITY BUT PREDESTINARIANISM. THE RULE OF REALITY IS THAT THE FUTURE HASN'T EVER HAPPENED, YET. AT THIS POINT WHAT WE'VE GOT IS A YOUNGSTER WHO IS REELING FROM A SETBACK, OR A YOUNGSTER WHO IS ACQUIRING AN ATTITUDE, OR A SET OF BAD HABITS, OR A CONVENIENT EXCUSE.

1775

April 19, Wednesday: People were trying to kill each other at Lexington, and then people were trying to kill each other at [Concord](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The Reverend [Asa Dunbar](#) recorded of this day in his journal that: “*Hostilities commenced at Concord & Lexington.*” The day that would be remembered as “Patriots Day” because folks perceived was a one-day reprieve from the obtrusive Old Testament commandment “*Thou shalt not kill,*” and from the intrusive new New Testament commandment “*Love thine enemy.*”³¹⁴ For 24 hours, apparently, the operating rule would be not the Ten Commandments (portrayed here as they have been presented on a T-shirt), not the Golden Rule,



but a much more intriguing “*Thou shalt lay waste thine enemy.*” The Bedford Minutemen, for instance, bore with them a banner emblazoned with the motto of the Dukes of Kent, “*Conquer or die.*”

[next screen]

314. A POP ESSAY QUESTION. In terms of the above, define and provide synonyms for the term “patriot”:



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WALDEN: I was witness to events of a less peaceful character. One day when I went out to my wood-pile, or rather my pile of stumps, I observed two large ants, the one red, the other much larger, nearly half an inch long, and black, fiercely contending with one another. Having once got hold they never let go, but struggled and wrestled and rolled on the chips incessantly. Looking farther, I was surprised to find that the chips were covered with such combatants, that it was not a *duellum*, but a *bellum*, a war between two races of ants, the red always pitted against the black, and frequently two reds ones to one black. The legions of these Myrmidons covered all the hills and vales in my wood-yard, and the ground was already strewn with the dead and dying, both red and black. It was the only battle which I have ever witnessed, the only battle-field I ever trod while the battle was raging; internecine war; the red republicans on the one hand, and the black imperialists on the other. On every side they were engaged in deadly combat, yet without any noise that I could hear, and human soldiers never fought so resolutely. I watched a couple that were fast locked in each other's embraces, in a little sunny valley amid the chips, now at noon-day prepared to fight till the sun went down, or life went out. The smaller red champion had fastened himself like a vice to his adversary's front, and through all the tumblings on that field never for an instant ceased to gnaw at one of his feelers near the root, having already caused the other to go by the board; while the stronger black one dashed him from side to side, and, as I saw on looking nearer, had already divested him of several of his members. They fought with more pertinacity than bull-dogs. Neither manifested the least disposition to retreat. It was evident that their battle-cry was Conquer or die.... I should not have wondered by this time to find that they had their respective musical bands stationed on some eminent chip, and playing their national airs the while, to excite the slow and cheer the dying combatants. I was myself excited somewhat even as if they had been men. The more you think of it, the less the difference. And certainly there is not the fight recorded in Concord history, at least, if in the history of America, that will bear a moment's comparison with this, whether for the numbers engaged in it, or for the patriotism and heroism displayed. For numbers and for carnage it was an Austerlitz or Dresden. Concord Fight! Two killed on the patriots' side, and Luther Blanchard wounded! Why here every ant was a Buttrick, -"Fire! for God's sake fire!"- and thousands shared the fate of Davis and Hosmer. There was not one hireling there. I have no doubt that it was a principle they fought for, as much as our ancestors, and not to avoid a three-penny tax on their tea; and the results of this battle will be as important and memorable to those whom it concerns as those of the battle of Bunker Hill, at least.

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This all came about because the army that had been camped on [Boston Common](#), early that morning, embarked to cross the Charles River estuary with muffled oarlocks at the point which is now the corner of Boylston and Charles streets (this part of the estuary long since filled in and the intersection now sports a statue of Edgar Allan Poe). The “two lantern” signal from the steeple of one or another Boston church (we don’t actually know which one, perhaps the Congregational church of which Revere was a member, or the nearby Anglican church in the North End) meant that the soldiers were crossing the [Charles River](#) (*Quinobequin*) and being marched through Cambridge, not that they were coming by sea, and the “one lantern” signal would have meant that the soldiers were being marching down [Boston](#) Neck, through Roxbury. The two lanterns which were used had been made in the workshops of Paul Revere or Rivière.³¹⁵ General Thomas Gage had sent an army detail to dismantle the steeple of the Old West Church, to ensure that it could not be used for any such signaling.

SLAVERY



As the Army marched up the [Charlestown](#) road from the Boston ferry landing, it would have passed a specimen of local justice: an old set of chains with human bones inside them, dating to an incident of September 1755. This had been an African slave, Mark, who had been left to rot after throttling, disemboweling and beheading upon suspicion of having poisoned, or of having attempted to poison, his American owner, Captain John Codman. (Keep this cage in mind, when you are tempted to suspect that what these indignant colonials had

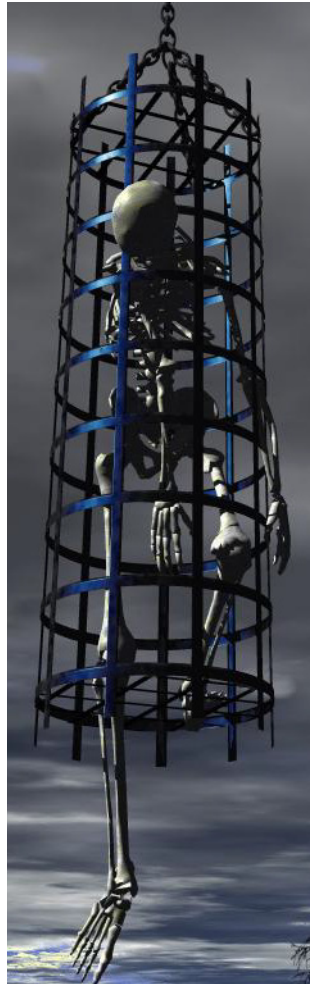


315. This [Huguenot](#) silversmith received the warning signal from the church steeple while still in Boston and only afterward departed from the city on his errand, rather than seeing the signal from the opposite shore as has commonly been fantasized.

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decided to fight for was freedom and justice for all.)



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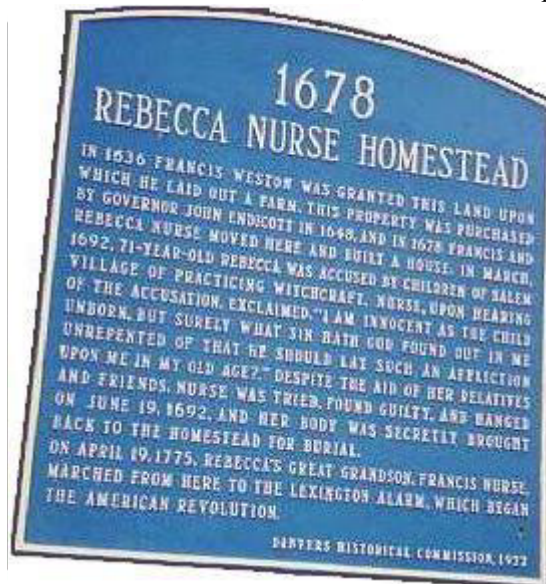
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One of the men who were marching to unite with the Lexington militia, had slept the previous night in this house:



He was Francis Nurse, a great grandson of Goodwife Rebecca Towne Nurse who had been [hanged](#) in Salem as a [witch](#) and then, when the witch fervor had died down, been reinstated postmortem into her church.



The Lexington militia had assembled too early, in response to the riders coming out of [Boston](#) such as Revere, and when the army column had not showed up by 2AM they decided to disperse and get some sleep. Shortly before daybreak there were some 70 of them on the Lexington green, and they spread out in two lines to face

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the oncoming troops. Major John Pitcairn of the Marines called out to the army troops that they were not to



fire but were to surround these militiamen and then take away their weapons, and Captain John Parker of the militia (ancestor of the Reverend [Theodore Parker](#) of Thoreau's day, carrying his Charleville musket) called



out to the militiamen that they were not to fire, but were to disperse. At that point there was a gunshot, origins unclear, and the army troops broke ranks and began to fire at the 27 militiamen. It would be pointless to inquire who fired, as in such a situation at the instant that it occurs nobody has any idea where the round came from or where it went and therefore everyone becomes terrified and presumes that he is being fired upon and proceeds to fire as rapidly as possible at anyone who appears to be holding a weapon. As Parker stated it, the result was that the army killed "eight of our party, with out receiving any provocation therefor from us." After this killing, and presumably after the army had collected the militia's weapons,³¹⁶ neighbors were



allowed to come forward to tend the wounded and remove the corpses, while the army got itself back into a column, fired off one massive victory volley to clear their weapons, and marched on toward [Concord](#). Major

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John Buttrick sent [Captain Reuben Brown](#) on horseback down Lexington Road toward Boston to report the firing in Lexington. Captain Brown would ride more than 100 miles to the coast and back, while the soldiers were looting his liveries and setting his barn on fire (neither the barn nor the house would be destroyed).

As the redcoat drums rumbled like thunder through the town's streets, a panic-stricken 18-year-old named Harry Gould was being consoled by the Reverend [William Emerson](#). In Concord, while destroying what few military stores they could get their hands on, the army also set afire the liberty pole in front of the courthouse. The scene would be re-imagined and painted by Amos Doolittle and then a famous lithograph would be made

316. Likewise, we do not refer here to the militia as “the Americans” and the army as “the British,” since that is a later conceptual framework and anyhow would have been false to the actual constitution of these bodies of armed men. There were in fact many Americans in the paid colonial army, and I know of at least one Brit who was assembled with the Minutemen militia — before the battle we know that he put aside his rifle for awhile and went down the hill to chat up various Redcoats. This was a struggle of a militia faction of British subjects in America, the separatist faction, versus an army faction of British subjects in America, the loyalist faction, similar to the struggle during the Iranian Revolution of 1979 between the Imperial Iranian Air Force cadets and warrant officers, adherents of the religious faction in Iranian politics, versus the Imperial Iranian Ground Forces brigades, controlled by officers adherent to the secular faction in Iranian politics. It is significant, then, using this more accurate terminology, that rather than attempt to seize “the militia’s” stores and withdraw with them to Boston, “the army” was attempting to destroy those military stores in place. This means that, going into this action, “the army” was already regarding its withdrawal to Boston to be the difficult part of the day’s military operation, because, had they seized and relocated these military stores, “the army” could have made use of them itself — the military may upon occasion become wanton in the destruction of civilian properties, just as it may upon occasion rape, but military stores are never destroyed in place without at least one damned good reason. The major military stores available to “the militia” were being stockpiled in [Worcester](#) rather than in [Concord](#), because it was more of a march from Boston for “the army” and was therefore safer. Had “the army” succeeded in its withdrawal from Concord, of course, it would have marched to Worcester to destroy the bulk of the stores in the possession of “the militia,” in order to force “the militia” to return once again to the political faction favored by the officers of “the army.”

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of this famous painting by Smith:

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Sparks from the liberty pole, however, ignited the courthouse roof, and while that fire was extinguished without great harm to the structure, the smoke from this fire caused the some 400 militiamen assembled in safety on the rise on the opposite side of the [Concord River](#) to presume that it was the army's intention to burn their dissident town to the ground. In a column of pairs they approached the [Old North Bridge](#), on the Concord side of which were three army companies. The army made some attempt to render the bridge impassible by removing planks, and then fired a volley which killed the militia Captain Isaac David and Abner Hosmer, in the front rank of the [Acton](#) minutemen as their drummer, whose face was half shot away.³¹⁷ It was then that



Major John Buttrick called out “Fire, fellow soldiers, for God’s sake, fire.” Thus it came to be that here the embattled farmers stood and fired the shot heard ’round the world.³¹⁸



Not counting those who were wounded but would survive, three redcoats of the Light Infantry Company, 4th Regiment fell in the responding volley, Thomas Smith, Patrick Gray, and James Hall. One went down evidently with a bullet through the head and two would die of bodily wounds. Two would be buried by colonials where they had fallen next to the Bridge, and one would be buried in Concord center by the army (somewhere “in the ragged curb where that road wound around the side of the hill,” a gravesite now evidently disturbed during later centuries of construction activity). Through the affair [Acton](#)’s fifer, Luther Blanchard, and the drummer Francis Barker, were performing a lively Jacobin tune, “The White Cockade.”³¹⁹ According

317. When Deacon Jonathan Hosmer inspected Private Abner Hosmer’s faceless corpse, he found a breastpin his son had received for his 21st birthday.

318. A footnote to [Waldo Emerson](#)’s famed line “Here the embattled farmers stood and fired the shot heard ’round the world”: A publication of the Boeing Corporation would eventually declare that with the employees of the Boeing Corporation on the job, making Minuteman ICBMs, it was quite a bit less likely that “some future poet” would be forced to “modify the words of Ralph Waldo Emerson” into “Here the embattled farmers stood and fired the shot **reaching** ’round the world.”

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to the Reverend [William Emerson](#), the Reverend [Waldo Emerson](#)'s grandfather, who was watching from an upstairs window at the Old Manse as these people shot off muskets at each other out at the North Bridge, one or the other of the seriously wounded soldiers was then struck, as he attempted to rise, on the head with a hatchet.

[Ammi White](#) was a private in Captain David Brown's company of militia. Captain Brown³²⁰ had his home near the Old North Bridge and in 1770 had been paid by the town of Concord to care for the causeway and wall associated with that bridge. As the redcoats fell back from the firing, Colonel Barrett's militia unit advanced a short distance. According to reconstructions of what happened, the gravely wounded British soldier, between the retreating and the advancing lines, was attempting to rise when he was chopped down with a small hatchet by militiaman White, "not under the feelings of humanity." He "barbarously broke his skull," he "uplifted his axe, and dealt the wounded soldier a fierce and fatal blow upon the head," with Thomas Thorp of [Acton](#) nearby but unable or unwilling to intercede:

On the Return of the Troops from Concord, they were very much annoyed, and had several Men killed and wounded, by the Rebels firing from behind Walls, Ditches, Trees, and other Ambushes; but the Brigade under the Command of Lord Percy having joined them at Lexington, with two Pieces of Cannon, the Rebels were for a while dispersed; but as soon as the Troops resumed their March, they began again to fire upon them from behind Stone Walls and Houses, and kept up in that Manner a scattering Fire during the Whole of their March of Fifteen Miles, by which Means several were killed and wounded; and such was the Cruelty and Barbarity of the Rebels, that they scalped and cut off the Ears of some of the wounded Men, who fell into their Hands.

This one circumstance has borne more fruit for me, than all that history tells us of the fight.

[Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)

The Reverend [William Emerson](#) acknowledged the fact of an ax blow and acknowledged also that the soldier languished for hours before expiring, but would insist that neither scalp nor ears were removed. When the redcoats returned from Barrett's farm and were grossing out at the sight of the wound on the head of their fallen comrade, they told one another the story that the American militia had scalped him as if they were red savages (the usual story, things like this typically are done to innocent white people by vicious persons of color). Five soldiers would testify to having themselves seen the wounded man with the skin over his eyes cut and also the top part of his ears cut off. There was not only misunderstanding, there was a considerable [Fake Facts](#) exaggeration: A rumor would begin to circulate that the dying soldier's eyes had been gouged out. Ensign Jeremy Lister later would write tendentiously and falsely that "4 men...killd who afterwards scalp'd their eyes goug'd their noses and ears cut of, such barbarity execut'd upon the Corps could scarcely be paralleled by the most uncivilised savages." The army would be forced to abandon its dead and wounded that hot day, with soldiers falling not only from bullets but also from sunstroke, and the citizens of Concord would need to dig a hole and inter two of the bodies where they lay (there being no particular reason for the extra labor of transporting these dead bodies anywhere else prior to interment), and one of the wounded soldiers, Samuel Lee

319. Major [Francis Faulkner](#) led a company, the "[Acton](#) Patriots."

320. Captain David Brown of Concord (1732-1802) kept a diary of Bunker Hill action in 1775.



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of the 10th Regiment, left behind, eventually would become a Concord citizen. The commander of the Concord column, LTC Smith, reported to his superiors Lord Percy and General Gage that “after the bridge was quitted, they scalped and otherwise ill-treated one or two of the men who were either killed or severely wounded.” General Gage would summarize this as: “... one scalped, his head much mangled and his ears cut off, though not quite dead ... a sight which struck the soldiers with horror.” In Concord, stories would be generated that the person who had used the hatchet had been merely a wood-chopping chore boy of the Emersons, or had been Frank, the Emersons’ slave (the usual story, blame everything on some nearby flunky or on some handy person of color) — but in fact there had been no such chore boy and black Frank’s activities on that date had been well vouched for by members of the Emerson family.

Here is the story per D. Michael Ryan:



Various explanations for the cause of this deed were advanced. The culprit was “half-witted”; excused only by excitement and inexperience; startled by the soldier and acted out of fear; acting to end the soldier’s suffering. Extreme claims noted that the victim was trying to drown himself in a water puddle and begged someone to kill him; had thrust at the American with his bayonet; or was an escaping prisoner. None of these theories have a basis in fact and had such mitigating circumstances existed, would certainly have been mentioned by the Reverend [William Emerson](#). While the British publicized the incident, Americans chose to ignore it possibly due to embarrassment, fear of reprisals, failure to appreciate its importance or a notion that it would blot a historic cause. Provincial authorities hesitated to confirm that the act had occurred but in response to a Boston story insured that the burial detail testified that “neither of those persons (2 dead soldiers buried at the bridge) were scalped nor their ears cut off.” Concord historians Ripley [??] and Lemuel Shattuck ignored the incident completely while well into the 19th Century, British historians continued to write of the scalping and ear cutting episode. A long guarded secret was the name of the young culprit who tradition acknowledges as Ammi White.... The British troops returning to Boston would remember the “scalping” with fear, anger and a sense of revenge. This, together with civilian hostility in Boston and the tactics of the colonials along the retreat route, considered cowardly, would lead to army reprisals and atrocities (house burnings, killing of unarmed men, bayoneting of wounded and dead colonials, etc.) especially in the village of Menotomy. Lord Percy’s relief column had been informed of the “scalping” and General Gage would later use the story to offset atrocity charges leveled against his troops.

In a much later timeframe [Waldo Emerson](#) would declaim at this famed bridge that “Here once the embattled farmers stood / and fired the shot heard round the world” for the freedom of white people, and would sagely say nothing about the alleged offing of a defenseless, critically wounded man with a hatchet. And then at an even later date [Henry Thoreau](#) would be refused an audience in [Concord](#), and would declare in Framingham, Massachusetts that “The inhabitants of Concord are not prepared to stand by one of their own bridges” for the freedom of black people. (That was in 1854 in his speech “Slavery in Massachusetts,” but Thoreau would be preparing this sentiment as early as 1851.)

After some two hours more in [Concord](#), the army began its disastrous withdrawal to Lexington, where its remnants were reinforced by the 1st Brigade under Sir Hugh Percy.

In his SACRED GROUND,³²¹ Edward Linenthal has presented an extended treatment of dissidence in the Concord context in effect with one hand tied behind his back. That is, he does this while accomplishing the feat

321.  Linenthal, Edward Tabor. SACRED GROUND: AMERICANS AND THEIR BATTLEFIELDS. Urbana IL: U of Illinois P, 1991



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of not once bringing in the name of [Thoreau](#). Picking up on the Emersonian description of the fallen farmer minutemen of April 19, 1775 as having acted “from the simplest instincts,”³²² Linenthal states that:



These instinctive warriors were ceremoniously perceived as men whose New England origins nurtured republican principles that protected them from the moral pollution of old-world warriors. Consequently, the minuteman became a powerful cultural model for generations of Americans at war and at peace: from Billy Yank and Johnny Reb in the Civil War to the doughboys of World War I and the GI's of World War II; from the right-wing Minutemen of the 1960s to a more recent transformation into the Minuteman intercontinental ballistic missile. Patriotic rhetoric portrayed the minutemen as Christ-like saviors, and citizens of Lexington and [Concord](#) were proud that these new-world warriors drank from the wellsprings of liberty which, they believed, ran especially deep in their towns.... Beyond the ever-present threat of failing to measure up to the principles embodied by the minutemen, the specter of defilement appeared in other ways. Beginning in rancorous debate in the 1820s, a number of citizens of Lexington and Concord claimed that **their** town was the authentic birthplace of the nation. Each was accused of falsifying the national creation story by refusing to grant this sacred status to the other.... If the encounter on Lexington Green was not a battle but a massacre, were the martyred minutemen really the first models of how Americans die in war or just further examples of colonial victims? And if they were only victims, could that affect popular perception of the potency of their sacrifice?... On occasion, what some people perceived as defilement, others viewed as creative attempts to redefine the meaning of the events of April 19, 1775. Both the Vietnam Veterans Against the War and the Peoples Bicentennial Commission understood Lexington and Concord to be sacred ground when they held separate protests on the Battle Green and at the North Bridge in the mid-1970s. In their view, the purpose of protest was not desecration of a sacred spot, for they believed the **real** defilement had been perpetrated by a new class of American Tories who had severed the link between revolutionary war principles (especially the principle of dissent) and contemporary American life. Each group believed that its protest would spark the recovery of the American revolutionary tradition, which was viewed as crucial to the resuscitation of authentic American values that had fallen into disrepair because of public apathy.

OLD NORTH BRIDGE

The fifer boy of the Concord Minutemen was the son of Major John Buttrick, 15 years of age. The side drum he used would belong to the son of Colonel James Barrett, Nathan Barrett, until it would fall apart and the town would need to purchase a new one. One source alleges that a severe earthquake shook [Concord](#).³²³ March and early April having been extraordinarily warm, the apple trees around Concord were in bloom by April 19th, and the soldiers being marched through Lexington toward Concord suffered heat prostration. Later, when Lafayette would visit Concord as part of a triumphal tour, tiny [Mary Moody Emerson](#) would approach him to let him know that she had been “‘in arms’ at the Concord fight” — she having been a newborn during that period.

When word of approaching British troops was received, Captain Charles Miles had mustered his company near the Wright Tavern.³²⁴ Included with the muster roll we can discover a handwritten note by Sergeant David

322. ■ Emerson, Ralph Waldo. A HISTORICAL DISCOURSE DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITIZENS OF CONCORD, 12 SEPTEMBER 1835 ON THE CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF THE INCORPORATION OF THE TOWN. Boston MA: W.B. Clarke, 1835.

323. Such an earthquake is not listed on the comprehensive scientific list of known New England earthquakes, which has no entries between August 15, 1772 and February 7, 1776. —Presumably some historian has misunderstood a casual comment on the order of “the earth certainly shook that day.”

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Hartwell, "Concord, April 19th 1775, then the battel begune...."



On the high ground above North Bridge where the colonial force reformed, Captain Miles then joined the officers' conference. When it was decided to march into Town, the story is, the lead was initially offered to a Concord captain but this man said he "should rather not go." Since it was Captain Miles who was in command of the senior minute company, and would not be in the lead, it is speculated that he might have been the one to have said this. Captain Isaac Davis's [Acton](#) company then led the march to the Bridge and while the position of other units is uncertain, several accounts have placed Miles's company either second or third in line. Years later, the Reverend Ezra Ripley noted that when Captain Miles was asked his feelings when marching on the Battle Bridge on April 19, 1775, he responded "that he went to the service of the day with the same seriousness and acknowledgement of God which he carried to church. During the fighting it was though that this reluctant captain had been killed, but he had only been somewhat wounded and would be able to continue to direct his company during the chasing of the Regulars back to [Charlestown](#)."



We don't have the names of the army casualties of this glorious day, only those of the militia and of bystanders. The numerical estimate of General Gage's intelligence officer was that about 25 of the soldiers had been killed and almost 150 wounded; the estimate by a soldier, John Pope, was that 90 soldiers had been killed and 181 wounded; the estimate by Ensign De Berniere was that 73 soldiers had been killed, 174 wounded, and 25 were missing in action; — and General Gage reported to his superior officer that 65 of his soldiers had been killed,

324. The Wright Tavern is called that because Amos Wright was renting the building from its owner Samuel Swan and keeping tavern there when first the local militia gathered there and then Army officers Lt. Col. Smith and Maj. Pitcairn used it as their headquarters. In such a quarrel the businessman of course would sell drinks to all comers.

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180 wounded, and 27 were missing in action.



Presumably what we would discover, if we had the names of the army casualties, would be that a significant number of them had been Americans who had enlisted in the army.

Here are the names of the militia casualties and the civilian casualties including an unarmed 14-year-old bystander (that's termed "collateral damage"):

Town	Killed	Wounded	Missing
Acton	Isaac Davis James Hayward Abner Hosmer	Luther Blanchard (would die this year of wound)	
Bedford	Captain Jonathan Wilson	Job Lane	
Beverly	Reuben Kenyme	Nathaniel Cleves William Dodge III Samuel Woodbury	
Billerica		Timothy Blanchard John Nichols	
Brookline	Isaac Gardner		
Cambridge	John Hicks William Marcy Moses Richardson James Russell Jason Winship Jabez Wyman	Samuel Whittemore	Samuel Frost Seth Russell
<u>Charlestown</u>	Edward Barber James Miller		



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Chelmsford		Oliver Barron Aaron Chamberlain	
Concord		Nathan Barrett Jonas Brown Captain Charles Miles George Minot Abel Prescott, Jr.	
Danvers	Samuel Cook Benjamin Deland Ebenezer Golwait Henry Jacobs Perley Putnam George Southwick Jothan Webb	Nathan Putnam Dennis Wallace	Joseph Bell
Dedham	Elias Haven	Israel Everett	
Framingham		Daniel Hemminway	
Lexington	John Brown Samuel Hadley Caleb Harrington Jonathan Harrington, Jr. Jonas Parker Jedidiah Munroe Robert Munroe Isaac Muzzy John Raymond Nathaniel Wyman	Francis Brown Joseph Comee Prince Estabrook Nathaniel Farmer Ebenezer Munroe, Jr. Jedidiah Munroe Solomon Pierce John Robbins John Tidd Thomas Winship	
<u>Lynn</u>	William Flint Thomas Hadley Abednego Ramsdell Daniel Townsend	Joseph Felt Timothy Monroe	Josiah Breed
Medford	Henry Putnam William Holly		
Needham	John Bacon Nathaniel Chamberlain Amos Mills Elisha Mills Jonathan Parker	Eleazer Kingsbury Xxxxx Tolman	
Newton		Noah Wiswell	
Roxbury			Elijah Seaver
Salem	Benjamin Pierce		
Stow	Daniel Conant	Daniel Conant	
Sudbury	Deacon Josiah Haynes Asahael Reed Thomas Bent	Joshua Haynes, Jr.	
<u>Watertown</u>	Joseph Coolidge		

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Woburn	Daniel Thompson Asahel Porter	Jacob Bacon Xxxxx Johnson George Reed	
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Here is an example of what we don’t know. When we somewhat belatedly erected this grave marker, in the Year of Our Lord 2000, we presumed that the slain army soldier was a Brit although he may very well have been simply one of the Americans who had enlisted not in what was at that time our militia but in what was at that time our army:



Dr. Charles Russell, son of the Hon. James Russell, born in [Charlestown](#), graduated at [Harvard College](#), 1757, and inherited his uncle Chambers’s estate in Lincoln, where he resided as a physician. He married Miss Elizabeth Vassall of Cambridge, and from his father-in-law he contracted opinions opposed to the measures of the people in the revolution, and left Lincoln on the 19th of April, 1775, and went to Martinique, in the West-Indies, where he died.... Dr. Joseph Adams was also unfriendly to the revolution, and went to England, where he died.³²⁵

325. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)’s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
 (On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry David Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)

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Being the PARTICULARS of the VICTORIOUS BATTLE fought at and near CONCORD, situated Twenty Miles from Boston, in the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, between Two Thousand Regular Troops, belonging to His Britannic Majesty, and a few Hundred Provincial Troops, belonging to the Province of Massachusetts-Bay, which lasted from sunrise until sunset, on the 19th of April, 1775, when it was decided greatly in favor of the latter. These particulars are published in this cheap form, at the request of the friends of the deceased WORTHIES, who died gloriously fighting in the CAUSE of LIBERTY and their COUNTRY, and it is their sincere desire that every Householder in the country, who are sincere well-wishers to America, may be possessed of the same, either to frame and glass, or otherwise to preserve in their houses, not only as a Token of Gratitude to the memory of the Deceased Forty Persons, but as a perpetual memorial of that important event, on which, perhaps, may depend the future Freedom and Greatness of the Commonwealth of America. To which is annexed a Funeral Elogy on those who were slain in the Battle.

Mr. Darling's store is the only one in the town, and Mr. Darling's store is the only one in the town, and Mr. Darling's store is the only one in the town.

The following is a list of the *Fredericksburg* wine grape varieties and clones.

17 Mr. James Thompson
 18 J. H. P. 11 11
 19 Mr. John Lane
 20 These commenced with the week 17th were killed by the first fire of the enemy

Three distinguished with this mark [?] were killed by the first fire of the enemy.

The groves of wounded, dying men,
 World with its agonized shriek,
 O! how I shudder like a guilty man,
 My heart and blood were left
 That all persons to avoid the fate



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When [Timothy Dwight](#) would write of his 1795 travels, while speaking of his passing through [Concord](#) he would give a small amount of attention to the bucolic details of the place:



Concord was purchased of the Indians and incorporated in 1635. Three persons only are known to have been killed within the limits of this township by the savages, although it was the first settlement made in New England so far from the shore. From Boston it is distant nineteen miles, from Williams' in Marlboro, fifteen.

The soil of this township is various. The higher grounds have loam mixed with gravel. The plains are sandy, light but warm, and friendly to rye and maize, of which considerable quantities are carried to market. Pastures are visibly few and indifferent. Along the river, which is named from this town and runs through the middle of it, lie extensive and rich meadows. Hemp and flax grow here luxuriantly. Two acres are said to have yielded in one instance one thousand pounds of flax. Few fruits are seen except apples, and these plainly do not abound as in most other parts of the country.

The face of this township is generally a plain. A hill of no great height ascends at a small distance from the river on the eastern side and pursues a course northward, parallel with that of the river. Between this hill and the river lies the principal street. Another containing a considerable number of houses abuts upon it, perpendicularly from the western side.

The houses in Concord are generally well built, and with the outbuildings and fences make a good appearance. The public buildings are the church, courthouse, and jail, all of them neat.

But then he would devote a good deal of his attention to this locale's belligerent status as the site of this notorious squabble.



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Concord will be long remembered as having been, partially, the scene of the first military action in the Revolutionary War, and the object of an expedition, the first in that chain of events which terminated in the separation of the British colonies from their mother country. A traveler on this spot, particularly an American traveler, will irresistibly recall to his mind an event of this magnitude, and cannot fail of being deeply affected by a comparison of so small a beginning with so mighty an issue. In other circumstances, the expedition to Concord and the contest which ensued would have been merely little tales of wonder and woe, chiefly recited by the parents of the neighborhood to their circles at the fireside, commanding a momentary attention of childhood, and calling forth the tear of sorrow from the eyes of those who were intimately connected with the sufferers. Now, the same events preface the history of a nation and the beginning of an empire, and are themes of disquisition and astonishment to the civilized world. From the plains of Concord will henceforth be dated a change in human affairs, an alteration in the balance of human power, and a new direction to the course of human improvement. Man, from the events which have occurred here, will in some respects assume a new character, and experience in some respects a new destiny.

General Gage, to whom was committed one of the most unfortunate trusts ever allotted to an individual, having obtained information that a considerable quantity of arms and military stores was by order of the Provincial Congress deposited in this town,¹ sent Lieut. Col. Smith and Major Pitcairn at the head of eight hundred grenadiers and light infantry, with orders to march to Concord and destroy the deposit. The troops were accordingly embarked from the common in Boston, and landed on the opposite shore in Cambridge at a place called Phipps's farm. Thence they marched by the shortest route to this town.

1. The whole amount of the warlike stores in the province of Massachusetts as they appear on a return, April 14, 1775, is contained in the following list.

Firearms	21,549
Pounds of powder	17,441
Pounds of ball	22,191
No. of flints	144,699
No. of bayonets	10,103
No. of pouches	11,979

The whole of the town stocks

Firearms	68
Pounds of powder	357 1/2
Pounds of ball	66,78
No. of flints	100,531

Duke's county and Nantucket were not included in this list.



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General Gage's principal advisers were of two classes, both very unhappily fitted to give him useful advice. One class was composed of Britons, utterly unacquainted with the state of the country, unwarrantably relying on their own prowess, and foolishly presuming on the supposed pusillanimity of the colonists. The other class was composed of colonists who had embarked their all in British measures, were generally deceived themselves, and were strongly prompted by every motive to deceive him. When the expedition to Concord was planned, it is probable that neither General Gage, nor his advisers, expected the least attempt at resistance. This opinion was bandied through the whole party in Boston. At the same time were continually circulated fulsome panegyrics on the bravery of the British troops. Silly jests and contemptible sneers were also reiterated concerning the dastardly character of the colonists. All these were spread, felt, and remembered. The expedition to Concord refuted them all.

Concord, as has been observed, lies almost equally on both sides of the river to which it gives its name. The surface of the township is generally level and low, and the river remarkably sluggish. From these facts a traveler would naturally conclude that Concord must be unhealthy. The following statement will however prove this conclusion to be unsound.

In the year 1790, the township contained 1,590 inhabitants. Of these, seventy-five were seventy years of age, or upward.

From the year 1779 to 1791 inclusive, a period of thirteen years, 222 persons died. The greatest number in a single year was twenty-five, the least ten. The average number was seventeen. Of these, fifty-nine were more than seventy, thirty others more than eighty, and eight more than ninety, amounting in the whole to ninety-seven (out of 222) who passed the limit of seventy years. It is presumed, a more remarkable instance of health and longevity cannot be produced. Almost 7/17 of the whole number deceased have during this period reached the boundary of human life. It is scarcely to be imagined that even here a similar list will be furnished a second time. Yet the Rev. Mr. Ripley, minister of Concord, who kept this register, informed me that the state of health during this period did not, so far as he had observed, differ very materially from what was common.¹

1. Ezra Ripley (1751-1841), Harvard 1776, became pastor of the First Church in Concord, Massachusetts, in 1778. There he founded what was perhaps the first temperance society in the country. He was the stepfather of Ralph Waldo Emerson.



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The salubrity of Concord violates the most received medical theories concerning such diseases as are supposed to be generated by stagnant waters. I know of no stream which approaches nearer to a state of stagnation than Concord River. Yet diseases of this class are seldom, or never, found here. The cause I shall not pretend to assign.

Within these thirteen years the baptisms in Concord amounted to 395,. Three fourths only of those who were born are supposed to have been baptized. The number of births, therefore, was about 527.

Concord contains a single congregation. The whole number of inhabitants in 1790, as has been observed, was 1,590. In 1800, it contained 227 dwelling houses, and 1,679 inhabitants; and in 1810, 1,633.

DO I HAVE YOUR ATTENTION? GOOD.

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An expedition of this nature had for some time been expected. Certain intelligence of it had been obtained the preceding afternoon by Dr. Warren, who afterwards fell in the battle of Breed's Hill,¹ and was forwarded by him with the utmost celerity to the intervening towns, particularly to Lexington, where were at that time Mr. Hancock and Mr. Adams, both afterwards governors of Massachusetts.² As these gentlemen were supposed to be the principal objects of the expedition, the expresses who carried the intelligence (Col. Paul Revere and Mr. William Dawes) were peculiarly directed to them.³ They reached Lexington, which is four miles from Concord, in such season that Messrs. Hancock and Adams made their escape.⁴ Here, however, the expresses were stopped by the British as they were advancing toward Concord; but Dr. Prescott, a young gentleman to whom they had communicated their message, escaped and alarmed the inhabitants of Concord.⁵

The British troops reached Lexington at five o'clock in the morning. Here they found about seventy militia and forty unarmed spectators by the side of the church. Major Pitcairn rode up to them and cried out with vehemence, "Disperse you rebels; throw down your arms, and disperse." As this command was not immediately obeyed, he discharged a pistol and ordered his soldiers to fire upon the inhabitants. The soldiers fired, and the people instantly fled. The soldiers, however, continued to fire at individuals. This at length provoked a return, and several were killed on both sides. Still the troops continued their march toward Concord, where they arrived early in the morning. For the purpose of defense, the inhabitants had drawn themselves up in a kind of order; but, upon discovering the number of the enemy withdrew over the North Bridge, half a mile below the church, where they waited for reinforcements. The soldiers then broke open and scattered about sixty barrels of flour, disabled two twenty-four pounders, destroyed the carriages of about twenty cannon, and threw five hundred pounds of ball into the river and neighboring wells. The principal part of the stores, however, was not discovered.

1. Joseph Warren (1741-1755), Harvard 1759, an excellent physician in Boston, became deeply involved in Revolutionary politics. Early in 1775, he gave up his profession to enter the army. He became president *pro tempore* of the Provincial Congress and was elected a major general four days before his death.

2. John Hancock (1737-1793), Harvard 1754, adopted by his rich uncle Thomas, joined his successful mercantile firm. The famous Revolutionary patriot was treasurer of Harvard College, 1773-1777, president of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, and first governor of Massachusetts in the new republic, 1780-1785. His successor was Samuel Adams (1722-1803), Harvard 1740, better remembered for his incendiary role as one of the "Sons of Liberty" in the Revolution. As lieutenant governor of Massachusetts in 1789, acting governor in 1793, and elected governor, 1794-1798, this turbulent man showed little understanding of the problems of the state or of the nation.

3. See Colonel Revere's letters to the corresponding secretary of the Mass. Hist. Society....

4. Revolutionary patriot Paul Revere (1735-1818), a silversmith, was the official courier for the Massachusetts Provincial Assembly as well as an effective political cartoonist and the acknowledged leader of Boston's artisans. William Dawes (1745-1799) was one of the two men chosen to spread the alarm if the British troops should move to raid the military stores deposited in Concord.

5. Samuel Prescott (1751-c. 1777) completed the famous midnight ride after Paul Revere was captured, but died later in a prison in Halifax.

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After this work was completed, the troops advanced to the bridge in order to disperse the Americans. Major Buttrick, of Concord, who commanded the militia, being ignorant of the tragedy at Lexington, had directed his men not to begin the fire.¹ As he advanced with his party, the light infantry began to pull up the bridge; and, as he approached, fired, and killed two Americans one of them a Captain Davis, of Acton, in the neighborhood.² The fire was instantly returned, and the troops were compelled to retreat. Several of them were killed, several wounded, and a few taken prisoners.

The party was pursued; and, after they had rejoined the main body, the whole retired with the utmost expedition. On their way to Lexington they were continually harassed by an irregular and not ill-directed fire from the buildings and walls on their route. Every moment increased the number of their assailants and their own fatigue, distress, and danger. Upon the first intelligence that the Americans had betaken themselves to arms, General Gage sent a second detachment to the relief of Lieutenant Colonel Smith under the command of Lord Percy.³ It amounted to nine hundred men and marched from Boston with two fieldpieces, their music playing the tune of Yankee Doodle to insult the Americans. As they were passing through Roxbury, a young man who was making himself merry on the occasion being asked, as is said, by his lordship, why he laughed so heartily, replied "To think how you will dance by and by to Chevy Chase."

This detachment joined their friends at Lexington, where the whole body rested for a short time, and with their fieldpieces kept the Americans at a distance. The neighboring country was now in arms, and moving both to attack the enemy and to intercept their retreat. The troops, therefore speedily recommenced their march. From both sides of the road issued a continual fire, directed often by excellent marksmen, and particularly dangerous to the officers. Major Pitcairn thought it prudent to quit his horse and lose himself among the soldiery. Everywhere the retreating army was pursued and flanked. Their enemies descended from every new hill and poured through every new valley. Perplexed by a mode of fighting to which they were strangers, and from which neither their valor, nor their discipline furnished any security; exhausted by fatigue, and without a hope of succor; the troops wisely withdrew from impending destruction with the utmost celerity.

1. John Buttrick (1715-1791) was a leader of the Concord militia in action on April 19, 1775.

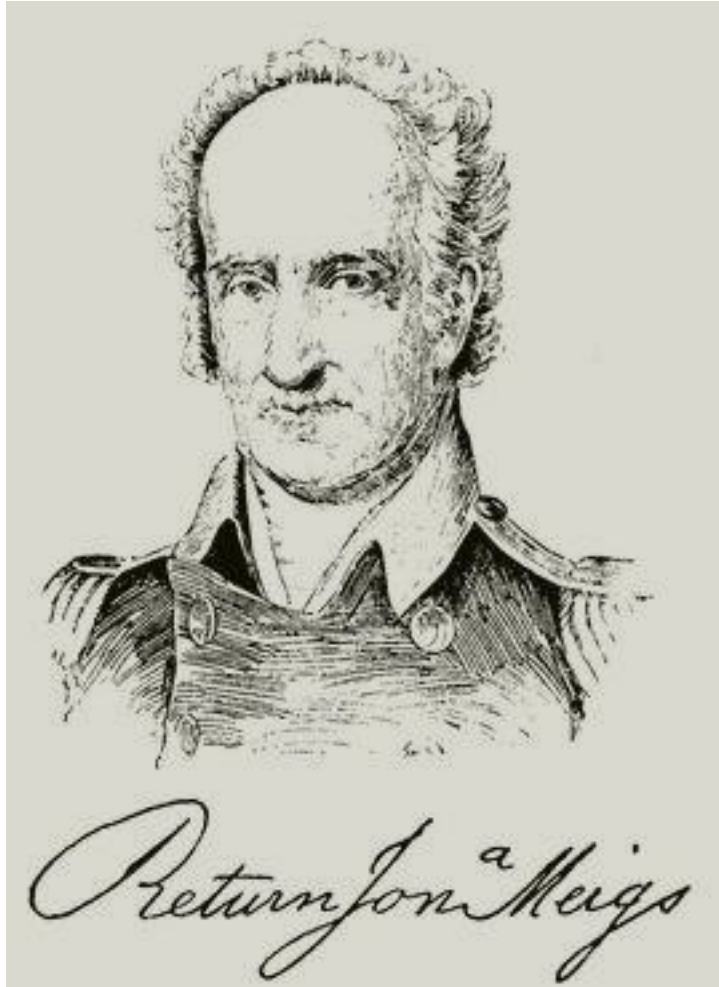
2. Isaac Davis (1745-1775), who led the Acton minute men against the British on the Concord bridge, was killed in the first volley.

3. Hugh Percy, Duke of Northumberland (1742-1817), apparently disapproved of the war with the American colonies although he entered military service against them.

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October 5, Sunday-7, Tuesday: [Samuel Smith](#) would indicate at the time of his execution in [Concord](#) on December 26, 1799 that subsequent to his 1st confessed crime of theft, and subsequent to his punishment in 1772 for that offense, he had continued in his practice of stealing but that nevertheless, during the America Revolution, he had “ferved my Country faithfully.” –Served his country faithfully until, that is, in the 6th Connecticut Regiment commanded by Colonel Return Jonathan Meigs,



his enlistment bounty money had been wrongfully withheld! — whereupon, about 10 or 12 days before the surrender of General Burgoyne (which would have been in this timeframe), while his unit was at Peek’s Kill, a military base on the east side of the Hudson River (Peekskill, New York), he had deserted. (Smith would thus miss out on an opportunity to spend the following horrible winter in army quarters at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania.)

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

NEVER READ AHEAD! TO APPRECIATE THE PERIOD OF OCTOBER 5TH TO 7TH, 1777 AT ALL ONE MUST APPRECIATE IT AS AN EXTENDED TODAY (THE FOLLOWING DAYS, TOMORROWLAND, ARE BUT A PORTION OF THE UNREALIZED FUTURE AND IFFY AT BEST).



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In their retreat, however, they set fire to several houses, plundered whatever pleased their fancy or gratified their avarice, and killed several unarmed persons: particularly two old men, whose hoary locks pleaded for compassion in vain. Bunker Hill, which they reached about sunset, was the first place of safety and repose in their march. The next day they returned to Boston.

In this expedition the British had sixty-five killed, and one hundred and eighty wounded, and twenty-eight made prisoners: two hundred and seventy-three. Among the wounded were fifteen officers, one of them Lieutenant Colonel Smith. Of the Americans, fifty were killed, thirty-four wounded, and four missing: eighty-eight. Several gentlemen of reputation fell in this conflict, and were regarded as martyrs in the cause of freedom and their country.

Such was the issue of this memorable day, and such the commencement of the Revolutionary War in the United States.

Whatever opinions may be adopted concerning the controversy between the British government and the colonies by those who come after us, every man of sober, candid reflection must confess that very gross and very unfortunate errors existed in the measures adopted, both in Great Britain and America, toward the colonies. In both countries information was drawn and received almost solely from those who espoused the system of the reigning administration. It hardly needs to be observed that deception and mischief were the necessary consequence. An opinion also was boldly advanced, sedulously adopted, and extensively diffused that the Americans were mere blusterers and poltroons. In the British Parliament, Colonel Grant declared, with equal folly and insolence, that at the head of five hundred, or perhaps (as numerals are easily misprinted) of five thousand men, he would undertake to march from one end of the British settlements to the other, in spite of all American opposition.¹ This declaration would almost of itself have converted a nation of real cowards into soldiers. Why it should be believed that the descendants of Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen were cowards, especially by their brethren descended from the same ancestors, I shall not take upon me to explain. The difficulties and hazards attendant upon a war conducted at the distance of three thousand miles from the source of control and supplies were certainly not realized by the British cabinet. As little did they realize the disposition or the circumstances of the Americans.

1. Probably Dwight refers to James Grant (1720-1806), member of Parliament at different times, a military man who went to America with reinforcements under Howe and became a general.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1776

June 27, Thursday: Thomas Hickey, one of [General George Washington](#)'s guards, was [hanged](#) in [New-York](#) for plotting to kidnap Washington for the British, thus making himself be the 1st American soldier to be executed by the US Army.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1778

Bathsheeba Spooner of Brookfield MA, 32 years of age, being convicted of conspiring to murder her wealthy and elderly husband, and having been inspected by midwives who certified that she was not pregnant, was [hanged](#) by the neck until she was dead — but then upon autopsy a 5-month fetus was revealed.

July 2, Thursday: Ezra Ross, a single man of [Ipswich](#), was [hanged](#) at [Worcester](#) for involvement in the murder of a Mr. Spooner (at the instigation of the wife Mr. Spooner had abandoned).



The day of his execution was kept as a season of fasting and prayer for his untimely end, in his native parish.

The United States Congress convened in Philadelphia.

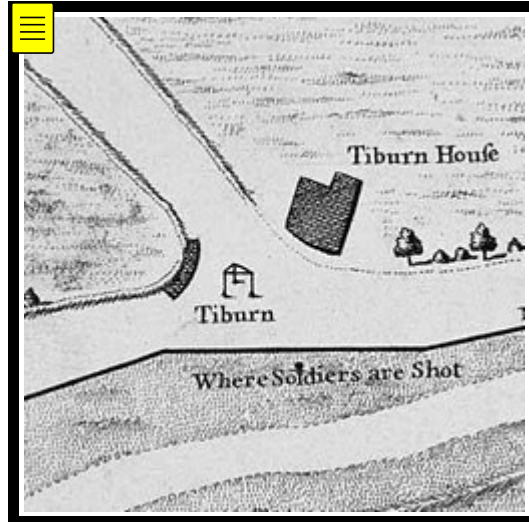
AMERICAN REVOLUTION

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1779

April 19, Monday: The [Reverend James Hackman](#), Rector of Wiveton, murderer of the opera singer [Martha Ray](#), mistress of [John Montagu, 4th Earl of Sandwich](#), was [hanged](#) on the Tyburn gallows outside [London](#).



LOVE AND MADNESS



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1780

September 30, Saturday: Late in September, Major General [Nathanael Greene](#) had presided over the military court that convicted Major John André of plotting with General Benedict Arnold to betray West Point, and after the court had found him guilty as charged, he ordered his execution. On this day, on Garret Smith's farm near Tappan, New York, André was [hanged](#) and Dr. Timothy Hosmer of Avon, New York pronounced him dead.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1781

June 30, Saturday: [Concord](#) budgeted for 14 of its citizen soldiers to serve for 4 additional months in the Continental Army.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

TABLE OF REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGNS³²⁶

WHEN REQUIRED	MEN	TIME	WHERE EMPLOYED	BOUNTY	AMOUNT
June 15, 1781	3	5 months	Rhode Island		
Bedford furnished seven; Acton, eight; Lincoln, eight; Carlisle, four, for this [the above] campaign. The whole State furnished two thousand seven hundred.					
June 30, 1781	14	4 months	Continental Army		
These [the above] men were hired by classes. Dea. John White was Chairman of the 3d class, which was assessed £180 to hire Joseph Cleisby. The 5th class, of which Reuben Hunt was Chairman, hired Jacob Laughton, for £90 lawful money as a bounty. Sometimes \$100 were given by a single individual. All property seemed to be at the disposal of government, if required. The soldiers were paid off in government sureties which were sold for 2s. 6d. on the pound. Nathaniel French received ninety bushels of rye.					
March 1, 1782		3 years	Continental Army	Hired in Classes	

July 27, Friday: When François Henry de la Motte was executed as a French spy at Tyburn, the body was left to [hang](#) for almost an hour before it was taken down and [decapitated](#), and the heart removed and thrown on a fire.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

July 30, Monday: Gottlieb Stephanie handed Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart the libretto to Die Entführung aus dem Serail.

Abbé Claude C. Robin, chaplain to the French troops stationed in [Rhode Island](#), described his experience in and around [Providence](#).

ABBÉ CLAUDE C. ROBIN

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

326. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study. On July 16, 1859 he would correct a date mistake buried in the body of the text.)



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

August 4, Saturday: Just beyond the city limits of [Charleston](#), the British [hanged](#) [Colonel Isaac Hayne](#) of the [South Carolina](#) militia.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

August 5, Sunday: Admiral de Grasse sailed from Cap-Français, [Hispaniola](#) for America with 3 regiments and 28 ships.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

O selig bist du! for chorus and strings by Johannes Herbst was performed for the initial time.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1782

April 11, Thursday: After deserting the revolutionary forces on the Hudson River in October 1777 before the winter at Valley Forge, [Samuel Smith](#) had had a 2nd unhappy love affair in Amherst, [New Hampshire](#), whereupon he had lived by roving and stealing — and then in Lancaster MA on this date he and Sally Pratt, who would become the mother of his five children, were wed. Samuel would allege at the point of his hanging in [Concord](#) on December 26, 1799 that his wife Sally's [illegible] and profligacy would induce him to commit "many and shameful crimes." The family moved to Hollis, New Hampshire, where they became acquainted with one James McDaniels of Rowley, New Hampshire. Samuel desired just prior to his [hanging](#) "as a man who expects very soon to enter the eternal world ! warn all my fellow creatures" about this person James McDaniels, who he said had indicated that he had killed a man named Stone in Harvard, Massachusetts, had delivered "the fatal Blow to Captain Ephraim Jones, formerly Gaol-keeper in this Place," and had in addition to these two killings, been "likewise the Mean of his own Wife's Death."

**YOUR GARDEN-VARIETY ACADEMIC HISTORIAN INVITES YOU TO CLIMB
ABOARD A HOVERING TIME MACHINE TO SKIM IN METATIME BACK
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A GARDEN VARIETY OF COGENT ASSESSMENTS OF OUR PROGRESSION.
WHAT A LOAD OF CRAP! YOU SHOULD REFUSE THIS HELICOPTERISH
OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORICAL PAST, FOR IN THE REAL WORLD THINGS
HAPPEN ONLY AS THEY HAPPEN. WHAT THIS SORT WRITES AMOUNTS,
LIKE MERE "SCIENCE FICTION," MERELY TO "HISTORY FICTION":
IT'S NOT WORTH YOUR ATTENTION.**



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

June 13, Thursday: [Anna Göldi or Göldin](#), the final person in Europe to be [executed](#) for [witchcraft](#), was [beheaded](#) in Glarus Canton, Switzerland almost 300 years after Heinrich Kramer and Johann Sprenger's *MALLEUS MALEFICARUM* (THE WITCH HAMMER) had been endorsed by the Faculty of Theology at the University of Cologne and a decade before Philippe Pinel's reforms in mental treatment at the Bicêtre asylum.³²⁷

PSYCHOLOGY

FINAL EXECUTIONS		
July 28, 1716	Mary HICKES and her 9-year-old daughter Elizabeth	hanged as witches in Huntingdon, England
June 13, 1782	Anna Göldi or Göldin	final person in Europe to be executed for witchcraft , beheaded in Glarus Canton, Switzerland
March 18, 1789	Christian or Catherine Murphy	hanged and then burned at the stake in front of Newgate Prison in England for having coined false money

(It would seem that what actually happened in this case was that she was the maid of a Dr. Johann Jakob Tschudi who had been taking advantage of her sexually, and she had threatened to expose this illicit sexuality.)

327. Street, W.R. A CHRONOLOGY OF NOTEWORTHY EVENTS IN AMERICAN [PSYCHOLOGY](#). Washington DC: American Psychological Association, 1994

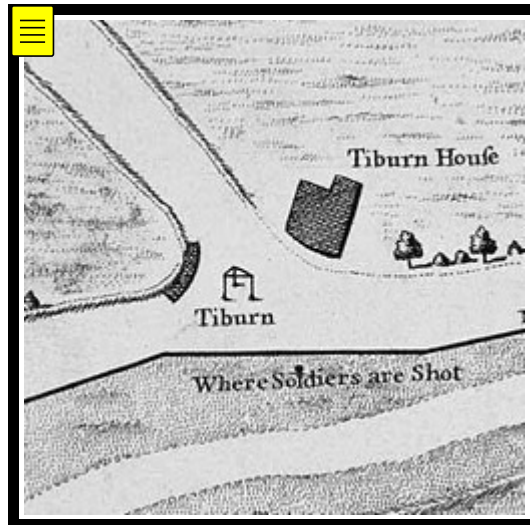
[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1783

November 3, Monday: John Austin, a highwayman, had the honor to be the last person to be [hanged](#) in public on the triplex Tyburn gallows outside London — a gallows which had been busy on holidays ever since erected in 1571.

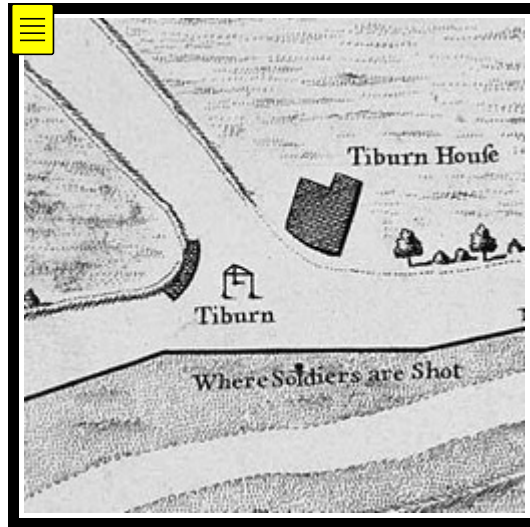


[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

English execution rituals were being relocated from Tyburn to Newgate largely because property developers



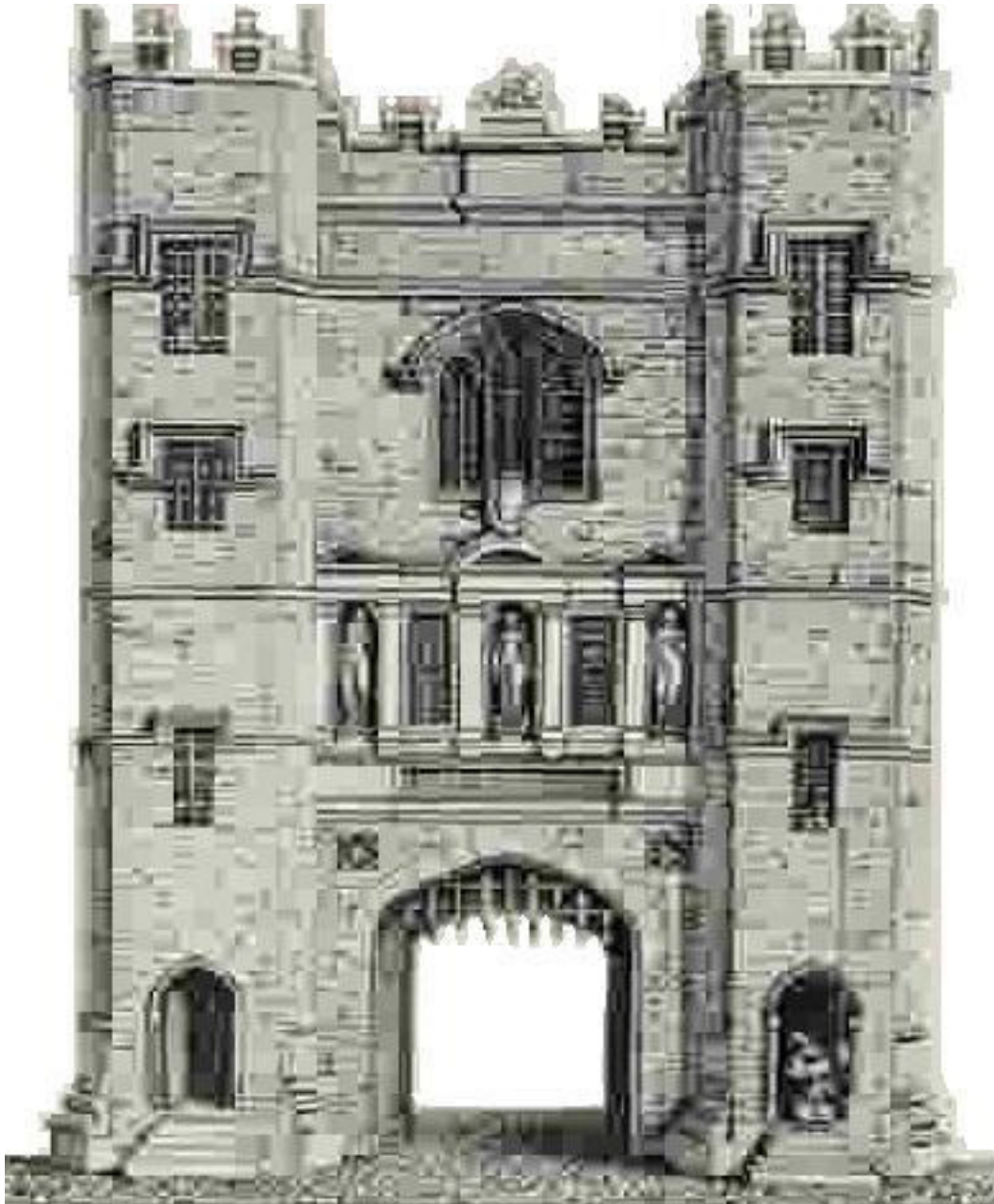
in the Tyburn area had come to feel that the large crowds on execution days, both at the hangings themselves and in the long procession following the condemned to the spot, were inconvenient for their patrons and rather less healthy than more healthy for local property values.



[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER



December 9, Tuesday: Giovanni Paisiello was nominated compositore della musica de' drammi by King Ferdinando IV of [Naples](#). The composer was presently in Russia but had conducted an extensive campaign through friends to gain the position.

[Hangings](#) began at Newgate Prison, [London](#), replacing the previous public gallows at Tyburn.

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

29th day 12th month: [Friend](#) John Congdon of [South Kingstown, Rhode Island](#) [manumitted](#) a Negro Lad Named Dick about 14 years of age and pledged that for the meanwhile he would provide for instruct and direct him. “During his Infancy,” until the age of 21, Dick the former [slave](#) was to play the role of apprentice.

Name of slave	Owned by	Date of emancipation
Jane	Richard Smith	1757
Pegg	Stephen Richmond	27th 12th mo 1773
Phillis and her two children	John Knowles	1st 11th mo 1773
Casper and Judith		
Richard	Jeremiah Browning	27th 9th mo 1773
Israel	William Robinson	15th 1st mo 1780
Dick	John Congdon	29th 12th mo 1783
Luce	William Congdon	29th 3d mo 1784
Jack		
Fan		
Cuff, otherwise Cuff Knowles	Barshebe Knowles	24th 7th mo 1783
	Robert Knowles	
	Joseph Knowles	
	John Congdon	
	Charles Congdon	
	Hannah Knowles	
Job	William Peckham	4th 8th mo 1786
Rose	William Peckham	24th 8th mo 1786

Changes to [St. Helena](#) licensing laws meaning soldiers could not obtain [arrack](#) from the island’s Punch Houses. 200 soldiers, bayonets fixed, marched on the Governor.

DRUNKENNESS

Although nearly 100 would be condemned to death, only 10 would actually [hang](#). The governor would withdraw the new liquor regulations.

ST. HELENA RECORDS

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1784

[Concord](#) procured a new town bell, from Hanover, weighing 500 pounds. It would soon break.

[Concord](#) erected a replacement courthouse.³²⁸

328. This [Concord](#) courthouse became the place of public display of the gallows upon which a local house burglar, [Samuel Smith](#), was hung at the end of 1799 — until with this macabre and tasteless display of judicial power it was consumed in the flames of an arsonist in 1849. Here, since we do not have an image of the apparatus upon which the house burglar had been hanged, as a substitute macabre and tasteless display, is an image of the chair that Massachusetts used for its final [electrocutions](#), at [Charlestown](#) in 1947, producing the deaths of Edward Gertson and Philip Bellino. The chair is not on display (tastes about this sort of think have obviously changed somewhat), but a photo was taken of it in a storage room at the state prison in Walpole in 1974.



STATE MURDER

Antoine-Laurent Lavoisier served as the head for a royal commission that included Benjamin Franklin (“and, ironically,” avers Stephen Jay Gould, “Dr. Guillotin, whose ‘humane’ invention would end Lavoisier’s life”³²⁹) investigating and refuting the claims of Dr. Franz Anton Mesmer about the role of animal magnetism in the cure of disease by entrancement (otherwise known as Mesmerization).



FRANZ MESMER



STATE MURDER

LA GUILLOTINE

Brossard de Beaulieu painted a portrait of Lavoisier with a Leyden Jar, to be exhibited at the Salon of 1785.

In his role as *Historiographe de France*, [Jean François Marmontel](#) began to prepare a history of *LA RÉGENCE DU DUC D'ORLÉANS*, covering the period from the death of King Louis XIV to 1721.

“HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE” BEING A VIEW FROM A PARTICULAR POINT IN TIME (JUST AS THE PERSPECTIVE IN A PAINTING IS A VIEW FROM A PARTICULAR POINT IN SPACE), TO “LOOK AT THE COURSE OF HISTORY MORE GENERALLY” WOULD BE TO SACRIFICE PERSPECTIVE ALTOGETHER. THIS IS FANTASY-LAND, YOU’RE FOOLING YOURSELF.

329. Professor Gould is quite mistaken in regard to the irony of this. Dr. [Joseph-Ignace Guillotin’s](#) invention was not invented by Dr. Guillotin, either then or later. The device in question had already been in documented existence, at least since early in the 13th Century, and it had already a name, and it would be renamed in revolutionary France with the name of Dr. Joseph-Ignace Guillotin only in mockery of him — simply because he had pleaded before the assembly for the use of some method of execution that would be quicker and would involve less pain and humiliation than the inventive and imaginative methods of execution that had been usual before his time. What humanely and suddenly truncated the life of Antoine-Laurent Lavoisier, without torture and without humiliation as recommended by the humane Dr. Guillotin, was the fact that he had been a tax-farmer and such tax-farming had in the revolutionary period quite gone out of favor.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

THERE CANNOT BE ANY SUCH THINGIE, AS SUCH A PERSPECTIVE.

September 9, Thursday: In [Rhode Island](#), “One Wm. Stephens [hanged](#) himself this afternoon, he left a widdow & several Children.”

SUICIDE



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1785

May 5, Thursday: The burglars William Scott and Thomas Archibald were [hanged](#) in [Boston](#).

THE TASK OF THE HISTORIAN IS TO CREATE HINDSIGHT WHILE
INTERCEPTING ANY ILLUSION OF FORESIGHT. NOTHING A HUMAN CAN
SEE CAN EVER BE SEEN AS IF THROUGH THE EYE OF GOD.

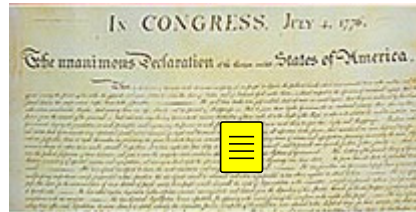
IN A BOOK THAT IS SUPPOSED TO BE ABOUT HISTORY, ISSUED BY
RANDOM HOUSE IN 2016, I FIND THE PHRASE “LOOKED UPON FROM
THE BIRD’S-EYE VIEW OF HISTORY,” ONLY A MERE STORYTELLER,
NEVER A HISTORIAN, COULD HAVE PENNED SUCH A PHRASE —
BECAUSE NO BIRD HAS EVER FLOWN OVER HISTORY.

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER



Our national birthday, Monday the 4th of July: Dignitaries at an Independence Day dinner in New York raised their glasses to George Washington, to the soldiers who died in combat, to our nation’s European allies, and to “Liberty, peace and happiness to all mankind.” Note well that no dignitary proposed raising a glass to any [Jefferson](#), either as the author of our [Declaration of Independence](#) or for any other reason.



The victory having been attained and properly celebrated, the victors proceeded to a proper distribution of their spoils of war, the former estates of departed Loyalists. During the latter half of the year, Major General [Nathanael Greene](#) would be relocating his family to the piece of the loot that had been assigned to him, a plantation called “Mulberry Grove” on the Savannah River of Georgia.

[Boston](#) began sending its convicts out to the Castle in Boston Harbor to serve their sentences.



NOBODY COULD GUESS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT





STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

July 9, Saturday: [Malcolm Laing](#) was called to the Scottish bar.

At York in Yorkshire, Nancy Yeats or Yates, a 17-year-old milliner, was sentenced initially to be [hanged](#), but then that was reduced to transportation for 7 years, for burglary with a value of 100 shillings. At Worcester in Worcestershire, Sarah Bellamy, a 15-year-old servant or weaver, was sentenced to transportation for 7 years, for having stolen a purse containing cash and promissory notes with a value of 630 shillings. After a period of confinement the two convicts would be taken from Portsmouth on May 13, 1787 at the age of 19, with 99 other such women, aboard the *Lady Penrhyn* on its “maiden” voyage. This vessel was also conveying the first horses that would arrive in [Australia](#), a stallion, three mares, two fillies, and a colt. Both women would be pregnant upon the vessel’s arrival at Port Jackson in Botany Bay on January 26, 1788.



YOUR GARDEN-VARIETY ACADEMIC HISTORIAN INVITES YOU TO CLIMB ABOARD A HOVERING TIME MACHINE TO SKIM IN METATIME BACK ACROSS THE GEOLOGY OF OUR PAST TIMESLICES, WHILE OFFERING UP A GARDEN VARIETY OF COGENT ASSESSMENTS OF OUR PROGRESSION. WHAT A LOAD OF CRAP! YOU SHOULD REFUSE THIS HELICOPTERISH OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORICAL PAST, FOR IN THE REAL WORLD THINGS HAPPEN ONLY AS THEY HAPPEN. WHAT THIS SORT WRITES AMOUNTS,



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

LIKE MERE “SCIENCE FICTION,” MERELY TO “HISTORY FICTION”:
IT’S NOT WORTH YOUR ATTENTION.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1786

June 21, Wednesday: At 7:30AM Edward Griffiths, George Woodward, William Watts, Daniel Keefe, Jonathan Harwood, and William Smith were brought out of Newgate Prison in England through its Debtor's Door and led up onto its "New Drop" gallows. Their [drop](#) occurred at about 8:00AM, after which [Phoebe Harris](#), "a well made little woman of something more than thirty years of age, with a pale complexion and not disagreeable features," was led out of the same door, terrified and trembling, by a couple of sheriff's officers to an 11-foot stake that had been erected halfway between this gallows and Newgate Street. She had been convicted of the treason of having coined false money. From a metal bracket at the top of the stake, a noose dangled. She mounted a stool and the noose was placed around her neck, and then she was allowed a few moments to pray with the Ordinary before the stool was removed. It required several minutes for her to [noisily choke to death](#). After the body had hanged there for half an hour, an iron chain was wrapped around her upper body and fastened to the stake with nails. Two cartloads of faggots were then piled around the stake and lit. A crowd of some 20,000 was watching as the fire burned through the rope and the corpse dropped, remaining attached to the stake by the chain. The fire continued to burn until midday, by which point the corpse had been completely consumed.



Newgate having come to be a respectable business area of the City, its residents had sent a NIMBY petition to the Lord Mayor requesting that this execution happen somewhere else. Some of the locals would report that they had been made ill by the smoke and odors from this burning corpse. The [London Times](#) would offer: "The execution of a woman for coining on Wednesday morning, reflects a scandal upon the law and was not only inhuman, but shamefully indelicate and shocking. Why should the law in this species of offence inflict a severer punishment upon a woman, than a man. It is not an offence which she can perpetrate alone — in every such case the insistence of a man has been found the operating motive upon the woman; yet the man is but hanged, and the woman burned."



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1787

June 21, Thursday: Jason Parmenter and his fellow Shays Rebellion convicts were paraded at their gallows before a large crowd of spectators and then at the last instant, after they were quite likely crapping their pants, were reprieved. Go thou and rebel no more.³³⁰

HANGING

November 17, Saturday: After marrying with Sally Pratt in Lancaster MA on April 11, 1782 and living by committing “many and shameful crimes” which he would blame on Sally’s [illegible] and profligacy, the family of [Samuel Smith](#) had moved to Hollis, New Hampshire and fallen in there with one James McDaniels of Rowley NH. Samuel would desire just prior to his [hanging](#) “as a man who expects very soon to enter the eternal world ! warn all my fellow creatures” about this person James McDaniels, who he said had indicated that he had killed a man named Stone in Harvard, Massachusetts, had delivered “the fatal Blow to Captain Ephraim Jones, formerly Gaol-keeper in this Place,” and had in addition to these two killings, been “likewise the Mean of his own Wife’s Death.” Smith his family then moved from Hollis to Lancaster, Massachusetts, there supporting his family by theft, by serving as a fence for stolen goods, and by counterfeiting “the Coin of my Country.” After a move back to Hollis, on this day he was arrested for the theft of three sheep from Captain Jephthah Richardson of Groton, Innholder, a crime of which indeed he had been guilty, and “for want of Property, was committed to Goal [sic] in [Concord](#).” During this period Samuel and Sally had been busy engendering a family of five kiddies.

**LIFE IS LIVED FORWARD BUT UNDERSTOOD BACKWARD?
— NO, THAT’S GIVING TOO MUCH TO THE HISTORIAN’S STORIES.
LIFE ISN’T TO BE UNDERSTOOD EITHER FORWARD OR BACKWARD.**

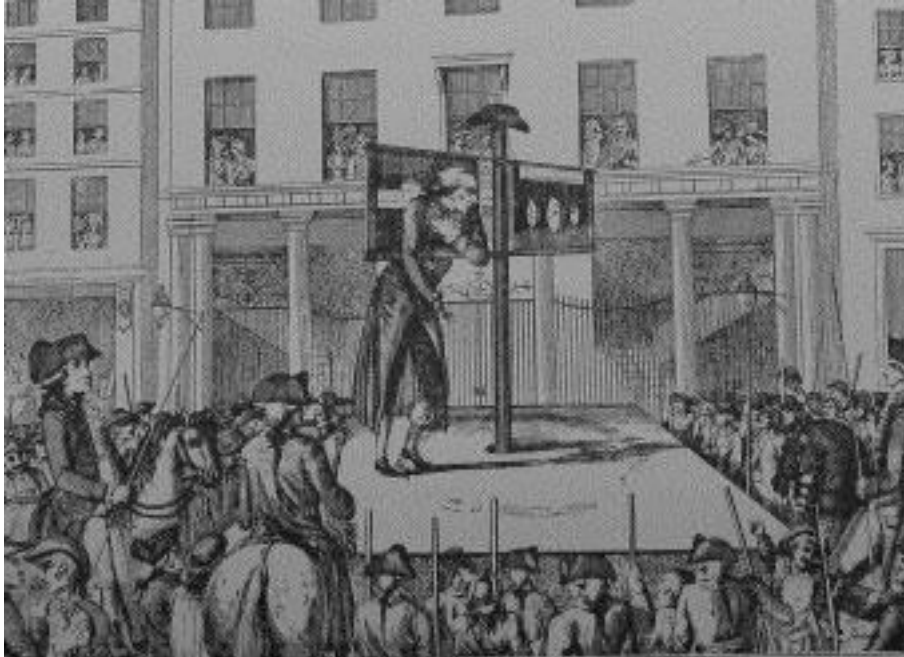
November 24, Saturday: Over and above the offense of sheep-stealing, while [Samuel Smith](#) was awaiting the disposition of his case he was charged also with being a counterfeiter, and, as it was impossible for him to come up with bail money, “the Sum of Three Hundred Pounds for my personal Appearance at the Supreme Court in April following,” he was “oblig’d to remain in Prison.”

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1788

February 29, Friday: [Samuel Smith](#), charged with the stealing of sheep and with counterfeiting, had attempted to simplify the problems in his life by escaping from prison but had been “foon overtaken, brought back, put into Irons, and confin’d in the Dungeon, and there kept ’till April [1788] ; at which Time, I had my Trial, and was convicted of the above-mentioned Crime, for which I was fined, fet in the Pillory, and had my Ears cropped.”³³¹



331. According to a survey conducted by the Boston-based research and advocacy group Physicians for Human Rights in southern Iran as reported in the [Journal of the American Medical Association](#) in March 2004, under Sadaam Hussein from 1991 to 2003 men who avoided Iraqi military service had their external ears surgically removed. Here is one such person whose appearance might be comparable to the Massachusetts burglar [Samuel Smith](#):

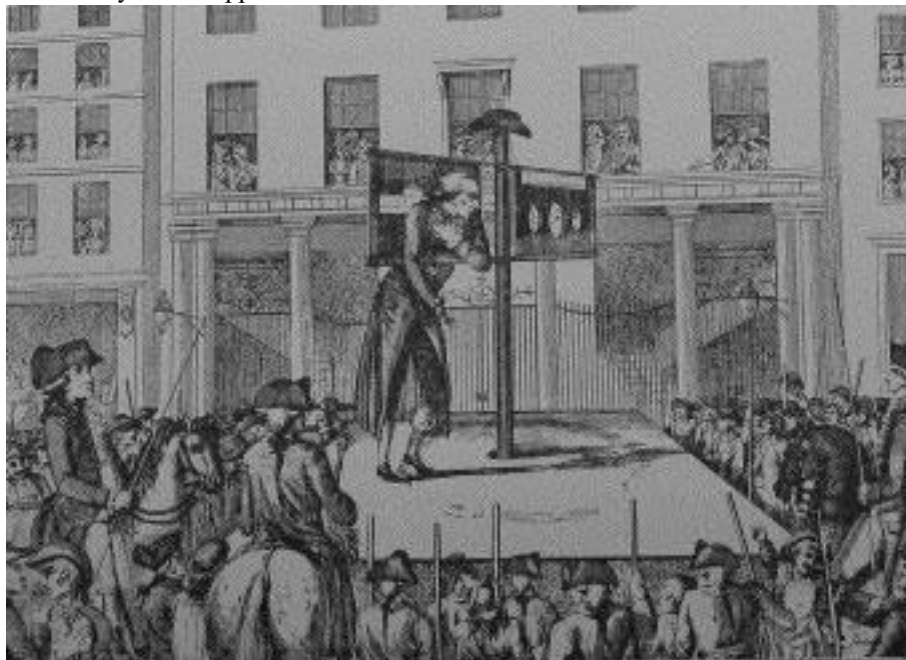


STATE MURDER**STATE MURDER**

“HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE” BEING A VIEW FROM A PARTICULAR POINT IN TIME (JUST AS THE PERSPECTIVE IN A PAINTING IS A VIEW FROM A PARTICULAR POINT IN SPACE), TO “LOOK AT THE COURSE OF HISTORY MORE GENERALLY” WOULD BE TO SACRIFICE PERSPECTIVE ALTOGETHER. THIS IS FANTASY-LAND, YOU’RE FOOLING YOURSELF. THERE CANNOT BE ANY SUCH THINGIE, AS SUCH A PERSPECTIVE.



April: [Samuel Smith](#), who had attempted an escape from the prison in which he was being held after being charged with the stealing of sheep and with counterfeiting, was taken from his “Dungeon,” and “at which Time, I had my Trial, and was convicted of the above-mentioned Crime, for which I was fined, fet in the Pillory, and had my Ears cropped.”





STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

June 25, Wednesday: Margaret Sullivan was [hanged](#) and then burned at the stake for treason by coining. Although there seems but little question that Sullivan was dead by the time her body was subjected to the flames, the London Times would report that “There is something so inhuman in burning a woman, for what only subjects a man to hanging, that human nature shudders at the idea. Must not mankind laugh as our long speeches against African slavery — and our fine sentiments on Indian cruelties, when just in the very eye of the Sovereign we roast a female fellow creature alive, for putting a pennyworth of quicksilver on a half-penny worth of brass. The savage barbarity of the punishment — and the smallness of the offence in the eye of God are contrasts that should meet the consideration of Government. The Gentleman’s Magazine would address Prime Minister Sir William Pitt the Younger: “the woman was brought out attended by a priest of the Romish persuasion, and as soon as she came to the stake she was placed upon a stool, which was instantly removed from under her, and she left suspended, when the faggots were placed around her, and being set on fire she was soon consumed to ashes. — Mr. Pitt, himself a lawyer, ’tis hoped, will not suffer this cruel remain of savage legislation to escape his notice, and continue a disgrace to the enlightened sense of this country.”



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1789

A young girl sentenced to death at the Old Bailey for some petty offence refused “transportation” in lieu of the sentence of death by [hanging](#). At the time it was fashionable for the Society Ladies to attend such trials, and sit up on the bench with the judge. Mrs. Fitzherbert, the morganatic wife of the Prince Regent, and a coterie of her noble ladies, were present on this occasion and when despite the pleas of the judge and the entire courtroom—which was reduced to tears—the girl persisted, saying “she would rather die,” the judge adjourned the trial so that Mrs. Fitzherbert and her ladies might visit the girl in the holding cell adjacent to the court. The ladies pleaded with for several hours in this holding cell before this convict finally agreed to accept her alternate fate.

March 18, Wednesday: [Christian or Catherine Murphy](#) became the final British woman to suffer the female version of the penalty for high treason (coining), to wit, being [hanged](#) and then her corpse consumed by fire at the stake (her husband and 7 male co-defendants were [hanged](#) and then, as was customary, not awarded the full male penalty for treason of drawing and quartering).

FINAL EXECUTIONS		
June 13, 1782	Anna Göldi or Göldin	final person in Europe to be executed for witchcraft , beheaded in Glarus Canton, Switzerland
March 18, 1789	Christian or Catherine Murphy	hanged and then incinerated at the stake in front of Newgate Prison in England for having coined false money
August 18, 1809	Susan Grant	final British woman to be executed for coining during the 19th Century

[Moses Prichard](#) was born.

June 24, Wednesday: On [St. Helena](#), William Whaley was [hanged](#) as a “highway robber” for taking a piece of cloth from a sailor in the street.

October 8, Thursday: George Wall had been a [Boston](#) fisherman, while his wife Rachel Wall had worked on Beacon Hill as a housemaid. There not being enough money in fishing and cleaning house, they had stolen a ship docked at Essex and gone into the piracy business. These were real small-timers and their MO (*modus operandi*) had been that Rachel would stand at the mast making out to be in distress off the Isles of Shoals while George and some crewmen lurked. When rescuers came to save the maiden in distress, the men would leap out and kill them, take their valuables, and scuttle their ship. In 1782 the husband had drowned in a storm and Rachel Wall had been rescued. Back in Boston, she had begun to live by stealing from the cabins of ships at the docks. Eventually she was accused of murdering a sailor, an act she denied, and sentenced to hang. At her [hanging](#) on Boston Common on this day she confessed to having previously been a [pirate](#) — the only known female pirate of New England.

(Highway robbers William Dannesse and William Smith also were [hanged](#) on the Common.)



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

October 10, Saturday: On the 2d day of the French Assembly's debate about the Penal Code, [Dr. Joseph-Ignace Guillotin](#) submitted a humanitarian proposal which included a recommendation that death, without the accompaniment of [torture](#) and by means of head-chopping, should become the sole and standard form of [capital punishment](#) in modern France.

HEADCHOPPING

FRENCH REVOLUTION, I

FRENCH REVOLUTION, II

December 12, Saturday: [Dr. Joseph-Ignace Guillotin](#) for the 2d time presented his humanitarian proposals. There was nothing in any of his proposals that might produce ridicule in our modern context:

- He proposed that, in general, offenses of the same kind ought not to be punished by different varieties of penalty.
- He proposed, specifically, in the case of the penalty of death, that the punishment be carried out in the same manner whatever the nature of the offence of which the individual had been accused. Any such condemned person should be decapitated by means of some simple and sure and invariant mechanism.
- He proposed that the body and head of a person whom they had executed should upon request be handed over to his family for a normal burial, with no reference made on the register as to the nature of that person's demise.
- He proposed that in view of the personal character of crime, no punishment of a guilty person was to involve any discredit in regard to his family at large. In no case should the estate of any condemned person be confiscated. The honor of those belonging to him should be in no way impugned, and they should continue to be no less admissible to any kind of profession, employment, and public function. No one would be allowed to reproach a citizen with any punishment that had been imposed on one of his relatives. Whosoever ventured to do so ought publicly to be reprimanded by the judge, and this reprimand should be posted upon the offender's door and at the public pillory for a period of 3 months.

HEADCHOPPING

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STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1790

April Sessions: In England, [Sophia Girton](#) was convicted of treason by coining, but her execution by being hanged and then burned at the stake would be delayed until after the British Parliament had on June 5, 1790 enacted Treason Act 30 Geo. III, c.48, which would substitute ordinary [hanging](#), as was done with males thus convicted, for such coining offenses committed by females (Sophia would ultimately be pardoned on condition of transportation for life to New South Wales and would board ship on June 12, 1790).

October 14, Thursday: The burglars Edward Vail Brown, a white man, and John Bailey, a black man, were [hanged](#) on Boston Common.

[BOSTON](#)



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1791

June 3, Friday: The French Assembly approved a text providing that “Every person condemned to the death penalty shall have his head severed.” Guidon, a carpenter who constructed scaffolds, was authorized to build the first head-chopping machine, but, his price proving to be much too high, the order would be placed with a German maker of harpsichords, Tobias Schmidt.

LA GUILLOTINE
HEADCHOPPING

May 27, Friday: Captain Charles Williamson met with his employers, the association formed by William Johnstone Pulteney MP, former governor of Bombay William Hornby, and English promoter Patrick Colquhoun, to advise that he’s cut a deal to sell 300,000 acres of [New York](#) land to Archibald Boyd of [Baltimore](#), pending their approval of course (for close to £75,000 they would of course authorize the deal).

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#) at 3PM, David Cumstock the young murderer was [hanged](#) before a crowd estimated at 10,000, to all appearances unrepentant, with the Reverend Snow offering the prayer at the gallows.

June 3, Friday: The French Assembly approved a text providing that “Every person condemned to the death penalty shall have his head severed.” Guidon, a carpenter who constructed scaffolds, was authorized to build the first head-chopping machine, but, his price proving to be much too high, the order would be placed with a German maker of harpsichords, Tobias Schmidt.

LA GUILLOTINE
HEADCHOPPING

June 7, Tuesday: [Samuel Smith](#), whose cropped ears indicated that he had already had serious run-ins with the law in the past, was charged in [Charlestown](#), Massachusetts by [Jofhus??] Welcott, “for having folen fundry Goods from him the faid [Jofhus??],” and held “in the common Goal [sic] of [Concord](#)” pending trial. His trial took place on the 2d Tuesday of September 1791, but Welcott did not appear and so Smith was discharged. (Smith would allege, before his [hanging](#), “I now fay as a dying Man, that I was not guilty of the Crime complained of ; and I furthermore declare, that the faid Welcott did at that Time steal Money from me, out of my Bundle, and for fear I fhould complain of him, he complained of me.”)

ESSENCES ARE FUZZY, GENERIC, CONCEPTUAL;
ARISTOTLE WAS RIGHT WHEN HE INSISTED THAT ALL TRUTH IS
SPECIFIC AND PARTICULAR (AND WRONG WHEN HE CHARACTERIZED
TRUTH AS A GENERALIZATION).



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

September 11, 2d Tuesday: [Samuel Smith](#), whose cropped ears indicated that he had already had his run-ins with the law in the past, had been charged in [Charlestown, Massachusetts](#) by [Joshus??] Welcott, “for having stolen fundry Goods from him the said [Joshus??],” and was being held “in the common Goal [sic] of [Concord](#).” His trial took place on the 2d Tuesday of the month, but when Welcott did not appear before the court to make his complaint, Smith was discharged. “I now say as a dying Man, that I was not guilty of the Crime complained of ; and I furthermore declare, that the said Welcott did at that Time steal Money from me, out of my Bundle, and for fear I should complain of him, he complained of me.”

[HANGING](#)



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1792

April 10, Thursday: The procureur général syndic, Roederer, reached an accord with Tobias Schmidt, a German maker of harpsichords, for a price of 960 francs to cover the cost of devising the first head-chopping machine, which sum moreover was to provide for a leather bag for the proper disposal of the severed head.

HEADCHOPPING

LA GUILLOTINE

April 15, Tuesday: At Bicêtre, France, the first test of the new head-chopping machine was conducted on fresh human corpses at a combination hospital, prison, and old folk's home. After three pieces of human remains had been divided into six pieces of human remains, the apparatus was deemed to be producing its desired result.

HEADCHOPPING

LA GUILLOTINE

April 19, Saturday: The carpenter Guidon, who usually made scaffolds, went to Bicêtre, France to fix a newly conceived blade into position on the head-chopping machine.

HEADCHOPPING

LA GUILLOTINE

April 21, Monday: The improved head-chopping machine was again tried out at Bicêtre, France. Three more fresh corpses had been carefully selected from the military hospital, this time of three really well-built individuals, who had died suddenly and whose necks had not become thin.

HEADCHOPPING

LA GUILLOTINE

April 25, Friday: At the Place de Grève (now Place Hotel de Ville), Charles-Henri Sanson, the man who would be beheading King Louis XVI, allowed the blade of the new French killing machine to sever for the 1st time the neck of a living French subject, one Nicolas-Jacques Pelletier who had been a highwayman, and neither God nor king filed any noticeable objection.³³²

LA GUILLOTINE

THE LAST VICTIM

HEADCHOPPING

May 5, Saturday: The architect Giraud submitted a report requested by Roederer. The report said: "Although well conceived in itself, has not been perfected to the fullest possible extent. The grooves, the tongues and the gudgeons are in wood; the first should be made in brass, the others of iron; the hooks to which are attached the cords holding up the mouton are only fixed with round-headed nails; they should be fixed with strong nuts and bolts."

LA GUILLOTINE

HEADCHOPPING

332. They say there's no such thing as progress — but every year we kill you a new way. Notice how these new techniques are always innovated by use of a "thin edge of the wedge" ploy: in the first instance, the person who is executed is one who manifestly deserves such treatment, someone with whose worthiness to be offed no-one could dare to disagree, but soon we will be chopping down, in addition to blokes like this, a king and queen who never were actual highway robbers and whose cases for clemency were somewhat more problematic.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

August 21, Tuesday: The first French head-chopping machine was installed at the Place du Carroussel, where it would remain until May 7, 1793, with interruptions such as for the beheading of Louis Capet, who had been King Louis XVI of France, at what is now known as the Place de la Concorde. I simply do not know, at what point it began to be generally referred to as “la louisette” or as “le louison” (the French apparatus in question actually having been devised by a Dr. Antoine Lewis, as a refinement on a prior Italian head-chopping device) rather than as the “machine,” but it assuredly was not known as the guillotine, in mockery of the doctor who had pled for greater humanity in French public executions, prior to the turn of the 19th Century.

HEADCHOPPING

October 1, Monday: Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson wrote to James Madison, Jr. to express the vicious states-rights sentiment that anyone who would attempt to create a national paper currency for the United States of America would be a traitor to his state government, which alone possesses the undelegated authority to issue paper currency — and that the penalty for such a high treason against one’s state government ought to be the penalty of death.

The [Virginia] assembly should reason thus. The power of erecting banks & corporations was not given to the general government it remains then with the state itself. For any person to recognize a foreign [Jefferson means “federal”] legislature in a case belonging to the state itself is an act of treason against the state, and whosoever shall do any act under colour of the authority of a foreign legislature whether by signing notes, issuing them or passing them, acting as director, cashier or in any other office relating to it shall be adjudged of high treason & suffer death accordingly, by the judgment of the state courts.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1793

January 21, Monday (the 1st of Pluviose in the Year One): In Paris, at what is now known as the Place de la Concorde, Louis Capet, who had been King Louis XVI of [France](#), became a victim of the new improved “machine.”

[HEADCHOPPING](#)

[LA GUILLOTINE](#)

I die innocent of all the crimes laid to my charge; I Pardon those who have occasioned my death; and I pray to God that the blood you are going to shed may never be visited on France.

Louis’s neck was thick and the blade needed to be drawn back up and again released for the severing to be complete.

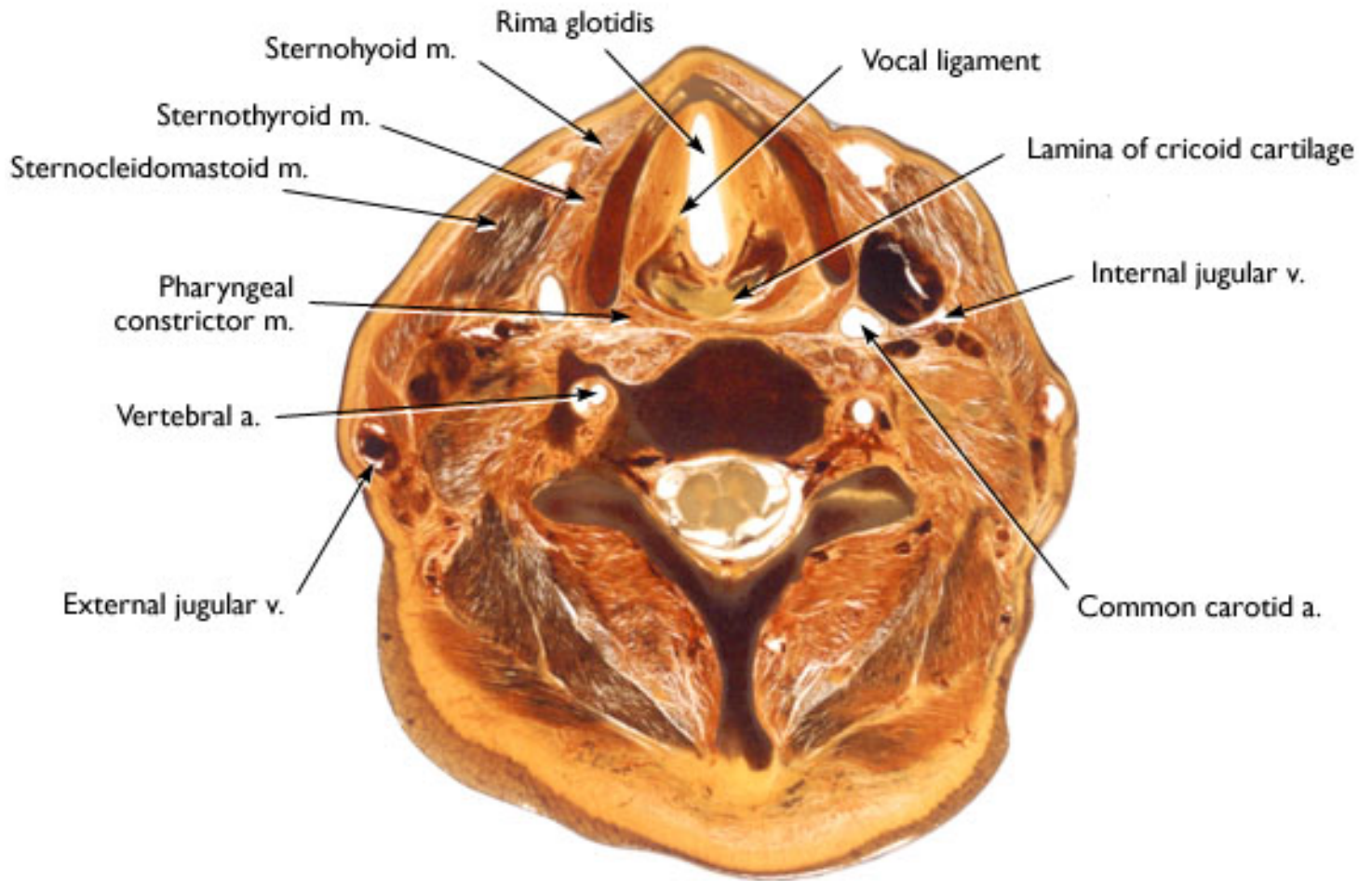
The entire corpse would be reduced by quicklime to nothingness, to ensure that there would never be any claim that anyone was in possession of a relic (due to the doctrine of the divine right of kings, Louis had been posturing for awhile as a Christ figure more or less in the manner in which Timothy McVeigh would starve himself in order to gain the appearance of a victim while awaiting federal execution in Terre Haute).

[THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS](#)

Who would have guessed? The cross-section of the neck of this French monarch of the 18th Century, Louis, turned out to seem rather more similar than not in appearance to the cross-section of the neck of the English

STATE MURDER

monarch of the 17th Century, Charles:



STATE MURDER

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STATE MURDER

The event would be commemorated with a medallion:



FRENCH REVOLUTION, I

FRENCH REVOLUTION, II

As of 2012 there are plans afoot to construct a £180,000,000 “NapoleonLand” theme park on the Montereau-Fault-Yonne site, just south of Paris, of the Emperor [Napoléon I](#)’s final meaningless victory — and here is an artist’s rendition of what that theme park may come to look like:

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

AUTRICHE

- 1 La Gloriette, Schoenbrunn
- 2 Le Manège de Wagram
- 3 Le Soleil d'Austerlitz (plantation)

ITALIE

- 1 Chateau des Strozzi
- 2 Aux quatre points les motifs de la pierre au sol, représentant le plus du pays comme le Chateau de Saint Cloud
- 3 L'Angle des Montagnes
- 4 La porte d'Arcade
- 5 Venise
- 6 L'Île d'Elbe
- 7 Centre d'équitation

FRANCE

- 1 La Corée
- 2 Le chateau de Malmaison
- 3 La réserve de kangourous
- 4 Le Chateau de Saint cloud
- 5 La Bastille
- 6 La Place de Grèce
- 7 La Machine infernale
- 8 Le Sacre de Notre Dame
- 9 Les bals du Louvre
- 10 Labyrinthes et fontaines
- 11 L'Orangerie de Saint Cloud
- 12 Coup de Chapeau
- 13 Le Bivouac
- 14 La Légion d'Honneur
- 15 Soldat de Napoléon (reproduction)
- 16 Les Cents Jours
- 17 Les Invalides



PRUSSE

- 1 Les Accords de Tilsit
- 2 Les Lais de Mazurie

RUSSIE

- 1 Le Kremlin
- 2 Le Palais des Glaces
- 3 Complexe de la Blagovest
- 4 L'Incendie de Moscou (reproduction)
- 5 La Cathédrale Saint-Basile

ORIENT

- 1 Topkapi
- 2 L'Araignée du Désert
- 3 Le Sphinx
- 4 Le Mont Thabor
- 5 Les Pyramides
- 6 Palais des Mamelouks
- 7 L'Aquarium
- 8 Les Fontaines d'Aboukir
- 9 Coup de Trafalgar
- 10 Centre de Thalasso

AMÉRIQUES

- 1 Le Village des Antilles
- 2 Némphée Géante
- 3 Serre et Volière
- 4 Le Village de Louisiane
- 5 L'Île de Sainte Hélène

M. Yves Jégo, who is backing this project, hopes to have construction work underway in 2014 and an opening date during the Year of Our Lord 2017. The theme park is charted to include a museum, a hotel, shops, restaurants, and a congress. One of the exhibits is being planned as a *reprise* of this beheading of King Louis XVI that had taken place in the Place de la Concorde,³³³ and also they are scheming to enable visitors to “ski” around frozen corpses of soldiers and horses on a “wintry” slope.

Famous Last Words:



“What school is more profitably instructive than the death-bed of the righteous, impressing the understanding with a convincing evidence, that they have not followed cunningly devised fables, but solid substantial truth.”

— A COLLECTION OF MEMORIALS CONCERNING DIVERS DECEASED MINISTERS, Philadelphia, 1787



333. Since this is the last thing in good taste, can I have the FreedomFries concession?

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

“The death bed scenes & observations even of the best & wisest afford but a sorry picture of our humanity. Some men endeavor to live a constrained life — to subject their whole lives to their will as he who said he might give a sign if he were conscious after his head was cut off — but he gave no sign Dwell as near as possible to the channel in which your life flows.”

—Thoreau’s JOURNAL, March 12, 1853

1681	Headman Ockanickon of the Mantas	the Mantas are the “Leaping Frogs” group of the Lenape tribe	<i>“Be plain and fair to all, both Indian and Christian, as I have been.”</i>
1692	Massachusetts Bay colonist Giles Corey	being pressed to death for refusing to cooperate in his trial for witchcraft	<i>“Add more weight that my misery may be the sooner ended.”</i>
1777	John Bartram	during a spasm of pain	<i>“I want to die.”</i>
1790	Benjamin Franklin	unsolicited comment	<i>“A dying man can do nothing easy.”</i>
1793	Louis Capet, King Louis XVI of France	being beheaded in the Place de la Concorde	<i>“I die innocent of all the crimes laid to my charge; I Pardon those who have occasioned my death; and I pray to God that the blood you are going to shed may never be visited on France.”</i>
1793	Jean-Paul Marat	reviewing a list of names	<i>“They shall all be guillotined.”</i>
1793	Citizen Marie Antoinette	stepping on the foot of her executioner	<i>“Pardonnez-moi, monsieur.”</i>
... other famous last words ...			



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER



July 17, Wednesday: [Alexander Mackenzie](#) reached the Bella Coola River at Friendly Village.

CANADA

In France, this was the 28th of Messidor in the Year One. The National Convention decided to eliminate all feudal dues without compensation. Charlotte Corday d'Armont became a victim of the "machine," because of her having stabbed to death Jean-Paul Marat in his bathtub. An assistant lifted her severed head and slapped its cheek, which, it is reported, blushed — for this impropriety, François le Gros would need to serve three months in prison.

HEADCHOPPING

Famous Last Words:



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STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

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This would-be nun’s headless corpse was then carried to a nearby hospital in order for the authorities to be able to determine in relative privacy whether or not this person had been “virginal intacta.” (If Corday had not been a virgin, of course, then her political act would have been further invalidated. Although the sketch made of her private parts by a medical student has since disappeared, we know that the consensus of this medical report indeed was that this young woman on her way to becoming a nun had been still virginal.)

THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

October 16 (the 24th of Vendemiaire in the Year One): Publication of two works by Jan Ladislav Dussek was announced in The Times of London (these were the Sonata for piano, flute and cello C.94 and the Rondo for piano C.95).

“Publication of Universal Praise,” an anthem by William Billings, was advertised in Boston’s Columbian Centinel.

French troops halted the Austrian advance at Wattignies south of Lille.

Nine months a widow, the corpse of her husband having been reduced to nothingness by means of quicklime, Citizen Joséphe Jeanne Marie Antoinette Habsburg Bourbon, a German noblewoman who had been the queen of the French, also took a ride in an open cart to become a victim of the “machine” in the Place de la Révolution (Place de la Concorde) of Paris. She would say to the crowd “Farewell, my children, forever — I go to your Father,” but those would not be her final words.

HEADCHOPPING

Famous Last Words:



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STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

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... other famous last words ...			



The event would be commemorated with a medallion:





STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1794

February 8, Saturday: The [pirates](#) Collins, Poleski, and Fertidi were [hanged](#) on [Boston Common](#).³³⁴

April 5 (the 16th of Germinal in the Year Two): George Jacques Danton, who had been a leader of the Revolution, became a victim of the “machine.”

HEADCHOPPING

Famous Last Words:



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—Thoreau’s JOURNAL, March 12, 1853

1794	George Jacques Danton	he had been convicted of not having made adequate use of the guillotine	<i>“Show my head to the people. It is worth seeing.”</i>
1798	Giovanni Casanova	having spent his life collecting sequentially and in tandem 132 pubic scalps	<i>“I have lived as a philosopher and died as a Christian.”</i>
1799	George Washington	fearing being buried alive (a common fear for that period), he was being heartily reassured by his physician	<i>“’Tis well.”</i>
1806	Charles Dickinson	he was dueling with Andrew Jackson	<i>“Why have you put out the lights?”</i>
1809	Thomas Paine	his physician asked whether he wished to believe Jesus to be the son of God	<i>“I have no wish to believe on that subject.”</i>
... other famous last words ...			

334. In this year, in Pennsylvania, [capital punishment](#) was being abandoned for all offenses other than 1st degree murder. In this year, in [Rhode Island](#), the pirate Charles Gibbs, who would be [hanged](#) on April 22, Friday, 1831 at Bellevue Prison of [New-York](#), was being born.

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

May 8, Thursday: Antoine-Laurent Lavoisier, who had been born in 1743-1794, had disproved the phlogiston theory, naming oxygen and discovered its importance in respiration and combustion. Here was a guy, I may opinion, who really knew how to think. His last letter: "I have had a fairly long life, above all a very happy one, and I think that I shall be remembered with some regrets and perhaps leave some reputation behind me. What more could I ask? The events in which I am involved will probably save me from the troubles of old age. I shall die in full possession of my faculties." Lavoisier was obliged to watch as the head of his father-in-law, Jacques Alexis Paulze, fell into the basket, before he himself stepped up to the machine that had come to be known as the Guillotine. His brain was then deprived of its oxygenated blood supply.



(He had indicated an intention to blink as long as he could after the decapitation — but no blinking was observed.)



March 12, Saturday: Some men endeavor to live a constrained life, to subject their whole lives to their wills, as he who said he would give a sign if he were conscious after his head was cut off, — but he gave no sign.

Theodore Dwight spoke before "The Connecticut Society, for the promotion of freedom and the relief of persons unlawfully holden in bondage," in Hartford, [Connecticut](#):

... The injustice of it has been generally, if not uniformly acknowledged; and the practice of it severely reprobated. But when the question of total abolition has been seriously put, it has met with steady opposition, and has hitherto miscarried, on the ground of political expediency - That is, it is confessed to be morally wrong, to subject any class of our fellow-creatures to the evils of slavery; but asserted to be

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STATE MURDER

politically right, to keep them in such subjection.... In this state indeed, and with the sincerest pleasure I make the remark, in consequence of the small number of slaves, the advancement of civilization, and the diffusion of a liberal policy, the situation of the Negroes is essentially different. Exposed to few severe punishments, and indulged in many amusements, compared with what is found in most other countries, they are here flourishing and happy. But even here they are slaves. The very idea embitters every enjoyment.

[SLAVERY](#)[ABOLITIONISM](#)

June 9, Monday (the 20th of Prairial in the Year Two): The head-chopping machine now famous as the [guillotine](#) was set up temporarily at the Place de la Bastille.

[HEADCHOPPING](#)

[William Bartram](#) was visited by some strollers, who tried to joke with him about those alligators he had allegedly fought.



William became noticeably nonresponsive and distant.

June 11 (the 22nd of Prairial in the Year Two): The head-chopping machine now famous as the [guillotine](#) was moved again, this time to the Barrière du Trône (now the Place de la Nation).

[HEADCHOPPING](#)

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

July: [Samuel Smith](#) met in Belton with two thieves, Fletcher and Gilbert, and formed with them a plan that they would break into the Boston home of a Deacon Phillips to steal his plate, and agreed to await them at a point in the woods some six miles southwest of Boston in order to convert their purloined plate into passable counterfeit silver coinage. He waited for two days at that spot in the woods, but as they did not appear and as he had no food, he left and, he alleged, never again heard of these two men or of their plan. (Later on, however, he would be caught hiking through the town of Groton with a pack full of this silver plate that had been purloined from the home of Deacon Phillips on his back.) Smith then met a person about fifty years of age using the name "Fluh," who allegedly had some plate stolen from "his honor [Governour??] Gill," but would allege that he did not become involved with this man. Not long after this Smith would be detected sneaking around with that indicative pack of silver on his back, as noted above, which would result in a sentence to 15 years in the Castle in Boston Harbor of which he would serve more than 2 years before escaping.



ESSENCE IS BLUR. SPECIFICITY,
THE OPPOSITE OF ESSENCE,
IS OF THE NATURE OF TRUTH.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

July 28, Monday: [Samuel Taylor Coleridge](#)'s 1st poems appeared in the Morning Chronicle.

In revolutionary [Paris](#) this was the 10th of Thermidor of the year Two. Maximilien de Robespierre, previously one of the dudes who was sending people off to get their heads lopped, became a victim of the head-lobbing machine now famous as the [guillotine](#).

HEADCHOPPING

**YOUR GARDEN-VARIETY ACADEMIC HISTORIAN INVITES YOU TO CLIMB
ABOARD A HOVERING TIME MACHINE TO SKIM IN METATIME BACK
ACROSS THE GEOLOGY OF OUR PAST TIMESLICES, WHILE OFFERING UP
A GARDEN VARIETY OF COGENT ASSESSMENTS OF OUR PROGRESSION.
WHAT A LOAD OF CRAP! YOU SHOULD REFUSE THIS HELICOPTERISH
OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORICAL PAST, FOR IN THE REAL WORLD THINGS
HAPPEN ONLY AS THEY HAPPEN. WHAT THIS SORT WRITES AMOUNTS,
LIKE MERE "SCIENCE FICTION," MERELY TO "HISTORY FICTION":
IT'S NOT WORTH YOUR ATTENTION.**



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1795

August 6, Thursday: At 3PM [Pomp](#), a black man about 28 years of age, was “carried in a cart, seated on his coffin, to the place of execution,” and [hanged](#) at [Ipswich](#) for having murdered his master, Captain Charles Furbush (1736-1795) of Andover.



Before his execution, he was carried into the meeting-house at 11 o'clock. Mr. Frisbie prayed and Mr. Dana preached from the words, “He that sheddeth man’s blood, by man shall his blood be shed.” Mr. Bradford of Rowley prayed at the gallows. Pomp remained unaffected through the whole of so awful a scene. He was directed to call on God for mercy, and he formally complied. His mind had been so little instructed and his heart so left to moral darkness, that he appeared to have no realizing perception of his guilt or of his danger in being suddenly sent into eternity. The little while he was under the care of the Ipswich ministers, they faithfully did what they could to correct the gross errors of his long neglected education.

Furbush had been given to saying things like “I might stay as long as I please at his house” and “he should not stay in this world forever,” and Pomp had taken this to mean that upon Furbush’s death “Mrs. Furbush and the farm would be mine.” Most of what we know of this is taken from a sixpence publication prepared by [Jonathan Plummer](#), “Dying Confession of Pomp, A Negro Man, Who Was Executed at Ipswich, on the 6th August, 1795, for Murdering Capt. Charles Furbush, of Andover, Taken from the Mouth of the Prisoner, and Penned by Jonathan Plummer, Jun.” (Newburyport: Jonathan Plummer; Blunt and March). Although portions of the text of the one surviving frayed copy of this are illegible, it appears that Pomp had been born in Guinea in 1767 and arrived in Boston with his parents “when I was about three months old.” We don’t know that the family arrived as [slaves](#) because the text merely indicates “My mother soon after our arrival in this Country gave me away to Mr. Abbot of Andover.” When, shortly after turning 16 in approximately 1783, Pomp had grown dissatisfied in the Abbot household, he had sought with “the Select men of Andover to know whether I had not a right to leave it” and they had counseled him that [slavery](#) was no more, he had better continue to serve Abbot. Then “after a while it came to pass that Capt. Furbush took a notion to have a black man; and applying to the Select men, obtained their consent that I should be his servant.” A particular point of friction would be being kept from going to meeting on Sundays. He would make several attempts to run away and when recaptured would be flogged. Waking at midnight on February 6, 1795, “impressed with an idea that I must get up and kill Capt. Furbush,” Pomp was horrified but “something still kept whispering in my ear, that now is your time! kill him now! now or never! now! now!” And so he crushed Furbush’s skull with an axe and returned to bed, until he was taken into custody in his chamber. While in jail cell Pomp was intrigued to notice that his skin tone was lightening, so that he became almost like a mulatto, suspecting this to be a sign of his redemption. As the noose was adjusted around his neck he began to pray “with great solemnity,” and continued until this prayer was cut off.

August 8, Saturday: The hanging of [Pomp](#) in [Ipswich, Massachusetts](#) on the 6th was reported in the [Impartial Herald](#).

(Let us hope that as part of its responsible reporting, this impartial herald pointed up the fact that there was no longer any such thing as [slavery](#) in Massachusetts.)



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1797

April 6, Thursday: John Stewart, who had robbed the home of Captain Rust on Prince Street in [Boston](#) and hidden the loot in a tomb on Copp's Hill, was [hanged](#) on Boston Common.

The Quintet for piano, oboe, clarinet, bassoon and horn op.16 by [Ludwig van Beethoven](#) was performed for the initial time, in Vienna.

Birth of Harriet Webster, 3d child of Rebecca Greenleaf Webster with [Noah Webster, Jr.](#) (she would marry William Chauncey Fowler).

**ESSENCES ARE FUZZY, GENERIC, CONCEPTUAL;
ARISTOTLE WAS RIGHT WHEN HE INSISTED THAT ALL TRUTH IS
SPECIFIC AND PARTICULAR (AND WRONG WHEN HE CHARACTERIZED
TRUTH AS A GENERALIZATION).**

October 12, Thursday: A black burglar who had set houses afire to create diversion, [Stephen Smith](#), was [hanged](#) on Boston Common, and his body given to local physicians for dissection.³³⁵

State Murder

"Stack of the Artist of Kouroo" Project

335. Clearly, this burglar [Stephen Smith](#), since he was black, was no relation to the burglar [Samuel Smith](#) who would in a few years be [hanged](#) in [Concord](#), who was white. Isn't it interesting, that we have a record that the body of the black burglar was turned over to local physicians for dissection, whereas we have no such record in regard to the body of the white burglar — despite the fact that, on the record of Samuel Smith's inconsequential life and series of crimes, he had been a no-account scumbag? (Apparently it wasn't a class thing, whose body got dissected and whose did not, but a race thing!)



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1798

October 1, Monday: In [Rhode Island](#), Hopkins Hudson was sentenced to be [hanged](#) for the murder of Rufus Randal of [Cranston](#).

The infant Orpah Bryant died in [Concord](#), Massachusetts without reaching her 1st birthday:

**“VIVENS,
DILECTISSIMA
ORPAH BRYANT.**

**BORN DECEMBER 24, 1797.
DIED OCTOBER 1, 1798.**

**SHE WAS THE JOY OF HER FATHER,
AND THE DELIGHT OF HER MOTHER**

MORTUA, LACHRYMABILLIMA.”

November 10, Saturday: Wolf Tone was tried in a military court in Dublin. He admitted that he was guilty of treason and asked to die by [firing squad](#).

November 11, Sunday: In prison in Dublin, Wolf Tone learned that he was to be [hanged](#). He would later cut his own throat seriously but not immediately fatally, and the doctors would save him for hanging.

November 12, Monday: [Johann Wolfgang von Goethe](#) wrote to [Friedrich Schiller](#): “Your letter found me ... in the *ILIAD*, to which I always return with delight. It is always as if one were in a balloon, far above everything earthly; as if one were truly in that intermediate zone where the gods float hither and thither.” (Goethe’s reference was to the balloon ascent of November 21, 1783, which had impressed him.)

November 14, Wednesday: The Captive of Spilberg, a musical drama by Jan Ladislav Dussek to words of Prince Hoare, was performed for the initial time, in Drury Lane Theatre, London. Reaction to the music was good, to the libretto, mixed.

**BETWEEN ANY TWO MOMENTS ARE AN INFINITE NUMBER OF MOMENTS,
AND BETWEEN THESE OTHER MOMENTS LIKEWISE AN INFINITE NUMBER,
THERE BEING NO ATOMIC MOMENT JUST AS THERE IS NO ATOMIC POINT
ALONG A LINE. MOMENTS ARE THEREFORE FIGMENTS. THE PRESENT
MOMENT IS A MOMENT AND AS SUCH IS A FIGMENT, A FLIGHT OF THE
IMAGINATION TO WHICH NOTHING REAL CORRESPONDS. SINCE PAST
MOMENTS HAVE PASSED OUT OF EXISTENCE AND FUTURE MOMENTS**



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

HAVE YET TO ARRIVE, WE NOTE THAT THE PRESENT MOMENT IS ALL
THAT EVER EXISTS — AND YET THE PRESENT MOMENT BEING A
MOMENT IS A FIGMENT TO WHICH NOTHING IN REALITY CORRESPONDS.

November 19, Monday: Wolf Tone [succumbed](#) to the throat wound he had inflicted on himself on November 11th.

November 22, Thursday: French troops defeated Flemish rebels at Diest, inflicting grievous losses.

November 24, Saturday: The French government placed a tax on doors and windows.

November 27, Tuesday: Louis Marie de La Revelliere, dit La Revelliere-Lepeaux replaced Jean-Baptiste Treilhard as President of the Executive Directory of France.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1799

Middle of June: According to the last and only sermon of [Samuel Smith](#) –the one he would deliver just before being hanged in Concord on December 26, 1799– in this timeframe he had been guilty of burglarizing a home in Sherburne: “I, in the Night Time, broke and entered the Houfe of one Joseph Richards, in Sherburne, and took therefrom fome Bacon, an old [Strainer??], and a Pair of Trowfers.”

BETWEEN ANY TWO MOMENTS ARE AN INFINITE NUMBER OF MOMENTS, AND BETWEEN THESE OTHER MOMENTS LIKEWISE AN INFINITE NUMBER, THERE BEING NO ATOMIC MOMENT JUST AS THERE IS NO ATOMIC POINT ALONG A LINE. MOMENTS ARE THEREFORE FIGMENTS. THE PRESENT MOMENT IS A MOMENT AND AS SUCH IS A FIGMENT, A FLIGHT OF THE IMAGINATION TO WHICH NOTHING REAL CORRESPONDS. SINCE PAST MOMENTS HAVE PASSED OUT OF EXISTENCE AND FUTURE MOMENTS HAVE YET TO ARRIVE, WE NOTE THAT THE PRESENT MOMENT IS ALL THAT EVER EXISTS — AND YET THE PRESENT MOMENT BEING A MOMENT IS A FIGMENT TO WHICH NOTHING IN REALITY CORRESPONDS.

June 20, Thursday night: [Samuel Smith](#) was passing through [Natick](#) when he window-peeked at the home of Esquire [Boden??], and about fifteen minutes after the wife had drunk a glass of spirits and gone to bed with her husband, he crept in and stole a watch and some money.

Austrian forces retook Modena and Reggio and restored Duke Ercole III Reinaldo.

June 21, Friday night: [Samuel Smith](#) broke into the store of Deacon Tucker of Sherburne and stole “a confiderable quantity of Englifh Goods, which I conveyed to the town of Sudbury, [nigh??] to the Houfe of one [Ifaac??] Moores, and left them in the Woods during the following day.” He would be apprehended when he returned to his cache of stolen goods, and Moores also would be taken into custody. They would be indicted on a capital charge of burglary in Cambridge in October 1799 “and tried for our lives.”

HANGING



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

October: [Samuel Smith](#) and [Ifaac??] Moores went on trial in Cambridge for the capital crime of burglary. Moores was found not to have been involved in the breaking and entering, and was thus convicted only of the lesser offense of theft and was not sentenced to be hanged. Smith, however, was found guilty of the full capital crime, and was therefore condemned to be [hanged](#) at [Concord](#). During his last and only sermon, before his hanging, he would warn his Concord audience to “beware of [Ifaac??] Moores and his family.”

After [Christmas](#): The 54-year-old burglar [Samuel Smith](#) was taken to the [Concord](#) church to be one of the recipients of the Reverend [Ezra Ripley](#)'s special sermon. Mr. Ripley rose to the occasion:

Mr. RIPLEY'S SERMON, Delivered on the Day of the Execution of SAMUEL SMITH. LOVE TO OUR NEIGHBOUR EXPLAINED and URGED in a SERMON, delivered at Concord, Massachusetts, December 26, 1799, Being the Day on which Samuel Smith was executed for *Burglary*. By EZRA RIPLEY, A.M. Minister of Concord.

He took his text from MATTHEW xxii. 39: “THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOR AS THYSELF.”

The reasoning which he employed was the same as if he had been Draco of Athens in 621BCE, or a bearded Taliban cleric enforcing the *QUR'AN* by hanging the town drunk in Afghanistan in the Year of Our Lord 2000: if you break the law of God even once even in the slightest way then you deserve to be put to death.

It is not good enough that you be a good neighbor to some neighbors, for you have been obligated to be a good neighbor to all your neighbors all the time. Loving your mother is great, but everybody loves their mother. Your father may have abused you but that's none of our business here. As a Christian individual you need to forgive others their transgressions against you but Christian society has no similar obligation to forgive individuals for transgressions. A human by being appointed as a judge becomes entitled to play God.

THE crime, which is this day to be capitally punished, is a direct violation of the law of love to our neighbour. The words read will not, therefore, it is presumed, be thought unfuitable for the theme of a discourse, on the present very solemn and affecting occasion. They are very concise and simple in expression; but their meaning is great, their contents are weighty and extremely interesting to individuals and to society. [There follows a commandment-by-commandment review of the Ten Commandments, in which we find:] ... The sixth aims directly at the heart. It forbids coveting the property and enjoyments of our neighbour; and implies that we be contented with such things as we have by the allotments of Providence, and can procure by honest industry. The coveting, which is a violation of the divine law of love to our neighbour, is an earnest desire to possess and enjoy the possessions and comforts of other people, without regard to equity and justice. To covet in this sense is sinful; and it prompts to unrighteous measures to obtain the things coveted. It induces deception, fraud, stealing, and the most atrocious crimes. Thus, to covet is the corrupt fountain whence flow those injurious vices, which frequently scourge individuals and society. This is the bitter root from which spring up fraud, injustice, stealing, robbery, and, sometimes, murder. According to the confession of the unhappy convict before us, all his crimes, which have more directly procured prosecutions, prisons, punishments (and I may add, the gallows) may be traced to this secret, fruitful, and corrupt source.... But as one perfection of God cannot be in such a sense infinite, as to infringe on any one other perfection, so neither does christian benevolence interfere with the proper exercise of justice, even when it inflicts pain and punishment. Love to others, to society, to ourselves, may require us, in a due course of law, to abridge the natural and civil liberty of



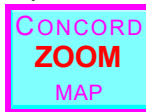
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individuals, to inflict punishment on offenders, and even to take away the life of malefactors, whose abuse of liberty, vicious conduct, and continuance in life are dangerous to the peace and happiness of individuals and the community. ...Love to society, to the great body of the people, frequently requires the execution of justice on individuals in pains and penalties.

Tortured property logic this, logic which Draco of Athens could have deployed to sanction any atrocity. True, this convict was a mere house burglar and house burglary is not in itself a capital offense, but being a house burglar amounts under our law to exactly the same thing as intending to commit murder (since “house-breakers for the purpose of stealing, intend to commit murder, if it be found necessary to prevent detection”) and we can reflect that it was perhaps only owing to the restraining grace of God and to circumstances, that this one did not ever in fact get to the point of the shedding of innocent blood.

[Samuel Smith](#) was then escorted from the [Concord](#) church by the Reverend [Ripley](#) and his flock, to the field east of the town’s new burying-ground, which probably was not yet being termed “Sleepy Hollow” but which at that time was still “Deacon Brown’s pretty pasture, circled with a ridge of oaks and pines ... reached only by a lane” and in use for group pic-nics, as a militia training field, and for the annual Cattle Show. There, having reached a likely spot, he was [hanged](#) by the neck until he was dead.³³⁶



FIGURING OUT WHAT AMOUNTS TO A “HISTORICAL CONTEXT” IS WHAT THE CRAFT OF HISTORICIZING AMOUNTS TO, AND THIS NECESSITATES DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN THE SET OF EVENTS THAT MUST HAVE TAKEN PLACE BEFORE EVENT E COULD BECOME POSSIBLE, AND MOST CAREFULLY DISTINGUISHING THEM FROM ANOTHER SET OF EVENTS

336. Bear in mind here that burglary is not ordinarily now considered a capital crime, it was merely that in the case of this [Samuel Smith](#) just about every other method of social control had already been attempted, up to and including the mutilation of the man’s ears. How much more lenient they were in the 18th Century with the burglar Smith, than they had been with similar burglars in the previous century! Governor John Winthrop’s law had been, in furtherance of the commandment “Thou shalt not steal,” that “If any person shall commit burglary, by breaking up any dwelling house, or shall rob any person in the field or highways, such person so offending, shall be for the first offence, branded on the forehead with the letter (B).” His penalty for a second offense was that the burglar be “branded as before and severely whipped,” and his penalty for a third such offense was that “he shall be put to death as being incorrigible.” Three strikes and you’re out. Smith had had a lot more chances than three. Because property conferred status, property could be more important than life itself. Did [John Thoreau](#), age 12, arrive in Concord in time to attend this curious church ceremony and graveyard ceremony, and if so, did he, in 1828 when John Thoreau, Jr. was 12 and David Henry Thoreau was 10, tell them about this experience he had had at that same age? This could not have been a race case, in consideration of the differential penalty exacted by the state in the Washington Goode case some half-century later—Goode having been [hanged](#) in Boston rather than consigned to imprisonment at hard labor for the remainder of his natural life for a crime of passion obviously for one reason and one reason only, that he was black—for, since our recorders have not bothered to state of what race the hanged Samuel Smith was, then obviously he must have been a white man. EARLY AMERICAN IMPRINTS. FIRST SERIES; no. 36321 (Main-Microforms Microfiche M 00235 no. 36321): Smith, Samuel, 1745-1799. LAST WORDS AND DYING SPEECH OF SAMUEL SMITH, WHO WAS EXECUTED AT CONCORD, IN THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX, AND COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, THE 26TH OF DECEMBER, A.D. 1799, FOR THE CRIME OF BURGLARY. Signed: Samuel Smith. Concord gaol, Dec. 26, 1799. One page; mourning border surrounds text in three columns and measures 42.6 x 29.2 centimeters. This was printed by Benjamin Edes in Kilby-Street, Boston to be sold at Mr. Reuben Bryant’s book-store in Concord. We have two forms of this. The first has the imprint as given above, and in addition has a relief cut of a coffin at head of title. The second, without the coffin image, bears the imprint: “To be sold at Mr. Reuben Bryant’s bookstore, Concord.—Also at Edes’s printing-office, Kilby-Street Boston.”

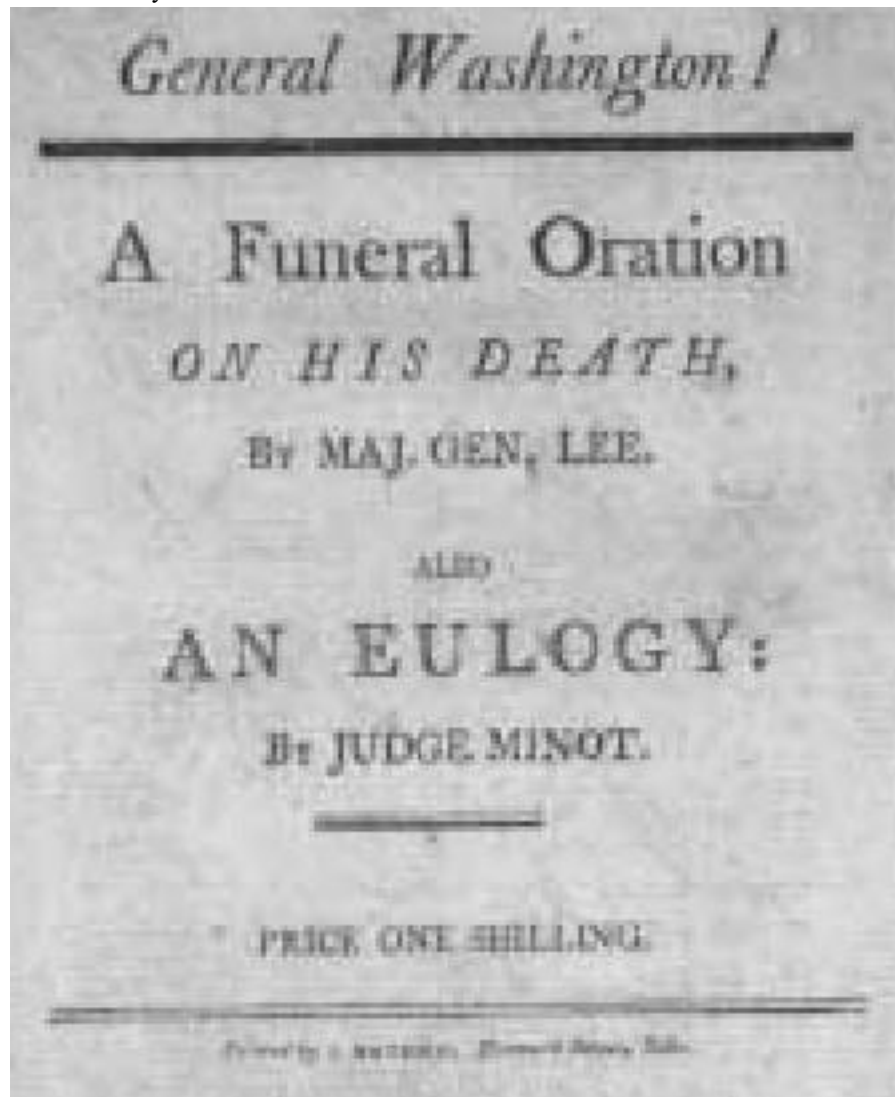


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THAT COULD NOT POSSIBLY OCCUR UNTIL SUBSEQUENT TO EVENT E.

December 26, Thursday: Funeral celebrations were being held all across America. The recently deceased George Washington was being eulogized by Colonel Henry “Light Horse Harry” Lee as “1st in war, 1st in peace & 1st in hearts of his countrymen.”





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In [Concord](#), Massachusetts, the house burglar [Samuel Smith](#) concluded his first, last, and only sermon, before the rope was placed around his neck, by declaring, as it has been recorded: “*Since I was 27 years of age, hard fortune has been my lot ; Theft my living, Gaols my habitation, and very foon the Gallows will be my companion — I fhall in a few hours be beyond the Grave [sic] ; and I pray GOD, I may enter that part of the invifible World, where Thieves do not break through and fteal. I have now to perform my laft Duty to my Fellow-Creatures, which is, to warn them all to fhun every Kind of Sin and in particular, that Sin, which has brought me to the Gallows.*” Although Samuel’s father was deceased, his mother was still alive and “much inclined to the Christian Religion” as of the day of her son’s execution. The convict would be survived also by four brothers and two sisters who were said to be in good standing in their communities, as well as by five minor children of his own who would soon “hear of the fhameful death of their wretched Parent.” We have no indication that any member of Smith’s family had appeared in Concord during the church service or the hanging,³³⁷ and we have no record that anyone claimed the body for burial.³³⁸ I think it can fairly be presumed, however, that the 12-year-old [John Thoreau](#) was present for this church service and then for this [hanging](#), and that the experience left its mark on his attitudes, including on his attitude toward [capital punishment](#).

337. This is mostly derived from a broadsheet that was put out at the time, illustrated with a black image of a coffin and titled LAFT WORDS AND DYING SPEECH OF SAMUEL SMITH, WHO WAS EXECUTED AT CONCORD, IN THE COUNTY OF MIDDLEFEX, AND COMMONWEALTH OF MAFFACHUFETTS, THE 26TH OF DECEMBER, A. D. 1799, FOR THE CRIME OF BURGLARY.

338. Clearly, this house burglar [Samuel Smith](#), since he was white, was no relation to the burglar [Stephen Smith](#) who had a few years before been [hanged](#) on Boston Common and then dissected — who had been black. Isn’t it interesting, that we have a record that the body of the black burglar was turned over to local physicians for dissection, whereas we have no such record in regard to the body of the white burglar — despite the fact that, on the record of Samuel Smith’s inconsequential life and series of crimes, he had been a no-class scumbag? (Apparently it wasn’t a class thingie, whose body got dissected and whose did not, but a race thingie!)

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1800

➡ The Reverend [Ezra Ripley](#) had been so distressed at the [hanging](#) in [Concord](#) of the burglar [Samuel Smith](#) just after the previous [Christmas](#), that in this year he allowed publication of the sermon which he had preached to the condemned just before his execution, “Love to our neighbour explained and urged: in a sermon, delivered at Concord, Massachusetts, December 26, 1799, being the day on which Samuel Smith was executed for burglary.” The material was “[p]ublished for the benefit of criminals,” in Boston, by Samuel Hall of Number 53, Cornhill. We note an interesting detail, that the reverend had not been able to resist adding somewhat to his sermon after the fact, along the line of pointing his audience toward the necessity of being constant and faithful church attenders.

Also, for the benefit of criminals, and as a cautionary object for the local children, the gallows on which Smith had been hanged out at the Sleepy Hollow parade ground would be placed on permanent display in the Concord courthouse.³³⁹

**YOU HAVE TO ACCEPT EITHER THE REALITY OF TIME OVER THAT OF
CHANGE, OR CHANGE OVER TIME — IT’S PARMENIDES, OR
HERACLITUS. I HAVE GONE WITH HERACLITUS.**

339. This [Concord](#) courthouse became the place of public display of the gallows upon which a local house burglar, [Samuel Smith](#), was hung at the end of 1799 — until with this macabre and tasteless display of judicial power it was consumed in the flames of an arsonist in 1849. Here, since we do not have an image of the apparatus upon which the house burglar had been hanged, as a substitute macabre and tasteless display, is an image of the chair that Massachusetts used for its final [electrocutions](#), at Charlestown in 1947, producing the deaths of Edward Gertson and Philip Bellino. The chair is not on display (tastes about this sort of think have obviously changed somewhat), but a photo was taken of it in a storage room at the state prison in Walpole in 1974.



HDT

WHAT?

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MR. RIPLEY'S SERMON,

DELIVERED ON THE DAY OF THE EXECUTION OF

SAMUEL SMITH.

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LOVE TO OUR NEIGHBOUR
EXPLAINED AND URGED

IN A

S E R M O N,

DELIVERED

AT CONCORD, MASSACHUSETTS,

DECEMBER 26, 1799,

Being the Day on which SAMUEL SMITH
was executed for *Burglary*.

By EZRA RIPLEY, A.M.

Minister of Concord.

Published for the Benefit of Criminals.



Printed by SAMUEL HALL, No. 53, Cornhill, BOSTON.
1800.

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MATTHEW xxii. 39.

THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR AS THYSELF.

THE crime, which is this day to be capitally punished, is a direct violation of the law of love to our neighbour. The words read will not, therefore, it is presumed, be thought unsuitable for the theme of a discourse, on the present very solemn and affecting occasion. They are very concise and simple in expression; but their meaning is great, their contents are weighty and extremely interesting to individuals and to society.

I shall endeavour to show,

First, The true meaning of the law of love to our neighbour in its nature and extent;

Secondly, The reasonableness and obligation of this law; and, then, make improvement by way of inference and application.

First. I am to show the true meaning of the law of love to our neighbour in its nature and extent.

It pleased God to create man in his own moral likeness; to endue him with knowledge to understand the divine character and his own duty; with rectitude of mind and holy principles of action, that he might obey his Maker, and be the object of his complacency. On the understanding and heart of
man

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man the Lord wrote two comprehensive and unalterable laws, viz. Love to God, and Love to men.—These were to him the rule and covenant of life. Accordingly, Jesus Christ, who taught the will of God in perfection, when this question was put to him, “Which is the great commandment of the law?” answered, “Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.”

Although by the sinful lapse of man our nature is so depraved, that we are prone to transgress, and our moral powers are so debilitated, that we cannot render perfect obedience; and, in boundless compassion, a Saviour is provided, to redeem us from sin and the curse of the law; yet Jesus Christ “came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it.”* He came not to lower its demands and weaken its obligations, but to obey it perfectly for man; not to excuse any from the duties enjoined, nor to tolerate the least sin, but to exemplify its perfect morals, and aid us in sincere and universal imitation of himself. This law, therefore, is now our rule of life. Sincere obedience to it is a service most reasonable, useful, and necessary.

Love is one of the primary affections of the mind, and always inclines us to will and to do whatever appears to be right and good. It is the opposite of hatred, which invariably prompts to sin, unless it be directed against sin itself. Love to God exhibits itself in reverence and worship, admiration and praise, obedience and gratitude, confidence and trust. When this affection is in proper exercise, and the divine character is rightly apprehended, it becomes compla-

* Matth. v. 17.

cency,

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ency, and is productive of joy and delight. Love to our neighbour expresses itself in good will and kindness, truth and justice, righteousness and charity. And when real amiableness of character is perceived, love surpasses the ordinary bounds of benevolence, and is refined into complacency, the result of which is harmony and happiness.

Let us now attend particularly to the *second* table of the law, love to our neighbour, which enjoins all relative and social duties, and prohibits all the contrary vices. These precepts, which are six in number, and begin with the fifth in the decalogue, have respect to all stations and relations in life, and extend as well to the desires of the heart, as to the outward actions. The *first* enjoins on children all due honour and obedience towards their parents; and with equal reason, on parents, all proper affection and care towards children. It requires all suitable respect to superiors, kindness to equals, and condescension to inferiors, and prohibits every sentiment and action inconsistent with these virtues. The *second* is, Thou shalt not kill; and forbids every disposition and action, which tends to injure the life and health of our neighbour, with all hatred, malice, and revenge; and requires a sincere desire and endeavour to preserve his life and health, and to promote his happiness. The *third* prohibits the violation of the marriage covenant and every kind and degree of lewdness, and requires chastity in heart, speech, and behaviour. The *fourth* is, Thou shalt not steal. By this command, all theft, burglary, robbery, fraud, counterfeiting the currency and legal writings, and whatever tends unjustly to deprive our neighbour of his property, is absolutely prohibited; and the opposite virtues, by parity of reason and full implication, are

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are strictly commanded. The *fifth* utterly forbids all perjury, lying, falsehood, and prevarication ; and implicitly enjoins on every man, to speak the truth to his neighbour in conversation and in witness bearing, whether he speak without or under the obligation of an oath. The *sixth* aims directly at the heart. It forbids coveting the property and enjoyments of our neighbour ; and implies that we be contented with such things as we have by the allotments of Providence, and can procure by honest industry. The coveting, which is a violation of the divine law of love to our neighbour, is an earnest desire to possess and enjoy the possessions and comforts of other people, without regard to equity and justice. To covet in this sense is sinful ; and it prompts to unrighteous measures to obtain the things coveted. It induces deception, fraud, stealing, and the most atrocious crimes. Thus, to covet is the corrupt fountain whence flow those injurious vices, which frequently scourge individuals and society. This is the bitter root from which spring up fraud, injustice, stealing, robbery, and, sometimes, murder. According to the confession of the unhappy convict before us, all his crimes, which have more directly procured prosecutions, prisons, punishments (and I may add, the gallows) may be traced to this secret, fruitful, and corrupt source. There is a sense in which it is virtuous to covet, viz. to “ covet earnestly the best gifts.” We may ardently desire to excel in goodness and usefulness, and for this purpose, to be distinguished by endowments. But this desire having for its objects spiritual things and the benefit of men, is the very opposite in its nature and effects to that sinful lusting, or coveting, after evil things, and things to which we have no just right.

That

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That such, as above stated, is the true meaning of love to our neighbour, is evident from a great number of passages in the sacred scriptures. To cite one only may be sufficient to our present purpose.—“ Render therefore to all their dues ; tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour. Owe no man any thing, but to love one another : for he that loveth another hath fulfilled the law. For this, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness, Thou shalt not covet ; and if there be any other commandment (that is, enjoining relative duties) it is briefly comprehended in this saying, viz. Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.”*

The sense of the text will be more perspicuous, whilst we attend to the *nature* of love. It is a true character given in scripture of the Deity, that he “ is a God of peace, and not of confusion :” and a more perfect one, when it is said, “ God is love.” Hence all moral duty, all religion, which is designed to make men good, holy, and happy like God, is summed up in love. The moral law is a transcript of the divine mind, and consists summarily in love to God and love to men. According to this statement, it is evident that love to our neighbour is of the same nature and kind, as the love of God to men. He hath for men a love of benevolence and a love of complacency, which he expresses, as they are by moral character qualified to receive.

I will now distinctly consider love to our neighbour in both these operations.

The love of benevolence intends a disposition to do good to our neighbour, and an actual exhibition of the inward purpose. There must be both the willing

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* Rom. xiii. 7, 8, 9.

mind

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mind and the actual performance of good deeds. True benevolence is therefore totally opposed to all hatred, violence, injustice, and unkindness in disposition and behaviour. "Love worketh no ill to his neighbour."* Nor must this exercise of benevolence be the result merely of a casually unruffled state of the passions, nor be limited by particular occasions and circumstances; but it must be the prevailing bias and the habitual frame of the mind and heart. Neither is it dependent on the temper and treatment of others; but it is the most prominent and permanent feature of the soul towards our neighbour, which both really and apparently includes and gives complexion and life to all the other features. A person truly benevolent would feel a disposition to do good and to make his fellow creatures happy, though not one of them were disposed to receive his kindness, or to be grateful for his favours. In this, as he ought, he resembles God, who causeth his sun to rise and his rain to fall, as well on the evil, as on the good, as well on the ungrateful, as on the thankful. Otherwise, the benevolence of a person would be measured by the worthiness or unworthiness of the objects. In this case, multitudes would not have the least benevolence shown them, for they are wholly unworthy.

But as one perfection of God cannot be in such a sense infinite, as to infringe on any one other perfection, so neither does christian benevolence interfere with the proper exercise of justice, even when it inflicts pain and punishment. Love to others, to society, to ourselves, may require us, in a due course of law, to abridge the natural and civil liberty of individuals, to inflict punishment on offenders, and even to take away the life of malefactors, whose abuse of liberty, vicious conduct, and continuance in life are

* Rom. xiii. 10.

dangerous

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dangerous to the peace and happiness of individuals and the community. The law of love commands, and government is obliged, as far as possible, to preserve the peace and order of society, and the quiet possession of life, liberty, and property to individuals. Persons the most humane and benevolent, are, sometimes, constrained by the law, by a sense of duty, of justice, and benevolence to punish offenders, for whom they have pity and compassion, and whom they would joyfully relieve, could they do it in consistence with equity and fidelity. Love to society, to the great body of the people, frequently requires the execution of justice on individuals in pains and penalties. From this view it is evident that the love of benevolence due to our neighbour, is of the same nature with the disposition and moral character of God, who is infinite in benevolence.

The love we owe to our fellow-men resembles that of Deity in another respect, viz. in distinguishing between the objects of kindness and the objects of complacency. And it is only when love is considered, as complacency, that it is limited by the character of the persons loved. To this operation of love I will briefly speak.

Love becomes complacency only when the object is possessed of good and amiable moral qualities. As God, who scatters blessings on the evil and the good, hath complacency only in the good; so christians, however affectionate and charitable they may be, can have complacency only in the virtuous and good, who are possessed of such amiable qualities, as answer to their ideas of moral beauty. There is no religious harmony between the virtuous and vicious, though the latter as well as the former may possess many agreeable qualifications. Natural and acquired accomplishments

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accomplishments may engage our natural affections and give us real satisfaction, as social beings : but without moral goodness there can be no religious complacency and mutual delight. "For what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness ? and what communion hath light with darkness ? and what concord hath Christ with Belial ? or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel ? and what agreement hath the temple of God with idols ?" We are liable, however, through ignorance and error in judgment, to withhold our complacency from some to whom it is due, and to bestow it on others really unworthy.

The qualifying words in our text, *as thyself*, are designed to express the quality, rather than the degree of love. To love our neighbour as ourselves, is, to exercise towards him the same kind of tender affection, benevolent disposition, and friendly care, which we do for ourselves. This construction answers all the purposes, and preserves the force and perfection, of the precept, without involving any absurdity, or discouraging human exertions. Some persons, perhaps, may love some other, as much, as they do themselves, in some respects at least : but this sense is not enjoined, I conceive, as the rule and measure for all men. The same kind of attention, care, and endeavour, which we generally have for our own person, character, interest, and happiness being exercised towards our neighbour, is to love him as ourselves. In this light I understand the precept.

The *extent* of this law under consideration next demands attention.

Our blessed Saviour hath taught us by the story of the man, who fell among thieves, that we are to look upon all men as our neighbours, and especially, when

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when we have any concerns with them, and opportunity to show them kindness. Our Lord, on having this question put to him, "Who is my neighbour ?" answered, "A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves, which stripped him of his raiment, and wounded him, and departed, leaving him half dead. And by chance, there came down a certain priest that way ; and when he saw him, he passed by on the other side. And likewise a Levite, when he was at the place, came and looked on him, and passed by on the other side. But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was ; and when he saw him, he had compassion on him, and went to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine, and set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him. And on the morrow, when he departed, he took out two pence, and gave them to the host, and said unto him, Take care of him, and whatsoever thou spendest more, when I come again, I will repay thee. Which now of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbour to him that fell among the thieves ? And he said, he that shewed mercy on him. Then said Jesus unto him, go, and do thou likewise."* It is worthy notice, that the unfortunate man was a Jew ; the priest and Levite, who neglected him, were of the same nation ; but the real neighbour was a Samaritan ; and such alienation and enmity subsisted between the Jews and Samaritans, that the former had no dealings with the latter. It is here clearly set forth, that we are to consider all men as our neighbours, and that we are bound by the law of love, to aid and relieve the necessitous, whenever we have opportunity and ability.

All this is perfectly consistent with self-defence,

* Luke x. 30, &c.

and

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and even taking the life of an enemy, when he will not cease to behave inimically on easier terms. I speak here only of public enemies and private assassins and robbers, who threaten, or endeavour, to destroy life. Ordinary personal enemies should be the objects of our love of benevolence. Our Lord commands, "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you." If we love our friends only, what reward have we? Do not even publicans and sinners the same?

Our affection may be proportioned to the nearness and dearness of relations. But I will not enlarge on this idea. One observation farther ought not to be omitted. It is the command of Christ, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye the same unto them." In this precept, there is no exception of persons or characters. Whatsoever ye would, or could, in reason and propriety, desire men to do unto you, in present, or change of, circumstances, that do ye unto them; that is the rule of your duty, the measure of your conduct towards them.

Should a transgressor of the useful and necessary laws of society, suffering punishment for evil doing, say, I would that men take no cognizance of my crimes, or that they release me from prison, and excuse me from punishment, it would be altogether unreasonable. The offender ought to query thus, Would I, that men should do unto me and mine, as I have done unto them and theirs? Would I, that they should follow such pernicious practices to my detriment, as I have followed to their injury? And were I in their place and they in mine, would I, or could I, in reason and justice, release them from prison and punishment, and suffer them to pursue their vile and

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mischievous career without interruption? Such queries properly made and answered, are sufficient to silence the complaint of oppression to sufferers for evil doing, and to suppress, in criminals under punishment, that spirit of hatred and revenge against government and people, which they too frequently indulge and exhibit. Their revenge should turn upon themselves and their own evil practices, and not on society, which is obliged in self-defence, and in love to others, to discipline them by the civil law, "which is made, not for a righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient."*

There are two essential properties of love, viz. sincerity and impartiality, which merit some attention in this place. But they are so far obviously implied in the preceding, and I have already been lengthy in explanation, that barely to mention them must suffice. I proceed

Secondly, To show the reasonableness and obligation of the law of love to our neighbour.

The *reasonableness* of this law appears in its adaptation to the nature, powers, condition, and exigencies of man. "God hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on the face of the earth;" and hath given to all the same general nature and destination, the same wants and obligations. We are all members of the same great family, and are necessarily connected by mutual desires, attachments, and wants. Our intellectual powers, social faculties, and animal propensities, our condition in the world, our dependence on each other, and our exigencies, being in general the same, it is most fit and reasonable that we be under the obligation of the law of good-will and kindness, of reciprocal affection and aid; and this law is properly expressed by the words, benevo-

* 1 Tim. i. 9.

lence,

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lence, love, charity. Our nature and condition in this life demand, and our rational and social faculties dictate, mutual expressions of love and kindness. All the understanding of man, and all the reason and fitness of things, require, approve, and urge this divine law of love to our neighbour.

The vast benefit, which results from the exercise of love, and the destructive evils, which follow the opposite, farther prove the reasonableness of this law. The happiness to individuals, to families, and to all societies, which is the genuine fruit of love, is beyond all calculation and description. The full exercise of love towards all our relations, society, and the whole family of man, is itself a state of happiness, especially if it be accompanied by love to God. And when love is the principle, the spring, the rule of action in all the members of a family, society, or world, the whole must be most pleased and blest. There would be no discord, jealousies, nor fears; no hatred, malice, nor revenge; no injustice, fraud, nor pilfering, no violence, oppression, nor falsehood; no coveting, discontent, nor repining; no intemperance, lewdness, nor idleness; no disobedience to parents, neglect of children, nor disrespect to constituted authorities. There would be no need of penal laws, prisons, and corporal punishments. Every family, society, and the world, would be a heaven in kind.

But on the other hand, what countless evils, what sin and misery naturally and necessarily flow from the opposite principles and practices, to individuals, to families, and to society! Let us suppose, for a moment, the entire cessation of love, and the full operation of hatred one to another, and of all those corrupt lusts and passions, which spring up in the human heart. Every man would covet, and then steal,

or

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or violently seize the things of his neighbour. The more artful and mighty would prey upon the more weak and defenceless. Injustice and rapine would be the order of every day; and mutual fears, plots, contentions, violence, and murder, would be only the more conspicuous lines in the horrible portrait. Parents would be against children, and children against parents; husbands and wives would be plagues to each other, and brothers, sisters, connexions, and neighbours, would be mutual tormentors. Even natural affection would cease to operate under the reign of hatred; friendship would be unknown; and people would often become murderers of fathers, of mothers, of children, and deadly enemies to all about them on every trivial occasion. The general consent and practice would be, to bite and devour one another, and the unavoidable consequence would be complicated wretchedness and destruction. Every family, every society, if societies properly speaking could subsist, and the world itself would be a hell in fort, and a lively picture of the infernal regions. Who doth not see the boundless reason of love to our neighbour, and the necessity of it to human happiness and moral excellence!

To what has been said very little need be added, to show the *obligation* of this law on every one of the human race. Its obligation results from its reasonableness, its utility, the necessity of it to the happiness of men, and to the very existence of social order and civil society, and from the authority of God in the command. We have shown the reasonableness, the utility, and the necessity of such a law; its obligation on us, therefore, is manifest and undeniable. While the nature and condition of man shall be, as they now are, so long we shall be indissolubly bound by the

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the law of love. In its very nature it is unalterable and perpetual; for the duties required originate in the eternal reason and fitness of things, and in the moral nature, relations, and condition of man. "Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled."* We must, therefore, obey this law of love in the sincerity of our hearts, and look by faith to Jesus Christ, as the end of the law for righteousness, or suffer for ever the penalty, the just punishment of our transgressions.

The obligation of this law appears farther, as it is joined by the authority of the eternal God. It is because, he gave the commands because they were, and are, replete with reason and goodness, most suitable and needful. But whatever God commands, whether be a moral or positive law, is obligatory on us, and the more so, if possible, in proportion to the manifest reason and fitness of the law. I will only add, on this article, they who presume to condemn this authority and disobey this law, must, one day, experience, unless they repent of sin and believe in Christ, what it is to fall under the wrath of God and the curse of this law without remedy or hope.

IMPROVEMENT.

1. The allowed transgressors of the law of love to their neighbour, have not the love of God in them, nor his love of complacency towards them: but they are enemies to him by a sinful disposition and by wicked works. "For this is the love of God, that we keep his commandments."† "And if a man say, I love God, and hate his brother, he is a liar; for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?"

Matt. v. 18. Luke xvi. 17. † 1 John, v. 3.

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seen?"† There is an inseparable connexion between the two great commandments of the law. Unfeigned obedience to both, according to the gospel, is necessary to prove the renovation of our minds, the goodness of our hearts, and qualification for the blissful presence of God.

2. The transgression of this law renders necessary dreary prisons, pecuniary and corporal punishments in a course of civil law, and occasions vast infelicity and expense to the peaceable and virtuous members of society. Were it not for sins against our neighbour, yon dismal jail would be unnecessary. Those iron doors and bolts might be converted into instruments of agriculture. Idleness and vice, complaints and groans, oaths and imprecations, misery and wretchedness, would there no longer wound our sensibility and pain our hearts. No more would wretched criminals be doomed to smart beneath the painful scourge, nor mount the shameful pillory to bear the public scorn, and in their flesh receive the indelible marks of infamy and vice. The now intended use of yonder fatal gallows might be changed. Instead of a machine to take the precious life, and send a fellow-mortal to the world of spirits, it might be used to shelter, or to warm, the shivering limbs of poor and virtuous families. Instead of all this solemn pomp, this awful scene, this terrible parade of execution, at the sight of which compassion mourns, and pity weeps, each countenance bespeaks deep felt concern, and every nerve perceives unusual tremor; instead, I say, of this new trial of humanity to most of us, we might be quietly in search of sacred truth, or with united hearts and voice, proclaiming praise to God for blessings social, civil, and religious, or, in the private walks of life, engaged in pleasing offices of

† 1 John iv. 20.

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of love. O, the happiness of this reverse! And O, how much to be lamented is the want of universal love to neighbours!

3. Love to society joins with self love in punishing the transgressors of this law. We form the social compact, institute civil government, enact laws, authorise judiciary courts, for the great purpose of preserving, in peace and safety, our property, our life, our civil and sacred rights and privileges. By thus entering into the obligations of civil society, we agree most solemnly, to aid and defend each other and the whole body against every one, who shall trespass on society or an individual. We should at once violate all our social and civil obligations, and expose ourselves to rapine and ruin, were we not to rise against the criminal invaders of private and public rights and property. We are bound by love and duty to each individual and the whole community, to support the order of society, and to aid the execution of the laws against the wicked disturbers of private persons and society. In the painful task of inflicting punishment on offenders, we are actuated by love, duty, conscience, and faithfulness; and ill-will, hatred, and revenge, have no part in this business. The same principles, doubtless, actuate government, which is the people by civil constitution. This consideration should prevent the indulgence and even the rising of enmity in the breasts of criminals against the government, the legislature, judicial courts, jurors, and executive officers. The motives, which prompt to punish, are the very opposite to those, which incited to acts of wickedness.

4. They who steal, break up and plunder houses and stores, set fire to buildings, rob travellers, secretly take or destroy the property of others by art or violence,

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violence, commit murder, or otherwise wilfully endanger the life of another, are in a state of real hostility against society and the individual members of it. They are governed by hatred to their neighbour, and by those base passions, which follow in her train. In the perpetration of the less atrocious of those crimes, their hatred may seem to them, to wear only the appearance of coveting, dishonesty, and injustice; to indulge which they feel strongly inclined. They may even imagine that they harbour no ill-will towards any person, and may in reality be kind to some neighbours,* who are situated near to them, and whose friendship and aid they frequently need. But they know not their own selves. They are deceived by a false colouring. The truth is, they are in heart and life the allowed enemies of society; and a change of local neighbours and circumstances would prove them such in every direction. Not love and goodness, but hatred and injustice reign in them, and have dominion over them. Cupidity, avarice, revenge, or some peculiar circumstances, may be the immediate spur, but the principle is hatred, or, to say the least, the absence of love gives an opening for the operation of the vile and malignant passions.

5. To exercise and cultivate love to our neighbour is of the highest importance. Thus doing, we may be harmonious and happy in all the various stages and circumstances of ordinary life. But in the contrary, we must be miserable in this world and in that which is to come. Without love to our neighbour, we are pests in society, and are prepared for

* Smith repeatedly spoke to me of his neighbourly disposition and actions, and said, it was a comfort to him, to reflect that he had been a kind neighbour.

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for the company of demons in the regions of discord, hatred, and misery. A thorough change only can qualify us for a world of love and happiness.

6. It is vastly important that the social duties of love be impressed on the minds of children and youth. Great care should be taken by parents and instructors, to implant the principles of virtue and piety, and to form the dispositions and habits in early life. Thus educated, there is good ground for hope, that they will resist the force of opposite principles and temptations in riper years. Children should be encouraged in every virtuous sentiment and practice. They should be incessantly taught to revere the rights of others, and to realize the obligation of love and goodness.

7. The wilful transgressors of this command to love our neighbour, are, in that character, totally disqualified for heaven and happiness. Their dispositions and habits are opposed to love and holiness.— They have no moral taste for intellectual and religious exercises and enjoyments. It is true, they may desire happiness and dread misery. This is natural. But the bias of the mind, and the prevailing tendency of the soul, are inconsistent with the pure joys and holy employments of heaven. Being under the influence of vicious passions and habits, they must of necessity be miserable. And were they to be introduced to the immediate presence of God, and the company of saints and angels, they would feel the horrors and pains of hell: for heaven and hell consist principally in character and condition, and in the enjoyments and torments thence naturally resulting. A wicked mind, having all the passions and propensities raging, but without desired gratification, must necessarily be in misery. But on the other hand, persons

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persons in the full exercise of love and goodness must infallibly be pleased and happy. How, then, can the wicked and unholy, who love not their Maker and fellow men, escape the wrath to come? There is one only method, viz. *repentance* towards God and *faith* in Jesus Christ. They must so repent of all sin, as to forsake and hate moral evil, and thoroughly reform; and they must so believe in Jesus Christ, as the Son of God and only Saviour, as cordially to accept what he hath done for sinners, and sincerely conform to his gospel. Christ is the only way of salvation, the only name given under heaven whereby we must be saved. § God is ready to show mercy, to grant pardon, and to give eternal life to those, who sincerely repent of their sins, trust in Christ, and look for salvation through him. Such repentance and faith include a change of heart, a renovation of the whole man, and the restoration of that moral image of God, which was lost by sin. Thus they are qualified to enjoy heaven, while they are pardoned and justified for the sake of the complete atonement and perfect righteousness of Jesus Christ. In this way, all people, who hear the sound of the gospel, who read the Bible, have the offer of salvation from sin and wrath to come. “If any man thirst, let him come; * and whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely. † Jesus Christ is able to save them to the uttermost, that come unto God by him. ‡ He is exalted, a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance and forgiveness of sins.” || The chief of sinners, and at the last hour of life, if they sincerely repent, and believe in Christ, shall be accepted of God, and saved in the great day of the Lord.

It

§ Acts iv. 12.

* John vii. 37.

† Rev. xxii. 17.

‡ Heb. vii. 25.

|| Acts v. 31.

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It is now proper to make application and addresses. And

1. To you, Samuel Smith, who are this day to suffer the pains of ignominious death, by the hand of civil justice, for aggravated violations of the law of love to your neighbour. Unhappy man! we feel for you the bowels of compassion, and ardent desires for your future salvation. We have aimed to instruct and benefit you, and not to increase your disgrace and wretchedness. We pretend not that your sins are more heinous in the sight of God, than the sins of many others thieves, who have not been convicted of capital offences. And it has been a satisfaction to me and others, to hear you declare with so much evidence of sincerity, that you have never had an intention to take the life of a fellow mortal. But the law, that punishes burglary with death, proceeds on the supposition, that house-breakers for the purpose of stealing, intend to commit murder, if it be found necessary to prevent detection. It may, however, have been more owing to the restraining grace of God and to circumstances, that you have not shed innocent blood, than to your own principles and resolutions.

The disappointments and troubles, which you met with, when young,* and the consequent derangement of your mind and worldly affairs, if your late declarations be true, were powerful temptations, in a mind destitute of religion, to the practice of injustice and stealing: and your sufferings deserved commiseration. But instead of turning to God and submitting to him in the day of adversity, you chose the way of wickedness. And after all that can be said in

* It is thought not expedient to mention particularly the causes of those troubles above suggested.

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in your favour, it is evident that you have been a heinous sinner, during many years. This you have readily acknowledged, as also the justice of God in bringing you to legal conviction and punishment. Although, as you say, you have been kind in many instances to some people in your particular neighbourhood, and to your children, as a fond parent, yet your life, for thirty years past, has been a predatory warfare against society and individual families and persons. The law of God condemns you, as a transgressor. But had you lived without any open and gross acts of wickedness forbidden by the moral law, and yet in the neglect of Christ and his gospel, you must be under the sentence of the divine law. "He that believeth on him is not condemned; but he that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only begotten Son of God."* To be condemned by the law of God, as a transgressor, and for rejecting Jesus Christ, and to have that sentence executed at the final judgment, must be infinitely more dreadful, than to be condemned and executed by the laws of society.—Man hath power only to kill the body; but God is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.†

Ministers and other people have affectionately endeavoured to assist you in preparation for another world. With what success, I am not able to say.—The present is the last opportunity you will have for instruction, for repentance, and for reconciliation with God. You are now once more exhorted to repent of all your sins, and urged to fly for refuge to Christ the Saviour. Look on him, whom your sins have pierced, and mourn. Now is the day of salvation, and, I believe, literally the last day of grace and

* John iii. 18. † Matt. x. 28.

mercy

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mercy to you. Now, then, after so long a time, harden not your heart. †

In the most full and unfeigned manner, confess and forsake your sins, and then you may hope for mercy. "Whoso confesseth and forsaketh his sins shall have mercy." Humbly rely on Christ alone for salvation, and, then, though your sins are of a scarlet colour and a crimson dye, they shall be white as snow and wool. || "He that believeth shall be saved."

Endeavour to pray to God in the name of Christ, if peradventure the thoughts of thine heart and the sins of thy life may be forgiven. Pray that God would create in you a clean heart, and give you a right frame of spirit; and continue to seek him to the last moment of your life, with this resolution, if you perish, it shall be pleading for mercy through the glorious Redeemer.

While you have a heart to pray, to be sorry for sin, to love your neighbour, and look to Christ, you need not despair of salvation. God hath no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that he repent, and turn, and live. § But to evidence true peace with God, you must be at peace with men. You must forgive to every one, both real and supposed injuries. You have said, people have falsely accused you, and thereby brought on you vexation and expense: but in this case, you must freely forgive them, as you hope for pardon from God. Our Saviour hath declared, "If ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses."* Indulge no hard thoughts towards any persons. O forgive your fellow-men, while you pray God to be merciful unto you a sinner. And now we commit and commend you to God and to the word and

power

† Heb. iv. 7. || Isa. i. 18. § Ezek. xviii. 23, 32. * Matt. vi. 15.

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power of his grace and mercy in Jesus Christ, praying that you may be eternally a monument of mercy and an heir of glory.

2. Our text furnishes an interesting portion for criminals in general. † Consider, ye transgressors of the law of love to your neighbour, your late wretched companion in wickedness, who has suffered death for his crimes; and be warned by his awful doom, to fly from the wrath to come, and to forsake those paths of vice, which lead to a similar end. Your situation is extremely dangerous and awful. You have hitherto escaped the tremendous scene and pains of execution; and most of you, perhaps, have not committed those crimes, which are made capital by the law. And as you have not had your fears alarmed by the immediate prospect of death and judgment, I have reason to believe that you are careless about your souls and another world. Do you not still put far away the evil day, and neglect to consider your ways? As you have chosen the way of transgressors, and some of you have continued long in opposition to God and men, you are in imminent danger of being forsaken of God, of being hardened in sin, so as to commit more and greater wickedness, and be brought to the gallows. You stand on slippery places, and your feet will slide in due time. ‡ You have been often reprov'd in various ways, and by many persons. Your imprisonment and corporal punishments are constant and sensible admonitions to you, and fully demonstrate to you that, "the way of transgressors is hard." You are now, by this discourse, warned and exhorted to repent, and turn from your evil ways, that iniquity be not your ruin.

Consider,

† This address has been added since the discourse was delivered.

‡ Psal. lxxiii. 13. Deut. xxxii. 35.

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Confider, I befeech you, the folemn words of infpiration, "He that, being often reprov'd, hardeneth his neck, fhall fuddenly be deftroy'd, and that without remedy." || O, tremble for yourfelves, left God fhould verify to you this awful threatening, and fuddenly cut you off from the light of life and the hope of heaven !

Were you to love your neighbour as yourfelves, you would never invade, nor fteal, nor deftroy his property. You would no fooner unjuftly deprive him of his poffeffions, than you would utterly deftroy your own ; nor fooner endanger his health, or happinefs, or life, than your own. You are bound to do unto others, whatfoever ye would that they fhould do unto you. Then, "let him that ftole, fteal no more : but rather let him labour, working with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth." §

Take heed that you do not increafe your fins and treafure up wrath by indulging hatred and revenge againft fociety and particular perfons. What can they do to preferve their peace and property better, than to confine and punifh you ? Do you think, government wifhes to create unnecessary expenfe and trouble ? or that it delights in your confinement and difgrace ? no ; as it did nothing to provoke your firft offence, fo you are difciplin'd by the law, only to prevent you and others from farther crimes, and to defend the innocent in the quiet enjoyment of life, liberty, and property.

Beware of coveting the things, which belong to other people. "Thou fhalt not covet." Suffer me now, once more, to warn and befeech you, to refolve in the prefence of God, and with prayers for his aiding grace, that henceforth you will induftrioufly fol-

|| Prov. xxix. 1. § Eph. iv. 28.

low

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[29]

low fome honeft calling, and "be content with fuch things as you have ;" that you will "be diligent in bufinefs, fervent in fpirit, ferving the Lord."

3. Parents and heads of families fhould be religiously attentive to prepare the rifing generation for focial and civil life. Let it be your conftant care, to train them up in the way they fhould go, and then you may confidently hope, they will not depart from it in riper years. Some parents, like pious, but faulty Eli, are too indulgent to their children, and do not feafonably and refolutely refrain them from vicious practices : and many like him alfo, when it is too late, mourn their folly. Some parents err on the other hand, efpecially in refpect to worldly affairs. You fhould be kind and juft to your children, and to young people under your care, as well as ftrict and vigilant over them. You fhould "not be bitter againft them," nor refufe to give, or pay them, in proper time, what is reasonable and juft, "left they be difcouraged," their innocent emulation be cramped, their affections be alienated, and their minds indispos'd to the fteady purfuit of profitable bufinefs. The unhappy criminal before us, has declared to me, in a feeling manner, and with a request, that I would warn parents againft injufice to their children, that the hard treatment of his father,* when he wifhed to fettle in a family ftate, was one great fource of his early trouble, and the principal caufe of his beginning to fteal. Whether we give full credit to this ftory, or not, it is an undoubted truth, that the hardnefs and injufice of parents and mafters towards children and fervants, have very pernicious effects on their minds. Such treatment tends direct-

ly

* Smith often fpake of his mother, and always with affection and refpect. He efteem'd her as a kind parent and excellent christian.

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ly to counteract a sense of equity, goodness, and love, and to quench every spark of laudable ambition. If you would have those under your care grow up and persevere in the exercise of love to their neighbour, in the full extent of the law of love, you must not only teach them their duty by precepts, but you must set before them a living example. Then shall your hearts be made glad by the wisdom and virtue of your children and charge.

4. Young people are instructed by our discourse. My young friends, you see the shame and wretchedness, which attend on vice, and that "sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death." Be solicitous to shun the paths of sin, for they lead to destruction. Cultivate a lively sense of love to mankind, and ever act on the strictest principles of benevolence, truth, and righteousness to all people. Dread the first step to any scandalous vice, and "abstain from all appearance of evil." Fear God, and keep his commandments, through Jesus Christ, as the only sure and peaceful way to honour, glory, and eternal happiness.

5. Let this numerous assembly make application. Every person is under the obligation of the law of love to God and our neighbour. How have we obeyed this law? Have we loved our neighbour as ourselves? Are not many of us guilty concerning our brother? Let us search and prove our own ways, and resolutely reform whatever we find to be inconsistent with love. Let every one set his face, as a flint, against prevailing vices. Accept the admonition, which this dying criminal hath desired might be given, not to neglect public worship, and the religious observation of the Sabbath.* Such neglect

keeps

* Smith had been very faulty in respect to public worship and the Sabbath, which he lamented. He saw that it kept him ignorant and hardened, and gave him opportunity to contrive and perpetrate wickedness.

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keeps people out of the way of hearing the word of God explained, and of having their duty inculcated upon them. When people forsake the house, profane the day, and neglect the word of God, let them expect that their temptations and their sins will be multiplied, and that God will cast them off forever.

This day, my hearers, for the first time in this town, we see, as to this world, the closing scene of coveting and stealing. God grant there may be none occasion for another of this kind. But if any present should ever meditate the crime of theft with approbation, let him also think of the gallows. The connexion between the crime and the gibbet, is much nearer and more natural, than many suppose. Behold this thief, and tremble at the thought of stealing, which naturally leads on to burglary, robbery, murder, and the gallows. Let sinners see and fear. Let them suppress every injurious passion, and covetous desire, lest they be imperceptibly hurried on to the commission of one crime after another, until swift destruction come upon them. Let us all resolve to embrace, by divine aid, with all our heart, the perfect law of love to God and man.

"Now unto him who is able to keep us from falling, and to present us faultless before the presence of his glory with exceeding joy, be praise and honour forever."

A M E N.



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In this same year in which [Denmark Vesey](#) was winning the East-Bay-Street Lottery and receiving enough money to purchase his own manumission from [slavery](#) (but not enough money to obtain the freedom of his children),³⁴⁰ Gabriel Prosser (*circa* 1776-1800) and Jack Bowler were attempting a slave revolt near Richmond, Virginia — and in this year, also, [Nat Turner](#) was being born! These three men of 1800, Vesey, Prosser, and Turner, would later come to be regarded as the “Three Generals in the Lord’s Army.”

One group was to attack the prison which was being used as an arsenal, another was to capture the powder house, and another was to attack the city itself. If the citizens would not surrender, the rebels planned to kill all of the whites with the exception of three categories of white people, the three categories being [Quakers](#), Methodists, and Frenchmen. The “General Gabriel” conspiracy of about a thousand [slaves](#) to attack Richmond came to light after a severe storm washed out a bridge and caused a suspension of the attack (August 30) and the conspiracy was betrayed by two of the slaves. Governor James Monroe (the future president) ordered in the militia and 16 ringleaders and 19 others were [hanged](#) (October 7). Gabriel’s Insurrection would cause white Virginians to support plans to ship black Americans back to Africa.

Here is the Virginia “servile conspiracy” statute under which all the executions would take place:

If any negro or other slaves at any time consult, advise, or conspire to rebel, or make insurrection, or shall plot to conspire the murder of any person or persons whatsoever, every such consulting, plotting, or conspiring, shall be adjudged and deemed felony, and the slave or slaves convicted thereof in manner herein after directed, shall suffer death, and be utterly excluded all benefit of clergy.

— The Statutes at Large of Virginia, from
October Session 1792 to December Session 1806

[SERVILE INSURRECTION](#)

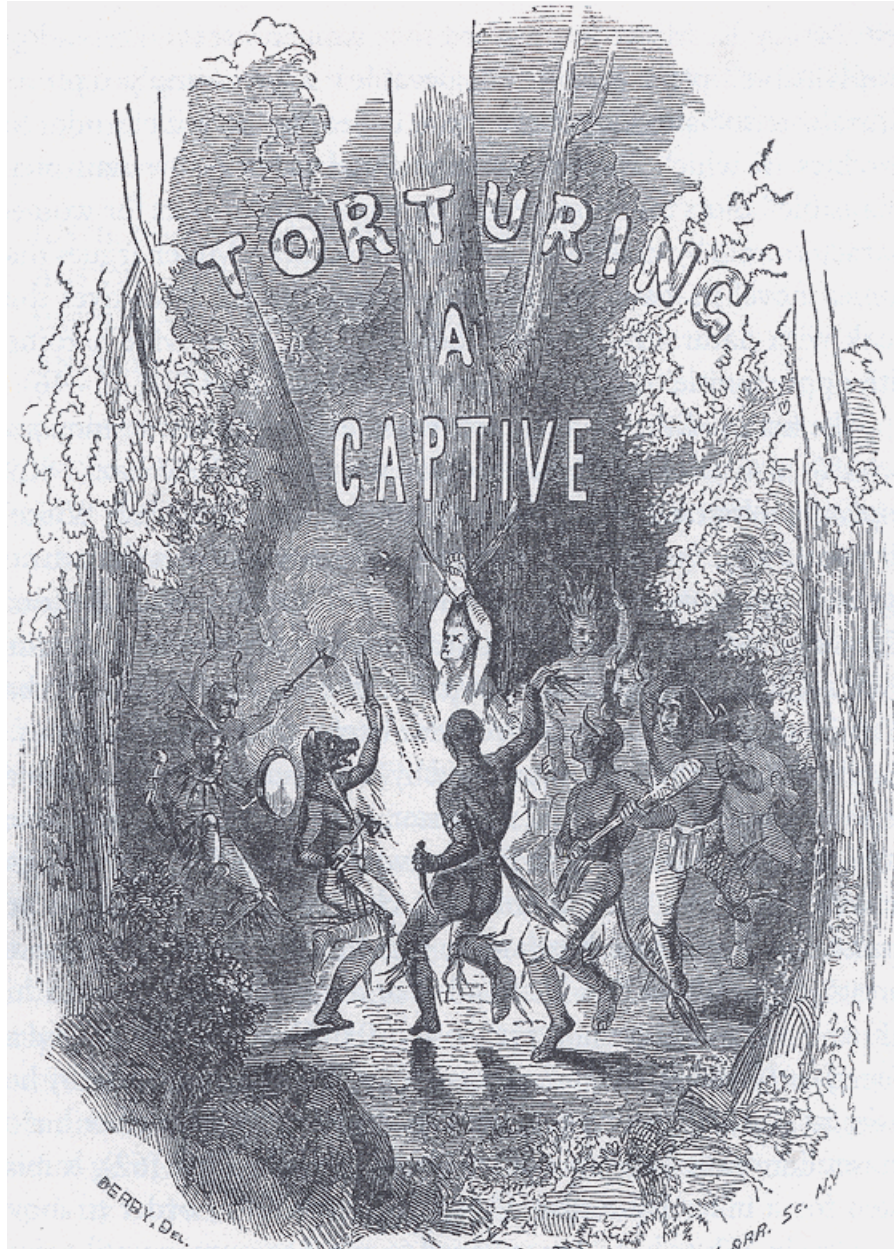
340. Here’s how this worked. Clearly under American law (everywhere except, perhaps, Louisiana) a slave could not protect property and therefore could own nothing. Vesey’s owner could have seized the winnings of this lottery with or without saying thanks and he would have still been his slave. However, in the real world egregious conduct might lead to a throat slitting or a poisoning — not just everything you can legally do to another human being is always practical. Vesey’s owner accepted the money and made out a manumission document.

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At about the beginning of the new century Henry Sanson, son of Charles-Henri Sanson, succeeded his father as the beheader of Frenchmen. Soon the apparatus the French were employing, previously referred to as “la machine,” or as “la louisette” or “le louison” in honor of its designer, would be being referred to instead as “[la guillotine](#),” in honor of the doctor who had recommended the mercy of death by decapitation for commoners as opposed to what had been more usual, death by torture.



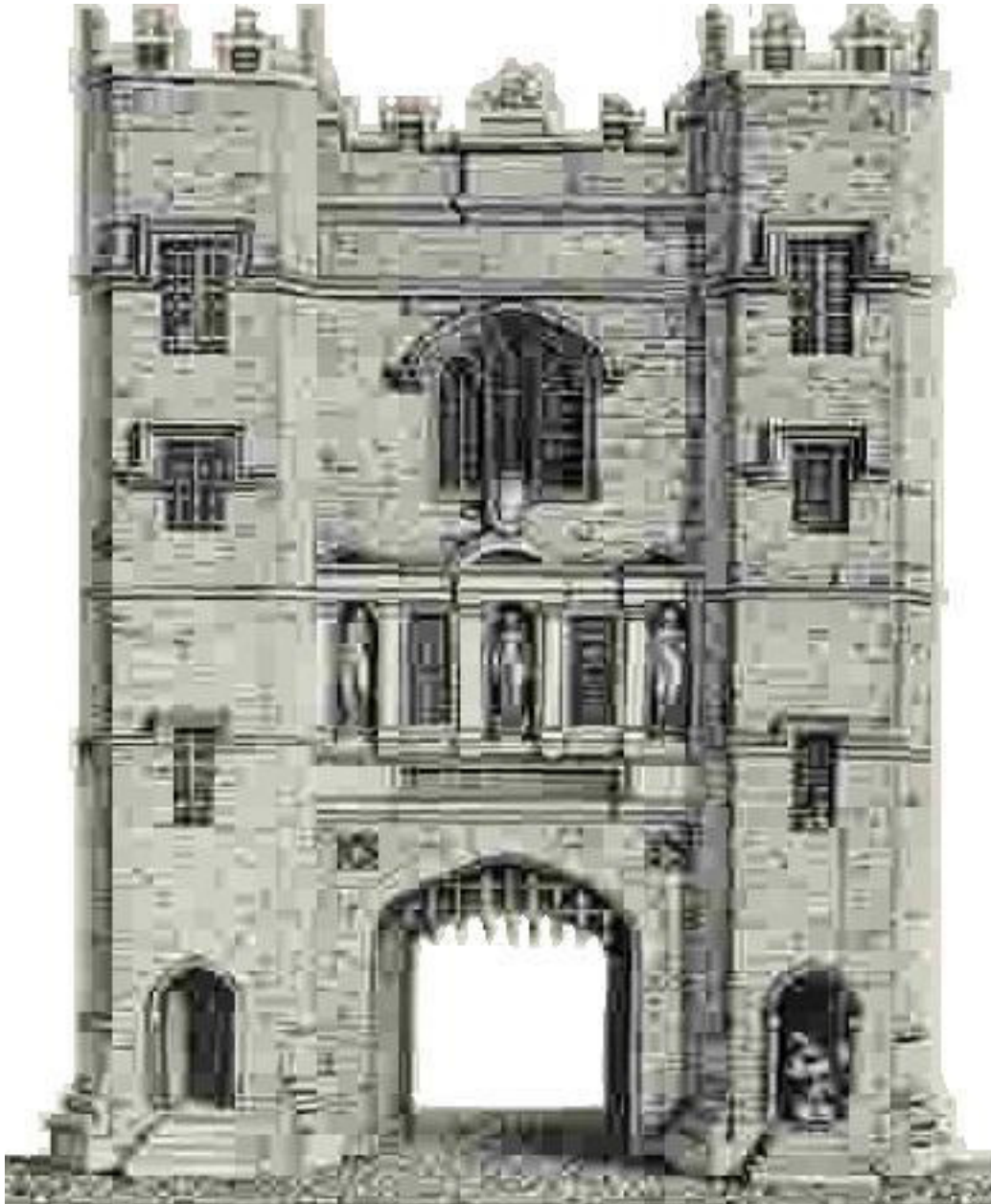
English felony trials of the period lasted on average less than nine minutes, from the presentation of the accused to the court to the judge’s verdict of guilt or innocence. During the opening decade of the 19th Century there would be in England a move to conduct hangings inside the Newgate prison, so they would be away from public view, or just outside that prison’s Debtor’s Door, so as to avoid all the ceremony and all the sensationalism attending the procession to Tyburn, which was felt to be not only bad for the morals of the

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masses of common people, but also an opportunity for pickpockets and general riotous assembly.



For these private hangings at the prison, the condemned person would be [hanged](#) just after 8AM after being

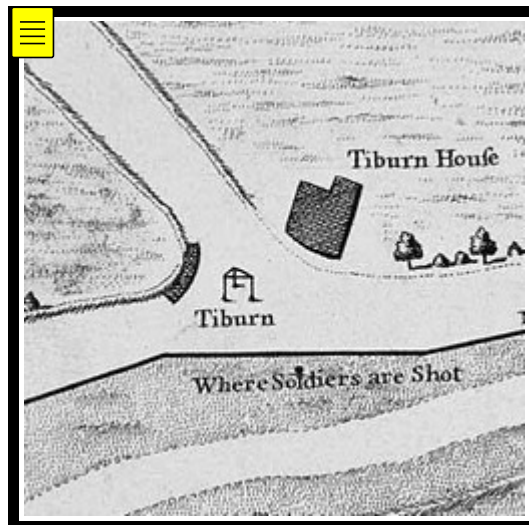
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hurried through their morning devotions, confession and absolution — which might indeed be “short shrift.”



Throughout the 18th Century the day of a person who was to be either hanged or pilloried had begun at Newgate with devotions at 8AM; the procession would assemble in the court of the prison and probably wouldn't leave the gates before 9AM, and the cart wouldn't reach Tyburn before 9.30 or 10.00. If the condemned was a very popular figure and the processional route was packed with onlookers it would take much longer: as much as 3 hours has been recorded. The actual pillorying or hanging likely would take place at about mid-morning, 10.30 or even later.



For example, on Monday, 9 May 1726, when Catherine Hayes had been due to be strangled and burnt (as would be dramatized in William Makepeace Thackeray's novel CATHERINE), the day began with three sodomites, Gabriel Lawrence, William Griffin, and Thomas Wright, being taken along packed streets in a cart to Tyburn where they were suspended on the “triple tree” (Tyburn gallows was a big triangular affair with 3 cross-beams) and hanged at the same time. They had to be left hanging for a minimum of half an hour, for if they were cut down too early and happened to survive, they would have been entitled to walk away free men,

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having fulfilled their sentence of being hanged). In the meantime, Catherine Hayes was kept tied to her stake awaiting being burned for the murder of her husband. Before the hangman, Richard Arnett, could strangle her with a rope as was customary, the flames had reached his hands and he was forced by the heat to let go of the rope. The spectators were horrified by her screams as she struggled to kick away the burning faggots. They then watched as her eyes melted in their sockets. It required three hours for her body to be reduced to ashes and, in the meantime, three more felons arrived in another cart to be hanged.

Such mass executions as these were quite popular, and the wealthier spectators could afford to sit in the viewing stands specially erected to accommodate them. On this particular occasion, the stands collapsed under the weight of 150 spectators, six of whom were killed.

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



Proverbs Chap. I. Ver. 27, 28.
When thou seest as discipline, and thy
destruction cometh as a whirlwind, when
distress cometh upon thee, then thou shalt
call upon God, but he will not answer.

CATHERINE, which Thackeray would write under the pseudonym Ikey Solomons, would appear in FRASER'S MAGAZINE, serialized from Volume XIX, Number CXIII (May, 1839) to Volume XXI, Number CXXII (February, 1840). The concluding chapter would describe her execution but would make no mention of the hangings of the sodomites just minutes before; the entire description of Catherine Hayes's execution would be

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omitted from all subsequent editions of the novel.



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WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1800

Date	Name	Place of execution	Crime
29/01	Mary Connor	Cork (Gallows Green)	Murder
17/03	Mary Thorpe	York Castle	Murder
12/04	Sarah Bailey	York Castle	Forgery
23/04	Sarah Lloyd	Bury St Edmunds	Stealing in a dwelling house
31/07	Ann Mead	Hertford	Murder
23/08	Elizabeth Johnson	York Castle	Uttering forgery
18/10	Mary Lloyd	Boughton (Cheshire)	Forgery

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May 9, Friday: French forces defeated Austrian forces at Biberach southeast of Stuttgart.

THE LAST WORDS AND DYING CONFESSION OF THE THREE [PIRATES](#), WHO WERE EXECUTED THIS DAY, (MAY 9TH, 1800). Philadelphia: Folwell's Press, 1800

[HANGING](#)



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October 2, Thursday: [Nathaniel “Nat” Turner](#) was born in Southampton County, Virginia, near the Great Dismal Swamp in which as an adult he would seek refuge. Nat³⁴¹ was given the name Turner because his mother was a piece of property belonging to a white man named Benjamin Turner, and because under Virginia law the legal standing of the mother of a child determined the legal standing of her child. He emerged from his mother’s womb as the property of this Mr. Turner — but in the end he would find himself being [hanged](#) for having committed an act of **violence** and **violation** against another human being! He would dictate a confession, but in his confession, despite the fact that his contemporaries acknowledge him to have been an exceedingly intelligent man, he would have difficulty getting this to **make any sense at all**.

[SLAVERY](#)

The [Reverend Timothy Dwight](#) visited the [Reverend Gideon Hawley](#) on the reservation at Mashpee, Massachusetts.³⁴² In TRAVELS IN NEW ENGLAND AND NEW YORK, published in 1821/1823 in London, the Reverend Dwight, who hadn’t seen Hawley since he had been a teenager, would write that “this gentleman was a most intimate friend of my parents. From his youth he had sustained as amiable and unexceptionable a character as can perhaps be found among uninspired men” (now there’s a lefthanded compliment, if ever there was one).

341. “Nat” = Nathaniel, but should we not use the name taught us by [Frederick Douglass](#)?

Otherwise, for consistency, wouldn’t we have to refer to Frederick Douglass and Nathaniel Hawthorne as Dred Douglass and Nat Hawthorne, or perhaps Dred Bailey and Nat Hawthorne? PC-people, here’s something to chew on!

342. The Reverend Dwight was a grandson of the [Reverend Jonathan Edwards](#), under whose instruction the Reverend Hawley had served.



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October 7, Tuesday: In Richmond, Virginia, a piece of the property of Thomas Prosser, known as “Gabriel Prosser,” and 15 other similarly hued pieces of property accused in the conflict with the established order of the city of Richmond at the end of August, were hanged. All the 31 years of his short life, another piece of property, this one known as Nat Turner, would be hearing of these incredible events.

SLAVERY

An undated memo from William M. Berkeley on file among the Letters Received by James Monroe at the Governor’s Office, Record Group 3, Library of Virginia:

*Letter Treasurer on the Subject of paying for Negroes executed
1800*

To His Excellency

Sir

The sum estimated by the Honorable Legislature as sufficient to discharge the claims for slaves executed being entirely exhausted, and as those claims are and will be greatly increased by the late serious insurrection, permit me to call the attention of your Excellency and the Honorable Board to the subject, and at the same time to solicit you to give me the earliest information, as a claim to a considerable amount has been presented, which I have requested the Gentleman to wait for until I could communicate with your Honorable Board

With sentiments of esteem & respect,

I remain your Humble servt.

W Wm Berkeley

The above is a copy of a letter sent to his Excellency a few days ago

A letter from John Hoomes et al. to Governor James Monroe, no date, that is on file in the same collection:

John Hoomes, George Buckner Daniel Coleman John Baylor Hay Battaile & Reuben Chapman Justices of the peace in the County of Caroline who composed a Court for the trail of Scipio a negro Slave the property of Paul Thilman for Conspiracy and insurrection, We whose names are hereunder written do recommend the said Scipio to his Excellency the Governor as an object of Mercy for the following reasons the Condemned Slave is a Young lad not above 18 or 19 years of Age, he appears to be a very ignorant Lad and lived on the same plantation with Mr. Thilmans man Thornton who it appears enlisted the said Scipio & who no doubt drew him into the Conspiracy

John Baylor

Geo: Buckner

Reuben Chapman

Danl. Coleman

John Hoomes

Hay Battaile

[on reverse] Scipio condemned in Caroline Pardoned Nov. 8 1800

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An Attestation as to the Valuation of Slaves Sentenced to Death, no date, in this same file:

His Excellency The Governor of Virginia

The following Slaves were tried and sentenced to death in Henrico County & Richmond Hustings Court– their valuations as fixed by the Court, as follows

Jack alias Jack Ditcher belonging to the estate of Wm Bowler decd \$400.

Lewis to Dabney Williamson £110

Watt to Thomas Prosser £45

King to Philip N. Nicholas £80

Adam Craig C.C.

Crimes Punishable by Death in England:

Year	Number
1800	150
1837	10





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1801

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1801

Date	Name	Place of execution	Crime
01/04	Hannah Palmer	Warwick	Murder
13/04	Alice Clarke	Denby	Murder
17/04	Elizabeth Burne	Naas	Murder
02/05	Hannah Eastwood	Lancaster Castle	Forgery
23/07	Sussannah Mottershall	Lincoln Castle	Murder
03/08	Ann Baker	Rutland	Killing sheep
07/08	Sarah Claridge	Warwick	Murder



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1802

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1802

Date	Name	Place of execution	Crime
16/03	Mary Voce	Nottingham	Murder
12/04	Maria Davis	Bristol	Murder
12/04	Charlotte Bobbett	Bristol	Murder

➡ January 14, Tuesday: Karl Theodor Anton Maria Freiherr von Dalberg replaced Maximilian Christoph von Rodt as Prince-Bishop of Constance.

➡ January 15, Wednesday: Job, a slave of Mr. Defontaine, was hanged as a “highway robber” for having snatched a liquor bottle away from a drunken sailor.

DRUNKENNESS

➡ January 16, Thursday: Les deux journées, ou Le porteur d’eau, a comédie lyrique by Luigi Cherubini to words of Bouilly, was performed for the initial time, at the Theatre Feydeau, Paris (it was an enormous success with press and public).

➡ January 17, Friday: The Peace of Montluçon pacified La Vendée.

1803



An experiment in magnetism and electricity was performed upon the corpse of George Foster, who had murdered his wife and child by drowning them in the Paddington Canal. This experiment was performed by Professor Giovanni Aldini. The purpose of Professor Aldini’s experiment was to determine whether by galvanic stimulation the “vital powers” of a person recently deceased might be restored. When conductors were applied to the fresh corpse’s ear and rectum, muscular contractions were to be noted, movements giving “almost an appearance of reanimation.” These galvanic experiments continued for seven hours.



CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1803

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
15/04	Mary Lappidge		Warwick	Uttering forgery
01/08	Martha Chapple		York Castle	Murder
11/08	Sarah Jones	27	Shrewsbury	Murder



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1804

➡ February 8, Wednesday: Typically, in England, a woman would be [hanged](#) before a crowd, using a short rope to induce gradual strangulation rather than the sudden snapping of the spinal cord. The Newgate Calendar described the execution of Ann Hurle, 22 years of age, for forgery:

She was brought out of the debtors' door in Newgate at eight o'clock. The mode of execution by the drop having been for the time changed to that of the common gallows, she was put into a cart and drawn to the place of execution, in the widest part of the Old Bailey, where she expiated her offences in penitence and prayer. When the halter was fixed she seemed inclined to speak, but her strength evidently failed, and she was incapable. Her appearance, upon the whole, excited emotions of compassion among the spectators, who at last became so clamorous that the sheriff, in a loud voice, described to them the impropriety of their behavior, after which they were more silent. The cap was then pulled over the face of the sufferer and the cart drawn away. As it was going she gave a faint scream, and for two or three minutes after she was suspended she appeared to be in great agony, moving her hands up and down frequently.

OTHER WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1804

Date	Name	Place of execution	Crime
12/03	Elizabeth Carter	Winchester (Gallows Hill)	Murder
19/03	Elizabeth Largham	Essex	Murder
05/07	Providence Hansard	Newgate	Forgery

➡ July 24, Tuesday: The wife of Asa Martin, in [Rehoboth](#), had [hanged](#) herself on Sunday night. "She was deranged."

Holkar of [Indore](#) attacked retreating British and [Indian](#) forces trying to cross water in their retreat from Kota. An all-day battle ensued.

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

24 of 7 Mo 1804 / Last first day [Sunday] the 22d of the M our dear friend Nathan Hun appointed the afternoon Meeting at 5 OClock, that the inhabtance of the Town might have an opportunity to whom a general invitation was given; I believe it was a time wherein the cause of truth gained ground among the people present. He was favor'd to declare the Truth for the space of an hour & a quarter in a very living & powerful manner. — many people were much wrought upon by its powerful efficacy in their Minds, being tendered and contrited. It was a tune which I hope may never be erased from the minds of any that were there.



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—Joshua Bradly a Baptist Minister, being informed of the Meeting, he said, he would come & at the conclusion of his own gave his hearers information of ours, & requested them to come as he wished too, & should hold no evening meeting on that Account --He accordingly attended, sat very attentively the whole time, & when the meeting broke up, went in the high seat where Nathan was, took him by the hand, & said he had gained the hearts of many that evening & thought he might by staying longer in the Town do much good, for you see says he the solemnity there is in this Meeting. I have a Meeting house which is at your service, my doors are open to you at any time. he asked him where he lodged & said he must see him again that evening. whether he went on or not I dont know, but the next Morning called on him & gave him letters to his friends in Connecticut to open the way for him to have meetings among them where Nathan was going — Nathan went over the ferry on second day morning in company Sam Rodman Rowland Hazard & David Williams.—

At the aforesaid Meeting the English French & Spanish Consuls were present, & many people of note in the Town — I have not heard of any that were dissatisfied but of many that confessed themselves highly gratified at the opportunity & I hope many of the prejudices which were held against friends will be removed — I must acknowledge for myself, tho' I have attended many great & Momentous meetings, yet never did I attend one that I felt the importance of so much as this. & to my great thankfulness I am given to believe that it begun & ended well to the Glory of God


RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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1805

 April 13, Saturday: Mary Morgan, a 17-year-old, was [hanged](#) at Presteigne in Radnorshire two days after being found guilty of murder (seduced and abandoned by a member of the gentry there, she had disposed of the illegitimate child). Her body was given for dissection (children are now informed in that locality that her lawyer had ridden to London to obtain a reprieve and had returned an hour late).

OTHER WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1805

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
18/03	Ann Heywood		York Castle	Murder of child
25/03	Elizabeth Barber	53	Maidstone (Penenden Heath)	Murder
03/05	Ann Davis (Gordon)		Sussex	Murder of child
12/08	Betty Hulee (Rogers)		Exeter	Murder
13/11	Mary Parnel		Newgate	Forgery

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7 day 13 of 4 M 1805 / Last night was spent in Watching with Christs Champlin It was very tedious, he being very ill & requiring close attendance. But it was a time wherein my mind was much instructed: from looking at him in his extream bodily distress, & we are about to lanch [launch] into eternity, & appear before the awful judge of all flesh, the king immortal who reigns in heaven, & receive from him a reward according to our works. —

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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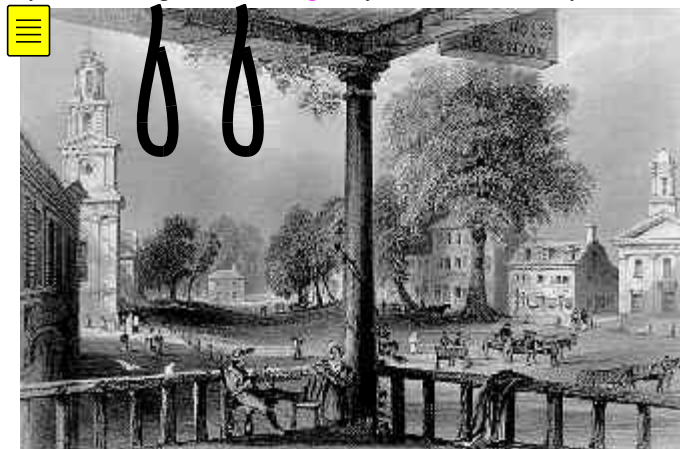
1806

➡ According to Jeffrey Weeks's *SEX, POLITICS AND SOCIETY* (Longman, 1981), during this year in England there were actually more executions for sodomy than for murder.

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1806

Date	Name	Place of execution	Crime
08/04	Sarah Herring	Horsemonger Lane, Surrey	Coining (treason)
19/04	Mary Jackson	Lancaster Castle	Stealing in dwelling house

➡ After a special Mass at the 1st Church in Northampton, celebrated by Cardinal Cheverus, two Irish immigrants, a Dailey and a Haligan, were hanged by the neck until they were dead.



Then they were found to have been innocent — having come here for refuge, they had in effect been murdered in cold blood by local authority.³⁴³

➡ February: In Lenox, Massachusetts, Ephraim Wheeler, a white man, was led, proclaiming his innocence, to the gallows, and hanged for the rape of Betsey Wheeler, his 13-year-old daughter of mixed race. There seems little question of his guilt despite legal difficulties that had prevented his son and his wife from offering confirming testimony against him.

343. Hey, this wouldn't be the last time!



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1807

➡ February 23, Monday: Carl Maria von Weber left Carlsruhe for an extended tour to the west.

At the [hanging](#) in London of Elizabeth Godfrey, Owen Haggerty, and John Holloway a pie-seller fell over, spilling his wares and causing a riot in which a number of people in the crowd got trampled to death.

OTHER WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1807

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
January 7	Margaret Cunningham		Edinburgh	Murder of husband
July 31	Martha Aldin	32	Norwich	Murder of husband

At some point during this year, a week after her wedding to the Reverend Henry Ware, Sr., Hollis Professor of Divinity at [Harvard College](#), Mary Otis Lincoln hanged — the reverend professor must have found this exquisitely embarrassing.³⁴⁴ Also:

Date	Sex	Method
March 5, 1786	Male	hanged self
July 5, 1790	Male	hanged self
July 5, 1790	Male	shot self
March 29, 1791	Female	not known
October 11, 1796	Male	cut throat
March 15, 1807	Male	cut throat
April 16, 1807	Male	hanged self

➡ July 31, Friday: Martha Aldin had murdered her husband, and her sentence had been that on “Friday next she should be drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution, there to be [hanged](#) by the neck till she was dead, and her body afterwards to be dissected.” Her hanging took place at high noon on Castle Hill, Norwich, before a massive crowd.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6 day 31 of 7th Mo 1807 / Yesterday arrived our Ancient friend J Bringhurst from Philadelphia - as he came up from the packet he called to see me, a few minutes, & this forenoon came & set sometime with me in the shop, I esteem him as a good old man, & his company is pleasant - The day has passed with but little religious thoughtfulness. I can hardly call it carelessness nor

344. For contemporary reactions see Theophilus Parsons (fils), MEMOIR OF THEOPHILUS PARSONS (Boston, 1859, pages 316-18) and a letter from Abigail Adams to Mercy Otis Warren of March 9, 1807 (WARREN-ADAMS LETTERS, Volume 2, page 354).



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yet carefulness -- After a very pleasant walk round the Hill in company with DR called at CR's where I found E reading the Manuscript Journal of a young man's tour in England by which I found a certain life raised, to which "a death had better be known"

6 day rode with Peter to the meeting House to meet with the School committee, then returned & Peter kindly brought me homeward to the top of Lawtons Hill which was a great help as the day was very hot - on my way home, Stopt at Saml Thurstons & was favor'd with the company of Our excellent friend Mary Mitchell her converstaion was instructing & refreshing to my mind I love her much, remembering her visits to my beloved Aunt Marthas when I was a small boy & lived with her - on my return home found my shop & little property all Safe for which I desire to be thankful, & hope I shall be endabled to return thanks in the proper way, which is increased dedication to the Service of my God - In the evening made a precious call at C R, & another at J Earls, where I found AA & fell into unexpected conversation with her - tho' I manifested rather too much Zeal in support of my own opinion yet I firmly believe I had the right side of the question

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1808

Establishment, in England, of the SDKPD.³⁴⁵ Friend William Allen, a [Quaker](#) philanthropist (not the same



person as the William Allen of Concord, Massachusetts), was a co-founder of this new anti-[hanging](#) group, and Friend Peter Bedford and Friend Samuel Hoare and Friend [Luke Howard](#) were among its leaders.

Friend Luke wrote A BRIEF APOLOGY FOR QUAKERISM, INSCRIBED TO THE EDINBURGH REVIEWERS (London, printed for the author, and sold by Darton & Harvey, Gracechurch-Street; Longman & Co. Paternoster-Row; and J. Hatchard, Piccadilly). This was a graceful reply to "a production of your own, now of several months standing, in which the peculiarities of *the Friends* are censured in a manner which convinces me that your writer has not well understood them."

"It is quite plain to us," adds he, "that their founder George Fox was exceedingly insane!" *Gentle reader*, is this criticism?

...

But our critic *suspects*, that when Fox *dwelt in a hollow tree*, in the vale of Beavor, he taught sublime absurdities; and I suspect, that when he himself shall have learned in what liberal criticism consists, he will be sensible of an absurdity, not very sublime, in the employment of such methods to deprecate Fox's character and doctrines. It will be to the purpose to produce here a passage in Fox's Journal, which appears to have furnished this *innuendo*. "I fasted much, walked abroad in solitary places many days; and often took my Bible, and sat in hollow trees and lonesome places till night came on." *Pa.* 6, *Edit.* 1765. Such retirements, for private devout meditation and prayer, were the common practice of the age; the most prominent feature of which was, that zeal and fervour in religion now called enthusiasm.

HOWARD PUBLICATIONS

345. Don't try to pronounce this at home. The Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge upon the Punishment of Death and the Improvement of Prison Discipline would oppose the hanging of convicts for any crime other than premeditated murder. Eventually, in 1969, even that sort of retribution, a life for a life, would be eliminated from England as barbaric.




STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1808

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
10/02	Barbara Malcolm		Edinburgh	Murder of child
28/03	Sarah Pugh		Hereford	Murder
09/04	Mary Chandler	19	Lancaster Castle	Stealing in dwelling house

 January 1, Friday: “[Mounseer Nongtonpow](#),” a poem expanding upon a Charles Dibdin song, published by the publishing firm of [William Godwin](#) (M.J. Godwin) and illustrated by a Godwin protégé William Mulready, that some once supposed to have been authored by that publisher’s child [Mary Godwin Wollstonecraft](#).

Herman Willem Daendels, appointed as governor by the French-controlled Dutch government, arrived in the Dutch East Indies.

The Code [Napoléon](#) went into effect in Spain and Holland.

Princess Elisa of Lucca reduced her court orchestra to a string quartet which included [Nicolò Paganini](#) and his brother.

Sierra Leone was made a British Crown Colony.

As of this day it supposedly became impossible legally, sort of, to import any more [slaves](#) into the United States of America.³⁴⁶

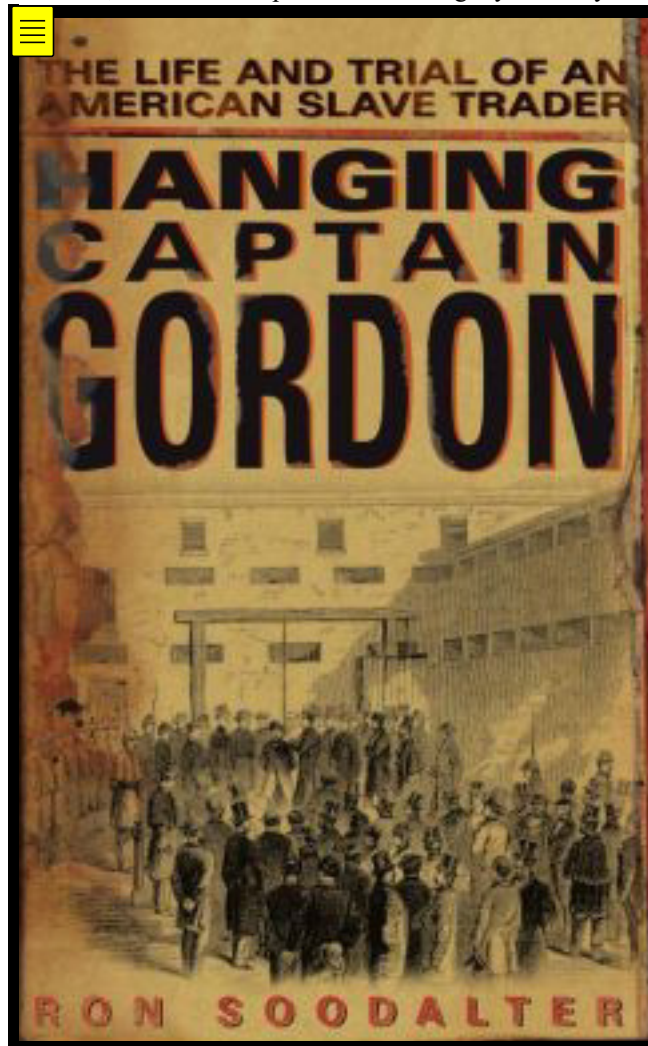
346. You will notice the manner in which Section 9 of the US Constitution is persistently misrepresented in our history textbooks. Where Section 9 explicitly prohibits the new federal Congress from restricting the [international slave trade](#) before 1808, saying that “The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight” our popular historians gloss this in our high schools as a victory for human liberty. This was instead a sop that had been thrown to the American enslavers. It categorically prevented the new federal government from interfering with their resupply of slaves prior to 1808 no matter how many votes there came to be, by decent and honorable Representatives, to duly restrict such an insidious traffic. Our popular historians present this concession to slavery, falsely, as if it were a 1787 declaration that as of 1808 the international trade in slaves was constitutionally declared to be outlawed. A built-in protection for slavery has been portrayed falsely in scholarly loose talk as an assault upon it. Yes, the federal congress did indeed in 1807 enact legislation making engaging in the international slave trade be a capital offense. However, we must take into account the fact that 1.) many [slaveholders](#) voted in favor of this new legislative approach, the fundamental economic motivation for this being that this legislation interfered with the international trade by others to the advantage of the national trade by themselves. This increased the value of the new crops of human property which they were themselves raising on their plantations, for sale within the nation. We must also take into account the fact that 2.) although the new legislation defined the offense as [piracy](#), a capital offense calling for [hanging](#), it also created a series of five loopholes through which almost anyone captured in the trade might expect always to escape unscathed. In other words, the hanging part of it was a straightforward sham. In fact between 1807 and 1861 not a single culprit “pirate” would get hanged! In 1862 one such bold “pirate” would be hanged — exactly **one** such criminal in the **entire** history of this legislation — but if you examine this one case, you will see that what he would be hanged for in 1862 was the crime of pride, in that he had neglected to make available to himself any one of these five built-in loopholes.

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STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

(Please note: in this assertion, the words “impossible” and “legally” entirely alter each other’s implications.)



Although importation of slaves into the United States was banned by this act which Congress –becoming for the first time enabled to overcome the constitutional restriction– had passed in 1807, making slave import into a capital crime, some 250,000 additional enslaved persons would be illegally imported between this year and 1860. Although nowadays we congratulate ourselves by paying extraordinary attention to the “success stories,” the sad fact is that the combined total of escapes (vanishingly few, mostly of unattached young males of the border states) and [manumissions](#) (vanishingly few) would come nowhere close to making a dent in such a rate of continuing “recruitment.”



“There has never been a document of culture,
which is not simultaneously one of barbarism.”

– [Walter Benjamin's THESES ON THE
PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY](#) (1955)



»Es ist niemals ein Dokument der Kultur,
ohne zugleich ein solches der Barbarei zu sein.«

– [THESEN ÜBER DEN BEGRIFF DER GESCHICHTE](#) (1940)



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

Although this [international slave trade](#) had been made a capital crime, nobody would hang for such a crime for a long, long time. There were too many too carefully built-in escape clauses. In fact, only one unfortunate would ever be hanged, and the hood would not be pulled over the head of this slave importer until the Year of Our Lord 1862!

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

During this year the Reverend Absalom Jones would be proposing, to his African Episcopal congregation in Philadelphia, that all Americans should celebrate an annual holiday of Thanksgiving. This former slave would propose January 1st as the annual date of this Thanksgiving, it being the date on which the further importation of slaves into the US had at least ostensibly been made a federal capital crime. (Execute that turkey!)

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal about electricity:

6th day 1st of 1st M 1808 / The year commences but poorly as to the inward condition of my mind. if there was but a living up to the light afforded, there would not be those secret condemnations which I allmost continually feel – This evening curiosity lead me to an house, to try the curious effect of electricity. I received Several Shocks for the first time in my life – Set a little while with my H the latter part of the evening –³⁴⁷

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



BETWEEN ANY TWO MOMENTS ARE AN INFINITE NUMBER OF MOMENTS, AND BETWEEN THESE OTHER MOMENTS LIKEWISE AN INFINITE NUMBER, THERE BEING NO ATOMIC MOMENT JUST AS THERE IS NO ATOMIC POINT ALONG A LINE. MOMENTS ARE THEREFORE FIGMENTS. THE PRESENT MOMENT IS A MOMENT AND AS SUCH IS A FIGMENT, A FLIGHT OF THE IMAGINATION TO WHICH NOTHING REAL CORRESPONDS. SINCE PAST


347. Stephen Wanton Gould Diary, 1807-1812: The Gould family papers are stored under control number 2033 at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library, Box 6 Folder 9 for July 24, 1807-April 30, 1809; also on microfilm, see Series 7



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER


MOMENTS HAVE PASSED OUT OF EXISTENCE AND FUTURE MOMENTS
HAVE YET TO ARRIVE, WE NOTE THAT THE PRESENT MOMENT IS ALL
THAT EVER EXISTS — AND YET THE PRESENT MOMENT BEING A
MOMENT IS A FIGMENT TO WHICH NOTHING IN REALITY CORRESPONDS.

 October 3, Monday: Seven men involved in royalist organizations to overthrow the [Emperor Napoléon](#) were [executed](#).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*2 day 3rd of 10th M / This Afternoon the committee from the
Directors of the Afffrican Benevolent Society met & agree'd to
open a School under the Tuition of Arthur Flag Junr - Our
neighbor Venson & wife spent the Afternoon & took tea with us*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS


 October 11, Tuesday: François-Noël Prigent, who had led the royalist organizations working to overthrow the [Emperor Napoléon](#), was executed by [firing squad](#).

The 9,000 Spanish troops brought from Denmark reached Santander aboard British ships.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*3rd day 11 of 10 M / This day my mind hath been severly beset
with Satan, but have found a Stronger than he Striving against
him & if satan prevails the fault will be my own*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 12, Wednesday: The Convention of Erfurt was signed by France and Russia. Russia would be allowed to occupy Moldavia, Wallachia, and Finland. France would remain neutral in any war between Russia and Turkey. The Emperor Alyeksandr would allow the Emperor Napoléon a free hand in Spain, and allied Russia with France in any war against Austria.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*4th day 12 of 10 M / I have again found that satan hath renewed
his attack, he hath stirred up Anger that worst of Passions, so
that I have still the thorn in the flesh*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1809

➡ August 18, Friday: Susan Grant was the 3d and final British woman to be executed for coining during the 19th Century.



FINAL EXECUTIONS		
<u>March 18, 1789</u>	<u>Christian or Catherine Murphy</u>	<u>hanged</u> and then incinerated at the stake in front of Newgate Prison in England for having coined false money
<u>August 18, 1809</u>	Susan Grant	final British woman to be executed for <u>coining</u> during the 19th Century
<u>November 7, 1817</u>	<u>Jeremiah Brandreth, Isaac Ludlam, and William Turner</u>	beheaded by ax in England for <u>Luddite</u> activities

OTHER WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1809

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
22/02	Mary Barrington		Newgate	Personate
20/03	Mary Bateman "The Yorkshire Witch"	41	York Castle	Murder

Tsar Alyeksandr of Russia decreed that higher ranks of state service be attainable only by university study or examination.

The French government of Spain dissolved all religious orders.

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

6th day 18 of 8th Mo// The mind again this Afternoon in a feeling State for which I desire to be thankful - Recd a letter from L Clarke giving a circumstantial account of the progress of our friends E Griffin & H Field in Narragansett & that the probability is that they have an appointed meeting this day at New London --



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER



October 23, Monday: [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) and Hobhouse left Tepeleni and arrived in Locavo.

A young German named Stapps attempted to stab the [Emperor Napoléon](#) but was intercepted by the emperor's aide, General Rapp (the man would be offered clemency by Napoléon in return for an apology but would refuse and be [executed](#)).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 23 of 10 M 1809// This mornng My dear Mother related to me her feelings for sometime perhaps two years past, about society [the Society of Friends] particularly when she has been at meeting, & as she told me was much affected & wept She said that many times & almost allways when she went to meeting, she felt desolation so to prevade her mind, that she has frequently shed tears, & looked about & said to herself - where is the weight, surely we are in a very desolate condition, & what will become of us - when she told me my mind was much affected & desires were raised that I might be one that should put forth a hand to help in raising the Standard among us - She also added that yesterday she had the best meeting she had had in a long time. - In the eveng met with the Directors of the AFrican Benevolent Society at Wm Pattens

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

STATE MURDER

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1810



According to Jeffrey Weeks's *SEX, POLITICS AND SOCIETY* (Longman, 1981), during this year in England four out of five men convicted of sodomy were hanged.

Rictor Norton has pointed out in an Email message that the abolition of public execution in England at this point may have had more to do with the preservation of public order for the purposes of government than it ever had to do with compassion for criminals being executed, or for that matter with Friend William Allen's and Friend Luke Howard's Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge upon the Punishment of Death and the Improvement of Prison Discipline which had been created in 1808. He alleges that on the English scene at least, public executions were abolished in order to ensure that the revolutionary mob would not get out of control and pursue their republican interests by going on to destroy property and the crown.



He points out that it was Edmund Burke who identified the English mob with the mobs in Revolutionary France, who led in the making of statements in Parliament about the necessity of abolishing the pillory.

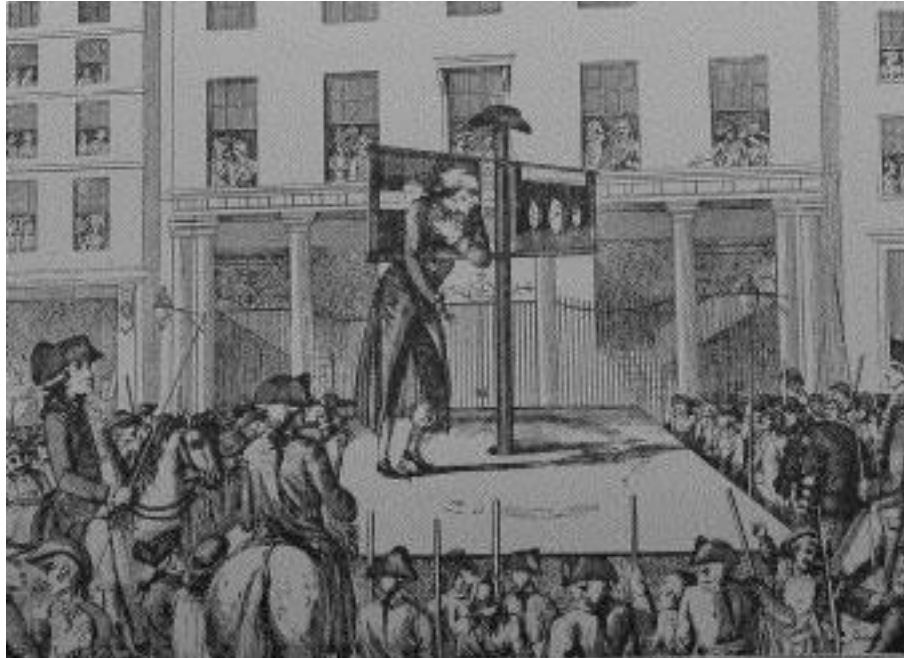


Fear of mob hysteria therefore was the overriding factor in abolishing public hangings and the pillory. Granted, sometimes this was clothed in the discourse of humanity towards the victims, but usually the argument we find being advanced was that such public events "brutalized the people," a phrase that he claims did not at all mean that it brutalized the minds of the better sort of citizens, but rather that it allowed and encouraged the expression of the brutish sort of people, the mainly lower-class populace who were both anti-social and anti-

STATE MURDER

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government. In this year at the pillorying of the Vere Street Coterie, he points out, the mob overpowered the 100 officers of the law in attendance who vainly strived to protect the men in the pillory, and what this event provoked was discussion about the dangers to society of public pillorying. The pillory would finally be abolished a generation later, mainly due to fears that the destructive power of the mob could not be controlled by the forces of law and order.



Public executions and public pilloryings, Norton summarizes, weren't abolished in England "because the public at large were developing more compassionate or humane sensibilities," but for quite the opposite reason: because "the mob were becoming more bloodthirsty."

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1810

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
12/03	Rebecca Blundell		Winchester	Murder of child
24/03	Jane Curran		Winchester	Forgery
07/04	Francis Thompson		York Castle	Uttering
13/06	Melinder Mapson		Newgate	Robbery from dwelling house
22/08	Mary Costigan		Tipperary	Murder
13/08	Betty Amphlett	21	Gloucester	Murder
17/09	Eleanor Grant		Tipperary	Murder




STATE MURDER

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1811

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1811

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
12/08	Jane Cox	31	Exeter	Murder of child
30/03	Eleanor Shiel		Tipperary	Child Murder

 December 26, Thursday: Governor Major-General Alexander Beatson had restored order on [St. Helena](#), after about 250 soldiers had staged a [Christmas Eve](#) holiday-spirits mutiny in protest of liquor rationing. On or by this day 6 of their members, identified as ringleaders, had been [hanged](#).

DRUNKENNESS

In a theater of Richmond, Virginia, a fire killed 5 black Americans, and 68 white Americans of whom many were from prominent local families.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 26th of 12 M 1811// I walked towards [Portsmouth](#) to attend our Moy [Monthly] Meeting. Rich'd Mitchell kindly gave me a ride of about 3 Miles on my way to Meeting his Sleigh, in going over one bank we over Set but neither of us was hurt. Our Meeting was small. The Womens side of the house counted but seven & them very young Women, I suppose neither of them over 30 years of life: -Ours was large in Number, perhaps 40 of 50 - Peter Lawton was Clerk & for the first time I was assistant & succeeded beyond my expectations -After meeting I rode with R Mitchell to his house & dined & after dinner a part of the way home with D Buffum in his sleigh which eased me of my journey exceedingly for if I had not have been assisted in this way it is not probable I should been able to have got home the same day. & tho' as it was my limbs were much fatigued, yet I was glad I went, for had I had not the Books & papers of neither meeting would have been there -Jonathon Dennis the two D Buffums, little Wm Chase & myself were all that were there from [Newport](#). The Snow Banks were formidable indeed some I walked over that I doubt not were 15 feet high.

A sorrowful affair was related to me in [Portsmouth](#) It appears that about 7 an hour before sun set in the Storm the day before yesterday Joseph Cundel went out of his Mill & has not yet been seen or heard from Yet. they have been searching the Mill dam today & cannot find him whether he was suffocated in the snow drown'd in the Mill dam & got into the Sea is Yet undetermined, but there is no prospect of ever finding him alive.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1812

➡ A bill against the Luddites proposed [capital punishment](#) for frame-breaking. [George Gordon, Lord Byron's](#) maiden speech in the House of Lords would be in opposition to such barbarity.

COLDBLOODED MURDER

WOMEN³⁴⁸ HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1812

Date	Name	Place of execution	Crime
23/03	Elizabeth Smith	Ipswich	Murder of daughter
13/06	Hannah Smith	Lancaster Castle	Riot
12/08	Catherine Foster	Newgate	Making false oath

➡ John O'Mic was [hanged](#) in the Cleveland Public Square for murdering two fur trappers.

➡ February 27, Thursday: [George Gordon, Lord Byron's](#) maiden speech at the House of Lords was in opposition to a proposal to impose [capital punishment](#) upon Luddites found guilty of frame-breaking.



LORD BYRON'S SPEECH

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

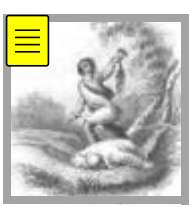
5th day 27 of 2 Mo// Our Moy [Monthly] Meeting is this day held at [Portsmouth](#), I would have been glad to have gone, but such is the situation of my dear H that at present I feel most easy not to leave her long at a time. — Those who attended the meeting say they had a pretty good time, but suffered much with the cold in going & coming.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

348. Please understand that I am limiting myself to the hanging of women and girls in England not because it is more of an atrocity to hang a person who has a vagina than a person who has a penis, and not because what goes on in England is super relevant, but because this defined subset of the available data can be used to indicate the nature of that superset of data — and because if I were to consider as well all of the hundreds of men and boys who were suffering this fate, my page would become unreadable.

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER



April 9, Thursday: At 9:30AM José Antonio Aponte and other leaders of an uprising of blacks in [Cuba](#) were [hanged](#). His head in an iron cage would be placed on display in front of the home in which he had lived (heads of these other leaders would also be variously posed).

THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 8 [sic] of 4 M // Our meeting was silent & I thought my mind was favor'd to partake of quiet, altho' some weakening things obtruded - this Afternoon, brought into serious thoughtfulness & feelings on various subjects especially the necessity of a preparation for the final chance - & the uncertainty of time. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

May: In this month in which Britain's Prime Minister Percival was shot dead by a bankrupt citizen, there was a food riot in Nottinghamshire and 2,000 additional British soldiers were sent to augment the about 2,600 who had already been dispatched to the district to quell this Luddite disturbance. In Lancashire/Cheshire, 6,900 soldiers were being stationed while a manufacturer was being attacked, ten Luddites were being [hanged](#), 38 were being sentenced to be transported, and 18 were being sentenced to imprisonment. In Yorkshire, 4,000 soldiers were being stationed while there were arms raids and robberies by the Luddites.



Another expression of a Luddistic kind, also contemporary with the Luddites, was Romanticism, beginning with William Blake and William Wordsworth and George Gordon, Lord Byron particularly, who like the machine-breakers were repulsed by the Satanic mills and the getting-and-spending of the past. (The identity was so immediate for Byron at least that at one point he was even moved to write, "Down with all kings but King Ludd!") This Romanticism, and particularly its attachment to an unspoiled, machine-free nature, was echoed across the Atlantic by [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#), Edgar Allan Poe, and Herman Melville, among literary lions, and notably by [Waldo Emerson](#) and Henry David Thoreau and their great heir, John Muir. Muir, one feels, would have been a Luddite given half the chance, and there is in his tirades against the developers of the West - "These Temple destroyers, devotees of ravaging commercialism, seem to have a perfect contempt for Nature, and instead of lifting their eyes to the God of the mountains, lift them to the Almighty Dollar" - the taste of the acrid anger found in the Luddite letters. ...What purpose does this machine serve? What problem has become so great that it needs this solution? Is this invention nothing

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but, as Thoreau put it, an improved means to an unimproved end?



May 11, Monday: Prime Minister Spencer Perceval, walking through the lobby of the House of Commons, was confronted by John Bellingham. Bellingham, a bankrupt who blamed the prime minister's policies for his own financial difficulties, pulled out a pistol and shot him point blank through the heart. (The new PM would be Robert Banks Jenkinson, 2d Earl of Liverpool, a Tory who would continue until in 1827 he would die of the most natural of causes.)



Londoners would cheer Bellingham as he ascended the steps of the scaffold. The hanging would be protected by 5,000 soldiers in order to ensure there could be no rescue. During the dissection of the corpse, the right ventricle of his heart continued to pulse for nearly four hours since the time of his hanging "and for about an Hour Longer, upon being touched with a Scalpel." His left testicle would be taken to the museum of the Royal College of Surgeons.

[THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS](#)

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER



December 10, Thursday: [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) reached Warsaw on his way back to Paris.

[Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote to Robert Richardson: "I have occasion for some iron backs for my fire places at this place, of a particular size & form.... I have to request you to have 7. cast as soon as convenient ... as my waggon can bring them here [Poplar Forest] as a return load."

Samuel Tully was [hanged](#) as a [pirate](#) on Nook's Hill in South [Boston](#). His accomplice, John Dalton, received a reprieve on the gallows (this is of course not the [Friend John Dalton](#) who introduced atomic theory into chemistry).³⁴⁹




349. THE LAST WORDS OF S. TULLY WHO WAS EXECUTED FOR PIRACY, AT SOUTH BOSTON, DECEMBER 10, 1812. Boston, Printed by N. Coverly, 1812

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1813

 Reviewing the French edition of [Jeremy Bentham](#)'s THEORY OF PUNISHMENTS, Henry Peter Brougham agreed that:

- Legal punishment has but two legitimate aims: deterrence and reparation.
- The harm the punishment does to the convict must be greater than the advantages that had been gained by way of the crime.
- If the crime was an incident in a habitual occupation, the punishment should be in proportion to the probable benefit obtainable from such a long-term practice.
- The more uncertain it is that a criminal practitioner will be caught and punished, the harsher the punishment should be.
- The harm done to the convict by the punishment should be proportional to the harm the offender had done to others.
- There should be judicial discretion to allow for differing circumstances.
- Since some offenders are to be returned to society while others are to remain separated from society, there should be at least two types of custody, with separate facilities.
- Imprisonment is preferable to banishment or exile, which provide little equality and no example to deter others.
- Imprisonment, unlike banishment, exile, or transportation, is variable in degree, reformatory, remissible, profitable, and exemplary. All these advantages are displayed in Bentham's proposed Panopticon. It offers constant surveillance of inmates, wholesome regimen, control by the operating contractor, profitability, deterrence, and likely reformation.
- [Capital Punishment](#) should apply only to the worst cases.



a couple of damn
smart dudes
who figured it all
out in their heads
on the basis of
first principles





STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1813

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
29/03	Ann Arnold		Ipswich	Murder
31/03	Catherine Geran		Limerick	Burglary
02/04	Catherine Donovan		Cork (Gallows Green)	Murder
05/04	Sarah Fletcher	19	Horsemonger Lane, Surrey	Child Murder
23/04	Edith Morrey		Chester	Murder of husband
06/08	Azubah Fountain		Lincoln Castle	Murder
06/09	Elizabeth Osborne	20	Bodmin	Arson
29/12	Christian Sinclair	60	Edinburgh	Murder of child



January 8, Friday: Three Luddites were [hanged](#) at York after the murder of William Horsfall, mill owner.

William T. Knapp was born to [John Leonard Knapp](#) and [Lydia Frances Freeman Knapp](#) at Llanfoist, near Abergavenny in Monmouthshire, England.



January 16, Saturday: 14 more Luddites were [hanged](#) at York.




STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1814

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1814

Date	Name	Place of execution	Crime
28/03	Mary Gibbs	Ipswich	Murder of child
20/04	Sarah Owens	Ilchester	Stealing in dwelling house
01/08	Mary Cook	Dorchester	Murder of child

 May 26, Thursday: [Dr. Joseph-Ignace Guillotin](#) died of a carbuncle in his shoulder. His family would have to change its name because of the popular story that it had been he who had invented the guillotine apparatus being used for decapitation. (Actually, all Dr. Guillotin had done was ask that prisoners be done to death in a more human manner than hanging. Guillotine-like apparatuses actually date back to 1200 in [Italy](#), and to the 1500s in Edinburgh, Scotland. The French apparatus in question actually had been devised by a Dr. Antoine Lewis, as a refinement on an Italian beheading device, and had therefore for a time been known as “la louison.”)

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 26 of 5 M 1814 / Amos Peasly was at Meeting his Service was uncommonly lively & edifying & Powerful. indeed I do not think for power I ever heard any thing to exceed it - I have no Doubt many were sensibly edified & those who were in allmost a lifeless state had their feelings greatly quickened In the last Meeting (Monthly) considerable buisness was transacted in good harmony - Geo Dennis & Jos Wilbour Dined with us & Uncle & aunt Thurston & Eliz Freeborn took tea - In the eveng took a pleasant Walk round the Point with Br D Rodman -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1815

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1815

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
28/03	Sarah White		Salisbury	Arson
03/04	Sarah Woodward		Ipswich	Murder of child
19/07	Jane Mulholland		Armagh	Murder of husband
25/07	Elizabeth Wollerton		Ipswich	Murder
26/07	Eliza Fenning	21	Newgate	Attempted Murder ^a
04/08	Honora Houraghan	40	Cork (Gallows Green)	Murder of husband

a. She was almost certainly innocent.

 January 21, Saturday: [Horace Wells](#) was born in Hartford, Vermont.³⁵⁰

The assembled leaders in Vienna attended a requiem mass in St. Stephen's Cathedral organized by Talleyrand, for Louis XVI on the 22d anniversary of the monarch's [execution](#). The requiem was conducted by Antonio Salieri.


LA GUILLOTINE


From this date until March 9th, [Lord and Lady Byron](#) would be at Seaham, home of Sir Ralph and Lady Milbanke.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*7th day 21st of 1st M 1815 / I have heard many speak of their satisfaction & edification at being at James Meeting last evening
This eveng rode to [Portsmouth](#) with David Williams & lodged at Cousin Z Chases*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 13, Friday: In Naples, Joachim Murat, brother-in-law of [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) who had attempted to reclaim the Neapolitan throne by force, faced a [firing squad](#).

 December 7, Thursday: [Elizabeth Hussey Whittier](#) was born. (It is necessary to disambiguate between two persons of this name, one having been the sister of John Greenleaf Whittier and the other his niece, called "Lizzie." This is the sister.)

Marshal Michel Ney was executed by [firing squad](#) in a Paris street (he would be the only one of [Napoléon Bonaparte](#)'s marshals to be put to death).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

350. Wells's drug experiments on himself would, on January 24, 1848, bring about his death.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

5th day 7th of 12 M / Our meeting was Small on the womens side of the house in consequence of the Rain - I thought it a season of favor, tho' "Jacob was very small" Yet a current of life appear'd to flow. - Hannah Dennis was very lively her opening was "Is there no balm in Gilead & is there not a Physician there." In the forepart of the meeting Jonathon Dennis requested that we set more compact which was repeated by father Rodman - Friends have heretofore been in the habit of Sitting scattering, Some near the door, whose age and standing would render a forward seat more appropriate. -

Last eveng about 10 OClock Died at Portsmouth Ruth Bringhurst widow of James Bringhurst late of Philadelphia -


RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS




STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1816

 At about this point Joseph Deibler, the first Deibler to be working executions in France, emigrated from Germany.

HEADCHOPPING

 December 2, Monday: In the USA, our initial savings bank, the Philadelphia Savings Fund Society, opened its doors.

In England, this was a year of social unrest caused by unemployment, bad harvests, and food shortages. A 2d meeting was held at Spa Fields near [London](#) to protest the treatment that had been accorded to Henry “Orator” Hunt by the Prince Regent after the initial meeting of November 15th. Before Hunt arrived a section of the crowd, led by a tricolor, marched on the [Tower of London](#) *a la Bastille* (along their march they plundered a gunsmith’s shop for weapons, but were easily stopped in their tracks by a constable and a few concerned citizens, and the ringleaders taken into custody and charged with treason; eventually when things calmed down they would be acquitted).

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1816

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
11/03	Sarah Cock		Hertford	Murder of child
07/09	Dinah Riddiford	69	Gloucester	Burglary
16/09	Susanna Holroyd		Lancaster Castle	Murder

1817

➡ Friend [Joseph John Gurney](#) joined his older sister, Friend [Elizabeth Gurney Fry](#), in attempting to bring an end to [capital punishment](#) and improve the quality of life for prisoners.




YOUR GARDEN-VARIETY ACADEMIC HISTORIAN INVITES YOU TO CLIMB ABOARD A HOVERING TIME MACHINE TO SKIM IN METATIME BACK ACROSS THE GEOLOGY OF OUR PAST TIMESLICES, WHILE OFFERING UP A GARDEN VARIETY OF COGENT ASSESSMENTS OF OUR PROGRESSION. WHAT A LOAD OF CRAP! YOU SHOULD REFUSE THIS HELICOPTERISH OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORICAL PAST, FOR IN THE REAL WORLD THINGS HAPPEN ONLY AS THEY HAPPEN. WHAT THIS SORT WRITES AMOUNTS, LIKE MERE “SCIENCE FICTION,” MERELY TO “HISTORY FICTION”:
IT’S NOT WORTH YOUR ATTENTION.



STATE MURDER


STATE MURDER

 Thomas Benton and Charles Lucas, American lawyers, had it out with pistols. Although Lucas suffered a cut to the neck which bled copiously, preventing him from continuing, there needed to be a 2d encounter and this time he took a bullet near the heart. As he lay dying Lucas shook Benton's hand and said that he forgave him.

DUELING

Those who have paid attention to the O.J. Simpson trials will be interested in this. In England, [Abraham Thornton](#), who stood accused of having raped and murdered [Mary Ashford](#) in the early morning of May 27th, was tried and, the verdict being not guilty, released. Mary's family being duly informed by their attorney that an old law would allow for a trial by combat (the nomenclature used for this double jeopardy was "Appeal of Murder") if her 10-year-old brother Henry Stout, Mary's heir-at-law, would champion her and challenge Abraham Thornton to a fight. This law would for the last time in England be used as the 10-year-old, acting through his mother, sued out an appeal to trial by combat on July 15th, 1818. This brought forward an ancient statute of Henry VII which prescribed that such an accused, found not guilty, would nevertheless be confined or held to bail until the period had lapsed in which an appeal to trial by combat could be completed. Interestingly, if the still accused and still imprisoned defendant Abraham Thornton were to be "found guilty" by God during this trial by combat with the boy Henry Stout, the only outcome would be that he must [hang](#). There was no possibility of mercy or pardon by the King of England in such an appeal from a judicial decision in the King's court, to trial by combat, but not because the decision had been made by God, a superior authority to the King, but rather because such an appeal was considered under the law of the land to be a civil matter rather than a criminal action.

FAMOUS LASTS		
May 12, 1797	Venetian doge Lodovico Giovanni Manin	abdicated, sort of
1817	Mary Ashford	a final appeal to Trial by Combat
November 14, 1832	Charles Carroll of Carrollton or Charles Carroll III	last of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, age 95

 A prisoner, Henry Phillips,³⁵¹ was [hanged](#) for murder in [Boston](#). This year marked the last use of the public whipping post in the town of Spindle Hill, Connecticut, where [Bronson Alcott](#) was at this point 17 years of age.³⁵²

THE ALCOTT FAMILY

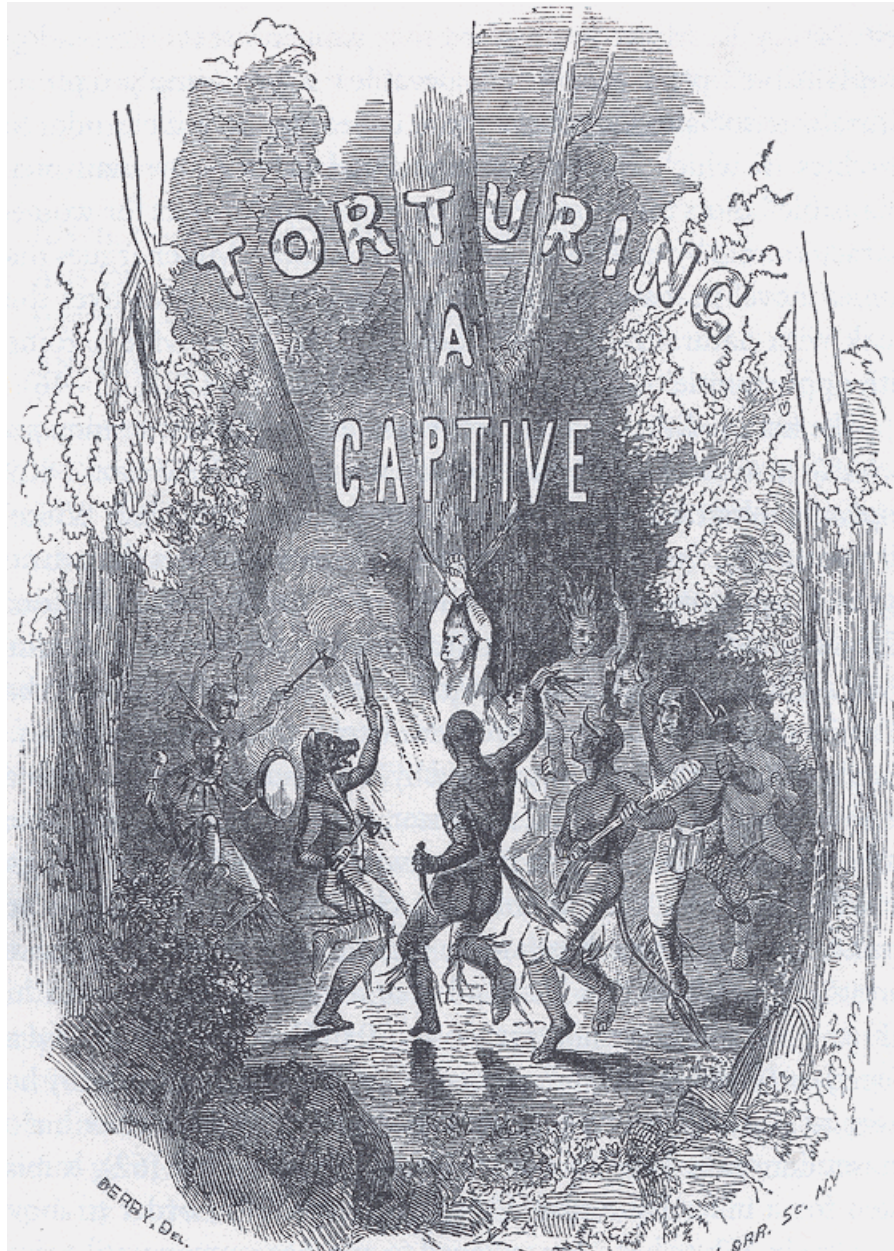
FAMOUS LASTS		
1817	Mary Ashford	a final appeal to Trial by Combat
1817	pair of cattle thieves	last whipped at the whipping post of Spindle Hill, Connecticut
November 14, 1832	Charles Carroll of Carrollton or Charles Carroll III	last of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, age 95

351. This was, actually, the 2d Henry Phillips or Philips to commit murder in Boston. The initial [Henry Phillips or Philips](#) had been a gentleman who had killed another gentleman Benjamin Woodbridge in a sword duel on the Common on July 3/4, 1728, and had with the help of friends escaped judgment by fleeing to England and then France.

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

The last persons so [tortured](#), a pair of cattle thieves, received 7 lashes each across the back, over the wounds from which a quantity of rum was afterward poured.



Things were much more benign in New York State, where a new prison facility at Auburn began in this year to experiment with the scheme generally referred to as “lease prisons.” Since we honest citizens have all these prisoners we are punishing, having nothing productive to do with their wait time, let’s force them to labor for their own upkeep while under detention! (It’s only fair to us! The harder and more unpleasant their labor, the more of a punishment it will be! They’ll learn their lesson and sin no more! Why should we pay a criminal’s bills for him? Does anyone suppose that becoming a criminal gives a person some sort of right to be on the public dole? No way Jose! I mean, get serious! Etc. :-)

352. In English law the public whipping of women, which had been happening with decreasing frequency since the 1770s, was brought to a stop during this year. The public whipping of men, however, would continue in England into the 1830s.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

Here's some commentary on the situation which has appeared in the April 1996 issue of Prison Legal News:

Sometimes private business entities contracted with states to operate their entire prison system; other times the state would operate the prison and "lease" the prison labor to businesses. Nineteenth-century prisons were essentially forced labor camps. Prisoners were made to produce a wide array of goods, including shoes, furniture, wagons, and stoves. For the sake of profit, they were often housed in squalid conditions, fed spoiled food, and given scant clothing or shoes. Whippings were commonplace, and medical care was nonexistent.

LEASED PRISONS

According to Jeffrey Weeks's *SEX, POLITICS AND SOCIETY* (Longman, 1981), during this year in England a man was sentenced to hang under the sodomy laws for having oral sex with a boy (after being thoroughly frightened, he would be pardoned).

THE TASK OF THE HISTORIAN IS TO CREATE HINDSIGHT WHILE
INTERCEPTING ANY ILLUSION OF FORESIGHT. NOTHING A HUMAN CAN
SEE CAN EVER BE SEEN AS IF THROUGH THE EYE OF GOD. THE
UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO'S CENTER OF THE AMERICAN WEST HAS
AS ITS OFFICIAL MOTTO "TURNING HINDSIGHT INTO FORESIGHT" —
WHICH INDICATES THAT ONLY PANDERERS ARE WELCOME THERE.
IN A BOOK THAT IS SUPPOSED TO BE ABOUT HISTORY, ISSUED BY
RANDOM HOUSE IN 2016, I FIND THE PHRASE "LOOKED UPON FROM
THE BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF HISTORY," ONLY A MERE STORYTELLER,
NEVER A HISTORIAN, COULD HAVE PENNED SUCH A PHRASE —
BECAUSE NO BIRD HAS EVER FLOWN OVER HISTORY.



February: Charlotte Newman and Mary Ann James were sentenced to the gallows, for forgery. Friend Elizabeth Fry began a campaign to have these women reprieved (ultimately her efforts would prove unsuccessful and they would be executed).



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1817

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
24/02	Sarah Perry		Newgate	Murder of child
05/03	Elizabeth Fricker		Newgate	Burglary
15/03	Elizabeth Witing		Lincoln Castle	Murder
21/03	Ann Statham	28	Stafford	Murder
14/04	Ann Hawlin		Warwick	Murder of child
26/07	Elizabeth Warriner		Lincoln Castle	Murder
17/10	Margaret Crossan	50	Ayr	Arson

THE TASK OF THE HISTORIAN IS TO CREATE HINDSIGHT WHILE
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NEVER A HISTORIAN, COULD HAVE PENNED SUCH A PHRASE —
BECAUSE NO BIRD HAS EVER FLOWN OVER HISTORY.



March: When [Friend Elizabeth Gurney Fry](#) and [Friend Joseph John Gurney](#) pled with the Home Secretary to spare the life of Harriet Skelton, a maidservant to a solicitor who, under pressure from her husband, had passed forged banknotes, Lord Sidmouth warned the House of Commons that these reformers were dangerous since the effect of their reforms would be to “remove the dread of punishment in the criminal classes.” This was, in every sort of way, a clash between defenders of “Restorative Justice” and advocates of “Retributive Justice” (and we all know that the mean-souled usually triumph in that sort of contest of spirit). The prisoner would be escorted to the Newgate [gallows](#) as per schedule.

“MAGISTERIAL HISTORY” IS FANTASIZING: HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER



March 4, Tuesday: Inauguration of James Monroe as 5th President of the US. Delivery of his 1st Inaugural Address. President Monroe moved into the incomplete reconstructed [White House](#) in [Washington DC](#), or “President’s House” as it was then called, and would import for it some stylish furniture purchased in Paris. Meanwhile, in England, Habeas Corpus was being suspended (until February 1818), and opposition journalists were fleeing or facing imprisonment.

[Salma Hale](#) was elected as a Democratic-Republican to the 15th Congress (until March 3, 1819; he would oppose the Missouri Compromise).

When a secret parliamentary committee reported that in its view, insurrection was imminent, habeas corpus was suspended in Britain.

[Friend Elizabeth Gurney Fry](#) wrote about her day in prison, and about [capital punishment](#):

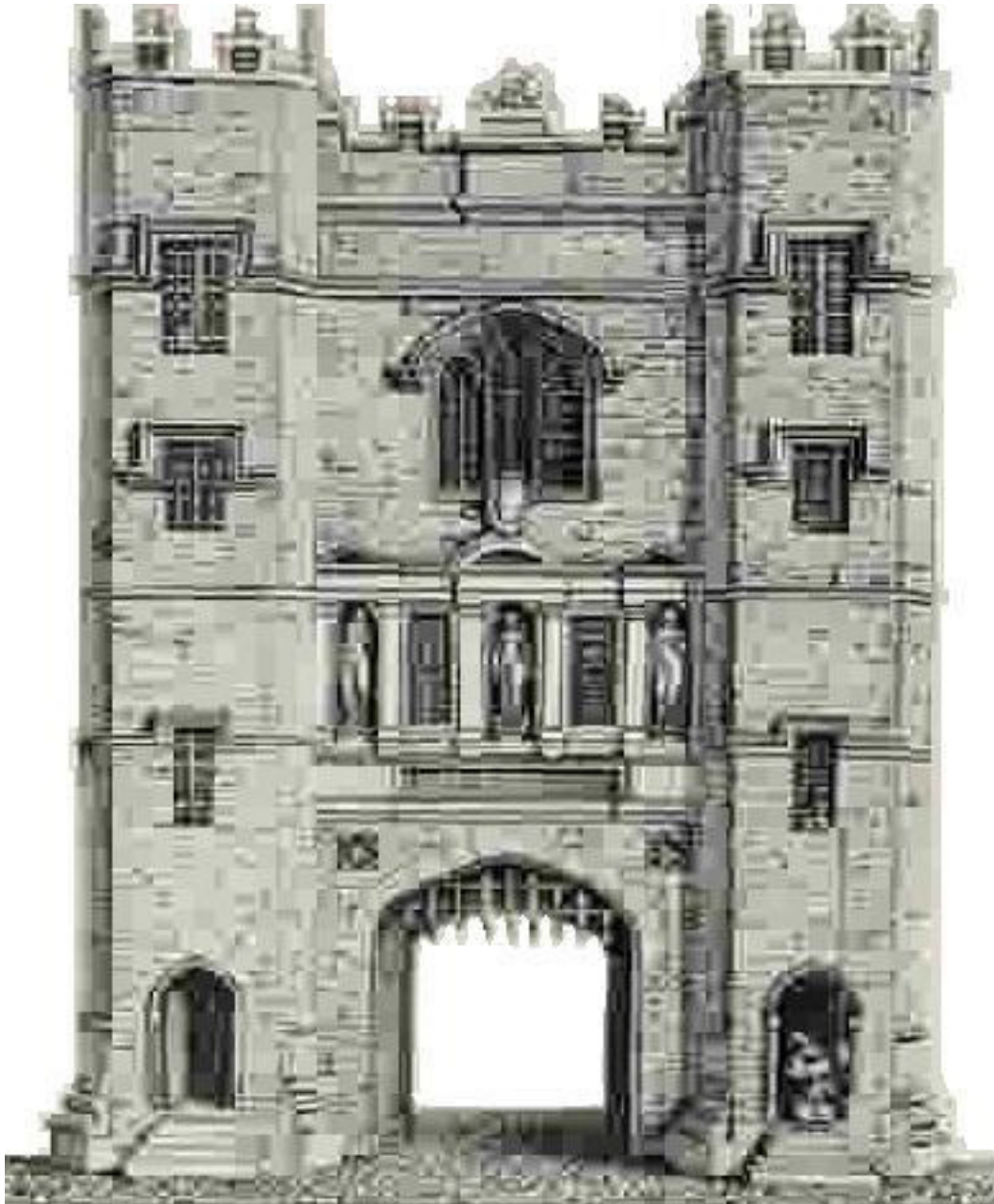
I have just returned from a most melancholy visit to Newgate, where I have been at the request of Elizabeth Fricker, previous to her execution [for robbery] tomorrow morning, at eight o'clock. I found her much hurried, distressed, and tormented in mind. Her hands cold, and covered with something like the perspiration preceding death, and in an universal tremor. The women who were with her said she had been so outrageous before our going that they thought a man must be sent for to manage her. However, after a serious time with her, her troubled soul became calmed. But is it for man thus to take the prerogative of the Almighty into his own hands? Is it not his place rather to endeavour to reform such; or restrain them from the commission of further evil? At least to afford poor erring fellow mortals, whatever may be their offenses, an opportunity of proving their repentance by amendment of life. Besides this poor young woman, there are also six men to be hanged, one of whom has a wife near her confinement, also condemned, and seven young children. Since the awful report came down, he has become quite mad, from horror of mind. A strait waistcoat could not keep him within bounds: he had just bitten the turnkey; I saw the man come out with his hand bleeding, as I passed the cell.

COLDBLOODED MURDER

**LIFE IS LIVED FORWARD BUT UNDERSTOOD BACKWARD?
— NO, THAT’S GIVING TOO MUCH TO THE HISTORIAN’S STORIES.
LIFE ISN’T TO BE UNDERSTOOD EITHER FORWARD OR BACKWARD.**

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER



➡ March 12, Wednesday: John Cashman was [hanged](#) before the gun shop he had looted in [London](#) during the disturbances the previous December 2d. His case had become a cause celebre because he had been wounded 9 times in the Royal Navy, and had been unable to make his way in the post-war world after being denied his back pay and prize money by the Admiralty. Working class people saw him as one of themselves wronged by the establishment, and thronged to bear witness during his execution.

COLDBLOODED MURDER

➡ March 13, Thursday: When Henry Phillips, who had murdered Gaspard Denegri near Roebuck Tavern, was [hanged](#) on [Boston Neck](#), he was allowed to hold a handkerchief with the agreement that he would drop it when he was ready for the trap to be sprung.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

After the cap was drawn over his eyes, he sang a song of three verses, dropped the handkerchief, and was launched into eternity.³⁵³

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 13th of 3 M / Very unexpectedly at meeting today we had the Company of Obadiah Davis & Ruth his wife - Ruth first appeared in a long & solemn testimony to parents & Youth & related the circumstances of the death of a young woman in their neighborhood who left time a few days ago in a sweet frame of mind, who expressed that many times when her parents restrained her from the ways of the World, she thought them hard. but she was then fully sensible they were right & that it was their Duty so to do - Obadiah followed her in very impressive terms to a considerable length - Ruth then appeared in solemn supplication & Obadiah wound up in a few words, excellently - It was a close searching time & I have no hesitation in saying that the Lords mighty power was felt among us & some minds were shaken by it. -My state was remarkably spoken & I have no doubt many others were 6th day 14th of 3rd M 1817 / This day John is five years old -he is a smart little fellow & I devoutly hope he may make a GOOD Man - I have no greater desire for him, even tho' he should be blessed with great riches without RELIGION, they are nothing.- This Afternoon Sister Ruth came down to see us & will stay all night. The first time she has been out since she broke her leg - I can but feel a degree of thanksgiving that she has thus comfortably got along. - My Spirit has been (particularly this Afternoon) feelingly touched & prayers begotten that I may increase in dedication

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



March 17, Monday: After five days during which mourners filed by the casket to pay their respects, “a vast multitude” followed the remains of the hanged John Cashman to the cemetery of Stepney Churchyard.

COLDBLOODED MURDER

Francis Lemuel Capen was born in Sterling, Massachusetts.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 17 of 3 M / This morning Sister Ruth went home having past 3 night & 2 day [Monday]s very acceptably with us, & we are thankful she is so far restored as to be able to get about again

4th day 19th of 3rd M / My mind has of late been favord to witness the solemnizing influence of the spirit of Life flow thro' it, & desires raised that the clensing operation may be thoroughly preformed. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

353. Edward H. Savage's POLICE RECORDS AND RECOLLECTIONS OF BOSTON BY DAYLIGHT AND GASLIGHT FOR TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY YEARS, issued in 1873.

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

➡ November 7, Friday: The [hanging](#) and then [beheading](#) for treason of 3 laborers, Jeremiah Brandreth, Isaac Ludlam, and William Turner, who had been detected in Luddite activities (that is, had been incited to lead the Pentrich Rising). In “An Address to the People on The Death of the Princess Charlotte,” [Percy Bysshe Shelley](#) would proclaim this to be a greater tragedy for the nation than the unexpected death of [Princess Charlotte Augusta Hanover of Wales](#) on the previous day.

These would prove to be the final beheadings by ax in Britain.



FINAL EXECUTIONS		
August 18, 1809	Susan Grant	final British woman to be executed for coining during the 19th Century
November 7, 1817	Jeremiah Brandreth, Isaac Ludlam, and William Turner	beheaded by ax in England for Luddite activities
July 9, 1819	Rose Butler	final woman to be publicly hanged in New-York and buried in Potters' Field (Washington Square)



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

NEVER READ AHEAD! TO APPRECIATE NOVEMBER 7TH, 1817 AT ALL ONE MUST APPRECIATE IT AS A TODAY (THE FOLLOWING DAY, TOMORROW, IS BUT A PORTION OF THE UNREALIZED FUTURE AND IFFY AT BEST). —IN PARTICULAR DID ANYBODY RECOGNIZE ON THIS DAY THAT THESE THREE WOULD BE THE FINAL BEHEADINGS? DID ANYBODY ON THAT SCAFFOLD GO “YOU KNOW, AFTER WE CHOP OFF YOUR HEADS WE WON’T BE DOING THIS ANYMORE, EVER?”



December 26, Friday: In the Teatro La Fenice of Venice, Lanassa, a melodramma eroico by Johann Simon Mayr to words of Rossi and Merelli after Lemierre, was performed for the initial time.

William McDonald, who had been sentenced to be [hanged](#) in [Boston](#) for the murder of his wife, died of natural causes before he could be executed.

Command over the American forces organizing to “pursue” the Seminoles of the Georgia border with Spanish East [Florida](#) was assumed by General [Andrew Jackson](#). The black Seminoles were conveniently and readily presumed to be mere escaped slaves, a presumptive status which —unexamined and unchallenged— they occupy in our “history” books even today. This was race war. Our General Andrew “Long Knife” Jackson was



STATE MURDER

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ordered by the US government to do “anything necessary” to subdue them.

“Father, after the war – will the Ten Commandments hold again?”



In the process of capturing St. Marks and Pensacola, our general would execute two British subjects. (This is generally considered a no-no.) The invasion would cause an international furor. President James Monroe and Secretary of War John C. Calhoun would simply deny having authorized Jackson’s deeds, and for awhile the cabinet would consider apologizing to Spain and Britain. They even debated the possibility of taking disciplinary action in regard to their general. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams would strongly demur, however, and would persuade Monroe that the thing to do was to justify his general’s behavior as having been necessitated by Spanish negligence. Adams would so deviously exploit the whole affair that he would be able to obtain, in 1819, the final cession of the Floridas to the United States, along with a favorable definition of the western boundary of the Louisiana Purchase.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1818



Thomas Fowell Buxton, a member of the Association for the Improvement of the Female Prisoners in Newgate, published AN INQUIRY INTO PRISON DISCIPLINE. Elected to the House of Commons to represent Weymouth, he was in a position to sponsor the work of Friend [Elizabeth Fry](#). When Friend Elizabeth presented her finding, however, she made the mistake of commenting to the MPs that “[capital punishment](#) was evil and produced evil results,” which alienated them because they could perceive nothing at all problematic about criminals being hanged.

[London](#) Yearly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) had a leading in regard to [capital punishment](#):

“The awful subject of the punishment of death has at this time deeply impressed our minds. We believe that where the precepts and spirit of our great Lord and Lawgiver have a complete ascendancy, they will lead to the abolition of this practice.”



COLDBLOODED MURDER



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING THE YEAR: 8

Date	Name	Place of execution	Crime
17/02	Mary Ann Jones	Newgate	Forgery
17/02	Charlotte Newman	Newgate	Forgery
10/04	Mary Connell	Cork (Gallows Green)	Murder
18/04	Margaret Dowd	Lancaster Castle	Uttering
24/04	Harriet Skelton	Newgate	Uttering
24/04	Ann Bamford	Warwick	Uttering
04/05	Ann Tye	Gloucester	Murder
11/08	Bridget Murray	Cavan	Murder of husband

CHANGE IS ETERNITY, STASIS A FIGMENT



February 8, Sunday: A sermon was delivered at Woodstock, Vermont by the Reverend Leland Howard, pastor of the 1st Baptist Society in Windsor, Vermont, prior to the hanging on February 13th of Samuel E. Godfrey (1782-1818) of Chatham on Cape Cod for the grudge murder in 1814 of Thomas Hewlett (as keeper of the Vermont State Prison where Godfrey was serving a prison sentence, Hewlett had punished him for a rule infraction; there had been in this case 3 successive trials and 3 successive orders of execution over a period of 4 years).

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

1st day 8th of 2nd M 1818 / Our morning Meeting was an uncommonly favord season, early in the sitting a good degree of solemnity was felt to arise & D Buffum was soon engaged in a lively testimony attended with life & Power - then father Rodman, then Lydia Almy, then Hannah Dennis who rose a second time & with much feeling addressed the Youth.- In the Afternoon we were silent but a solid covering was witnessed -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



STATE MURDER



February 13, Friday: In Philadelphia, [James Forten](#) received an urgent summons to a meeting of the vestry. Absalom Jones, the 1st black ordained priest in the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, rector of the 1st African Church of St. Thomas which he had established in 1794, had died of [typhoid fever](#) (the funeral service and procession would take place on the following Monday, with the sermon being presented by the priest who had ordained Jones, Bishop William White; eventually Mr. Prince Saunders would be chosen to step into the Reverend Jones's position as Reader or Minister at St. Thomas's).

A sermon was delivered at Woodstock, Vermont by the Reverend Leland Howard, pastor of the 1st [Baptist](#) Society in Windsor, Vermont, prior to the [hanging](#) of Samuel E. Godfrey (1782-1818) of Chatham on Cape Cod for the grudge murder in 1814 of Thomas Hewlet (as keeper of the Vermont State Prison where Godfrey was serving a prison sentence, Hewlet had punished him for a rule infraction; there had been in this case 3 successive trials and 3 successive orders of execution over a period of 4 years). It was freezing that day and a snowstorm was swirling about the site — and yet more than 10,000 turned out to witness this event.



April 29, Wednesday: Before sunrise, Major General [Andrew Jackson](#) executed two British subjects in occupied [Florida](#) for inciting the natives against him. The merchant Alexander George Arbuthnot, probably innocent, was [hanged](#) from the masthead of his schooner. A former Royal Marine, Robert Chrystie Ambrister, probably guilty, had been sentenced by the Court Martial to 50 lashes and a year at hard labor — but instead General Jackson put him before a [firing squad](#).



STATE MURDER

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STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER



November 6, Friday: [Malcolm Laing](#) died on his Orkney estate and his property would be inherited by his brother [Samuel](#).

Malcolm Laing.
Historian 1762–1818

A memorial tablet would be placed on the wall of the north nave of St. Magnus Cathedral in Kirkwall, which in the 17th Century had been being used for internments and would come to contain a number of curiosities: **"DEPTH, TRUTH, AND INDEPENDENCE AS AN HISTORIAN WERE," SAYS LORD COCKBURN, "THE LEAST OF HIS MERITS, FOR HE WAS A FIRM, WARM-HEARTED, HONEST MAN, WHOSE INSTRUCTIVE AND AGREEABLE COMPANIONSHIP WAS ONLY MADE THE MORE INTERESTING BY A HARD, PEREMPTORY, CELTIC MANNER AND ACCENT."**



In Albany, New York James Hamilton, an Irishman, was [hanged](#) for having, while inebriated on Sunday, July 14, 1818, shot down his company commander Benjamin Birdsall of the 6th US Rifle Regiment.

At [Harvard College](#), the Sophomore class met under a tree near Hollis Hall to plot a response to college discipline after their food riot of the previous Sunday supper in University Hall. When authority showed up to disperse this assembly, it was mocked. The number of suspensions would go up from 7 to 12, and in addition, 3 students would be "rusticated."



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER



December 30, Wednesday: At a trial in Mayor's Court at the [New-York](#) City Hall, James Maurice v Samuel Judd, the dispute was over nonpayment of a fee for inspection of "fish oil," but the decision revolved around the question of whether this would include the oil from whales, and thus whether or not whales are fish. Linnaeus had separated whales from fish in 1758 because whales have lungs rather than gills and breathe air through a blowhole, have four chambers in the heart, have eyelids that move, and have flipper bones that match those in the hands and arms of humans and apes, but the current dictionaries defined fish merely as animals that live exclusively in water. Thus oysters, crabs (except for beach crabs), and whales definitely are fish. The jury would decide that the fee should be paid, which would cause the state legislature promptly to exempt whale oil from the category of fish oil (refer to D. Graham Burnett's TRYING LEVIATHAN, put out in 2007 by Princeton UP).

In Edinburgh, [Scotland](#), executioner John Simpson made a number of tries before he was able to [hang](#) Robert Johnston for the robbery of a candlemaker. When the trap dropped on his initial try, the criminal was able to remain standing on the platform and the crowd drove the authorities away with stones, cut the offender down, removed his hood, and carried him off toward High Street. They heaved the boards of the waiting coffin through the windows of Tolbooth Church. When the police and military retrieved the 22-year-old robber, a surgeon bled him until he was sufficiently weak to be unable to resist. However, when the executioner made his 2d attempt he used too long a rope, and they needed to lift their victim while they wound the rope again and again around the hook on the scaffold beam. Then it took the man like forever to strangle.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*30th of 12th M 1818 / I awoke this Morning with the recollection that this day completed my 37th year, & it has been a day of much seriousness
Thousands who were alive this day, thirty seven Years ago have since paid the debt of nature, & it has been my lot to witness the exit of some of them, both in my own immediate family & some of my aged friends. - I have grown from youth to manhood & have now arrived at what may be termed the Meridian of life & must soon expect to be looking on the Down Hill side & perhaps within a very short time be numbered with the Silent dead. - Man knoweth not his time, & I am thankful that I do not know the end of mine. - but this one thing I do know, that it is necessary for me to [be] prepared to change worlds, & I do also know that "the effect of Righteousness is PEACE."*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



December 31, Thursday: On the previous day in Edinburgh, Scotland, executioner John Simpson had sadly botched the job of [hanging](#) robber Robert Johnston for the robbery of a candlemaker. On this day the city magistrates fired both the executioner and the master of works who had been responsible for the structure of the gallows. Although a 50-guinea reward was offered for the identification of the persons who had rescued the robber after he was able to remain standing on the platform when the trap fell, this reward would never be paid.

Arriving at the "Elmwood" mansion of [Friend Moses Brown](#) outside [Providence, Rhode Island](#), after a boat trip and a stage ride, were two assistant teachers for the girls' department, Friends Mary Mitchell and Dorcas Gardner, a Quaker girl scholar from New Hampshire, and three Quaker girl scholars from Nantucket.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

12th M 31st 5 of ye Week 1818 / This Morning took Chaise & with Br D Rodman went to [Portsmouth](#) to attend the Moy [Monthly] Meeting - a little this side of Wm Baileys gate the Axle tree of the Chaise broke short off which brought us down & tho' in



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

*the fall I lost the reins, the horse stoped & stood perfectly still, which I count a special favor & for which my heart is truly thankful to the Lord, the great ruler of events – we set the Chaise on the side of the road & went to Wm Baileys who very kindly lent us a small Waggon which safely carried us the rest of the way to the Meeting House –The first Meeting was silent, the last was a deeply exercising one. Some cases before us was deeply distressing & afforded ample scope for the exercise of christian patience & prudence. I have thought I had known some hard meetings before, but it seemed as if this was the hardest – I believe that my concern has been a right one for the welfare of society & Oh saith my soul may I hold on; & may my concern increase, –
We dined at Saml Thurstons – & rode Home.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1819

February 18, Thursday: On [Boston Neck](#), John Williams, Peter Peterson (alias Nils Peterson), Francis Frederick and John P. Rog were [hanged](#) for the crimes of [piracy](#) and murder.³⁵⁴

Les troqueurs, an *opéra comique* by Louis Joseph Ferdinand Hérold to words of d'Artois and d'Artois after Vadé after [La Fontaine](#), was performed for initial time, in the Théâtre Feydeau, Paris.

March 22, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 22 of 3 M / I have felt this day a renewal of life, & can say with some formerly, "has not my heart burned within me"

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

Hannah Bocking, who had poisoned Jane Grant at Wardlow Miers in Derbyshire, was only 16 when [hanged](#), which was a female record (execution of persons under 16 would remain a possibility in England until the Children's Act of 1908).

OTHER WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1819

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
08/03	Sarah Huntingford	61	Winchester (Gallows Hill)	Murder of husband
12/03	Sarah Hurst		Aylesbury	Murder of husband
22/03	Mary Woodman	30	Exeter	Murder of husband
29/03	Mary McGarry		Downpatrick	Child Murder
23/04	Mary Bissaker	56	Warwick	Coining

354. A CONCISE SKETCH OF THE EXECUTION OF JOHN WILLIAMS, PETER PETERSON (ALIAS NILS PETERSON), FRANCIS FREDERICK AND JOHN P. ROG WHO WERE EXECUTED ON THE 18TH OF FEBRUARY, 1819, FOR MURDER AND PIRACY : PREFACED WITH MORAL REFLECTIONS : TO WHICH IS ADDED A SOLEMN ADDRESS. Boston : Printed for N. Coverly, 1819

[PIRATES](#)



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER



March 23, Tuesday: Karl Ludwig Sand, a Bavarian theology student at the University of Jena, gained entry to the home of the reactionary diplomat and dramatist August Freidrich Ferdinand von Kotzebue, author of the *GESCHICHTE DES DEUTSCHEN REICHES VON DESSEN URSPRUNGE BIS ZU DESSEN UNTERGANGE* denouncing liberalism, civil liberties, and constitutions that had been thrown into the bonfire of the student bookburning at the *Schloss Wartburg* on October 18, 1817, and stabbed him repeatedly in the chest while the man's 4-year-old son watched from the nearby nursery room (after several failed attempts to commit suicide by stabbing himself, Sand would be beheaded).

HEADCHOPPING

[Karl Theodor Christian Friedrich Follen](#)'s friendship with Sand would bring him under suspicion as an accomplice. Follen was able to destroy some letters linking him with Sand and would be acquitted due to lack of evidence. He would, however, be dismissed from the University of Gießen and would need to relocate, to Paris. There he would meet Charles Comte, son-in-law of Jean Baptiste Say and founder of the Censeur, a publication which he defended until he chose exile in Switzerland instead of imprisonment in France.




April 16, Friday: The publication of Muzio Clementi's *Gradus ad Parnassum* Volume II was entered at Stationer's Hall, London.

At Sugar Loaf near Goshen, [New York](#), 5 persons had been found guilty of the murder of Richard Jennings, aged 70 years, as the outcome of an inheritance property dispute. His honor Judge Van Ness, after passing the sentence of the law, advised them as friends to prepare to meet their God! admonished them not to let a false hope of pardon divert their attention from the paramount duties which ensure a safety of their souls — to meet their fate as christians! On this day, the others having received lesser or commuted sentences, James Teed and David Dunning were to be hanged. Before the main events, however, the sheriff delivered the following discourse before the audience of some 20,000 or more: "It is more than 30 years since any person in the county has suffered the last pain of the law for the crime of murder. I am now, however, called to the performance of a necessary, but painful duty, appertaining to my office: I hope I shall discharge it with the feelings that become me. Let me request your attention for a few moments, before the commencement of that awful spectacle which will engross every power and bind up every faculty in terror and commiseration. The cause which stirred up the vindictive passions of the unfortunate men you now behold, was in itself trifling — in its consequences how tremendous! An aged and infirm man, in an unsuspecting moment, was the first victim of violence, and they, the authors and contrivers of his death, are now about to become the necessary sacrifice offered by the law, for the example and the safety of all. Doomed to death in the midst of health, in the prime of life — taken in a moment from the most endearing connexions; from wives and children — in agony and in shame they go to those dark and mysterious abodes, where penitence is unavailing, reformation impossible, and their punishment eternal. By your serious and orderly conduct, let the lesson of their punishment have its full effect — give to them your pity — let them have your prayers: By the inexorable decree of that law they have dreadfully violated, it is all they can ask — it is all you can grant. And may God have mercy on their souls!" Before the main events, also, the Reverend Mr. Fisk delivered a discourse from Numbers, xxxii. 23. After this James Teed offered a prayer that went on for 15 minutes. At 2:30PM Sheriff Burnet dropped the trap.


Since no local cemetery would receive the remains, Mr. James Hallock and his wife allowed the burial to take place on their pasture outside the fence of an old cemetery. In the night, however, persons unknown would pound long, sharpened locust posts down through the centers of these burials, and the pair of posts would stand out there in the pasture for more than half a century.

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

 July 9, Friday: [Rose Butler](#), a young black servant who had been found guilty of one or another major crime such as arson, was the final woman to be publicly [hanged](#) in [New-York](#) (this municipal gallows was at the location at which the masonry arch now stands, in Washington Square, which used to be the municipality's "potters' field" in which many more than 100,000 corpses had been allowing themselves to transit into useful potting soil).

FINAL EXECUTIONS		
November 7, 1817	Jeremiah Brandreth, Isaac Ludlam, and William Turner	beheaded by ax in England for Luddite activities
July 9, 1819	Rose Butler	final woman to be publicly hanged in New-York and buried in Potters' Field (Washington Square)
1826	name not on record	prisoner hanged for a single homicide in Boston

 July 29, Thursday: John Duffield, age 46 or 47, Josiah Wilkes, age 52, and Thomas Earp, age 29, for the coining of counterfeit shillings, were convicted of high treason by a jury at Stafford and sentenced by the judge to be drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution and there to be [hanged](#) by the neck. Afterward the court would take mercy on Wilkes and Earp and re-sentence them to life imprisonment among the some 650 prisoners held aboard the convict hulk *Leviathan* in Portsmouth harbor (normally such prisoners did manual labor in guarded gangs ashore during the day).



(I don't know which of the above hulks was the *Leviathan*.)

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 29th of 7th M 1819 / Our meeting was a solid time to me
In the first Hannah Dennis appeard in a solid & to my feelings
pertinent testimony. — In the last (Monthly) we had considerable
buisness, & some of it of a weighty & important nature, which I
thought was moved in with care & a good degree of circumspection.
—Uncle Peter & Aunt Wait, Anne Anthony & Jacob Mott dined with*




STATE MURDER

us. —

STATE MURDER


RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 21, Saturday: At about 6AM service commenced in the chapel at Stafford, which, with the administration of the holy sacrament, occupied the time till near 8AM, when the tolling of the bell announced the approach of the horse-drawn hurdle conveying John Duffield, who was to be hanged (such a hurdle was usually fashioned from thin interwoven branches to which the prisoner was tied). When the horse reached the foot of the ladder of the town's portable gallows structure, Duffield stated with great composure, "I am going to Heaven." Ascending the platform with steady step, he stood quietly as the executioner adjusted the rope about his neck. He was allowed to spend some five minutes in fervent prayer before the signal was given and the drop fell. The Wolverhampton Chronicle would report that "On Saturday morning, about half-past eight o'clock, John Duffield underwent the awful sentence of the law at the front of the county gaol at Stafford, for counterfeiting, at Darlaston, the coin of this realm called a shilling, of which he was convicted (with Josiah Wilkes and Thos. Earp) at our late assizes." The news account informs us that the hanged counterfeiter had left seven children.

In Newport, Rhode Island, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

*7th day 21 of 8 M / Father Rodman attends Anne & Hannah today
they Dined with us & had a sitting in the family & when Anne
Carpenter came in & joined us....*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 31, Tuesday: The revenue cutters *USS Alabama* and *USS Louisiana*, while sailing the Gulf off southern Florida, sighted and gave chase to the schooner *Bravo*. When they came within range there was a brief gunnery duel, and then the vessel was boarded and its crew surrendered. The vessel had been sailing without a letter of marque. It was Jean La Farges, a lieutenant of Jean Lafitte. We can presume that all these pirates would hang.

"Variations on Non più mesta accanto al fuoco" was performed by Nicolò Paganini, probably for the initial time, at the Teatro dei Fiorentini of Naples.

In Newport, Rhode Island, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

*3rd day 31st of 8 M / This evening Sampson Sherman son of Job
departed this life. I was called in & assisted in laying him
out. he had entered his 16th Year - with him "The summer has past"
& who will close with the Autumn, is known only to Him who giveth
life & taketh it away at his Will. - May all that is alive within
me bow in his presence in thankfulness for the many favors
vouchsafed. -
In the Afternoon Attended the funeral of Robert Lawton which was
large. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1820



January 10, Monday: In the diary of [Thomas Nuttall](#) we find: “*This evening we arrived near to the termination of the second Pine Bluffs, which continue along the river for nearly two miles. We passed through seven bends of the river; and came about 27 miles. The frost was now succeeded by mild and showery weather; and the bald eagles [Falco Leucocephalus] were already nestling, chusing the loftiest poplars for their eyries.*”

In Lawrenceburg, Indiana, this had been planned as Palmer Warren’s wedding day but his fiancée (whose name is not of record) had renounced another suitor, Amasa Fuller, in favor of him. The jilted suitor came to the office of bridegroom-to-be Palmer Warren with a pair of dueling pistols, charged with four balls each, and confronted him with a note he was to sign to the effect that in the presence of the Almighty God, he renounced all pretensions to the young lady and acknowledged that he was a base liar and scoundrel. When the favored suitor declined to sign said note and refused to participate in a demanded [duel of honor](#), the jilted suitor shot and killed him there in his office. Amasa Fuller would [hang](#) for the murder of Palmer Warren on August 14th and the result would be a ballad, “Fuller and Warren,” a variant of which has been recorded as follows:

Ye sons of Columbia, attention all I’ll pray,
And listen to a story I’m going to tell:
It happened here of late in an Indiana State,

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER


Of a hero who but a few could excel....

It seems clear why the name of the bride-to-be in question is not on the record! — how must that Hoosier lass have reacted to the contemporary singing of such a ballad?

6			1 1 0 3	1		1 1		1 1 0	
8	2	2 3	2			2 2	0	0	2
	3 3			3 3					2 2

3	3	0	2	3
				3

 February 4, Friday: [Lavinia Fisher](#) of [Charleston, South Carolina](#) was [hanged](#) before a crowd of some 2,000.

 February 9, Wednesday: At St. Mary, Whitechapel, William Smith, age 24, stole two cows worth £36 from William Morris. On the testimony of William Morris, his cow boy James Martin, the man to whom William Smith sold the two cows Joseph Martin, and constable Francis Freeman, a Middlesex jury would find him guilty and Judge Baron Graham would sentence him to be [hanged](#).

Moses Gerrish Farmer, who would develop the electric-striking apparatus for a fire alarm service that would be installed in Boston in 1851, and would invent an incandescent electric lamp in 1858/1859, was born in Boxcawen, New Hampshire to Colonel John Farmer and Sally Gerrish Farmer.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER



February 17, Thursday: The US federal senate passed the Missouri Compromise – [Maine](#) was admitted as a separate state while Missouri was simultaneously admitted as a slave state, thus preserving the balance of power between the North and the South, while [slavery](#) was prohibited in the land area of the Louisiana Purchase north of latitude 36° 31°.

At the Old Bailey in London, five of the six trials on this day ended with a death sentence. One of the death sentences was handed down in the case of a 9-year-old, Charles Elliott, who had stolen six handkerchiefs, worth five shillings each, from Martha Blakeman's shop on Oxford Street on February 8th. (Since we have no record of a [hanging](#), we can presume that this sentence would have later been commuted to transportation to [Australia](#) — the youngest person we know of who was actually hanged in Britain in the 19th Century was a John Bell in 1831 who at the age of 14 committed murder.)

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 17th 1820 / The Walking exceedingly bad & our meeting was attended by but few women - R Mitchell came along & kindly took my H in his sleigh & a sufficient number got to the meeting house to Make a Preparative Meeting. - The men turned out with pretty good example. - In the first meeting we had a lively testimony from father Rodman. - & to me it was a season of favor & I believe the solemnity covered most minds present for which I desired to be thankful.

My time of late had been much occupied in buisness for the support of the body & yet I may thankfully add, I have at seasons a comfortable evidence of the continuance of divine regard & the extension of life & love in my heart - may I ever keep this object in view thro' all & over all

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



March 18, Saturday: Evaristo Pérez de Castro Brito replaced Joaquín José Melgarejo y Saurín, duque de San Fernando de Quiroga as First Secretary of State of Spain.

At the Norfolk Assizes, [William Head](#) was sentenced to [hang](#) for highway robbery. He and an accomplice had taken a silver watch, a handkerchief, and a great coat from another visitor to the Wymondham Fair. He would be held at Norwich Castle, his death sentence would be reprieved to transportation, and he would be taken from England aboard the *Hebes* destined for New South Wales.

AUSTRALIA


STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

 May 25, Thursday: [Waldo Emerson](#)'s 17th birthday.



Michael Powers, who had murdered Timothy Kennedy, was [hanged](#) on [Boston](#) Neck.

 Michael Powers, who had murdered Timothy Kennedy, had been hanged on the municipal gallows on Boston Neck on May 25th; however, on some other day during this year another [hanging](#) took place at [Boston](#), this one (since the offence had amounted to [piracy](#)) out on the Admiralty mudflats.

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1820

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
12/04	Ann Heytrey	22	Warwick	Petty treason
12/08	Sarah Polgreen	37	Bodmin	Petty treason
16/08	Rebecca Warlock	36	Gloucester	Murder
05/12	Sarah Price	43	Newgate	Uttering



STATE MURDER



June 6, Tuesday: [Queen Caroline](#) traveled from Dover to [London](#) with ever increasing crowds along the way cheering her on. In London while she stayed at the house of Alderman Matthew Wood, supporting crowds would for two days surround the house.

The saddler [Louis Pierre Louvel](#) was sentenced to the [guillotine](#) for the assassination of [Charles Ferdinand d'Artois, Duc de Berry](#).

HEADCHOPPING



June 7, Wednesday: [Louis Pierre Louvel](#) was [guillotined](#) for the assassination of [Charles Ferdinand d'Artois, Duc de Berry](#).

HEADCHOPPING

[Karl Theodor Christian Friedrich Follen](#) had come under suspicion as an accomplice, and would flee to [Switzerland](#) (he would teach for awhile at the cantonal school at Coire and at the University of [Basel](#) while Prussian authorities continued to solicit Swiss authorities to deliver him unto their tender mercies, until both he and Charles Comte would be forced again to flee, in Follen's case to the United States of America).



August 4, Friday: At Stirling in [Scotland](#) a judge of the "[Radical War](#)" treason delivered himself of the remark "To you Andrew Hardie and John Baird I can hold out little or no hope of mercy" because "as you were the leaders, I am afraid that example must be given by you."

HANGING

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day proceeded to [Providence](#) & reached the School House about 10 O'clock, after landing the Young Women, I rode into town on a little buisness with Natl. Watson of Salem & returned to [Moses Browns](#) & dined where I found G Osborn & several other friends whom I loved, their company was very pleasant. — After dinner we went up to the School House & attended to the concerns that came before us in the capacity of School Committee, much weight was manifest among us & right concern for the welfare of the institution. — Ruth & I returned to [Moses Browns](#) & lodged. —next morning being 7th day we returned to the school House to attend to some unfinished buisness of yesterday, staid to dinner & dined with the Schollars after which we left them & rode home & got to [Newport](#) before 9 O'clock in the evening. —

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 14, Monday: 1st US eye hospital, the New York Eye Infirmary, opened in New-York City.

In Lawrenceburg, Indiana, the jilted suitor Amasa Fuller was [hanged](#) for the murder on January 10th of bridegroom-to-be Palmer Warren and the result would be a ballad, "Fuller and Warren," a variant of which has been recorded as follows:

Ye sons of Columbia, attention all I'll pray,
And listen to a story I'm going to tell:
It happened here of late in an Indiana State,
Of a hero who but a few could excel.

He was handsome, independent, he was comely and fair,
But a sweeter hero never yet was known;



STATE MURDER

But sorry for to say, instead of a wedding day,
Young Fuller he lies silent in his home.

Like Samson he courted the fairest of the fair,
He thought she would be his wedded wife;
But like Ella the fair, she did his heart unswear,
And robbed him of his honour and his life.

He gave to her a gold ring as a token of true love,
He thought her the image of a dove;
To get married then with speed they mutually agreed,
And he swore by all powers above.

When Fuller came to hear he was deprived of his dear,
He swore in his heart he would wed;
With his heart full of woe to young Warren he did go,
And smiling to young Warren he said:

“Young man, you know you’ve wronged me,
You gratify your cause by reporting that I’ve left a prudent wife;
Now acknowledge that you’ve wronged me or I will break the law,
For, Warren, I’ll deprive you of your life.”

Warren made reply, “Your request I do deny,
For my heart unto your darling is bound;
But furthermore I’ll say, this is our wedding day,
In spite of all the heroes in the town.”

Young Fuller in a passion of love and anger flew,
And this fair one began for to cry;
And with one fatal shot, he shot Warren on the spot,
And smiling said, “I’m ready for to die.”

Young Fuller was condemned by the honour of jury bold,
In the land of lorn alone for to die;
To die an inhuman death to hang upon the yard,
Like a highwayman upon the gallis high.

The time was drawing nigh when young Fuller he must die,
And smiling said, “I’ll bid you all adieu.”
Like an angel he did stand, for he was a handsome man,
And upon his coat he wore a rose of blue.

Ten thousand spectators they were all standing by,
And the guards dropping tears from their eyes,
Saying, “Cursed was she who caused this misery,
She ought in his place now to die.”

The smiling God of Love, looking down from above,
And the rope broke asunder where they stand;
Two doctors there to pay, commit murder on that day,

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

And hung him by the main string of the hand.

The first system of musical notation for 'State Murder' consists of a treble clef staff with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a 6/8 time signature. The melody is written in eighth and sixteenth notes. Below the staff is a guitar tablature with six strings. The first string has a '6' in the first measure, indicating a barre at the sixth fret. The second string has an '8' in the first measure, indicating an octave at the eighth fret. The tablature includes various fret numbers and string numbers (e.g., 2, 3, 0, 2, 3, 0, 2, 0, 2, 2) to guide the player.

The second system of musical notation for 'State Murder' continues the melody from the first system. It features a treble clef staff with a key signature of one flat and a 6/8 time signature. The melody is written in eighth and sixteenth notes. Below the staff is a guitar tablature with six strings. The first string has a '6' in the first measure, indicating a barre at the sixth fret. The second string has an '8' in the first measure, indicating an octave at the eighth fret. The tablature includes various fret numbers and string numbers (e.g., 2, 3, 0, 2, 3, 0, 2, 0, 2, 2) to guide the player.



August 30, Wednesday: A petition entitled “The Address to the Inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland” had been in circulation since April 1st and a cavalry officer, Sir Richard Hussey Vivian, had been sent up from London to [Scotland](#) to take care of the situation. He assembled 2,000 soldiers and rounded up a number of persons suspected by others of possessing radical sympathies. One of those who had fallen into the trap of the provocateur-incited “[Radical War](#)” treason had been one James Wilson, who had been taken near his home in Strathaven 14 miles from Glasgow. Having been duly found guilty of “compassing to levy war against the king,” and having been duly sentenced to being [hanged](#), drawn, and quartered for said treason, on this day Wilson was placed head down on a hurdle and drawn to Glasgow Green, where he faced a crowd of some 20,000 people. He remarked to his executioner “Did you ever see such a crowd, Thomas?” After the hanging and beheading the executioner left off and the corpse was neither drawn nor quartered.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER



September 8, Friday: There having been a protest march in [Scotland](#) involving a march from Glasgow toward the Carron Ironworks for the purpose of the securing of weapons, and two of the leaders of said march, weavers, having been taken into custody, on this day in Stirling the march leaders Andrew Hardie and John Baird were [hanged](#) then [beheaded](#) for their "[Radical War](#)" treason before a crowd of some 2,000. Sheriff of Stirling Ranald MacDonald had stipulated that they would not be allowed to make political speeches from the platform, but had consented that they might speak upon the Holy Scripture. Baird made a brief speech ending in "Although this day we die an ignominious death by unjust laws our blood, which in a very few minutes shall flow on this scaffold, will cry to heaven for vengeance, and may it be the means of our afflicted Countrymen's speedy redemption." Hardie then commented that "our blood [being] shed on this scaffold ... for no other sin but seeking the legitimate rights of our ill used and down trodden beloved Countrymen," and the Sheriff interrupted his speech. He quickly concluded by asking those present to "go quietly home and read your Bibles, and remember the fate of Hardie and Baird." (This punishment for treason would be removed from the statute books in 1947.)

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1821

→ The English law read: “Any person, who commits the crime of sodomy, either with a man, or with any animal, and is found guilty, will be put to death.” The sentence was always death of course, but until this date to obtain a conviction of bestiality the presence of semen in the animal had to be proven, and thus many of those charged were released. In order to increase the rate of conviction, the requirement was eased at this point in time so that it would no longer be necessary for the prosecution “to prove ejaculation, rather intercourse shall be deemed to have occurred if penetration has occurred.” If penetration could not be established but a witness testified to observing an “attempt” to penetrate the animal, the sentence would be 10 years imprisonment. The English law would be revised in 1861 to reduce the sentence of hanging to life imprisonment (still in effect).

→ April 13, Friday: John Horwood was hanged at the “New” Bristol Gaol, three days after his 18th birthday, for the murder of Eliza Balsum, an older girl who had spurned his advances. He had heaved a rock at her while she crossed a stream near Hanham Mill, fracturing her skull. He had commented while in jail, “Lord, thou knowest that I did not mean then to take away her life but merely to punish her: though I confess that I made up my mind, some time or other, to murder her.” His body would be taken to the Bristol Royal Infirmary and dissected by the surgeon Richard Smith. An account of his dissection and a transcript of his trial would be bound as a book covered with his skin — a grisly *memento mori* which in fact is still in existence.



THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS

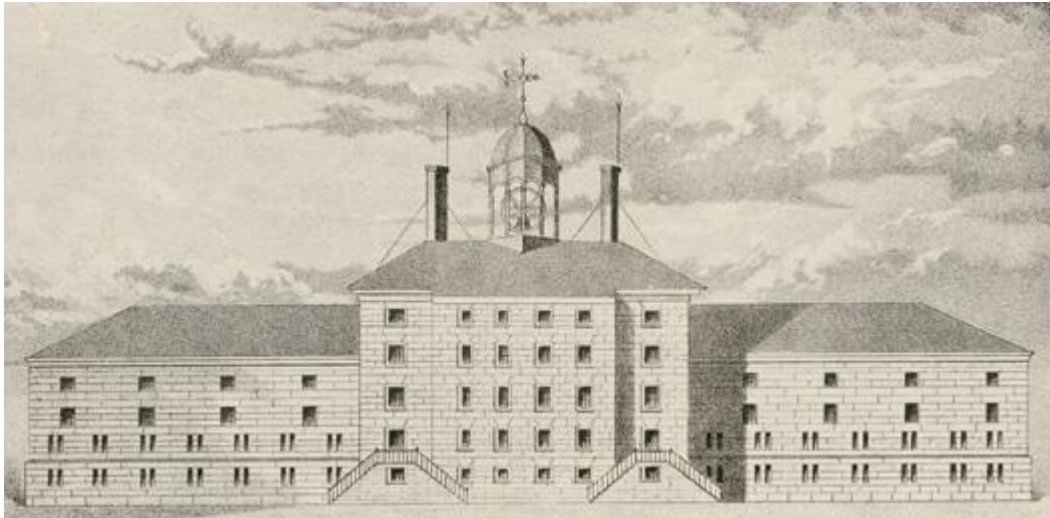
WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1821

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
10/03	Mary Clarke		Northampton	Murder of husband
14/03	Margaret Plunkett	29	Trim (County Meath)	Murder of husband
14/03	Francis Gilligan	18	Trim (County Meath)	Aiding Plunkett
31/03	Esther Waters		Leicester	Murder
13/08	Ann Barber	45	York Castle	Petty treason
27/11	Ann Norris		Newgate	Robbed brothel
07/12	Margaret Tindell	36	Montrose	Murder of husband

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

➡ November 8, Thursday: [Samuel Green](#) attacked Billy Williams, a black convict, with an iron bar in a shop in the yard of the Massachusetts State Prison in [Charlestown, Massachusetts](#), causing fatal injuries, and would be [hanged](#) at the gallows on [Boston Neck](#) just outside the town gate and near the burying grounds.³⁵⁵



➡ November 8, Thursday, evening: Captain Jackson's brig *Cobbesecontee* had sailed that morning from [Havana](#) toward Boston. He had only proceeded about 4 miles from Moro Castle when brought to by a vessel with about 30 pirates. Captain Jackson had noticed their sloop at Regla the day before. These [Cubans](#) took the personal items of the captain and his mate, stripping them nearly naked. They broke a large broadsword across the captain's back and stabbed him through his thigh so that he almost bled to death. After they beat the mate, he was [hanged](#) under the maintop. From the cargo were obtained 3 bales of cochineal and 6 boxes of cigars. Captain Jackson would confirm a report brought by other American sailors who had been brought to grief in Havana, that some of the local whites were openly countenancing these acts of [piracy](#) against US citizens — as a gesture of retaliation against US interference with the [Cuban slave](#) trade.

[INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE](#)

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day of 11 M / Our Meeting was small - a considerable portion of those who generally attend were absent at David Buffums where Sarah Sherman has lain very ill for some weeks & while the Meeting was sitting today She expired - She was a [-] lid [solid?, words obscured by binding crease] young woman & tho' all the forepart of her illness she was deprived of her mental powers, but a few days previous to her death she came to her understanding & expressed her reconciliation to the Solemn Change -

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

355. Another convict, Howard Trask, was also involved in this beating. He also, on September 16th while confined in the old Leverett Street Jail, would attempt to kill cellmates Francis Durgen and John Newman. Considered insane, he would not be executed.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

THE WEST INDIA PIRATES

CONTAINING ACCOUNTS OF THEIR ATROCITIES, MANNERS OF LIVING, &C., WITH PROCEEDINGS OF THE SQUADRON UNDER COMMODORE PORTER IN THOSE SEAS, THE VICTORY AND DEATH OF LIEUTENANT ALLEN, THE INTERESTING NARRATIVE OF CAPTAIN LINCOLN, &C.³⁵⁶



Those innumerable groups of islands, keys and sandbanks, known as the West-Indies, are peculiarly adapted from their locality and formation, to be a favorite resort for pirates; many of them are composed of coral rocks, on which a few cocoa trees raise their lofty heads; where there is sufficient earth for vegetation between the interstices of the rocks, stunted brushwood grows. But a chief peculiarity of some of the islands, and which renders them suitable to those who frequent them as pirates, are the numerous caves with which the rocks are perforated; some of them are above high-water mark, but the majority with the sea water flowing in and out of them, in some cases merely rushing in at high-water filling deep pools, which

356. THE PIRATES OWN BOOK, OR AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF THE LIVES, EXPLOITS, AND EXECUTIONS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED SEA ROBBERS, by Charles Ellms (Portland: Published by Sanborn & Carter; Philadelphia: Thomas, Comperthwait, & Co., 1837. This would be republished in 1842 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York & Philadelphia, and in 1844 in Portland by Sanborn & Carter, and in 1855 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York, and in 1924 by Marine res. of Massachusetts, and in 1996 by Random House of New York.)



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are detached from each other when the tide recedes, in others with a sufficient depth of water to allow a large boat to float in. It is hardly necessary to observe how convenient the higher and dry caves are as receptacles for articles which are intended to be concealed, until an opportunity occurs to dispose of them. The Bahamas, themselves are a singular group of isles, reefs and quays; consisting of several hundred in number, and were the chief resort of pirates in old times, but now they are all rooted from them; they are low and not elevated, and are more than 600 miles in extent, cut up into numerous intricate passages and channels, full of sunken rocks and coral reefs. They afforded a sure retreat to desperadoes. Other islands are full of mountain fastnesses, where all pursuit can be eluded. Many of the low shores are skirted, and the islands covered by the mangrove, a singular tree, shooting fresh roots as it grows, which, when the tree is at its full age, may be found six or eight feet from the ground, to which the shoots gradually tend in regular succession; the leaf is very thick and stiff and about eight inches long and nine wide, the interval between the roots offer secure hiding places for those who are suddenly pursued. Another circumstance assists the pirate when pursued. — As the islands belong to several different nations, when pursued from one island he can pass to that under the jurisdiction of another power. And as permission must be got by those in pursuit of him, from the authorities of the island to land and take him, he thus gains time to secrete himself. A tropical climate is suited to a roving life, and liquor as well as dissolute women being in great abundance, to gratify him during his hours of relaxation, makes this a congenial region for the lawless.

The crews of pirate vessels in these seas are chiefly composed of Spaniards, Portuguese, French, Mulattoes, Negroes, and a few natives of other countries. The island of Cuba is the great nest of pirates at the present day, and at the Havana, piracy is as much tolerated as any other profession. As the piracies committed in these seas, during a single year, have amounted to more than fifty, we shall give only a few accounts of the most interesting.

In November 1821, the brig Cobbessecontee, Captain Jackson, sailed from Havana, on the morning of the 8th for Boston, and on the evening of the same day, about four miles from the Moro, was brought to by a piratical sloop containing about 30 men. A boat from her, with 10 men, came alongside, and soon after they got on board commenced plundering. They took nearly all the clothing from the captain and mate — all the cooking utensils and spare rigging — unrove part of the running rigging — cut the small cable — broke the compasses — cut the mast's coats to pieces — took from the captain his watch and four boxes cigars — and from the cargo three bales cochineal and six boxes cigars. They beat the mate unmercifully, and hung him up by the neck under the maintop. They also beat the captain severely — broke a large broad sword across his back, and ran a long knife through his thigh, so that he almost bled to death. Captain Jackson saw the sloop at Regla the day before.

Captain Jackson informs us, and we have also been informed by other persons from the Havana, that this system of piracy is openly countenanced by some of the inhabitants of that place — who say that it is a retaliation on the Americans for interfering against the Slave Trade.



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About this time the ship Liverpool Packet, Ricker, of Portsmouth, N.H., was boarded off Cape St. Antonio, Cuba, by two piratical schooners; two barges containing thirty or forty men, robbed the vessel of every thing movable, even of her *flags*, rigging, and a boat which happened to be afloat, having a boy in it, which belonged to the ship. They held a consultation whether they should murder the crew, as they had done before, or not – in the mean time taking the ship into anchoring ground. On bringing her to anchor, the crew saw a brig close alongside, burnt to the water's edge, and three dead bodies floating near her. The pirates said they had burnt the brig the day before, and *murdered all the crew!* – and intended doing the same with them. They said "look at the turtles (meaning the dead bodies) you will soon be the same." They said the vessel was a Baltimore brig, which they had robbed and burnt, and murdered the crew as before stated, of which they had little doubt. Captain Ricker was most shockingly bruised by them. The mate was hung till he was supposed to be dead, but came to, and is now alive. They told the captain that they belonged in Regla, and should kill them all to prevent discovery.

In 1822, the United States had several cruisers among the West-India islands, to keep the pirates in check. Much good was done but still many vessels were robbed and destroyed, together with their crews. This year the brave Lieutenant Allen fell by the hand of pirates; he was in the United States schooner Alligator, and receiving intelligence at Matanzas, that several vessels which had sailed from that port, had been taken by the pirates, and were then in the bay of Lejuapo. He hastened to their assistance. He arrived just in time to save five sail of vessels which he found in possession of a gang of pirates, 300 strong, established in the bay of Lejuapo, about 15 leagues east of this. He fell, pierced by two musket balls, in the van of a division of boats, attacking their principal vessel, a fine schooner of about eighty tons, with a long eighteen pounder on a pivot, and four smaller guns, *with the bloody flag nailed to the mast*. Himself, Captain Freeman of Marines, and twelve men, were in the boat, much in advance of his other boats, and even took possession of the schooner, after a desperate resistance, which nothing but a bravery almost too daring could have overcome. The pirates, all but one, escaped by taking to their boats and jumping overboard, before the Alligator's boat reached them. Two other schooners escaped by the use of their oars, the wind being light.

Captain Allen survived about four hours, during which his conversation evinced a composure and firmness of mind, and correctness of feeling, as honorable to his character, and more consoling to his friends, than even the dauntless bravery he before exhibited.

The surgeon of the Alligator in a letter to a friend, says, "He continued giving orders and conversing with Mr. Dale and the rest of us, until a few minutes before his death, with a degree of cheerfulness that was little to be expected from a man in his condition. He said he wished his relatives and his country to know that he had fought well, and added that he died in peace and good will towards all the world, and hoped for his reward in the next."

Lieutenant Allen had but few equals in the service. He was ardently devoted to the interest of his country, was brave,



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intelligent, and accomplished in his profession. He displayed, living and dying, a magnanimity that sheds lustre on his relatives, his friends, and his country.

About this time Captain Lincoln fell into the hands of the pirates, and as his treatment shows the peculiar habits and practices of these wretches, we insert the very interesting narrative of the captain.

The schooner Exertion, Captain Lincoln, sailed from Boston, bound for Trinidad de Cuba, Nov. 13th, 1821, with the following crew; Joshua Bracket, mate; David Warren, cook; and Thomas Young, Francis De Suze, and George Reed, seamen.

The cargo consisted of flour, beef, pork, lard, butter, fish, beans, onions, potatoes, apples, hams, furniture, sugar box shooks, &c., invoiced at about eight thousand dollars. Nothing remarkable occurred during the passage, except much bad weather, until my capture, which was as follows: —

Monday, December 17th, 1821, commenced with fine breezes from the eastward. At daybreak saw some of the islands northward of Cape Cruz, called Keys — stood along northwest; every thing now seemed favorable for a happy termination of our voyage. At 3 o'clock, P.M., saw a sail coming round one of the Keys, into a channel called Boca de Cavolone by the chart, nearly in latitude 20° 55' north, longitude 79° 55' west, she made directly for us with all sails set, sweeps on both sides (the wind being light) and was soon near enough for us to discover about forty men on her deck, armed with muskets, blunderbusses, cutlasses, long knives, dirks, &c., two carronades, one a twelve, the other a six pounder; she was a schooner, wearing the Patriot flag (blue, white and blue) of the Republic of Mexico. I thought it not prudent to resist them, should they be pirates, with a crew of seven men, and only five muskets; accordingly ordered the arms and ammunition to be immediately stowed away in as secret a place as possible, and suffer her to speak us, hoping and believing that a republican flag indicated both honor and friendship from those who wore it, and which we might expect even from Spaniards. But how great was my astonishment, when the schooner having approached very near us, hailed in English, and ordered me to heave my boat out immediately and come on board of her with my papers. — Accordingly my boat was hove out, but filled before I could get into her. — I was then ordered to tack ship and lay by for the pirates' boat to board me; which was done by Bolidar, their first lieutenant, with six or eight Spaniards armed with as many of the before mentioned weapons as they could well sling about their bodies. They drove me into the boat, and two of them rowed me to their privateer (as they called their vessel), where I shook hands with their commander, Captain Jonnia, a Spaniard, who before looking at my papers, ordered Bolidar, his lieutenant, to follow the Mexican in, back of the Key they had left, which was done. At 6 o'clock, P.M., the Exertion was anchored in eleven feet water, near this vessel, and an island, which they called Twelve League Key (called by the chart Key Largo), about thirty or thirty-five leagues from Trinidad. After this strange conduct they began examining my papers by a Scotchman who went by the name of Nickola, their sailing master. — He spoke good English, had a countenance rather pleasing, although his beard and mustachios had a frightful appearance — his face, apparently full of anxiety, indicated something in my favor; he gave me my papers, saying "take good care of them, for

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I am afraid you have fallen into bad hands." The pirates' boat was then sent to the Exertion with more men and arms; a part of them left on board her; the rest returning with three of my crew to their vessel; viz., Thomas Young, Thomas Goodall, and George Reed — they treated them with something to drink, and offered them equal shares with themselves, and some money, if they would enlist, but they could not prevail on them. I then requested permission to go on board my vessel which was granted, and further requested Nickola should go with me, but was refused by the captain, who vociferated in a harsh manner, "No, No, No." accompanied with a heavy stamp upon the deck. When I got on board, I was invited below by Bolidar, where I found they had emptied the case of liquors, and broken a cheese to pieces and crumbled it on the table and cabin floor; the pirates, elated with their prize (as they called it), had drank so much as to make them desperately abusive. I was permitted to lie down in my berth; but, reader, if you have ever been awakened by a gang of armed, desperadoes, who have taken possession of your habitation in the midnight hour, you can imagine my feelings. — Sleep was a stranger to me, and anxiety was my guest. Bolidar, however, pretended friendship, and flattered me with the prospect of being soon set at liberty. But I found him, as I suspected, a consummate hypocrite; indeed, his very looks indicated it. He was a stout and well built man, of a dark, swarthy complexion, with keen, ferocious eyes, huge whiskers, and beard under his chin and on his lips, four or five inches long; he was a Portuguese by birth, but had become a naturalized Frenchman — had a wife, if not children (as I was told) in France, and was well known there as commander of a first rate privateer. His appearance was truly terrific; he could talk some English, and had a most lion-like voice.

Tuesday, 18th. — Early this morning the captain of the pirates came on board the Exertion; took a look at the cabin stores, and cargo in the state rooms, and then ordered me back with him to his vessel, where he, with his crew, held a consultation for some time respecting the cargo. After which, the interpreter, Nickola, told me that "the captain had, or pretended to have, a commission under General Traspelascus, commander-in-chief of the republic of Mexico, authorizing him to take all cargoes whatever of provisions, bound to any royalist Spanish port — that my cargo being bound to an enemy's port, must be condemned; but that the vessel should be given up and be put into a fair channel for Trinidad, where I was bound." I requested him to examine the papers thoroughly, and perhaps he would be convinced to the contrary, and told him my cargo was all American property taken in at Boston, and consigned to an American gentleman, agent at Trinidad. But the captain would not take the trouble, but ordered both vessels under way immediately, and commenced beating up amongst the Keys through most of the day, the wind being very light. They now sent their boats on board the Exertion for stores, and commenced plundering her of bread, butter, lard, onions, potatoes, fish, beans, &c., took up some sugar box shocks that were on deck, and found the barrels of apples; selected the best of them and threw the rest overboard. They inquired for spirits,



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wine, cider, &c. and were told "they had already taken all that was on board." But not satisfied they proceeded to search the state rooms and forcastle, ripped up the floor of the later and found some boxes of bottled cider, which they carried to their vessel, gave three cheers, in an exulting manner to me, and then began drinking it with such freedom, that a violent quarrel arose between officers and men, which came very near ending in bloodshed. I was accused of falsehood, for saying they had got all the liquors that were on board, and I thought they had; the truth was, I never had any bill of lading of the cider, and consequently had no recollection of its being on board; yet it served them as an excuse for being insolent. In the evening peace was restored and they sung songs. I was suffered to go below for the night, and they placed a guard over me, stationed at the companion way.

Wednesday, 19th, commenced with moderate easterly winds, beating towards the northeast, the pirate's boats frequently going on board the Exertion for potatoes, fish, beans, butter, &c. which were used with great waste and extravagance. They gave me food and drink, but of bad quality, more particularly the victuals, which was wretchedly cooked. The place assigned me to eat was covered with dirt and vermin. It appeared that their great object was to hurt my feelings with threats and observations, and to make my situation as unpleasant as circumstances would admit. We came to anchor near a Key, called by them Brigantine, where myself and mate were permitted to go on shore, but were guarded by several armed pirates. I soon returned to the Mexican and my mate to the Exertion, with George Reed, one of my crew; the other two being kept on board the Mexican. In the course of this day I had considerable conversation with Nickola, who appeared well disposed towards me. He lamented most deeply his own situation, for he was one of those men, whose early good impressions were not entirely effaced, although confederated with guilt. He told me "those who had taken me were no better than pirates, and their end would be the halter; but," he added, with peculiar emotion, "I will never be hung as a pirate," showing me a bottle of laudanum which he had found in my medicine chest, saying, "If we are taken, that shall cheat the hangman, before we are condemned." I endeavored to get it from him, but did not succeed. I then asked him how he came to be in such company, as he appeared to be dissatisfied. He stated, that he was at New Orleans last summer, out of employment, and became acquainted with one Captain August Orgamar, a Frenchman, who had bought a small schooner of about fifteen tons, and was going down to the bay of Mexico to get a commission under General Traspelascus, in order to go a privateering under the patriot flag. Capt. Orgamar made him liberal offers respecting shares, and promised him a sailing master's berth, which he accepted and embarked on board the schooner, without sufficiently reflecting on the danger of such an undertaking. Soon after she sailed



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from Mexico, where they got a commission, and the vessel was called Mexican. They made up a complement of twenty men, and after rendering the General some little service, in transporting his troops to a place called ----- proceeded on a cruise; took some small prizes off Campeachy; afterwards came on the south coast of Cuba, where they took other small prizes, and the one which we were now on board of. By this time the crew were increased to about forty, nearly one half Spaniards, the others Frenchmen and Portuguese. Several of them had sailed out of ports in the United States with American protections; but, I confidently believe, none are natives, especially of the northern states. I was careful in examining the men, being desirous of knowing if any of my countrymen were among this wretched crew; but am satisfied there were none, and my Scotch friend concurred in the opinion. And now, with a new vessel, which was the prize of these plunderers, they sailed up Manganeil bay; previously, however, they fell in with an American schooner, from which they bought four barrels of beef, and paid in tobacco. At the Bay was an English brig belonging to Jamaica, owned by Mr. John Loudon of that place. On board of this vessel the Spanish part of the crew commenced their depredations as pirates, although Captain Orgamar and Nickola protested against it, and refused any participation; but they persisted, and like so many ferocious blood-hounds, boarded the brig, plundered the cabin, stores, furniture, captain's trunk, &c., took a hogshead of rum, one twelve pound carronade, some rigging and sails. One of them plundered the chest of a sailor, who made some resistance, so that the Spaniard took his cutlass, and beat and wounded him without mercy. Nickola asked him "why he did it?" the fellow answered, "I will let you know," and took up the cook's axe and gave him a cut on the head, which nearly deprived him of life. Then they ordered Captain Orgamar to leave his vessel, allowing him his trunk and turned him ashore, to seek for himself. Nickola begged them to dismiss him with his captain, but no, no, was the answer; for they had no complete navigator but him. After Captain Orgamar was gone, they put in his stead the present brave (or as I should call him cowardly) Captain Jonnia, who headed them in plundering the before mentioned brig, and made Bolidar their first lieutenant, and then proceeded down among those Keys or Islands, where I was captured. This is the amount of what my friend Nickola told me of their history.

Saturday, 22d. - Both vessels under way standing to the eastward, they ran the Exertion aground on a bar, but after throwing overboard most of her deck load of shocks, she floated off; a pilot was sent to her, and she was run into a narrow creek between two keys, where they moored her head and stern along side of the mangrove trees, set down her yards and topmasts, and covered her mast heads and shrouds with bushes to prevent her being seen by vessels which might pass that way. I was then suffered to go on board my own vessel,



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and found her in a very filthy condition; sails torn, rigging cut to pieces, and every thing in the cabin in waste and confusion. The swarms of moschetoës and sand-flies made it impossible to get any sleep or rest. The pirate's large boat was armed and manned under Bolidar, and sent off with letters to a merchant (as they called him) by the name of Dominico, residing in a town called Principe, on the main island of Cuba. I was told by one of them, who could speak English, that Principe was a very large and populous town, situated at the head of St. Maria, which was about twenty miles northeast from where we lay, and the Keys lying around us were called Cotton Keys. — The captain pressed into his service Francis de Suze, one of my crew, saying that he was one of his countrymen. Francis was very reluctant in going, and said to me, with tears in his eyes, "I shall do nothing but what I am obliged to do, and will not aid in the least to hurt you or the vessel; I am very sorry to leave you." He was immediately put on duty and Thomas Goodall sent back to the Exertion.

Sunday, 23d. — Early this morning a large number of the pirates came on board of the Exertion, threw out the long boat, broke open the hatches, and took out considerable of the cargo, in search of rum, gin, &c., still telling me "I had some and they would find it," uttering the most awful profaneness. In the afternoon their boat returned with a perough, having on board the captain, his first lieutenant and seven men of a patriot or piratical vessel that was chased ashore at Cape Cruz by a Spanish armed brig. These seven men made their escape in said boat, and after four days, found our pirates and joined them; the remainder of the crew being killed or taken prisoners.

Monday, 24th. — Their boat was manned and sent to the before-mentioned town. — I was informed by a line from Nickola, that the pirates had a man on board, a native of Principe, who, in the garb of a sailor, was a partner with Dominico, but I could not get sight of him. This lets us a little into the plans by which this atrocious system of piracy has been carried on. Merchants having partners on board of these pirates! thus pirates at sea and robbers on land are associated to destroy the peaceful trader. The willingness exhibited by the seven above-mentioned men, to join our gang of pirates, seems to look like a general understanding among them; and from there being merchants on shore so base as to encourage the plunder and vend the goods, I am persuaded there has been a systematic confederacy on the part of these unprincipled desperadoes, under cover of the patriot flag; and those on land are no better than those on the sea. If the governments to whom they belong know of the atrocities committed (and I have but little doubt they do) they deserve the execration of all mankind.

Thursday, 27th. — A gang of the pirates came and stripped our masts of the green bushes, saying, "she appeared more like a sail than trees" — took one barrel of bread and one of potatoes, using about one of each



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every day. I understood they were waiting for boats to take the cargo; for the principal merchant had gone to Trinidad.

Sunday, 30th. — The beginning of trouble! This day, which peculiarly reminds Christians of the high duties of compassion and benevolence, was never observed by these pirates. This, of course, we might expect, as they did not often know when the day came, and if they knew it, it was spent in gambling. The old saying among seamen, "no Sunday off soundings," was not thought of; and even this poor plea was not theirs, for they were on soundings and often at anchor. — Early this morning, the merchant, as they called him, came with a large boat for the cargo. I was immediately ordered into the boat with my crew, not allowed any breakfast, and carried about three miles to a small island out of sight of the Exertion, and left there by the side of a little pond of thick, muddy water, which proved to be very brackish, with nothing to eat but a few biscuits. One of the boat's men told us the merchant was afraid of being recognized, and when he had gone the boat would return for us; but we had great reason to apprehend they would deceive us, and therefore passed the day in the utmost anxiety. At night, however, the boats came and took us again on board the Exertion; when, to our surprise and astonishment, we found they had broken open the trunks and chests, and taken all our wearing apparel, not even leaving a shirt or pair of pantaloons, nor sparing a small miniature of my wife which was in my trunk. The little money I and my mate had, with some belonging to the owners, my mate had previously distributed about the cabin in three or four parcels, while I was on board the pirate, for we dare not keep it about us; one parcel in a butter pot they did not discover. — Amidst the hurry with which I was obliged to go to the before-mentioned island, I fortunately snatched by vessel's papers, and hid them in my bosom, which the reader will find was a happy circumstance for me. My writing desk, with papers, accounts, &c., all Mr. Lord's letters (the gentlemen to whom my cargo was consigned) and several others were taken and maliciously destroyed. My medicine chest, which I so much wanted, was kept for their own use. What their motive could be to take my papers I could not imagine, except they had hopes of finding bills of lading for some Spaniards, to clear them from piracy. Mr. Bracket had some notes and papers of consequence to him, which shared the same fate. My quadrant, charts, books and bedding were not yet taken, but I found it impossible to hide them, and they were soon gone from my sight.

Tuesday, January 1st, 1822 — A sad new-year's day to me. Before breakfast orders came for me to cut down the Exertion's railing and bulwarks on one side, for their vessel to heave out by, and clean her bottom. On my hesitating a little they observed with anger, "very well, captain, suppose you no do it quick, we do it for you." Directly afterwards another boat full of armed men



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came along side; they jumped on deck with swords drawn, and ordered all of us into her immediately; I stepped below, in hopes of getting something which would be of service to us; but the captain hallooed, "Go into the boat directly or I will fire upon you." Thus compelled to obey, we were carried, together with four Spanish prisoners, to a small, low island or key of sand in the shape of a half moon, and partly covered with mangrove trees; which was about one mile from and in sight of my vessel. There they left nine of us, with a little bread, flour, fish, lard, a little coffee and molasses; two or three kegs of water, which was brackish; an old sail for a covering, and a pot and some other articles no way fit to cook in. Leaving us these, which were much less than they appear in the enumeration, they pushed off, saying, "we will come to see you in a day or two." Selecting the best place, we spread the old sail for an awning; but no place was free from flies, moschetoos, snakes, the venomous skinned scorpion, and the more venomous santipee. Sometimes they were found crawling inside of our pantaloons, but fortunately no injury was received. This afternoon the pirates hove their vessel out by the Exertion and cleaned one side, using her paints, oil, &c. for that purpose. To see my vessel in that situation and to think of our prospects was a source of the deepest distress. At night we retired to our tent; but having nothing but the cold damp ground for a bed, and the heavy dew of night penetrating the old canvass – the situation of the island being fifty miles from the usual track of friendly vessels, and one hundred and thirty-five from Trinidad – seeing my owner's property so unjustly and wantonly destroyed – considering my condition, the hands at whose mercy I was, and deprived of all hopes, rendered sleep or rest a stranger to me.

Friday, 4th. – Commenced with light winds and hot sun, saw a boat coming from the Exertion, apparently loaded; she passed between two small Keys to northward, supposed to be bound for Cuba. At sunset a boat came and inquired if we wanted anything, but instead of adding to our provisions, took away our molasses, and pushed off. We found one of the Exertion's water casks, and several pieces of plank, which we carefully laid up, in hopes of getting enough to make a raft.

Saturday, 5th. – Pirates again in sight, coming from the eastward; they beat up along side their prize, and commenced loading. In the afternoon Nickola came to us, bringing with him two more prisoners, which they had taken in a small sail boat coming from Trinidad to Manganeil, one a Frenchman, the other a Scotchman, with two Spaniards, who remained on board the pirate, and who afterwards joined them. The back of one of these poor fellows was extremely sore, having just suffered a cruel beating from Bolidar, with the broad side of a cutlass. It appeared, that when the officer asked him "where their money was, and how much," he answered, "he was not certain but believed they had only two ounces of gold" – Bolidar furiously swore he said "ten," and not finding



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any more, gave him the beating. Nickola now related to me a singular fact; which was, that the Spanish part of the crew were determined to shoot him; that they tied him to the mast, and a man was appointed for the purpose; but Lion, a Frenchman, his particular friend, stepped up and told them, if they shot him they must shoot several more; some of the Spaniards sided with him, and he was released. Nickola told me, the reason for such treatment was, that he continually objected to their conduct towards me, and their opinion if he should escape, they would be discovered, as he declared he would take no prize money. While with us he gave me a letter written in great haste, which contains some particulars respecting the cargo; — as follows: —

January 4th, 1822.

Sir, — We arrived here this morning, and before we came to anchor, had five canoes alongside ready to take your cargo, part of which we had in; and as I heard you express a wish to know what they took out of her, to this moment, you may depend upon this account of Jamieson for quality and quantity; if I have the same opportunity you will have an account of the whole. The villain who bought your cargo is from the town of Principe, his name is Dominico, as to that it is all that I can learn; they have taken your charts aboard the schooner Mexican, and I suppose mean to keep them, as the other captain has agreed to act the same infamous part in the tragedy of his life. Your clothes are here on board, but do not let me flatter you that you will get them back; it may be so, and it may not. Perhaps in your old age, when you recline with ease in a corner of your cottage, you will have the goodness to drop a tear of pleasure to the memory of him, whose highest ambition should have been to subscribe himself, though devoted to the gallows, your friend,
Excuse haste. NICKOLA MONACRE.

Sunday, 6th. — The pirates were under way at sunrise, with a full load of the Exertion's cargo, going to Principe again to sell a second freight, which was done readily for cash. I afterwards heard that the flour only fetched five dollars per barrel, when it was worth at Trinidad thirteen; so that the villain who bought my cargo at Principe, made very large profits by it.

Tuesday, 8th. — Early this morning the pirates in sight again, with fore top sail and top gallant sail set; beat up along side of the Exertion and commenced loading; having, as I supposed, sold and discharged her last freight among some of the inhabitants of Cuba. They appeared to load in great haste; and the song, "O he oh," which echoed from one vessel to the other, was distinctly heard by us. How wounding was this to me! How different was this sound from what it would have been, had I been permitted to pass unmolested by these lawless plunderers, and been favored with a safe arrival at the port of my destination, where my cargo would have found an excellent sale. Then would the "O he oh," on its discharging, have been a delightful sound to me. In the



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afternoon she sailed with the perough in tow, both with a full load, having chairs, which was part of the cargo, slung at her quarters.

Monday, 14th. — They again hove in sight, and beat up as usual, along-side their prize. While passing our solitary island, they laughed at our misery, which was almost insupportable — looking upon us as though we had committed some heinous crime, and they had not sufficiently punished us; they hallooed to us, crying out "Captain, Captain," accompanied with obscene motions and words, with which I shall not blacken these pages — yet I heard no check upon such conduct, nor could I expect it among such a gang, who have no idea of subordination on board, except when in chase of vessels, and even then but very little. My resentment was excited at such a malicious outrage, and I felt a disposition to revenge myself, should fortune ever favor me with an opportunity. It was beyond human nature not to feel and express some indignation at such treatment. — Soon after, Bolidar, with five men, well armed, came to us; he having a blunderbuss, cutlass, a long knife and pair of pistols — but for what purpose did he come? He took me by the hand, saying, "Captain, me speak with you, walk this way." I obeyed, and when at some distance from my fellow prisoners, (his men following) he said, "the captain send me for your wash" I pretended not to understand what he meant, and replied, "I have no clothes, nor any soap to wash with — you have taken them all," for I had kept my watch about me, hoping they would not discover it. He demanded it again as before; and was answered, "I have nothing to wash;" this raised his anger, and lifting his blunderbuss, he roared out, "what the d — l you call him that make clock? give it me." I considered it imprudent to contend any longer, and submitted to his unlawful demand. As he was going off, he gave me a small bundle, in which was a pair of linen drawers, sent to me by Nickola, and also the Rev. Mr. Brooks' "Family Prayer Book." This gave me great satisfaction. Soon after, he returned with his captain, who had one arm slung up, yet with as many implements of war, as his diminutive wicked self could conveniently carry; he told me (through an interpreter who was his prisoner.) "that on his cruize he had fallen in with two Spanish privateers, and beat them off; but had three of his men killed, and himself wounded in the arm" — Bolidar turned to me and said, "it is a d — n lie" — which words proved to be correct, for his arm was not wounded, and when I saw him again, which was soon afterwards, he had forgotten to sling it up. He further told me, "after tomorrow you shall go with your vessel, and we will accompany you towards Trinidad." This gave me some new hopes, and why I could not tell. They then left us without rendering any assistance. — This night we got some rest.

Tuesday, 15th. The words "go after tomorrow," were used among our Spanish fellow prisoners, as though that happy tomorrow would never come — in what manner it came will



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soon be noticed.

Friday, 18th commenced with brighter prospects of liberty than ever. The pirates were employed in setting up our devoted schooner's shrouds, stays, &c. My condition now reminded me of the hungry man, chained in one corner of a room, while at another part was a table loaded with delicious food and fruits, the smell and sight of which he was continually to experience, but alas! his chains were never to be loosed that he might go and partake — at almost the same moment they were thus employed, the axe was applied with the greatest dexterity to both her masts and I saw them fall over the side! Here fell my hopes — I looked at my condition, and then thought of home. — Our Spanish fellow prisoners were so disappointed and alarmed that they recommended hiding ourselves, if possible, among the mangrove trees, believing, as they said, we should now certainly be put to death; or, what was worse, compelled to serve on board the Mexican as pirates. Little else it is true, seemed left for us; however, we kept a bright look out for them during the day, and at night "an anchor watch" as we called it, determined if we discovered their boats coming towards us, to adopt the plan of hiding, although starvation stared us in the face — yet preferred that to instant death. This night was passed in sufficient anxiety — I took the first watch.

Saturday, 19th. — The pirate's largest boat came for us — it being day-light, and supposing they could see us, determined to stand our ground and wait the result. They ordered us all into the boat, but left every thing else; they rowed towards the Exertion — I noticed a dejection of spirits in one of the pirates, and inquired of him where they were going to carry us? He shook his head and replied, "I do not know." I now had some hopes of visiting my vessel again — but the pirates made sail, ran down, took us in tow and stood out of the harbor. Bolidar afterwards took me, my mate and two of my men on board and gave us some coffee. On examination I found they had several additional light sails, made of the Exertion's. Almost every man, a pair of canvas trousers; and my colors cut up and made into belts to carry their money about them. My jolly boat was on deck, and I was informed, all my rigging was disposed of. Several of the pirates had on some of my clothes, and the captain one of my best shirts, a cleaner one, than I had ever seen him have on before. — He kept at a good distance from me, and forbid my friend Nickola's speaking to me. — I saw from the companion way in the captain's cabin my quadrant, spy glass and other things which belonged to us, and observed by the compass, that the course steered was about west by south, — distance nearly twenty miles, which brought them up with a cluster of islands called by some "Cayman Keys." Here they anchored and caught some fish, (one of which was named *guard fish*) of which we had a taste. I observed that my friend Mr. Bracket was somewhat dejected, and asked him in a low voice, what his opinion was with respects to our fate? He



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answered, "I cannot tell you, but it appears to me the worst is to come." I told him that I hoped not, but thought they would give us our small boat and liberate the prisoners. But mercy even in this shape was not left-for us. Soon after, saw the captain and officers whispering for some time in private conference. When over, their boat was manned under the command of Bolidar, and went to one of those Islands or Keys before mentioned. On their return, another conference took place — whether it was a jury upon our lives we could not tell. I did not think conscience could be entirely extinguished in the human breast, or that men could become fiends. In the afternoon, while we knew not the doom which had been fixed for us, the captain was engaged with several of his men in gambling, in hopes to get back some of the five hundred dollars, they said, he lost but a few nights before; which had made him unusually fractious. A little before sunset he ordered all the prisoners into the large boat, with a supply of provisions and water, and to be put on shore. While we were getting into her, one of my fellow prisoners, a Spaniard, attempted with tears in his eyes to speak to the captain, but was refused with the answer. "I'll have nothing to say to any prisoner, go into the boat." In the mean time Nickola said to me, "My friend, I will give you your book," (being Mr. Colman's Sermons,) "it is the only thing of yours that is in my possession; I dare not attempt any thing more." But the captain forbid his giving it to me, and I stepped into the boat — at that moment Nickola said in a low voice, "never mind, I may see you again before I die." The small boat was well armed and manned, and both set off together for the island, where they had agreed to leave us to perish! The scene to us was a funereal scene. There were no arms in the prisoners boat, and, of course, all attempts to relieve ourselves would have been throwing our lives away, as Bolidar was near us, well armed. We were rowed about two miles north-easterly from the pirates, to a small low island, lonely and desolate. We arrived about sunset; and for the support of us eleven prisoners, they only left a ten gallon keg of water, and perhaps a few quarts, in another small vessel, which was very poor; part of a barrel of flour, a small keg of lard, one ham and some salt fish; a small kettle and an old broken pot; an old sail for a covering, and a small mattress and blanket, which was thrown out as the boats hastened away. One of the prisoners happened to have a little coffee in his pocket, and these comprehended all our means of sustaining life, and for what length of time we knew not. We now felt the need of water, and our supply was comparatively nothing. A man may live nearly twice as long without food, as without water. Look at us now, my friends, left benighted on a little spot of sand in the midst of the ocean, far from the usual track of vessels, and every appearance of a violent thunder tempest, and a boisterous night. Judge of my feelings, and the circumstances which our band of sufferers now witnessed. Perhaps you can and have pitied us. I assure



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you, we were very wretched; and to paint the scene, is not within my power. When the boats were moving from the shore, on recovering myself a little, I asked Bolidar, "If he was going to leave us so?" – he answered, "no, only two days – we go for water and wood, then come back, take you." I requested him to give us bread and other stores, for they had plenty in the boat, and at least one hundred barrels of flour in the Mexican. "No, no, suppose to-morrow morning me come, me give you bread," and hurried off to the vessel. This was the last time I saw him. We then turned our attention upon finding a spot most convenient for our comfort, and soon discovered a little roof supported by stakes driven into the sand; it was thatched with leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, considerable part of which was torn or blown off. After spreading the old sail over this roof, we placed our little stock of provisions under it. Soon after came on a heavy shower of rain which penetrated the canvas, and made it nearly as uncomfortable inside, as it would have been out. We were not prepared to catch water, having nothing to put it in. Our next object was to get fire, and after gathering some of the driest fuel to be found, and having a small piece of cotton wick-yarn, with flint and steel, we kindled a fire, which was never afterwards suffered to be extinguished. The night was very dark, but we found a piece of old rope, which when well lighted served for a candle. On examining the ground under the roof, we found perhaps thousands of creeping insects, scorpions, lizards, crickets, &c. After scraping them out as well as we could, the most of us having nothing but the damp earth for a bed, laid ourselves down in hopes of some rest; but it being so wet, gave many of us severe colds, and one of the Spaniards was quite sick for several days.

Sunday, 20th. – As soon as day-light came on, we proceeded to take a view of our little island, and found it to measure only one acre, of coarse, white sand; about two feet, and in some spots perhaps three feet above the surface of the ocean. On the highest part were growing some bushes and small mangroves, (the dry part of which was our fuel) and the wild castor oil beans. We were greatly disappointed in not finding the latter suitable food; likewise some of the prickly pear bushes, which gave us only a few pears about the size of our small button pear; the outside has thorns, which if applied to the fingers or lips, will remain there, and cause a severe smarting similar to the nettle; the inside a spongy substance, full of juice and seeds, which are red and a little tartish – had they been there in abundance, we should not have suffered so much for water – but alas! even this substitute was not for us. On the northerly side of the island was a hollow, where the tide penetrated the sand, leaving stagnant water. We presumed, in hurricanes the island was nearly overflowed. According to the best calculations I could make, we were about thirty-five miles from any part of Cuba, one hundred from Trinidad and forty from the usual track of American vessels, or others which might pass



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that way. No vessel of any considerable size, can safely pass among these Keys (or "Queen's Gardens," as the Spaniards call them) being a large number extending from Cape Cruz to Trinidad, one hundred and fifty miles distance; and many more than the charts have laid down, most of them very low and some covered at high water, which makes it very dangerous for navigators without a skilful pilot. After taking this view of our condition, which was very gloomy, we began to suspect we were left on this desolate island by those merciless plunderers to perish. Of this I am now fully convinced; still we looked anxiously for the pirate's boat to come according to promise with more water and provisions, but looked in vain. We saw them soon after get under way with all sail set and run directly from us until out of our sight, and *we never saw them again!* One may partially imagine our feelings, but they cannot be put into words. Before they were entirely out of sight of us, we raised the white blanket upon a pole, waving it in the air, in hopes, that at two miles distance they would see it and be moved to pity. But pity in such monsters was not to be found. It was not their interest to save us from the lingering death, which we now saw before us. We tried to compose ourselves, trusting to God, who had witnessed our sufferings, would yet make use of some one, as the instrument of his mercy towards us. Our next care, now, was to try for water. We dug several holes in the sand and found it, but quite too salt for use. The tide penetrates probably through the island. We now came on short allowances for water. Having no means of securing what we had by lock and key, some one in the night would slyly drink, and it was soon gone. The next was to bake some bread, which we did by mixing flour with salt water and frying it in lard, allowing ourselves eight quite small pancakes to begin with. The ham was reserved for some more important occasion, and the salt fish was lost for want of fresh water. The remainder of this day was passed in the most serious conversation and reflection. At night, I read prayers from the "Prayer Book," before mentioned, which I most carefully concealed while last on board the pirates. This plan was pursued morning and evening, during our stay there. Then retired for rest and sleep, but realized little of either.

Monday, 21st. — In the morning we walked round the beach, in expectation of finding something useful. On our way picked up a paddle about three feet long, very similar to the Indian canoe paddle, except the handle, which was like that of a shovel, the top part being split off; we laid it by for the present. We likewise found some konchs and roasted them; they were pretty good shell fish, though rather tough. We discovered at low water, a bar or spit of sand extending north-easterly from us, about three miles distant, to a cluster of Keys, which were covered with mangrove trees, perhaps as high as our quince tree. My friend Mr. Bracket and George attempted to wade across, being at that time of tide only up to their armpits; but were pursued by a shark, and returned without success. The



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tide rises about four feet.

Tuesday, 22d. — We found several pieces of the palmetto or cabbage tree, and some pieces of boards, put them together in the form of a raft, and endeavored to cross, but that proved ineffectual. Being disappointed, we set down to reflect upon other means of relief, intending to do all in our power for safety while our strength continued. While setting here, the sun was so powerful and oppressive, reflecting its rays upon the sea, which was then calm, and the white sand which dazzled the eye, was so painful, that we retired under the awning; there the moschetoos and flies were so numerous, that good rest could not be found. We were, however, a little cheered, when, in scraping out the top of the ground to clear out, I may say, thousands of crickets and bugs, we found a hatchet, which was to us peculiarly serviceable. At night the strong north-easterly wind, which prevails there at all seasons, was so cold as to make it equally uncomfortable with the day. Thus day after day, our sufferings and apprehensions multiplying, we were very generally alarmed.

Thursday, 24th. — This morning, after taking a little coffee, made of the water which we thought least salt, and two or three of the little cakes, we felt somewhat refreshed, and concluded to make another visit to those Keys, in hopes of finding something more, which might make a raft for us to escape the pirates, and avoid perishing by thirst. Accordingly seven of us set off, waded across the bar and searched all the Keys thereabouts. On one we found a number of sugar-box shooks, two lashing plank and some pieces of old spars, which were a part of the Exertion's deck load, that was thrown overboard when she grounded on the bar, spoken of in the first part of the narrative. It seems they had drifted fifteen miles, and had accidentally lodged on these very Keys within our reach. Had the pirates known this, they would undoubtedly have placed us in another direction. They no doubt thought that they could not place us on a worse place. The wind at this time was blowing so strong on shore, as to prevent rafting our stuff round to our island, and we were obliged to haul it upon the beach for the present; then dug for water in the highest place, but found it as salt as ever, and then returned to our habitation. But hunger and thirst began to prey upon us, and our comforts were as few as our hopes.

Friday, 25th. — Again passed over to those Keys to windward in order to raft our stuff to our island, it being most convenient for building. But the surf on the beach was so very rough, that we were again compelled to postpone it. Our courage, however, did not fail where there was the slightest hopes of life. Returning without it, we found on our way an old top timber of some vessel; it had several spikes on it, which we afterwards found very serviceable. In the hollow of an old tree, we found two guarnas of small size, one male, the other female. Only one was caught. After taking off the skin, we



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judged it weighed a pound and a half. With some flour and lard, (the only things we had except salt water,) it made us a fine little mess. We thought it a rare dish, though a small one for eleven half starved persons. At the same time a small vessel hove in sight; we made a signal to her with the blanket tied to a pole and placed it on the highest tree — some took off their white clothes and waved them in the air, hoping they would come to us; should they be pirates, they could do no more than kill us, and perhaps would give us some water, for which we began to suffer most excessively; but, notwithstanding all our efforts, she took no notice of us.

Saturday, 26th. — This day commenced with moderate weather and smooth sea; at low tide found some cockles; boiled and eat them, but they were very painful to the stomach. David Warren had a fit of strangling, with swelling of the bowels; but soon recovered, and said, "something like salt rose in his throat and choked him." Most of us then set off for the Keys, where the plank and shooks were put together in a raft, which we with pieces of boards paddled over to our island; when we consulted the best plan, either to build a raft large enough for us all to go on, or a boat; but the shooks having three or four nails in each, and having a piece of large reed or bamboo, previously found, of which we made pins, we concluded to make a boat.

Sunday, 27 — Commenced our labor, for which I know we need offer no apology. We took the two planks, which were about fourteen feet long, and two and a half wide, and fixed them together for the bottom of the boat; then with moulds made of palmetto bark, cut timber and knees from mangrove trees which spread so much as to make the boat four feet wide at the top, placed them exactly the distance apart of an Havana sugar box. — Her stern was square and the bows tapered to a peak, making her form resemble a flat-iron. We proceeded thus far and returned to rest for the night — but Mr. Bracket was too unwell to get much sleep.

Monday, 28 — Went on with the work as fast as possible. Some of the Spaniards had long knives about them, which proved very useful in fitting timbers, and a gimblet of mine, accidentally found on board the pirate, enabled us to use the wooden pins. And now our spirits began to revive, though *water, water*, was continually in our minds. We now feared the pirates might possibly come, find out our plan and put us to death, (although before we had wished to see them, being so much in want of water.) Our labor was extremely burdensome, and the Spaniards considerably peevish — but they would often say to me "never mind captain, by and by, Americana or Spanyol catch them, me go and see 'um hung." We quitted work for the day, cooked some cakes but found it necessary to reduce the quantity again, however small before. We found some herbs on a windward Key, which the Spaniards called Spanish tea. — This when well boiled we found somewhat palatable, although the water was very



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salt. This herb resembles pennyroyal in look and taste, though not so pungent. In the evening when we were setting round the fire to keep off the mosquitoes, I observed David Warren's eyes shone like glass. The mate said to him – "David I think you will die before morning – I think you are struck with death now." I thought so too, and told him, "I thought it most likely we should all die here soon; but as some one of us might survive to carry the tidings to our friends, if you have any thing to say respecting your family, now is the time." – He then said, "I have a mother in Saco where I belong – she is a second time a widow – to-morrow if you can spare a scrap of paper and pencil I will write something." But no tomorrow came to him. – In the course of the night he had another spell of strangling, and soon after expired, without much pain and without a groan. He was about twenty-six years old. – How solemn was this scene to us! Here we beheld the ravages of death commenced upon us. More than one of us considered death a happy release. For myself I thought of my wife and children; and wished to live if God should so order it, though extreme thirst, hunger and exhaustion had well nigh prostrated my fondest hopes.

Tuesday, 29th. – Part of us recommenced labor on the boat, while myself and Mr. Bracket went and selected the highest clear spot of sand on the northern side of the island, where we dug Warren's grave, and boxed it up with shooks, thinking it would be the most suitable spot for the rest of us – whose turn would come next, we knew not. At about ten o'clock, A.M. conveyed the corpse to the grave, followed by us survivors – a scene, whose awful solemnity can never be painted. We stood around the grave, and there I read the funeral prayer from the Rev. Mr. Brooks's Family Prayer Book; and committed the body to the earth; covered it with some pieces of board and sand, and returned to our labor. One of the Spaniards, an old man, named Manuel, who was partial to me, and I to him, made a cross and placed it at the head of the grave saying, "Jesus Christ hath him now." Although I did not believe in any mysterious influence of this cross, yet I was perfectly willing it should stand there. The middle part of the day being very warm, our mouths parched with thirst, and our spirits so depressed, that we made but little progress during the remainder of this day, but in the evening were employed in picking oakum out of the bolt rope taken from the old sail.

Wednesday, 30th. – Returned to labor on the boat with as much vigor as our weak and debilitated state would admit, but it was a day of trial to us all; for the Spaniards and we Americans could not well understand each other's plans, and they being naturally petulant, would not work, nor listen with any patience for Joseph, our English fellow prisoner, to explain our views – they would sometimes undo what they had done, and in a few minutes replace it again; however before night we began to caulk her seams, by means of pieces of hard mangrove,



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made in form of a caulking-iron, and had the satisfaction of seeing her in a form something like a boat.

Thursday, 31st. — Went on with the work, some at caulking, others at battening the seams with strips of canvas, and pieces of pine nailed over, to keep the oakum in. Having found a suitable pole for a mast, the rest went about making a sail from the one we had used for a covering, also fitting oars of short pieces of boards, in form of a paddle, tied on a pole, we having a piece of fishing line brought by one of the prisoners. Thus, at three P.M. the boat was completed and put afloat. — We had all this time confidently hoped, that she would be sufficiently large and strong to carry us all — we made a trial and were disappointed! This was indeed a severe trial, and the emotions it called up were not easy to be suppressed. She proved leaky, for we had no carpenter's yard, or smith's shop to go to. — And now the question was, "who should go, and how many?" I found it necessary for six; four to row, one to steer and one to bale. Three of the Spaniards and the Frenchman claimed the right, as being best acquainted with the nearest inhabitants; likewise, they had when taken, two boats left at St. Maria, (about forty miles distant,) which they were confident of finding. They promised to return within two or three days for the rest of us — I thought it best to consent — Mr. Bracket it was agreed should go in my stead, because my papers must accompany me as a necessary protection, and my men apprehended danger if they were lost. Joseph Baxter (I think was his name) they wished should go, because he could speak both languages — leaving Manuel, George, Thomas and myself, to wait their return. Having thus made all arrangements, and putting up a keg of the least salt water, with a few pancakes of salt fish, they set off a little before sunset with our best wishes and prayers for their safety and return to our relief. — To launch off into the wide ocean, with strength almost exhausted, and in such a frail boat as this, you will say was very hazardous, and in truth it was; but what else was left to us? — Their intention was to touch at the Key where the Exertion was and if no boat was to be found there, to proceed to St. Maria, and if none there, to go to Trinidad and send us relief. — But alas! it was the last time I ever saw them! — Our suffering this day was most acute.

Tuesday, 5th. — About ten o'clock, A.M. discovered a boat drifting by on the southeastern side of the island about a mile distant. I deemed it a providential thing to us, and urged Thomas and George trying the raft for her. They reluctantly consented and set off, but it was nearly three P.M. when they came up with her — it was the same boat we had built! Where then was my friend Bracket and those who went with him? Every appearance was unfavorable. — I hoped that a good Providence had yet preserved him. — The two men who went for the boat, found it full of water, without oars, paddle, or sail;



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being in this condition, and about three miles to the leeward, the men found it impossible to tow her up, so left her, and were until eleven o'clock at night getting back with the raft. They were so exhausted, that had it not been nearly calm, they could never have returned.

Wednesday, 6th. — This morning was indeed the most gloomy I had ever experienced. — There appeared hardly a ray of hope that my friend Bracket could return, seeing the boat was lost. Our provisions nearly gone; our mouths parched extremely with thirst; our strength wasted; our spirits broken, and our hopes imprisoned within the circumference of this desolate island in the midst of an unfrequented ocean; all these things gave to the scene around us the hue of death. In the midst of this dreadful despondence, a sail hove in sight bearing the white flag! Our hopes were raised, of course — but no sooner raised than darkened, by hearing a gun fired. Here then was another gang of pirates. She soon, however, came near enough to anchor, and her boat pushed off towards us with three men in her. — Thinking it now no worse to die by sword than famine, I walked down immediately to meet them. I knew them not. — A moment before the boat touched the ground, a man leaped from her bows and caught me in his arms! *It was Nickola!* — saying, "Do you now believe Nickola is your friend? yes, said he, *Jamieson* will yet prove himself so." — No words can express my emotions at this moment. This was a friend indeed. The reason of my not recognizing them before, was that they had cut their beards and whiskers. Turning to my fellow-sufferers, Nickola asked — "Are these all that are left of you? where are the others?" — At this moment seeing David's grave — "are they dead then? Ah! I suspected it, I know what you were put here for." As soon as I could recover myself, I gave him an account of Mr. Bracket and the others. — "How unfortunate," he said, "they must be lost, or some pirates have taken them." — "But," he continued, "we have no time to lose; you had better embark immediately with us, and go where you please, we are at your service." The other two in the boat were Frenchmen, one named Lyon, the other Parrikete. They affectionately embraced each of us; then holding to my mouth the nose of a teakettle, filled with wine, said "Drink plenty, no hurt you." I drank as much as I judged prudent. They then gave it to my fellow sufferers — I experienced almost immediate relief, not feeling it in my head; they had also brought in the boat for us, a dish of salt beef and potatoes, of which we took a little. Then sent the boat on board for the other two men, being five in all; who came ashore, and rejoiced enough was I to see among them Thomas Young, one of my crew, who was detained on board the Mexican, but had escaped through Nickola's means; the other a Frenchman, named John Cadet. I now thought again and again, with troubled emotion, of my dear friend Bracket's fate. I took the last piece of paper I had, and wrote with pencil a few words, informing him (should he come there) that "I and the rest were safe; that I was not mistaken in the friend



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in whom I had placed so much confidence, that he had accomplished my highest expectations; and that I should go immediately to Trinidad, and requested him to go there also, and apply to Mr. Isaac W. Lord, my consignee, for assistance." I put the paper into a junk bottle, previously found on the beach, put in a stopper, and left it, together with what little flour remained, a keg of water brought from Nickola's vessel, and a few other things which I thought might be of service to him. We then repaired with our friends on board, where we were kindly treated. She was a sloop from Jamaica, of about twelve tons, with a cargo of rum and wine, bound to Trinidad. I asked "which way they intended to go?" They said "to Jamaica if agreeable to me." As I preferred Trinidad, I told them, "if they would give me the Exertion's boat which was along-side (beside their own) some water and provisions, we would take chance in her." - "For perhaps," said I, "you will fare better at Jamaica, than at Trinidad." After a few minutes consultation, they said "you are too much exhausted to row the distance of one hundred miles, therefore we will go and carry you - we consider ourselves at your service." I expressed a wish to take a look at the Exertion, possibly we might hear something of Mr. Bracket. Nickola said "very well," so got under way, and run for her, having a light westerly wind. He then related to me the manner of their desertion from the pirates; as nearly as I can recollect his own words, he said, "A few days since, the pirates took four small vessels, I believe Spaniards; they having but two officers for the two first, the third fell to me as prize master, and having an understanding with the three Frenchmen and Thomas, selected them for my crew, and went on board with orders to follow the Mexican; which I obeyed. The fourth, the pirates took out all but one man and bade him also follow their vessel. Now our schooner leaked so bad, that we left her and in her stead agreed to take this little sloop (which we are now in) together with the one man. The night being very dark we all agreed to desert the pirates - altered our course and touched at St. Maria, where we landed the one man - saw no boats there, could hear nothing from you, and agreed one and all at the risk of our lives to come and liberate you if you were alive; knowing, as we did, that you were put on this Key to perish. On our way we boarded the Exertion, thinking possibly you might have been there. On board her we found a sail and paddle. We took one of the pirate's boats which they had left along-side of her, which proves how we came by two boats. My friend, the circumstance I am now about to relate, will somewhat astonish you. When the pirate's boat with Bolidar was sent to the before mentioned Key, on the 19th of January, it was their intention to leave you prisoners there, where was nothing but salt water and mangroves, and no possibility of escape. This was the plan of Baltizar, their abandoned pilot; but Bolidar's heart failed him, and he objected to it; then, after a conference, Captain Jonnia ordered you to be put on the



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little island from whence we have now taken you. But after this was done, that night the French and Portuguese part of the Mexican's crew protested against it; so that Captain Jonnia to satisfy them, sent his large boat to take you and your fellow prisoners back again, taking care to select his confidential Spaniards for this errand. And you will believe me they set off from the Mexican, and after spending about as much time as would really have taken them to come to you, they returned, and reported they had been to your island, and landed, and that none of you were there, somebody having taken you off! This, all my companions here know to be true. — I knew it was impossible you could have been liberated, and therefore we determined among ourselves, that should an opportunity occur we would come and save your lives, as we now have." He then expressed, as he hitherto had done (and I believe with sincerity), his disgust with the bad company which he had been in, and looked forward with anxiety to the day when he might return to his native country. I advised him to get on board an American vessel, whenever an opportunity offered, and come to the United States; and on his arrival direct a letter to me; repeating my earnest desire to make some return for the disinterested friendship which he had shown toward me. With the Frenchman I had but little conversation, being unacquainted with the language.

Here ended Nickola's account. "And now" said the Frenchman, "our hearts be easy." Nickola observed he had left all and found us. I gave them my warmest tribute of gratitude, saying I looked upon them under God as the preservers of our lives, and promised them all the assistance which my situation might enable me to afford. — This brings me to,

Thursday evening, 7th, when, at eleven o'clock, we anchored at the creek's mouth, near the Exertion. I was anxious to board her; accordingly took with me Nickola, Thomas, George and two others, well armed, each with a musket and cutlass. I jumped on her deck, saw a fire in the camboose, but no person there: I called aloud Mr. Bracket's name several times, saying "it is Captain Lincoln, don't be afraid, but show yourself," but no answer was given. She had no masts, spars, rigging, furniture, provisions or any thing left, except her bowsprit, and a few barrels of salt provisions of her cargo. Her ceiling had holes cut in it, no doubt in their foolish search for money. I left her with peculiar emotions, such as I hope never again to experience; and returned to the little sloop where we remained till —

Friday, 8th — When I had disposition to visit the island on which we were first imprisoned. — Found nothing there — saw a boat among the mangroves, near the Exertion. Returned, and got under way immediately for Trinidad. In the night while under full sail, run aground on a sunken Key, having rocks above the water, resembling old stumps of trees; we, however, soon got off and anchored. Most of those Keys have similar rocks about them, which



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navigators must carefully guard against.

Monday, 11th – Got under way – saw a brig at anchor about five miles below the mouth of the harbor; we hoped to avoid her speaking us; but when we opened in sight of her, discovered a boat making towards us, with a number of armed men in her. This alarmed my friends, and as we did not see the brig's ensign hoisted, they declared the boat was a pirate, and looking through the spy-glass, they knew some of them to be the Mexican's men! This state of things was quite alarming. They said, "we will not be taken alive by them." Immediately the boat fired a musket; the ball passed through our mainsail. My friends insisted on beating them off: I endeavored to dissuade them, believing, as I did, that the brig was a Spanish man-of-war, who had sent her boat to ascertain who we were. I thought we had better heave to. Immediately another shot came. Then they insisted on fighting, and said "if I would not help them, I was no friend." I reluctantly acquiesced, and handed up the guns – commenced firing upon them and they upon us. We received several shot through the sails, but no one was hurt on either side. Our boats had been cast adrift to make us go the faster, and we gained upon them – continued firing until they turned from us, and went for our boats, which they took in tow for the brig. Soon after this, it became calm: then I saw that the brig had us in her power. – She manned and armed two more boats for us. We now concluded, since we had scarcely any ammunition, to surrender; and were towed down alongside the brig on board, and were asked by the captain, who could speak English, "what for you fire on the boat?" I told him "we thought her a pirate, and did not like to be taken by them again, having already suffered too much;" showing my papers. He said, "Captain Americana, never mind, go and take some dinner – which are your men?" I pointed them out to him, and he ordered them the liberty of the decks; but my friend Nickola and his three associates were immediately put in irons. They were, however, afterwards taken out of irons and examined; and I understood the Frenchmen agreed to enlist, as they judged it the surest way to better their condition. Whether Nickola enlisted, I do not know, but think that he did, as I understood that offer was made to him: I however endeavored to explain more distinctly to the captain, the benevolent efforts of these four men by whom my life had been saved, and used every argument in my power to procure their discharge. I also applied to the governor, and exerted myself with peculiar interest, dictated as I trust with heartfelt gratitude – and I ardently hope ere this, that Nickola is on his way to this country, where I may have an opportunity of convincing him that such an act of benevolence will not go unrewarded. Previous to my leaving Trinidad, I made all the arrangements in my power with my influential friends, and doubt not, that their laudable efforts will be accomplished. – The sloop's cargo was then taken on board the brig; after which the captain requested a certificate that I was politely treated by him, saying



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that his name was Captain Candama, of the privateer brig Prudentee of eighteen guns. This request I complied with. His first lieutenant told me he had sailed out of Boston, as commander for T.C. Amory, Esq. during the last war. In the course of the evening my friends were taken out of irons and examined separately, then put back again. The captain invited me to supper in his cabin, and a berth for the night, which was truly acceptable. The next morning after breakfast, I with my people were set on shore with the few things we had, with the promise of the Exertion's small boat in a day or two, — but it was never sent me — the reason, let the reader imagine. On landing at the wharf Casildar, we were immediately taken by soldiers to the guard house, which was a very filthy place; thinking I suppose, and even calling us, pirates. Soon some friends came to see me. Mr. Cotton, who resides there brought us in some soup. Mr. Isaac W. Lord, of Boston, my merchant, came with Captain Tate, who sent immediately to the governor; for I would not show my papers to any one else. He came about sunset, and after examining Manuel my Spanish fellow prisoner, and my papers, said to be, giving me the papers, "Captain, you are at liberty." I was kindly invited by Captain Matthew Rice, of schooner Galaxy, of Boston, to go on board his vessel, and live with him during my stay there. This generous offer I accepted, and was treated by him with the greatest hospitality; for I was hungered and he gave me meat, I was athirst and he gave me drink, I was naked and he clothed me, a stranger and he took me in. He likewise took Manuel and my three men for that night. Next day Mr. Lord rendered me all necessary assistance in making my protest. He had heard nothing from me until my arrival. I was greatly disappointed in not finding Mr. Bracket, and requested Mr. Lord to give him all needful aid if he should come there. To Captain Carnes, of the schooner Hannah, of Boston, I would tender my sincere thanks, for his kindness in giving me a passage to Boston, which I gladly accepted. To those gentlemen of Trinidad, and many captains of American vessels, who gave me sea clothing, &c., I offer my cordial gratitude.

I am fully of the opinion that these ferocious pirates are linked in with many inhabitants of Cuba; and the government in many respects appears covertly to encourage them.

It is with heartfelt delight, that, since the above narrative was written, I have learned that Mr. Bracket and his companions are safe; he arrived at Port d'Esprit, about forty leagues east of Trinidad. A letter has been received from him, stating that he should proceed to Trinidad the first opportunity. — It appears that after reaching the wreck, they found a boat from the shore, taking on board some of the Exertion's cargo, in which they proceeded to the above place. Why it was not in his power to come to our relief will no doubt be satisfactorily disclosed when he may be so fortunate as once more to return to his native country and friends.

I felt great anxiety to learn what became of Jamieson, who, my readers will recollect, was detained on board the Spanish brig Prudentee near Trinidad. I heard nothing from him, until I



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believe eighteen months after I reached home, when I received a letter from him, from Montego Bay, Jamaica, informing me that he was then residing in that island. I immediately wrote to him, and invited him to come on to the United States. He accordingly came on passenger with Captain Wilson of Cohasset, and arrived in Boston, in August, 1824. Our meeting was very affecting. Trying scenes were brought up before us; scenes gone forever, through which we had passed together, where our acquaintance was formed, and since which time, we had never met. I beheld once more the preserver of my life; the instrument, under Providence, of restoring me to my home, my family, and my friends, and I regarded him with no ordinary emotion. My family were delighted to see him, and cordially united in giving him a warm reception. He told me that after we separated in Trinidad, he remained on board the Spanish brig. The commander asked him and his companions if they would enlist; the Frenchmen replied that they would, but he said nothing, being determined to make his escape, the very first opportunity which should present. The Spanish brig afterwards fell in with a Columbian Patriot, an armed brig of eighteen guns. Being of about equal force, they gave battle, and fought between three and four hours. Both parties were very much injured; and, without any considerable advantage on either side, both drew off to make repairs. The Spanish brig Prudentee, put into St. Jago de Cuba. Jamieson was wounded in the action, by a musket ball, through his arm, and was taken on shore, with the other wounded, and placed in the hospital of St. Jago. Here he remained for a considerable time, until he had nearly recovered, when he found an opportunity of escaping, and embarking for Jamaica. He arrived in safety at Kingston, and from there, travelled barefoot over the mountains, until very much exhausted, he reached Montego Bay, where he had friends, and where one of his brothers possessed some property. From this place, he afterwards wrote to me. He told me that before he came to Massachusetts, he saw the villainous pilot of the Mexican, the infamous Baltizar, with several other pirates, brought into Montego Bay, from whence they were to be conveyed to Kingston to be executed. Whether the others were part of the Mexican's crew, or not, I do not know. Baltizar was an old man, and as Jamieson said, it was a melancholy and heart-rending sight, to see him borne to execution with those gray hairs, which might have been venerable in virtuous old age, now a shame and reproach to this hoary villain, for he was full of years, and old in iniquity. When Jamieson received the letter which I wrote him, he immediately embarked with Captain Wilson, and came to Boston, as I have before observed.

According to his own account he was of a very respectable family in Greenock, Scotland. His father when living was a rich cloth merchant, but both his father and mother had been dead many years. He was the youngest of thirteen children, and being, as he said, of a roving disposition, had always followed the seas. He had received a polite education, and was of a very gentlemanly deportment. He spoke several living languages, and was skilled in drawing and painting. He had travelled extensively in different countries, and acquired in consequence an excellent knowledge of their manners and customs. His varied information (for hardly any subject escaped him) rendered him a very entertaining companion. His observations on the character of different nations were very liberal; marking their various



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traits, their virtues and vices, with playful humorousness, quite free from bigotry, or narrow prejudice.

I was in trade, between Boston and Philadelphia, at the time he came to Massachusetts, and he sailed with me several trips as my mate. He afterwards went to Cuba, and was subsequently engaged in the mackerel fishery, out of the port of Hingham, during the warm season, and in the winter frequently employed himself in teaching navigation to young men, for which he was eminently qualified. He remained with us, until his death, which took place in 1829. At this time he had been out at sea two or three days, when he was taken sick, and was carried into Cape Cod, where he died, on the first day of May, 1829, and there his remains lie buried. Peace be to his ashes! They rest in a strange land, far from his kindred and his native country.

Since his death I have met with Mr. Stewart, of Philadelphia, who was Commercial Agent in Trinidad at the time of my capture. He informed me that the piratical schooner Mexican, was afterwards chased by an English government vessel, from Jamaica, which was cruising in search of it. Being hotly pursued, the pirates deserted their vessel, and fled to the mangrove bushes, on an island similar to that on which they had placed me and my crew to die. The English surrounded them, and thus they were cut off from all hopes of escape. They remained there, I think fourteen days, when being almost entirely subdued by famine, eleven surrendered themselves, and were taken. The others probably perished among the mangroves. The few who were taken were carried by the government vessel into Trinidad. Mr. Stewart said that he saw them himself, and such miserable objects, that had life, he never before beheld. They were in a state of starvation; their beards had grown to a frightful length, their bodies, were covered with filth and vermin, and their countenances were hideous. From Trinidad they were taken to Kingston, Jamaica, and there hung on Friday, the 7th of February, 1823.

About a quarter of an hour before day dawn, the wretched culprits were taken from the jail, under a guard of soldiers from the 50th regiment, and the City Guard. On their arrival at the wherry wharf, the military retired, and the prisoners, with the Town Guard were put on board two wherries, in which they proceeded to Port Royal Point, the usual place of execution in similar cases. They were there met by a strong party of military, consisting of 50 men, under command of an officer. They formed themselves into a square round the place of execution, with the sheriff and his officers with the prisoners in the centre. The gallows was of considerable length, and contrived with a drop so as to prevent the unpleasant circumstances which frequently occur.

The unfortunate men had been in continual prayer from the time they were awakened out of a deep sleep till they arrived at that place, where they were to close their existence.

They all expressed their gratitude for the attention they had met with from the sheriff and the inferior officers. Many pressed the hands of the turnkey to their lips, others to their hearts and on their knees, prayed that God, Jesus Christ, and the Virgin Mary would bless him and the other jailors for their goodness. They all then fervently joined in prayer. To the astonishment of all, no clerical character, of any persuasion, was present. They repeatedly called out "*Adonde esta el padre,*"



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(Where is the holy father).

Juan Hernandez called on all persons present to hear him – he was innocent; what they had said about his confessing himself guilty was untrue. He had admitted himself guilty, because he hoped for pardon; but that now he was to die, he called God, Jesus Christ, the Holy Ghost, the Virgin Mary, and the Saints, to witness that he spoke the truth – that he was no pirate, no murderer – he had been forced. The Lieutenant of the pirates was a wretch, who did not fear God, and had compelled him to act. Juan Gutierrez and Francisco de Sayas were loud in their protestations of innocence.

Manuel Lima said, for himself, he did not care; he felt for the old man (Miguel Jose). How could he be a pirate who could not help himself? If it were a Christian country, they would have pardoned him for his gray hairs. He was innocent – they had both been forced. Let none of his friends or relations ever venture to sea – he hoped his death would be a warning to them, that the innocent might suffer for the guilty. The language of this young man marked him a superior to the generality of his companions in misfortune. The seamen of the Whim stated that he was very kind to them when prisoners on board the piratical vessel. Just before he was turned off, he addressed the old man – “*Adios viejo, para siempre adios.*” – (Farewell, old man, forever farewell.)

Several of the prisoners cried out for mercy, pardon, pardon. Domingo Eucalla, the black man, then addressed them. “Do not look for mercy here, but pray to God; we are all brought here to die. This is not built for nothing; here we must end our lives. You know I am innocent, but I must die the same as you all. There is not any body here who can do us any good, so let us think only of God Almighty. We are not children but men, you know that all must die; and in a few years those who kill us must die too. When I was born, God set the way of my death; I do not blame any body. I was taken by the pirates and they made me help them; they would not let me be idle. I could not show that this was the truth, and therefore they have judged me by the people they have found me with. I am put to death unjustly, but I blame nobody. It was my misfortune. Come, let us pray. If we are innocent, so much the less we have to repent. I do not come here to accuse any one. Death must come one day or other; better to the innocent than guilty.” He then joined in prayer with the others. He seemed to be much revered by his fellow prisoners. He chose those prayers he thought most adapted to the occasion. Hundreds were witnesses to the manly firmness of this negro. Observing a bystander listening attentively to the complaints of one of his fellow wretches, he translated what had been said into English. With a steady pace, and a resolute and resigned countenance, he ascended the fatal scaffold. Observing the executioner unable to untie a knot on the collar of one of the prisoners, he with his teeth untied it. He then prayed most fervently till the drop fell.

Miguel Jose protested his innocence. – “*No he robado, no he matado ninguno, muero inocente.*” – (I have robbed no one, I have killed no one, I die innocent. I am an old man, but my family will feel my disgraceful death.)

Francisco Migul prayed devoutly, but inaudibly. – His soul seemed to have quitted the body before he was executed.

Breti Gullimillit called on all to witness his innocence; it was



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of no use for him to say an untruth, for he was going before the face of God.

Augustus Hernandez repeatedly declared his innocence, requested that no one would say he had made a confession; he had none to make.

Juan Hernandez was rather obstinate when the execution pulled the cap over his eyes. He said, rather passionately – “*Quita is de mis ojos.*” – (Remove it from my eyes.) He then rubbed it up against one of the posts of the gallows.

Miguel Jose made the same complaint, and drew the covering from his eyes by rubbing his head against a fellow sufferer.

Pedro Nondre was loud in his ejaculations for mercy. He wept bitterly. He was covered with marks of deep wounds.

The whole of the ten included in the death warrant, having been placed on the scaffold, and the ropes suspended, the drop was let down. Nondre being an immense heavy man, broke the rope, and fell to the ground alive. Juan Hernandez struggled long. Lima was much convulsed. The old man Gullimillit, and Migul, were apparently dead before the drop fell. Eucalla (the black man) gave one convulsion, and all was over.

When Nondre recovered from the fall and saw his nine lifeless companions stretched in death, he gave an agonizing shriek; he wrung his hands, screamed “*Favor, favor, me matan sin causa. O! buenos Christianos, me amparen, ampara me, ampara me, no hay Christiano en asta, tiara?*” (Mercy, mercy, they kill me without cause. – Oh, good Christians, protect me. Oh, protect me. Is there no Christian in this land?)

He then lifted his eyes to Heaven, and prayed long and loud. Upon being again suspended, he was for a long period convulsed. He was an immense powerful man, and died hard.

A piratical station was taken in the Island of Cuba by the U.S. schooners of war, Greyhound and Beagle. They left Thompson’s Island June 7, 1823, under the command of Lieuts. Kearney and Newton, and cruised within the Key’s on the south side of Cuba, as far as Cape Cruz, touching at all the intermediate ports on the island, to intercept pirates. On the 21st of July, they came to anchor off Cape Cruz, and Lieut. Kearney went in his boat to reconnoitre the shore, when he was fired on by a party of pirates who were concealed among the bushes. A fire was also opened from several pieces of cannon erected on a hill a short distance off. The boat returned, and five or six others were manned from the vessels, and pushed off for the shore, but a very heavy cannonade being kept up by the pirates on the heights, as well as from the boats, were compelled to retreat. The two schooners were then warped in, when they discharged several broadsides, and covered the landing of the boats. After a short time the pirates retreated to a hill that was well fortified. A small hamlet, in which the pirates resided, was set fire to and destroyed. Three guns, one a four pounder, and two large swivels, with several pistols, cutlasses, and eight large boats, were captured. A cave, about 150 feet deep, was discovered, near where the houses were, and after considerable difficulty, a party of seamen got to the bottom, where was found an immense quantity of plunder, consisting of broadcloths, dry goods, female dresses, saddlery, &c. Many human bones were also in the cave, supposed to have been unfortunate persons who were taken and put to death. A great many of the articles were brought away, and the rest destroyed. About forty pirates escaped to the heights, but many were



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supposed to have been killed from the fire of the schooners, as well as from the men who landed. The bushes were so thick that it was impossible to go after them. Several other caves are in the neighborhood, in which it was conjectured they occasionally take shelter.

In 1823, Commodore Porter commanded the United States squadron in these seas; much good was done in preventing new acts of piracy; but these wretches kept aloof and did not venture to sea as formerly, but some were taken.

Almost every day furnished accounts evincing the activity of Commodore Porter, and the officers and men under his command; but for a long time their industry and zeal was rather shown in the *suppression* of piracy than the *punishment* of it. At length, however, an opportunity offered for inflicting the latter, as detailed in the following letter, dated Matanzas, July 10, 1823.

"I have the pleasure of informing you of a brilliant achievement obtained against the pirates on the 5th inst. by two barges attached to Commodore Porter's squadron, the Gallinipper, Lieut. Watson, 18 men, and the Moscheto, Lieut. Inman, 10 men. The barges were returning from a cruise to windward; when they were near Jiguapa Bay, 13 leagues to windward of Matanzas, they entered it — it being a rendezvous for pirates. They immediately discovered a large schooner under way, which they supposed to be a Patriot privateer; and as their stores were nearly exhausted, they hoped to obtain some supplies from her. They therefore made sail in pursuit. When they were within cannon shot distance, she rounded to and fired her long gun, at the same time run up the bloody flag, directing her course towards the shore, and continuing to fire without effect. When she had got within a short distance of the shore, she came to, with springs on her cable, continuing to fire; and when the barges were within 30 yards, they fired their muskets without touching boat or man; our men gave three cheers, and prepared to board; the pirates, discovering their intention, jumped into the water, when the bargemen, calling on the name of 'Allen,' commenced a destructive slaughter, killing them in the water and as they landed. So exasperated were our men, that it was impossible for their officers to restrain them, and many were killed after orders were given to grant quarter. Twenty-seven dead were counted, some sunk, five taken prisoners by the bargemen, and eight taken by a party of Spaniards on shore. The officers calculated that from 30 to 35 were killed. The schooner mounted a long nine pounder on a pivot, and 4 four pounders, with every other necessary armament, and a crew of 50 to 60 men, and ought to have blown the barges to atoms. She was commanded by the notorious Diablero or Little Devil. This statement I have from Lieut. Watson himself, and it is certainly the most decisive operation that has been effected against those murderers, either by the English or American force."

"This affair occurred on the same spot where the brave Allen fell about one year since. The prize was sent to Thompson's Island."

A British sloop of war, about the same time, captured a pirate schooner off St. Domingo, with a crew of 60 men. She had 200,000 dollars in specie, and other valuable articles on board. The brig Vestal sent another pirate schooner to New-Providence.



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December: Vincent Benavides, the son of the gaoler of Quirihue in the district of Concepcion, Chile, having been judged guilty of multiple acts of fierce [piracy](#), was dragged from the Topocalma prison in a pannier tied to the tail of a mule and [hanged](#) in the great square of this municipality on the west coast of South America, after which his head and hands were placed on display atop high poles:

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THE BLOODY CAREER AND EXECUTION OF VINCENT BENAVIDES A PIRATE ON THE WEST COAST OF SOUTH AMERICA³⁵⁷



Vincent Benavides was the son of the gaoler of Quirihue in the district of Concepcion. He was a man of ferocious manners, and had been guilty of several murders. Upon the breaking out of the revolutionary war, he entered the patriot army as a private soldier; and was a serjeant of grenadiers at the time of the first Chilian revolution. He, however, deserted to the Spaniards, and was taken prisoner in their service, when they sustained, on the plains of Maypo, on the 5th of April, 1818, that defeat which decided their fortunes in that part of America, and secured the independence of Chili. Benavides, his brother, and some other traitors to the Chilian cause, were sentenced to death, and brought forth in the Plaza, or public square of Santiago, in order to be shot. Benavides, though terribly wounded by the discharge, was not killed; but he had the presence of mind to counterfeit death in so perfect a manner, that the imposture was not suspected. The bodies of the traitors were not buried, but dragged away to a distance, and there left to be devoured by the gallinazos or vultures. The serjeant who had the superintendence of this part of the ceremony, had a personal hatred to Benavides, on account of that person having

357. THE PIRATES OWN BOOK, OR AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF THE LIVES, EXPLOITS, AND EXECUTIONS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED SEA ROBBERS, by Charles Ellms (Portland: Published by Sanborn & Carter; Philadelphia: Thomas, Comperthwait, & Co., 1837. This would be republished in 1842 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York & Philadelphia, and in 1844 in Portland by Sanborn & Carter, and in 1855 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York, and in 1924 by Marine res. of Massachusetts, and in 1996 by Random House of New York.)



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murdered some of his relations; and, to gratify his revenge, he drew his sword, and gave the dead body, (as he thought,) a severe gash in the side, as they were dragging it along. The resolute Benavides had fortitude to bear this also, without flinching or even showing the least indication of life; and one cannot help regretting that so determined a power of endurance had not been turned to a better purpose.

Benavides lay like a dead man, in the heap of carcasses, until it became dark; and then, pierced with shot, and gashed by the sword as he was, he crawled to a neighboring cottage, the inhabitants of which received him with the greatest kindness, and attended him with the greatest care.

The daring ruffian, who knew the value of his own talents and courage, being aware that General San Martin was planning the expedition to Peru, a service in which there would be much of desperation and danger, sent word to the General that he was alive, and invited him to a secret conference at midnight, in the same Plaza in which it was believed Benavides had been shot. The signal agreed upon, was, that they should strike fire three times with their flints, as that was not likely to be answered by any but the proper party, and yet was not calculated to awaken suspicion.

San Martin, alone, and provided with a brace of pistols, met the desperado; and after a long conference, it was agreed that Benavides should, in the mean time, go out against the Araucan Indians; but that he should hold himself in readiness to proceed to Peru, when the expedition suited.

Having procured the requisite passports, he proceeded to Chili, where, having again diverted the Chilians, he succeeded in persuading the commander of the Spanish troops, that he had force sufficient to carry on the war against Chili; and the commander in consequence retired to Valdivia, and left Benavides commander of the whole frontier on the Biobio.

Having thus cleared the coast of the Spanish commander, he went over to the Araucans, or rather, he formed a band of armed robbers, who committed every cruelty, and were guilty of every perfidy in the south of Chili. Whereever Benavides came, his footsteps were marked with blood, and the old men, the women, and the children, were butchered lest they should give notice of his motions.

When he had rendered himself formidable by land, he resolved to be equally powerful upon the sea. He equipped a corsair, with instructions to capture the vessels of all nations; and as Araucan is directly opposite the island of Santa Maria, where vessels put in for refreshment, after having doubled Cape Horn, his situation was well adapted for his purpose. He was but too successful. The first of his prizes was the American ship Hero, which he took by surprise in the night; the second, was the Herculia, a brig belonging to the same country. While the unconscious crew were proceeding, as usual, to catch seals on this island, lying about three leagues from the main land of Arauca, an armed body of men rushed from the woods, and overpowering them, tied their hands behind them, and left them under a guard on the beach. These were no other than the [pirates](#), who now took the Herculia's own boats, and going on board, surprised the captain and four of his crew, who had remained to take care of the brig; and having brought off the prisoners from the beach, threw them all into the hold, closing the hatches



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over them. They then tripped the vessel's anchor, and sailing over in triumph to Arauca, were received by Benavides, with a salute of musketry fired under the Spanish flag, which it was their chief's pleasure to hoist on that day. In the course of the next night, Benavides ordered the captain and his crew to be removed to a house on shore, at some distance from the town; then taking them out, one by one, he stripped and pillaged them of all they possessed, threatening them the whole time with drawn swords and loaded muskets. Next morning he paid the prisoners a visit and ordered them to the capital, called together the principal people of the town, and desired each to select one as a servant. The captain and four others not happening to please the fancy of any one, Benavides, after saying he would himself take charge of the captain, gave directions, on pain of instant death, that some one should hold themselves responsible for the other prisoners. Some days after this they were called together, and required to serve as soldiers in the pirates army; an order to which they consented, knowing well by what they had already seen, that the consequence of refusal would be fatal.

Benavides, though unquestionably a ferocious savage, was, nevertheless, a man of resource, full of activity, and of considerable energy of character. He converted the whale spears and harpoons into lances for his cavalry, and halberts for his sergeants; and out of the sails he made trowsers for half of his army; the carpenters he set to work making baggage carts and repairing his boats; the armourers he kept perpetually at work, mending muskets, and making pikes; managing in this way, to turn the skill of every one of his prisoners to some useful account. He treated the officers, too, not unkindly, allowed them to live in his house, and was very anxious on all occasions, to have their advice respecting the equipment of his troops.

Upon one occasion, when walking with the captain of the Herculia, he remarked, that his army was now almost complete in every respect, except in one essential particular, and it cut him, he said to the soul, to think of such a deficiency; he had no trumpets for his cavalry, and added, that it was utterly impossible to make the fellows believe themselves dragoons, unless they heard a blast in their ears at every turn; and neither men nor horses would ever do their duty properly, if not roused to it by the sound of a trumpet; in short he declared, some device must be hit upon to supply this equipment. The captain, willing to ingratiate himself with the pirate, after a little reflection, suggested to him, that trumpets might easily be made of copper sheets on the bottoms of the vessels he had taken. "Very true," cried the delighted chief, "how came I not to think of that before?" Instantly all hands were employed in ripping off the copper, and the armourers being set to work under his personal superintendence, the whole camp, before night, resounded with the warlike blasts of the cavalry.

The captain of the ship, who had given him the brilliant idea of the copper trumpets, had by these means, so far won upon his good will and confidence, as to be allowed a considerable range to walk on. He of course, was always looking out for some plan of escape, and at length an opportunity occurring, he, with the mate of the Ocean, and nine of his crew, seized two whale boats, imprudently left on the banks of the river, and rowed off. Before quitting the shore, they took the precaution of staving all the



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other boats, to prevent pursuit, and accordingly, though their escape was immediately discovered, they succeeded in getting so much the start of the people whom Benavides sent in pursuit of them, that they reached St. Mary's Island in safety. Here they caught several seals upon which they subsisted very miserably till they reached Valparaiso. It was in consequence of their report of Benavides proceedings made to Sir Thomas Hardy, the commander-in-chief, that he deemed it proper to send a ship to rescue if possible, the remaining unfortunate captives at Arauca.

Benavides having manned the *Herculia*, it suited the mate, (the captain and crew being detained as hostages,) to sail with the brig to Chili, and seek aid from the Spanish governor. The *Herculia* returned with a twenty-four pounder, two field-pieces, eleven Spanish officers, and twenty soldiers, together with the most flattering letters and congratulations to the worthy ally of his Most Catholic Majesty. Soon after this he captured the *Perseverance*, English whaler, and the American brig *Ocean*, bound for Lima, with several thousand stand of arms on board. The captain of the *Herculia*, with the mate of the *Ocean*, and several men, after suffering great hardships, landed at Valparaiso, and gave notice of the proceedings of Benavides; and in consequence, Sir Thomas Hardy directed Captain Hall to proceed to Arauca with the convoy, to set the captives free, if possible.

It was for the accomplishment of this service that Capt. Hall sailed from Valparaiso; and he called at Conception on his way, in order to glean information respecting the pirate. Here the Captain ascertained that Benavides was between two considerable bodies of Chilian force, on the Chilian side of the Biobio, and one of those bodies between him and the river.

Having to wait two days at Conception for information, Captain Hall occupied them in observing the place; the country he describes as green and fertile, and having none of the dry and desert character of the environs of Valparaiso. Abundance of vegetables, wood, and also coals, are found on the shores of the bay.

On the 12th of October, the captain heard of the defeat of Benavides, and his flight, alone, across the Biobio into the Araucan country; and also that two of the Americans whom he had taken with him had made their escape, and were on board the *Chacabuco*. As these were the only persons who could give Captain Hall information respecting the prisoners of whom he was in quest, he set out in search of the vessel, and after two days' search, found her at anchor near the island of Mocha. From thence he learned that the captain of the *Ocean*, with several English and American seamen had been left at Arauca, when Benavides went on his expedition, and he sailed for that place immediately.

He was too late, however; the Chilian forces had already made a successful attack, and the Indians had fled, setting fire to the town and the ships. The Indians, who were in league with the Chilians, were every way as wild as those who arrayed themselves under Benavides. Capt. Hall, upon his return to Conception, though dissuaded from it by the governor, visited the Indian encampment.

When the captain and his associates entered the courtyard, they observed a party seated on the ground, round a great tub of wine, who hailed their entrance with loud shouts, or rather yells, and boisterously demanded their business; to all appearance very



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little pleased with the interruption. The interpreter became alarmed, and wished them to retire; but this the captain thought imprudent, as each man had his long spear close at hand, resting against the eaves of the house. Had they attempted to escape they must have been taken, and possibly sacrificed, by these drunken savages. As their best chance seemed to lie in treating them without any show of distrust, they advanced to the circle with a good humored confidence, which appeased them considerably. One of the party rose and embraced them in the Indian fashion, which they had learned from the gentlemen who had been prisoners with Benavides. After this ceremony they roared out to them to sit down on the ground, and with the most boisterous hospitality, insisted on their drinking with them; a request which they cheerfully complied with. Their anger soon vanished, and was succeeded by mirth and satisfaction, which speedily became as outrageous as their displeasure had been at first. Seizing a favorable opportunity, Captain Hall stated his wish to have an interview with their chief, upon which a message was sent to him; but he did not think fit to show himself for a considerable time, during which they remained with the party round the tub, who continued swilling their wine like so many hogs. Their heads soon became affected, and their obstreperous mirth increasing every minute, the situation of the strangers became by no means agreeable.

At length Peneleo's door opened, and the chief made his appearance; he did not condescend, however, to cross the threshold, but leaned against the door post to prevent falling, being by some degrees more drunk than any of his people. A more finished picture of a savage cannot be conceived. He was a tall, broad shouldered man; with a prodigiously large head, and a square-shaped bloated face, from which peeped out two very small eyes, partly hid by an immense superfluity of black, coarse, oily, straight hair, covering his cheeks, hanging over his shoulders, and rendering his head somewhat the shape and size of a bee-hive. Over his shoulders was thrown a poncho of coarse blanket stuff. He received them very gruffly, and appeared irritated and sulky at having been disturbed; he was still more offended when he learned that they wished to see his captive. They in vain endeavored to explain their real views; but he grunted out his answer in a tone and manner which showed them plainly that he neither did, nor wished to understand them.

Whilst in conversation with Peneleo, they stole an occasional glance at his apartment. By the side of the fire burning in the middle of the floor, was seated a young Indian woman, with long black hair reaching to the ground; this, they conceived, could be no other than one of the unfortunate persons they were in search of; and they were somewhat disappointed to observe, that the lady was neither in tears, nor apparently very miserable; they therefore came away impressed with the unsentimental idea, that the amiable Peneleo had already made some impression on her young heart.

Two Indians, who were not so drunk as the rest, followed them to the outside of the court, and told them that several foreigners had been taken by the Chilians in the battle near Chilian, and were now safe. The interpreter hinted to them that this was probably invented by these cunning people, on hearing their questions in the court; but he advised them, as a matter of policy, to give them each a piece of money, and to get away



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as far as they could.

Captain Hall returned to Concepcion on the 23d of October, reached Valparaiso on the 26th, and in two weeks thereafter, the men of whom he was in search, made their appearance.

The bloody career of Benavides now drew near to a close. The defeat on the Chilian side of the Biobio, and the burning of Arauca with the loss of his vessels, he never recovered. At length, in the end of December 1821, discovering the miserable state to which he was reduced, he entreated the Intendant of Concepcion, that he might be received on giving himself up along with his partisans. This generous chief accepted his offer, and informed the supreme government; but in the meantime Benavides embarked in a launch, at the mouth of the river Lebo, and fled, with the intention of joining a division of the enemy's army, which he supposed to be at some one of the ports on the south coast of Peru. It was indeed absurd to expect any good faith from such an intriguer; for in his letters at this time, he offered his services to Chili and promised fidelity, while his real intention was still to follow the enemy. He finally left the unhappy province of Concepcion, the theatre of so many miserable scenes, overwhelmed with the misery which he had caused, without ever recollecting that it was in that province that he had first drawn his breath.

His despair in the boat made his conduct insupportable to those who accompanied him, and they rejoiced when they were obliged to put into the harbor of Topocalma in search of water of which they had run short. He was now arrested by some patriotic individuals. From the notorious nature of his crimes, alone, even the most impartial stranger would have condemned him to the last punishment; but the supreme government wished to hear what he had to say for himself, and ordered him to be tried according to the laws. It appearing on his trial that he had placed himself beyond the laws of society, such punishment was awarded him as any one of his crimes deserved. As a pirate, he merited death, and as a destroyer of whole towns, it became necessary to put him to death in such a manner as might satisfy outraged humanity, and terrify others who should dare to imitate him. In pursuance of the sentence passed upon him, he was dragged from the prison in a pannier tied to the tail of a mule, and was hanged in the great square; his head and hands were afterwards cut off, in order to their being placed upon high poles, to point out the places of his horrid crimes, Santa Juona, Tarpellanca and Arauca.



December 20, Thursday: Michael Martin, who had robbed Major John Bray in Medford, was [hanged](#) at [Boston](#)'s and Cambridge's Lechmere Point. (An accomplice known as "Captain Lightfoot" had been able to escape, and would reside for many years incognito in Brattleboro, Vermont, not dying until 1835.)

[H. Heine](#) (the "H" at this point still stood for "Harry" rather than "Heinrich") made his debut as a poet with *GEDICHTE VON H. HEINE* (Berlin: in der Maurerfchen Buchhandlung, 1822; this included one of his most famous poems "Zwei Grenadiere" which reflected his admiration for [Napoléon Bonaparte](#)).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 20th of 12th M / Our Meeting was a pretty solid one & silent - life seemed rather low in my own particular, but being favor'd with an evidence that favour was not withheld I desire



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to be thankful. -

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RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

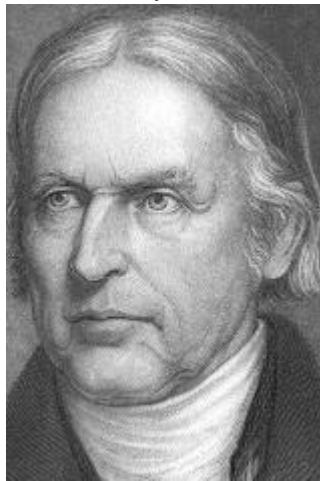
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1822

February 24, Sunday: On this day a man colloquially known as “Bluebeard” was [hanged](#) for having burned ten of his wives. His last words were not “Hey, if you have to ask, you wouldn’t understand.”

Early in this year (and I suppose I might as well place this record here as elsewhere, since I do not have a precise date), [Adin Ballou](#) got married with Abigail Sayles. Abigail’s mother, a Universalist, lent him a copy of Elhanan Winchester’s *DIALOGUES ON THE UNIVERSAL RESTORATION*. This reading and debates with some Universalist neighbors challenged his assumptions about salvation. At a Universalist meeting in nearby Wrentham, Massachusetts that year, Adin, attending as a spectator, was introduced to his distant cousin Hosea Ballou 2d, the Universalist minister from Roxbury, Massachusetts, who encouraged him to seek fellowship



with the Universalists. After a period of study and prayer, Adin would post a letter to his distant cousin announcing his conversion to Universalism. The Christian Connexion would excommunicate him and his father would disinherit him.

(Adin would not marry multiple times and would not be burning any wives, so his name would never become quite so much a household word as Bluebeard’s has become.)


Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 24th of 2 M / Our morning Meeting was pretty full, a solid [—] ured season — D Buffum was very lively in a short testimony Invitation “Come Brother come Sister let us go up to the mountain of the Lord to the House of the God of Jacob.”— Silent & pretty well attended in the Afternoon — This [—] ning finished & put a letter in the Office To Stephen Oliver of [—] em [?] requesting information respecting the difficulties that [—] it there

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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 March 7, Thursday: Gilbert Close and Samuel Clisby, who had robbed Ezra Haynes in Cambridge Street, were taken to [Boston](#) Neck near the new city burying grounds and [hanged](#).³⁵⁸


Gioachino Rossini departed from Naples heading for Vienna, accompanied by Isabella Colbran and three male singers.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 7th of 3 M 1822 / Our Meeting was Silent but a Solid good one, & favoured with the springing up of life, & for this privilege I feel thankful, while friends in some places are suffering under the disturbances of a ranterous & disorganising Spirit. — We had the company of Considerable portion of young people some of whose countenances bespoke Solidity & reverence & were a Strength to their older brethren & sisters —

RHODE ISLAND

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 29, Friday: The murderer [Samuel Green](#) received his sentence of death. Returned to his cell, he wrote a letter to his mother Mercy Q. Green, which he would enclose in a letter posted to Joseph Chapman of Meredith, [New Hampshire](#).



Despite his confessing in writing to at least two murders in an account that would be published in this year in Boston as a book, his mother was to take whatever comfort she could from the fact that his conviction, of the 3d murder, had been wrongfully obtained on the basis of suborned perjury from other convicts:

Boston, March 29, 1822.

My Dear Mother,

In the solitary recess of a prison, I now sit down to write to you the last lines you are ever to receive from your unfortunate son. I will not attempt, for the first time, to inform you of my unhappy fate. When I left the peaceful asylum of my tender mother, I little thought that I was leaving it for the last time, never more to return. I entertained nothing but the hope, and even boasted a long and lasting felicity: but alas, the scene changed — I was taken for breaking into a store, for which I was sent to prison; and having laid there for three years and a half, I was taken out and falsely accused of murder, for which I was tried, and two prisoners for the sake of their liberty, swore false against me; and now my dear mother, in the utmost agony of grief and despair, I must inform you I am condemned to die,

358. Presumably the duly constituted authorities in Boston would have experienced no difficulty whatever in seeking out and retaining and remunerating the services of one or another Protestant reverend who was not so embarrassed by the death penalty as to be unwilling to mount the scaffold with the victim, and administer last rites.



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and most likely, before you receive this, I shall be no more: excuse me for not writing to you before: I did not intend to let you know of my unhappy fate, and I am afraid this letter will break your heart, and sometimes I am tempted not to send it; but I consider it my duty to write you this letter, and humbly ask your pardon for all past offences and the many tears I have caused you to shed: had I have taken your advice and staid at home, I might have still lived and been happy. I have seen the folly of my ways, but alas, not till too late.

O, most offended mother, could I now but have the satisfaction of falling on my knees at your feet and receiving your pardon, I could then die in peace; but that privilege will be denied me. I am now in irons and chained to the floor – I shall soon sink under the weight of my misfortunes. I was sent to prison the 3d of July, 1818, and have been in prison ever since. I am now in Boston gaol and shall be executed within thirty days – You must remember my love to my brothers and sisters, and to those who once called themselves my friends – bid them from me a long and eternal farewell, and then my dear mother try to forget that there ever was such a being as your poor unfortunate son.

Samuel Green.

**THE TASK OF THE HISTORIAN IS TO CREATE HINDSIGHT WHILE
INTERCEPTING ANY ILLUSION OF FORESIGHT. NOTHING A HUMAN CAN
SEE CAN EVER BE SEEN AS IF THROUGH THE EYE OF GOD.**



April 23, Tuesday: [Adelaide Amelia Louisa Theresa Caroline of Saxe-Coburg Meiningen](#) gave birth to twin boys at Bushy Park, who immediately died.

[Samuel Green](#) set his signature to a 47-page manuscript of his life, that would be printed in Boston as LIFE OF SAMUEL GREEN, EXECUTED AT [BOSTON](#), APRIL 25, 1822, FOR THE MURDER OF BILLY WILLIAMS, A FELLOW CONVICT WITH GREEN, IN THE STATE PRISON. WRITTEN BY HIMSELF. THE FACTS HERE NARRATED, WERE DRAWN UP BY GREEN, WHILE IN PRISON, AND SOLEMNLY DECLARED TO BE THE TRUTH, A FEW MOMENTS BEFORE HIS EXECUTION (Boston: Published by David Felt, No. 63, State Street, 1822).

I was born in the Town of Meredith, County of Strafford, and State of New Hampshire, of poor, but respectable parents. They endeavored to give me a good education, but to no purpose; for I always had an aversion to books, was lazy and negligent, and continually bent upon mischief. When five or six years of age, my mother sent me to a school, about a mile from the house,

State Murder

“Stack of the Artist of Kouroo” Project



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giving me cake and cheese, in a handkerchief, for my dinner; but being too proud to carry it, I frequently threw it away, and fasted the whole day. At other times, I passed whole days in the fields, rather than go to school, for which I always received a severe flogging when detected, although my parents were too indulgent for my good. When at school, I was often in mischief, and punished for my folly; by such tricks as pinning the clothes of several girls together, to set the whole in an uproar, I got the ill will of the master, and learned nothing. This course continued until I was eight years old; when being so mischievous, my parents, rather than correct me, sent me to live with a Mr. L____, where I had not been long, before I was detected in stealing money from one of the girls, and was severely whipped. The oftener I was whipped, the worse I grew, and determined on revenge, by pulling up a bed of onions, and another of poppies, in the garden; in consequence, I was again whipped, to make me confess, as no person saw me; but I resolutely denied it to the last. Being still further bent on having satisfaction, I watched an opportunity, caught a small dog belonging to the family, and threw him into the well, which was fifty feet deep; the putrefaction soon rendered the water offensive and useless; this put my master to the expense of cleaning the well, and forced us to bring water half a mile; being suspected, the whole of this work was required of me, so that I had the worst of it. I lived here two years; when one day, being at work in the barn, pitching hay to the cattle, I saw an old sow seize a young lamb and tear it in pieces: as several lambs had been, before, destroyed in the same way, I became enraged, did not stop to reflect, but plunged the fork into the hog's belly, which soon killed her. I went into the house, and informed my master that the hog had killed another lamb; to which he replied in a passion, and with an oath, "why did you not kill her?" — I answered, I have sir;— but when he found that I really had killed her, instead of being glad, and saying I had done right, he gave me another severe whipping. This I thought I did not deserve — and was so vexed, that I ran away, and returned to my parents, who instead of sending me back, as I feared, procured me another place, in the family of Mr. D____, in Newhampton; here I behaved well, for one year. I was sent to school, but learned very little, being always in mischief, and minding nothing but play; day after day, played truant, and was as often whipped, which still made me worse. One day, I went to a blacksmith's, to buy a jew's harp — not finding him at home, I took one without leave. On my return, I was whipped for running away. The next day, my master was informed of the theft, and whipped me again, ordered me to return the jew's harp, and be back in an hour and a half, or he would repeat the whipping. I overstaid the time, and he was as good as his word, making me "pay dear for the whistle." This severity was so great, that I ran home; but instead of meeting with a welcome reception from my parents; they carried me back again, and I received another whipping from my master. I now determined to kill him; and the next day, when he had gone to mill, prepared the means. He had a workshop, standing four or five feet from the ground, a large stone made a step to the door, which opened outwards. Just before he came home, I placed a large stick of timber against the door, inside, and a broad axe on the top of it, that they might fall on him, when the door was opened; but



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for fear that it should fail of doing the business, I fixed the barn door in the same way, and put the pitchfork on the top, with the point downwards, so that I had great hopes of success. When he came home, on opening the shop door, the fall of the timber sprained his shoulder; at the barn door, the fork wounded his foot: thus he escaped from my traps, and was able to give me more severe drubbings. To be revenged, I one day, split the locks of the hoops on the end of a hogshead of cider, so that it burst; they were deceived, and I escaped suspicion. Being further bent on doing all the mischief I could, I found a man who would buy grain at half price, taking it at midnight, let down by a rope, from a chamber window. In this way I kept myself in money, and lightened my master's grain chest. I also took butter from the cellar, and sometimes a whole cheese. While here, I formed an acquaintance with A____, who was a person after my own heart; he was older than myself, and experienced in vice – we passed our evenings and Sundays together, often robbing the farmers of their honey and water melons; of the former, taking whole hives at a time. I now became so negligent, that my master placed no confidence in me. As I was small, he thought me the fittest person, when he was planting, to put the beans, &c. in the corn hills; but instead of doing it as directed, I threw them into a woodchuck's hole; therefore he seldom had beans and pumpkins of my planting. This was discovered, by the seeds growing from the hole, and brought on me severe punishment. I then ran away; but instead of going home, I went about seven miles, to the house of my uncle. In a short time, my mother came after me, and carried me back to my old master – he was unwilling to receive me; but out of respect to my mother, consented to try me one more, on condition that I would mend my ways. To this I agreed, and went to work, and behaved much better than I had done; but my evil genius would not suffer me to live in peace. An accident happened, which caused me the severest whipping I ever had. The contents of a keg of molasses was missing; the mistress of the house pretended that she found some of it in the drain, and I was accused of putting it there. Of this crime I was innocent; – but one day, when the old man and myself were in the woods, felling timber, he took from a large elm tree about twenty branches and swore he would make me own it, or wear them out upon me. Being determined to die, rather than own any thing of which I was not guilty, I was almost beaten to death, and carried the marks of the elm for a month. In revenge, I set fire to the house; luckily for him, it was discovered in time to save the house. The fire was kindled among some rags in the chamber, and passed for an accident – I was however, closely watched, and locked up every night.

It might be supposed, that I should, before this time, have been driven from the house; but I was an uncommon smart boy, always gay and cheerful, and could do more work than my master, so that he always had a hope of reforming me; but this task can be performed only by hemp, and his labor was all in vain. In this manner I lived, till I was fourteen years old, when we parted. It might be supposed, that I should, before this time, have been driven from the house; but I was an uncommon smart boy, always gay and cheerful, and could do more work than my master, so that he always had a hope of reforming me; but this task can be performed only by *hemp*, and his labor was all in vain. In this



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manner I lived, till I was fourteen years old, and we parted.

BETWEEN ANY TWO MOMENTS ARE AN INFINITE NUMBER OF MOMENTS, AND BETWEEN THESE OTHER MOMENTS LIKEWISE AN INFINITE NUMBER, THERE BEING NO ATOMIC MOMENT JUST AS THERE IS NO ATOMIC POINT ALONG A LINE. MOMENTS ARE THEREFORE FIGMENTS. THE PRESENT MOMENT IS A MOMENT AND AS SUCH IS A FIGMENT, A FLIGHT OF THE IMAGINATION TO WHICH NOTHING REAL CORRESPONDS. SINCE PAST MOMENTS HAVE PASSED OUT OF EXISTENCE AND FUTURE MOMENTS HAVE YET TO ARRIVE, WE NOTE THAT THE PRESENT MOMENT IS ALL THAT EVER EXISTS — AND YET THE PRESENT MOMENT BEING A MOMENT IS A FIGMENT TO WHICH NOTHING IN REALITY CORRESPONDS.

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 April 25, Thursday: For having killed Billy Williams in the yard of the Massachusetts State Prison, [Samuel Green](#) was [hanged](#) on the [Boston Neck](#) gallows tree.³⁵⁹



(no gallows now, just a traffic light)

The survivors of the initial settlement on swampy Sherbro Island arrived at Cape Mesurado and began to build a new [American Colonization Society](#) settlement. A white representative of the Society was governing the colony, although eventually there would arise objections to the authoritarianism of a white Methodist missionary, the Reverend Jehudi Ashmun, who would replace Dr. Ayres as the ACS governing representative.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 25th of 4th M / With my H rode to [Portsmouth](#) to attend our Moy [Monthly] Meeting, stoped at Uncle Thurstons. – In the first Meeting was favored a little – two female appearances in the Ministry

In the last Meeting tho' I laboured to get into the life & center down to the gift, yet it lay so low & my efforts was so paralised that I could not attain to what I desired & took but little share in the buisness Dined at Uncle Stantons – then rode Home –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 2, Tuesday: River boats began using the [Erie Canal](#) section from the Genesee River to Pittsford, with overland connection for several miles until the Irondequoit valley embankment could be completed in October.

As the free black man [Denmark Vesey](#) and 5 [slaves](#) who had been his aides were being [hanged](#) at Blake's Landing, [Charleston](#), one of the condemned men, Peter Poyas, was overheard to be imploring the others —

“Do not open your lips! Die silent, as you shall see me do.”

359. Presumably the duly constituted authorities in Boston would have experienced no difficulty whatever in seeking out and retaining and remunerating the services of one or another Protestant reverend who was not so embarrassed by the death penalty as to be unwilling to mount the scaffold with the victim, and administer last rites.

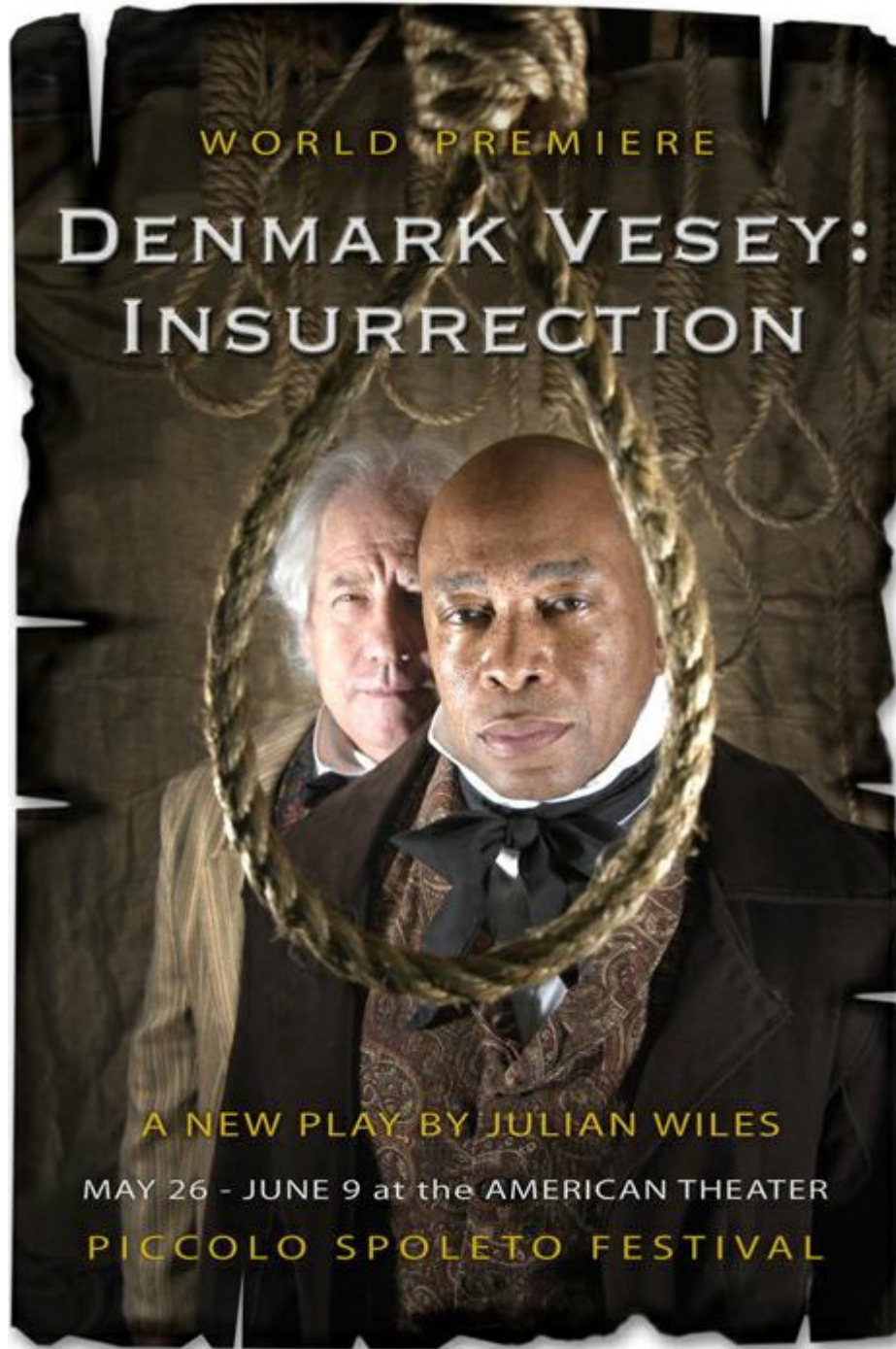
[HDT](#)

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July 3, Wednesday: [Charles Babbage](#) published his proposal for a “difference engine” for the mechanical calculation of logarithms and trigonometric functions. Construction of an operational version would proceed under British Government sponsorship from 1823 to 1832 but the enormous geared device would not be completed.

The [Charleston Courier](#) noted recent global and local events:

WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 3, 1822.

The Treaty with France, published in this morning's *Courier*, is copied from the *National Intelligencer* of the 28th ult. in which paper it appears both in French and English — but as we have no *accents* amongst our types, it was impossible for us to give it correctly in the French language. In the French copy, the signature of M. HYDE DE NEUVILLE precedes that of Mr. ADAMS.

Execution. — DENMARK VESEY, (a free black man) ROLLA, BATTEAU, NED, PETER, and JESSE, (slaves) convicted of an attempt to raise an insurrection in this state, were executed, pursuant to sentence, yesterday morning, between the hours of 6 and 8 o'clock.

Officers of the *Charleston Bible Society*, for 1822-3:

Gen. C.C. PINCKNEY, President.

Rev. Dr. FURMAN, Senior Vice-President.

DENMARK VESEY

HANGING

After this conspiracy, since Vesey had purchased his [manumission](#), South Carolina would extend its prohibition of the manumission of [slaves](#), which had been a protective ordinance applied only to those who were too old, sick, or crippled to any longer care for themselves, effective immediately, into a categorical and total prohibition of any manumission.

SERVILE INSURRECTION

STATE MURDER



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STATE MURDER



July 12, Friday: The food crisis in [Ireland](#) was continuing, although this [famine](#) was not turning out to be so severe as the ones of 1800/1801 and of 1816/1819. In Dublin, “Orangemen” (supporters of English rule) were as usual peaceably decorating the statue of their King William on College Green when the [Catholic](#) population began to riot against them.

POTATO

The Sydney, [Australia](#) [Gazette](#) posted an alert that Thomas Brooks off the transport *Grenada*, John Heyburn off the transport *Minerva*, and John Creardon off the transport *Lord Sidmouth* were unaccountably absent from their posts of obligation and presumably at large among the public using false documents.

Gullah Jack and others were [hanged](#) in [Charleston](#), South Carolina for having assisted [Denmark Vesey](#) in his ill-fated conspiracy to create a servile insurrection (the total of those hanged was rising to 34).

It had come to be reward-yourself time. The economist David Ricardo, accompanied by his wife, two younger daughters, a couple of maidservants and a courier, departed from London on a 5-month broadening “Grand Tour of the Continent.” They would pass through Calais and Brussels into Holland, stay at the Hague and Amsterdam, journey up the Rhine River to Bâle and tour Switzerland, cross from Geneva into [Italy](#) for excursions to the Mer de Glace and the Great St Bernard, and go over the Simplon pass to the Italian Lakes, [Milan](#), [Venice](#), and [Florence](#). On their return they would pass through [Pisa](#), [Genoa](#), and [Turin](#) on their way to Paris. The trip would be memorialized and it is clear that a good time had been had by all.

[WALDEN](#): If I wished a boy to know something about the arts and sciences, for instance, I would not pursue the common course, which is merely to send him into the neighborhood of some professor, where any thing is professed and practised but the art of life; -to survey the world through a telescope or a microscope, and never with his natural eye; to study chemistry, and not learn how his bread is made, or mechanics, and not learn how it is earned; to discover new satellites to Neptune, and not detect the motes in his eyes, or to what vagabond he is a satellite himself; or to be devoured by the monsters that swarm all around him, while contemplating the monsters in a drop of vinegar. Which would have advanced the most at the end of a month, -the boy who had made his own jack-knife from the ore which he had dug and smelted, reading as much as would be necessary for this, -or the boy who had attended the lectures on metallurgy at the Institute in the mean while, and had received a Rodgers' penknife from his father? Which would be most likely to cut his fingers? -To my astonishment I was informed on leaving college that I had studied navigation! -why, if I had taken one turn down the harbor I should have known more about it. Even the **poor** student studies and is taught only **political** economy, while that economy of living which is synonymous with philosophy is not even sincerely professed in our colleges. The consequence is, that while he is reading Adam Smith, Ricardo, and Say, he runs his father in debt irretrievably.

PEOPLE OF
WALDEN

ADAM SMITH

DAVID RICARDO

JEAN-BAPTISTE SAY



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STATE MURDER



August 12, Monday: St David's College was founded by Thomas Burgess, Bishop of St David's (this has become the University of Wales at Lampeter).

At his estate in Kent, England, the Marquis of Londonderry, Castlereagh, Foreign Secretary to Lord Liverpool, used a sharp little penknife to off himself (he had for some time been showing signs of madness). Penknives, which were usually part of a desk set of writing implements, had a keen slender blade about an inch or two in length on a regular three or four inch handle. The closest comparison today would be to the little craft knives that you can buy at stationers' or art shops, such as "Xacto" — although in that era most such implements were fairly ornamental in design. The suicide would induce Mr. Canning to resign the governor-generalship of India to which he had been appointed (he would on September 16th accept the foreign secretaryship).

ENGLISH EVENTS OF 1822

SUICIDE

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING THE YEAR

Date	Name	Place of execution	Crime
25/03	Hannah Halley	Derby	Murder of child
16/08	Rachael Edwards	Monmouth	Murder of husband



August 10, Saturday: Gilbert Close and Samuel Clisby robbed Ezra Haynes in Cambridge Street (they would hang on the gallows on Boston Neck near the burying grounds).

Arthur Buckminster Fuller was born, a younger brother of Margaret Fuller.

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER



September 16, Monday: Charles S. Crocker, of Southern Pacific fame, was born.

Howard Trask, who had escaped [hanging](#) for murder by having been found insane, attempted to kill two of the other prisoners with him in [Boston](#) jail, and then escaped from the jail. Due to decrepit conditions at the jail that had been revealed by this escape, the prisoners would be taken to more secure accommodations on Lechmere Point — where an unsuccessful attempt would be made to force them to generate power by walking a treadmill wheel.



(Pictured above is one that was in operation not for the generation of power but simply for punishment, at the Brixton House of Correction in 1821.)

George Canning became the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 16th of 9th M 1822 / Attended the funeral of Rebecca Goddard - daughter of Thos Goddard - the gathering was large & to me it was a season of precious favour - Mary Morton & Hannah Dennis were engaged in lively & pertinent testimonys.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1823

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1823

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
23/04	Mrs. ?? McKinnoy		Dublin	Murder
16/04	Mary McKinnon		Edinburgh	Murder
18/04	Catherine Kinrade	19	Castle Rushton (Isle of Man)	Accessory to Murder
26/07	Grace Griffin		Berwick	Murder of husband



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1824



In the border South, “Freddy,” age about 6, was being delivered by his grandmother Bet per her obligation, from Holm Hill Farm where he had been born to Senator Edward Lloyd’s plantation on the Wye River, the domicile of Aaron Anthony, his master. It was perhaps in this year that [Frederick Douglass](#) witnessed some young slave woman (later to be identified by him at various times before various audiences in various circumstances either as his aunt Hester or as his cousin Hetty or merely as some young apparently unrelated slave woman) being [flogged](#) by Anthony, who, in all probability he supposed, was his father, and who was enacting this punishment, in all probability, although he pretended it was due to the fact that she had been “absent when my master desired her presence,” for entirely libidinal reasons.³⁶⁰ Douglass noted that the master “would at times seem to take great pleasure in whipping a slave.” He also recorded that such whippings commonly occurred at dawn. In the particular case he described here, however, the first such incident that he

360. This material would, at the request of editors, be spared the readers of the English edition.

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

HANGING

witnessed, the slave woman had been discovered in the company of a male slave from a neighboring plantation, and had been suspended from a joist in the kitchen. Douglass described how his father/master rolled up his sleeves before beginning to lash her. The child ran and hid in a closet not so much out of horror at the sight of the splattering gore, he said, as out of terror of being himself suspended and whipped, for as a child would see such things primally, “I expected it would be my turn next.”³⁶¹



The louder she screamed, the harder he whipped; and where the blood ran fastest, there he whipped longest. He would whip her to make her scream, and whip her to make her hush; and not until overcome by fatigue, would he cease to swing the blood-clotted cowskin. I remember the first time I ever witnessed this horrible exhibition. I was quite a child, but I well remember it. I never shall forget it whilst I remember any thing.

The little boy quickly learned to address this enemy of the defenseless as “Captain” Anthony,³⁶²



a title which, I presume, he acquired by sailing a craft on the Chesapeake Bay.

The boy would be befriended by the 20-year-old Lucretia Anthony Auld, white daughter of Aaron Anthony and thus presumably his half-sister, who would give him food when he could not get enough to eat from the overseer who ran the kitchen, and would be chosen to be personal “companion” to 12-year-old Daniel Lloyd, Senator Edward Lloyd’s youngest white son and thus presumably his first cousin.



March: [Waldo Emerson](#) had recourse in his journal, in this year in which a prisoner would hang in [Boston](#) for murder, to the very available metaphor of hanging as a conventional vehicle for the expression of contempt or

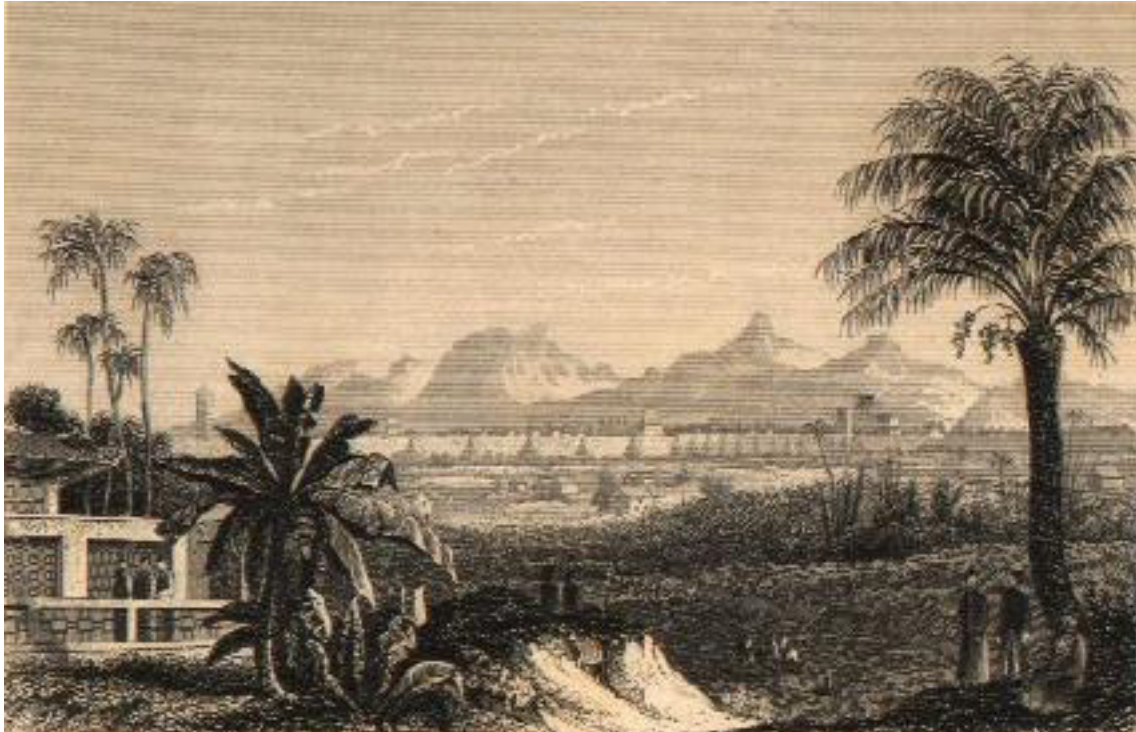
361. In the some 6,000 extant collected slave narratives by women and men, there are many accounts of savage floggings and there are a number of accounts of more or less subtle seductions and more or less gross propositions, but there is not a single account of the rape of a slave, male or female, by a white person. Not only was the rape of a chattel slave by his or her white owner simply not possible under existing law in any state of the Union — it was not possible in American literature. One’s being forced to provide sex was subsumed under the form of consensual sex in the same manner as one’s being tortured to death was subsumed under the form of punishment for misconduct. (This is an interesting difference between ancient Roman slavery and American race slavery: in the Roman empire, although the law protected a slavemaster’s right to sexually use his slaves, it also permitted him to free and then marry one of his female slaves, but in the American context, although the law protected a slavemaster’s right to sexually use a slave, it forbade him to free her without prior permission, and categorically denied him any possibility of ever marrying her. The point here, however, is that consensual sex could not be spoken of, it was neither possible nor plausible to state that a slave had been sexually assaulted. Of course the same silences must certainly have obtained, in spades, in regard to child molestation, which we can imagine –realistically– must have been quite the sport in the American South. (Where did the aphorism “If she’s big enough, she’s old enough” come from?) Therefore we cannot presume that we are reading here a straightforward account of why the child Frederick ran and hid in the closet, for the adult Frederick would have had no way to communicate this to us, were part of what he was hiding from as a child his own sexual victimization by the white knight errant Aaron Anthony. We may notice that in [Frederick Douglass](#)’s narrative, the expression “I expected it would be my turn next” might refer to being lashed and might refer to being molested. We may note also in Douglass’s various accounts of this incident over the years, a curious shifting in his description of precisely who was the victim of the assault — his sister? his aunt? a relative? a young female slave? Douglass offered different connections at different periods before different audiences.

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annoyance toward [China](#) and things [Chinese](#):

*The Celestial Empire — hang the Celestial Empire! I hate Peking.
I will not drink of the waters of the Yellow Sea.... I hate
China. 'Tis a tawdry vase. Out upon China. Words! Words.*



Nowadays, of course, to express such a sentiment of contempt or annoyance, we would likely utilize instead of a piss metaphor, “drink the waters of the Yellow Sea,” a sexual metaphor that would be equally

362. The above footnote presumes that you are in a position to comprehend that, despite historic silences, the problem of child molestation, like the problems of rape and of drug addition, is not something that sprang *sui generis* into existence as of the 20th Century. The above note also presumes that you are in a position to comprehend, or in a position not to insist on miscomprehending, the fact that the [Frederick Douglass](#) narrative is a crafted text by a master of the language. That is, I suppose there to be a certain type of person who will insist on saying “But this Negro had no education, and, although his stuff might be cleaned up by a bunch of anonymous white people with educations, who were determined to make him look as good as a white writer for reasons of their own, there is no way that an ex-slave could have produced a text in which ambiguities signify anything more than incompetence in writing and perhaps in thinking.” To this straw-horse person I have imagined, I imagine I would reply “Being a slave was a very demanding and risky business. One could be lashed for the slightest appearance of insolence. To survive required not minimal linguistic skill, but total linguistic skill. One had to be in control of every nuance, never ever use the wrong word, never ever say anything that might conceivably be misconstrued. No ambiguous references!” And the most obvious sort of ambiguous reference would be the indefinite pronoun “it” in the sentence in question, “I expected it would be my turn next.” Douglass was trying to embed a message in his text, that his fears as a child were not limited to the obvious things that one was allowed to discuss in public, such as fears of torture, but were, realistically, considerably more broad than could be spoken.

STATE MURDER

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questionable, and exclaim “China — fuck China! I hate Beijing.”³⁶³



How different this is from the manner in which Thoreau would speak of the Celestial Empire:

WALDEN: I have always endeavored to acquire strict business habits; they are indispensable to every man. If your trade is with the Celestial Empire, then some small counting house on the coast, in some Salem harbor, will be fixture enough. You will export such articles as the country affords, purely native products, much ice and pine timber and a little granite, always in native bottoms. These will be good ventures. To oversee all the details yourself in person; to be at once pilot and captain, and owner and underwriter; to buy and sell and keep the accounts; to read every letter received, and write or read every letter sent; to superintend the discharge of imports night and day; to be upon many parts of the coast almost at the same time; -often the richest freight will be discharged upon a Jersey shore;- to be your own telegraph, unweariedly sweeping the horizon, speaking all passing vessels bound coastwise; to keep up a steady despatch of commodities, for the supply of such a distant and exorbitant market; to keep yourself informed of the state of the markets, prospects of war and peace every where, and anticipate the tendencies of trade and civilization, -taking advantage of the results of all exploring expeditions, using new passages and all improvements in navigation;- charts to be studied, the position of reefs and new lights and buoys to be ascertained, and ever, and ever, the logarithmic tables to be corrected, for by the error of some calculator the vessel often splits upon a rock that should have reached a friendly pier, -there is the untold fate of La Perouse;- universal science to be kept pace with, studying the lives of all great discoverers and navigators, great adventurers and merchants, from Hanno and the Phoenicians down to our day; in fine, account of stock to be taken from time to time, to know how you stand. It is a labor to task the faculties of a man, - such problems of profit and loss, of interest, of tare and tret, and gauging of all kinds in it, as demand a universal knowledge.

PEOPLE OF
WALDEN

JEAN-FRANÇOIS DE GALOUP

I offer, however, that it is worth taking into account, in this Emersonian usage of the expression “[hang](#)” to express contempt or annoyance, “hang the Celestial Empire,” that hanging is not only a practice of American state murder, but is also a practice of American household torture. For instance, in this same year of 1824 in which

363. Actually, my sister-in-law, who as a simultaneous translator used to have to fly CAAC into Beijing several times a year, used to be saying this constantly — Cantonese has a whole lot of very expressive swear words.

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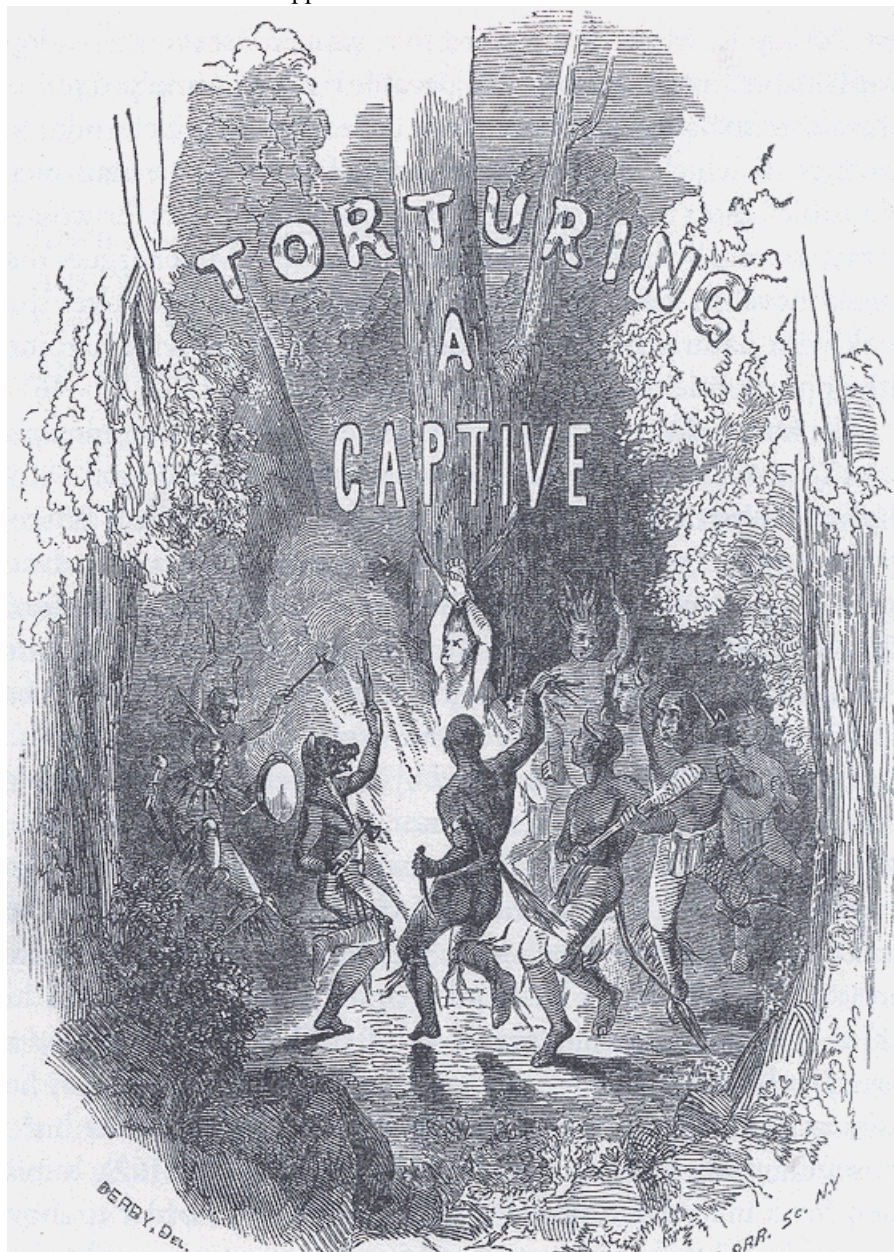
STATE MURDER

Emerson is sitting in his study in [Concord](#) employing that locution in his journal, farther south, at Holm Hill



STATE MURDER

Farm where he had been born to Lloyd Plantation on the Wye River, a six-year-old slave named Freddy (later to be better known under the name [Frederick Douglass](#)) is observing his young and pretty Aunt Hester being tortured by Aaron Anthony – the white owner who, apparently, was Freddy’s father– by being suspended from a joist in the kitchen and horse-whipped.





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The child notices how his father/owner rolls up his sleeves before beginning to lash his aunt. He runs and hides in a closet not so much out of horror at the sight of the splattering gore, he says, as out of terror of being himself suspended and whipped, for as a child would see such things primally, "I expected it would be my turn next" to be thus hung from the kitchen ceiling and lashed:



The louder she screamed, the harder he whipped; and where the blood ran fastest, there he whipped longest. He would whip her to make her scream, and whip her to make her hush; and not until overcome by fatigue, would he cease to swing the blood-clotted cowskin. I remember the first time I ever witnessed this horrible exhibition. I was quite a child, but I well remember it. I never shall forget it whilst I remember any thing.



March 19, Friday: [William Allingham](#) was born near Ballyshannon, County Donegal, [Ireland](#), as a son of a bank manager.

Jose Antonio de Oliveira Leite de Barros, conde de Basto replaced Joaquim Pedro Gomes de Oliveira as Secretary of State (prime minister) of Portugal.

In New York, David How, a white farmer, was [hanged](#) for murder.



April 2, Friday: Having been unable to complete his speech on the tariff to the US House of Representatives on the previous day, on this day [Daniel Webster](#) completed that speech.

50,000 [New-Yorkers](#), perhaps a 3d of the city's population, turned out to witness the [hanging](#) in an open field at what is now 2d Avenue and 13th Street in the East Village of white 45-year-old landlord John Johnson for having murdered a sailor who had rented a room from him, James Murray, by striking him on the head with the blunt side of a hatchet. Johnson had dragged the body out into Cuyler's Alley, near the present location of the New York Stock Exchange Stock Clearing Building downtown, but the body had been traced back to Johnson's boarding house. Charles H. Haswell's Reminiscences of New York by an Octogenarian would provide some detail on the scene:

James Murray, from Boston, on his way South put up at a sailors' boarding-house of a man named Johnson, who, ascertaining that the former had a bag containing several hundred dollars in specie, murdered him in his bed, and two days after dragged the body to Cuyler's Alley, leading from Water Street to the river between Coenties and Old slips, and left it there. He was soon after arrested... Johnson, who had been indicted for murder on the 4th of December preceding, was found guilty on the 17th of March, and as there were not any members of the legal profession in those days known as Tombs lawyers, vulgo Shysters, the verdict was accepted without appeal and he was hanged on the 2nd of April. The proceedings connected with his execution were so widely different from those of a later, and the present day, that a reference to them may be of interest. The culprit, dressed in white, trimmed with black, and seated on his coffin in an open wagon, was transported from the Bridewell (City Hall Park) through Broadway to an open field at the junction of Second Avenue and about Thirteenth Street, where his execution was witnessed by many thousands of persons; his body was then taken



STATE MURDER

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to the Hall of the Physicians and Surgeons in Barclay Street, where it was subjected to a number of experiments with galvanism.



June 11, Friday: [John Josias Conybeare](#) died.

Maria Agata Szymanowska gave a performance in the Hanover Square rooms, London in the presence of members of the British royal family.

Gioachino Rossini's canzone Il pianto delle muse in morte di Lord Byron was performed for the initial time, in Almack's Assembly Rooms, London.

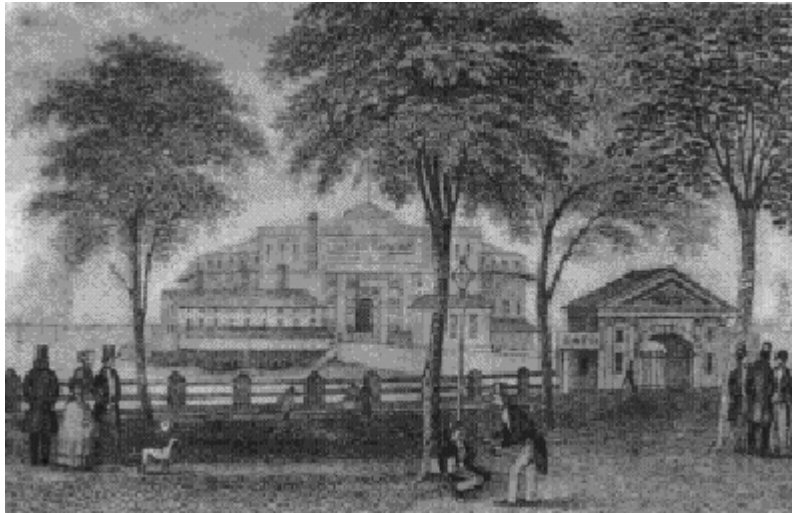
In [New York](#) a black seaman, Thomas Jones, was [hanged](#) for murder.

STATE MURDER

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August 16, Monday: *Citoyen Lafayette*, the “guest of the nation” arrived in [New-York](#) harbor for his triumphal geriatric tour of the young opponent of Britain which he and his France had helped to create after their Seven Years War with Britain,³⁶⁴ and to be the recipient of an outpouring of official gratitude and public enthusiasm. He brought with him his son George Washington Lafayette. By arrangement they disembarked at [Castle Clinton](#) in [Castle Garden](#), where there was a public welcome ceremony. A memorial punchbowl crafted in honor of Lafayette’s visit was presumably fashioned at the time at the American Pottery Company of Jersey City, New Jersey.



Lafayette would travel through New England to [Washington DC](#), and thence to [Monticello](#) for a visit with [Thomas Jefferson](#).

Lafayette, nous sommes ici!

—General “Black Jack” Pershing,
arriving with US troops in France
at the very end of the WWI trench warfare.

Ester Loughbridge, who had murdered a sister-in-law, was [hanged](#) at Carrickfergus in England (she would be the sole Englishwoman to be executed, during the entire year).



December 22, Wednesday: [Edward Everett](#) orated at Plymouth, Massachusetts. This would be published by Cummings, Hilliard & Company at 134 Washington Street in Boston and we infer that this publication likely is the source for a declamation that 13-year-old [David Henry Thoreau](#) would perform at the [Concord Academy](#) in 1830.

EVERETT AT PLYMOUTH

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*4th day 22 of 12 M / Last evening I recd a long letter from my
Ancient frd [Moses Brown](#) & this Afternoon one from my friend
Thomas Thompson of Liverpool. — There seem like a brook by the*

364. We should never fail to mention in these contexts that such policies and actions are not due to warm and fuzzy affection between nations, but are due rather to the usual calculated statecraft along the lines of “The enemies of my enemies are my friends.” Nations are not individuals and neither feel emotions in the manner in which individuals feel emotions nor endure loyalties in the manner in which individuals endure loyalties, and when we encourage ourselves to believe that such things are so, we are not submitting to an innocent penchant for the preposterous but are, rather, carefully coaching ourselves in the most calculated of self-manipulations.



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way - or refreshment in a dry season. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS




STATE MURDER

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1825

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1825

Date	Name	Place of execution	Crime
11/03	Elaeonor Ryan	Limerick	Murder of husband
05/08	Hannah Read	Leicester	Petty treason of murder

 March 3, Thursday: [Franz Schubert](#)'s song Die junge Nonne D.828 to words of Craigher de Jachelutta was performed for the initial time, in the Vienna home of the singer, Sophie Muller.


John Holland or Holloran, who had killed watchman Jonathan Houghton on December 12, 1825 on State Street, was [hanged](#) in [Boston](#).

The Federal government gave support to the [Chesapeake and Delaware Canal](#).

US Representative Forsythe proposed that the federal House of Representatives restrict the possibility of other nations boarding and searching US commercial vessels in a search for slave cargo. His resolution was laid on the table — that is, it would be ignored.

"Resolved, That while this House anxiously desires that the Slave Trade should be, universally, denounced as Piracy, and, as such, should be detected and punished under the law of nations, it considers that it would be highly inexpedient to enter into engagements with any foreign power, by which *all* the merchant vessels of the United States would be exposed to the inconveniences of any regulation of search, from which any merchant vessels of that foreign power would be exempted." Resolution laid on the table. HOUSE JOURNAL, 18th Congress, 2d session, pages 308-9; Gales and Seaton, REGISTER OF DEBATES, I. 739.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

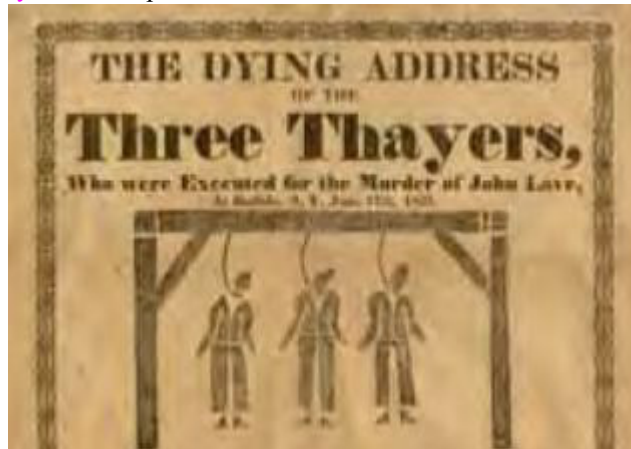
 June 17, Friday: At 2:00 PM in the Niagara Square of Buffalo, New York, [Israel Thayer, Isaac Thayer, and Nelson Thayer](#), who had murdered a man who loaned them money, attired in white caps and shrouds, were

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STATE MURDER

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“[launched into eternity](#)” and then placed in three coffins before a crowd of some 20,000-30,000.



A decision was reached, that we would commemorate the Battle of Bunker Hill upon its 50th anniversary by implementation of Gridley Bryant’s project for a railway to bring the granite of a ledge in Milton a dozen miles to the top of Breed’s Hill. The granite of this Milton ledge was quite similar to the syenite which the ancient Egyptians had quarried at Aswan for their own high-culture creations. This 12-mile track would be the 1st direct ancestor of what is now, brag, by far the world’s most extensive and elaborate rail system.

At the 50th Anniversary celebration of the Battle of Bunker Hill, Elizabeth Palmer Peabody “Shook hands with La Fayette with the gloves on herewith enclosed —.” Anne Royall, seeking support to publish her first book, was in [Boston](#), and attended the *Marquis de Lafayette*’s laying of the cornerstone (of course with the assistance of laborers) of the Bunker Hill monument. The speech in dedication was of course made by [Daniel Webster](#). (“X” marks the spot, below. Why Bunker Hill rather than Breeds Hill where the revolutionary redoubt actually had been positioned? –a good reason would be because that was where nobody got murdered, but do we ever do anything like this for any good reason?)

The cornerstone of a Bunker Hill monument was laid. On this swing through Boston, [Margaret Fuller](#), who had written longingly to the Marquis when she was fifteen years of age, finally got her opportunity to meet the man of her dreams. When the FrancoAmerican hero went back to Paris, he would sail with heavy trunks of dirt

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not from Bunker Hill but from Breed's Hill — later to be used to top off his grave.



WALDEN: Every man is the lord of a realm beside which the earthly empire of the Czar is but a petty state, a hummock left by the ice. Yet some can be patriotic who have no self-respect, and sacrifice the greater to the less. They love the soil which makes their graves, but have no sympathy with the spirit which may still animate their clay. Patriotism is a maggot in their heads.

PEOPLE OF
WALDEN

LAFAYETTE

SAM PATCH

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

Due to insufficient funds and insufficient interest, this misplaced misbegotten Bunker Hill monument would stand uncompleted — until indiscriminate patriotism would overwhelm poor planning during the Year of Our Lord 1843.

As early as 1776, some steps were taken toward the commemoration of the battle of Bunker Hill and the fall of General Warren, who



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was buried upon the hill the day after the action. The Massachusetts Lodge of Masons, over which he presided, applied to the provisional government of Massachusetts, for permission to take up his remains and to bury them with the usual solemnities. The Council granted this request, on condition that it should be carried into effect in such a manner that the government of **the Colony** might have an opportunity to erect a monument to his memory. A funeral procession was had, and a Eulogy on General Warren was delivered by Perez Morton, but no measures were taken toward building a monument.

A resolution was adopted by the Congress of the United States on the 8th of April, 1777, directing that monuments should be erected to the memory of General Warren, in Boston, and of General Mercer, at Fredericksburg; but this resolution has remained to the present time unexecuted.

On the 11th of November, 1794, a committee was appointed by King Solomon's Lodge, at Charlestown,³⁶⁵ to take measures for the erection of a monument to the memory of General Joseph Warren at the expense of the Lodge. This resolution was promptly carried into effect. The land for this purpose was presented to the Lodge by the Hon. James Russell, of Charlestown, and it was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies on the 2d of December, 1794. It was a wooden pillar of the Tuscan order, eighteen feet in height, raised on a pedestal eight feet square, and of an elevation of ten feet from the ground. The pillar was surmounted by a gilt urn. An appropriate inscription was placed on the south side of the pedestal.

In February, 1818, a committee of the legislature of Massachusetts was appointed to consider the expediency of building a monument of American marble of the memory of General Warren, but this proposal was not carried into effect.

As the half-century from the date of the battle drew toward a close, a stronger feeling of the duty of commemorating it began to be awakened in the community. Among those who from the first manifested the greatest interest in the subject, was the late William Tudor, Esq. He expressed the wish, in a letter still preserved, to see upon the battle-ground "the noblest monument in the world," and he was so ardent and persevering in urging the project, that it has been stated that he first conceived the idea of it. The steps taken in execution of the project, from the earliest private conferences among the gentlemen first engaged in it to its final completion, are accurately sketched by Mr. Richard Frothingham, Jr., in his valuable History of the Siege of Boston. All the material facts contained in this note are derived from his chapter on the Bunker Hill Monument. After giving an account of the organization of the society, the measures adopted for the collection of funds, and the deliberations on the form of the monument, Mr. Frothingham proceeds as follows:—

"It was at this stage of the enterprise that the directors proposed to lay the corner-stone of the monument, and ground was broken (June 7th) for this purpose. As a mark of respect to the liberality and patriotism of King Solomon's Lodge, they invited the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts to perform the ceremony. They also invited General Lafayette to accompany the President of the

365. General Warren, at the time of his decease, was Grand Master of the Masonic Lodges in America.



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Association, Hon. Daniel Webster, and assist in it. "This celebration was unequalled in magnificence by any thing of the kind that had been seen in New England. The morning proved propitious. The air was cool, the sky was clear, and timely showers the previous day had brightened the vesture of nature into its loveliest hue. Delighted thousands flocked into Boston to bear a part in the proceedings, or to witness the spectacle. At about ten o'clock a procession moved from the State House towards Bunker Hill. The military, in their fine uniforms, formed the van. About two hundred veterans of the Revolution, of whom forty were survivors of the battle, rode in barouches next to the escort. These venerable men, the relics of a past generation, with emaciated frames, tottering limbs, and trembling voices, constituted a touching spectacle. Some wore, as honorable decorations, their old fighting equipments, and some bore the scars of still more honorable wounds. Glistening eyes constituted their answer to the enthusiastic cheers of the grateful multitudes who lined their pathway and cheered their progress. To this patriot band succeeded the Bunker Hill Monument Association. Then the Masonic fraternity, in their splendid regalia, thousands in number. Then Lafayette, continually welcomed by tokens of love and gratitude, and the invited guests. Then a long array of societies, with their various badges and banners. It was a splendid procession, and of such length that the front nearly reached Charlestown Bridge ere the rear had left Boston Common. It proceeded to Breed's Hill, where the Grand Master of the Freemasons, the President of the Monument Association, and General Lafayette, performed the ceremony of laying the corner-stone, in the presence of a vast concourse of people."

The procession then moved to a spacious amphitheatre on the northern declivity of the hill, when the following address was delivered by Mr. Webster, in the presence of as great a multitude as was ever perhaps assembled within the sound of a human voice.³⁶⁶

Oration began:

This uncounted multitude before me and around me proves the feeling which the occasion has excited. These thousands of human faces, glowing with sympathy and joy, and from the impulses of a common gratitude turned reverently to heaven in this spacious temple of the firmament, proclaim that the day, the place, and the purpose of our assembling have made a deep impression on our hearts.

If, indeed, there be any thing in local association fit to affect the mind of man, we need not strive to repress the emotions which agitate us here. We are among the sepulchres of our fathers. We are on ground, distinguished by their valor, their constancy, and the shedding of their blood. We are here, not to fix an uncertain date in our annals, nor to draw into notice an obscure

366. Edwin P. Whipple's *THE GREAT SPEECHES AND ORATIONS OF DANIEL WEBSTER WITH AN ESSAY ON DANIEL WEBSTER AS A MASTER OF ENGLISH STYLE* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1879). Whipple derived this material from Octavius Brooks Frothingham's *HISTORY OF THE SIEGE OF BOSTON*.



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and unknown spot. If our humble purpose had never been conceived, if we ourselves had never been born, the 17th of June, 1775, would have been a day on which all subsequent history would have poured its light, and the eminence where we stand a point of attraction to the eyes of successive generations. But we are Americans. We live in what may be called the early age of this great continent; and we know that our posterity, through all time, are here to enjoy and suffer the allotments of humanity. We see before us a probable train of great events; we know that our own fortunes have been happily cast; and it is natural, therefore, that we should be moved by the contemplation of occurrences which have guided our destiny before many of us were born, and settled the condition in which we should pass that portion of our existence which God allows to men on earth.

We do not read even of the discovery of this continent, without feeling something of a personal interest in the event; without being reminded how much it has affected our own fortunes and our own existence. It would be still more unnatural for us, therefore, than for others, to contemplate with unaffected minds that interesting, I may say that most touching and pathetic scene, when the great discoverer of America stood on the deck of his shattered bark, the shades of night falling on the sea, yet no man sleeping; tossed on the billows of an unknown ocean, yet the stronger billows of alternate hope and despair tossing his own troubled thoughts; extending forward his harassed frame, straining westward his anxious and eager eyes, till Heaven at last granted him a moment of rapture and ecstasy, in blessing his vision with the sight of the unknown world.

Nearer to our times, more closely connected with our fates, and therefore still more interesting to our feelings and affections, is the settlement of our own country by colonists from England. We cherish every memorial of these worthy ancestors; we celebrate their patience and fortitude; we admire their daring enterprise; we teach our children to venerate their piety; and we are justly proud of being descended from men who have set the world an example of founding civil institutions on the great and united principles of human freedom and human knowledge. To us, their children, the story of their labors and sufferings can never be without its interest. We shall not stand unmoved on the shore of Plymouth, while the sea continues to wash it; nor will our brethren in another early and ancient Colony forget the place of its first establishment, till their river shall cease to flow by it.³⁶⁷ No vigor of youth, no maturity of manhood, will lead the nation to forget the spots where its infancy was cradled and defended.

But the great event in the history of the continent, which we are now met here to commemorate, that prodigy of modern times, at once the wonder and the blessing of the world, is the American Revolution. In a day of extraordinary prosperity and happiness, of high national honor, distinction, and power, we are brought together, in this place, by our love of country, by our admiration of exalted character, by our gratitude for signal services and patriotic devotion.

The Society whose organ I am³⁶⁸ was formed for the purpose of

367. An interesting account of the voyage of the early emigrants to the Maryland Colony, and of its settlement, is given in the official report of Father White, written probably within the first month after the landing at St. Mary's. The original Latin manuscript is still preserved among the archives of the Jesuits at Rome. The "Ark" and the "Dove" are remembered with scarcely less interest by the descendants of the sister colony, than is the "Mayflower" in New England, which thirteen years earlier, at the same season of the year, bore thither the Pilgrim Fathers.



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rearing some honorable and durable monument to the memory of the early friends of American Independence. They have thought, that for this object no time could be more propitious than the present prosperous and peaceful period; that no place could claim preference over this memorable spot; and that no day could be more auspicious to the undertaking, than the anniversary of the battle which was here fought. The foundation of that monument we have now laid. With solemnities suited to the occasion, with prayers to Almighty God for his blessing, and in the midst of this cloud of witnesses, we have begun the work. We trust it will be prosecuted, and that, springing from a broad foundation, rising high in massive solidity and unadorned grandeur, it may remain as long as Heaven permits the works of man to last, a fit emblem, both of the events in memory of which it is raised, and of the gratitude of those who have reared it.

We know, indeed, that the record of illustrious actions is most safely deposited in the universal remembrance of mankind. We know, that if we could cause this structure to ascend, not only till it reached the skies, but till it pierced them, its broad surfaces could still contain but part of that which, in an age of knowledge, hath already been spread over the earth, and which history charges itself with making known to all future times. We know that no inscription on entablatures less broad than the earth itself can carry information of the events we commemorate where it has not already gone; and that no structure, which shall not outlive the duration of letters and knowledge among men, can prolong the memorial. But our object is, by this edifice, to show our own deep sense of the value and importance of the achievements of our ancestors; and, by presenting this work of gratitude to the eye, to keep alive similar sentiments, and to foster a constant regard for the principles of the Revolution. Human beings are composed, not of reason only, but of imagination also, and sentiment; and that is neither wasted nor misapplied which is appropriated to the purpose of giving right direction to sentiments, and opening proper springs of feeling in the heart. Let it not be supposed that our object is to perpetuate national hostility, or even to cherish a mere military spirit. It is higher, purer, nobler. We consecrate our work to the spirit of national independence, and we wish that the light of peace may rest upon it for ever. We rear a memorial of our conviction of that unmeasured benefit which has been conferred on our own land, and of the happy influences which have been produced, by the same events, on the general interests of mankind. We come, as Americans, to mark a spot which must for ever be dear to us and our posterity. We wish that whosoever, in all coming time, shall turn his eye hither, may behold that the place is not undistinguished where the first great battle of the Revolution was fought. We wish that this structure may proclaim the magnitude and importance of that event to every class and every age. We wish that infancy may learn the purpose of its erection from maternal lips, and that weary and withered age may behold it, and be solaced by the recollections which it suggests. We wish that labor may look up here, and be proud, in the midst of its toil. We wish that, in those days of disaster, which, as they come upon all nations, must be expected to come upon us also, desponding patriotism may turn its eyes



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hitherward, and be assured that the foundations of our national power are still strong. We wish that this column, rising towards heaven among the pointed spires of so many temples dedicated to God, may contribute also to produce, in all minds, a pious feeling of dependence and gratitude. We wish, finally, that the last object to the sight of him who leaves his native shore, and the first to gladden his who revisits it, may be something which shall remind him of the liberty and the glory of his country. Let it rise! let it rise, till it meet the sun in his coming; let the earliest light of the morning gild it, and parting day linger and play on its summit.

We live in a most extraordinary age. Events so various and so important that they might crowd and distinguish centuries are, in our times, compressed within the compass of a single life. When has it happened that history has had so much to record, in the same term of years, as since the 17th of June, 1775? Our own Revolution, which, under other circumstances, might itself have been expected to occasion a war of half a century, has been achieved; twenty-four sovereign and independent States erected; and a general government established over them, so safe, so wise, so free, so practical, that we might well wonder its establishment should have been accomplished so soon, were it not for the greater wonder that it should have been established at all. Two or three millions of people have been augmented to twelve, the great forests of the West prostrated beneath the arm of successful industry, and the dwellers on the banks of the Ohio and the Mississippi become the fellow-citizens and neighbors of those who cultivate the hills of New England.³⁶⁹ We have a commerce, that leaves no sea unexplored; navies, which take no law from superior force; revenues, adequate to all the exigencies of government, almost without taxation; and peace with all nations, founded on equal rights and mutual respect. Europe, within the same period, has been agitated by a mighty revolution, which, while it has been felt in the individual condition and happiness of almost every man, has shaken to the centre her political fabric, and dashed against one another thrones which had stood tranquil for ages. On this, our continent, our own example has been followed, and colonies have sprung up to be nations.³⁷⁰ Unaccustomed sounds of liberty and free government have reached us from beyond the track of the sun; and at this moment the dominion of European power in this continent, from the place where we stand to the south pole, is annihilated for ever.

In the mean time, both in Europe and America, such has been the general progress of knowledge, such the improvement in legislation, in commerce, in the arts, in letters, and, above all, in liberal ideas and the general spirit of the age, that the whole world seems changed.

Yet, notwithstanding that this is but a faint abstract of the things which have happened since the day of the battle of Bunker Hill, we are but fifty years removed from it; and we now stand here to enjoy all the blessings of our own condition, and to look abroad on the brightened prospects of the world, while we still have among us some of those who were active agents in the scenes of 1775, and who are now here, from every quarter of New

369. That which was spoken of figuratively in 1825 has, in the lapse of a quarter of a century, by the introduction of railroads and telegraphic lines, become a reality. It is an interesting circumstance, that the first railroad on the Western Continent was constructed for the purpose of accelerating the erection of this monument.

370. See President Monroe's Message to Congress in 1823, and Mr. Webster's speech on the Panama Mission, in 1826.

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England, to visit once more, and under circumstances so affecting, I had almost said so overwhelming, this renowned theatre of their courage and patriotism.

VENERABLE MEN! you have come down to us from a former generation. Heaven has bounteously lengthened out your lives, that you might behold this joyous day. You are now where you stood fifty years ago, this very hour, with your brothers and your neighbors, shoulder to shoulder, in the strife for your country. Behold, how altered! The same heavens are indeed over your heads; the same ocean rolls at your feet; but all else how changed! You hear now no roar of hostile cannon, you see no mixed volumes of smoke and flame rising from burning Charlestown. The ground strewn with the dead and the dying; the impetuous charge; the steady and successful repulse; the loud call to repeated assault; the summoning of all that is manly to repeated resistance; a thousand bosoms freely and fearlessly bared in an instant to whatever of terror there may be in war and death;—all these you have witnessed, but you witness them no more. All is peace. The heights of yonder metropolis, its towers and roofs, which you then saw filled with wives and children and countrymen in distress and terror, and looking with unutterable emotions for the issue of the combat, have presented you to-day with the sight of its whole happy population, come out to welcome and greet you with a universal jubilee. Yonder proud ships, by a felicity of position appropriately lying at the foot of this mount, and seeming fondly to cling around it, are not means of annoyance to you, but your country's own means of distinction and defence.³⁷¹ All is peace; and God has granted you this sight of your country's happiness, ere you slumber in the grave. He has allowed you to behold and to partake the reward of your patriotic toils; and he has allowed us, your sons and countrymen, to meet you here, and in the name of the present generation, in the name of your country, in the name of liberty, to thank you!

But, alas! you are not all here! Time and the sword have thinned your ranks. Prescott, Putnam, Stark, Brooks, Read, Pomeroy, Bridge! our eyes seek for you in vain amid this broken band. You are gathered to your fathers, and live only to your country in her grateful remembrance and your own bright example. But let

371. It is necessary to inform those only who are unacquainted with the localities, that the United States Navy Yard at [Charlestown, Massachusetts](#) is situated at the base of Bunker Hill.





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us not too much grieve, that you have met the common fate of men. You lived at least long enough to know that your work had been nobly and successfully accomplished. You lived to see your country's independence established, and to sheathe your swords from war. On the light of Liberty you saw arise the light of Peace, like

"another morn,
Risen on mid-noon";

and the sky on which you closed your eyes was cloudless. But ah! Him! the first great martyr in this great cause! Him! the premature victim of his own self-devoting heart! Him! the head of our civil councils, and the destined leader of our military bands, whom nothing brought hither but the unquenchable fire of his own spirit! Him! cut off by Providence in the hour of overwhelming anxiety and thick gloom; falling ere he saw the star of his country rise; pouring out his generous blood like water, before he knew whether it would fertilize a land of freedom or of bondage!—how shall I struggle with the emotions that stifle the utterance of thy name!³⁷² Our poor work may perish; but thine shall endure! This monument may moulder away; the solid ground it rests upon may sink down to a level with the sea; but thy memory shall not fail! Wheresoever among men a heart shall be found that beats to the transports of patriotism and liberty, its aspirations shall be to claim kindred with thy spirit!

But the scene amidst which we stand does not permit us to confine our thoughts or our sympathies to those fearless spirits who hazarded or lost their lives on this consecrated spot. We have the happiness to rejoice here in the presence of a most worthy representation of the survivors of the whole Revolutionary army. VETERANS! you are the remnant of many a well-fought field. You bring with you marks of honor from Trenton and Monmouth, from Yorktown, Camden, Bennington, and Saratoga. VETERANS OF HALF A CENTURY! when in your youthful days you put every thing at hazard in your country's cause, good as that cause was, and sanguine as youth is, still your fondest hopes did not stretch onward to an hour like this! At a period to which you could not reasonably have expected to arrive, at a moment of national prosperity such as you could never have foreseen, you are now met here to enjoy the fellowship of old soldiers, and to receive the overflowings of a universal gratitude.

But your agitated countenances and your heaving breasts inform me that even this is not an unmixed joy. I perceive that a tumult of contending feelings rushes upon you. The images of the dead, as well as the persons of the living, present themselves before you. The scene overwhelms you, and I turn from it. May the Father of all mercies smile upon your declining years, and bless them! And when you shall here have exchanged your embraces, when you shall once more have pressed the hands which have been so often extended to give succor in adversity, or grasped in the exultation of victory, then look abroad upon this lovely land which your young valor defended, and mark the happiness with which it is filled; yea, look abroad upon the whole earth, and see what a name you have contributed to give to your country, and what a praise you have added to freedom, and then rejoice in the sympathy and gratitude which beam upon your last days

372. See the North American Review, Vol. XIII. p. 242.



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from the improved condition of mankind!

The occasion does not require of me any particular account of the battle of the 17th of June, 1775, nor any detailed narrative of the events which immediately preceded it. These are familiarly known to all. In the progress of the great and interesting controversy, Massachusetts and the town of Boston had become early and marked objects of the displeasure of the British Parliament. This had been manifested in the act for altering the government of the Province, and in that for shutting up the port of Boston. Nothing sheds more honor on our early history, and nothing better shows how little the feelings and sentiments of the Colonies were known or regarded in England, than the impression which these measures everywhere produced in America. It had been anticipated, that, while the Colonies in general would be terrified by the severity of the punishment inflicted on Massachusetts, the other sea-ports would be governed by a mere spirit of gain; and that, as Boston was now cut off from all commerce, the unexpected advantage which this blow on her was calculated to confer on other towns would be greedily enjoyed. How miserably such reasoners deceived themselves! How little they knew of the depth, and the strength, and the intenseness of that feeling of resistance to illegal acts of power, which possessed the whole American people! Everywhere the unworthy boon was rejected with scorn. The fortunate occasion was seized, everywhere, to show to the whole world that the Colonies were swayed by no local interest, no partial interest, no selfish interest. The temptation to profit by the punishment of Boston was strongest to our neighbors of Salem. Yet Salem was precisely the place where this miserable proffer was spurned, in a tone of the most lofty self-respect and the most indignant patriotism. "We are deeply affected," said its inhabitants, "with the sense of our public calamities; but the miseries that are now rapidly hastening on our brethren in the capital of the Province greatly excite our commiseration. By shutting up the port of Boston, some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither and to our benefit; but we must be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge a thought to seize on wealth and raise our fortunes on the ruin of our suffering neighbors." These noble sentiments were not confined to our immediate vicinity. In that day of general affection and brotherhood, the blow given to Boston smote on every patriotic heart from one end of the country to the other. Virginia and the Carolinas, as well as Connecticut and New Hampshire, felt and proclaimed the cause to be their own. The Continental Congress, then holding its first session in Philadelphia, expressed its sympathy for the suffering inhabitants of Boston, and addresses were received from all quarters, assuring them that the cause was a common one, and should be met by common efforts and common sacrifices. The Congress of Massachusetts responded to these assurances; and in an address to the Congress at Philadelphia, bearing the official signature, perhaps among the last, of the immortal Warren, notwithstanding the severity of its suffering and the magnitude of the dangers which threatened it, it was declared, that this Colony "is ready, at all times, to spend and to be spent in the cause of America."

But the hour drew nigh which was to put professions to the proof, and to determine whether the authors of these mutual pledges



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were ready to seal them in blood. The tidings of Lexington and Concord had no sooner spread, than it was universally felt that the time was at last come for action. A spirit pervaded all ranks, not transient, not boisterous, but deep, solemn, determined,

"totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet."

War, on their own soil and at their own doors, was, indeed, a strange work to the yeomanry of New England; but their consciences were convinced of its necessity, their country called them to it, and they did not withhold themselves from the perilous trial. The ordinary occupations of life were abandoned; the plough was staid in the unfinished furrow; wives gave up their husbands, and mothers gave up their sons, to the battles of a civil war. Death might come, in honor, on the field; it might come, in disgrace, on the scaffold. For either and for both they were prepared. The sentiment of Quincy was full in their hearts. "Blandishments," said that distinguished son of genius and patriotism, "will not fascinate us, nor will threats of a halter intimidate; for, under God, we are determined that, wheresoever, whensoever, or howsoever we shall be called to make our exit, we will die free men."

The 17th of June saw the four New England Colonies standing here, side by side, to triumph or to fall together; and there was with them from that moment to the end of the war, what I hope will remain with them for ever, one cause, one country, one heart. The battle of Bunker Hill was attended with the most important effects beyond its immediate results as a military engagement. It created at once a state of open, public war. There could now be no longer a question of proceeding against individuals, as guilty of treason or rebellion. That fearful crisis was past. The appeal lay to the sword, and the only question was, whether the spirit and the resources of the people would hold out, till the object should be accomplished. Nor were its general consequences confined to our own country. The previous proceedings of the Colonies, their appeals, resolutions, and addresses, had made their cause known to Europe. Without boasting, we may say, that in no age or country has the public cause been maintained with more force of argument, more power of illustration, or more of that persuasion which excited feeling and elevated principle can alone bestow, than the Revolutionary state papers exhibit. These papers will for ever deserve to be studied, not only for the spirit which they breathe, but for the ability with which they were written.

To this able vindication of their cause, the Colonies had now added a practical and severe proof of their own true devotion to it, and given evidence also of the power which they could bring to its support. All now saw, that, if America fell, she would not fall without a struggle. Men felt sympathy and regard, as well as surprise, when they beheld these infant states, remote, unknown, unaided, encounter the power of England, and, in the first considerable battle, leave more of their enemies dead on the field, in proportion to the number of combatants, than had been recently known to fall in the wars of Europe.

Information of these events, circulating throughout the world, at length reached the ears of one who now hears me.³⁷³ He has not

373. Among the earliest of the arrangements for the celebration of the 17th of June, 1825, was the invitation to General Lafayette to be present; and he had so timed his progress through the other States as to return to Massachusetts in season for the great occasion.



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forgotten the emotion which the fame of Bunker Hill, and the name of Warren, excited in his youthful breast.

SIR, we are assembled to commemorate the establishment of great public principles of liberty, and to do honor to the distinguished dead. The occasion is too severe for eulogy of the living. But, Sir, your interesting relation to this country, the peculiar circumstances which surround you and surround us, call on me to express the happiness which we derive from your presence and aid in this solemn commemoration.

Fortunate, fortunate man! with what measure of devotion will you not thank God for the circumstances of your extraordinary life! You are connected with both hemispheres and with two generations. Heaven saw fit to ordain, that the electric spark of liberty should be conducted, through you, from the New World to the Old; and we, who are now here to perform this duty of patriotism, have all of us long ago received it in charge from our fathers to cherish your name and your virtues. You will account it an instance of your good fortune, Sir, that you crossed the seas to visit us at a time which enables you to be present at this solemnity. You now behold the field, the renown of which reached you in the heart of France, and caused a thrill in your ardent bosom. You see the lines of the little redoubt thrown up by the incredible diligence of Prescott; defended, to the last extremity, by his lion-hearted valor; and within which the corner-stone of our monument has now taken its position. You see where Warren fell, and where Parker, Gardner, McCleary, Moore, and other early patriots, fell with him. Those who survived that day, and whose lives have been prolonged to the present hour, are now around you. Some of them you have known in the trying scenes of the war. Behold! they now stretch forth their feeble arms to embrace you. Behold! they raise their trembling voices to invoke the blessing of God on you and yours for ever.

Sir, you have assisted us in laying the foundation of this structure. You have heard us rehearse, with our feeble commendation, the names of departed patriots. Monuments and eulogy belong to the dead. We give them this day to Warren and his associates. On other occasions they have been given to your more immediate companions in arms, to Washington, to Greene, to Gates, to Sullivan, and to Lincoln. We have become reluctant to grant these, our highest and last honors, further. We would gladly hold them yet back from the little remnant of that immortal band. *Serius in coelum redeas*. Illustrious as are your merits, yet far, O very far distant be the day, when any inscription shall bear your name, or any tongue pronounce its eulogy!

The leading reflection to which this occasion seems to invite us, respects the great changes which have happened in the fifty years since the battle of Bunker Hill was fought. And it peculiarly marks the character of the present age, that, in looking at these changes, and in estimating their effect on our condition, we are obliged to consider, not what has been done in our own country only, but in others also. In these interesting times, while nations are making separate and individual advances in improvement, they make, too, a common progress; like vessels on a common tide, propelled by the gales at different rates, according to their several structure and management, but all moved forward by one mighty current, strong enough to bear



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onward whatever does not sink beneath it.

A chief distinction of the present day is a community of opinions and knowledge amongst men in different nations, existing in a degree heretofore unknown. Knowledge has, in our time, triumphed, and is triumphing, over distance, over difference of languages, over diversity of habits, over prejudice, and over bigotry. The civilized and Christian world is fast learning the great lesson, that difference of nation does not imply necessary hostility, and that all contact need not be war. The whole world is becoming a common field for intellect to act in. Energy of mind, genius, power, wheresoever it exists, may speak out in any tongue, and the **world** will hear it. A great chord of sentiment and feeling runs through two continents, and vibrates over both. Every breeze wafts intelligence from country to country; every wave rolls it; all give it forth, and all in turn receive it. There is a vast commerce of ideas; there are marts and exchanges for intellectual discoveries, and a wonderful fellowship of those individual intelligences which make up the mind and opinion of the age. Mind is the great lever of all things; human thought is the process by which human ends are ultimately answered; and the diffusion of knowledge, so astonishing in the last half-century, has rendered innumerable minds, variously gifted by nature, competent to be competitors or fellow-workers on the theatre of intellectual operation.

From these causes important improvements have taken place in the personal condition of individuals. Generally speaking, mankind are not only better fed and better clothed, but they are able also to enjoy more leisure; they possess more refinement and more self-respect. A superior tone of education, manners, and habits prevails. This remark, most true in its application to our own country, is also partly true when applied elsewhere. It is proved by the vastly augmented consumption of those articles of manufacture and of commerce which contribute to the comforts and the decencies of life; an augmentation which has far outrun the progress of population. And while the unexampled and almost incredible use of machinery would seem to supply the place of labor, labor still finds its occupation and its reward; so wisely has Providence adjusted men's wants and desires to their condition and their capacity.

Any adequate survey, however, of the progress made during the last half-century in the polite and the mechanic arts, in machinery and manufactures, in commerce and agriculture, in letters and in science, would require volumes. I must abstain wholly from these subjects, and turn for a moment to the contemplation of what has been done on the great question of politics and government. This is the master topic of the age; and during the whole fifty years it has intensely occupied the thoughts of men. The nature of civil government, its ends and uses, have been canvassed and investigated; ancient opinions attacked and defended; new ideas recommended and resisted, by whatever power the mind of man could bring to the controversy. From the closet and the public halls the debate has been transferred to the field; and the world has been shaken by wars of unexampled magnitude, and the greatest variety of fortune. A day of peace has at length succeeded; and now that the strife has subsided, and the smoke cleared away, we may begin to see what has actually been done, permanently changing the state and condition of human society. And, without dwelling on particular



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circumstances, it is most apparent, that, from the before-mentioned causes of augmented knowledge and improved individual condition, a real, substantial, and important change has taken place, and is taking place, highly favorable, on the whole, to human liberty and human happiness.

The great wheel of political revolution began to move in America. Here its rotation was guarded, regular, and safe. Transferred to the other continent, from unfortunate but natural causes, it received an irregular and violent impulse; it whirled along with a fearful celerity; till at length, like the chariot-wheels in the races of antiquity, it took fire from the rapidity of its own motion, and blazed onward, spreading conflagration and terror around.

We learn from the result of this experiment, how fortunate was our own condition, and how admirably the character of our people was calculated for setting the great example of popular governments. The possession of power did not turn the heads of the American people, for they had long been in the habit of exercising a great degree of self-control. Although the paramount authority of the parent state existed over them, yet a large field of legislation had always been open to our Colonial assemblies. They were accustomed to representative bodies and the forms of free government; they understood the doctrine of the division of power among different branches, and the necessity of checks on each. The character of our countrymen, moreover, was sober, moral, and religious; and there was little in the change to shock their feelings of justice and humanity, or even to disturb an honest prejudice. We had no domestic throne to overturn, no privileged orders to cast down, no violent changes of property to encounter. In the American Revolution, no man sought or wished for more than to defend and enjoy his own. None hoped for plunder or for spoil. Rapacity was unknown to it; the axe was not among the instruments of its accomplishment; and we all know that it could not have lived a single day under any well-founded imputation of possessing a tendency adverse to the Christian religion.

It need not surprise us, that, under circumstances less auspicious, political revolutions elsewhere, even when well intended, have terminated differently. It is, indeed, a great achievement, it is the master-work of the world, to establish governments entirely popular on lasting foundations; nor is it easy, indeed, to introduce the popular principle at all into governments to which it has been altogether a stranger. It cannot be doubted, however, that Europe has come out of the contest, in which she has been so long engaged, with greatly superior knowledge, and, in many respects, in a highly improved condition. Whatever benefit has been acquired is likely to be retained, for it consists mainly in the acquisition of more enlightened ideas. And although kingdoms and provinces may be wrested from the hands that hold them, in the same manner they were obtained; although ordinary and vulgar power may, in human affairs, be lost as it has been won; yet it is the glorious prerogative of the empire of knowledge, that what it gains it never loses. On the contrary, it increases by the multiple of its own power; all its ends become means; all its attainments, helps to new conquests. Its whole abundant harvest is but so much seed wheat, and nothing has limited, and nothing can limit, the amount of ultimate product.



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Under the influence of this rapidly increasing knowledge, the people have begun, in all forms of government, to think and to reason, on affairs of state. Regarding government as an institution for the public good, they demand a knowledge of its operations, and a participation in its exercise. A call for the representative system, wherever it is not enjoyed, and where there is already intelligence enough to estimate its value, is perseveringly made. Where men may speak out, they demand it; where the bayonet is at their throats, they pray for it.

When Louis the Fourteenth said, "I am the state," he expressed the essence of the doctrine of unlimited power. By the rules of that system, the people are disconnected from the state; they are its subjects; it is their lord. These ideas, founded in the love of power, and long supported by the excess and the abuse of it, are yielding, in our age, to other opinions; and the civilized world seems at last to be proceeding to the conviction of that fundamental and manifest truth, that the powers of government are but a trust, and that they cannot be lawfully exercised but for the good of the community. As knowledge is more and more extended, this conviction becomes more and more general. Knowledge, in truth, is the great sun in the firmament. Life and power are scattered with all its beams. The prayer of the Grecian champion, when enveloped in unnatural clouds and darkness, is the appropriate political supplication for the people of every country not yet blessed with free institutions:—

"Dispel this cloud, the light of heaven restore,
Give me TO SEE,—and Ajax asks no more."

We may hope that the growing influence of enlightened sentiment will promote the permanent peace of the world. Wars to maintain family alliances, to uphold or to cast down dynasties, and to regulate successions to thrones, which have occupied so much room in the history of modern times, if not less likely to happen at all, will be less likely to become general and involve many nations, as the great principle shall be more and more established, that the interest of the world is peace, and its first great statute, that every nation possesses the power of establishing a government for itself. But public opinion has attained also an influence over governments which do not admit the popular principle into their organization. A necessary respect for the judgment of the world operates, in some measure, as a control over the most unlimited forms of authority. It is owing, perhaps, to this truth, that the interesting struggle of the Greeks has been suffered to go on so long, without a direct interference, either to wrest that country from its present masters, or to execute the system of pacification by force, and, with united strength, lay the neck of Christian and civilized Greek at the foot of the barbarian Turk. Let us thank God that we live in an age when something has influence besides the bayonet, and when the sternest authority does not venture to encounter the scorching power of public reproach. Any attempt of the kind I have mentioned should be met by one universal burst of indignation; the air of the civilized world ought to be made too warm to be comfortably breathed by any one who would hazard it.

It is, indeed, a touching reflection, that, while, in the fulness of our country's happiness, we rear this monument to her honor, we look for instruction in our undertaking to a country



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which is now in fearful contest, not for works of art or memorials of glory, but for her own existence. Let her be assured, that she is not forgotten in the world; that her efforts are applauded, and that constant prayers ascend for her success. And let us cherish a confident hope for her final triumph. If the true spark of religious and civil liberty be kindled, it will burn. Human agency cannot extinguish it. Like the earth's central fire, it may be smothered for a time; the ocean may overwhelm it; mountains may press it down; but its inherent and unconquerable force will heave both the ocean and the land, and at some time or other, in some place or other, the volcano will break out and flame up to heaven.

Among the great events of the half-century, we must reckon, certainly, the revolution of South America; and we are not likely to overrate the importance of that revolution, either to the people of the country itself or to the rest of the world. The late Spanish colonies, now independent states, under circumstances less favorable, doubtless, than attended our own revolution, have yet successfully commenced their national existence. They have accomplished the great object of establishing their independence; they are known and acknowledged in the world; and although in regard to their systems of government, their sentiments on religious toleration, and their provisions for public instruction, they may have yet much to learn, it must be admitted that they have risen to the condition of settled and established states more rapidly than could have been reasonably anticipated. They already furnish an exhilarating example of the difference between free governments and despotic misrule. Their commerce, at this moment, creates a new activity in all the great marts of the world. They show themselves able, by an exchange of commodities, to bear a useful part in the intercourse of nations.

A new spirit of enterprise and industry begins to prevail; all the great interests of society receive a salutary impulse; and the progress of information not only testifies to an improved condition, but itself constitutes the highest and most essential improvement.

When the battle of Bunker Hill was fought, the existence of South America was scarcely felt in the civilized world. The thirteen little Colonies of North America habitually called themselves the "Continent." Borne down by colonial subjugation, monopoly, and bigotry, these vast regions of the South were hardly visible above the horizon. But in our day there has been, as it were, a new creation. The southern hemisphere emerges from the sea. Its lofty mountains begin to lift themselves into the light of heaven; its broad and fertile plains stretch out, in beauty, to the eye of civilized man, and at the mighty bidding of the voice of political liberty the waters of darkness retire.

And, now, let us indulge an honest exultation in the conviction of the benefit which the example of our country has produced, and is likely to produce, on human freedom and human happiness. Let us endeavor to comprehend in all its magnitude, and to feel in all its importance, the part assigned to us in the great drama of human affairs. We are placed at the head of the system of representative and popular governments. Thus far our example shows that such governments are compatible, not only with respectability and power, but with repose, with peace, with security of personal rights, with good laws, and a just



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administration.

We are not propagandists. Wherever other systems are preferred, either as being thought better in themselves, or as better suited to existing condition, we leave the preference to be enjoyed. Our history hitherto proves, however, that the popular form is practicable, and that with wisdom and knowledge men may govern themselves; and the duty incumbent on us is, to preserve the consistency of this cheering example, and take care that nothing may weaken its authority with the world. If, in our case, the representative system ultimately fail, popular governments must be pronounced impossible. No combination of circumstances more favorable to the experiment can ever be expected to occur. The last hopes of mankind, therefore, rest with us; and if it should be proclaimed, that our example had become an argument against the experiment, the knell of popular liberty would be sounded throughout the earth.

These are excitements to duty; but they are not suggestions of doubt. Our history and our condition, all that is gone before us, and all that surrounds us, authorize the belief, that popular governments, though subject to occasional variations, in form perhaps not always for the better, may yet, in their general character, be as durable and permanent as other systems. We know, indeed, that in our country any other is impossible. The **principle** of free governments adheres to the American soil. It is bedded in it, immovable as its mountains.

And let the sacred obligations which have devolved on this generation, and on us, sink deep into our hearts. Those who established our liberty and our government are daily dropping from among us. The great trust now descends to new hands. Let us apply ourselves to that which is presented to us, as our appropriate object. We can win no laurels in a war for independence. Earlier and worthier hands have gathered them all. Nor are there places for us by the side of Solon, and Alfred, and other founders of states. Our fathers have filled them. But there remains to us a great duty of defence and preservation; and there is opened to us, also, a noble pursuit, to which the spirit of the times strongly invites us. Our proper business is improvement. Let our age be the age of improvement. In a day of peace, let us advance the arts of peace and the works of peace. Let us develop the resources of our land, call forth its powers, build up its institutions, promote all its great interests, and see whether we also, in our day and generation, may not perform something worthy to be remembered. Let us cultivate a true spirit of union and harmony. In pursuing the great objects which our condition points out to us, let us act under a settled conviction, and an habitual feeling, that these twenty-four States are one country. Let our conceptions be enlarged to the circle of our duties. Let us extend our ideas over the whole of the vast field in which we are called to act. Let our object be, OUR COUNTRY, OUR WHOLE COUNTRY, AND NOTHING BUT OUR COUNTRY. And, by the blessing of God, may that country itself become a vast and splendid monument, not of oppression and terror, but of Wisdom, of Peace, and of Liberty, upon which the world may gaze with admiration for ever!

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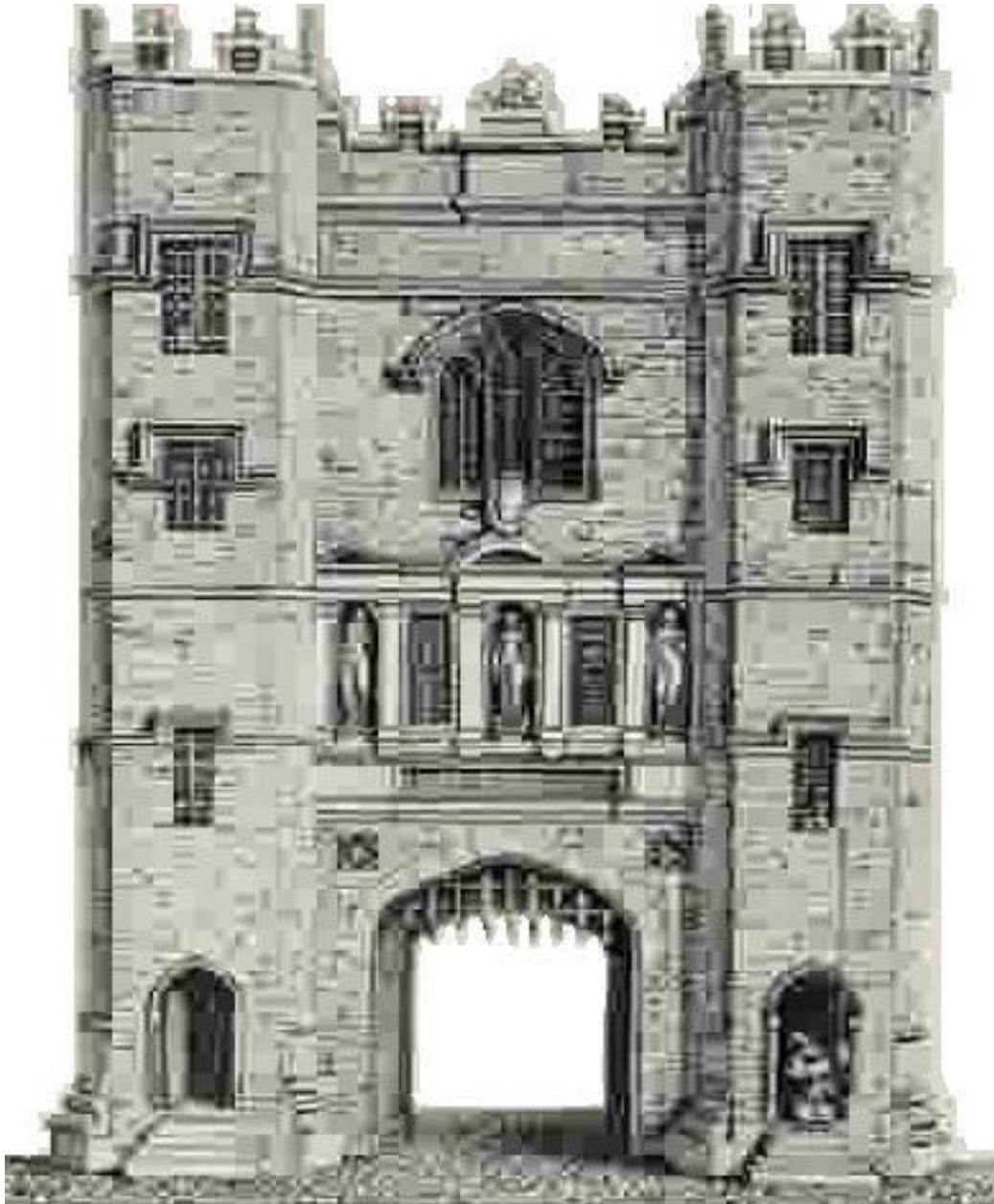
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1826



In England, the custom of preaching a sermon in the prison chapel of the Newgate Prison/Old Bailey complex on the Sunday before the execution of a prisoner, and charging a shilling a head to see the condemned person seated next to his coffin to endure this sermon, was at this point being discontinued. Lord knows why.³⁷⁴






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WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1826

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
16/01	Mary Carn		Newgate	Murder
28/04	Joanna Lovett	30	Tralee	Murder of husband

 A prisoner was [hanged](#) for the crime of murder in [Boston](#). This would be the last hanging in Beantown for **single** homicide, for a considerable stretch of time — Lord knows why.

FINAL EXECUTIONS

July 9, 1819	Rose Butler	final woman to be publicly hanged in New-York and buried in Potters' Field (Washington Square)
1826	name not on record	prisoner hanged for a single homicide in Boston
December 31, 1829	Thomas Maynard	hanging at Newgate in England for forgery

 February 1, Wednesday: String Quartet “Tod und das Madchen” D.810 by [Franz Schubert](#) was performed for the initial time, at the home of Josef Barth in Vienna.

The [pirate](#) Charles Colson was [hanged](#) in the jailyard on Leverett Street in [Boston](#) — but his partner in crime Charles Marchant had cheated the hangman by offing himself the day before.

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:


*4th day — Attended Select Meeting, & Meeting for Sufferings,
Dined at David Anthonys — took tea & lodged at [Moses Browns](#). —*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

374. The first [capital punishment](#) enactments of which we have written record date to the legal code of King Hammurabi of Babylon, in the 18th Century BCE, which had specified the penalty of death for 25 distinct offenses. This had been carried forward in the 14th Century BCE in the Hittite code of laws, which also made use of capital punishment, and in the 7th Century BCE, in the legal code implemented by Draco of Athens, which had specified that the penalty was to be the same, capital punishment, for any crime regardless of what it was (this had been, of course, truly Draconian). In this century, the Roman Law of the Twelve Tablets also made use of capital punishment. Death might be by crucifixion, by burning alive, by being beaten to death, by drowning, or by impalement. In the 10th Century, the British code of laws had also made use of capital punishment, although the usual method of execution was hanging. The arrival of William the Bastard, become William the Conqueror, in the 11th Century, meant no capital punishment whatever of any of his British subjects, regardless of their crime, except in time of war. During the reign of King Henry VIII over England, however, we infer that as many as 72,000 people were executed. The common methods of execution in Henry's time were boiling, burning at the stake, hanging, beheading, and drawing and quartering. Treason was a capital offense — and the crime of trahison might extend even to whispering a jest about the monarch, or failing to raise one's glass during a toast, or having sex with a prince's nursemaid. For a non-Jew to marry a Jew was a capital offense. For an arrested person to refuse to confess to a crime meant that the penalty, if found guilty, regardless of the offense, was to be death. In subsequent centuries, the English lawmakers had continued to add to the list of crimes punishable by death. By the 1700s, 222 crimes were punishable by death in Britain, and this including stealing, the unauthorized cutting down of a tree, and pilfering from someone else's rabbit warren. Because they knew that a conviction meant an execution, where they did not consider the culprit's offense to be that serious many juries of Englishmen would issue a verdict of “not proven.” In response to this tendency, from 1823 to 1837 the lawmakers of England would be removing the penalty of death from more than 100 of the 222 crimes that had previously involved mandatory capital punishment.

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 July 13, Thursday: On the glacis of Peter-Paul Fortress in Russia, a gallows had hastily been erected. All the prisoners were herded into the square to witness the execution of their compatriots before, at 3AM on that misty morning, the condemned, five officers of the “Decembrists” who had been selected by Tsar Nicholas to set an example for the rest, were led out into the flickering light of the bonfires with notices hanging on their chests “Criminals — Regicides!” After their epaulets had been torn off and cast into the flames, and after they had been blessed by the Archpriest Myslovskii, and after the ropes had been put in place and the hoods had been placed over their heads, the command was given and the supports were pulled away from under the platform. Three of these former army officers slipped through their nooses and fell to the ground. One, named Muravey, lay there on the ground waiting for the noose to again be placed around his neck and shouted out the frustration which had brought about the revolt of the previous December:



My God! In this hopeless country they cannot even hang people properly!

You’ll notice that this guy Muravey, whoever he was, was no dummy. He knew that the best way to get attention for this his last piece of social commentary, a remark which would become legendary, was to accompany them, as the last words of a human being about to be judged by Our Maker, with what would be taken by the Archpriest in attendance, Myslovskii, and numerous others at this ceremonial occasion, as a blasphemy.

The Duke of Wellington, in St. Petersburg for the state funeral of Tsar Alexander I, was equally discouraged at the condition of all the Russias, but in his case the occasion of his discouragement was having to stand around and see and smell that due to the long delay during the arrests and trials of the Decembrists, the corpse of the old tsar had become unfrozen and was decomposing. —Yet as a proper diplomat he could not afford to be on record as having blasphemed.

My God! In this hopeless country they cannot even bury people properly!



Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

5th day 13 of 7 M / Our first meeting was silent & rather low - in the last which was our Select Meeting, life rose a little - In the Afternoon met with a committee from the Moy [Monthly] Meeting, which was a time of labour - The subject however was debated in love & resulted as well as could be expected



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considering the diversity of sentiment that existed among us –

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December 18, Monday: In Boston, the pirates Charles Marchant and Charles Colson were condemned to be hanged.

The Reverend Samuel Whitman died suddenly at the age of 75.



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1827



A prisoner was hanged for the crimes of piracy and murder in Boston.

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1827

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
02/01	Amelia Roberts	30	Newgate	Robbery
26/03	Rachael Bradley	27	Lancaster Castle	Murder of child
11/04	Sarah Jones	26	Monmouth	Murder of child
16/06	Margaret Wishart		Forfar	Murder of sister
17/09	Mary Wittenbach	40	Newgate	Murder

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1828

➡ Formation, in England, of the Society for the Diffusion of Information on the Subject of [Capital Punishment](#), led (of course) by [Quakers](#).



Originally, in 1696, the solemn affirmation of Quakers in court had been accepted instead of an oath, which Quakers refused to take because it was contrary to Scripture and because it implied a specially stringent standard of truth-telling for witness testimony in court; however, in 1749 Quakers had been prohibited from testifying in such manner during criminal proceedings. At this point that 1749 restriction was lifted.

➡ March 22, Saturday: Jane Scott, a 22-year-old who had poisoned her parents, was so weak and in such a state of collapse as she was taken to be [hanged](#) at Lancaster Castle that they needed to tie her to a high chair (the chair they used that day is still on display at Lancaster Castle).



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OTHER WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING THE YEAR

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
17/03	Mary Magrath	60	Dundalk	Murder
14/04	Catherine Walsh	24	Newgate	Murder of child
08/08	Elizabeth Commins	22	Bodmin	Murder of child
16/08	Ann Harris		Shrewsbury	Murder
22/10	Isabella Mc Menamy	22	Glasgow	Robbery & assault



April 14, Monday: Brigadier-General Alexander Walker resigned as the governor of [St. Helena](#).

At Newgate prison in London a healthy 24-year-old woman, Catherine Walsh, was [hanged](#) because she had killed her 6-week-old infant. This would be a treasure for the Royal College of Surgeons — a fit young female body to dissect (they would make the most careful drawings, and these still exist).

OTHER WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1828

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
17/03	Mary Magrath	60	Dundalk	Murder
22/03	Jane Scott	22	Lancaster Castle	Murder
08/08	Elizabeth Commins	22	Bodmin	Murder of child
16/08	Ann Harris		Shrewsbury	Murder
22/10	Isabella Mc Menamy	22	Glasgow	Robbery & assault

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 14th of 4 M / Today we had a friendly call from Job Otis of [New Bedford](#) on his way to NYork. — our interview was pleasant & to me interesting. —

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 27, Friday: In Vienna, “Maestoso Sonata Sentimentale” was performed by [Nicolò Paganini](#) for the initial time.

In London, since 1540 the barbers and surgeons had been authorized to take, annually, the bodies of four felons for purposes of dissection. On this day a new law went into effect requiring that the body of anyone [hanged](#) for murder be given over for such dissection. Also, execution for a murder was to take place on the day following sentencing (this would be repealed on July 14, 1836).

On December 21, 1670 Sir John Coventry, K.B. and M.P., had had his nose slit on the street in London by Sir Thomas Sandys and other members of the royal guard. This mutilation had been provoked by remarks he had



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made about the private life of King Charles II, and was said to have been instigated by the duke of Monmouth. In consequence of this outrage, the Coventry Act had made such malicious wounding and maiming a capital offense. On this day, however, that Coventry Act was repealed.

The rubric “petty treason” (by a subordinate against a superior other than the national monarch, such as a wife killing her husband, or a servant killing his or her master, or a clergyman killing his prelate) was eliminated by this new packet of laws, with such cases absorbed under the rubric “murder” (cases in which a servant forged his master’s seal, or had consensual sex with his master’s wife or daughter, would no longer either be prosecuted as petty treason, or as murder). From this day forward treason would no longer be distinguished as being “high,” or being “petty.”



August 11, Monday: [William Corder](#) was [hanged](#) at Bury St. Edmunds, England for the murder of Maria Marten at the Red Barn a year earlier.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day - After completing a little buisness that was necessary to attend to I got on board the Reformation Capt Pratt [at [Providence](#)] & came home [to [Newport](#)]-

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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1829

➡ April 11, Saturday: According to an almanac of the period, “Unsuccessful attack upon a Russian position near Trato on the Danube, by the Turks.”

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

➡ April 12, Sunday: Daniel-Francois-Esprit Auber was elected a member of the Institut, replacing Francois Joseph Gossec.

[Alexander von Humboldt](#) began a scientific expedition into uncharted regions of Siberia.

According to an almanac of the period, “Capitulation of the city of Guatemala, after a long siege and some hard fighting, to the army of St. Salvador under General Morazan.”

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

➡ April 13, Monday: Nicholas Chopin wrote to Minister Stanislas Grabowski and the Board of Administration for funds to allow his gifted son [Fryderyk Franciszek Chopin](#) to study abroad. Although the Minister favored the request, the Board was reluctant to “squander public funds to encourage such artists.”

In England, a Roman Catholic Relief Bill passed the House of Lords. Catholics would be relieved from certain political disabilities under which they had labored for many years: they would be allowed to vote, to sit in Parliament, and to hold (almost) any military, civil, and corporate office.³⁷⁵

Esther Hibner, who had murdered a child, had such strength even at the age of 61 that they needed to get her into a straight jacket in order to take her to the [gallows](#).

OTHER WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING THE YEAR

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
07/03	Jane Jameson		Newcastle	Matricide
22/07	Ann Chapman	28	Newgate	Attempted Murder
17/08	Kezia Westcombe	32	Exeter	Murder
19/08	Catherine Wright (Stewart)		Edinburgh	Murder (hanged with her husband)

375. A list of other categories of dissenters from the Church of England, excepting Papists and persons denying the Trinity, had been passed on May 24, 1689, and confirmed in 1711. The excepting of persons denying the Trinity had been repealed on July 21, 1813, leaving only the Papists to suffer these political disabilities.


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 December 28, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:


*2nd day 28 of 12 M / A day of good experience, my mind being
favourd with some sensible touches of religious sensibility -
for which I desire to be thankful. -*

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

 December 29, Tuesday: [Giacomo Meyerbeer](#) signed his 1st contract with the Paris Opera.

DYING DECLARATION OF NICHOLAS FERNANDEZ, WHO WITH NINE OTHERS WERE EXECUTED IN FRONT OF
CADIZ HARBOUR, DECEMBER 29, 1829 FOR PIRACY AND MURDER ON THE HIGH SEAS. 1830

[HANGING](#)
[PIRATES](#)

 December 31, Thursday: The final [hanging](#) for the crime of forgery in England, of [Thomas Maynard](#), at Newgate.³⁷⁶

FINAL EXECUTIONS		
1826	name not on record	prisoner hanged for a single homicide in Boston
December 31, 1829	Thomas Maynard	hanging at Newgate in England for forgery
August 31, 1833	Charlotte Young (Long)	hanged at Gloucester for arson, the final English woman executed for anything other than murder

Enoch H. Pratt was born to Mercy Snow Pratt and the Reverend [Enoch Pratt](#) (Enoch H. would go to California).

376. The initial such hanging for forgery had taken place on June 4, 1732 and the preponderance of the executions had occurred in 1818, with 24 such hangings.



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1830



WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1830

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
22/03	Ellen Connell		Tralee	Murder of husband
25/03	Mary Kelly		Kilkenny	Murder of aunt
31/03	Jane Graham	49	Carrickfergus	Murder
31/03	Mary Murphy	50	Limerick	Conspiracy to murder
13/08	Bridget Brennan		Tralee	Murder of husband
24/08	Margaret Cleland		Downpatrick	Murder
08/10	Catherine Davidson (Humphries)		Aberdeen	Murder

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STATE MURDER



January: [Piracy](#) was again punished by [hanging](#), this time on the Rock of Gibraltar. (Gosh, what will it **take** to **persuade** these guys that they shouldn't be just offing people in cold blood?). The lumps and bumps on the head of Benito de Soto would be examined by [phrenologists](#), to figure out how the guy had gone so wrong. (Wouldn't it be nice to be able to identify the pirates among us while they are still small children, so they can be hanged long before they have a chance to commit their first act of depredation?):



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NO-ONE'S LIFE IS EVER NOT DRIVEN PRIMARILY BY HAPPENSTANCE



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THE LIFE OF BENITO DE SOTO, PIRATE OF THE *MORNING STAR*³⁷⁷

The following narrative of the career of a desperate [pirate](#) who was executed in Gibraltar in the month of January, 1830, is one of two letters from the pen of the author of "the Military Sketch-Book." The writer says Benito de Soto

"had been a prisoner in the garrison for nineteen months, during which time the British Government spared neither the pains nor expense to establish a full train of evidence against him. The affair had caused the greatest excitement here, as well as at Cadiz, owing to the development of the atrocities which marked the character of this man, and the diabolical gang of which he was the leader. Nothing else is talked of; and a thousand horrors are added to his guilt, which, although he was guilty enough, he has no right to bear. The following is all the authentic information I could collect concerning him. I have drawn it from his trial, from the confession of his accomplices, from the keeper of his prison, and not a little from his own lips. It will be found more interesting than all the tales and sketches furnished in the 'Annuals,' magazines, and other vehicles of invention, from the simple fact — that

377. THE PIRATES OWN BOOK, OR AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF THE LIVES, EXPLOITS, AND EXECUTIONS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED SEA ROBBERS, by Charles Ellms (Portland: Published by Sanborn & Carter; Philadelphia: Thomas, Comperthwait, & Co., 1837. This would be republished in 1842 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York & Philadelphia, and in 1844 in Portland by Sanborn & Carter, and in 1855 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York, and in 1924 by Marine res. of Massachusetts, and in 1996 by Random House of New York.)



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it is truth and not fiction."

Benito de Soto was a native of a small village near Courná; he was bred a mariner, and was in the guiltless exercise of his calling at Buenos Ayres, in the year 1827. A vessel was there being fitted out for a voyage to the coast of Africa, for the smuggling of slaves; and as she required a strong crew, a great number of sailors were engaged, amongst whom was Soto. The Portuguese of South America have yet a privilege of dealing in slaves on a certain part of the African coast, but it was the intention of the captain of this vessel to exceed the limits of his trade, and to run farther down, so as to take his cargo of human beings from a part of the country which was proscribed, in the certainty of being there enabled to purchase slaves at a much lower rate than he could in the regular way; or, perhaps, to take away by force as many as he could stow away into his ship. He therefore required a considerable number of hands for the enterprise; and in such a traffic, it may be easily conceived, that the morals of the crew could not be a subject of much consideration with the employer. French, Spanish, Portuguese, and others, were entered on board, most of them renegadoes, and they set sail on their evil voyage, with every hope of infamous success.

Those who deal in evil carry along with them the springs of their own destruction, upon which they will tread, in spite of every caution, and their imagined security is but the brink of the pit into which they are to fall. It was so with the captain of this slave-ship. He arrived in Africa, took in a considerable number of slaves, and in order to complete his cargo, went on shore, leaving his mate in charge of the vessel. This mate was a bold, wicked, reckless and ungovernable spirit, and perceiving in Benito de Soto a mind congenial with his own, he fixed on him as a fit person to join in a design he had conceived, of running away with the vessel, and becoming a pirate. Accordingly the mate proposed his plan to Soto, who not only agreed to join in it, but declared that he himself had been contemplating a similar enterprise during the voyage. They both were at once of a mind, and they lost no time in maturing their plot.

Their first step was to break the matter to the other members of the crew. In this they proceeded cautiously, and succeeded so far as to gain over twenty-two of the whole, leaving eighteen who remained faithful to their trust. Every means were used to corrupt the well disposed; both persuasion and threats were resorted to, but without effect, and the leader of the conspiracy, the mate, began to despair of obtaining the desired object. Soto, however, was not so easily depressed. He at once decided on seizing the ship upon the strength of his party: and without consulting the mate, he collected all the arms of the vessel, called the conspirators together, put into each of their possession a cutlass and a brace of pistols, and arming himself in like manner, advanced at the head of the gang, drew his sword, and declared the mate to be the commander of the ship, and the men who joined him part owners. Still, those who had rejected the evil offer remained unmoved; on which Soto ordered out the boats, and pointing to the land, cried out, "There is the African coast; this is our ship – one or the other must be chosen by every man on board within five minutes."

This declaration, although it had the effect of preventing any resistance that might have been offered by the well disposed,



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to the taking of the vessel, did not change them from their purpose; they still refused to join in the robbery, and entered one by one into the boat, at the orders of Soto, and with but one pair of oars (all that was allowed to them) put off for the shore, from which they were then ten miles distant. Had the weather continued calm, as it was when the boat left the ship, she would have made the shore by dusk; but unhappily a strong gale of wind set in shortly after her departure, and she was seen by Soto and his gang struggling with the billows and approaching night, at such a distance from the land as she could not possibly accomplish while the gale lasted. All on board the ship agreed in opinion that the boat could not live, as they flew away from her at the rate of ten knots an hour, under close reefed topsails, leaving their unhappy messmates to their inevitable fate. Those of the pirates who were lately executed at Cadiz, declared that every soul in the boat perished.

The drunken uproar which that night reigned in the pirate ship was in horrid unison with the raging elements around her; contention and quarrelling followed the brutal ebriety of the pirates; each evil spirit sought the mastery of the others, and Soto's, which was the fiend of all, began to grasp and grapple for its proper place – the head of such a diabolical community. The mate (now the chief) at once gave the reins to his ruffian tyranny; and the keen eye of Soto saw that he who had fawned with him the day before, would next day rule him with an iron rod. Prompt in his actions as he was penetrating in his judgment, he had no sooner conceived a jealousy of the leader than he determined to put him aside; and as his rival lay in his drunken sleep, Soto put a pistol to his head, and deliberately shot him. For this act he excused himself to the crew, by stating to them that it was in *their* protection he did the act; that *their* interest was the other's death; and concluded by declaring himself their leader, and promising a golden harvest to their future labors, provided they obeyed him. Soto succeeded to the height of his wishes, and was unanimously hailed by the crew as their captain.

On board the vessel, as I before stated, were a number of slaves, and these the pirates had well secured under hatches. They now turned their attention to those half starved, half suffocated creatures; – some were for throwing them overboard, while others, not less cruel, but more desirous of gain, proposed to take them to some port in one of those countries that deal in human beings, and there sell them. The latter recommendation was adopted, and Soto steered for the West Indies, where he received a good price for his slaves. One of those wretched creatures, a boy, he reserved as a servant for himself; and this boy was destined by Providence to be the witness of the punishment of those white men who tore away from their homes himself and his brethren. He alone will carry back to his country the truth of Heaven's retribution, and heal the wounded feelings of broken kindred with the recital of it.

The pirates now entered freely into their villainous pursuit, and plundered many vessels; amongst others was an American brig, the treatment of which forms the *chef d'oeuvre* of their atrocity. Having taken out of this brig all the valuables they could find, they hatched down all hands to the hold, except a black man, who was allowed to remain on deck for the special purpose of affording in his torture an amusing exhibition to



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Soto and his gang. They set fire to the brig, then lay to, to observe the progress of the flames; and as the miserable African bounded from rope to rope, now climbing to the mast head – now clinging to the shrouds – now leaping to one part of the vessel, and now to another, – their enjoyment seemed raised to its heighest pitch. At length the hatches opened to the devouring element, the tortured victim of their fiendish cruelty fell exhausted into the flames, and the horrid and revolting scene closed amidst the shouts of the miscreants who had caused it.

Of their other exploits, that which ranks next in turpitude, and which led to their overthrow, was the piracy of the *Morning Star*. They fell in with that vessel near the island Ascension, in the year 1828, as she was on her voyage from Ceylon to England. This vessel, besides a valuable cargo, had on board several passengers, consisting of a major and his wife, an assistant surgeon, two civilians, about five and twenty invalid soldiers, and three or four of their wives. As soon as Benito de Soto perceived the ship, which was at daylight on the 21st of February, he called up all hands, and prepared for attacking her; he was at the time steering on an opposite course to that of the *Morning Star*. On reconnoitring her, he at first supposed she was a French vessel; but Barbazan, one of his crew, who was himself a Frenchman, assured him the ship was British. "So much the better," exclaimed Soto, in English (for he could speak that language), "we shall find the more booty." He then ordered the sails to be squared, and ran before the wind in chase of his plunder, from which he was about two leagues distant.

The Defensor de Pedro, the name of the pirate ship, was a fast sailer, but owing to the press of canvas which the *Morning Star* hoisted soon after the pirate had commenced the chase, he did not come up with her so quickly as he had expected: the delay caused great uneasiness to Soto, which he manifested by muttering curses, and restlessness of manner. Sounds of savage satisfaction were to be heard from every mouth but his at the prospect; he alone expressed his anticipated pleasure by oaths, menaces, and mental inquietude. While Barbazan was employed in superintending the clearing of the decks, the arming and breakfasting of the men, he walked rapidly up and down, revolving in his mind the plan of the approaching attack, and when interrupted by any of the crew, he would run into a volley of imprecations. In one instance, he struck his black boy a violent blow with a telescope, because he asked him if he would have his morning cup of chocolate; as soon, however, as he set his studding sails, and perceived that he was gaining on the *Morning Star*, he became somewhat tranquil, began to eat heartily of cold beef, drank his chocolate at a draught, and coolly sat down on the deck to smoke a cigar.

In less than a quarter of an hour, the pirate had gained considerable on the other vessel. Soto now, without rising from where he sat, ordered a gun, with blank cartridge, to be fired, and the British colors to be hoisted: but finding this measure had not the effect of bringing the *Morning Star* to, he cried out, "Shot the long gun and give it her point blank." The order was obeyed, but the shot fell short of the intention, on which he jumped up and cursed the fellows for bunglers who had fired the gun. He then ordered them to load with canister shot, and took the match in his own hand. He did not, however, fire immediately, but waited until he was nearly abreast of his



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victim; then directing the aim himself, and ordering a man to stand by the flag to haul it down, fired with an air that showed he was sure of his mark. He then ran to haul up the Colombian colors, and having done so, cried out through the speaking trumpet, "Lower your boat down this moment, and let your captain come on board with his papers."

During this fearful chase the people on board the *Morning Star* were in the greatest alarm; but however their apprehensions might have been excited, that courage, which is so characteristic of a British sailor, never for a moment forsook the captain. He boldly carried on sail, and although one of the men fell from a wound, and the ravages of the shot were every where around him, he determined not to strike. But unhappily he had not a single gun on board, and no small arms that could render his courage availing. The tears of the women, and the prudent advice of the passengers overcoming his resolution, he permitted himself to be guided by the general opinion. One of the passengers volunteered himself to go on board the pirate, and a boat was lowered for the purpose. Both vessels now lay to within fifty yards of each other, and a strong hope arose in those on board the *Morning Star*, that the gentleman who had volunteered to go to the pirate, might, through his exertions, avert, at least, the worst of the dreaded calamity.

Some people here, in their quiet security, have made no scruple of declaring, that the commanding officer of the soldiers on board should not have so tamely yielded to the pirate, particularly as he had his wife along with him, and consequently a misfortune to dread, that might be thought even worse than death: but all who knew the true state of the circumstances, and reflect upon it, will allow that he adopted the only chance of escaping that, which was to be most feared by a husband. The long gun, which was on a pivot in the centre of the pirate ship, could in a few shots sink the *Morning Star*; and even had resistance been made to the pirates as they boarded her — had they been killed or made prisoners — the result would not be much better. It was evident that the Defensor de Pedro was the best sailer, consequently the *Morning Star* could not hope to escape; in fact, submission or total destruction was the only choice. The commanding officer, therefore, acted for the best when he recommended the former. There was some slight hope of escaping with life, and without personal abuse, by surrendering, but to contend must be inevitable death.

The gentleman who had gone in a boat to the pirate returned in a short time, exhibiting every proof of the ill treatment he had received from Soto and his crew. It appears that when the villains learned that he was not the captain, they fell upon and beat him, as well as the sailors along with him, in a most brutal manner, and with the most horrid imprecations told him, that if the captain did not instantly come, on his return to the vessel, they would blow the ship out of the water. This report as once decided the captain in the way he was to act. Without hesitation he stepped into the boat, taking with him his second mate, three soldiers and a sailor boy, and proceeded to the pirate. On going on board that vessel, along with the mate, Soto, who stood near the mainmast, with his drawn cutlass in his hand, desired him to approach, while the mate was ordered, by Barbazan, to go to the forecabin. Both these unfortunate individuals obeyed, and were instantly slaughtered.



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Soto now ordered six picked men to descend into the boat, amongst whom was Barbazan. To him the leader addressed his orders, the last of which was, to take care to put all in the prize to death, and then sink her.

The six pirates, who proceeded to execute his savage demand, were all armed alike, – they each carried a brace of pistols, a cutlass and a long knife. Their dress was composed of a sort of coarse cotton chequered jacket and trowsers, shirts that were open at the collar, red woollen caps, and broad canvas waistbelts, in which were the pistols and the knives. They were all athletic men, and seemed such as might well be trusted with the sanguinary errand on which they were despatched. While the boat was conveying them, Soto held in his hand a cutlass, reddened with the blood of the murdered captain, and stood scowling on them with silence: while another ruffian, with a lighted match, stood by the long gun, ready to support the boarding, if necessary, with a shot that would sweep the deck. As the boarders approached the *Morning Star*, the terror of the females became excessive; they clung to their husbands in despair, who endeavored to allay their fears by their own vain hopes, assuring them that a quiet submission nothing more than the plunder of the vessel was to be apprehended. But a few minutes miserably undeceived them. The pirates rapidly mounted the side, and as they jumped on deck, commenced to cut right and left at all within their reach, uttering at the same time the most dreadful oaths. The females, screaming, hurried to hide themselves below as well as they were able, and the men fell or fled before the pirates, leaving them entire masters of the decks.

When the pirates had succeeded in effectually prostrating all the people on deck, they drove most of them below, and reserved the remainder to assist in their operations. Unless the circumstances be closely examined, it may be wondered how six men could have so easily overcome a crew of English seamen supported by about twenty soldiers with a major at their head: – but it will not appear so surprising, when it is considered that the sailors were altogether unarmed, the soldiers were worn out invalids, and more particularly, that the pirate carried a heavy long gun, ready to sink her victim at a shot. Major Logie was fully impressed with the folly of opposing so powerful and desperate an enemy, and therefore advised submission as the only course for the safety of those under his charge; presuming no doubt that something like humanity might be found in the breasts even of the worst of men. But alas! he was woefully deceived in his estimate of the villains' nature, and felt, when too late, that even death would have been preferable to the barbarous treatment he was forced to endure.

Beaten, bleeding, terrified, the men lay huddled together in the hold, while the pirates proceeded in their work of pillage and brutality. Every trunk was hauled forth, every portable article of value heaped for the plunder; money, plate, charts, nautical instruments, and seven parcels of valuable jewels, which formed part of the cargo; these were carried from below on the backs of those men whom the pirates selected to assist them, and for two hours they were thus employed, during which time Soto stood upon his own deck directing the operations; for the vessels were within a hundred yards of each other. The scene which took place in the cabin exhibited a licentious brutality. The sick officer,



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Mr. Gibson, was dragged from his berth; the clothes of the other passengers stripped from their backs, and the whole of the cabin passengers driven on deck, except the females, whom they locked up in the round-house on deck, and the steward, who was detained to serve the pirates with wine and eatables. This treatment, no doubt hastened the death of Gibson; the unfortunate gentleman did not long survive it. As the passengers were forced up the cabin ladder, the feelings of Major Logie, it may be imagined, were of the most heart-rending description. In vain did he entreat to be allowed to remain; he was hurried away from even the chance of protecting his defenceless wife, and battened down with the rest in the hold, there to be racked with the fearful apprehensions of their almost certain doom.

The labors of the robbers being now concluded, they sat down to regale themselves, preparatory to the *chef d'oeuvre* of their diabolical enterprise; and a more terrible group of demi-devils, the steward declares, could not be well imagined than commanded his attention at the cabin table. However, as he was a Frenchman, and naturally polite, he acquitted himself of the office of cup-bearer, if not as gracefully, at least as anxiously, as ever did Ganymede herself. Yet, notwithstanding this readiness to serve the visitors in their gastronomic desires, the poor steward felt ill-requited; he was twice frightened into an icicle, and twice thawed back into conscious horror, by the rudeness of those he entertained. In one instance, when he had filled out a sparkling glass for a ruffian, and believed he had quite won the heart of the drinker by the act, he found himself grasped roughly and tightly by the throat, and the point of a knife staring him in the face. It seems the fellow who thus seized him, had felt between his teeth a sharp bit of broken glass, and fancying that something had been put in the wine to poison him, he determined to prove his suspicions by making the steward swallow what remained in the bottle from which the liquor had been drawn, and thus unceremoniously prefaced his command; however, ready and implicit obedience averted further bad consequences. The other instance of the steward's jeopardy was this; when the repast was ended, one of the gentlemen coolly requested him to waive all delicacy, and point out the place in which the captain's money was concealed. He might as well have asked him to produce the philosopher's stone. However, pleading the truth was of no use; his determined requisitor seconded the demand by snapping a pistol at his breast; having missed fire, he recocked, and again presented; but the fatal weapon was struck aside by Barbazan, who reproved the rashness with a threat, and thus averted the steward's impending fate. It was then with feelings of satisfaction he heard himself ordered to go down to the hold, and in a moment he was bolted in among his fellow sufferers.

The ruffians indulged in the pleasures of the bottle for some time longer, and then having ordered down the females, treated them with even less humanity than characterized their conduct towards the others. The screams of the helpless females were heard in the hold by those who were unable to render them assistance, and agonizing, indeed, must those screams have been to their incarcerated hearers! How far the brutality of the pirates was carried in this stage of the horrid proceeding, we can only surmise; fortunately, their lives were spared, although, as it afterwards appeared, the orders of Soto were to butcher every being on board; and it is thought that these orders



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were not put into action, in consequence of the villains having wasted so much time in drinking, and otherwise indulging themselves; for it was not until the loud voice of their chief was heard to recall them, that they prepared to leave the ship; they therefore contented themselves with fastening the women within the cabin, heaping heavy lumber on the hatches of the hold, and boring holes in the planks of the vessel below the surface of the water, so that in destroying the unhappy people at one swoop, they might make up for the lost time. They then left the ship, sinking fast to her apparently certain fate.

It may be reasonably supposed, bad as their conduct was towards the females, and pitiable as was the suffering it produced, that the lives of the whole left to perish were preserved through it; for the ship must have gone down if the women had been either taken out of her or murdered, and those in the hold inevitably have gone with her to the bottom. But by good fortune, the females succeeded in forcing their way out of the cabin, and became the means of liberating the men confined in the hold. When they came on deck, it was nearly dark, yet they could see the pirate ship at a considerable distance, with all her sails set and bearing away from them. They prudently waited, concealed from the possibility of being seen by the enemy, and when the night fell, they crept to the hatchway, and called out to the men below to endeavor to effect their liberation, informing them that the pirate was away and out of sight. They then united their efforts, and the lumber being removed, the hatches gave way to the force below, so that the released captives breathed of hope again. The delightful draught, however, was checked, when the ship was found to contain six feet of water! A momentary collapse took possession of all their newly excited expectations; cries and groans of despair burst forth, but the sailors' energy quickly returned, and was followed by that of the others; they set to work at the pumps, and by dint of labor succeeded in keeping the vessel afloat. Yet to direct her course was impossible; the pirates having completely disabled her, by cutting away her rigging and sawing the masts all the way through. The eye of Providence, however, was not averted from the hapless people, for they fell in with a vessel next day that relieved them from their distressing situation, and brought them to England in safety.

We will now return to Soto, and show how the hand of that Providence that secured his intended victims, fell upon himself and his wicked associates. Intoxicated with their infamous success, the night had far advanced before Soto learned that the people in the *Morning Star*, instead of being slaughtered, were only left to be drowned. The information excited his utmost rage. He reproached Barbazan, and those who had accompanied them in the boarding, with disobeying his orders, and declared that now there could be no security for their lives. Late as the hour was, and long as he had been steering away from the *Morning Star*, he determined to put back, in the hope of effectually preventing the escape of those in the devoted vessel, by seeing them destroyed before his eyes. Soto was a follower of the principle inculcated by the old maxim, "Dead men tell no tales;" and in pursuance of his doctrine, lost not a moment in putting about and running back. But it was too late; he could find no trace of the vessel, and so consoled himself with the belief that she was at the bottom of the sea, many fathoms below the ken and



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cognizance of Admiralty Courts.

Soto, thus satisfied, bent his course to Europe. On his voyage he fell in with a small brig, boarded, plundered, sunk her, and, that he might not again run the hazard of encountering living witnesses of his guilt, murdered the crew, with the exception of one individual, whom he took along with him, on account of his knowledge of the course to Corunna, whither he intended to proceed. But, faithful to his principles of self-protection, as soon as he had made full use of the unfortunate sailor, and found himself in sight of the destined port, he came up to him at the helm, which he held in his hand, "My friend," said he "is that the harbor of Corunna?" – "Yes," was the reply. "Then," rejoined Soto, "You have done your duty well, and I am obliged to you for your services." On the instant he drew a pistol and shot the man; then coolly flung his body overboard, took the helm himself, and steered into his native harbor as little concerned as if he had returned from an honest voyage. At this port he obtained papers in a false name, disposed of a great part of his booty, and after a short stay set out for Cadiz, where he expected a market for the remainder. He had a fair wind until he came within sight of the coast near that city. It was coming on dark and he lay to, expecting to go into his anchorage next morning, but the wind shifted to the westward, and suddenly began to blow a heavy gale; it was right on the land. He luffed his ship as close to the wind as possible, in order to clear a point that stretched outward, and beat off to windward, but his lee-way carried him towards the land, and he was caught when he least expected the trap. The gale increased – the night grew pitchy dark – the roaring breakers were on his lee-beam – the drifting vessel strikes, rebounds, and strikes again – the cry of horror rings through the flapping cordage, and despair is in the eyes of the demon-crew. Helpless they lie amid the wrath of the storm, and the darkened face of Heaven, for the first time, strikes terror on their guilty hearts. Death is before them, but not with a merciful quickness does he approach; hour after hour the frightful vision glares upon them, and at length disappears only to come upon them again in a more dreadful form. The tempest abates, and the sinners were spared for the time.

As the daylight broke they took to their boats, and abandoned the vessel to preserve their lives. But there was no repentance in the pirates; along with the night and the winds went the voice of conscience, and they thought no more of what had passed. They stood upon the beach gazing at the wreck, and the first thought of Soto, was to sell it, and purchase another vessel for the renewal of his atrocious pursuits. With the marked decision of his character, he proposed his intention to his followers, and received their full approbation. The plan was instantly arranged; they were to present themselves as honest, shipwrecked mariners to the authorities at Cadiz; Soto was to take upon himself the office of mate, or *contra maestra*, to an imaginary captain, and thus obtain their sanction in disposing of the vessel. In their assumed character, the whole proceeded to Cadiz, and presented themselves before the proper officers of the marine. Their story was listened to with sympathy, and for a few days every thing went on to their satisfaction. Soto had succeeded so well as to conclude the sale of the wreck with a broker, for the sum of one thousand seven hundred and fifty dollars; the contract was signed, but fortunately the money was



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not yet paid, when suspicion arose, from some inconsistencies in the pirates' account of themselves, and six of them were arrested by the authorities. Soto and one of his crew instantly disappeared from Cadiz, and succeeded in arriving at the neutral ground before Gibraltar, and six more made their escape to the Carraccas.

None are permitted to enter the fortress of Gibraltar, without permission from the governor, or a passport. Soto and his companion, therefore, took up their quarters at a Posade on the neutral ground, and resided there in security for several days. The busy and daring mind of the former could not long remain inactive; he proposed to his companion to attempt to enter the garrison in disguise and by stealth, but could not prevail upon him to consent. He therefore resolved to go in alone; and his object in doing so was to procure a supply of money by a letter of credit which he brought with him from Cadiz. His companion, more wise than he, chose the safer course; he knew that the neutral ground was not much controllable by the laws either of the Spanish or the English, and although there was not much probability of being discovered, he resolved not to trust to chance in so great a stake as his life; and he proved to have been right in his judgment, for had he gone to Gibraltar, he would have shared the same fate of his chief. This man is the only one of the whole gang, who has not met with the punishment of his crimes, for he succeeded in effecting his escape on board some vessel. It is not even suspected to what country he is gone; but his description, no doubt, is registered. The steward of the *Morning Star* informed me, that he is a tall, stout man, with fair hair, and fresh complexion, of a mild and gentle countenance, but that he was one of the worst villains of the whole piratical crew. I believe he is stated to be a Frenchman. Soto secured his admission into the garrison by a false pass, and took up his residence at an inferior tavern in a narrow lane, which runs off the main street of Gibraltar, and is kept by a man of the name of Basso. The appearance of this house suits well with the associations of the worthy Benito's life. I have occasion to pass the door frequently at night, for our barrack, (the Casement,) is but a few yards from it. I never look at the place without feeling an involuntary sensation of horror – the smoky and dirty nooks – the distant groups of dark Spaniards, Moors, and Jews, their sallow countenances made yellow by the light of dim oil lamps – the unceiled rafters of the rooms above, seen through unshuttered windows and the consciousness of their having covered the atrocious Soto, combine this effect upon me. In this den the villain remained for a few weeks, and during this time seemed to enjoy himself as if he had never committed a murder. The story he told Basso of his circumstances was, that he had come to Gibraltar on his way to Cadiz from Malaga, and was merely awaiting the arrival of a friend. He dressed expensively – generally wore a white hat of the best English quality, silk stockings, white trousers, and blue frock coat. His whiskers were large and bushy, and his hair, which was very black, profuse, long and naturally curled, was much in the style of a London preacher of prophetic and anti-poetic notoriety. He was deeply browned with the sun, and had an air and gait expressive of his bold, enterprising, and desperate mind. Indeed, when I saw him in his cell and at his trial, although his frame was attenuated almost to a skeleton, the color of his



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face a pale yellow, his eyes sunken, and hair closely shorn; he still exhibited strong traces of what he had been, still retained his erect and fearless carriage, his quick, fiery, and malevolent eye, his hurried and concise speech, and his close and pertinent style of remark. He appeared to me such a man as would have made a hero in the ranks of his country, had circumstances placed him in the proper road to fame; but ignorance and poverty turned into the most ferocious robber, one who might have rendered service and been an honor to his sunken country. I should like to hear what the [phrenologists](#) say of his head; it appeared to me to be the most peculiar I had ever seen, and certainly, as far as the bump of *destructiveness* went, bore the theory fully out. It is rumored here that the skull has been sent to the *savans* of Edinburg; if this be the case, we shall no doubt be made acquainted with their sage opinions upon the subject, and great conquerors will receive a farther assurance of how much they resemble in their physical natures the greatest murderers.

When I visited the pirate in the Moorish castle where he was confined, he was sitting in his cold, narrow, and miserable cell, upon a pallet of straw, eating his coarse meal from a tin plate. I thought him more an object of pity than vengeance; he looked so worn with disease, so crushed with suffering, yet so affable, frank, and kind in his address; for he happened to be in a communicative mood, a thing that was by no means common with him. He spoke of his long confinement, till I thought the tears were about to start from his eyes, and alluded to his approaching trial with satisfaction; but his predominant characteristic, ferocity, appeared in his small piercing black eyes before I left him, as he alluded to his keeper, the Provost, in such a way that made me suspect his desire for blood was not yet extinguished. When he appeared in court on his trial, his demeanor was quite altered; he seemed to me to have suddenly risen out of the wretch he was in his cell, to all the qualities I had heard of him; he stood erect and unembarrassed; he spoke with a strong voice, attended closely to the proceedings, occasionally examined the witnesses, and at the conclusion protested against the justice of his trial. He sometimes spoke to the guards around him, and sometimes affected an air of carelessness of his awful situation, which, however, did not sit easy upon him. Even here the leading trait of his mind broke forth; for when the interpreter commenced his office, the language which he made use of being pedantic and affected, Soto interrupted him thus, while a scowl sat upon his brow that terrified the man of words: "I don't understand you, man; speak Spanish like others, and I'll listen to you." When the dirk that belonged to Mr. Robertson, the trunk and clothes taken from Mr. Gibson, and the pocket book containing the ill-fated captain's handwriting were placed before him, and proved to have been found in his room, and when the maid servant of the tavern proved that she found the dirk under his pillow every morning on arranging his bed; and when he was confronted with his own black slave, between two wax lights, the countenance of the villain appeared in its true nature, not depressed nor sorrowful, but vivid and ferocious; and when the patient and dignified governor, Sir George Don, passed the just sentence of the law upon him, he looked daggers at his heart, and assumed a horrid silence, more eloquent than words.



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The criminal persisted up to the day before his execution in asserting his innocence, and inveighing against the injustice of his trial, but the certainty of his fate, and the awful voice of religion, at length subdued him. He made an unreserved confession of his guilt, and became truly penitent; gave up to the keeper the blade of a razor which he had secreted between the soles of his shoes for the acknowledged purpose of adding suicide to his crimes, and seemed to wish for the moment that was to send him before his Creator.

I witnessed his execution, and I believe there never was a more contrite man than he appeared to be; yet there were no drivelling fears upon him – he walked firmly at the tail of the fatal cart, gazing sometimes at his coffin, sometimes at the crucifix which he held in his hand. The symbol of divinity he frequently pressed to his lips, repeated the prayers spoken in his ear by the attendant clergyman, and seemed regardless of every thing but the world to come. The gallows was erected beside the water, and fronting the neutral ground. He mounted the cart as firmly as he had walked behind it, and held up his face to Heaven and the beating rain, calm, resigned, but unshaken; and finding the halter too high for his neck, he boldly stepped upon his coffin, and placed his head in the noose, then watching the first turn of the wheels, he murmured “*adios todos*,”³⁷⁸ and leaned forward to facilitate his fall.

The black slave of the pirate stood upon the battery trembling before his dying master to behold the awful termination of a series of events, the recital of which to his African countrymen, when he shall return to his home, will give them no doubt, a dreadful picture of European civilization. The black boy was acquitted at Cadiz, but the men who had fled to the Carraccas, as well as those arrested after the wreck, were convicted, executed, their limbs severed, and hung on tenter hooks, as a warning to all pirates.



September 29, Wednesday: John F. Knapp was [hanged](#) in [Salem](#), for having murdered 82-year-old Joseph White on April 6th.

[Horace Mann, Sr.](#) got married with Charlotte Messer, daughter of [Brown University](#)'s former president [Asa Messer](#) (resigned as president due to school unrest) who had just been a candidate for Governor of [Rhode Island](#) (unsuccessful).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*4th day 29th of 9 M / Moy [Monthly] Meeting held in Town Wm almy was short in testimony encouraging the youth
The buisness was pretty well conducted - Elisha Bowen dined at the Institution the first time since we have been here -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

378. “Farewell, all.”



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1831



In [California](#), Francisco Rubio, a Hispanic soldier, was [put before a firing squad](#) for murder-rape.

At the Royal College of Surgeons in London, in the course of this year, there were eleven dissections of the bodies of the [hanged](#).

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1831

Date	Name	Place of execution	Crime
18/03	Margaret Mackesay	Limerick	Murder
05/08	Agnes Clarke	Downpatrick	Murder
06/08	Judith Butler	Clonmel	Murder
11/08	Mary Ann Higgins	Coventry	Murder
06/10	Mary Steel (Bryce)	Glasgow	Murder



April 22, Friday: The net yearly revenue of the British monarch was reduced from £1,080,000 to £510,000.

The [pirates](#) Charles Gibbs, born in [Rhode Island](#) in 1794, and Thomas J. Wansley, were [hanged](#) at Bellevue Prison of [New-York](#).

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**THE LIFE OF CHARLES GIBBS.
CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF HIS ATROCITIES COMMITTED IN THE
WEST INDIES³⁷⁹**



This atrocious and cruel pirate, when very young became addicted to vices uncommon in youths of his age, and so far from the gentle reproof and friendly admonition, or the more severe chastisement of a fond parent, having its intended effect, it seemed to render him still worse, and to incline him to repay those whom he ought to have esteemed as his best friends and who had manifested so much regard for his welfare, with ingratitude and neglect. His infamous career and ignominious death on the gallows; brought down the "grey hairs of his parents in sorrow to the grave." The poignant affliction which the infamous crimes of children bring upon their relatives ought to be one of the most effective persuasions for them to refrain from vice. Charles Gibbs was born in the state of Rhode Island, in 1794; his parents and connexions were of the first respectability. When at school, he was very apt to learn, but so refractory and sulky, that neither the birch nor good counsel made any impression on him, and he was expelled from the school.

He was now made to labor on a farm; but having a great antipathy

379. THE PIRATES OWN BOOK, OR AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF THE LIVES, EXPLOITS, AND EXECUTIONS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED SEA ROBBERS, by Charles Ellms (Portland: Published by Sanborn & Carter; Philadelphia: Thomas, Comperthwait, & Co., 1837. This would be republished in 1842 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York & Philadelphia, and in 1844 in Portland by Sanborn & Carter, and in 1855 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York, and in 1924 by Marine res. of Massachusetts, and in 1996 by Random House of New York.)



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to work, when about fifteen years of age, feeling a great inclination to roam, and like too many unreflecting youths of that age, a great fondness for the sea, he in opposition to the friendly counsel of his parents, privately left them and entered on board the United States sloop-of-war, *Hornet*, and was in the action when she captured the British sloop-of-war *Peacock*, off the coast of Pernambuco. Upon the return of the *Hornet* to the United States, her brave commander, Capt. Lawrence, was promoted for his gallantry to the command of the unfortunate *Chesapeake*, and to which he was followed by young Gibbs, who took a very distinguished part in the engagement with the *Shannon*, which resulted in the death of Lawrence and the capture of the *Chesapeake*. Gibbs states that while on board the *Chesapeake* the crew previous to the action, were almost in a state of mutiny, growing out of the non payment of the prize money, and that the address of Capt. Lawrence was received by them with coldness and murmurs.

After the engagement, Gibbs became with the survivors of the crew a prisoner of war, and as such was confined in Dartmoor prison until exchanged.

After his exchange, he returned to Boston, where having determined to abandon the sea, he applied to his friends in Rhode Island, to assist him in commencing business; they accordingly lent him one thousand dollars as a capital to begin with. He opened a grocery in Ann Street, near what was then called the *Tin Pot*, a place full of abandoned women and dissolute fellows. As he dealt chiefly in liquor, and had a "*License to retail Spirits*," his drunkenery was thronged with customers. But he sold his groceries chiefly to loose girls who paid him in their coin, which, although it answered his purpose, would neither buy him goods or pay his rent, and he found his stock rapidly dwindling away without his receiving any cash to replenish it. By dissipation and inattention his new business proved unsuccessful to him. He resolved to abandon it and again try the sea for a subsistence. With a hundred dollars in his pocket, the remnant of his property, he embarked in the ship *John*, for Buenos Ayres, and his means being exhausted soon after his arrival there, he entered on board a Buenos Ayrean privateer and sailed on a cruise. A quarrel between the officers and crew in regard to the division of prize money, led eventually to a mutiny; and the mutineers gained the ascendancy, took possession of the vessel, landed the crew on the coast of Florida, and steered for the West Indies, with hearts resolved to make their fortunes at all hazards, and where in a short time, more than twenty vessels were captured by them and nearly *Four Hundred Human Beings Murdered!*

Havana was the resort of these pirates to dispose of their plunder; and Gibbs sauntered about this place with impunity and was acquainted in all the out of the way and bye places of that hot bed of pirates the *Regla*. He and his comrades even lodged in the very houses with many of the American officers who were sent out to take them. He was acquainted with many of the officers and was apprised of all their intended movements before they left the harbor. On one occasion, the American ship *Caroline*, was captured by two of their piratical vessels off Cape Antonio. They were busily engaged in landing the cargo, when the British sloop-of-war, *Jearus*, hove in sight and sent her barges to attack them. The pirates defended themselves for



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some time behind a small four gun battery which they had erected, but in the end were forced to abandon their own vessel and the prize and fly to the mountains for safety. The Jearus found here twelve vessels burnt to the water's edge, and it was satisfactorily ascertained that their crews, amounting to *one hundred and fifty persons had been murdered*. The crews, if it was thought not necessary otherways to dispose of them were sent adrift in their boats, and frequently without any thing on which they could subsist a single day; nor were all so fortunate thus to escape. "Dead men can tell no tales," was a common saying among them; and as soon as a ship's crew were taken, a short consultation was held; and if it was the opinion of a majority that it would be better to take life than to spare it, a single nod or wink from the captain was sufficient; regardless of age or sex, all entreaties for mercy were then made in vain; they possessed not the tender feelings, to be operated upon by the shrieks and expiring groans of the devoted victims! there was a strife among them, who with his own hands could despatch the greatest number, and in the shortest period of time.

Without any other motives than to gratify their hellish propensities (in their intoxicated moments), blood was not unfrequently and unnecessarily shed, and many widows and orphans probably made, when the lives of the unfortunate victims might have been spared, and without the most distant prospect of any evil consequences (as regarded themselves), resulting therefrom.

Gibbs states that sometime in the course of the year 1819, he left Havana and came to the United States, bringing with him about \$30,000. He passed several weeks in the city of New York, and then went to Boston, whence he took passage for Liverpool in the ship Emerald. Before he sailed, however, he has squandered a large part of his money by dissipation and gambling. He remained in Liverpool a few months, and then returned to Boston. His residence in Liverpool at that time is satisfactorily ascertained from another source besides his own confession. A female now in New York was well acquainted with him there, where, she says, he lived like a gentleman, with apparently abundant means of support. In speaking of his acquaintance with this female he says, "I fell in with a woman, who I thought was all virtue, but she deceived me, and I am sorry to say that a heart that never felt abashed at scenes of carnage and blood, was made a child of for a time by her, and I gave way to dissipation to drown the torment. How often when the fumes of liquor have subsided, have I thought of my good and affectionate parents, and of their Godlike advice! But when the little monitor began to move within me, I immediately seized the cup to hide myself from myself, and drank until the sense of intoxication was renewed. My friends advised me to behave myself like a man, and promised me their assistance, but the demon still haunted me, and I spurned their advice."

In 1826, he revisited the United States, and hearing of the war between Brazil and the Republic of Buenos Ayres, sailed from Boston in the brig Hitty, of Portsmouth, with a determination, as he states, of trying his fortune in defence of a republican government. Upon his arrival he made himself known to Admiral Brown, and communicated his desire to join their navy. The admiral accompanied him to the Governor, and a Lieutenant's commission being given him, he joined a ship of 34 guns, called



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the 'Twenty Fifth of May.' "Here," says Gibbs, "I found Lieutenant Dodge, an old acquaintance, and a number of other persons with whom I had sailed. When the Governor gave me the commission he told me they wanted no cowards in their navy, to which I replied that I thought he would have no apprehension of my cowardice or skill when he became acquainted with me. He thanked me, and said he hoped he should not be deceived; upon which we drank to his health and to the success of the Republic. He then presented me with a sword, and told me to wear that as my companion through the doubtful struggle in which the republic was engaged. I told him I never would disgrace it, so long as I had a nerve in my arm. I remained on board the ship in the capacity of 5th Lieutenant, for about four months, during which time we had a number of skirmishes with the enemy. Having succeeded in gaining the confidence of Admiral Brown, he put me in command of a privateer schooner, mounting two long 24 pounders and 46 men. I sailed from Buenos Ayres, made two good cruises, and returned safely to port. I then bought one half of a new Baltimore schooner, and sailed again, but was captured seven days out, and carried into Rio Janeiro, where the Brazilians paid me my change. I remained there until peace took place, then returned to Buenos Ayres, and thence to New York. "After the lapse of about a year, which I passed in travelling from place to place, the war between France and Algiers attracted my attention. Knowing that the French commerce presented a fine opportunity for plunder, I determined to embark for Algiers and offer my services to the Dey. I accordingly took passage from New York, in the Sally Ann, belonging to Bath, landed at Barcelona, crossed to Port Mahon, and endeavored to make my way to Algiers. The vigilance of the French fleet prevented the accomplishment of my design, and I proceeded to Tunis. There finding it unsafe to attempt a journey to Algiers across the desert, I amused myself with contemplating the ruins of Carthage, and reviving my recollections of her war with the Romans. I afterwards took passage to Marseilles, and thence to Boston."

An instance of the most barbarous and cold blooded murder of which the wretched Gibbs gives an account in the course of his confessions, is that of an innocent and beautiful female of about 17 or 18 years of age! she was with her parents a passenger on board a Dutch ship, bound from Curracoa to Holland; there were a number of other passengers, male and female, on board, all of whom except the young lady above-mentioned were put to death; her unfortunate parents were inhumanly butchered before her eyes, and she was doomed to witness the agonies and to hear the expiring, heart-piercing groans of those whom she held most dear, and on whom she depended for protection! The life of their wretched daughter was spared for the most nefarious purposes — she was taken by the pirates to the west end of [Cuba](#), where they had a rendezvous, with a small fort that mounted four guns — here she was confined about two months, and where, as has been said by the murderer Gibbs, "she received such treatment, the bare recollection of which causes me to shudder!" At the expiration of the two months she was taken by the pirates on board of one of their vessels, and among whom a consultation was soon after held, which resulted in the conclusion that it would be necessary for their own personal safety, to put her to death! and to her a fatal dose of poison was accordingly administered,



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which soon proved fatal! when her pure and immortal spirit took its flight to that God, whom, we believe, will avenge her wrongs! her lifeless body was then committed to the deep by two of the merciless wretches with as much unconcern, as if it had been that of the meanest brute! Gibbs persists in the declaration that in this horrid transaction he took no part, that such was his pity for this poor ill-fated female, that he interceded for her life so long as he could do it with safety to his own! Gibbs in his last visit to Boston remained there but a few days, when he took passage to New Orleans, and there entered as one of the crew on board the brig Vineyard; and for assisting in the murder of the unfortunate captain and mate of which, he was justly condemned, and the awful sentence of death passed upon him! The particulars of the bloody transaction (agreeable to the testimony of Dawes and Brownrigg, the two principal witnesses,) are as follows: The brig Vineyard, Capt. William Thornby, sailed from New Orleans about the 9th of November, for Philadelphia, with a cargo of 112 bales of cotton, 113 hhds. sugar, 54 casks of molasses and 54,000 dollars in specie. Besides the captain there were on board the brig, William Roberts, mate, six seamen shipped at New Orleans, and the cook. Robert Dawes, one of the crew, states on examination, that when, about five days out, he was told that there was money on board, Charles Gibbs, E. Church and the steward then determined to take possession of the brig. They asked James Talbot, another of the crew, to join them. He said no, as he did not believe there was money in the vessel. They concluded to kill the captain and mate, and if Talbot and John Brownrigg would not join them, to kill them also. The next night they talked of doing it, and got their clubs ready. Dawes dared not say a word, as they declared they would kill him if he did; as they did not agree about killing Talbot and Brownrigg, two shipmates, it was put off. They next concluded to kill the captain and mate on the night of November 22, but did not get ready; but, on the night of the 23d, between twelve and one o'clock, as Dawes was at the helm, saw the steward come up with a light and a knife in his hand; he dropt the light and seizing the pump break, struck the captain with it over the head or back of the neck; the captain was sent forward by the blow, and halloed, oh! and murder! once; he was then seized by Gibbs and the cook, one by the head and the other by the heels, and thrown overboard. Atwell and Church stood at the companion way, to strike down the mate when he should come up. As he came up and enquired what was the matter they struck him over the head – he ran back into the cabin, and Charles Gibbs followed him down; but as it was dark, he could not find him – Gibbs came on deck for the light, with which he returned. Dawes' light being taken from him, he could not see to steer, and he in consequence left the helm, to see what was going on below. Gibbs found the mate and seized him, while Atwell and Church came down and struck him with a pump break and a club; he was then dragged upon deck; they called for Dawes to come to them, and as he came up the mate seized his hand, and gave him a death gripe! three of them then hove him overboard, but which three Dawes does not know; the mate when cast overboard was not dead, but called after them twice while in the water! Dawes says he was so frightened that he hardly knew what to do. They then requested him to call Talbot, who was in the forecabin, saying his prayers; he came up and said it would be his turn next! but they gave him some



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grog, and told him not to be afraid, as they would not hurt him; if he was true to them, he should fare as well as they did. One of those who had been engaged in the bloody deed got drunk, and another became crazy!

After killing the captain and mate, they set about overhauling the vessel, and got up one keg of Mexican dollars. They then divided the captain's clothes, and money – about 40 dollars, and a gold watch. Dawes, Talbot and Brownrigg, (who were all innocent of the murder,) were obliged to do as they were commanded – the former, who was placed at the helm, was ordered to steer for Long Island. On the day following, they divided several kegs of the specie, amounting to five thousand dollars each – they made bags and sewed the money up. After this division, they divided the remainder of the money without counting it. On Sunday, when about 15 miles S.S.E. of Southampton Light, they got the boats out and put half the money in each – they then scuttled the vessel and set fire to it in the cabin, and took to the boats. Gibbs, after the murder, took charge of the vessel as captain. From the papers they learnt that the money belonged to Stephen Girard. With the boats they made the land about daylight. Dawes and his three companions were in the long boat; the others, with Atwell, were in the jolly boat – on coming to the bar the boats struck – in the long boat, they threw overboard a trunk of clothes and a great deal of money, in all about 5000 dollars – the jolly boat foundered; they saw the boat fill, and heard them cry out, and saw them clinging to the masts – they went ashore on Barron Island, and buried the money in the sand, but very lightly. Soon after they met with a gunner, whom they requested to conduct them where they could get some refreshments. They were by him conducted to Johnson's (the only man living on the island,) where they staid all night – Dawes went to bed at about 10 o'clock – Jack Brownrigg set up with Johnson, and in the morning told Dawes that he had told Johnson all about the murder. Johnson went in the morning with the steward for the clothes, which were left on the top of the place where they buried the money, but does not believe they took away the money.

The prisoners, (Gibbs and Wansley,) were brought to trial at the February term of the United States Court, holden in the city of New York; when the foregoing facts being satisfactorily proved, they were pronounced guilty, and on the 11th March last, the awful sentence of the law was passed upon them in the following affecting and impressive manner: – The Court opened at 11 o'clock, Judge Betts presiding. A few minutes after that hour, Mr. Hamilton, District Attorney, rose and said – May it please the Court, Thomas J. Wansley, the prisoner at the bar, having been tried by a jury of his country, and found guilty of the murder of Captain Thornby, I now move that the sentence of the Court be pronounced upon that verdict.

By the Court. Thomas J. Wansley, you have heard what has been said by the District Attorney – by the Grand Jury of the South District of New York, you have been arraigned for the wilful murder of Captain Thornby, of the brig Vineyard; you have been put upon your trial, and after a patient and impartial hearing, you have been found Guilty. The public prosecutor now moves for judgment on that verdict; have you any thing to say, why the sentence of the law should not be passed upon you?



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Thomas J. Wansley. I will say a few words, but it is perhaps of no use. I have often understood that there is a great deal of difference in respect of color, and I have seen it in this Court. Dawes and Brownrigg were as guilty as I am, and these witnesses have tried to fasten upon me greater guilt than is just, for their life has been given to them. You have taken the blacks from their own country, to bring them here to treat them ill. I have seen this. The witnesses, the jury, and the prosecuting Attorney consider me more guilty than Dawes, to condemn me – for otherwise the law must have punished him; he should have had the same verdict, for he was a perpetrator in the conspiracy. Notwithstanding my participating, they have sworn falsely for the purpose of taking my life; they would not even inform the Court, how I gave information of money being on board; they had the biggest part of the money, and have sworn falsely. I have said enough. I will say no more. *By the Court.* The Court will wait patiently and hear all you have to say; if you have any thing further to add, proceed.

Wansley then proceeded. In the first place, I was the first to ship on board the *Vineyard* at New Orleans, I knew nobody; I saw the money come on board. The judge that first examined me, did not take my deposition down correctly. When talking with the crew on board, said the brig was an old craft, and when we arrived at Philadelphia, we all agreed to leave her. It was mentioned to me that there was plenty of money on board. Henry Atwell said "let's have it." I knew no more of this for some days. Atwell came to me again and asked "what think you of taking the money." I thought it was a joke, and paid no attention to it. The next day he said they had determined to take the brig and money, and that they were the strongest party, and would murder the officers, and he that informed should suffer with them. I knew Church in Boston, and in a joke asked him how it was made up in the ship's company; his reply, that it was he and Dawes. There was no arms on board as was ascertained; the conspiracy was known to the whole company, and had I informed, my life would have been taken, and though I knew if I was found out my life would be taken by law, which is the same thing, so I did not inform. I have committed murder and I know I must die for it.

By the Court. If you wish to add any thing further you will still be heard.

Wansley. No sir, I believe I have said enough.

The District Attorney rose and moved for judgment on Gibbs, in the same manner as in the case of Wansley, and the Court having addressed Gibbs, in similar terms, concluded by asking what he had to say why the sentence of the law should not now be passed upon him.

Charles Gibbs said, I wish to state to the Court, how far I am guilty and how far I am innocent in this transaction. When I left New Orleans, I was a stranger to all on board, except Dawes and Church. It was off



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Tortugas that Atwell first told me there was money on board, and proposed to me to take possession of the brig. I refused at that time. The conspiracy was talked of for some days, and at last I agreed that I would join. Brownrigg, Dawes, Church, and the whole agreed that they would. A few days after, however, having thought of the affair, I mentioned to Atwell, what a dreadful thing it was to take a man's life, and commit piracy, and recommended him to "abolish," their plan. Atwell and Dawes remonstrated with me; I told Atwell that if ever he would speak of the subject again, I would break his nose. Had I kept to my resolution I would not have been brought here to receive my sentence. It was three days afterwards that the murder was committed. Brownrigg agreed to call up the captain from the cabin, and this man, (pointing to Wansley,) agreed to strike the first blow. The captain was struck and I suppose killed, and I lent a hand to throw him overboard. But for the murder of the mate, of which I have been found guilty, I am innocent — I had nothing to do with that. The mate was murdered by Dawes and Church; that I am innocent of this I commit my soul to that God who will judge all flesh — who will judge all murderers and false swearers, and the wicked who deprive the innocent of his right. I have nothing more to say.

By the Court. Thomas J. Wansley and Charles Gibbs, the Court has listened to you patiently and attentively; and although you have said something in your own behalf, yet the Court has heard nothing to affect the deepest and most painful duty that he who presides over a public tribunal has to perform.

You, Thomas J. Wansley, conceive that a different measure of justice has been meted out to you, because of your color. Look back upon your whole course of life; think of the laws under which you have lived, and you will find that to white or black, to free or bond, there is no ground for your allegations; that they are not supported by truth or justice. Admit that Brownrigg and Dawes have sworn falsely; admit that Dawes was concerned with you; admit that Brownrigg is not innocent; admit, in relation to both, that they are guilty, the whole evidence has proved beyond a doubt that you are guilty; and your own words admit that you were an active agent in perpetrating this horrid crime. Two fellow beings who confided in you, and in their perilous voyage called in your assistance, yet you, without reason or provocation, have maliciously taken their lives.

If, peradventure, there was the slightest foundation for a doubt of your guilt, in the mind of the Court, judgment would be arrested, but there is none; and it now remains to the Court to pronounce the most painful duty that devolves upon a civil magistrate. The Court is persuaded of your guilt; it can form no other opinion. Testimony has been heard before the Court and Jury — from that we must form our opinion. We must proceed upon testimony, ascertain facts by evidence of witnesses, on which we must inquire, judge and determine as to guilt or innocence, by that evidence alone. You



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have been found guilty. You now stand for the last time before an earthly tribunal, and by your own acknowledgments, the sentence of the law falls just on your heads. When men in ordinary cases come under the penalty of the law there is generally some palliative – something to warm the sympathy of the Court and Jury. Men may be led astray, and under the influence of passion have acted under some long smothered resentment, suddenly awakened by the force of circumstances, depriving him of reason, and then they may take the life of a fellow being. Killing, under that kind of excitement, might possibly awaken some sympathy, but that was not your case; you had no provocation. What offence had Thornby or Roberts committed against you? They entrusted themselves with you, as able and trustworthy citizens; confiding implicitly in you; no one act of theirs, after a full examination, appears to have been offensive to you; yet for the purpose of securing the money you coolly determined to take their lives – you slept and deliberated over the act; you were tempted on, and yielded; you entered into the conspiracy, with cool and determined calculation to deprive two human beings of their lives, and it was done.

You, Charles Gibbs, have said that you are not guilty of the murder of Roberts; but were you not there, strongly instigating the murderers on, and without stretching out a hand to save him? – It is murder as much to stand by and encourage the deed, as to stab with a knife, strike with a hatchet, or shoot with a pistol. It is not only murder in law, but in your own feelings and in your own conscience. Notwithstanding all this, I cannot believe that your feelings are so callous, so wholly callous, that your own minds do not melt when you look back upon the unprovoked deeds of yourselves, and those confederated with you.

You are American citizens – this country affords means of instruction to all: your appearance and your remarks have added evidence that you are more than ordinarily intelligent; that your education has enabled you to participate in the advantages of information open to all classes. The Court will believe that when you were young you looked with strong aversion on the course of life of the wicked. In early life, in boyhood, when you heard of the conduct of men, who engaged in robbery – nay more, when you heard of cold blooded murder – how you must have shrunk from the recital. Yet now, after having participated in the advantages of education, after having arrived at full maturity, you stand here as robbers and murderers.

It is a perilous employment of life that you have followed; in this way of life the most enormous crimes that man can commit, are MURDER AND PIRACY. With what detestation would you in early life have looked upon the man who would have raised his hand against his officer, or have committed piracy! yet now you both stand here murderers and pirates, tried and found guilty – you Wansley of the murder of your Captain, and you, Gibbs,



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of the murder of your Mate. The evidence has convicted you of rising in mutiny against the master of the vessel, for that alone, the law is DEATH! – of murder and robbery on the high seas, for that crime, the law adjudges DEATH – of destroying the vessel and embezzling the cargo, even for scuttling and burning the vessel alone the law is DEATH; yet of all these the evidence has convicted you, and it only remains now for the Court to pass the sentence of the law. It is, that you, Thomas J. Wansley and Charles Gibbs be taken hence to the place of confinement, there to remain in close custody, that thence you be taken to the place of execution, and on the 22d April next, between the hours of 10 and 4 o'clock, you be both publicly hanged by the neck until you are DEAD – and that your bodies be given to the College of Physicians and Surgeons for dissection.

The Court added, that the only thing discretionary with it, was the time of execution; it might have ordered that you should instantly have been taken from the stand to the scaffold, but the sentence has been deferred to as distant a period as prudent – six weeks. But this time has not been granted for the purpose of giving you any hope for pardon or commutation of the sentence; – just as sure as you live till the twenty-second of April, as surely you will suffer death – therefore indulge not a hope that this sentence will be changed!

The Court then spoke of the terror in all men of death! – how they cling to life whether in youth, manhood or old age. What an awful thing it is to die! how in the perils of the sea, when rocks or storms threaten the loss of the vessel, and the lives of all on board, how the crew will labor, night and day, in the hope of escaping shipwreck and death! alluded to the tumult, bustle and confusion of battle – yet even there the hero clings to life. The Court adverted not only to the certainty of their coming doom on earth, but to THINK OF HEREAFTER – that they should seriously think and reflect of their FUTURE STATE! that they would be assisted in their devotions no doubt, by many pious men.

When the Court closed, Charles Gibbs asked, if during his imprisonment, his friends would be permitted to see him. The Court answered that that lay with the Marshal, who then said that no difficulty would exist on that score. The remarks of the Prisoners were delivered in a strong, full-toned and unwavering voice, and they both seemed perfectly resigned to the fate which inevitably awaited them. While Judge Betts was delivering his address to them, Wansley was deeply affected and shed tears – but Gibbs gazed with a steady and unwavering eye, and no sign betrayed the least emotion of his heart. After his condemnation, and during his confinement, his frame became somewhat enfeebled, his face paler, and his eyes more sunken; but the air of his bold, enterprising and desperate mind still remained. In his narrow cell, he seemed more like an object of pity than vengeance – was affable and communicative, and when he smiled, exhibited so mild and gentle a countenance, that no one would take him to be a villain. His conversation was concise and pertinent, and his style of illustration quite original.

Gibbs was married in Buenos Ayres, where he has a child now living. His wife is dead. By a singular concurrence of circumstances, the woman with whom he became acquainted in



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Liverpool, and who is said at that time to have borne a decent character, was lodged in the same prison with himself. During his confinement he wrote her two letters – one of them is subjoined, to gratify the perhaps innocent curiosity which is naturally felt to know the peculiarities of a man's mind and feelings under such circumstances, and not for the purpose of intimating a belief that he was truly penitent. The reader will be surprised with the apparent readiness with which he made quotations from Scripture.

"BELLEVUE PRISON, March 20, 1831.

"It is with regret that I take my pen in hand to address you with these few lines, under the great embarrassment of my feelings placed within these gloomy walls, my body bound with chains, and under the awful sentence of death! It is enough to throw the strongest mind into gloomy prospects! but I find that Jesus Christ is sufficient to give consolation to the most despairing soul. For he saith, that he that cometh to me I will in no ways cast out. But it is impossible to describe unto you the horror of my feelings. My breast is like the tempestuous ocean, raging in its own shame, harrowing up the bottom of my soul! But I look forward to that serene calm when I shall sleep with Kings and Counsellors of the earth. There the wicked cease from troubling, and there the weary are at rest! – There the prisoners rest together – they hear not the voice of the oppressor; and I trust that there my breast will not be ruffled by the storm of sin – for the thing which I greatly feared has come upon me. I was not in safety, neither had I rest; yet trouble came. It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth to him good. When I saw you in Liverpool, and a peaceful calm wafted across both our breasts, and justice no claim upon us, little did I think to meet you in the gloomy walls of a strong prison, and the arm of justice stretched out with the sword of law, awaiting the appointed period to execute the dreadful sentence. I have had a fair prospect in the world, at last it budded, and brought forth the gallows. I am shortly to mount that scaffold, and to bid adieu to this world, and all that was ever dear to my breast. But I trust when my body is mounted on the gallows high, the heavens above will smile and pity me. I hope that you will reflect on your past, and fly to that Jesus who stands with open arms to receive you. Your character is lost, it is true. When the wicked turneth from the wickedness that they have committed, they shall save their soul alive.

"Let us imagine for a moment that we see the souls standing before the awful tribunal, and we hear its dreadful sentence, depart ye cursed into everlasting fire. Imagine you hear the awful lamentations of a soul in hell. It would be enough to melt your heart, if it was as hard as adamant. You would fall upon your knees and plead for God's mercy, as a famished person would for food, or as a dying criminal would for a pardon. We soon, very soon, must go the way whence we shall ne'er return. Our names will be struck off the records of the living, and enrolled in the vast catalogues of the dead.



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But may it ne'er be numbered with the damned. — I hope it will please God to set you at your liberty, and that you may see the sins and follies of your life past. I shall now close my letter with a few words which I hope you will receive as from a dying man; and I hope that every important truth of this letter may sink deep in your heart, and be a lesson to you through life.

"Rising griefs distress my soul,
And tears on tears successive roll —
For many an evil voice is near,
To chide my woes and mock my fear —
And silent memory weeps alone,
O'er hours of peace and gladness known.

"I still remain your sincere friend,
CHARLES GIBBS."

In another letter which the wretched Gibbs wrote after his condemnation to one who had been his early friend, he writes as follows: — "Alas! it is now, and not until now, that I have become sensible of my wicked life, from my childhood, and the enormity of the crime, for which I must shortly suffer an ignominious death! — I would to God that I never had been born, or that I had died in my infancy! — the hour of reflection has indeed come, but come too late to prevent justice from cutting me off — my mind recoils with horror at the thoughts of the unnatural deeds of which I have been guilty! — my repose rather prevents than affords me relief, as my mind, while I slumber, is constantly disturbed by frightful dreams of my approaching awful dissolution!"

On Friday, April twenty-second, Gibbs and Wansley paid the penalty of their crimes. Both prisoners arrived at the gallows about twelve o'clock, accompanied by the marshal, his aids, and some twenty or thirty United States' marines. Two clergymen attended them to the fatal spot, where everything being in readiness, and the ropes adjusted about their necks, the Throne of Mercy was fervently addressed in their behalf. Wansley then prayed earnestly himself, and afterwards joined in singing a hymn. These exercises concluded, Gibbs addressed the spectators nearly as follows:

MY DEAR FRIENDS,

My crimes have been heinous — and although I am now about to suffer for the murder of Mr. Roberts, I solemnly declare my innocence of the transaction. It is true, I stood by and saw the fatal deed done, and stretched not forth my arm to save him; the technicalities of the law believe me guilty of the charge — but in the presence of my God — before whom I shall be in a few minutes — I declare I did not murder him.

I have made a full and frank confession to Mr. Hopson, which probably most of my hearers present have already read; and should any of the friends of those whom I have been accessory to, or engaged in the murder of, be now present, before my Maker I beg their forgiveness — it is the only boon I ask — and as I hope for pardon through the blood of Christ, surely this request will not be withheld by man, to a worm like myself, standing as I



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do, on the very verge of eternity! Another moment, and I cease to exist – and could I find in my bosom room to imagine that the spectators now assembled had forgiven me, the scaffold would have no terrors, nor could the precept which my much respected friend, the marshal of the district, is about to execute. Let me then, in this public manner, return my sincere thanks to him, for his kind and gentlemanly deportment during my confinement. He was to me like a father, and his humanity to a dying man I hope will be duly appreciated by an enlightened community.

My first crime was *piracy*, for which my *life* would pay for forfeit on conviction; no punishment could be inflicted on me further than that, and therefore I had nothing to fear but detection, for had my offences been millions of times more aggravated than they are now, *death* must have satisfied all.

Gibbs having concluded, Wansley began. He said he might be called a pirate, a robber, and a murderer, and he was all of these, but he hoped and trusted God would, through Christ, wash away his aggravated crimes and offences, and not cast him entirely out. His feelings, he said, were so overpowered that he hardly knew how to address those about him, but he frankly admitted the justness of the sentence, and concluded by declaring that he had no hope of pardon except through the atoning blood of his Redeemer, and wished that his sad fate might teach others to shun the broad road to ruin, and travel in that of virtue, which would lead to honor and happiness in this world, and an immortal crown of glory in that to come.

He then shook hands with Gibbs, the officers, and clergymen – their caps were drawn over their faces, a handkerchief dropped by Gibbs as a signal to the executioner caused the cord to be severed, and in an instant they were suspended in air. Wansley folded his hands before him, soon died with very trifling struggles. Gibbs died hard; before he was run up, and did not again remove them, but after being near two minutes suspended, he raised his right hand and partially removed his cap, and in the course of another minute, raised the same hand to his mouth. His dress was a blue round-about jacket and trousers, with a foul anchor in white on his right arm. Wansley wore a white frock coat, trimmed with black, with trousers of the same color. After the bodies had remained on the gallows the usual time, they were taken down and given to the surgeons for dissection. Gibbs was rather below the middle stature, thick set and powerful. The form of Wansley was a perfect model of manly beauty.



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 July 1, Friday: [Pirates](#) Joseph Gadett and Thomas Colinett were [hanged](#) in the rear of [Boston](#)'s Leverett Street jail.

[Robert Schumann](#), writing in his diary, for the 1st time mentioned his other alter-ego and twin to Florestan, Eusebius.

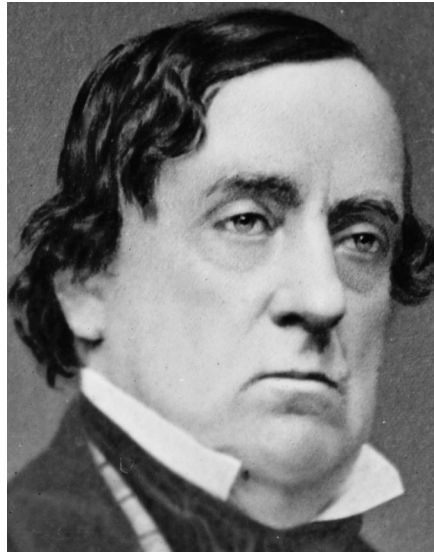
Jose Antonio de Oliveira Leite de Barros, conde de Basto replaced Nuno Caetano Alvares Pereira de Melo, duque de Cadaval as Prime Minister of Portugal.

Dr. Samuel Guthrie created [chloroform](#) in his private chemistry laboratory in Sackett's Harbor, [New York](#). Within a year, this chemical would be developed independently by the Frenchman Eugene Soubeiran and the German Justus von Leibig. Although none of them would consider using it as an anesthetic, the ether of chloroform would eventually be widely used in that manner — though today it has been replaced by less toxic substances.

The Geburtstagkantate Eilt herbei, des Hauses Glieder for chorus and piano by Otto Nicolai to words possibly by Gneinzus, was performed for the initial time for the birthday of Frau Landrathin Wilhelmine von Munchhausen.

 August 1, Monday: The entire capitalization of [New York](#)'s Mohawk and Hudson Rail-Road was paid.

[Lewis Cass](#) resigned as governor of the Michigan Territory in order to serve as Secretary of War under President [Andrew Jackson](#). He would be a central figure of the Jackson administration's Indian removal policy.



Approximate date of [Abraham Lincoln](#)'s arrival in New Salem, [Illinois](#), where he would work as a clerk in Denton Offut's village store, sleeping in the back.

[John Amy Bird Bell](#), 14 years of age, was [hanged](#) at half-past eleven o'clock for having offed Richard F. Taylor, 13 years of age, the son of a poor tallow-chandler, in a wood by the road, for the sake of nine shillings he was carrying (the equivalent of an unskilled laborer's weekly wage). At his sentencing, when the judge with the black cloth atop his judicial wig directed that his corpse was to be given over to the surgeons of Rochester for practice in dissection, this young culprit had exhibited some dismay.

On March 4th, the victim lad had been sent to Aylesford to collect his father's weekly parish allowance.

On May 11th, his body was found in a ditch and a white horn-handled knife led the authorities to a nearby poorhouse and the Bell family, a father with two sons. The younger of the two brothers, James Bell, required



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by the constable to search through the pockets of the clothes upon the decayed corpse, confessed that his older brother, John Bell, had waylaid the victim in the wood, and that meanwhile he had kept watch. He said he had received a shilling sixpence as his share of the nine shillings. The older brother then pointed out to the constable the pond at which he had washed the blood off his hands on his way home. He also pointed and said: "That's where I killed the poor boy," and added "He is better off than I am now: do not you think he is, sir?" (Thoreau would write, in "Civil Disobedience," "... If a man who has no property refuses but once to earn nine shillings for the State, he is put in prison for a period unlimited by any law that I know, and..." That would not have been a reference to this Newgate case since it is in a context of honest earning rather than in a context of dishonest theft, although it may have been a reference to the "[Tolpuddle Martyrs](#)" who had held out in 1834-1836 for a week's wage of ten shillings.)



September 9, Friday: Several of [Nat Turner](#)'s lieutenants –Sam Francis, Nelson Williams, Yellow Davy Walker, and Hark– were [hanged](#).




Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont arrived in [Boston](#) after traversing much of the western wilderness, and the Canadian Great Lakes region. In the bundle of mail waiting for them were letters describing the volatile political situation in France and news of the death of de Tocqueville's beloved Abbe Leseur. The pair learned that their 18-month assignment might be truncated. Nevertheless, they would remain in Boston for three weeks, initially residing at the Marlboro Hotel on Washington Street but later for greater luxury, moving over to the Tremont Hotel.





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 November 5, Saturday: [The Liberator](#).

[Guy Fawkes Day](#): mini effigies of Catholic bishops were burnt.



Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont visited Charles Carroll.



To attest to the authenticity of some 20 pages of text written by Thomas R. Gray on the basis of discussions with [Nat Turner](#) (America's Guy Fawkes) in the jail of the town of Jerusalem in Southampton County VA, these pages were read aloud in open court "at a Court of Oyer and Terminer Summoned and held for the County of Southampton on Saturday the 5th day of November 1831 for the trial of Nat, alias Nat Turner, a negro man slave late the property of Peterson Moore, charged with conspiring to rebel and make innsurrection—" before the prisoner was sentenced by a panel of six white [slaveholders](#) to be [hanged](#) by the neck until dead:



The prisoner Nat, alias Nat Turner, was set to the Bar in custody of the Jailer of the County— and William C Parker is by the Court assigned Counsel for the Prisoner in his defence— and Merewether Brodnax Attorney for the Commonwealth filed an Information against the prisoner, who upon his arraignment pleaded not guilty.— The Court after hearing the testimony and from all the circumstances of the case are unanimously of opinion that the prisoner is guilty in manner and form as in the Information against him is alledged, and it being demanded of him if anything for himself he had or knew to say why the Court to Judgement and execution against him of and upon the premises should not procede. he said he had nothing but what he had before said— Therefore it is considered by the Court that he be taken hence to the Jail from whence he was taken therein, to remain until Friday the 11th day of November instant, on which day between the hours of ten oClock in the forenoon and four oClock in the afternoon he is to be taken by the Sheriff to the usual place of execution and then and there be hanged by the neck until he be dead— And the Court valued the said slave Nat to the sum of three hundred and seventy five dollars—

Teste James Rochelle Cl

Along the way they had some nice things to say about the "confessions" written down by Thomas R. Gray,



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evidently to help this to sell well:



We the undersigned, members of the court convened at Jerusalem, on Saturday, the fifth day of Nov., 1831, for the trial of Nat, alias Nat Turner a negro slave, late the property of Putnam Moore, deceased, do hereby certify that the confessions of Nat, to Thomas R. Gray, was [sic] read to him in our presence, and that furthermore, when called upon by the presiding Magistrate of the Court, to state if he had anything to say, why sentence of death should not be passed upon him, replied he had nothing further than he had communicated to Mr. Gray. Given under our hands and seals at Jerusalem, this 5th day of November, 1831.

Jeremiah Cobb, [seal]
Thomas Pretlow, [seal]
James W. Parker, [seal]
Carr Bowers, [seal]
Samuel B. Hines, [seal]
Orris A. Browne, [seal]

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Whereupon Gray issued his text as a pamphlet under the title THE CONFESSIONS OF NAT TURNER (following pages).



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The Confessions of Nat Turner

Agreeable to his own appointment, on the evening he was committed to prison, with permission of the Jailer, I visited NAT on Tuesday the 1st November, when, without being questioned at all, he commenced his narrative in the following words:—

Sir,— You have asked me to give a history of the motives which induced me to undertake the late insurrection, as you call it — To do so I must go back to the days of my infancy, and even before I was born. I was thirty-one years of age the 2d of October last, and born the property of Benj. Turner, of this county. In my childhood a circumstance occurred which made an indelible impression on my mind, and laid the ground work of that enthusiasm, which has terminated so fatally to many both white and black, and for which I am about to atone at the gallows. It is here necessary to relate this circumstance — trifling as it may seem, it was the commencement of that belief which has grown with time, and even now, sir, in this dungeon, helpless and forsaken as I am, I cannot divest myself of. Being at play with other children, when three or four years old, I was telling them something, which my mother overhearing, said it had happened before I was born — I stuck to my story, however, and related some things which went in her opinion to confirm it — others being called on were greatly astonished, knowing that these things had happened, and caused them to say in my hearing, I surely would be a prophet, as the Lord had shewn me things that had happened before my birth. And my father and mother strengthened me in this my first impression, saying in my presence, I was intended for some great purpose, which they had always thought from certain marks on my head and breast [a prael {parcel?? -AEM} of excrescences which I believe are not at all uncommon, particularly among negroes, as I have seen several with the same. In this case he has either cut them off, or they have nearly disappeared] My grand mother, who was very religious, and to whom I was much attached — my master, who belonged to the church, and other religious persons who visited the house, and whom I often saw at prayers, noticing the singularity of my manners, I suppose, and my uncommon intelligence for a child, remarked I had too much sense to be raised — and if I was, I would never be of any service to any one — as a slave — To a mind like mine, restless, inquisitive and observant of every thing that was passing, it is easy to suppose that religion was the subject to which it would be directed, and although this subject principally occupied my thoughts, there was nothing that I saw or heard of to which my attention was not directed — The manner in which I learned to read and write, not only had great influence on my own mind, as I acquired it with the most perfect ease, so much so, that I have no recollection whatever of learning the alphabet — but to the astonishment of the family, one day, when a book was shewn me to keep me from crying, I began spelling the names of different objects — this was a source of wonder to all in the neighborhood, particularly the blacks — and this learning was constantly improved at all opportunities — when I got large enough to go to work, while employed, I was reflecting on many things that would present themselves to my imagination, and whenever an opportunity occurred of looking at a book, when the school children were getting their lessons, I would find many things that the fertility of my own imagination had depicted to me before; all my time, not devoted to my master's service, was spent either in prayer, or in making experiments in casting different things in moulds made of earth, in attempting to make paper, gunpowder, and many other experiments, that although I could not perfect, yet convinced me of its practicability if I had the means.¹

I was not addicted to stealing in my youth, nor have ever been — Yet such was the confidence of the negroes in the neighborhood, even at this early period of my life, in my superior judgment, that they would often carry me with them when they were going on any roguery, to plan for them. Growing up among them, with this confidence in my superior judgment, and when this, in their opinions, was perfected by Divine inspiration, from the circumstances already alluded to in my infancy, and which belief was ever afterwards zealously inculcated by the austerity of my life and manners, which became the subject of remark by white and black. — Having soon discovered to be great, I must appear so, and therefore studiously avoided mixing in society, and wrapped myself in mystery, devoting my time to fasting and prayer. By this time, having arrived to man's estate, and hearing the Scriptures commented on at meetings, I was struck with that particular passage which says: "*Seek ye the kingdom of Heaven and all things shall be added unto you.*" I reflected much on this passage, and prayed daily for light on this subject — As I was praying one day at my plough, the spirit spoke to me, saying "*Seek ye the kingdom of Heaven and all things shall be added unto you.*"

1. When questioned as to the manner of manufacturing those different articles, he was found well informed.



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The Commonwealth, vs. Nat Turner.

Charged with making insurrection, and plotting to take away the lives of divers free white persons, &c. on the 22d of August, 1831.

The court composed of —, having met for the trial of Nat Turner, the prisoner was brought in and arraigned, and upon his arraignment pleaded *Not guilty*; saying to his counsel, that he did not feel so.

On the part of the Commonwealth, Levi Waller was introduced, who being sworn, deposed as follows: (*agreeably to Nat's own Confession.*) Col. Trezvant¹ was then introduced, who being sworn, numerated Nat's Confession to him, as follows: (*His Confession as given to Mr. Gray.*) The prisoner introduced no evidence, and the case was submitted without argument to the court, who having found him guilty, Jeremiah Cobb, Esq. Chairman, pronounced the sentence of the court, in the following words: "*Nat Turner! Stand up.*

Have you any thing to say why sentence of death should not be pronounced against you?"

Answer. I have not. I have made a full confession to Mr. Gray, and I have nothing more to say.

"Attend then to the sentence of the Court. You have been arraigned and tried before this court, and convicted of one of the highest crimes in our criminal code. You have been convicted of plotting in cold blood, the indiscriminate destruction of men, of helpless women, and of infant children. The evidence before us leaves not a shadow of doubt, but that your hands were often imbrued in the blood of the innocent; and your own confession tells us that they were stained with the blood of a master; in your own language, "too indulgent." Could I stop here, your crime would be sufficiently aggravated. But the original contriver of a plan, deep and deadly, one that never can be effected, you managed so far to put it into execution, as to deprive us of many of our most valuable citizens; and this was done when they were asleep, and defenceless; under circumstances shocking to humanity. And while upon this part of the subject, I cannot but call your attention to the poor misguided wretches who have gone before you. They are not few in number — they were your bosom associates; and the blood of all cries aloud, and calls upon you, as the author of their misfortune. Yes! You forced them unprepared, from Time to Eternity. Borne down by this load of guilt, your only justification is, that you were led away by fanaticism. If this be true, from my soul I pity you; and while you have my sympathies, I am, nevertheless called upon to pass the sentence of the court. The time between this and your execution, will necessarily be very short; and your only hope must be in another world. The judgment of the court is, that you be taken hence to the jail from whence you came, thence to the place of execution, and on Friday next, between the hours of 10 A.M. and 2 P.M. be hung by the neck until you are dead! dead! dead! and may the Lord have mercy upon your soul."

A list of persons murdered in the Insurrection, on the 21st and 22d of August, 1831.

Joseph Travers and wife and three children,
Mrs. Elizabeth Turner,
Hartwell Prebles,
Sarah Newsome,
Mrs. P. Reese and son William,
Trajan Doyle,
Henry Bryant and wife and child, and wife's mother,
Mrs. Catherine Whitehead, son Richard and four daughters and grandchild,
Salathiel Francis,
Nathaniel Francis' overseer and two children,
John T. Barrow,
George Vaughan,
Mrs. Levi Waller and ten children,
William Williams, wife and two boys,
Mrs. Caswell Worrell and child,
Mrs. Rebecca Vaughan,
Ann Eliza Vaughan, and son Arthur,
Mrs. John K. Williams and child,
Mrs. Jacob Williams and three children,
and Edwin Drury
— amounting to fifty-five.

1. The committing Magistrate.



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Question — What do you mean by the Spirit.

Answer The Spirit that spoke to the prophets in former day — and I was greatly astonished, and for two years prayed continually, whenever my duty would permit — and then again I had the same revelation, which fully confirmed me in the impression that I was ordained for some great purpose in the hands of the Almighty. Several years rolled round, in which many events occurred to strengthen me in this my belief. At this time I reverted in my mind to the remarks made of me in my childhood, and the things that had been shewn me — and as it had been said of me in my childhood by those by whom I had been taught to pray, both white and black, and in whom I had the greatest confidence, that I had too much sense to be raised, and if I was I would never be of any use to any one as a slave. Now finding I had arrived to man's estate, and was a slave, and these revelations being made known to me, I began to direct my attention to this great object, to fulfil the purpose for which, by this time, I felt assured I was intended— Knowing the influence I had obtained over the minds of my fellow servants, (not by the means of conjuring and such like tricks — for to them I always spoke of such things with contempt) but by the communion of the Spirit whose revelations I often communicated to them, and they believed and said my wisdom came from God. I now began to prepare them for my purpose, by telling them something was about to happen that would terminate in fulfilling the great promise that had been made to me — About this time I was placed under an overseer, from whom I ran away — and after remaining in the woods thirty days, I returned, to the astonishment of the negroes on the plantation, who thought I had made my escape to some other part of the country, as my father had done before. But the reason of my return was, that the Spirit appeared to me and said I had my wishes directed to the things of this world, and not to the kingdom of Heaven, and that I should return to the service of my earthly master — *“For he who knoweth his Master's will, and doeth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes, and thus have I chastened you.”* And the negroes found fault, and murmured against me, saying that if they had my sense they would not serve any master in the world. And about this time I had a vision — and I saw white spirits and black spirits engaged in battle, and the sun was darkened — the thunder rolled in the Heavens, and blood flowed in streams — and I heard a voice saying, *“Such is your luck, such you are called to see, and let it come rough or smooth, you must surely bear it.”* I now withdrew myself as much as my situation would permit, from the intercourse of my fellow servants, for the avowed purpose of serving the Spirit more fully — and it appeared to me, and reminded me of the things it had already shown me, and that it would then reveal to me the knowledge of the elements, the revolution of the planets, the operation of tides, and changes of the seasons. After this revelation in the year 1825, and the knowledge of the elements being made known to me, I sought more than ever to obtain true holiness before the great day of judgment should appear, and then I began to receive the true knowledge of faith. And from the first steps of righteousness until the last, was I made perfect; and the Holy Ghost was with me, and said *“Behold me as I stand in the Heavens”* — and I looked and saw the forms of men in different attitude — and there were lights in the sky to which the children of darkness gave other names than what they really were — for they were the lights of the Saviour's hands, stretched forth from east to west, even as they were extended on the cross on Calvary for the redemption of sinners. And I wondered greatly at these miracles, and prayed to be informed of a certainty of the meaning thereof — and shortly afterwards, while labouring in the field, I discovered drops of blood on the corn, as though it were dew from heaven — and I communicated it to many, both white and black, in the neighbourhood — and I then found on the leaves in the woods hieroglyphic characters and numbers, with the forms of men in different attitudes, portrayed in blood, and representing the figures I had seen before in the heavens. — And now the Holy Ghost had revealed itself to me, and made plain the miracles it had shown me — For as the blood of Christ had been shed on this earth, and had ascended to heaven for the salvation of sinners, and was now returning to earth again in the form of dew — and as the leaves on the trees bore the impression of the figures I had seen in the heavens, it was plain to me that the Saviour was about to lay down the yoke he had borne for the sins of men, and the great day of judgement was at hand. — About this time, I told these things to a white man, (Etheldred T. Brantley) on whom it had a wonderful effect — and he ceased from his wickedness, and was attacked immediately with a cutaneous eruption, and blood oozed from the pores of his skin, and after praying and fasting nine days, he was healed, and the Spirit appeared to me again, and said, as the Saviour had been baptised, so should we be also — and when the white people would not let us be baptised by the church, we went down into the water together, in the sight of many who reviled us, and were baptised by the Spirit.



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After this I rejoiced greatly, and gave thanks to God. And on the 12th of May, 1828, I heard a loud noise in the heavens, and the Spirit instantly appeared to me and said the Serpent was loosened, and Christ had laid down the yoke he had borne for the sins of men, and that I should take it on and fight against the Serpent, for the time was fast approaching, when the first should be last and the last should be first.

Question. Do you not find yourself mistaken now?

Answer. Was not Christ crucified? And by signs in the heavens that it would make known to me when I should commence the great work — and until the first sign appeared, I should conceal it from the knowledge of men — And on the appearance of the sign, (the eclipse of the sun last February) I should arise and prepare myself, and slay my enemies with their own weapons. And immediately on the sign appearing in the heavens, the seal was removed from my lips, and I communicated the great work laid out for me to do, to four in whom I had the greatest confidence, (Henry, Hark, Nelson and Sam) — It was intended by us to have begun the work of death on the 4th of July last — Many were the plans formed and rejected by us, and it affected my mind to such a degree, that I fell sick, and the time passed without our coming to any determination how to commence — Still forming new schemes and rejecting them, when the sign appeared again, which determined me not to wait longer.

Since the commencement of 1830, I had been living with Mr. Joseph Travis, who was to me a kind master, and placed the greatest confidence in me; in fact, I had no cause to complain of his treatment to me. On Saturday evening, the 20th of August, it was agreed between Henry, Hark and myself, to prepare a dinner the next day for the men we expected, and then to concert a plan, as we had not yet determined on any. Hark on the following morning brought a pig, and Henry brandy, and being joined by Sam, Nelson, Will and Jack, they prepared in the woods a dinner, where, about three o'clock, I joined them.

Question. Why were you so backward in joining them?

Answer. The same reason that had caused me not to mix with them for years before.

I saluted them on coming up, and asked Will how came he there; he answered, his life was worth no more than others, and his liberty as dear to him. I asked him if he thought to obtain it? He said he would, or lose his life. This was enough to put him in full confidence. Jack, I knew, was only a tool in the hands of Hark, it was quickly agreed we should commence at home (Mr. J. Travis') on that night, and until we had armed and equipped ourselves, and gathered sufficient force, neither age nor sex was to be spared, (which was invariably adhered to.) We remained at the feast until about two hours in the night, when we went to the house and found Austin; they all went to the cider press and drank, except myself. On returning to the house, Hark went to the door with an axe, for the purpose of breaking it open, as we knew we were strong enough to murder the family, if they were awaked by the noise; but reflecting that it might create an alarm in the neighborhood, we determined to enter the house secretly, and murder them whilst sleeping.

Hark got a ladder and set it against the chimney, on which I ascended, and hoisting a window, entered and came down stairs, unbarred the door, and removed the guns from their places. It was then observed that I must spill the first blood. On which armed with a hatchet, and accompanied by Will, I entered my master's chamber; it being dark, I could not give a death blow, the hatchet glanced from his head, he sprang from the bed and called his wife, it was his last word. Will laid him dead, with a blow of his axe, and Mrs. Travis shared the same fate, as she lay in bed. The murder of this family five in number, was the work of a moment, not one of them awoke; there was a little infant sleeping in a cradle, that was forgotten, until we had left the house and gone some distance, when Henry and Will returned and killed it; we got here, four guns that would shoot, and several old muskets, with a pound or two of powder.

We remained some time at the barn, where we paraded; I formed them in a line as soldiers, and after carrying them through all the manoeuvres I was master of, marched them off to Mr. Salathiel Francis', about six hundred yards distant. Sam and Will went to the door and knocked. Mr. Francis asked who was there, Sam replied it was him, and he had a letter for him, on which he got up and came to the door; they immediately seized him, and dragging him out a little from the door, he was dispatched by repeated blows on the head; there was no other white person in the family.





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We started from there for Mrs. Reese's, maintaining the most perfect silence on our march, where finding the door unlocked, we entered, and murdered Mrs. Reese in her bed, while sleeping; her son awoke, but it was only to sleep the sleep of death, he had only time to say who is that, and he was no more. From Mrs. Reese's we went to Mrs. Turner's, a mile distant, which we reached about sunrise, on Monday morning. Henry, Austin, and Sam, went to the still, where, finding Mr. Peebles, Austin shot him, and the rest of us went to the house; as we approached, the family discovered us, and shut the door. Vain hope! Will, with one stroke of his axe, opened it, and we entered and found Mrs. Turner and Mrs. Newsome in the middle of a room almost frightened to death. Will immediately killed Mrs. Turner, with one blow of his axe. I took Mrs. Newsome by the hand, and with the sword I had when I was apprehended, I struck her several blows over the head, but not being able to kill her, as the sword was dull. Will turning around and discovering it, dispatched her also. A general destruction of property and search for money and ammunition, always succeeded the murders.

By this time my company amounted to fifteen, and nine men mounted, who started for Mrs. Whitehead's, (the other six were to go through a by way to Mr. Bryant's, and rejoin us at Mrs. White head's,) as we approached the house we discovered Mr. Richard Whitehead standing in the cotton patch, near the lane fence; we called him over into the lane, and Will, the executioner, was near at hand, with his fatal axe, to send him to an untimely grave. As we pushed on to the house, I discovered some one run round the garden, and thinking it was some of the white family, I pursued them, but finding it was a servant girl belonging to the house, I returned to commence the work of death, but they whom I left, had not been idle; all the family were already murdered, but Mrs. Whitehead and her daughter Margaret. As I came round to the door I saw Will pulling Mrs. Whitehead out of the house, and at the step he nearly severed her head from her body, with his broad axe. Miss Margaret, when I discovered her, had concealed herself in the corner, formed by the projection of the cellar cap from the house; on my approach she fled, but was soon overtaken, and after repeated blows with a sword, I killed her by a blow on the head, with a fence rail. By this time, the six who had gone by Mr. Bryant's, rejoined us, and informed me they had done the work of death assigned them.

We again divided, part going to Mr. Richard Porter's, and from thence to Nathaniel Francis', the others to Mr. Howell Harris', and Mr. T. Doyle's. On my reaching Mr. Porter's, he had escaped with his family. I understood there, that the alarm had already spread, and I immediately returned to bring up those sent to Mr. Doyle's, and Mr. Howell Harris'; the party I left going on to Mr. Francis', having told them I would join them in that neighborhood. I met these sent to Mr. Doyle's and Mr. Harris' returning, having met Mr. Doyle on the road and killed him; and learning from some who joined them, that Mr. Harris was from home, I immediately pursued the course taken by the party gone on before; but knowing they would complete the work of death and pillage, at Mr. Francis' before I could get there, I went to Mr. Peter Edwards', expecting to find them there, but they had been here also. I then went to Mr. John T. Barrow's, they had been here and murdered him. I pursued on their track to Capt. Newit Harris', where I found the greater part mounted, and ready to start; the men now amounting to about forty, shouted and hurraed as I rode up, some were in the yard, loading their guns, others drinking. They said Captain Harris and his family had escaped, the property in the house they destroyed, robbing him of money and other valuables. I ordered them to mount and march instantly, this was about nine or ten o'clock, Monday morning.

I proceeded to Mr. Levi Waller's, two or three miles distant. I took my station in the rear, and as it was my object to carry terror and devastation wherever we went, I placed fifteen or twenty of the best armed and most to be relied on, in front, who generally approached the houses as fast as their horses could run; this was for two purposes, to prevent their escape and strike terror to the inhabitants — on this account I never got to the houses, after leaving Mrs. Whitehead's until the murders were committed, except in one case. I sometimes got in sight in time to see the work of death completed, viewed the mangled bodies as they lay, in silent satisfaction, and immediately started in quest of other victims — Having murdered Mrs. Waller and ten children, we started for Mr. William Williams' — having killed him and two little boys that were there; while engaged in this, Mrs. Williams fled and got some distance from the house, but she was pursued, overtaken, and compelled to get up behind one of the company, who brought her back, and after showing her the mangled body of her lifeless husband, she was told to get down and lay by his side, where she was shot dead.



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I then started for Mr. Jacob Williams', where the family were murdered — Here we found a young man named Drury, who had come on business with Mr. Williams — he was pursued, overtaken and shot. Mrs. Vaughan's was the next place we visited — and after murdering the family here, I determined on starting for Jerusalem — Our number amounted now to fifty or sixty, all mounted and armed with guns, axes, swords and clubs— On reaching Mr. James W. Parker's gate, immediately on the road leading to Jerusalem, and about three miles distant, it was proposed to me to call there, but I objected, as I knew he was gone to Jerusalem, and my object was to reach there as soon as possible; but some of the men having relations at Mr. Parker's it was agreed that they might call and get his people. I remained at the gate on the road, with seven or eight; the others going across the field to the house, about half a mile off. After waiting some time for them, I became impatient, and started to the house for them, and on our return we were met by a party of white men, who had pursued our blood-stained track, and who had fired on those at the gate, and dispersed them, which I knew nothing of, not having been at that time rejoined by any of them — Immediately on discovering the whites, I ordered my men to halt and form, as they appeared to be alarmed — The white men eighteen in number, approached us in about one hundred yards, when one of them fired, (this was against the positive orders of Captain Alexander P. Peete, who commanded, and who had directed the men to reserve their fire until within thirty paces.) And I discovered about half of them retreating, I then ordered my men to fire and rush on them; the few remaining stood their ground until we approached within fifty yards, when they fired and retreated. We pursued and overtook some of them who we thought we left dead; (they were not killed) after pursuing them about two hundred yards, and rising a little hill, I discovered they were met by another party, and had halted, and were re-loading their guns, (this was a small party from Jerusalem who knew the negroes were in the field, and had just tied their horses to await their return to the road, knowing that Mr. Parker and family were in Jerusalem, but knew nothing of the party that had gone in with Captain Peete; on hearing the firing they immediately rushed to the spot and arrived just in time to arrest the progress of these barbarous villains, and save the lives of their friends and fellow citizens.) Thinking that those who retreated first, and the party who fired on us at fifty or sixty yards distant, had all only fallen back to meet others with ammunition. As I saw them re-loading their guns, and more coming up than I saw at first, and several of my bravest men being wounded, the others became panic struck and squandered over the field; the white men pursued and fired on us several times. Hark had his horse shot under him, and I caught another for him as it was running by me; five or six of my men were wounded, but none left on the field; finding myself defeated here I instantly determined to go through a private way, and cross the Nottoway river at the Cypress Bridge, three miles below Jerusalem, and attack that place in the rear, as I expected they would look for me on the other road, and I had a great desire to get there to procure arms and ammunition. After going a short distance in this private way, accompanied by about twenty men, I overtook two or three who told me the others were dispersed in every direction. After trying in vain to collect a sufficient force to proceed to Jerusalem, I determined to return, as I was sure they would make back to their old neighborhood, where they would rejoin me, make new recruits, and come down again.

On my way back, I called at Mrs. Thomas's, Mrs. Spencer's, and several other places, the white families having fled, we found no more victims to gratify our thirst for blood, we stopped at Majr. Ridley's quarter for the night, and being joined by four of his men, with the recruits made since my defeat, we mustered now about forty strong. After placing out sentinels, I laid down to sleep, but was quickly roused by a great racket; starting up, I found some mounted, and others in great confusion; one of the sentinels having given the alarm that we were about to be attacked, I ordered some to ride round and reconnoiter, and on their return the others being more alarmed, not knowing who they were, fled in different ways, so that I was reduced to about twenty again; with this I determined to attempt to recruit, and proceed on to rally in the neighborhood, I had left. Dr. Blunt's was the nearest house, which we reached just before day; on riding up the yard, Hark fired a gun. We expected Dr. Blunt and his family were at Maj. Ridley's, as I knew there was a company of men there; the gun was fired to ascertain if any of the family were at home; we were immediately fired upon and retreated leaving several of my men. I do not know what became of them, as I never saw them afterwards.



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Pursuing our course back, and coming in sight of Captain Harris's, where we had been the day before, we discovered a party of white men at the house, on which all deserted me but two, (Jacob and Nat,) we concealed ourselves in the woods until near night, when I sent them in search of Henry, Sam, Nelson and Hark, and directed them to rally all they could, at the place we had had our dinner the Sunday before, where they would find me, and I accordingly returned there as soon as it was dark, and remained until Wednesday evening, when discovering white men riding around the place as though they were looking for some one, and none of my men joining me, I concluded Jacob and Nat had been taken, and compelled to betray me.

On this I gave up all hope for the present; and on Thursday night, after having supplied myself with provisions from Mr. Travis's, I scratched a hole under a pile of fence rails in a field, where I concealed myself for six weeks, never leaving my hiding place but for a few minutes in the dead of night to get water, which was very near; thinking by this time I could venture out, I began to go about in the night and eaves drop the houses in the neighborhood; pursuing this course for about a fortnight and gathering little or no intelligence, afraid of speaking to any human being, and returning every morning to my cave before the dawn of day. I know not how long I might have led this life, if accident had not betrayed me, a dog in the neighborhood passing by my hiding place one night while I was out, was attracted by some meat I had in my cave, and crawled in and stole it, and was coming out just as I returned. A few nights after, two negroes having started to go hunting with the same dog, and passed that way, the dog came again to the place, and having just gone out to walk about, discovered me and barked, on which thinking myself discovered, I spoke to them to beg concealment. On making myself known, they fled from me. Knowing then they would betray me, I immediately left my hiding place, and was pursued almost incessantly until I was taken a fortnight afterwards by Mr. Benjamin Phipps, in a little hole I had dug out with my sword, for the purpose of concealment, under the top of a fallen tree. On Mr. Phipps discovering the place of my concealment, he cocked his gun and aimed at me. I requested him not to shoot, and I would give up, upon which he demanded my sword. I delivered it to him, and he brought me to prison. During the time I was pursued, I had many hair breadth escapes, which your time will not permit you to relate. I am here loaded with chains, and willing to suffer the fate that awaits me.

I here proceeded to make some inquiries of him, after assuring him of the certain death that awaited him, and that concealment would only bring destruction on the innocent as well as guilty, of his own color, if he knew of any extensive or concerted plan. His answer was, I do not. When I questioned him as to the insurrection in North Carolina happening about the same time, he denied any knowledge of it; and when I looked him in the face as though I would search his inmost thoughts, he replied, *"I see sir; you doubt my word; but can you not think the same ideas, and strange appearances about this time in the heavens might prompt others, as well as myself, to this undertaking."* I now had much conversation with and asked him many questions, having forborne to do so previously, except in the cases noted in parentheses; but during his statement, I had, unnoticed by him, taken notes as to some particular circumstances, and having the advantage of his statement before me in writing, on the evening of the third day that I had been with him, I began a cross examination, and found his statement corroborated by every circumstance coming within my own knowledge, or the confessions of others whom had been either killed or executed, and whom he had not seen or had any knowledge since 22d of August last, he expressed himself fully satisfied as to the impracticability of his attempt. It has been said he was ignorant and cowardly, and that his object was to murder and rob for the purpose of obtaining money to make his escape. It is notorious, that he was never known to have a dollar in his life; to swear an oath, or drink a drop of spirits. As to his ignorance, he certainly never had the advantages of education, but he can read and write (it was taught him by his parents), and for natural intelligence and quickness of apprehension, is surpassed by few men I have ever seen. — As to his being a coward, his reason as given for not resisting Mr. Phipps, shews the decision of his character. When he saw Mr. Phipps present his gun, he said he knew it was impossible for him to escape, as the woods were full of men; he therefore thought it was better to surrender, and trust to fortune for his escape. He is a complete fanatic, or plays his part most admirably. On other subjects he possesses an uncommon share of intelligence, with a mind capable of attaining any thing; but warped and perverted by the influence of early impressions. He is below the ordinary stature, though strong and active, having the true negro face, every feature of which is strongly marked.



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I shall not attempt to describe the effect of his narrative, as told and commented on by himself, in the condemned hole of the prison. The calm, deliberate composure with which he spoke of his late deeds and intentions, the expression of his fiend-like face when excited by enthusiasm, still bearing the stains of the blood of helpless innocence about him; clothed with rags and covered with chains; yet daring to raise his manacled hands to heaven, with a spirit soaring above the attributes of man; I looked on him and my blood curdled in my veins.

I will not shock the feelings of humanity, nor wound afresh the bosoms of the disconsolate sufferers in this unparalleled and inhuman massacre, by detailing the deeds of their fiend-like barbarity. There were two or three who were in the power of these wretches, had they known it, and who escaped in the most providential manner. There were two whom they thought they had left dead on the field at Mr. Parker's, but who were only stunned by the blows of their guns, as they did not take time to reload when they charged on them. The escape of a little girl who went to school at Mr. Waller's, and where the children were collecting for that purpose, excited general sympathy. As their teacher had not arrived, they were at play in the yard, and seeing the negroes approach, she ran up on a dirt chimney (such as are common to log houses), and remained there unnoticed during the massacre of the eleven that were killed at this place. She remained on her hiding place till just before the arrival of a party, who were in pursuit of the murderers, when she came down and fled to a swamp, where, a mere child as she was, with the horrors of the late scene before her, she lay concealed until the next day, when seeing a party go up to the house, she came up, and on being asked how she escaped, replied with the utmost simplicity, "*The Lord helped her.*" She was taken up behind a gentleman of the party, and returned to the arms of her weeping mother.

Miss Whitehead concealed herself between the bed and the mat that supported it, while they murdered her sister in the same room, without discovering her. She was afterwards carried off, and concealed for protection by a slave of the family, who gave evidence against several of them on their trial. Mrs. Nathaniel Francis, while concealed in a closet heard their blows, and the shrieks of the victims of these ruthless savages; they then entered the closet where she was concealed, and went out without discovering her. While in this hiding place, she heard two of her women in a quarrel about the division of her clothes. Mr. John T. Baron, discovering them approaching his house, told his wife to make her escape, and scorning to fly, fell fighting on his own threshold. After firing his rifle, he discharged his gun at them, and then broke it over the villain who first approached him, but he was overpowered and slain. His bravery, however, saved from the hands of these monsters, his lovely and amiable wife, who will long lament a husband as deserving of her love. As directed by him, she attempted to escape through the garden, when she was caught and held by one of her servant girls, but another coming to her rescue, she fled to the woods, and concealed herself. Few indeed, were those who escaped their work of death. But fortunate for society, the hand of retributive justice has overtaken them; and not one that was known to be concerned has escaped.



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November 11, Friday: In the state of Virginia America's [Guy Fawkes](#), [Nathaniel Turner](#), who had just had his 31st birthday, and three other leaders of the recent slave revolt, were [hanged](#) by the neck until they were dead. May God have mercy on their souls.³⁸⁰

Also hanged, over a period of several months, had been or would be:

- Daniel the property of one Richard Porter,
- Stephen and Curtis the property of one Thomas Ridley,
- Hark the property of the estate of Joseph Travis,
- Nelson the property of one Jacob Williams,
- Davy the property of one Levi Waller,
- Dred and Sam the property of one Nathaniel Francis,
- Davy the property of one Elizabeth Turner,
- Joe the property of one John C. Turner,
- Nat the property of the estate of Edwin Turner,
- Sam the property of one Peter Edwards,
- Jack the property of the estate of William Reese,
- Lucy the property of the estate of John T. Barrow,
- Moses the property of the estate of Thomas Barrow, and
- Ben and Nathan the property of the estate of Benjamin Blunt,

(and may God have mercy on their souls.)

“Transported”³⁸¹ were:

- Frank, the property of one Solomon Parker,
- Isaac, the property of one George H. Charleton of Greenville,
- Moses, the property of the estate of Joseph Travis,
- Jim and Isaac, the property of one Samuel Champion,
- Jack and Andrew, the property of one Caty Whitehead,
- Hardy and Isham, the property of one Benjamin Edwards, and
- Nathan, Tom, and Davy, the property of one Nathaniel Francis.

In about this time period, an English visitor named Robinson incautiously mentioned, in the course of a private conversation in Petersburg, Virginia, that his personal attitude was that black human beings, like other human beings, were entitled to freedom. He was taken outside town and stripped, and “scourged almost to death.” (But that wouldn’t be the end of the matter, wouldn’t be the end of it at all.)

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois has attributed the notorious Southern penchant for violence to **hegemony**:



The white people of the South are essentially a fine kindly breed.... Perhaps their early and fatal mistake was that they refused long before the [Civil War](#) to allow the South differences of opinion.... Men act as they do in the South, they murder, they [lynch](#), they insult, because they listen to but one side of a question.

380. Refer to Thomas R. Gray’s, and/or William Styron’s, THE CONFESSIONS OF NAT TURNER.

381. That is, chained together into a “coffle” and sold down the river, which we may presume to mean what they knew it meant, death by hard labor under the lash.



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November 14, Monday: Francis G. Pratt was born to Mercy Snow Pratt and the [Reverend Enoch Pratt](#) (Francis would die during 1833).

[Eliphalet Porter Capen](#) was born in South Boston.

James Kirk Paulding's play THE LION OF THE WEST was staged at the Park Theater in New-York, in a version thoroughly revised by [Concord](#)'s playwright [John Augustus Stone](#).

[Ignace Joseph Pleyel](#) died in Paris at the age of 74.

[Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel](#) died in Berlin at the age of 61, of the [cholera](#). Contrary to what might have been anticipated history did not come to an end (except, we notice, for him).



The Norfolk [Herald](#) in reporting the [hanging](#) of [Nat Turner](#) added that "General Nat" (the white master Nathaniel Turner) had sold Nat Turner's body for dissection "and spent the money on ginger cakes." That surgeons dissected the corpse seems clear, for this would have been according to usual practice. It is alleged, however, that prior to dissection, they had skinned it, and that after dissection, the flesh was rendered for its grease. Turner's "curious skull" was said by the white people to have "resembled the head of a sheep" and to have been "at least three quarters of an inch thick." The skeleton, presumably inclusive of the skull, was said to have become the property of a Doctor Massenberg.



THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS

HISTORY'S NOT MADE OF WOULD. WHEN THE HISTORIAN REVEALS, FOR INSTANCE, THAT EVENTUALLY A SOUTHAMPTON SOUVENIR COLLECTOR WOULD BE CLAIMING TO POSSESS A COIN PURSE MADE FROM THE SKIN OF TURNER'S SCROTUM, S/HE DISCLOSES THAT WHAT IS BEING CRAFTED IS NOT REALITY BUT PREDESTINARIANISM. THE RULE OF REALITY IS THAT THE FUTURE HASN'T EVER HAPPENED, YET, AND AT THIS POINT THE SCROTUM IN QUESTION IS SIMPLY A SCROTUM,



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A PIECE OF RAW SKIN, NOTHING MORE.



December 4, Sunday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 4th of 12 M 1831 / Our morning meeting was silent & to me almost no meeting at all - I could not get my mind so centered as to be able to experience any life. -
In the Afternoon Wm Almy attended & It did seem as if the life thro' him reached me. - It was an uncommonly favoured season, he was large & impressive in Testimony & powerful & prevalent in supplication & in a manner I have seldom heard him before -
Yesterday Samuel Gummere our teacher for the new department of this School arrived. - Dr. Tobey brought him up on a visit to the School but carried him back to town where he spends this Day.-*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



December 5, Monday: At the seating of the 22d Congress, the Democrats remained in control with 25 seats in the Senate, versus 21 National Republicans, and with 141 seats in the House of Representatives, versus 58 National Republicans.

In London, two men Bishop and Williams were [hanged](#) who had been convicted of having imitated the crime of William Burke of Edinburgh, by "burking" an Italian boy. They admitted having also murdered several other persons in this manner.

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 5 of 12 M / Today Saml Gummere came up & has entered as one of our family. - but the School will not be opened for some time as the room is not quite finished by the Carpenters & the Scholars are not yet engaged -


RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



STATE MURDER

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1832

 In England, the government decided to forbid [hanging](#), as a punishment for the theft of livestock.

FAMOUS LASTS		
1826	name not on record	prisoner hanged for a single homicide in Boston
1832	a new law	hanging discontinued in England as a punishment for theft of livestock
1832	a new law	no more dissections of the hanged , in England in public
December 1, 1842	US Navy Midshipman, Philip Spencer	son of Secretary of War John C. Spencer, who had schemed with others to turn his ship to piracy, hanged for mutiny

It had been the practice in [London](#), since 1752, the bodies of the hanged becoming the property of the Royal College of Surgeons, to conduct the dissections of the hanged in public. This year marked the last such dissection to be conducted in public.³⁸²

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1832

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
09/01	Eliza Ross	38	Newgate	Murder
26/03	Mary Kellaway		Exeter	Murder of child
26/03	Sarah Smith	28	Leicester	Murder
08/06	Margaret Gunning		Clonmel	Murder

382. The last such public dissection, that is, until the dissection of Peter Meiss by Dr. Gunther von Hagens during November 2002.



STATE MURDER

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1833



August 12, Monday: [Captain Henry Nicholas Nicholls](#), a fine-looking man 50 years of age who had served his country in the Peninsular war, who had been convicted at Croyden “on the clearest evidence ... of the capital offense of Sodomy,” the offense referred to commonly as “buggery” and often recorded in court documents as “b-gg-y,” had been “perfectly calm and unmoved throughout his trial, and even when the sentence of death was passed upon him.” In the interim not a single member of his respectable family had visited him in prison, and he was [hanged](#) on this morning at Horse Monger Lane Prison in [London](#). The [Courier](#) would report:

Captain Henry Nicholas Nicholls, who was one of the unnatural gang to which the late Captain Beauclerk belonged, (and which latter gentleman put an end to his existence), was convicted on the clearest evidence at Croydon, on Saturday last, of the capital offence of Sodomy; the prisoner was perfectly calm and unmoved throughout the trial, and even when sentence of death was passed upon him. In performing the duty of passing sentence of death upon the prisoner, Mr. Justice Park told him that it would be inconsistent with that duty if he held out the slightest hope that the law would not be allowed to take its severest course. At 9 o'clock in the morning the sentence was carried into effect. The culprit, who was fifty years of age, was a fine looking man, and had served in the Peninsular war. He was connected with a highly respectable family; but, since his apprehension not a single member of it visited him.

One is reminded that while [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) had been enjoying the lads of the Ottoman lands, a friend back home had commented “that what you get for £5 we must risque our necks for; and are content to risque them.” Later on in this year an anonymous poem DON LEON would appear, written by some person familiar with details of Lord Byron’s involvement with homosexuality. The poem is now conjectured to have been authored by William Bankes, an antiquarian and collector who had likewise been taken under arrest in this year after having been discovered in a sexual relation with a guardsman:

Though law cries “hold!” yet passion onward draws;
But nature gave us passions, man gave laws,
Whence spring these inclinations, rank and strong?
And harming no one, wherefore call them wrong?

This DON LEON would be the 1st homosexual liberationist text to appear in the English language, and no copies of it have been preserved in its 1st edition.



STATE MURDER

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 August 31, Saturday: [The Liberator](#).

The vessel *Amphitrite*, transporting 103 female convicts and 12 children, was wrecked off Boulogne, France and all perished except for 3 of its 16 crewmen.

[Charlotte Young \(Long\)](#) was [hanged](#) at Gloucester for arson, the final English woman to be executed for a crime other than murder (arson was considered a very serious matter because it involved not only destruction of property but also an inherent risk to life, and even today carries the possibility of what we are terming a “life sentence”).


FINAL EXECUTIONS		
December 31, 1829	Thomas Maynard	hanging at Newgate in England for forgery
August 31, 1833	Charlotte Young (Long)	hanged at Gloucester for arson, the final English woman executed for anything other than murder
November 27, 1835	James (or John) Pratt and John Smith	final hangings in England for a sexual crime termed “ sodomy ”

OTHER WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING THE YEAR

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
30/03	Mary Hunter	47	York Castle	Arson
19/08	Elizabeth Heaffy		Cork	Murder

 December 2, Monday: The [pirate](#) Henry Joseph was [hanged](#) in [Boston](#)’s Leverett Street jailyard.

[César Franck](#) began harmony lessons with Joseph Daussoigne at the Royal Conservatory of Liege.

 December 27, Friday: Charles Brown, a man of color, was [hanged](#) at [Providence, Rhode Island](#).




STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1834

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1834

Date	Name	Place of execution	Crime
17/02	Maria Canning	Dublin	Murder
19/03	Mary Holden	Lancaster Castle	Murder of child
19/03	Mary Smith	Stafford	Murder

 At [Harvard College](#), [Professor Cornelius Conway Felton](#) became Eliot Professor of Greek Literature and had [David Henry Thoreau](#) as one of his pupils. Professor Felton was positioning an essay in the [North American Review](#) in defense the teaching and study of classical mythology, especially Greek mythology, which evidently was considered in need of a defense as it seemed to be encouraging lewdness. For Professor Felton, expurgation of the classic texts to delete titillating stuff did not represent a problem of suppression and censorship, but rather represented the correction of a problem of debasement and inauthenticity, because it was inconceivable that there could have been any actual “food for the passions” in originary authentic works of classicism, or, at least, in works of Greek classicism.

To the scholar we would say, then, expurgate your Horaces and your Ovids, till not an obscene thought shall stain their pages; and you may be sure that nothing will be lost in your enquiries respecting the classic religion.

No, for if you credit Professor Felton’s reconstruction of European history, these dead white men could never have been guilty of worshipping at “altars of indecency and wantonness.”

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STATE MURDER

WALDEN: There are nowadays professors of philosophy, but not philosophers. Yet it is admirable to profess because it was once admirable to live. To be a philosopher is not merely to have subtle thoughts, nor even to found a school, but so to love wisdom as to live according to its dictates, a life of simplicity, independence, magnanimity, and trust. It is to solve some of the problems of life, not only theoretically, but practically. The success of great scholars and thinkers is commonly a courtier-like success, not kingly, not manly. They make shift to live merely by conformity, practically as their fathers did, and are in no sense the progenitors of a nobler race of men. But why do men degenerate ever? What makes families run out? What is the nature of the luxury which enervates and destroys nations? Are we sure that there is none of it in our own lives? The philosopher is in advance of his age even in the outward form of his life. He is not fed, sheltered clothed, warmed, like his contemporaries. How can a man be a philosopher and not maintain his vital heat by better methods than other men?

PEOPLE OF
WALDEN

CORNELIUS CONWAY FELTON



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

Hanging being a piece of public theater, however, it was sometimes required of a condemned man in this modern decent society that he attire himself in his shroud (a long white linen or cotton garment with open back and long sleeves) prior to the placement of the hood and the noose. Local taverns would sometimes hire “watchers” to keep around-the-clock guard upon a condemned man, not to prevent his escape of course but to ensure that he would not cheat them of their profits from the [alcohol](#)-imbibing throng of men come to witness a [hanging](#). No way would such an important participant in an expected ceremony be allowed to off himself in private in advance. When a condemned man was reprieved at the last moment, as indeed sometimes happened, this might incite the disappointed throng to riot, for although we have few records for such items as the shroud and the death watch, we know that this sort of riot is actually what did result from a reprieve in Pembroke MA in this year.³⁸³

The lenience of Harvard President Reverend John T. Kirkland had been succeeded by the strictness of President Josiah Quincy, Sr., the former mayor who was attempting to deal with student rebellion as he had once dealt with mobs attempting to tear down Boston’s whorehouses: by repression. Students at Harvard were rioting over living conditions and the entire Sophomore class was being not merely expelled but hauled before a court.



383. In this year Pennsylvania became the first state to move executions away from the public eye and carry them out only within prison enclosures.

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

Records of faculty meetings from this period show that in the shifting minority of professors who opposed and attempted to moderate Quincy's crackdowns, Professor [Charles Follen](#) was alone in constancy of opposition.³⁸⁴ Freshman [David Henry Thoreau](#) evidently made himself scarce during the tearing of shutters off windows and the building of bonfires in front of doorways and his only contribution to the rebellion was a comment he appears to have made in Dr. Beck's examination room –apparently sarcastically– “Our offense was **rank**.”³⁸⁵



(shutters awaiting the arrival of students)

One midnight during the great Harvard Rebellion Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar lay on his back in the belfry of Harvard Hall and sawed off the tongue of the bell that summoned the students to morning chapel. Fortunately he was not caught destroying property, or perhaps later he would not have been able to become Attorney

384. Professor [Karl Follen](#)'s brother Paul Follen was at this point emigrating to the United States, and would settle in Missouri. We'll allow you three guesses as to what is about to happen to Professor [Follen](#) himself.

385. At [Harvard](#) at this time, the offense of “grouping” in Harvard Yard, that is, students assembling for some purpose not condoned by the faculty (such as, for instance, free speech), was grounds for being asked to “take up one’s connexions,” that is, grounds for permanent expulsion from college. (Such rules are of course not limited to the Harvard of the 19th Century: my own memories are of smelling tear gas on the steps of Widener Library as I came away from my carrel and found out that there had been a “Pogo Riot” in which the police had rioted and cleared the intersection in front of the student bookstore of passersby in 1960-1961, and then of being vomit gassed by [U.S. Marine](#) guards on the street outside our embassy in Tehran, Iran in 1978 for the offense of attempting to obtain entry thereto as a US citizen in an Iran in which soldiers were authorized to kill anyone “assembling” in any public place in a group larger than two persons.)



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

General of the United States of America:





Of his college life little remains to say. In his Junior and Senior years he attracted the attention of Edward Tyrrell Channing, then the valued Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory, and received the highest marks for English Composition. He also won the second Bowdoin prize for an essay, and at the Exhibition in his Senior year had, as his part, the English oration, taking as his subject "Reverence." His part at Commencement when he graduated was an English oration on "The Christian Philosophy; its Political Application." Only fifty-two of his class received degrees at Commencement [80 had entered this class of 1835, and Richard Henry Dana, Jr. had been forced to drop out on account of his eyes], largely a result of the "Rebellion," but five more were allowed their Bachelor's degree years later. Rockwood Hoar was third scholar. The refined and attractive Harrison Gray Otis Blake of Worcester, later Thoreau's near friend, was chosen Orator by a large majority, but his modesty made him decline, and Charles C. Shackford, later a minister, and a professor at Cornell University, was then chosen. Blake, however, gave the Latin Salutatory. Benjamin Davis Winslow was the Poet. Hoar was chosen a member of the Class Committee.

WORCESTER

It need only be added to this, that the student who was first scholar in the Harvard College class of 1835, a class that included Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, and who was chosen to replace H.G.O. Blake, who was that class's fourth scholar, as the class Orator, Charles Chauncy Shackford, after graduation went out to Concord and became a schoolteacher and romanced the local lasses, before going on to study law, and becoming a minister in 1841, and eventually becoming a professor at Cornell University. At Cornell, he would be their professor of rhetoric and literature, and, incidentally, would make himself one of the pioneers in the field now known as Comparative Literature.

COMPARATIVE LITERATURE



August 1, Friday: Slavery already being illegal in England and [William Wilberforce](#) having emancipated the slaves of the English Antilles, at this point the British parliament emancipated the 800,000 black slaves of [Canada](#) and of the British West Indies. In the beginning of this long process of emancipation, those under 6 years of age were freed, and all others were bound there as "apprentice laborers" to continue to serve their former owners at specified wages for the term of 5 to 7 years (later this would be reduced to 2 years) to be followed by their emancipation, a phase to be completed on August 1, 1838,  under conditions of the Abolition Act of August 28, 1833.  As a condition of their cooperation the white "owners" of these

STATE MURDER

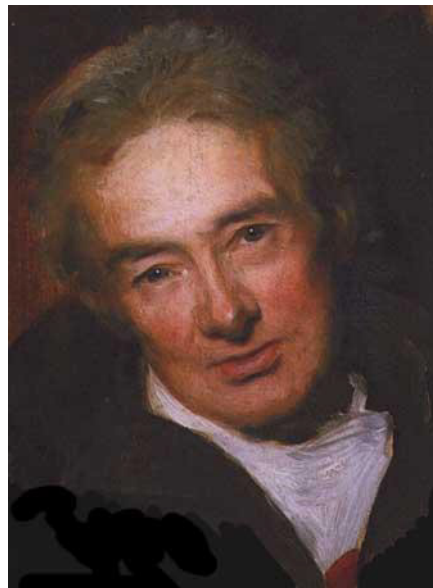
STATE MURDER

black and red “slaves” were to receive some £20,000,000 in compensation.

WALDEN: I sometimes wonder that we can be so frivolous, I may almost say, as to attend to the gross but somewhat foreign form of servitude called Negro Slavery, there are so many keen and subtle masters that enslave both north and south. It is hard to have a southern overseer; it is worse to have a northern one; but worst of all when you are the slave-driver of yourself. Talk of a divinity in man! Look at the teamster on the highway, wending to market by day or night; does any divinity stir within him? His highest duty to fodder and water his horses! What is his destiny to him compared with the shipping interests? Does not he drive for Squire Make-a-stir? How godlike, how immortal, is he? See how he cowers and sneaks, how vaguely all the day he fears, not being immortal nor divine, but the slave and prisoner of his own opinion of himself, a fame won by his own deeds. Public opinion is a weak tyrant compared with our own private opinion. What a man thinks of himself, that it is which determines, or rather indicates, his fate. Self-emancipation even in the West Indian provinces of the fancy and imagination, -what Wilberforce is there to bring that about?

PEOPLE O
WALDEN

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE
JOSEPH ADDISON
“CATO, A TRAGEDY”



35,000 slaves became free in South Africa and South Africa was on its march to becoming what it is now, a haven of sweetness and light (of course, this simplified account leaves out some of the intermediate stages in the South African progress).

With a large population of Quakers who were staunchly anti-slavery, [New Bedford, Massachusetts](#) had become a stop on the Underground Railroad, helping blacks flee the oppression of the American Southern states, so it had acquired a reputation as a safe haven. There would be a few from the West Indies who would make their way there. These West Indians who would settle in the local area of course would remember this



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

Emancipation Day and make it an annual event. Something for everyone, even for the white people: on this

ABOLITIONISM

momentous day, also, England forbade hanging as punishment for “returning too soon from transportation!”



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1835

➡ Coining had ceased to be a capital crime in 1832. Forgery (particularly of bank notes and coins) also had carried the death penalty up to 1834 as had “uttering,” which was the crime of passing forgeries — e.g. counterfeit coins, bad banknotes, or fraudulent cheques. In this year England forbade [hanging](#) also as punishment for housebreaking and “bodily harm dangerous to life with the intent to murder.” Beginning in the mid-1830s in Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, authorities were beginning to consider that the crowds attending public hangings were sharing in the brutality of the condemned. Sheriffs gradually were beginning to enhance their personal standing among the influential people of the community which they served, by carrying out executions within their prison courtyards where they could allow as spectators only the privileged few to whom they would be willing to grant passes.

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1835

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
30/03	Lucinder Sly		Carlow	Murder
06/04	Ursula Lofthouse	26	York Castle	Murder
15/04	Mary Ann Burden (Burdock)		Bristol	Murder
03/08	Elizabeth Banks (McNiel)	54	Edinburgh	Murder
10/08	Francis Billing	46	Norwich	Murder
10/08	Catherine Frarey	40	Norwich	Murder

➡ February: The Boston attorney [David Lee Child](#) sent his wife [Lydia Maria Child](#) to [Washington DC](#), to appeal to Attorney General Benjamin Butler and then to President [Andrew Jackson](#) on behalf of a prisoner, for a stay of [execution](#). (Since the Spaniards aboard the pirate vessel Panda would be hanged in Boston in June, and since the master of that vessel would be pardoned by the President, and since David was in fact the defense attorney on that case, may we presume that Maria’s visit asking for a stay of execution had to do with these [pirates](#)?)

➡ March 10, Tuesday: For their April meeting, “[The Institute of 1770](#)” debating society determined that they would debate the issue “Ought [capital punishment](#) to be abolished?” The assigned debaters were to include [David Henry Thoreau](#):

A lecture on “Sleep.” Debated: “Are temperance Societies as now conducted likely to produce more evil than good?” Question for the next evening’s debate is “Ought capital punishment to be abolished?” Debaters: Thoreau, Thomas, Russell and Richardson.

➡ April 21, Tuesday: At the meeting of the “[Institute of 1770](#)” student debating society, Edward Pinckney Williams took the affirmative on the issue “Ought [capital punishment](#) to be abolished?” Presumably [David Henry Thoreau](#), although a lifelong foe of capital punishment, supplied the negative. We do not know which side was voted to have won the debate.

Debate with E.P. Williams in the affirmative.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER


For the May meeting, Thoreau and others were to debate on the issue “Whether the spread of the Catholic religion endangers the freedom of our institutions.”

**THE TASK OF THE HISTORIAN IS TO CREATE HINDSIGHT WHILE
INTERCEPTING ANY ILLUSION OF FORESIGHT. NOTHING A HUMAN CAN
SEE CAN EVER BE SEEN AS IF THROUGH THE EYE OF GOD.**

**IN A BOOK THAT IS SUPPOSED TO BE ABOUT HISTORY, ISSUED BY
RANDOM HOUSE IN 2016, I FIND THE PHRASE “LOOKED UPON FROM
THE BIRD’S-EYE VIEW OF HISTORY,” ONLY A MERE STORYTELLER,
NEVER A HISTORIAN, COULD HAVE PENNED SUCH A PHRASE —
BECAUSE NO BIRD HAS EVER FLOWN OVER HISTORY.**

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

 June 11, Thursday: Pedro Gilbert, Manuel Costello, Monelle Bogga, Jose Bassello De Costa, and Angeloa Garcia, Spanish [pirates](#) from aboard the *Panda*, were [hanged](#) in the rear of the Leverett Street jail of [Boston](#). Although the Reverend [Henry C. Wright](#) had faithfully attended the trials in Boston of the accused dozen pirates, on the day of execution of the 6 who had committed murder he was so alienated by the jeering, drunken mob of spectators that he had to walk away before the hangings began.³⁸⁶



(One of the convicted men, Don Bernardo de Soto, a native of Corunna, Spain and the mate and owner of the pirate vessel *Panda*, had been pardoned by President [Andrew Jackson](#) after a personal appeal from his lovely young wife, Donna Petrona Pereyra de Soto, and on consideration of his having while previously the captain of the brig *Leon* rescued 70 individuals on board the American ship *Minerva* during a voyage from Philadelphia to Havana.)

386. Beginning at about this point, in Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, the authorities were becoming uncomfortable and embarrassed at the enthusiasm with which the crowds attending public hangings were greeting the public humiliation of the condemned. Sheriffs gradually would be beginning to enhance their personal standing among the influential members of the communities which they served, by carrying out such executions within prison courtyards to which they could admit as spectators only the privileged few to whom they might be willing to grant passes.

During this year, also, England was beginning to proscribe the use of [hanging](#) as a punishment for housebreaking, forgery, and "bodily harm dangerous to life with the intent to murder."



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

Andrew Jackson, President of the United States of America, to all to whom these presents shall come,

Greeting:

Whereas, at the October Term, 1834, of the Circuit Court of the United States, Bernardo de Soto was convicted of Piracy, and sentenced to be hung on the 11th day of March last from which sentence a respite was granted him for three months, bearing date the third day of March, 1835, also a subsequent one, dated on the fifth day of June, 1835, for sixty days. And whereas the said Bernardo de Soto has been represented as a fit subject for executive clemency –

Now therefore, I, Andrew Jackson, President of the United States of America, in consideration of the premises, divers good and sufficient causes me thereto moving, have pardoned, and hereby do pardon the said Bernardo de Soto, from and after the 11th August next, and direct that he be then discharged from confinement. In testimony whereof I have hereunto subscribed my name, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed to these presents.

Done at the City of Washington the sixth day of July, AD. 1835, and of the independence of the United States and sixtieth.

Andrew Jackson.

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STATE MURDER



August 10, Monday: At Niblo's Garden in [New-York](#) Phineas Taylor Barnum started to exhibit blind and paralyzed black slave [Joyce Heth](#) under the pretense that it had been she who had nursed our illustrious founding father [George Washington](#).



BOTANIZING

Dr. [Reuben Crandall](#) was arrested after Harry King, a Georgetown, Virginia man, called on him in his office while he was unpacking some crates and boxes of stuff. The young man sighted "a pamphlet on anti-slavery lying on the table." There were several such papers lying around, which the botanist had been using to press his plant specimens. He asked if he might have one to read, and "Dr. Crandall told him he might." For this, Dr. Crandall would be held in the local lockup for almost 9 months awaiting trial for his life for the treason of incitement to [servile insurrection](#) (the same statute, written by [Thomas Jefferson](#), under which Captain John Brown would be tried and hanged) — and while living under these conditions he would acquire the

STATE MURDER

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“consumption,” or pulmonary [tuberculosis](#), that would destroy him.



Francis Scott Key, the [District of Columbia](#)'s DA, would attempt to persuade the judge to impose the death penalty upon [Prudence Crandall](#)'s younger brother.



Dr. Crandall had been charged with promulgating a false doctrine that the black American had equal rights with the white, with casting reflections on the chivalry of the south, and with intent to cause unrest among Negroes.³⁸⁷ It was suggested that he had himself authored publications urging immediate emancipation of

387. THE TRIAL OF REUBEN CRANDALL, M.D., CHARGED WITH PUBLISHING AND CIRCULATING SEDITIOUS AND INCENDIARY PAPERS, &C. IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, WITH THE INTENT OF EXCITING SERVILE INSURRECTION . . . BY A MEMBER OF THE BAR. Washington DC, Printed for the Proprietors, 1836. (This 48-page pamphlet alleged that “The Trial of Crandall presents the first case of a man charged with endeavoring to excite insurrection among slaves and the free colored population that was ever brought before a judicial tribunal.”)




STATE MURDER

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slaves. Clearly this Un-American agitator deserved to be dead. A crowd of white Navy Yard workers therefore went to the Washington County Jail where he was being held, to agitate for his [lynching](#), and along the way a free black tavernkeeper, Beverly Snow, made some sort of derogatory remark about their wives. The crowd began by thoroughly trashing Snow's tavern, and then over two days and three nights of rioting, it smashed the windows of Negro churches, the Negro school, and various homes.

Drastic legislation would follow this "Snow Riot" in the [District of Columbia](#) — legislation further restricting the rights of free Negroes to assemble.³⁸⁸

As part of the legal process, Dr. Crandall would be interrogated about his attitudes toward people of other races. There was a concern that he might share to some degree in the radical attitudes of his notorious elder sister Prudence. He assured his captors that "he would break up the school if he could, but his sister was a very obstinate girl." He informed them that he had another sister, younger, who was sharing in his older sister's attitudes, but that he had been hoping "that he could, in all events, get her away" from this bad influence.

 November 27, Friday: [David Henry Thoreau](#)'s [Harvard College](#) essay on assignment "The ways in which a man's style may be said to offend against simplicity."

The final [hangings](#) in England for a sexual crime termed "[sodomy](#)" were of [James \(or John\) Pratt and John Smith](#), whose sexual activity had been observed by their landlord and his wife through the keyhole in the door to their room.


FINAL EXECUTIONS		
August 31, 1833	Charlotte Young (Long)	hanged at Gloucester for arson, the final English woman executed for anything other than murder
November 27, 1835	James (or John) Pratt and John Smith	final hangings in England for a sexual crime termed " sodomy "
December 1, 1842	US Navy Midshipman, Philip Spencer	son of Secretary of War John C. Spencer, who had schemed with others to turn his ship to piracy, hanged for mutiny

388. Provine, Dorothy Sproles. THE FREE NEGRO IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA 1800-1860. Thesis Louisiana State University Department of History, 1959, 1963

STATE MURDER

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1836

 Pierre-François Lacenaire, having been found guilty of murder, was condemned to be executed by decapitation. He agreed to take part in an experiment having to do with the nature of human consciousness. If, at the guillotine, after the chopping, he was able to do so, he would close one eye while holding the other open. —Although the head was carefully watched during the decapitation, no such signal became evident. (Henry Thoreau would write, in his journal in 1853, of “he who said he might give a sign if he were conscious after his head was cut off — but he gave no sign.” Thoreau might, however, have been referring not to this case but to that of Lavoisier.)


HEADCHOPPING




March 12, Saturday: Some men endeavor to live a constrained life, to subject their whole lives to their wills, as he who said he would give a sign if he were conscious after his head was cut off, — but he gave no sign.

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1836

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
09/04	Harriet Tarver	21	Gloucester	Murder
09/04	Betty Rowland		Liverpool	Murder
14/04	Sofia Edney	23	Ilchester	Murder of husband


 February 16, Tuesday: Verdicts were handed down in the attempted assassination during the previous July of King Louis-Philippe of France (three of the defendants were sentenced to the guillotine and one to 20 years imprisonment, while a 5th was acquitted).

HEADCHOPPING

 March 16, Wednesday: Andrew S. Hallidie, who would eventually would be inventing the cable car, was born. (At the moment of course this must have been the further thing from his mind.)

The two men who had set fire to Mr. Hammond’s Irish tenement in South Street Place, resulting in deaths by burning, Simeon L. Crockett and Stephen Russel, were hanged in the Boston jailyard.



 June 25, Saturday: The Liberator.

Just at the gate of the Tuileries palace, disabled 25-year-old former infantry officer Louis Alibaud discharged his cane gun at a carriage carrying King Louis-Philippe of France (the bullet lodged deep in an oaken beam above the monarch’s head and the assailant was immediately taken into custody — it made sense to this disabled young anarchist that he had the same right to the French monarch’s life as Brutus had had to the life of Julius Caesar).



STATE MURDER



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STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1837



Contracts were let for construction of the [Genesee Valley Canal](#).

The [Chenango Canal](#) went into operation.

The [Chemung Canal](#) connecting Binghamton with the [Erie Canal](#) at Utica was completed.

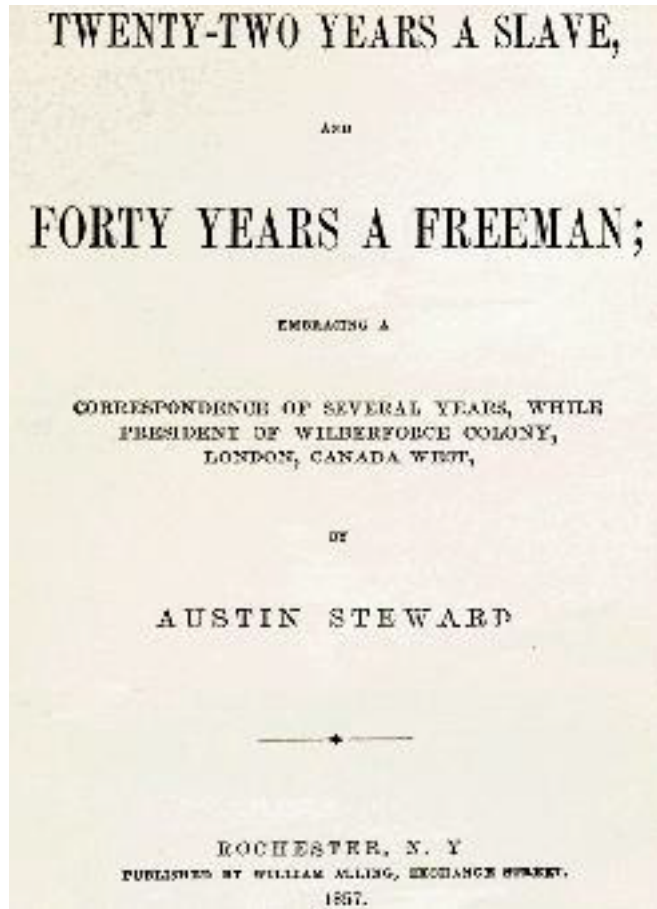
3,955 boats arrived in the lake harbor at Buffalo, New York during this year and 4,755 boats went through the [Erie Canal](#).

At Rochester, [New York](#), a wall was built along the Genesee River through downtown. Construction began on a new [Erie Canal](#) aqueduct over the Genesee River. A public market building was erected on Market Street (formerly Mason Street), which was then renamed Front Street. Wealthy St. Louis fur trader Henry Shaw built a house for his parents. Mayor Jonathan Child began building a home on South Washington Street. Senator

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STATE MURDER

Daniel Webster spoke in the Court House square. The city's first murder occurred. Louis Seyle's fire engine manufacturing company at Brown's Race was destroyed by fire. After his store burned, [Austin Steward](#) relocated to Canandaigua, [New York](#) to begin, assisted by his daughter, a school for colored children, and there he began work on his TWENTY TWO YEARS A SLAVE AND FORTY YEARS A FREEMAN; EMBRACING A CORRESPONDENCE OF SEVERAL YEARS, WHILE PRESIDENT OF WILBERFORCE COLONY, LONDON, CANADA WEST.



Revival meetings were held. A Rochester resident, Sam Scott, began to attempt a *reprise* of the jumping career of [Sam Patch](#).



(This Rochester man's show-biz career would come to an abrupt completion in London: while attempting to

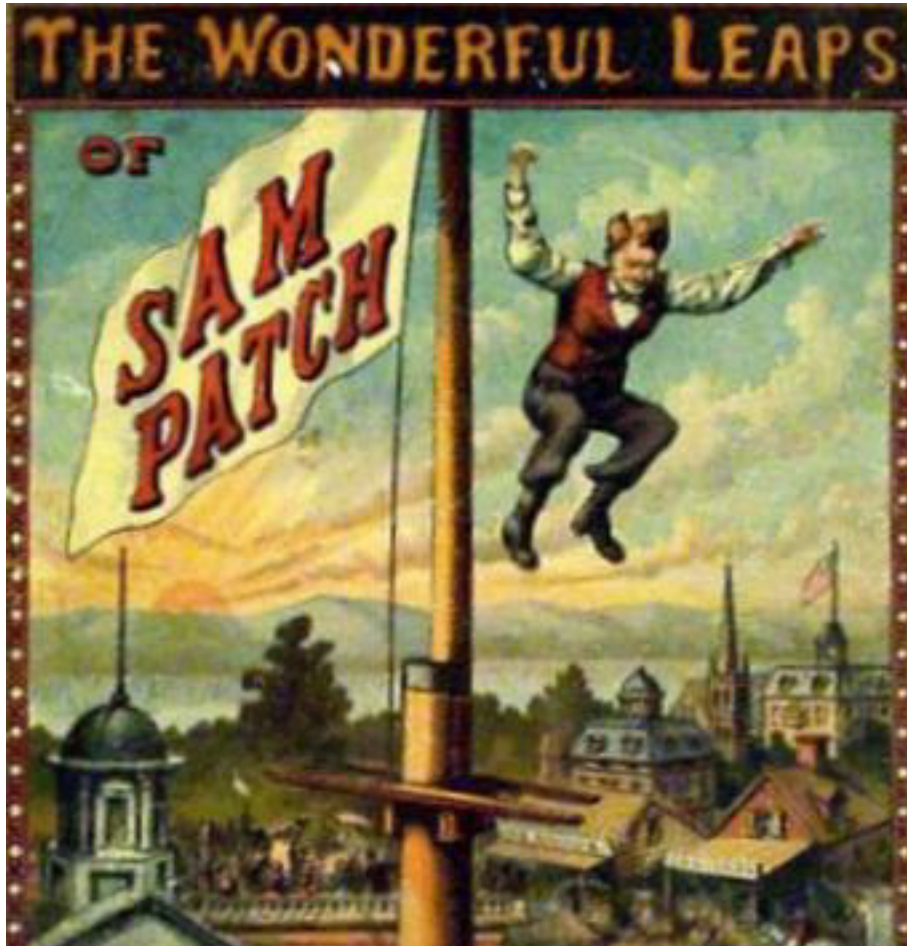
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perform a public stunt with a rope he accidentally [hanged](#) himself.)



HANGING

Crimes Punishable by Death in England:

Year	Number
1800	150
1837	10



August 7, Monday: Mary Cooney was [hanged](#) for murder in Limerick, England. In this year, she was the sole Englishwoman to be executed.

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1838

➡ In an attempt to salvage [capital punishment](#), some states allowed the death penalty to be avoided at the discretion of the judge. (By 1963 –with the exception of a small number of rarely committed crimes in a few jurisdictions– the US’s mandatory capital punishment laws would be eliminated.)

➡ January: The [Rhode Island](#) General Assembly’s Committee to Revise the Penal Code considered a “Report of the Committee On the Abolishment of Capital Punishments” which recommended that the state abolish [capital punishment](#).

➡ April 12, Thursday: In Vienna, Franz Liszt played some of his music, and that of Czerny, at the home of piano maker Conrad Graf. Friedrich Wieck was there with his daughter [Clara Wieck](#) but were impressed. Liszt wrote to Marie d’Agoult that “She is a very simple person, entirely preoccupied with her art, but nobly and without childishness. She was flabbergasted when she heard me. Her compositions are truly most remarkable, especially for a woman. They have a hundred times more invention and real feeling than all the past and present fantasies of Thalberg.”

[Henry Thoreau](#) was written to by Josiah Quincy, Sr., President of [Harvard College](#), in Cambridge. Thoreau was applying for a teaching position in Alexandria, Virginia which he would not get.



Sir.

The school is at Alexandria the students are said to be young men

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well advanced in y^e knowledge of y^e Latin & Greek Classics — the requisitions are qualification & a person, who has had experience in schoolkeeping—

Salary \$600 a year besides washing & Board duties to be entered on y^e 5th or 7th. of May.

If you choose to apply I will write as soon as I am informed of it — State to me your experience in schoolkeeping

Ys

Josiah Quincy

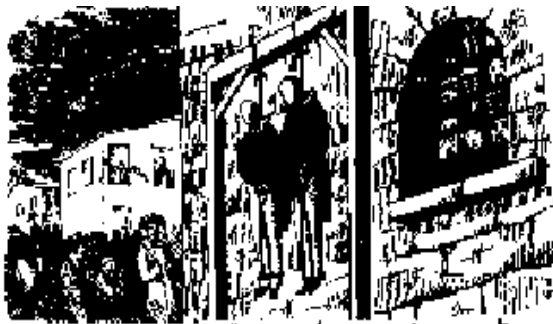
Cambridge

12. April 1838.

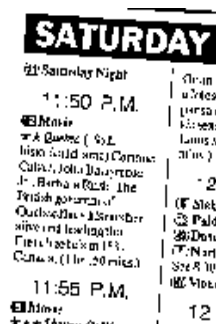
With a significant percentage of [Canada's](#) leadership in prison and with prison ships rotting on mud flats visible from American soil, the British began to [hang](#) rebel leaders and bury their bodies in unmarked graves. The total would be 10 executions and 58 transportations before they succeeded in stabilizing the situation.



After they succeeded in stabilizing the situation by this small number of dramatic executions and transportations of key figures, of course, the mass exile of ordinary suspect citizens began.



Escapes From Canada



TV "Quebec"



Hung Up in a Port

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:



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5th day 12 of 4 M / Ruth Davis & Abigail Davis with Zeno Kelley & wife on their way to Philada. Yearly Meeting were at our Meeting today, both had good & acceptable testimonies - A friend was also at Meeting from Indiana by the name of Aaron White, he is brother to Daniel Tisdales wife & a very good looking man - he & the young man with him called this Afternoon & made a pleasant visit to us - he gave me much interesting information of friends in Indiana. -
Thomas B Gould went in the Steam Boat this Afternoon for Philada. to attend the Yearly Meeting there. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 11, Friday: [The Liberator](#).

A man in a smoking-room in Boston asked [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) about the Canadian Rebellion, and was informed that



all is finished except the [hanging](#) of the prisoners. Then we talk over the matter, and I tell him the fates of the principal men -some banished to New-South Wales, one hanged, others in prison- others, conspicuous at first, now almost forgotten.

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1838

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
May 5	Ann Wycherly	28	Stafford	Murder
May 21	Elizabeth Nicholson (Jeffrey)	36	Glasgow	Murder


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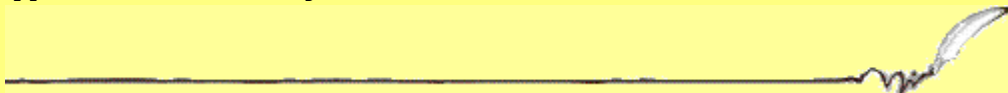
Waldo Emerson wrote in his journal:

Last night the moon rose behind four distinct pine-tree tops in the distant woods and the night at ten was so bright that I walked abroad. But the sublime light of night is unsatisfying, provoking; it astonishes but explains not. Its charm floats, dances, disappears, comes and goes, but palls in five minutes after you have left the house. Come out of your warm, angular house, resounding with few voices, into the chill, grand, instantaneous night, with such a Presence as a full moon in the clouds, and you are struck with poetic wonder. In the instant you leave far behind all human relations, wife, mother and child, and live only with the savages – water, air, light, carbon, lime, and granite. I think of Kuhleborn. I become a moist, cold element. "Nature grows over me." Frogs pipe; waters far off tinkle; dry leaves hiss; grass bends and rustles, and I have died out of the human world and come to feel a strange, cold, aqueous, terraqueous, aerial, ethereal sympathy and existence. I sow the sun and moon for seeds.




 September 13, Thursday-14, Friday: Waldo Emerson to his journal:

I went to New Bedford & Mr D. was in a frolicsome mood, & got up from supper in the evening, & said, "Come let us have some fun," & went about to tickle his wife & his sisters. I grew grave, &, do what I could, I felt that I looked like one appointed to be hanged.



HANGING
NEW BEDFORD MA

 December: During the last month of this year and the first month of the following year, the English would be hanging various Canadian rebels in London, in Kingston, and in Montréal.

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Winter: Here is a view of the Cherokee “Trail of Tears” created by Robert Lindneux in 1942, in the Woolaroc Museum at Bartlesville, Oklahoma:



As an expression of US national government and state government racial policy, strolling Indians³⁸⁹ were herded by the US Cavalry under General Winfield Scott from their South Carolina and Georgia farms to what is now northeastern Oklahoma, so that white settlers could seize these farms. After a week of agonizing in his journal over whether it would be seemly for him, [Waldo Emerson](#) write a letter to the President, expressing himself as opposed to this policy. Of 18,000 Cherokees who began the enforced trek without provisions, 4,000 died of exposure and starvation along this trail. Others, attempting to hide out in caves in the mountains of their homeland, were hunted down. The disobedient were executed by [firing squads](#) under US Cavalry supervision, such execution squads being –as a matter of US strategy– made up exclusively of hired Cherokees. This was to become known as the [Cherokee nation](#)’s Trail of Tears. One of my great-great-great-grandfathers, Buff Sharpe, chucking this whole scene after his father had surrendered and had been executed by firing squad, relocated to the “Indian Territories” then being reconstituted in Indiana. At that time these territories were supposed to include only the part of Indiana below the “National Highway” that ran through Indianapolis and Terre Haute, because white intrusives had been playing a negotiation game of “half of yours for me and half for you” and then again “half of yours for me and half for you,” and all the northern half of the Indian Territories of Indiana had already been reclassified and white settlements there legitimated after the fact. Buff Sharpe sought, unsuccessfully, to legitimate himself by marrying, or cohabiting with, a white woman.³⁹⁰

TRAIL OF TEARS

389. Cf. Chapter I of [WALDEN](#).

390. As an interesting little aside to our racist American culture, if you haven’t already realized this by reading the story I have told of the West Point graduate Captain [Seth Eastman](#) and his local or squaw wife Lucy “Stands Like a Spirit” Eastman at Fort Snelling and his local daughter Mary Nancy Eastman, it happens to be a real big deal whether it is a **man** of color marrying a white **woman** –which is terribly shameful for whites because this woman can only be some slut who has been forced to marry down due to unnatural sexual lusts or general unworthiness– or whether it is a white **man** consenting to shack up with a **woman** of color, which is not so terrible because whites can always regard this as an arrangement of convenience and its not so bad for a man to satisfy lusts as for a woman to have lusts (and he can walk away from his half-breed spawn later when he starts a “real” family). And thus it was that in my family a few years ago I caught my own sister, living near Washington DC, telling her children that one of our ancestors was an “Indian Princess”! She was really shaken up when I hollered at her for unconsciously rewriting our genealogy in her mind in such a manner as to make it more socially acceptable!



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1839



August 1, Thursday: [Waldo Emerson](#) reported that “Last night came to me a beautiful poem from [Henry Thoreau](#), ‘Sympathy.’ The purest strain & the loftiest, I think, that has yet pealed from this unpoetic American forest.”

COMMENTARY:

[I am going to include several pages of commentary here, because the above was the poem that would become the controversial “To a Gentle Boy.”]

There’ve been Gay Pride parades in which posters of [Henry Thoreau](#) have been proudly carried. The evidence that he was gay was that he wrote a poem to one of his students, the little brother of the girl to whom he proposed marriage, and from the circumstance that after she turned him down he never did marry. Let us go into this in order to see that it is a simpleminded and as wrong as the idea of long standing, that Thoreau had no sense of humor. This is going to be a bit complicated, so pay attention. [William Sewell](#) [[Willem Séwel Amsterdammer](#)] published THE HISTORY OF THE RISE, INCREASE AND PROGRESS OF THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS in English as a corrective to Gerard Croese’s HISTORY OF QUAKERISM. The records of the Salem library show that [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) used their edition of this book for a week in 1828 and a month in 1829. The book recounted the activities of some of his ancestors, such as his great-great-great-grandfather William Hathorne (1607-1681) who sailed on the *Arbella* in 1630, settling in Dorchester in New England and then moving to Salem, who served at the rank of major in wars against the Americans, who became a magistrate and judge of the Puritans, and who had one Anne Coleman whipped out of the town of Salem for being a [Quaker](#):



...naked from the waist upward, and bound to the tail of a cart, is dragged through the Main-street at the pace of a brisk walk, while the constable follows with a whip of knotted cords. A strong-armed fellow is that constable; and each time that he flourishes his lash in the air, you see a frown wrinkling and twisting his brow, and, at the same instant, a smile upon his lips. He loves his business, faithful officer that he is, and puts his soul into every stroke, zealous to fulfill the injunction of Major Hawthorne’s warrant, in the spirit and to the letter. There came down a stroke that has drawn blood! Ten such stripes are to be given in Salem, ten in Boston, and ten in Dedham; and, with those thirty stripes of blood upon her, she is to be driven into the forest.... Heaven grant that, as the rain of so many years has wept upon it, time after time, and washed it all away, so there may have been a dew of mercy, to cleanse this cruel blood-stain out of the record of the persecutor’s life!

And such as William’s son John Hathorne (1641-1717), a chip off the old block, a colonel in the Massachusetts militia and a deputy to the General Court in Boston who was a magistrate during the Salem witch episode which featured one person being tortured to death and 19 [hanged](#). [Hawthorne](#) was much stimulated by the blood curse that Sarah Good had placed on her executioners, “God will give you Blood to drink.” His tale “The

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Gentle Boy” of 1831 made reference to this history.

Let us thank God for having given us such ancestors;
and let each successive generation thank him, not less
fervently, for being one step further from them in the
march of the ages.

This was [Hawthorne](#) in 1840, according to a portrait painter, Samuel Stillman Osgood:



“The Gentle Boy” was published anonymously in a gift annual of [The Token](#) magazine in 1831, and then republished under Hawthorne’s name as a part of TWICE-TOLD TALES in 1832 and 1837 after deletion of the detail that, in being attacked by a gang of vicious Puritan children, the gentle [Quaker](#) boy had been struck in “a tender part.” The book THE GENTLE BOY: A TWICE-TOLD TALE, when published in 1839, was dedicated to [Sophia Amelia Peabody](#) (to become [Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#)), some of whose ancestors are also in Sewel’s history, and included a drawing by her. Printing was interrupted briefly to make the boy’s countenance more gentle in the engraved version of the drawing.



In 1842 [Nathaniel](#) and Sophia Peabody got married and moved to Concord, where [Thoreau](#) had just prepared for them a large garden. Although Hawthorne was vague on the spelling of Thoreau’s name, and his bride thought Thoreau repulsively ugly, Thoreau visited them several times in the Old Manse where [Waldo Emerson](#) had penned “Nature,” and for \$7.⁰⁰ sold them the boat he and his brother had used on their famous trip – so that they could row out and pluck pond lilies. Although Thoreau read little fiction, he could not have been unaware of their newly republished “Gentle Boy” story, at least by its title.

With this background, we can now consider the gay speculation about the poem Thoreau wrote to his pupil Edmund Quincy Sewall, Jr., “Once there was a gentle boy.” Is this poem’s emphasis on the nonmasculine characteristics of a young boy to be interpreted as evidence of a homoerotic longing on Thoreau’s part, or, since the age of eleven is not the age of sexual maturity, interpreted as evidence of an incipient pederasty? No, because the poem’s use of “gentle boy” might well have been a deliberate tie-in to the Hawthorne story. We must ask, what might have been the motivation for calling this particular story to Edmund’s attention? There are several reasons having nothing to do with sexuality or with [Thoreau](#)’s personal needs. The nonviolent [Quaker](#) boy in the story is treated with utter viciousness by a gang of local Puritan children, and in particular by one boy whom he had nursed with kindness and attention during an illness. Was Edmund, a visitor in Concord, having trouble being accepted by some of the local children in Thoreau’s school? This historian [William Sewell](#) referred to by [Hawthorne](#), was he one of Edmund’s ancestors?³⁹¹ Were some of the people described in that history Sewall ancestors, as some were Ha(w)thorne ancestors and some Peabody ancestors? If so, the Thoreau family would surely have been aware of it, since they had known intimately at least three generations of the Sewall family starting with Mrs. Joseph Ward, Cynthia Thoreau’s star boarder, the widow of a colonel in the American revolutionary army, the mother of Caroline Ward who in turn was the mother of Ellen Devereux Sewall and Edmund Quincy Sewall, Jr.

Hawthorne’s story is of a boy in an adoptive family, a “little quiet, lovely boy” who is heartsick for his parents.

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In the tale, in the face of the most extreme religious persecution of Friends by Puritans, the boy's birth mother had violated her "duties of the present life" by "fixing her attention wholly on" her future life: she left her child with this Puritan family to venture on a "mistaken errand" of "unbridled fanaticism." That is, after being whipped out of town by the Puritans, she followed a spirit leading to become a traveling Friend. At the end, the boy's mother returns to him.

[Hawthorne](#)'s tale involves the hanging of an innocent person. Would this have been of interest to Edmund Quincy Sewall, Jr.? Yes, for a Sewall was involved in the hanging of the nineteen witches in Salem on September 22, 1692. This Samuel Sewall was a lifelong bigot (he once refused to sell a plot of land because the bidders wanted to build a church, and they were Protestants but not of his own denomination) but he was worse than a bigot: not only did he hang women for being in league with the devil, he helped condemn and hang one of his Harvard peers, the Reverend George Burrough –whom he had once heard preach on the Sermon on the Mount– for being in league with the devil. It was an interesting period, a period in which one could lose control of oneself and cry out during the Puritan service, and be suspected of having acquired a taint of [Quakerism](#), and be placed in great personal danger. And that was an interesting day, August 16, 1692: an arresting officer for the court, one John Willard, was "cried out upon" for doubting the guilt of the accused, and was hanged beside the Reverend Burrough. We find this in Sewall's diary:



Mr. Burrough by his Speech, Prayer, protestation of his Innocence, did much move unthinking persons, which occasions their speaking hardly concerning his being executed.

A few years later, after some bad events in his family, Samuel suffered pangs of conscience: a public fast was declared for January 14, 1697 and he stood in Old South Church in Boston while the minister read a statement that the Sewall family had been cursed of God because of the trials, and that he took "the Blame and shame" upon himself. The twelve jurors were in attendance to acknowledge that they had "unwittingly and unwillingly" brought "upon ourselves and this people of the Lord the guilt of innocent blood."

This Puritan's son, the Reverend Joseph Sewall, was the father of Samuel Sewall, who was the father of Samuel Sewall, Jr., who was the father of the Reverend Edmund Quincy Sewall, Sr., who was of course Master Edmund Quincy Sewall, Jr.'s father. It is an interesting question, how a teacher can help a young man like this venture into his manhood, after the decency of manliness has been utterly destroyed as an option for him in such a manner, by the indecency of a male ancestor. I would suggest that teacher [Thoreau](#)'s tactic – to emphasize to this lad Edmund the nominally feminine virtue of gentleness by providing him with a poem into which to grow – constitutes a legitimate and even profound maneuver on extremely difficult terrain. I would suggest, in addition, that those who seek to appropriate Thoreau by interpreting this "Once there was a gentle boy" poem as evidence of an unconscious erotic impulse are, in effect, debasing him. Debasing him not by accusing him of homosexuality – for it is not base to be gay – but by interpreting a complex and difficult situation in a manner that is merely simpleminded and doctrinaire. I want to emphasize the open-endedness of the questions involved: was Edmund, the new boy in town, having the sort of trouble with his peers that would have caused him to be in the situation of the gentle boy in the [Hawthorne](#) tale – ganged up against, beaten as a sissy? The American Antiquarian Society in Worcester has preserved pages of Edmund's Concord journal that may contain an answer. And what exactly was the perception of a blood guilt and an inherited shame

391. According to Patrick Hanks and Flavia Hodges's 1988 A DICTIONARY OF SURNAMES (Oxford UP), "Sewall" is a variant of "Sewell," which can be from the Old English "Sigeweald," meaning government by right of conquest, or "Sœweald" [œ with over it], meaning rule over the sea – an appropriate name for a family that included some wealthy shipbuilders in Maine! The same dictionary of surnames denies Thoreau's derivation of his name from Thor, the god of lightning, giving "Thoreau," "Thoret," "Thoré," and "Thorez" as variants of "Thorel," a nickname for a strong or violent individual (like Uncle "J.C." [Charles Jones Dunbar](#)!), from the Old French "t(h)or(el)" meaning bull. However, this dictionary allows that the name may also have originated in a diminutive of an aphetic short form of the given name "Maturin," or that it may be from a medieval given name which was an aphetic short form of various names such as "Victor" and "Salvador" ("Salvador" is equivalent to the Hebrew "Yehoshua"), or that it may be related to an Italian/Spanish nickname for a lusty person, or metonymic occupational name for a tender of bulls: "Toro!" (Now going to a bullfight in Spain and rooting for the bull, something I had the opportunity to do when I was a teenager, couldn't be the same for me.)



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among the Sewels and Sewells and Seawells and Sewalls? We should be led by this story, not into considerations of eroticism among 19th-Century virgins (which would be a mere shallow –not demeaning, surely, but surely both appropriative and dismissive– sidetrack) but into a full consideration of how a compassionate and concerned teacher like Henry Thoreau can help a young male pupil grow to maturity even in a situation in which the option “manhood” has for this pupil been virtually eliminated – by the foul deed and foul mind of a Samuel Sewall, his blood ancestor.



We need to begin to take into account various of the cultural influences upon Thoreau which we have not previously been considering due to the fact that few people read the dead languages anymore. There's quite a body of ancient evidence to indicate that the poet [Virgil](#) may well have been by inclination a pederast, and the scholar S. Lilja confirms that Virgil's apparent sexual persona does inform a great deal of his poetry, including of course his AENEID. If one refers to John F. Makowski's "Nisus and Euryalus: a Platonic Relationship," in

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Classical Journal (1985) 1-15, and also to J. Griffin's LATIN POETS AND ROMAN LIFE, one finds that:

- In Virgil's autobiographical poetry of the *Catalepton*, poems 5 and 7, in which he sings of Sextus his *cura curarum* and of the boy aptly named Pothos, poems for the authenticity of which Buechler and Richmond indicate that there is now strong consensus, Thoreau could have read of a sexuality seems to have been grounded in life experience rather than merely to have been following in the literary convention we now term "posing as sodomites."
- In Donatus's life of Virgil, Thoreau could have read: "(sc. Vergilius) libidinis in pueros pronioris, quorum maxime dilexit Ceбетem et Alexandrum, quem secunda bucolicorum ecloga Alexim appellat, donatum sibi ab Asinio Pollione, utrumque non ineruditum, Ceбетem vero et poetam." Donatus goes on to say that Virgil, invited by a friend to partake of a heterosexual liaison, "verum pertinacissime recusasse."
- Apuleius Apologia 10 pretty much agrees with the picture presented to Thoreau by Donatus.
- By the time of Martial a joking tradition was in place that the Muse behind Virgil's prodigious poetic output was his Alexis, his love slave, given to him (note the divergence from Servius) by Maecenas rather than by Pollio. See epigrams 5.6, 6.68, 7.29, 8.56, 8.73 in which he attributes the sad state of contemporary poetry to the failure of patrons to provide poets with beautiful boys *a la* Maecenas and Virgil. This material was available to Thoreau.
- [Juvenal](#) echoes this tradition in Satire 7.69.
- In Philargyrius, Thoreau could have read: "*Alexim dicunt Alexandrum, qui fuit servus Asinii Pollionis, quem Vergilius, rogatus ad prandium cum vidisset in ministerio omnium pulcherrimum, dilexit eumque dono accepit. Caesarem quidam acceperunt, formosum in operibus et gloria. alii puerum Caesaris, quem si laudasset, gratem rem Caesari fecisset. nam Vergilius dicitur in pueros habuisse amorem: nec enim turpiter eum diligebat. alii Corydona, Asinii Pollionis puerum adamatum a Vergilio ferunt, eumque a domino datum. .*"
- What did Servius mean to say to Thoreau, and to us, when he offered that Virgil had not loved boys *turpiter* (disgracefully)? Possibly Servius meant that Virgil had been able to do so without loss of personal dignity (the courting of the beloved, whether woman or boy, could involve erotic service that was seen as beneath the dignity of a free man), the other that he did so without ever achieving, or perhaps even pursuing, physical consummation (which would have taken the form of sodomizing the lad if he was willing to submit, but Dover's GREEK HOMOSEXUALITY --which seems to be in large part valid for Roman society as well-- shows that nice boys were supposed to say **no** in thunder and that men who insisted upon using their penises might have to settle for intercrural satisfaction). We should probably take into account as well the poetry of a man who died in the same year as Virgil, [Albius Tibullus](#), from whom Thoreau would quote (or would suppose he was quoting) in [WALDEN](#). What is conventionally known as "Book 1" of Tibullus contains poems on his beloved Delia but also several on a beloved boy named Marathus (4, 8, 9); these can offer some insight into the process of courting a boy. Another possibility, of course, is simply that Virgil's love had nothing cruel or abusive about it, but perhaps the most plausible explanation for judging a liaison as *turpis* is the man's loss of dignity in becoming enslaved to the object of his desire, his loss of face. Two examples that come to mind from Virgil's own time are Anthony's passion for [Cleopatra](#) and Maecenas's scandalous affair with the ballet-dancer Bathyllus.

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Horsfall's *COMPANION TO THE STUDY OF VIRGIL* summarizes the "evidence" such as it is. Although he demonstrates that there is not one detail in the ancient *LIVES OF VIRGIL* that can be taken at face value, the persistent availability of such materials about the life of Virgil has been such as to make this a moot point. Whether true or false it has obviously had an influence, and may well have had an influence of some sort on [Thoreau](#). Those scholars could all be found to have been mistaken, and yet we will still need to deal with the manner in which Virgil was being received during the first half of the 19th Century, and I am not certain that we have done that, and of course it is important, in dealing with a situation such as Thoreau's temporary involvement with the gentle young Sewall boy, that we most carefully do that. In none of these texts, nor in Servius, would Thoreau have been able to find any suggestion of a condemnation of what Virgil was projecting as being his proclivities.

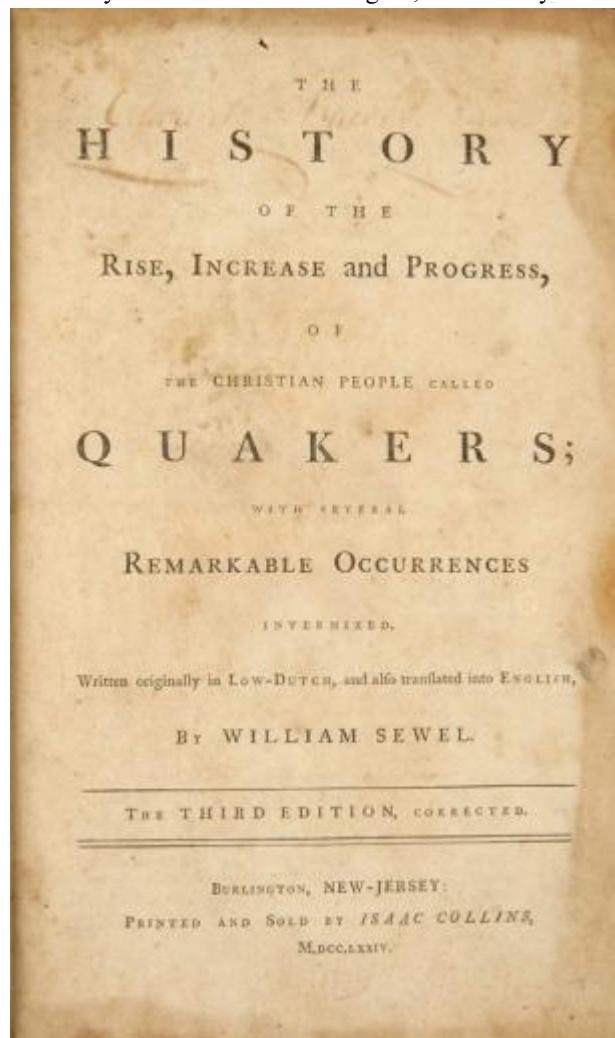
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[William Sewell](#). THE HISTORY OF THE RISE, INCREASE AND PROGRESS, OF THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE CALLED [QUAKERS](#); WITH SEVERAL REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES INTERMIXED, WRITTEN ORIGINALLY IN LOW-DUTCH, AND ALSO TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH, BY WILLIAM SEWEL. THE THIRD EDITION, CORRECTED. The title varies slightly from edition to edition (1722, 1725, 1728, 1774, 1776, 1811, 1844), for instance ...WITH SEVERAL REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES INTERMIXED, TO WHICH IS PREFIXED A BRIEF MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR, COMPILED FROM VARIOUS SOURCES, and WRITTEN ORIGINALLY IN LOW DUTCH, AND TRANSLATED BY HIMSELF INTO ENGLISH, Baker & Crane, No. 158 Pearl-Street, New-York. The author's name was, according to [Alexander Chalmers](#)'s GENERAL BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY of 1812-1817, Volume 27, page 361, a recognized variant of "Sewell": there was a Henry Sewall who spelled his name also as Sewell and Seawell, and there was a loyalist "Sewall" who changed the family name to "Sewell" in London in order to confuse the American authorities and better protect his children in America –and his American properties– after being proscribed. Among recorded immigrants, the "United States Index to Records of Aliens' Declarations" show a proportion of 1 Sewel, 11 Sewalls, and 30 Sewells. Henry Thoreau first encountered this book in this 1774 3d edition prepared and sold by Isaac Collins of Burlington, New-Jersey:



WM. SEWEL'S 3D ED., VOL. I

WM. SEWEL'S 3D ED., VOL. II

FIGURING OUT WHAT AMOUNTS TO A “HISTORICAL CONTEXT” IS WHAT THE CRAFT OF HISTORICIZING AMOUNTS TO, AND THIS NECESSITATES DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN THE SET OF EVENTS THAT MUST HAVE TAKEN PLACE BEFORE EVENT E COULD BECOME POSSIBLE, AND MOST CAREFULLY DISTINGUISHING THEM FROM ANOTHER SET OF EVENTS THAT COULD NOT POSSIBLY OCCUR UNTIL SUBSEQUENT TO EVENT E.



September 19, Thursday: The official “opening day” for the Albion Mines Railroad between Albion Coal Mines and New Glasgow, Nova Scotia (operations had begun during December 1838 using the Timothy Hackworth steam locomotives “Samson,” “Hercules,” and “John Buddle” imported from England).

The grand jury met in Hartford, Connecticut to deliberate upon *The U.S. v. The Libelants, etc., of the Schooner Amistad*. The crowds in the city had been swelled by the rumor that there was to be a mass hanging, and since, three of the black pirates having died after their capture, all of forty of them were still alive — such a mass hanging would definitely be something not to be missed.



LA AMISTAD

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1840

January 27, Monday: Charles Gounod arrived in Rome, for his Prix de Rome year.



January: No definition of poetry is adequate unless it be poetry itself. The most accurate analysis by the rarest wisdom is yet insufficient, and the poet will instantly prove it false by setting aside its requisitions.' It is indeed all that we do not know.

The poet does not need to see how meadows are something else than earth, grass, and water, but how, they are thus much. He does not need discover that potato blows are as beautiful as violets, as the farmer thinks, but only how good potato blows are.

The poem is drawn out from under the feet of the poet — his whole weight has rested on this ground. It has a logic more severe than the logician's.

HANGING



GALLOWS
HUMOR

You might as well think to go in pursuit of the rainbow, and embrace it on the next hill, as to embrace the whole of poetry even in thought. The best book is only an advertisement of it, such as is sometimes sewed in with its cover.

Its eccentric and unexplored orbit embraces the system.



January 27, Monday: What a tame life we are living! How little heroic it is! Let us devise never so perfect a system of living, and straightway the soul leaves it to shuffle along its own way alone. It is easy enough to establish a durable and harmonious routine; immediately all parts of nature consent to it. The sun-dial still points to the noon mark, and the sun rises and sets for it. The neighbors are never fatally obstinate when such a scheme is to be instituted; but forthwith all lend a hand, and ring the bell, and bring fuel and lights, and put by work and don their best garments, with an earnest conformity which matches the operations of nature. There is always a present and extant life which all combine to uphold, though its insufficiency is manifest enough. Still the sing-song goes on.

July 6, Monday: Charles Dickens attended the public [hanging](#) of Benjamin Courvoisier, a Swiss-born valet who had cut the throat of his master William Russell in Lord Russell's Mayfair home. This execution would be described by William Makepeace Thackeray in a [Fraser's](#) piece entitled, "Going to See a Man Hanged."



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1841

In England in this year, [hanging](#) was discontinued as a punishment for the abuse of children under 10 years of age.

During the previous two years no women or girls had been hanged in England. This was unprecedented. During this year, however, one Englishwoman would be hanged, Mary Ann McConkey, at Monaghan on May 1st, for the murder of her husband. Then, in the following year, there would again be no hangings of women in England.



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1842

Visiting [Harvard College](#) and [Boston](#) town, Charles Dickens discovered this place to be chock full of sweetness and light:

There is no doubt that much of the intellectual refinement and superiority of Boston, is referable to the quiet influence of the University of Cambridge, which is within three or four miles of the city. The resident professors at that university are gentlemen of learning and varied attainments; and are, without one exception that I can call to mind, men who would shed a grace upon, and do honour to, any society in the civilised world. Many of the resident gentry in Boston and its neighbourhood, and I think I am not mistaken in adding, a large majority of those who are attached to the liberal professions there, have been educated at this same school. Whatever the defects of American universities may be, they disseminate no prejudices; rear no bigots; dig up the buried ashes of no old superstitions; never interpose between the people and their improvement; exclude no man because of his religious opinions; above all, in their whole course of study and instruction, recognise a world, and a broad one too, lying beyond the college walls.

It was a source of inexpressible pleasure to me to observe the almost imperceptible, but not less certain effect, wrought by this institution among the small community of Boston; and to note at every turn the humanising tastes and desires it has engendered; the affectionate friendships to which it has given rise; the amount of vanity and prejudice it has dispelled. The golden calf they worship at Boston is a pigmy compared with the giant effigies set up in other parts of that vast counting-house which lies beyond the Atlantic; and the almighty dollar sinks into something comparatively insignificant, amidst a whole Pantheon of better gods. Above all, I sincerely believe that the public institutions and charities of this capital of Massachusetts are as nearly perfect, as the most considerate wisdom, benevolence, and humanity, can make them. I never in my life was more affected by the contemplation of happiness, under circumstances of privation and bereavement, than in my visits to these establishments.

At [Harvard](#), Doctor [John White Webster](#) was able to borrow \$400 from his wealthy [Boston](#) friend Doctor [George Parkman](#).³⁹²

WALDEN: [T]hat economy of living which is synonymous with philosophy is not even sincerely professed in our colleges.

392. Today's equivalent would be the price of, say, a new Toyota Avalon.



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January: During this month the printer Samuel Adams was murdered by [John Caldwell Colt](#), sensationally involving the unwed mother of his child (in November this murderer would strike again, committing [suicide](#) by plunging a knife into his own heart in a cell of New-York's Tombs prison half an hour before being scheduled to be taken to his [hanging](#)). From [Herman Melville](#)'s BARTLEBY THE SCRIVENER of 1853: "I was now in such a state of nervous resentment that I thought it but prudent to check myself at present from further demonstrations. Bartleby and I were alone. I remembered the tragedy of the unfortunate Adams and the still more unfortunate Colt in the solitary office of the latter; and how poor Colt, being dreadfully incensed by Adams, and imprudently permitting himself to get wildly excited, was at unawares hurled into his fatal act — an act which certainly no man could possibly deplore more than the actor himself. Often it had occurred to me in my ponderings upon the subject that had that altercation taken place in the public street, or at a private residence, it would not have terminated as it did. It was the circumstance of being alone in a solitary office, up stairs, of a building entirely unhallowed by humanizing domestic associations — an uncarpeted office, doubtless, of a dusty, haggard sort of appearance-this it must have been, which greatly helped to enhance the irritable desperation of the hapless Colt." (Melville would seem to refer to this also in the final scene of his PIERRE.)

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June 16, Thursday: At a Non-Resistance Meeting in Barnstable, Massachusetts, accompanied by [William Lloyd Garrison](#), [Frederick Douglass](#) spoke.



The Natchez [Free Trader](#) gave an account of the [execution](#) on the 5th of that month of one Joseph, for murder.

The body was taken and chained to a tree immediately on the bank of the Mississippi, on what is called Union Point. The torches were lighted and placed in the pile. He watched unmoved the curling flame as it grew, until it began to entwine itself around and feed upon his body; then he sent forth cries of agony painful to the ear, begging some one to blow his brains out; at the same time surging with almost superhuman strength, until the staple with which the chain was fastened to the tree, not being well secured, drew out, and he leaped from the burning pile. At that moment the sharp ring of several rifles was heard, and the body of the negro fell a corpse to the ground. He was picked up by two or three, and again thrown into the fire and consumed.

RACE SLAVERY



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In roughly this same timeframe the following reports and comments were also being made:

ANOTHER NEGRO BURNED. — We learn from the clerk of the Highlander, that, while wooding a short distance below the mouth of Red river, they were invited to stop a short time and see another negro burned.

— New Orleans Bulletin

We can assure the Bostonians, one and all, who have embarked in the nefarious scheme of abolishing slavery at the south, that lashes will hereafter be spared the backs of their emissaries. Let them send out their men to Louisiana; they will never return to tell their sufferings, but they shall expiate the crime of interfering in our domestic institutions by being BURNED AT THE STAKE.

— New Orleans True American

The cry of the whole south should be death, instant death, to the abolitionist, wherever he is caught.

— Augusta GA Chronicle

Let us declare through the public journals of our country, that the question of slavery is not and shall not be open for discussion: that the system is too deep-rooted among us, and must remain forever; that the very moment any private individual attempts to lecture us upon its evils and immorality, and the necessity of putting means in operation to secure us from them, in the same moment his tongue shall be cut out and cast upon the dunghill.

— Columbia SC Telescope

From the St. Louis Republican.

On Friday last the coroner held an inquest at the house of Judge Dunica, a few miles south of the city, over the body of a negro girl, about 8 years of age, belonging to Mr. Cordell. The body exhibited evidence of the most cruel whipping and beating we have ever heard of. The flesh on the back and limbs was beaten to a jelly — one shoulder-bone was laid bare — there were several cuts, apparently from a club, on the head — and around the neck was the indentation of a cord, by which it is supposed she had been confined to a tree. She had been hired by a man by the name of Tanner, residing in the neighborhood, and was sent home in this condition. After coming home, her constant request, until her death, was for bread, by which it would seem that she had been starved as well as unmercifully whipped. The jury returned a verdict that she came to her death by the blows inflicted by some persons unknown whilst she was in the employ of Mr. Tanner. Mrs. Tanner has been tried and acquitted.



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End of the year: William Wells Brown would report that “In the year 1842, I conveyed, from the first of May to the first of December, sixty-nine fugitives over Lake Erie to Canada.”

Aboard the USS *Somers*, for 6 months of a training cruise, its captain, Alexander Slidell, had been having its crew, largely composed of teenage boys undergoing naval indoctrination, lashed for various minor infractions with the cat-o-nine-tails. According to the record, a total of 2,265 lashes had been administered. Enough being enough, in this month an 18-year-old named Philip Spence, who perhaps supposed he could get away with it by being the scion of the US Secretary of War, made some comments to another sailor which were considered to be mutinous remarks. Whereupon the captain had him and two others hoisted by nooses into the rigging, to swing and strangle. This was the US Navy’s “first mutiny,” and would result in the formation of the U.S. Naval Academy.³⁹³

FINAL EXECUTIONS		
<u>November 27, 1835</u>	<u>James (or John) Pratt and John Smith</u>	final <u>hangings</u> in England for a sexual crime termed “ <u>sodomy</u> ”
<u>December 1, 1842</u>	<u>US Navy Midshipman, Philip Spencer</u>	son of Secretary of War John C. Spencer, who had schemed with others to turn his ship to piracy, among others, was <u>strangled</u> for mutiny
<u>February 14, 1844</u>	<u>John Gordon</u>	<u>hanged</u> for murder of factory owner <u>Amasa Sprague</u> probably only because he was an Irish Catholic immigrant, in <u>Rhode Island</u> (no more such events would occur)

There would be a sensational trial, the “*Somers*” trial, at which a cousin of Herman Melville named Guert Gansevoort would be the presiding judge. In result, 3 navies would be sent to the yardarm to hang for mutiny. The trial and the punishment evidently would have a deep impact on the scribbling cousin and would influence his BILLY BUDD of the 1886-1891 period.

BILLY BUDD: ... that harassed frame of mind which in the year 1842 actuated the Commander of the U.S. brig-of-war *Somers* to resolve, under the so-called Articles of War, Articles modelled upon the English Mutiny Act, to resolve upon the execution at sea of a midshipman and two petty-officers as mutineers designing the seizure of the brig. Which resolution was carried out though in a time of peace and within not many days’ sail of home. An act vindicated by a naval court of inquiry subsequently convened ashore. History, and here cited without comment.

393. Take a look at the 55-minute documentary film “The Curse of the ‘*Somers*’” by George Belcher.



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December 9, Friday: [The Liberator](#).



From an article by Nathaniel Peabody Rogers on the Hutchinson Family Singers, in the anti-slavery paper Herald of Freedom:

Oh! this Music is one of God's dearest gifts. I do wish men would make more of it. How humanizing it is -and how purifying -elevating and ennobling to the spirit! And how it has been prostituted and perverted! That accursed drum and fife, - how they have maddened mankind! And the deep bass boom of the cannon, chiming in, in the chorus of the battle -that trumpet, and wild, charging bugle, -how they set the military devil into a man, and make him into a soldier! Think of the Human Family, falling upon one another, at the inspiration of Music! How must God feel at it! To see those harp strings, He meant should be waked to a love bordering on divine, strung and swept to mortal hate and butchery. And the perversion is scarcely less, when music is profaned to the superstitious service of Sect, -its bloody-minded worship -its mercenary and bigot offerings. How horribly it echoes from the heartless and priest-led Meeting-House!

But it will all come right, by and bye. The world is out of tune now. But it will be tuned again, and all discord become harmony. When Slavery and War are abolished, and [hanging](#) and imprisoning, and all hatred and distrust - when the strife of humanity shall be, who will love most and help the readiest, when the tyrant steeple shall no longer tower, in sky-aspiring contempt of humanity's cowering dwellings about its base, when pulpits and priests and hangmen and generals - gibbets and jails, shall have vanished from the surface of the delivered earth, then shall be heard music here, where they used to stand. The hills shall then break forth into singing, and all the trees of the field clap their hands.

[Henry Thoreau](#) was written to by James Richardson, Jr. in Harvard Divinity School in Cambridge.

Friend Thoreau

I have been desirous of sending to some of my mystic brethren—some selections from certain writings of mine, that wrote themselves, when “I was in the spirit on the Lord’s Day”. Some of these are so utterly and entirely out of all my rational faculties, that I can’t put any meaning in them; others I read over, and learn a great deal from. This, I send you, seems to be a sort of Allegory— When you return it, will you be so kind as to tell me all that it means, as there are some parts of it I do not fully understand myself— I have a grateful remembrance of the moments I saw you in. Mr Emerson too I have less awe of, and more love for, than formerly His presence has always to me something infinite as well as divine about it. Mrs Emerson I am very desirous of knowing. Your family give my love to—

James Richardson jr December 9 D^y College Cam.



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1843

Nicolas Roch, grandson of Antoine Roch, replaced François Desmores as beheader at Lons-le-Saulnier.

HEADCHOPPING

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1843

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
06/05	Betty Eccles	38	Liverpool	Murder of stepson (hanged alongside Wilmot Buckley)
05/08	Sarah Dazeley	24	Bedford	Murder of husband

December 31, Sunday: Many of the devotees of the Reverend [William Miller](#) expected Jesus to return at the end of 1843 (Festinger, Leon et al. WHEN PROPHECY FAILS. Minneapolis MN: U of Minnesota P, 1956, page 16).

MILLENNIALISM

The wealthiest citizen of [Cranston, Rhode Island](#), Amasa Sprague of the A&W Sprague textile empire, was murdered. Refer to Charles and Tess Hoffmann's [BROTHERLY LOVE: MURDER AND THE POLITICS OF PREJUDICE IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY RHODE ISLAND](#) (Amherst MA: U of Massachusetts P, 1993).



You can read this book online at <http://www.questia.com/library/book/brotherly-love-murder-and-the-politics-of-prejudice-in-nineteenth-century-rhode-island-by-charles-tess-hoffmann.jsp>.

Brothers who had emigrated there from [Ireland](#), Nicholas, John, and William Gordon, would be charged with this murder, although there was precious little evidence against them other than the fact that they were [Catholics](#). Of the 3, Nicholas and William had the most airtight alibis, whereas John would be unable to

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produce evidence as to his whereabouts on the afternoon in question. It would be [John Gordon](#), therefore, who would hang for the crime, on [February 14th, 1844](#). The authors of this study attempt to make a case that the actual murderer was Mr. Sprague’s brother and business partner, William Sprague II, who had served as the governor of the state, and was currently one of its US senators, although actually there is less evidence against Senator Sprague than there is against one “Big Peter,” a mill laborer who had disappeared from the vicinity shortly after the afternoon of the crime.



At the trial the judge ruled that the testimony of recent immigrants from [Ireland](#) was inherently of less credibility than the testimony of native-born American citizens. Later there would be sufficient doubt, that this conviction and [hanging](#) had been anything more than a rush to judgment, that this would be the last hanging permitted to take place on the soil of Rhode Island.

FAMOUS LASTS		
December 1, 1842	US Navy Midshipman, Philip Spencer	son of Secretary of War John C. Spencer, who had schemed with others to turn his ship to piracy, hanged for mutiny
February 14, 1844	John Gordon	hanged for murder of factory owner Amasa Sprague probably only because he was an Irish Catholic immigrant, in Rhode Island (no more such events would occur)
June 3, 1844	Great Auk <i>Pinguinus impennis</i>	last breeding pair , on Eldey Island off Iceland



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1844

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1844

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
13/01	Sarah Westwood	42	Stafford	Murder of husband
02/08	Eliza Joyce	31	Lincoln Castle	Murder of child
07/08	Catherine Bryan		Rosscommon	Murder of husband
07/08	Bridget Lanigan		Rosscommon	Murder
28/12	Mary Galop	30	Chester	Murder of father

January: The [Rhode Island](#) General Assembly abolished [capital punishment](#) for all crimes other than murder and arson.

February 14, Wednesday: In [Providence](#), [John Gordon](#) was hanged for the unexplained murder of Amasa Sprague. Because it was so entirely doubtful that John was guilty of anything at all (other than being a [Catholic](#), and a recent immigrant from impoverished [Ireland](#)), this would become hopefully the very last [hanging](#) ever to take place above the soil of [Rhode Island](#).

FINAL EXECUTIONS		
December 1, 1842	US Navy Midshipman, Philip Spencer	son of Secretary of War John C. Spencer, who had schemed with others to turn his ship to piracy, among others, was strangled for mutiny
February 14, 1844	John Gordon	hanged for murder of factory owner Amasa Sprague probably only because he was an Irish Catholic immigrant, in Rhode Island (no more such events would occur)
August 30, 1850	John White Webster	last Harvard College professor to be hanged by the neck in Boston

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March 17, Sunday: [Frederick Douglass](#) was lecturing in Neponset Village, Massachusetts.



At Boston's Amory Hall in the morning, Charles A. Dana lectured on "Association," then in the afternoon there was an open discussion on the topic "Ought [capital punishment](#) to be abolished?," and in the evening Dr. Joseph Rhodes Buchanan (1814-1899) lectured on "The Pursuit of Truth."



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1845

A ruffian named Ingood who specialized in rolling [drunken](#) sailors attained the distinction of being the 1st white man to be [hanged](#) in [Hong Kong](#).

[CHINA](#)

London Yearly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) had a leading in regard to [capital punishment](#):

This punishment fails to produce the effect of deterring others....
[I]t is even the means of hardening in sin many who witness public executions.

Meanwhile, the person being awarded the distinction of being the last to [hang](#) in [Rhode Island](#) was an Irish Catholic immigrant named [John Gordon](#). Many believed at that time that this 20-year-old was simply a victim of local prejudice against the Irish — and the consensus now seems to be that indeed he was most likely innocent of the crime for which he was being hanged. (But who knows, maybe he had something else reprehensible on his conscience and was able to muse on that error as they placed the hood over his head — there's precious few of us who aren't guilty of **something**!)

[COLDBLOODED MURDER](#)

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1845

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
11/01	Mary Sheming	51	Bury St Edmunds	Murder of son
23/04	Sarah Freeman	28	Taunton	Murder of brother



March 12, Wednesday: The governor of Massachusetts commuted the sentence of execution by [hanging](#) of one Peter York, or having killed one James Norton on Richmond Street in [Boston](#), to a sentence of life in prison.

[Henry Thoreau](#) wrote to [The Liberator](#):

[The Liberator](#)
1845.

Concord, Mass. March 12,

Mr. Editor: — We have now, for the third winter, had our spirits refreshed, and our faith in the destiny of the commonwealth strengthened, by the presence and the eloquence of Wendell Phillips; and we wish to tender to him our thanks and our sympathy. The admission of this gentleman into the Lyceum has been strenuously opposed by a respectable portion of our fellow citizens, who themselves, we trust, whose descendants, at least, we know, will be as faithful conservers of the true order, whenever that shall be the order of the day, — and in each instance, the people have voted that they *would hear him*, by coming themselves and bringing their friends to the lecture room, and being very silent that they *might* hear. We saw some men and women, who had long ago *come*



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out, going in once more through the free and hospitable portals of the Lyceum; and many of our neighbors confessed, that they had had a “sound season” this once.

It was the speaker’s aim to show what the State, and above all the Church, had to do, and now, alas! have done, with Texas and slavery, and how much, on the other hand, the individual should have to do with church and state. These were fair themes, and not mistimed; and his words were addressed to “fit audience, *and not few.*”

We must give Mr. Phillips the credit of being a clean, erect, and what was once called a consistent man. He at least is not responsible for slavery, nor for American Independence; for the hypocrisy and superstition of the Church, nor the timidity and selfishness of the State; nor for the indifference and willing ignorance of any. He stands so distinctly, so firmly, and so effectively, alone, and one honest man is so much more than a host, that we cannot but feel that he does himself injustice when he reminds us of “the American Society, which he represents.” It is rare that we have the pleasure of listening to so clear and orthodox a speaker, who obviously has so few cracks or flaws in his moral nature,— who, having words at his command in a remarkable degree, has much more than words, if these should fail, in his unquestionable earnestness and integrity,— and, aside from their admiration at his rhetoric, secures the genuine respect of his audience. He unconsciously tells his biography as he proceeds, and we see him early and earnestly deliberating on these subjects, and wisely and bravely, without counsel or consent of any, occupying a ground at first, from which the varying tides of public opinion cannot drive him.

No one could mistake the genuine modesty and truth with which he affirmed, when speaking of the framers of the Constitution,— “I am wiser than they,” which with him has improved these sixty years’ experience of its working; or the uncompromising consistency and frankness of the prayer which concluded, not like the Thanksgiving proclamations, with — “God save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts,” but — God dash it into a thousand pieces, till there shall not remain a fragment on which a man can stand, and dare not tell his name,— referring to the case of Frederick —; to our disgrace we know not what to call him, unless Scotland will lend us the spoils of one of her Douglasses, out of history or fiction, for a season, till we be hospitable and brave enough to hear his proper name, — a fugitive slave in one more sense than we; who has proved himself the possessor of a *fair* intellect, and has won a colorless reputation in these parts; and who, we trust, will be as superior to degradation from the sympathies of Freedom, as from the antipathies of slavery. When, said Mr. Phillips, he communicated to a New Bedford audience, the other day, his purpose of writing his life, and telling his name, and the name of his master, and the place he ran from, the murmur ran round the room, and was anxiously whispered by the sons of the Pilgrims, “He had better not!” and it



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was echoed under the shadow of Concord monument, “He had better not!”

We would fain express our appreciation of the freedom and steady wisdom, so rare in the reformer, with which he declared that he was not born to abolish slavery, but to do right. We have heard a few, a very few, good political speakers, who afforded us the pleasure of great intellectual power and acuteness, of soldier-like steadiness, and of a graceful and natural oratory; but in this man the audience might detect a sort of moral principle and integrity, which was more stable than their firmness, more discriminating than his own intellect, and more graceful than his rhetoric, which was not working for temporary or trivial ends. It is so rare and encouraging to listen to an orator, who is content with another alliance than with the popular party, or even with the sympathizing school of the martyrs, who can afford sometimes to be his own auditor if the mob stay away, and hears himself without reproof, that we feel ourselves in danger of slandering all mankind by affirming, that here is one, who is at the same time an eloquent speaker and a righteous man. Perhaps, on the whole, the most interesting fact elicited by these addresses, is the readiness of the people at large, of whatever sect or party, to entertain, with good will and hospitality, the most revolutionary and heretical opinions, when frankly and adequately, and in some sort cheerfully, expressed. Such clear and candid declaration of opinion served like an electuary to whet and clarify the intellect of all parties, and furnished each one with an additional argument for that right he asserted.

We consider Mr. Phillips one of the most conspicuous and efficient champions of a true Church and State now in the field, and would say to him, and such as are like him, “God speed you.” If you know of any champion in the ranks of his opponents, who has the valor and courtesy even of Paynim chivalry, if not the Christian graces and refinement of this knight, you will do us a service by directing him to these fields forthwith, where the lists are now open, and he shall be hospitably entertained. For as yet the red-cross knight has shown us only the gallant device upon his shield, and his admirable command of his steed, prancing and curveting in the empty lists; but we wait to see who, in the actual breaking of lances, will come tumbling upon the plain.

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March 28, Friday: [Texas](#), which had been created as a Republic in 1836, was annexed to the United States (or *vice versa*) and Mexico broke off relations with the USA.

On March 12th, [Henry Thoreau](#) had written a letter to the editor of [The Liberator](#).



THE LIBERATOR

[DL. I.]

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON AND ISAAC KNAPP, PUBLISHERS.

[NO

[BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.]

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE MANKIND.

[SATURDAY, APRIL 23,

The substance of it was that on March 11th, at the Lyceum in [Concord](#), Wendell Phillips had presented the non-cooperation-with-government position. We now reprint this letter as it appeared in [The Liberator](#), as an editorial: “Wendell Phillips Before the Concord Lyceum.” Thoreau was reporting that: “We must give Mr. Phillips the credit of being a clean, erect, and what was once called a consistent man. He at least is not responsible for slavery ... for the hypocrisy and superstition of the church, nor the timidity and selfishness of the state.... In this man the audience might detect a sort of moral principle and integrity.” He punned (rather tastelessly, it seems to us now) on [Frederick Douglass](#)’s “fair intellect,” and on his “colorless reputation.”

John Tawell had been born in 1784 as the 2d son of Thomas Tawell, who for a considerable number of years kept a general shop in the parish of Aldely, a village in Norfolk, about six miles from Beccles. As a teen he had been friends with a Quaker linen-draper, Joseph Hunton, who had ultimately been executed for forgery. He entered the service of a widow of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) who kept a general shop in the village of Pakefield, near Lowestoft, in Suffolk and began to attend meeting for worship and gradually assimilated himself, applying in London late in 1803 or early in 1804 to be recognized as a “convinced” Friend. Ultimately the Religious Society of Friends in London had recognized this slight and seemingly applicant, but then in 1806 while living in Whitechapel under the auspices of a Quaker, at the age of 22 he had seduced a servant-girl. They married. While working in a druggist’s shop, he was detected in the forgery of a £10 note on Smith’s Bank of Uxbridge and was in 1820 sentenced to [hang](#) (he was disowned by the Quakers but they persuaded the court to commute the sentence to transportation for 14 years). In [Australia](#) he initially labored on coal boats but then got a job in a convict hospital and became a clerk to Mr. Isaac Wood of the Sydney Academy. After three years he was pardoned, on the basis of his earlier experience, granted a license by the medical board to dispense drugs. He opened a small chemist shop, still attired in Quaker garb. He was granted a ticket of leave and began a prosperous business in Sydney. In 3 years he became an undoubted success by cornering the market in whalebone for combs and toothbrushes. In 1823 Tawell’s wife and their two sons John Junior and William were able to join him in Australia with their trip paid for by the Crown. His son William Tawell died in 1833. In 1837 he prepared a Quaker meetinghouse in Sydney, with a plaque

JOHN TAWELL — TO THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

He made a public display of his temperance by pouring casks of gin and rum into the sea at Sydney Cove. After some 15 years as a chemist in Australia he returned to England somewhat wealthy. His wife became ill so he hired Sarah Lawrence to attend her. He began an affair with this nurse and she gave birth to his child, and then another. His wife and his remaining son John Tawell, Jr. died in 1838. In 1841 he remarried with a Quaker



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widow, Mrs. Sarah Cutforth, who had run a school in Clerkenwell (she would be disowned for this marriage with a man who had been disowned). Apparently the nurse Sarah Lawrence who had given birth to two of his children had been expecting that eventually he would marry her, but instead she was removed with her two children to a cottage in Salt Hill near Slough where she would be known as “Sarah Hart.” She secured a court order that he maintain her and the children and he was providing a weekly allowance of £1. Between 6PM and 7PM on January 1, 1845 a man in Quaker garb was observed departing from Sarah’s cottage hurriedly, leaving 30-year-old Sarah moaning on the floor. Two glasses were on the table, one empty and the other containing some porter. The man was followed and was observed to board a slow train for London. The telegraph apparatus in use at Slough was a model patented in 1837 by Fothergill Cooke and Charles Wheatstone (this was a complicated apparatus in which the wiggling of two needles would be interpreted to stand for a letter of the alphabet –or if preceded by a number signal, for a number– and for simplicity its code used G for J, K for Q, and S for Z). The stationmaster telegraphed at once to Paddington Station,

A MURDER HAS JUST BEEN COMMITTED AT SALT HILL AND THE SUSPECTED MURDERER WAS SEEN TO TAKE A FIRST CLASS TICKET TO LONDON BY THE TRAIN THAT LEFT SLOUGH AT 7 42 PM HE IS IN THE GARB OF A KWAKER WITH A GREAT COAT ON WHICH REACHES NEARLY DOWN TO HIS FEET HE IS IN THE LAST COMPARTMENT OF THE SECOND CLASS COMPARTMENT

TELEGRAPHY



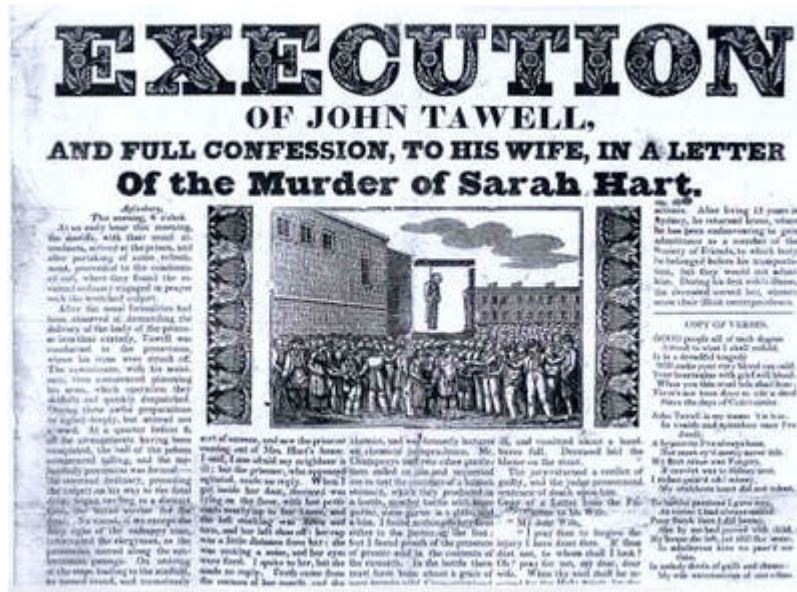
The trial took place on March 12, 1845 at Aylesbury County Court under Judge Baron Parke. The defendant appeared in the attire of a Quaker and it was established that he had recently purchased from a chemist he knew in Bishopgate, London two bottles of Scheele’s Prussic Acid, a compound used for the treatment of varicose veins. Attorney for the defense Sir Fitzroy Kelly, a promoter of the Appeals Court and the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, had attempted to make a plausible case that since there had been a large barrel of apples in the house, the deceased might accidentally have poisoned herself by ingesting apple seeds or “pips” that do contain trace amounts of hydrogen cyanide (for this inventiveness the barrister would ever after be known as “Apple-pip Kelly”). Neither the judge nor the jury had credited such a defense and at the age of 61 Tawell had

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stood before the judge and for the 2d time in his life be sentenced to [hang](#). On this day he was hanged at Aylesbury. An orderly crowd of two or three thousand persons, “chiefly agricultural labourers and a few mechanics,” watched at 8PM as the slight man strangled for some ten minutes at the end of the rope. The actual electromagnetic devices were on display at a shilling per viewer (they would be donated in 1876 and you can now view them in London’s Science Museum). Tawell’s English assets were forfeit to the Crown with the widow allowed to keep their Birkhampstead home. His estate in Sydney was likewise forfeit but there was argument as to how it should be disposed of, for it was discovered that the meetinghouse he had prepared for the Quakers that displayed his donation plaque had not been formally gifted. Eventually it would be purchased and transformed into a Jewish synagogue. Sarah Hart’s two children were placed in care. Telegraph wires would be described as “the cords that hung John Tawell.”



Early May: [Henry Thoreau](#) hired a horse and pulled stumps in [Waldo Emerson](#)'s 11-acre plot, for firewood as well as to clear it, and then plowed $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres to plant in *Phaseolus vulgaris* var. *humilis* common small navy pea bush white beans.³⁹⁴ This clearing of the exhausted farmland beyond the Concord Alms House and Poor Farm, which had been timbered some time before and had lain fallow for some 17 years partly restoring its fertility, was Thoreau's deal with Emerson by which he would be allowed to build a cabin for his occupancy in

394. Brad Dean has calculated that to plant 7 miles of rows, each row 15 rods in length, spaced 3 feet apart, the dimensions of the beanfield would have been 247.5 by 447 feet or 110,632.5 square feet, and that this amounts to 2.534 acres or slightly over a hectare.

These are beans that ripen prior to harvest and are threshed dry from the pods. Only the ripe seeds reach market. The main types are grown as follows: (1) the Pea or Navy which Henry was growing; (2) Medium type, which includes Pinto, Great Northern, Sutter, Pink Bayo, and Small Red or Mexican Red; (3) Kidney; and (4) Marrow. Seeds vary in size from about 1/3-inch long in Thoreau's pea or navy bean to 3/4-inch in the Kidney. All these plants are of bush type. They are usually cut or pulled when most pods are ripe, and then vines and pods are allowed to dry before threshing. This is a bean thought to have originated in Central America from southern Mexico to Guatemala and Honduras. Evidence of the common bean has been found in two widely separated places. Large seeded common beans were found at Callejon de Hualylas in Peru, and small seeded common beans were found in the Tehuacan Valley in Mexico, with both finds carbon-dating as earlier than 5,000 BCE. This crop is associated with the maize and squash culture which predominated in pre-Columbian tropical America. In our post-Columbian era this bean has come to be grown in all areas of the world.

However, that's only the literal bean, not the metaphorical or literary bean, and once upon a time in Europe, there had been a form of commercial counting in use very much like the abacus of the East, in which beans were used. In those days to "know how many beans make up five" was to be commercially numerate. —Sort of like today knowing how to count one's change. It might be suggested therefore that Thoreau's determination to know beans was a play upon this archaic usage in which not knowing one's beans amounted to innumeracy, and in addition a play upon the common accusation "You don't know beans about xxxxx!" It might also be suggested that this is scatological humor similar to Shakespeare's — the following is from his "Comedy of Errors":

A man may break a word with you sir; and words are but wind;
Ay, and break it in your face, so he break it not behind.

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Emerson's woodlot where it touched on [Walden Pond](#). Thoreau then bought the shanty of a departing family



of impoverished Irish immigrants, the [James Collinses](#) who were moving on at the completion of work on the railway, standing near the new tracks, for its materials, tore it apart, and hauled the recovered boards some rods along the hilltop and down to [Walden Pond](#) on a hand-cart of some sort, to dry in the sun:



A 19th-Century Irish shanty in the Merrimack Valley

[TIMELINE OF WALDEN](#)[THE BEANFIELD](#)



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WALDEN: At length, in the beginning of May, with the help of some of my acquaintances, rather to improve so good an occasion for neighborliness than from any necessity, I set up the frame of my house. No man was ever more honored in the character of his raisers than I. They are destined, I trust, to assist at the raising of loftier structures one day. I began to occupy my house on the 4th of July, as soon as it was boarded and roofed, for the boards were carefully feather-edged and lapped, so that it was perfectly impervious to rain; but before boarding I laid the foundation of a chimney at one end, bringing two cartloads of stones up the hill from the pond in my arms. I built the chimney after my hoeing in the fall, before a fire became necessary for warmth, doing my cooking in the mean while out of doors on the ground, early in the morning; which mode I still think is in some respects more convenient and agreeable than the usual one. When it stormed before my bread was baked, I fixed a few boards over the fire, and sat under them to watch my loaf, and passed some pleasant hours in that way. In those days, when my hands were much employed, I read but little, but the least scraps of paper which lay on the ground, my holder, or tablecloth, afforded me as much entertainment, in fact answered the same purpose as the Iliad.

PEOPLE OF
WALDEN

BRONSON ALCOTT

ELLERY CHANNING

WALDO EMERSON

EDMUND HOSMER

EDMUND HOSMER, JR

JOHN HOSMER

ANDREW HOSMER

JAMES BURRILL CURTIS

GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS

The “acquaintances” who participated in this rustic “raising”³⁹⁵ ceremony on the [Walden Pond](#) shore were:

- [Bronson Alcott](#)
- [Ellery Channing](#)
- [Waldo Emerson](#)
- [Edmund Hosmer](#)

395. “No man was ever more honored in the character of his raisers than I.” I would maintain that [WALDEN](#) is chock-full of references to the gallows, references that nowadays we don’t “get” simply because we no longer live in the sort of culture, in which public execution is an unchallenged holiday convention. For instance, I would maintain that this particular paragraph, apparently so innocent, includes an implicit reference to being [hanged](#). While the raisers of a house frame are the friends and neighbors who push with poles and pull with ropes as a frame is being lifted from its temporary horizontal position to its permanent vertical position, the raisers of a person may by extension be the outraged citizens who are pulling on the rope that elevates a criminal by the neck toward the extending horizontal branch of a tree. This is not the sort of gallows humor which would have gone unnoticed in the first half of the 19th Century, not in America it wouldn’t. This is an implicit reference to [Thoreau’s Huguenot](#) ancestors of honored memory, who rather than tugging together upon the indecent public end of that hanging rope, in *la belle France*, had sometimes found themselves tugging alone upon the noose at the decent end. [But there is more on this topic at:](#)



GALLOWS
HUMOR

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- [Hosmer](#)'s sons [Edmund Hosmer, Jr.](#), John Hosmer, and Andrew Hosmer
- the brothers [George William Curtis](#) and [James Burrill Curtis](#)



[Emerson](#) of course resided in the Coolidge mansion just on the other side of the poorhouse farm (Gleason F7) and was the owner of the woodlot in which this shanty was being erected, and would be the owner of that shanty, and the Curtis brothers, having come from [Brook Farm](#) to Ponkawtasset Hill (Gleason D7) a year earlier, and the [Alcotts](#), having only recently returned to [Concord](#) from their [Fruitlands](#) near [Harvard, Massachusetts](#) to reside near the [Edmund Hosmer](#) home on a road leading toward Lincoln (Gleason G9/66), were of course quite conveniently situated to come over to the pond for this neighborly little ceremony.



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the Text

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WALDEN: It was a singular experience that long acquaintance which I cultivated with beans, what with planting, and hoeing, and harvesting, and threshing, and picking over, and selling them, -the last was the hardest of all,- I might add eating, for I did taste. I was determined to know beans. When they were growing, I used to hoe from five o'clock in the morning till noon, and commonly spent the rest of the day about other affairs. Consider the intimate and curious acquaintance one makes with various kinds of weeds, -it will bear some iteration in the account, for there was no little iteration in the labor,- disturbing their delicate organizations so ruthlessly, and making such invidious distinctions with his hoe, levelling whole ranks of one species, and sedulously cultivating another. That's Roman wormwood, -that's pigweed, -that's sorrel, -that's piper-grass, -have at him, chop him up, turn his roots upward to the sun, don't let him have a fibre in the shade, if you do he'll turn himself t'other side up and be as green as a leek in two days. A long war, not with cranes, but with weeds, those Trojans who had sun and rain and dews on their side. Daily the beans saw me come to their rescue armed with a hoe, and thin the ranks of their enemies, filling up the trenches with weedy dead.

Many a lusty crest-waving Hector, that towered a whole foot above his crowding comrades, fell before my weapon and rolled in the dust.

Those summer days which some of my contemporaries devoted to the fine arts in Boston or Rome, and others to contemplation in India, and others to trade in London or New York, I thus, with the other farmers of New England, devoted to husbandry. Not that I wanted beans to eat, for I am by nature a Pythagorean, so as far as beans are concerned, whether they mean porridge or voting, and exchanged them for rice; but, perchance, as some must work in fields if only for the sake of tropes and expression, to serve a parable-maker one day. It was on the whole a rare amusement, which, continued too long, might have become a dissipation. Though I gave them no manure, and did not hoe them all once, I hoed them unusually well as far as I went, and was paid for it in the end, "there being in truth," as Evelyn says, "no compost or lætation whatsoever comparable to this continual motion, repastination, and turning of the mould with the spade." "The earth," he adds elsewhere, "especially if fresh, has a certain magnetism in it, by which it attracts the salt, power, or virtue (call it either) which gives it life, and is the logic of all the labor and stir we keep about it, to sustain us; all dungings and other sordid temperings being but the vicars succedaneous to this improvement." Moreover, this being one of those "worn-out and exhausted lay fields which enjoy their sabbath," had perchance, as Sir Kenelm Digby thinks likely, attracted "vital spirits" from the air. I harvested twelve bushels of beans.



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But to be more particular; for it is complained that Mr. Colman has reported chiefly the expensive experiments of gentlemen farmers; my outgoes were,-

For a hoe,	\$0 54
Ploughing, harrowing, and furrowing, ...	7 50, Too much.
Beans for seed,	3 12 $\frac{1}{2}$
Potatoes “	1 33
Peas “	0 40
Turnip seed,	0 06
White line for crow fence,	0 02
Horse cultivator and boy three hours, ...	1 00
Horse and cart to get crop,	0 75

In all,\$14 72 $\frac{1}{2}$

My income was, (patrem familias vendacem, non emacem esse oportet,) from

Nine bushels and twelve quarts of beans sold,	\$16 94
Five “ large potatoes,	2 50
Nine “ small “	2 25
Grass,	1 00
Stalks,	0 75

In all,\$23 44

Leaving a pecuniary profit, as I have elsewhere said, of \$8 71 $\frac{1}{2}$.

This is the result of my experience in raising beans. Plant the common small white bush bean about the first of June, in rows three feet by eighteen inches apart, being careful to select fresh round and unmixed seed. First look out for worms, and supply vacancies by planting anew. Then look out for woodchucks, if it is an exposed place, for they will nibble off the earliest tender leaves almost clean as they go; and again, when the young tendrils make their appearance, they have notice of it, and will shear them off with both buds and young pods, sitting erect like a squirrel. but above all harvest as early as possible, if you would escape frosts and have a fair and saleable crop; you may save much loss by this means.



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This further experience also I gained. I said to myself, I will not plant beans and corn with so much industry another summer, but such seeds, if the seed is not lost, as sincerity, truth, simplicity, faith, innocence, and the like, and see if they will not grow in this soil, even with less toil and manurance, and sustain me, for surely it has not been exhausted for these crops. Alas! I said this to myself; but now another summer is gone, and another, and another, and I am obliged to say to you, Reader, that the seeds which I planted, if indeed they were the seeds of those virtues, were wormeaten or had lost their vitality, and so did not come up. Commonly men will only be brave as their fathers were brave, or timid. This generation is very sure to plant corn and beans each new year precisely as the Indians did centuries ago and taught the first settlers to do, as if there were a fate in it. I saw an old man the other day, to my astonishment, making the holes with a hoe for the seventieth time at least, and not for himself to lie down in! But why should not the New Englander try new adventures, and not lay so much stress on his grain, his potato and grass crop, and his orchards? -raise other crops than these? Why concern ourselves so much about our beans for seed, and not be concerned at all about a new generation of men? We should really be fed and cheered if when we met a man we were sure to see that some of the qualities which I have named, which we all prize more than those other productions, but which are for the most part broadcast and floating in the air, had taken root and grown in him. Here comes such a subtle and ineffable quality, for instance, as truth or justice, though the slightest amount or new variety of it, along the road. Our ambassadors should be instructed to send home such seeds as these, and Congress help to distribute them over all the land. We should never stand upon ceremony with sincerity.

We should never cheat and insult and banish one another by our meanness, if there were present the kernel of worth and friendliness. We should not meet thus in haste. Most men I do not meet at all, for they seem not to have time; they are busy about their beans. We would not deal with a man thus plodding ever, leaning on a hoe or a spade as a staff between his work, not as a mushroom, but partially risen out of the earth, something more than erect, like swallows alighted and walking on the ground.-

“And as he spake, his wings would now and then
Spread, as he meant to fly, then close again,”

so that we should suspect that we might be conversing with an angel. Bread may not always nourish us; but it always does us good, it even takes stiffness out of our joints, and makes us supple and buoyant, when we knew not what ailed us, to recognize any generosity in man or Nature, to share any unmixed and heroic joy.



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Ancient poetry and mythology suggest, at least, that husbandry was once a sacred art; but it is pursued with irreverent haste and heedlessness by us, our object being to have large farms and large crops merely. We have no festival, nor procession, nor ceremony, not excepting our Cattle-shows and so called Thanksgivings, by which the farmer expresses a sense of the sacredness of his calling, or is reminded of its sacred origin. It is the premium and the feast which tempt him. He sacrifices not to Ceres and the Terrestrial Jove, but to the infernal Plutus rather. By avarice and selfishness, and a grovelling habit, from which none of us is free, of regarding the soil as property, or the means of acquiring property chiefly, the landscape is deformed, husbandry is degraded with us, and the farmer leads the meanest of lives.

He knows Nature but as a robber. Cato says that the profits of agriculture are particularly pious or just, (*maximeque pius quæstus*,) and according to Varro the old Romans "called the same earth Mother and Ceres, and thought that they who cultivated it led a pious and useful life, and that they alone were left of the race of King Saturn."

We are wont to forget that the sun looks on our cultivated fields and on the prairies and forests without distinction. They all reflect and absorb his rays alike, and the former make but a small part of the glorious picture which he beholds in his daily course. In his view the earth is all equally cultivated like a garden. Therefore we should receive the benefit of his light and heat with a corresponding trust and magnanimity. What though I value the seed of these beans, and harvest that in the fall of the year? This broad field which I have looked at so long looks not to me as the principal cultivator, but away from me to influences more genial to it, which water and make it green. These beans have results which are not harvested by me. Do they not grow for woodchucks partly? The ear of wheat, (in Latin *spica*," obsoletely *specā*, from *spe*, hope,) should not be the only hope of the husbandman; its kernel or grain (*granum*, from *gerendo*, bearing,) is not all that it bears. How, then, can our harvest fail? Shall I not rejoice also at the abundance of the weeds whose seeds are the granary of the birds? It matters little comparatively whether the fields fill the farmer's barns. The true husbandman will cease from anxiety, as the squirrels manifest no concern whether the woods will bear chestnuts this year or not, and finish his labor with every day, relinquishing all claim to the produce of his fields, and sacrificing in his mind not only his first but his last fruits also.

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July 3, Thursday: In [Boston](#), Thomas Barrett was [hanged](#) for a multiple murder.

[Frederick Douglass](#) lectured in Westminster, Massachusetts.



In approximately this year John William Davis, who would eventually become governor of [Rhode Island](#) (1887/1888, 1890/1891), was a young man serving his apprenticeship.

It was the custom of the boss to give us a day off and a dollar for spending money Fourth of July and College Commencement days. Mr. Vanderbilt the elder was fighting for a share of the eastern travel, and at this Fourth of July his old boat *Neptune* was carrying passengers from [Providence](#) to [New-York](#) for twenty five cents each, deck-passage. The boat sailed from India Point near our lodging and when the boss gave me the dollar I started straight for the craft, paid my quarter and went on board. It was my first voyage down the bay and out upon the ocean by Point Judith and I did not miss much that could be seen by night. Arrived in the great city I got a breakfast of coffee and steak for a quarter and then started out down West St. across the Battery. The Battery proper then stood out in the harbor beyond the shore – then the Quincy Slip where there were acres of Canal boats, up Whitehall St. to Bowling Green where I first saw a fountain flowing from a pile of rough stones in the pool in the green. Water was belching in every direction. Then I went up

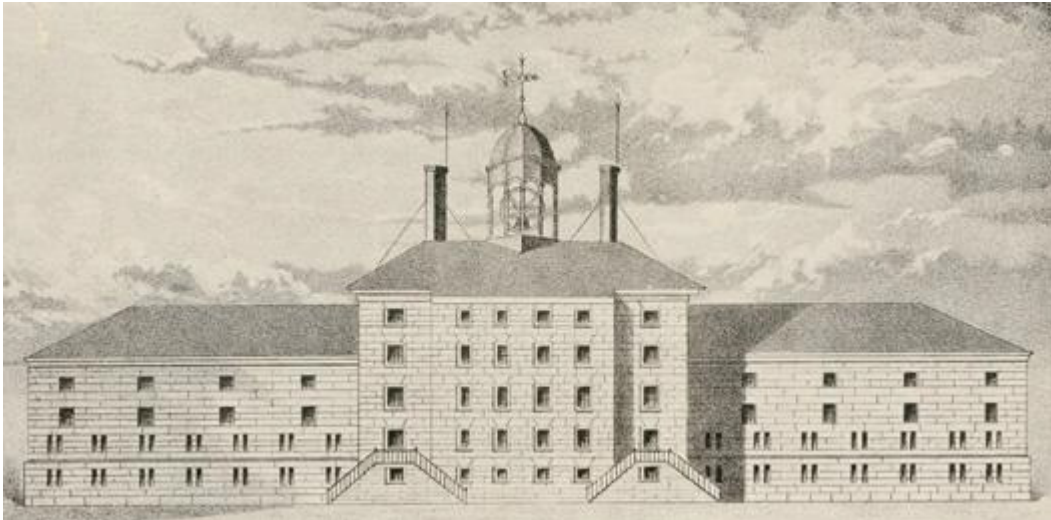
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Broadway to the Park where another fountain was showering a pool, and the City Hall was trimmed with flags. Thence I went up Broadway and across to North River side and so on and on all day long, stopping to inspect a company of Scottish Highlanders out in parade in tartans and philibegs until nightfall called me again to the *Neptune*. I supped on a sandwich and cup of coffee costing a New York shilling and had three bits left out of my dollar. I paid two for my passage and one for a mattress to lie upon, sleeping through the night and arriving home for breakfast went to work that morning. I have been to New York many times since then, supped and lodged at the Fifth Ave. and the Waldorf at the expense of the state but I never went at less personal cost or had greater enjoyment than on the memorable occasion related.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

August 29, Friday: The governor of Massachusetts commuted the sentence of execution by [hanging](#) of the murderer Orin De Wolf, to life in prison in [Charlestown](#).³⁹⁶



396. From the 1849 Physician's Report of the Massachusetts State Prison: "Orin De Wolf, a native of Vermont, aged 33 years, died August 19th, of cholera. He had been in prison four years. He was originally sentenced to death for the crime of murder; but came to the prison under a commutation of sentence to imprisonment for life."

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October 27, Monday: Mrs. Mary Ann Bickford was murdered on Mount Vernon Avenue in [Boston](#).

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PRICE 12 1-2 CENTS.

HIGHLY INTERESTING WORK.

LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE OF THE LATE MARIA A. BICKFORD.



The above portrait was drawn from a daguerreotype miniature, taken from the trunk of Mrs. B. by Coroner Pratt, on the morning of the murder, and engraved expressly for this work by Brown & Worcester, eminent artists of this city. The fac simile of the superb satin dress which she wore is executed with remarkable fidelity. This dress is reported to have cost \$100, and was presented to her by Albert J. Tirrell.

BOSTON: FOR SALE AT THE PERIODICAL DEPOTS.

[READ ABOUT THIS CASE](#)

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Winter: We have an indication in [Henry Thoreau](#)'s journal that in this season he was reading in the [Reverend George Gilfillan](#)'s new GALLERY OF LITERARY PORTRAITS (Edinburgh: James Hogg).



EMINENT LITERARY MALES

[Thoreau](#) entered some thoughts about [Waldo Emerson](#) v. [Bronson Alcott](#) into his journal:



Emerson again is a critic poet philosopher –with talent not so conspicuous –not so adequate to his task – – Lives a far more intense life –seeks to realize a divine life –his affections and intellect equally developed. – has advanced farther and a new heaven opens to him– Love & Friendship –Religion –Poetry –The Holy are familiar to him The life of an Artist –more variegated –more observing –finer perception –not so robust –elastic –practical enough in his own field –faithful –a judge of men

There is no such general critic of men & things –no such trustworthy & faithful man.– More of the divine realized in him than in any.

A poetic-critic –reserving the unqualified nouns for the gods —

Alcott is a geometer –a visionary – – The Laplace of ethics– More intellect –less of the affections –sight beyond talents –a substratum of practical skill and knowledge unquestionable –but overlaid and concealed by a faith in the unseen and impracticable

Seeks to realize an entire life– A catholic observer –habitually takes in the farthest star & nebula –into his scheme.

Will be the last man to be disappointed as the ages revolve His attitude is one of greater faith & expectation than that of any man I know –with little to show –with undue share for a philosopher of the weaknesses of humanity.

The most hospitable intellect –embracing high & low –for children how much that means –for the insane and vagabond –for the poet and scholar. —

Emerson has special talents unequalled– The divine in man has had no more easy methodically distinct expression.

His personal influence upon young persons greater than any man's

In his world every man would be a poet– Love would reign– Beauty would take place– Man & nature would harmonize – —

When Alcotts day comes Laws unsuspected by most will take effect –the system will crystallize according to them –all scales and falsehood will slough-off. Every thing will be in its place.

His responsive “yes” and “no” and attentive alert “hah!”

Like a happy merchant in the crowd all on the alert and sympathetic nudging his friends –“hear that” listening to his favorite speaker –going for protection –impatiently attentive– “I say, at the same time we had a War with France. [Yes, your Highness said so, –and we admit it!]” all good –that which I didnt hear and that which I did –are means to it.

He not only makes him speak audibly but he makes all parties listen to him and gives us their comments – “groans” or “blushes” –or or “assent” –for this side or that –not a man speaking alone but with England sitting round.

The merchant listens restless with shake of his head –dumb (hum-m-m) and reiteration of his last words –

We have from time to time pleasant congratulations, when the speech grows dim and involved of any “little window in to his Highness” and intimations of a “Speech getting ready in his interior.”

with triumphant malicious appeal from time to time when there is a palpable hit to [My honorable friends?]

–Supplying his looks and attitudes and sound of his voice and even his unutterable and wrecked submerged thought.

even the moderns are made to hear and respond as they best can. “O Secretary of the Home Department, my right honorable friend!” must bethink himself of his duties

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–when the speech lags or stumbles reassuring & encouraging his fellow auditors –hearing not for himself only but for all –in more silent soliloquy exclaiming “Poor Oliver, noble Oliver!”– “Look in that countenance of high Highness!”

“Courage, my brave one!”

Cromwell begins speaking only within sight of the beginning & stops short when the conclusion is visible.

And the sentence frequently “breaks down” in the middle and never get us again



Winter 1845/1846 before February 22d: Then in dark winter mornings in short winter afternoons the pack of hounds –threading all woods with hounding cry & yelp unable to resist the instinct of the chace –and note of hunting horn at intervals showing that man too is in the rear– And the woods ring again and yet no fox bursts forth onto the open level of the pond and no following pack after their actaeon.

But this small village –germ of something more –why did it fail while Concord grows apace– No natural advantages –no water privilege –only the Walden pond and Bristow’s spring privileges alas all unimproved by those men but to dilute their glass– Might not the basket making –broom mat-making corn parching –potters business have thrived here making the wilderness to blossom as the rose? Now all too late for commerce –this waste depopulated district has its rail road too. And transmitted the names of Bristows Catoes Hildas Zilphas to a remote and grateful posterity –

Again nature will try –with me for a first settler –and my house to be the oldest in the settlement.

The sterile soil would have been proof against any lowland degeneracy.

Farmers far and near call it the Paradise of beans

And here too on winter days while yet is cold January and snow and ice lie thick comes the prudent foreseeing land lord or housekeeper from the village to get ice –to cool his summer-drink –a grateful beverage if he should live, if time should endure so long– How few so wise so industrious to lay up treasures which neither rust nor melt –“to cool their summer drink” one day

And cart off the solid pond the element and air of fishes held fast with chain & stake like corded wood –all through winter air to wintery cellar.– to underlie the summer there. And cut and saw the cream of the pond –unroof the house of fishes.

And in early mornings come men with fishing reels and slender lunch –men of real faith and let down their fine lines & live minnows through the snowy field to hook the pickerel & perch.

With buried well stones & strawberries raspberries thimbleberries growing there –some pitchy pine or gnarled oak in the chimney nook or the sweet scented black birch where the hearth was.

Breeds –history must not yet tell the tragedies enacted there –let time intervene to assuage –and lend an azure tint to them.

There is something pathetic in the sedentary life of men who have travelled. They must naturally die when they leave the road.

From [Gilfillan](#)’s Sketches of Eminent Literary Men” I learn that [Carlyle](#) “was born at Ecclefechan, Anandale of parents who were “good farmer people” father of “strong native sense”

Father dead mother still lives.

“Intimate with Ed. Irving” from previous to his college life till the former’s death.

At college had to “support himself” partly by “private tuition, translations, for the bookseller” &c. – corresponded with Goethe till the latter’s death. –

Destined for the church. —

“Taught an academy in Dysart, at the same time that Irving was teaching in Kirkaldy” after marriage “resided partly at Comely Bank Edinburg; and for a year or two at Craigenputtock, a wild and solitary farm house in the upper part of Dumfriesshire” among barren heather-clad hills. here visited by our Countryman Emerson who passed one day with him. His conversation “coming to its climaxes, ever and anon, in long, deep, chest-shaking bursts of laughter”

“An amicable centre for men of the most opposite opinions”.

“Smoking his perpetual pipe”

“listened to as an oracle” ———

“come to see our Scholmaster, who had also been his”

The poet Stirling his only intimate acquaintance latterly in England.

{*One leaf missing*}

up the soil –or that there is a “Brest Shipping” that now at length only after some years of this revolution there should be some falling off in the importation of sugar– I am strangely surprised– Perhaps I had thought they sweetened their coffee? their water? with Revolution still.

We want one or two chapters out of some English or German Almanac at least –headed “work for the month”–

Including Revolution work of course– Altitude of the sun” –“State of the Crops” “State of the markets” “Meteorological observations” “Attractive Industry” “Day labor” just to remind the reader that the French peasantry –did something beside go without breeches –burning chateaus, or getting ready knotted cords –embrace & throttle one another ie we want not only a back ground and a fore ground to a picture –but literally a ground [written in over the line and not canceled: an underground] under the feet also.³⁹⁷

An omission common to most epics –a want of epic integrity



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What seems so fair and poetic in antiquity –almost fabulous –is realized too in Concord life– As poets and historians brought their work to the Grecian games –and genius wrestled there as well as strength of body –so have we seen works of kindred genius read at our Concord games –by their author in this our Concord Amphitheatre It is virtually repeated by all ages and nations.

Moles nesting in your cellar & nibbling every third potatoe –a whole rabbit warren only separated from you by the flooring– To be saluted when you stir in the dawn by the hasty departure of Monsieur –thump thump thump striking his head against the floor timbers

Squirrels & field mice that hold to a community of property in your stock of chestnuts.

The blue jays suffered few chestnuts to reach the ground –resorting to your single tree in flocks in the early morning, and picking them out of the burs –at a great advantage

The crop of blackberries small & vines not yet grown –ground nuts not dug.

One wonders how so much after all was expressed in the old way – –so much here depends upon the emphasis –tone –pronunciation –style & spirit of the reading –

No writer uses so profusely all the aids to intelligibility which the printers art affords –

You wonder how others had contrived to write so many pages without emphatic Italicised words –they are so expressive so natural & indispensable here.

As if none had ever used the demonstrative pronoun –demonstratively.

In another's sentences the thought though immortal is as it were embalmed and does not *strike* you –but here it is so freshly living –not purified by the ordeal of death –that it stirs in the very extremities –the smallest particles & pronouns are all alive with it– You must not say it –but it It is not simple it –your it –or mine, but *it*

His books are solid workmanlike –like all that England does –they tell of endless labor –done –well done and all the rubbish swept away –like this bright cutlery in the windows while the coak & ashes –turnings –filings borings dust –lie far away at Birmingham unheard of.

The words did not come at the command of grammar but –of an inexorable meaning

not like the standing soldiers by vote of parliament –but any able bodied man pressed into the service It is no China war –but a revolution

This style is worth attending to as one of the most important features of the man that we at this distance know.

What are the men of N.E. about? I have travelled some in New England –especially in Concord –and I found that no enterprise was on foot which it would not disgrace a man to take part in. They seemed to be employed everywhere in shops and offices & fields– They seemed like the brahmans of the east to be doing penance in a thousand curious unheard of ways –their endurance surpassing anything I had ever seen or heard of –Simeon Stylites –Brahmen looking in the face of the sun –standing on one leg –dwelling at the roots of trees –nothing to it Any of the twelve labors of Hercules to be matched– The Nemaean Lion –Lernaean hydra –OEnoean stag –Erymanthian boar –Augean stables –Stymphalian birds –Cretan bull –Diomedes' mares –Amazonian girdle –monster Geryon –Hesperian apples –three headed Cerberus – Nothing at all in comparison –being only twelve and having an end– For I could never see that these men ever slew or captured any of their monsters –or finished any of their labors– They have no “friend Iolas to burn, with a hot iron, the root” of the Hydra's head.–

for as soon as one head is beaten, two spring up.

Men labor under a mistake –they are laying up treasures which moth and rust will corrupt & thieves break through & steal– Northern slavery –or the slavery which includes the southern eastern western and all others.

It is hard to have a southern over-seer it is worse to have a northern one but worst of all when you are yourself the slave driver. Look at the lonely teamster on the highway –wending to market by day –or night –is he a son the the morning –with somewhat of divinity in him –fearless because immortal –going to receive his birth-right –greeting the sun as his fellow bounding with youthful gigantic strength over his mother earth– See how he cowers & sneaks –how vaguely indefinitely all the day he fears –not being immortal not divine– The slave and prisoner of his own opinion of himself –fame which he has earned by his own deeds –

Public opinion is a weak tyrant compared with private opinion– What I think of myself –that determines my fate.

I see young men my equals –who have inherited from their spiritual father a soul –broad fertile uncultivated –from their earthly father –a farm –with cattle and barns and farming tools –the implements of the picklock –& the counterfeiter– Better if they had been born in the open pasture and suckled by a wolf –or perhaps cradled in a manger –that they might have seen with clear eye what was the field they were called to labor in. The young man has got to live a man's life then in this world pushing all these things before him and get on as well as he can– how many a poor immortal soul I have met well nigh crushed and smothered –creeping slowly down the road of life –pushing before him a barn 75 –by 40 feet and 100 acres of land tillage –pasture woodlot– This dull opaque garment of the flesh is load enough –for the strongest spirit –but with such an earthly garment superadded –the spiritual life is soon ploughed into the soil with compost.

Its a fool's life as they will all find when they get to the end of it. The man that goes on accumulating property when the bare necessities of life are cared for is a fool –and knows better.

There is a stronger desire to be respectable to one's neighbors than to ones self –

However such distinctions as Poet Philosopher –Literary man –&c do not much assist our final estimate– We do not lay much stress on them –‘a man's a man for a' that– Any man who interests us much is all and more



STATE MURDER

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than these –

It is not simple dictionary it –

Talent at making books –solid workman-like graceful –which may be read.

Some Idyllic chapter or chapters are needed

In the French Revolution are (Mirabeau –king of men) –(Danton –Titan of the Revolution) –(Camille Desmoulins –poetic Editor) –(Roland –heroic woman) –(Dumouriez –first efficient general) –on the other side (Marat friend of the people) (Robespierre) (–Tinville Infernal judge) St. Just. &c &c

Nutting & Le Gros –by the wall side– The Stratten house & Barn where the orchard covered all the slope of Brister’s hill –now killed out by the pines –

Brister Freeman a handy negro –(slave once of Squire Cummings? and Fenda his hospitable pleasant wife) –large –round black –who told fortunes –

Zilpha’s little house where ‘she was spinning linen” Making the walden woods ring with her shrill singing –a loud shrill remarkable voice –when once she was away to town –set on fire by English soldiers on parole in the last war –and cat and dog and hens all burned up.

And Cato the Ginea negro –his house a little patch among the walnuts –who let the trees grow up till he should be old –& Richardson got them

Where Breeds house stood –tradition says a tavern once stood, the well the same and all a swamp between the woods & town & and road made on logs {*Five leaves missing*} It makes a dull man’s dreams

Bread I made pretty well for awhile while I remembered the rules –for I studied this art methodically –going clear back to the primitive days and first invention of the unleavened kind –and coming gradually down through that lucky accidental souring of the dough which taught men the leavening process –and all the various fermentations thereafter –till you get to “good sweet wholesome bread” the staff of life. I went on very well mixing ry & flour & Indian meal & potatoe with success till one morning I had forgotten the rules –and thereafter scalded the yeast –killed it out –and so after the lapse of a month was glad after all to learn that such palatable staff of life could be made out of the dead and scalt creature and risings that lay flat.

I have hardly met with the housewife who has gone so far into this mystery– For all the farmers wives pause at yeast –give this and they can make bread –it is the axiom of their argument –what it is –where it came from –in what era bestowed on man –is wrapped in mystery– It is preserved religiously like the vestal fire –and its virtue is not yet run out –some precious bottle full first brought over in the May Flower –did the business for America –and its Influence is still rising –swelling –spreading like Atlantic billows over the land– The soul of bread –the spiritus –occupying its cellular tissue.

The way to compare men is to compare their respective ideals– The actual man is too complex to deal with.

[Carlyle](#) is an earnest honest heroic worker as Literary man –and sympathising brother of his race.

Idealize a man and your notion takes distinctness at once.

[Carlyle](#)’s talent is perhaps quite equal to his genius –

Striving to live in reality –not a general critic –philosopher or poet –

Wordsworth with very feeble talent has not so great and admirable as persevering genius

heroism –heroism –is his word –his thing.

He would realize a brave & adequate human life. & die hopefully at last. —



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1846

Michigan became the first state to abolish [capital punishment](#), for all crimes except treason. Later, [Rhode Island](#) and Wisconsin would abolish the death penalty for all crimes. However, some states were making more crimes punishable by death, especially when the culprit was a slave. By the end of the century, the countries of Venezuela, Portugal, Netherlands, Costa Rica, Brazil, and Ecuador would have abolished the death penalty.

[COLDBLOODED MURDER](#)



Fall-Winter 1846-1847: ... Certain things are absolute necessities of life in some circles –the most helpless and diseased –in others certain other or fewer things –and in others fewer still –and still what the absolutely indispensable are has never been determined I know a robust and hearty mother who thinks that her son who died abroad –came to his end by living too low, as she had since learned that he drank only water– Men are not inclined to leave off hanging men –today –though they will be to-morrow. I heard of a family in Concord this winter which would have starved, if it had not been for potatoes –& tea & coffee. — ...

ESSENCE IS BLUR. SPECIFICITY,
THE OPPOSITE OF ESSENCE,
IS OF THE NATURE OF TRUTH.

[William Thaddeus Harris](#) graduated from [Harvard College](#). He would study for the law, but would never practice.

The [Harvard Class of 1846](#) funded a monument in the cemetery of Plymouth, Massachusetts, in memory of their tutor and proctor [Robert Bartlett](#):

To [Robert Bartlett](#), an alumnus of [Harvard College](#), who obtained the highest place among his companions, by genius, by study and learning, always distinguished by every form of virtue, most devoted to religion, to truth and liberty, who sacredly discharged all the offices of life, the most excellent and dutiful son, the most deserving brother, the most faithful friend, for almost four years the learned, kind and careful instructor, hurried away by a hasty death; in consequence of distinguished kindness to themselves, the members of the class of 1846, the last who listened to his instruction, have erected this monument.

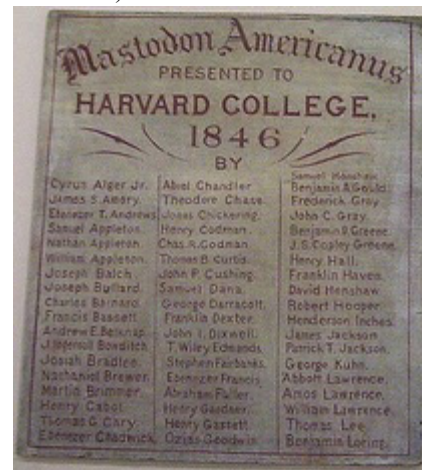
STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

The rules of “rugby” [football](#), which dated to William Webb Ellis’s famous act of 1823, were formalized.

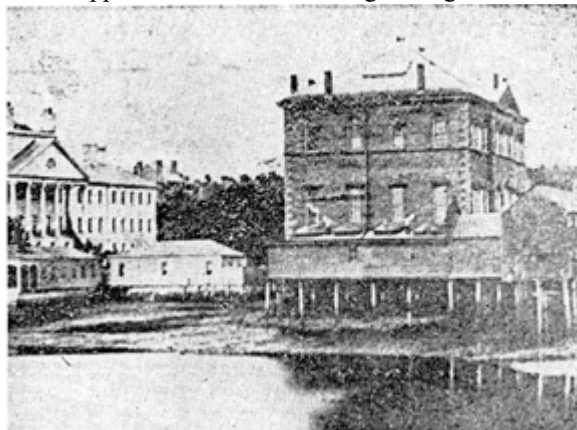
SPORTS

Professor [John White Webster](#) had gotten enthused about a mastodon skeleton *Mammot americanum* that had been found in a New Jersey bog in 1844 and was available on the market for only \$3,000, and jumped at the chance to acquire it for the [Harvard](#) Museum supposing that the officials of the college would be as enthusiastic as he was about these magnificently preserved bones and supposing that he could easily raise the funds to reimburse him for his grand procurement (but in this year he discovered that he had been quite mistaken, because some of the local folks whose names had been inscribed on the presentation plaques had failed to make good on their promises and had left him holding the bag for the balance of the debt).



[Professor Webster](#) would be undaunted by this residual obligation. He knew he would be able to turn to his richie-rich Boston acquaintance Doctor [George Parkman](#), who although he was personally rather unpleasant was the sole owner of a whole potfull of downtown real estate, for a personal loan to cover the balance.

A new building for the [Harvard Medical College](#) was erected upon land belonging to [Doctor Parkman](#) down on the flats of the Charles River at the foot of North Grove Street near the Massachusetts Hospital on Allen Street (now Massachusetts General) and near the New Gaol at Foundry Wharf, all of this in the neighborhood of the tollhouse at the [Boston](#) approaches to the Cambridge Bridge:



(Don't go looking for this two-story brick building set on piers at the waterfront near Massachusetts General Hospital. It was long ago torn down.)



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

January 4, Sunday: Ruth, an églogue biblique by [César Franck](#) to words of the Bible and Guillemin, was performed publicly for the initial time, at the Paris Conservatoire. The audience was lukewarm, the critics hostile.

January 5, Monday: The murderer Martha Browning, age 23, was [hanged](#) at Newgate Prison.

The electric telegraph was completed from [Boston](#) to Springfield, Massachusetts.

December 5, Saturday: The governor of Massachusetts commuted the sentence of execution by [hanging](#) of John Roach, to life in prison.

[Kit Carson](#) and Kearny's 100 dragoons arrived within 25 miles of San Diego, [California](#), where they captured a Mexican courier who had been en route to Sonora, Mexico carrying letters to General Jose Castro, and in that manner learned that a Mexican revolt had retaken California from Commodore Stockton, and that all the coastal cities were back under Mexican control with the exception of San Diego, where Stockton was pinned down under siege. Kearny and his forces, reduced in number and exhausted from the trek from New Mexico, needed to decide whether to come out and confront the Mexican forces, or take their chances of survival in the desert. Approaching San Diego, Kearny sent a rancher, Edward Stokes, ahead to notify Commodore Stockton of their imminent arrival. He returned with 39 American soldiers and the military intelligence that several hundred Mexican dragoons under Capt. Andres Pico were camped at the indigenous village of San Pasqual, between Kearny and Stockton. Kearny decided to raid this Mexican encampment to capture fresh horses, and that night sent out a scouting party. This scouting party, however, caused a dog to bark at San Pasqual, putting Captain Pico's troops on the alert. Having been detected Kearny decided to go on the attack. In the ensuing battle 21 Americans were killed and many more were wounded by the long lances of the Mexican caballeros.



STATE MURDER

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1847

In Brooklyn, a city renowned for its compassion –rather than pull the usual sack over a condemned person’s head before applying the hangman’s noose –officials experimented by first rendering the condemned unconscious through the use of sulfuric ether.³⁹⁸

HANGING

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1847

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
17/04	Catherine Foster	18	Bury St Edmunds	Murder of husband
30/07	Mary Ann Milner ^a		Lincoln Castle	Murder

a. She managed to hang herself in the waiting cell for the condemned, and subsequent to this a more careful watch would be instituted.

Clément Sanson was dismissed as the beheader of Frenchmen, and his assistant Louis Deibler took over this function.

HEADCHOPPING

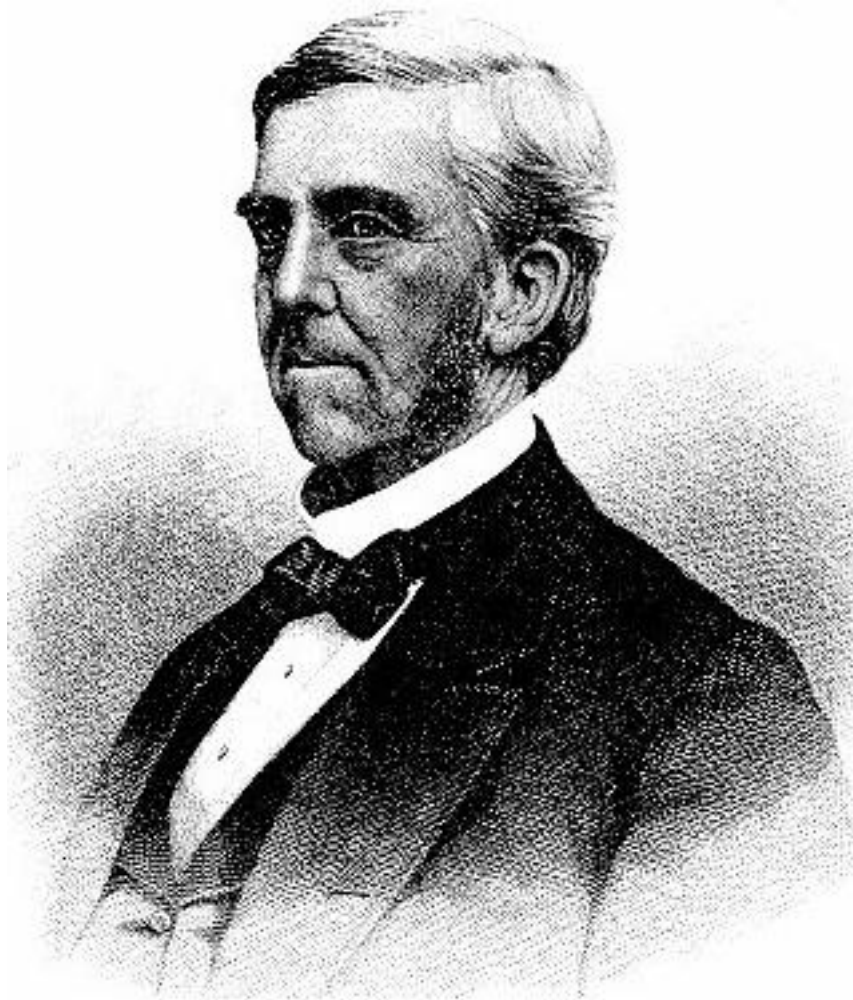
398. Almost a century later, in our nation’s first experiment with cyanide gas for execution, we would attempt to administer the gas in the condemned man’s cell as he slept — and this attempt would fail.

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

[Dr. Samuel Kneeland, Jr.](#) received [Harvard Medical College](#)'s Boylston Prize, of either \$50 or a gold medal of that value at the recipient's option, for an essay "Hydrotherapy" in the [American Journal of the Medical Sciences](#) (Philadelphia, XIV, 75-108). He would spend two years in professional studies in Paris before beginning the practice of medicine in Boston. He published a translation of ANDRY'S DISEASES OF THE HEART. He would pass some time in Brazil, and also visit the Lake Superior copper region.

Doctor Oliver Wendell Holmes became Parkman Professor of Anatomy and Physiology at [Harvard Medical College](#).³⁹⁹



[Professor John White Webster](#) succeeded in getting the \$400 he had borrowed from [Doctor George Parkman](#) in 1842 brought forward into a loan of \$2,432 funded by a syndicate of his [Harvard College](#) colleagues including Parkman. As security for this note he offered his collection of gemstones and geological specimens.

³⁹⁹. Dr. Holmes would hold this post for the next 40 years. He would become dean of the Harvard Medical School, a post he would hold until 1882.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

January 14, Wednesday: On the question of war taxes during the war on Mexico, William Wells Brown said that since the government would be taking the money by coercion, the individual taxpayer would not be blameworthy for the evil that would be done with the tax moneys. He would come to advocate that, if the government were to make a move to begin to conscript American blacks to fight in this war against Mexico, that seeing as how Mexico had outlawed [slavery](#) — that American blacks should, like the San Patricios, “fight against the United States.”

WAR ON MEXICO

Who were these “San Patricios”? — As Robert Ryal Miller’s *SWORD AND SHAMROCK* makes clear, many so-called San Patricios were [Irish](#) deserters from the US Army, most deserting because of ill treatment and from sympathy with the Mexicans as fellow [Catholics](#). This would lead to some problems after the war in punishing the men. Those who had deserted from the army after declaration of the war upon Mexico would be [hanged](#), but those who had deserted before the declaration of war would often merely be flogged and have their cheek branded with a “D.” (On the other hand, actually the bulk of the San Patricios were Mexican nationals, as this group included men of German, English, and Irish extraction who were living in Mexico.)

March/April: After much exchange of correspondence and much intercession by [Horace Greeley](#), “Thomas Carlyle and his Works,” which had been submitted for paid publication before August 16, 1846,⁴⁰⁰ appeared as the leading article in [Graham’s American Monthly Magazine](#) 30, Issue #3, pages 145-52 and was completed in Issue #4, pages 238-245.⁴⁰¹

In the course of this essay Thoreau makes a critical remark about [Sir Archibald Alison](#)’s *MODERN HISTORY OF EUROPE FROM THE FRENCH REVOLUTION TO THE FALL OF NAPOLEON*:

One improvement we could suggest in this last, as indeed in most epics — that he should let in the sun oftener upon his picture. It does not often enough appear, but it is all revolution, the old way of human life turned simply bottom upward, so that when at length we are inadvertently reminded of the “Brest Shipping,” a St. Domingo colony, and that anybody thinks of owning plantations, and simply turning up the soil there, and that now at length, after some years of this revolution, there is a falling off in the importation of sugar, we feel a queer surprise. Had they not sweetened their water with revolution then? It would be well if there were several chapters headed “Work for the Month,” — Revolution-work inclusive, of course — “Altitude of the Sun,” “State of the Crops and Markets,” “Meteorological Observations,” “Attractive Industry,” “Day Labor,” etc., just to remind the reader that the French peasantry did something beside go without breeches, burn châteaux, get ready knotted cords, and embrace and throttle one another by turns. These things are sometimes hinted at, but they deserve a notice more in proportion to their importance. We want not only a background to the picture, but a ground under the feet also. We remark, too, occasionally, an unphilosophical

400. See early draft of this reference by [Thoreau](#) to [hanging](#), written during Winter 1845-1846 before February 22d.

Thoreau would undertake much more correspondence before finally receiving payment from that magazine. In fact [Thomas Carlyle](#) would obtain a copy, in England, and would peruse it “with due entertainment and recognition,” before Thoreau would receive \$50.⁰⁰ on May 17, 1848.

401. For the manner in which this gallows humor which had originated in the journal during the winter before February 22, 1846 would be inserted into the essay “Thomas Carlyle and His Works,” see:

GALLOWS HUMOR





STATE MURDER

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habit, common enough elsewhere, in Alison's History of Modern Europe, for instance, of saying, undoubtedly with effect, that if a straw had not fallen this way or that, why then – but, of course, it is as easy in philosophy to make kingdoms rise and fall as straws.

READ THE FULL TEXT

"a ground under the feet also": This, like the previous knotted cords (garotte) and the previous throttling of one another by turns, is an obvious reference to [hanging](#), since the important life support of which a hanging person has been deprived would be the ground underfoot.

April 17, Saturday: The governor of Massachusetts commuted the sentence of execution by [hanging](#) of Leander Thompson, to life in prison.

William Fallon and the Fourth Relief party reach the starvation camps in the High Sierras, finding only Louis Keseberg alive among the mutilated remains of his former companions.

STATE MURDER

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September 12, Sunday: Not all the refugees of the [Irish Potato Famine](#) had proved willing to put up with the constant abuse they encountered in the United States of America. Some of the recent immigrants who had needed to enlist as cannon fodder in the US Army in order to survive had decided to make common cause with the Mexicans after the US Army got into Mexico. The unit of the Mexican army that had been formed largely out of these “deserters” had become known as the “San Patricios” (St. Patrick’s) because their leader was an Irishman. Such volunteers had been specially hunted down by the US forces and on this day, simultaneous with the raising of the US flag above the captured castle nearby, the US Army [hanged](#) 30 of these prisoners of war.⁴⁰²



(In a ceremony on September 12, 1997, Mexico would honor these volunteers on the 150th anniversary of their execution.)



402. Contrary to myth, not all the prisoners of war [hanged](#) in a row by the US Army on this day were Irish. Also, this fails to qualify as the [largest simultaneous execution](#) in United States history, because on the day after Christmas in 1862 President Abraham Lincoln would have 38 native Americans [simultaneously executed](#) at a similar military ceremony in Mankato, Minnesota.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1848

In [Boston](#), a white imbecile named Daniel H. Pierson who had murdered his wife and children was sentenced to be [hanged](#).

COLDBLOODED MURDER

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1848

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
21/02	Harriet Parker	28	Newgate	Murder of daughter
14/08	Mary May	38	Chelmsford	Murder of brother

ESSENCES ARE FUZZY, GENERIC, CONCEPTUAL;
ARISTOTLE WAS RIGHT WHEN HE INSISTED THAT ALL TRUTH IS
SPECIFIC AND PARTICULAR (AND WRONG WHEN HE CHARACTERIZED
TRUTH AS A GENERALIZATION).

The 3d published history of [Harvard College](#), by Samuel A. Eliot.

George Heywood, son of [Concord](#)'s Dr. Abiel Heywood, graduated from [Harvard](#).

The eminently successful debtor, [Professor John White Webster](#), hit the [Boston](#) richie Robert Gould Shaw up for “a loan,” but Shaw evidently knew his man for his response was to offer to make this man a gift — of course an outright gift is something which a professional debtor is ever required to reject for it blows the essential cover story, that the professional debtor is actually a full-fledged participating member of society but needs a tiny temporary boost by his friends in order to get past some unexpected and unanticipatable difficulties. So Doctor Webster kept petitioning for a loan, and as part of this con job he made the mistake of mentioning that he could offer collateral — that as collateral for this new “loan” he could offer his wonderful collection of gemstones and geological specimens. Now, he actually couldn't, for this collection had already been



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designated as the collateral for the “loan” this [Harvard](#) professor had obtained in 1847 from a syndicate of his colleagues, a loan which he had of course not paid back. When [Doctor George Parkman](#), one of the people from whom Professor Webster had already “borrowed” money, would find out about this new piece of double-dealing, it would be the straw that broke the camel’s back. He affected outright rage and began to harass and attempt to humiliate Professor Webster not only in front of his colleagues but also in front of his students, his wife and his daughters. There is much contemporary testimony to the very repetitive but very inventive, and very demeaning and very insulting remarks, which Dr. Parkman made about Professor Webster both to his face and behind his back. Clearly, Doctor Parkman, one of Boston’s delightful eccentrics with manifold personality problems, was playing the psychological game which as a slumlord he well knew how to play, the game which has aptly been titled “Now I’ve Got You, You Son Of A Bitch.”⁴⁰³

June 25, Sunday: In bloody street fighting, French government troops began to force the revolutionary workers from their strongholds. In Paris, Charles A. Dana arrived at the *Gare St. Lazare* railroad station at 5PM and made his way around blockades and guarded streets down the *Champs-Élysées* through the *Place de la Concorde* and across an unguarded bridge over the *Seine* to the Left Bank and into the eastern part of the municipality, just in time to witness the June Days fight and file a letter report with [Horace Greeley](#) of the [Tribune](#). Unlike other reporters, Dana met and discoursed with actual socialists and dismissed the reports that they were demons as somewhat of an exaggeration. Greeley would find, however, that he could not appreciate his intrepid reporter’s observations. This simply wasn’t what he wanted to hear and wasn’t what he wanted the American public to be told. Dana would need to move on, eventually to become renowned as “Dana of the [Sun](#).”

In [Boston](#), the seaman Thomas Harding went on port liberty. At some point within the next few days he would visit and pay attention to a woman, Mary Ann Williams the wife of a seaman who was absent on a 2-year voyage, and he would present to her one silk handkerchief. As the Boston [Post](#) eventually would report, Mrs. Williams’s “invisible charms” were about to “cost Harding his life” — because, as it would turn out, there was another seaman not her husband, [Washington Goode](#), a cook’s helper, who also was considering Mary Ann to be, during the lengthy absence of her husband, to be “his girl.” Does this sound deadly? Does this sound like a recipe for disaster? —Stay tuned.

NEVER READ AHEAD! TO APPRECIATE JUNE 25TH, 1848 AT ALL ONE MUST APPRECIATE IT AS A TODAY (THE FOLLOWING DAY, TOMORROW, IS BUT A PORTION OF THE UNREALIZED FUTURE AND IFFY AT BEST).

State Murder

“Stack of the Artist of Kouroo” Project

403. For elaboration of this, there’s only one place to start, and it is part two, titled “Death of a Harvard Man,” in:

■ Schama, Simon. *DEAD CERTAINTIES (UNWARRANTED SPECULATIONS)*. New York: Knopf, 1991.



STATE MURDER

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June 28, Wednesday: There was a quarrel in [Boston](#) port between the two seamen Thomas Harding and [Washington Goode](#) in regard to a silk handkerchief Harding had given to Mary Ann Williams. Goode tore up the handkerchief in the presence of Harding.

On this day, also, the Dearborn Block in Federal Street in downtown [Boston](#) suddenly collapsed.

At a radical Whig meeting in Worcester protesting the nomination of General Zachary Taylor as the Whig candidate for President of the United States of America, Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar of Concord introduced the slogan "Free Soil, Free Speech, and Free Men" which would become the platform of the newly forming Republican Party before the Civil War, while Charles Sumner introduced the slogan "unhallowed union... between the lords of the lash and the lords of the loom":

[Sumner's Speech] Mr. President and Fellow-Citizens: —
At the close of a day crowded with exciting interest and full of best auguries, I feel that I can add little to what you have already heard. What can I say that shall enforce the great cause so successfully commended by my friend from Ohio [Mr. Giddings], and, lastly, by my friend [Mr. Adams] who has just spoken, with the voice of the American Revolution on his lips? One thing, at least, I can do: I can join them in renunciation of party relations, so plainly inconsistent with the support of Freedom. They have been Whigs; and I, too, have been a Whig, though "not an ultra Whig." I was a Whig because I thought this party represented the moral sentiments of the country, — that it was the party of Humanity. It has ceased to sustain this character. It represents no longer the moral sentiments of the country. It is not the party of Humanity. A party which renounces its sentiments must expect to be renounced. In the coming contest I wish it understood that I belong to the party of Freedom, — to that party which plants itself on the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. The transactions in which we are now engaged recall an incident of French history. It was late in the night, at Versailles, that a courtier of Louis the Sixteenth, penetrating the bed-chamber of his master, and arousing him from slumber, communicated the intelligence, big with destiny, that the people of Paris, smarting under wrong and falsehood, had risen in their might, and, after a severe conflict with hireling troops, destroyed the Bastille. The unhappy monarch, turning upon his couch, said, "It is an insurrection." "No, Sire," answered the honest courtier, "it is a revolution." And such is our movement to-day. It is a Revolution, — not beginning with the destruction of a Bastille, but destined to end only with the overthrow of a tyranny differing little in hardship and audacity from that which sustained the Bastille of France, — I mean the Slave Power of our country. Do not start at this similitude. I intend no unkindness to slaveholders, many of whom are doubtless humane and honest. Such also was Louis the Sixteenth; and yet he sustained the Bastille, with the untold horrors of its dungeons, where human beings were thrust into companionship with toads and rats. By the Slave Power I understand that combination of persons, or, perhaps, of politicians, whose animating principle is the perpetuation and extension of Slavery, with the advancement of Slaveholders. That such a combination exists is apparent from our history. It shows itself in the mildest, and perhaps the least offensive form, in the undue proportion of offices held by Slaveholders under the National Constitution. It is still worse apparent in a succession of acts by which the National



STATE MURDER

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Government has been prostituted to Slavery. Mindful of the Missouri Compromise, with its sanction of Slavery, — mindful of the annexation of Texas, with its fraud and iniquity, — mindful also of the war against Mexico, in itself a great crime, where wives and sisters have been compelled to mourn sons, husbands, and brothers untimely slain, — as these things, dark, dismal, atrocious, rise before us, may we not brand their unquestionable source as a tyranny hateful as that which sustained the Bastille? The Slave Power is the criminal.

This combination is unknown to the Constitution; nay, it exists in defiance of that instrument, and of the recorded opinions uttered constantly by its founders. The Constitution was the crowning labor of the men who gave us the Declaration of Independence. It was established to perpetuate, in organic law, those rights which the Declaration had promulgated, and which the sword of Washington had secured. "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Such are the emphatic words which our country took upon its lips, as it first claimed its place among the nations of the earth. These were its baptismal vows. And the preamble of the Constitution renews them, when it declares its objects, among other things, to "establish justice, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." Mark: not to establish injustice, not to promote the welfare of a class, or of a few slaveholders, but the general welfare; not to foster the curse of slavery, but to secure the blessings of liberty. And the declared opinions of the fathers were all in harmony with these two charters. "I can only say," said Washington, "that there is not a man living who wishes more sincerely than I do to see a plan adopted for the abolition of slavery; but there is only one proper and effectual mode by which it can be accomplished, and that is by legislative authority; and this, as far as my suffrage will go, shall never be wanting."

^ Patrick Henry, while confessing that he was the master of slaves, said: "I will not, I cannot justify it. However culpable my conduct, I will so far pay my devoir to Virtue as to own the excellence and rectitude of her precepts, and lament my want of conformity to them. I believe a time will come, when an opportunity will be offered to abolish this lamentable evil." 1 And Franklin, as President of the earliest Abolition Society of the country, signed a petition to the first Congress, in which he declared himself "bound to use all justifiable endeavors to loosen the bands of slavery, and promote a general enjoyment of the blessings of freedom." ^ Thus the soldier, the orator, and the philosopher of the Revolution, all unite in homage to Freedom. Washington, wise in council and in battle, Patrick Henry, with tongue of flame, Franklin, with heaven-descended sagacity and humanity, all bear testimony to the times in which they lived, and the institutions they helped to establish.

It is plain that our Constitution was formed by lovers of Human Freedom, — that it was animated by their divine spirit, — that Slavery was regarded by them with aversion, so that, if covertly alluded to, it was not named in the instrument, — and that they all looked forward to an early day when this evil and shame would be obliterated from the land. Surely, then, it is right to say that the combination which seeks to perpetuate and extend



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Slavery is unknown to the Constitution, — that it exists in defiance of that instrument, and also of the recorded opinions uttered constantly by its founders.

Time would fail me to dwell on the perpetual influence, growing with time, which the Slave Power has exerted from the foundation of the government. In the earlier periods of our history it was moderate and reserved. The spirit of the founders still prevailed. But with the advance of years, and as these early champions passed from the scene, it became more audacious, aggressive, and tyrannical, till at last it obtained the control of the government, and caused it to be administered, not in the spirit of Freedom, but in the spirit of Slavery. Yes! the government of the United States is now (let it be said with shame), not, as at the beginning, a government merely permitting, while it regretted Slavery, but a government openly favoring and vindicating it, visiting also with its displeasure all who oppose it.

During late years the Slave Power has introduced a new test for office, which would have excluded Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin. It applies an arrogant and unrelenting ostracism to all who express themselves against Slavery. And now, in the madness of tyranny, it proposes to extend this curse over new soil not yet darkened by its presence. It seeks to make the flag of our country the carrier of Slavery into distant lands, — to scale the mountain fastnesses of Oregon, and descend with its prey upon the shores of the Pacific, — to cross the Rio Grande, and there, in broad territories, recently wrested from Mexico by robber hands, to plant a shameful institution which that republic has expressly abolished.

In the prosecution of its purposes, the Slave Power has obtained the control of both the great political parties. Their recent nominations were made to serve its interests, to secure its supremacy, and especially to promote the extension of Slavery. Whigs and Democrats, — I use the old names still, — professing to represent conflicting sentiments, concur in being representatives of the Slave Power. General Cass, after openly registering his adhesion to it, was recognized as the candidate of the Democrats. General Taylor, who owns slaves on a large scale, though observing a studious silence on Slavery, as on all other things, is not only a representative of the Slave Power, but an important constituent part of the Power itself.

I will not dwell upon the manner in which General Taylor was forced upon the late Whig party. This has been amply done by others. But you will pardon me, if I allude to the aid his nomination derived from a quarter of the country where it should have encountered inexorable opposition, — I refer to New England, and especially to Massachusetts. I speak only what is now too notorious, when I say that it was the secret influence which went forth from among ourselves that contributed powerfully to this consummation. Yes! it was brought about by an unhallowed union — conspiracy let it be called — between two remote sections: between the politicians of the Southwest and the politicians of the Northeast, — between the cotton-planters and fleshmongers of Louisiana and Mississippi and the cottonspinners and traffickers of New England, — between the lords of the lash and the lords of the loom.

And now the question occurs. What is the true line of duty with regard to these two candidates? Mr. Van Buren — and I honor him



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for his trumpet call to the North – sounded the true note, when he said he could not vote for either. Though nominated by opposite parties, they represent substantially the same interest. The election of either would be a triumph of the Slave Power, entailing upon the country the sin of extending Slavery. How, then, shall they be encountered? To my mind the way is plain. The lovers of Freedom, from both parties, and irrespective of aU party associations, must unite, and by a new combination, congenial to the Constitution, oppose both candidates. This win be the FREEDOM POWER, whose single object will be to resist the SLAVE POWER. We will put them face to face, and let them grapple. Who can doubt the result?

I hear the old political saw, that “we must take the least of two evils.” My friend from Ohio [Mr. Giddings] has already riddled this excuse, so that I might well leave it untouched; but I cannot forbear a brief observation. It is admitted, then, that Cass and Taylor both are evils. For myself, if two evils are presented to me, I will take neither. There are occasions of political difference, I admit, when it may become expedient to vote for a candidate who does not completely represent our sentiments. There are matters legitimately within the range of expediency and compromise. The Tariff and the Currency are of this character. If a candidate differs from me on these more or less, I may yet vote for him. But the question before the country is of another character. This will not admit of compromise. It is not within the domain of expediency. To be wrong on this is to be wholly wrong. It is not merely expedient for us to defend Freedom, when assailed, but our duty so to do, unreservedly, and careless of consequences. Who in this assembly would help to fasten a fetter upon Oregon or Mexico? Who that would not oppose every effort to do this thing? Nobody. Who is there, then, that can vote for either Taylor or Cass?

But it is said that we shall throw away our votes, and that our opposition will fail. Fail, Sir! No honest, earnest effort in a good cause can fail. It may not be crowned with the applause of men; it may not seem to touch the goal of immediate worldly success, which is the end and aim of so much in life. But it is not lost. It helps to strengthen the weak with new virtue, – to arm the irresolute with proper energy, – to animate all with devotion to duty, which in the end conquers all. Fail! Did the martyrs fail, when with precious blood they sowed the seed of the Church? Did the discomfited champions of Freedom fail, who have left those names in history that can never die? Did the three hundred Spartans fail, when, in the narrow pass, they did not fear to brave the innumerable Persian hosts, whose very arrows darkened the sun? Overborne by numbers, crushed to earth, they left an example greater far than any victory. And this is the least we can do. Our example will be the main-spring of triumph hereafter. It will not be the first time in history that the hosts of Slavery have outnumbered the champions of Freedom. But where is it written that Slavery finally prevailed?

Assurances here to-day show that we need not postpone success. It seems already at hand. The heart of Ohio beats responsive to the heart of Massachusetts, and all the Free States are animated with the vigorous breath of Freedom. Let us not waste time in vain speculations between two candidates. Both are bad. Both represent a principle we cannot sanction.

Whatever may be said to the contrary by politicians. Freedom is



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the only question now before the American people. The Bank is not alone an "obsolete idea."

All the ideas put forward in the controversies of party are now practically obsolete. Peace has come to remove the question of the Mexican "War. We are no longer obliged to consider if an unnecessary and unconstitutional war shall be maintained by supplies. There is no question with regard to the Sub-Treasury. This is now firmly established. Then comes the cause of Internal Improvements. This is not unimportant, but happily it is removed from the domain of party. The Chicago Convention for the express consideration of this subject was composed of various political opinions, and I understand that its recommendations are now sustained by opposite parties.

Of the past issues, that of the Tariff excites the most interest. This, it will be remembered, did not find a place in the early history of the country. Only in recent times has it occupied the attention of politicians, and been the occasion of vehement popular appeals. Regret is often expressed that it is the subject of party strife. It will be in the recollection of most persons that Mr. "Webster made a vigorous effort to remove it from the list of party questions. "What he was unable to do directly has been accomplished indirectly by the Mexican "War. The debt of millions now entailed upon the country renders it necessary to impose a tariff which will satisfy the demands of all. Of course the debt must be paid; nor should we lose time in paying it, nor postpone it to the next generation. The people are not ready to meet it by direct taxation, — though, for one, I should be well pleased to see such a corrective applied to war. It can be paid only through the agency of a tariff, which, for this purpose, if for no other, must be supported by all parties. The Tariff, then, like the others, is no longer a political issue. If not obsolete, it is at least in abeyance. These questions being out of the way, what remains for those who, in casting their votes, regard principles rather than men? It is clear that the only question of present practical interest arises from the usurpations of the Slave Power and the efforts to extend Slavery. This is the vital question at this time. It is the question of questions. It was lately said in the Convention of the New York Democracy at Utica (and I am glad to quote that most respectable body of men), that the movement in which we are now engaged is the most important since the American Revolution. Something more may be said. It is a continuance of the American devolution. It is an effort to carry into effect the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and to revive in the administration of our government the spirit of Washington, Franklin, and Jefferson, — to bring back the Constitution to the principles and practice of its early founders, — to the end that it shall promote Freedom, and not Slavery, and shall be administered in harmony with the spirit of Freedom, and not with the spirit of Slavery.

In the last will and testament of "Washington are emphatic words, which may be adopted as the motto for the present contest. After providing for the emancipation of his slaves, to take place on the death of his wife, he says, "And I do hereby expressly forbid the sale or transportation out of the said Commonwealth of any slave I may die possessed of, under any pretence whatsoever." So, at least, should the people of the United States expressly forbid the sale or transportation of any



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slave beyond their ancient borders, under any pretence whatsoever.

Returning to our forefathers for their principles, let us borrow also something of their courage and union. Let us summon to our sides the majestic forms of those civil heroes whose firmness in council was equalled only by the firmness of Washington in war. Let us again awake to the eloquence of the elder Adams, animating his associates in Congress to independence; let us listen anew to the sententious wisdom of Franklin; let us be enkindled, as were the men of other days, by the fervid devotion to Freedom which flamed from the heart of Jefferson.

Instructed even by our enemies, let us be taught by the Slave Power itself. The few slaveholders are always united. Hence their strength. Like sticks in a fagot, they cannot be broken. Thus far the friends of Freedom have been divided. Union, then, must be our watchword, — union among men of all parties. By such union we consolidate an opposition which must prevail.

Let me call upon you, then, men of all parties, Whigs and Democrats, or howsoever named, to come forward and join in a common cause. Let us all leave the old organizations, and come together. In the crisis before us, it becomes us to forget past differences, and those names which have been the signal of strife. Only remembering our duties, when the fire-bell rings at midnight, we ask not if it be Whigs or Democrats who join us to extinguish the flames; nor do we make any such inquiry in selecting our leader then. To the strongest arm and the most generous soul we defer at once. To him we commit the direction of the engine. His hand grasps the pipe to pour the water upon the raging conflagration. So must we do now. Our leader must be the man who is the ablest and surest representative of the principles to which we are pledged.

Let Massachusetts, nurse of the men and principles that made our earliest revolution, vow herself anew to her early faith. Let her once more elevate the torch which she first held aloft, or, if need be, pluck fresh coals from the living altars of France, proclaiming, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," — Liberty to the captive. Equality between master and slave, Fraternity with all men, — the whole comprehended in that sublime revelation of Christianity, the Brotherhood of Man.

In the contemplation of these great interests, the intrigues of party, the machinations of politicians, the combinations of office-seekers, all seem to pass from sight. Politics and morals, no longer divorced from each other, become one and inseparable in the holy wedlock of Christian sentiment. Such a union elevates politics, while it gives a new sphere to morals. Political discussions have a grandeur which they never before assumed. Released from topics which concern only the selfish squabble for gain, and are often independent of morals, they come home to the heart and conscience. A novel force passes into the contests of party, breathing into them the breath of a new life, — of Hope, Progress, Justice, Humanity.

From this demonstration to-day, and the acclaim wafted to us from the Free States, it is easy to see that the great cause of Liberty, to which we now dedicate ourselves, will sweep the heart-strings of the people. It will smite all the chords with a might to draw forth emotions such as no political struggle ever awakened before. It will move the young, the middle-aged, and the old. It will find a voice in the social circle, and



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mingle with the flame of the domestic hearth. It will touch the souls of mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters, until the sympathies of aU swell in one irresistible chorus of indignation against the deep damnation of lending new sanction to the enslavement of our brother man.

Come forward, then, men of all parties! let us range together. Come forth, all who thus far have kept aloof from parties! here is occasion for action. Men of Peace, come forth! All who in any way feel the wrong of Slavery, take your stand! Join us, lovers of Truth, of Justice, of Humanity! And let me call especially upon the young. You are the natural guardians of Freedom. In your firm resolves and generous souls she will find her surest protection. The young man who is not willing to serve in her cause, to suffer, if need be, in her behalf, gives little promise of those qualities which secure an honorable age.

“NARRATIVE HISTORY” AMOUNTS TO FABULATION, THE REAL STUFF BEING MERE CHRONOLOGY

June 29, Thursday: A notice of **MURDER** appeared in the [Boston Daily Bee](#):

MURDER. At 11 o'clock last evening, in Richmond Street, a colored man was knocked down and stabbed in three places, in consequence of which he died immediately. The murderer, also a negro, was arrested in Southack Street at 3 o'clock this morning.

(Any trial would of course be a mere formality, since as we can see from the above press announcement, the white people already knew perfectly well that there had been a murder, and were perfectly well satisfied that they had already captured the person who had committed it.)

The [German National Assembly](#) created the post of Imperial Vice-Regent, and named Grand Duke Johann of Austria to the post.

[Hector Berlioz](#)'s 2d London concert established his reputation with the London press. His orientale La captive for soprano and orchestra to words of Hugo was performed for the initial time, at this concert.

NOBODY COULD GUESS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT



State Murder

“Stack of the Artist of Kouroo” Project

State Murder

“Stack of the Artist of Kouroo” Project



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July 3, Monday: [Giuseppe Garibaldi](#) offers his sword to King Carlo Alberto of Sardinia. The King refuses his help, fearing his radical views.

In the Danish West Indies (now the Virgin Islands), Governor General Peter von Scholten read out an Emancipation Proclamation.

[Washington Goode](#), seaman, was indicted at 2 Richmond Street in [Boston](#) for the murder of Thomas Harding. There was excellent circumstantial evidence such as that one of the stab wounds on Harding's body was nine inches deep — and Goode, who had served under General Zachary Taylor through all the Florida War, had been captured with a knife in his possession the blade of which measured some ten or eleven inches!⁴⁰⁴

404. What damning evidence this would have been, if it could have been demonstrated that Goode's knife was the only one in the world with a blade longer than nine inches! —However, in all likelihood Garibaldi's sword also had a blade longer than nine inches.

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1849

Jean-François Heindreicht succeeded Charles Andre Ferey as a beheader of Frenchmen.

HEADCHOPPING

June 19, Tuesday: [Concord](#)'s courthouse was torched by a man who had been caught selling liquor without a license.

In the conflagration not only the courthouse (and its exhibit of the gallows upon which the convicted burglar Samuel Smith had been hung) was consumed, but also the nearby dwelling-house and stable of [John Shepard Keyes](#).⁴⁰⁵

Returning from the Legislature and Cambridge to the law and Concord, I got ready for June Court and it was well underway, when an alarm of fire broke on the stillness of midnight. Our room in the ell was undergoing repairs and we were sleeping in the front chamber with the windows open, and the first cry of Fire Fire Court House on Fire, took me out of bed and down stairs seizing my pail of water I rushed out doors and not scaling the fence easily went to the front door of the Court House unlocked and opened it but the smoke was too thick to get far inside. Mother who had gone to the pump for water stepped out with her pail to the back door where the fire was kindled and blazing up and where if we had met we might have put it out. As it was we both returned to the house and began preparations to move our things out. The engines came but too late to do anything except

405. This [Concord](#) courthouse became the place of public display of the gallows upon which a local house burglar, [Samuel Smith](#), was hung at the end of 1799 — until with this macabre and tasteless display of judicial power it was consumed in the flames of an arsonist in 1849. Here, since we do not have an image of the apparatus upon which the house burglar had been hanged, as a substitute macabre and tasteless display, is an image of the chair that Massachusetts used for its final [electrocutions](#), at [Charlestown](#) in 1947, producing the deaths of Edward Gertson and Philip Bellino. The chair is not on display (tastes about this sort of think have obviously changed somewhat), but a photo was taken of it in a storage room at the state prison in Walpole in 1974.





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save other buildings. The neighbours rushed in and began clearing our house. I sent the baby Annie to the Goodnows, and locking our parlor door & telling Martha to sit there and keep every one out till I came, rallied a squad of the company boys and with their aid safely removed every article of our parlor furniture beyond the fires reach, without a scratch or mark except a nick in the marble top of the centre table. By this time the flames had mounted to the cupola of the Court House and made a splendid show. This two story lantern with its 16 large windows blazed fiercely the gilt eagle on top shone, scorched & quivering and fell with the crash of the roof to the ground At this critical time the water gave out, the engines had to be moved to the brook for a supply and our house caught from the intense heat of the fire and was burned up completely- Every thing of consequence was saved except our school books and some clothing in a forgotten closet, and the morning dawned hot and dry on a scene of desolation and ashes, with all our possessions lining the road & common Some amusing incidents were connected with the fire, Judge Hoar black and grimy with smoke heard our pig squealing in the barn cellar then in flames with lighted hay dropping, and going to its rescue, got an addition of dirt and manure lifting it in his arms over the wall, I never have forgotten the scene as I came to his help, and poor piggy freed with some burns ran wildly to Capt Barretts on the hill before he stopped as if knowing there was a friendly home. Old Nealy a big fat course lubberly fellow searching in the cellar for drinkables & finding in his thirst an earthen pitcher filled put it to his mouth and taking a long drink sputtered out 'Soft Soape By Gad' that made a shout of laughter from all who saw it, and this [word undeciphered] of soap and the cordwood were the only matters the insurance co disputed. The question of whether they were provisions was left out to Judge Hoar who after argument recommended 'splitting the difference' and both parties acquiesced. We took up our quarters at Emiline Barretts boarding house next door. Mother soon went to Waltham, Joe was at Cambridge and George in Boston, and we sweltered through that summer in a hot close chamber with our clothes in Shattucks store then given up from business by Henry who had run it out, our furniture in my office building and wherever else we could find a place for it. It was a sudden lively and entire change, and a new and strange experience to us. On the whole we fared more comfortably than we expected, and I do not recall any long absences from Concord that season by it. It changed my real estate operations materially I had taken in the division of Fathers property the office lot and the garden lot as my share of the real estate, and had planned a stone cottage on the garden site some year or two before.

J.S. KEYES AUTOBIOGRAPHY

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In 1840 John Warner Barber had published a woodcut of Concord, engraved by the J. Downes of Worcester whom [Henry Thoreau](#) knew, in which you can see what that old wooden courthouse had looked like prior to this fire (on the left below), as well as what the old wooden Middlesex Hotel looked like with its sign and emblem:



IT IS NO COINCIDENCE THAT IT IS MORTALS WHO CONSUME OUR
HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS, FOR WHAT WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO DO IS
EVADE THE RESTRICTIONS OF THE HUMAN LIFESPAN. (IMMORTALS,
WITH NOTHING TO LIVE FOR, TAKE NO HEED OF OUR STORIES.)



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In “[Main-Street](#)” in this year, [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) offered something true:

“Let us thank God for having given us such ancestors;
and let each successive generation thank him, not less
fervently, for being one step further from them in the
march of ages.”

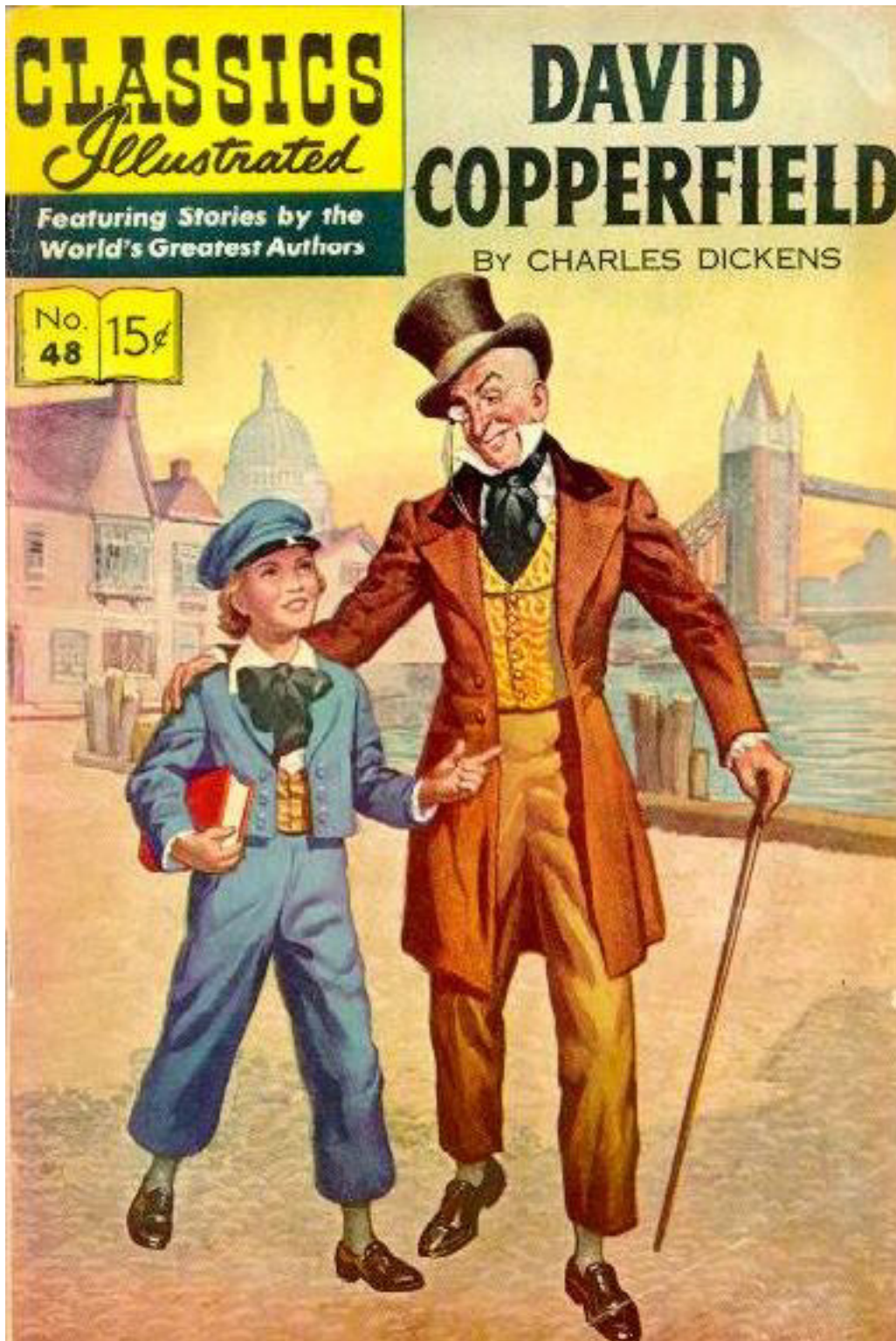
Charles Dickens’s semi-autobiographical DAVID COPPERFIELD began in monthly parts during May and would continue through November 1850:



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He wrote letters to the Times of London during November, protesting public [hangings](#). He wrote THE LIFE OF OUR LORD written for his children (this would lie unpublished until 1934). Toward the end of the year he began thinking again of putting out a weekly miscellany.

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Readers of the next year's THE SCARLET LETTER will recognize a reference made by [Hawthorne](#) to "Wapping" as a reference to the wharf area of London which Dickens used as the setting for the final act of Martha Endell the soiled dove, committing herself to the garbage-laden Thames.

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THE SCARLET LETTER: Furthermore, on the left hand as you enter the front door, is a certain room or office, about fifteen feet square, and of a lofty height, with two of its arched windows commanding a view of the aforesaid dilapidated wharf, and the third looking across a narrow lane, and along a portion of Derby Street. All three give glimpses of the shops of grocers, block-makers, slop-sellers, and ship-chandlers, around the doors of which are generally to be seen, laughing and gossiping, clusters of old salts, and such other wharf-rats as haunt the Wapping of a seaport. The room itself is cobwebbed, and dingy with old paint; its floor is strewn with grey sand, in a fashion that has elsewhere fallen into long disuse; and it is easy to conclude, from the general slovenliness of the place, that this is a sanctuary into which womankind, with her tools of magic, the broom and mop, has very infrequent access. In the way of furniture, there is a stove with a voluminous funnel; an old pine desk with a three-legged stool beside it; two or three wooden-bottom chairs, exceedingly decrepit and infirm; and - not to forget the library - on some shelves, a score or two of volumes of the Acts of Congress, and a bulky Digest of the Revenue laws. A tin pipe ascends through the ceiling, and forms a medium of vocal communication with other parts of the edifice. And here, some six months ago - pacing from corner to corner, or lounging on the long-legged stool, with his elbow on the desk, and his eyes wandering up and down the columns of the morning newspaper - you might have recognised, honoured reader, the same individual who welcomed you into his cheery little study, where the sunshine glimmered so pleasantly through the willow branches on the western side of the Old Manse. But now, should you go thither to seek him, you would inquire in vain for the Locofoco Surveyor. The besom of reform hath swept him out of office, and a worthier successor wears his dignity and pockets his emoluments.



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Readers of LITTLE WOMEN will recognize a reference by [Louisa May Alcott](#) to a “Mrs. Gummidge,” likewise, as a deferral to the overwhelming popularity of this overwhelmingly popular English novelization,

“It’s a fast age, and I don’t know what we are coming to, ma’am. You are a mere infant, but you’ll go next, Jo, and we’ll be left lamenting,” said Laurie, shaking his head over the degeneracy of the times.

“Don’t be alarmed. I’m not one of the agreeable sort. Nobody will want me, and it’s a mercy, for there should always be one old maid in a family.”

“You won’t give any one a chance,” said Laurie, with a sidelong glance and a little more color than before in his sunburned face. “You won’t show the soft side of your character, and if a fellow gets a peep at it by accident and can’t help showing that he likes it, you treat him as Mrs. Gummidge did her sweetheart, throw cold water over him, and get so thorny no one dares touch or look at you.”

and a reference as well to Nurse Peggotty:

“As one of the children is older than yourself, you needn’t talk so like a grandma. I flatter myself I’m a ‘gentleman growed’ as Peggotty said of David, and when you see Amy, you’ll find her rather a precocious infant,” said Laurie, looking amused at her maternal air.

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1849

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
21/03	Jane Scully		Roscommon	Murder
20/04	Sarah Thomas	17	Bristol	Murder
09/08	Mary Ball	31	Coventry	Murder of husband
11/08	Catherine Dillon		Limerick	Murder
21/08	Mary Ann Geering	49	Lewes	Murder of husband
23/08	Rebecca Smith		Devizes	Murder of child
13/11	Maria Manning	28	Horsemonger Lane	Murder (hanged with her husband)



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Not just every lady in Amherst was locking herself in her room, because in this year Louise “Shirley” Clappe of Amherst, Massachusetts went off to [California](#) with her husband, Dr. Fayette Clappe, to provide medical care to the miners at Rich Bar on the Feather River:

*In the short space of twenty-four days,
we have had murders, fearful accidents, bloody deaths,
a mob, whippings, a [hanging](#), an attempt at suicide,
and a fatal duel.*

“... and a fatal duel” — For a period in California dueling would be a major source of public entertainment and private grief.⁴⁰⁶ Dueling was regional, like the chewing of tobacco; it was associated with the South. However, an interesting exception is the association of [dueling](#) with the gold rush in California, because Southerners there played a dominant role. Although only 17% of the white population of [California](#) in 1850 had been born in a slave state, and although this might seem a relatively small %age of the population, among all the Northern states and territories this was second only to the Oregon Territory.⁴⁰⁷

[“Charley” Parkhurst](#) went to [California](#) and got a job driving for the California Stage Lines. At some point she would lose an eye after being kicked by one of her horses.

406. Secrest, William B. BLOOD AND HONOR (Fresno CA: Saga-West Publishing Company, 1970, pages 3ff)

407. REPORT OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF THE CENSUS FOR DECEMBER 1, 1852 (Washington: Robert Armstrong, 1853, pages 16-19)

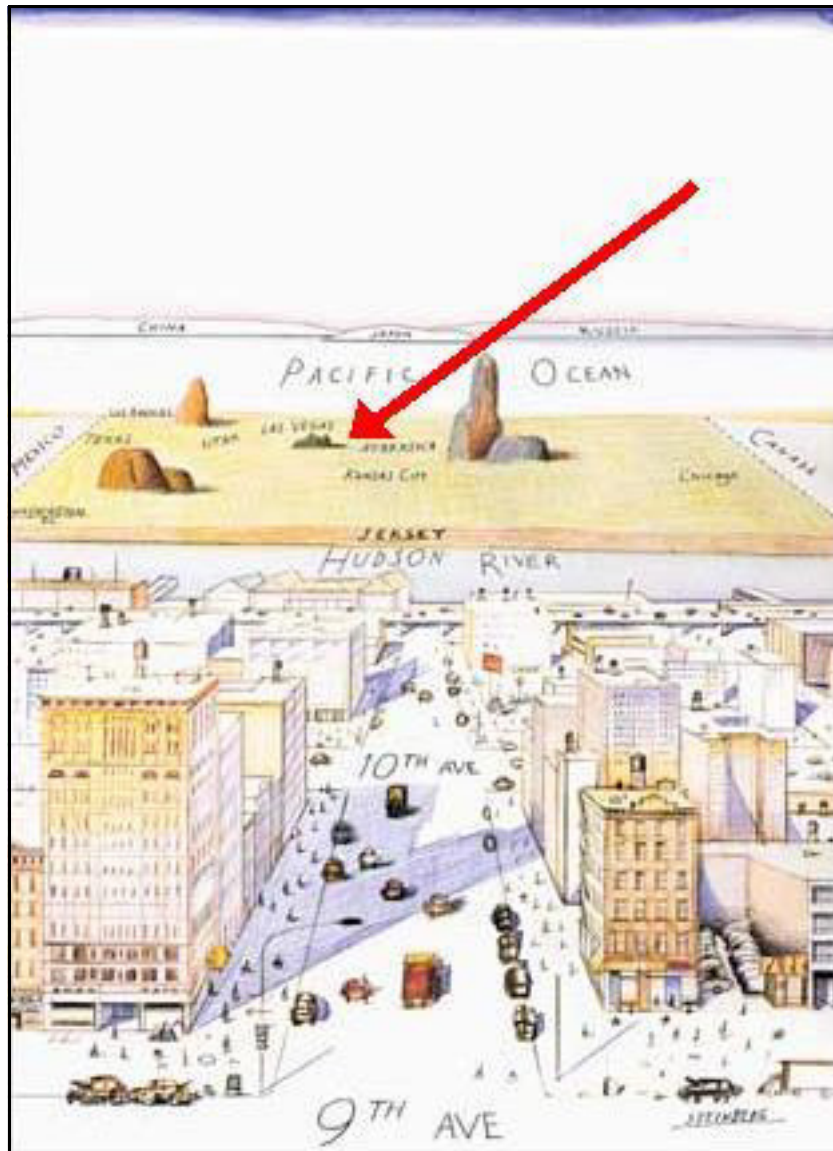


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Early January: Early in this month, the trial of seaman [Washington Goode](#) began. Since this was a capital case, it was held before the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. Since this was Massachusetts in the first half of the 19th Century, all twelve members of the jury were, of course, men and all twelve were, of course, white men. The murderer (we already knew he was the murderer, from reading the [Boston](#) newspapers) didn't have nearly as much money as O.J. Simpson — and so he came to be represented by an attorney, William Aspinwall, who had not previously defended any capital case. Aspinwall was assisted by Edward F. Hodges. After two days of testimony the [Courier](#) reported a general impression that the prisoner was going to be convicted because the evidence—though admittedly circumstantial—appeared to the white newsmen to be “very strong.” For instance, a witness had testified that from 50 feet away on that dark and stormy night, despite having been unable to obtain “any distinct view of his features,” by the technique “judging by his clothes” (dark pants, striped jacket), reported that they had a “strong belief” that it must in fact have been Goode whom they had seen running, after having heard a noise — that they supposed might well have been made by some sort of blow.⁴⁰⁸ The prosecutor, Samuel D. Parker, had pointed out the interesting parallels between this case and the play “Othello.” One of the interesting parallels which the prosecutor had noted was the involvement of a handkerchief. Hey, just like Shakespeare! Another of the interesting parallels pointed out by the prosecutor was the fact that this “Othello” character had been, like this murderer, a black man. (What more evidence might anyone demand?) District Attorney Parker orated:

There may have been some slight jealousy about a woman, but only on the prisoner's part; and in this case a mere trifle, a little paltry thing called a handkerchief, as also in the case of a much more celebrated colored man, the far-famed Othello, of Shakespeare, was the cause of a foul murder.

DA Parker quoted, from [Shakespeare](#)'s play, a passage shortly prior to the murder of Desdemona:

By heaven I saw my handkerchief in his hand.
O perjured woman! thou dost stone my heart,
And mak'st me call what I intend to do
A murder, which I thought a sacrifice.
I saw the handkerchief.

408. We know that the jacket the assailant was wearing was striped, but apparently they did not interrogate the witness as to what color the stripes were, or how wide they were, or whether they ran vertically, diagonally, or horizontally. We therefore do not know whether the “striped jacket” which the suspect was wearing when he was captured actually was a match with this previously observed “striped jacket,” in the color of its stripes, or in the direction in which its stripes ran, or in the breadth of its stripes. We may presume that dark pants were not unusual attire but we are forced to presume, to preserve the honor of the justice system, that striped jackets must have been at that time in that locale a great rarity, so great a rarity indeed that in a municipality the size of Boston on a given night no more than one person could have been wearing such attire. Such lack of judicial interest in relevant details now seems outrageous. Also, after the trial another Boston bystander would come forward, and informed the public that he had seen the fatal blow — but had that night been of the impression **that the assailant was a white man.**

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

January 4. Thursday: The [Boston Daily Evening Traveller](#) summarized the trial of the prisoner [Washington Goode](#) by saying that “though we believe no one now actually living” (an interesting phrase) “saw him strike the blow,” court testimony had made it very likely that they had found the right man — for instance, the blade of Goode’s knife had been demonstrated to be longer than the depth of the puncture wound. Also, from across the street on a dark and stormy night, a witness had observed the clothing worn by the attacker to resemble the clothing of the accused.⁴⁰⁹ At the conclusion of this dramatic “trial,” Chief Justice [Lemuel Shaw](#) put a good face on things by delivering a 3-hour speech to the 12 white⁴¹⁰ men of the jury of the defendant’s peers, and then this jury of the defendant’s peers put a good face on things by staying out for a full 35 minutes before bringing back the necessary verdict, that the black defendant was guilty as charged.



COLDBLOODED MURDER

409. The case of Professor John White Webster a few years later would be said to be a precedent-setting case for the finding of guilt on the basis of evidence that was exclusively circumstantial, but I have difficulty with that conceit because I simply cannot locate in this Washington Goode case any evidence that was other than of a circumstantial nature. It seems to me that the difference between the Washington Goode case and the John White Webster case was not at all any significant difference in the nature of the evidence, but merely an enormous difference in the social standing of the accused individual!

410. We can know with certitude that they were white not only because contemporary records say that they were white but also because we have a record that once during this period a black man had appeared in a Boston courtroom in response to a jury summons issued in his name — and the court had simply told him to go away, that of course there must have been some mistake!



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

January 15, Monday: In downtown [Boston](#)—where everything that happens of course happens for the greater glory of God— Chief Justice [Lemuel Shaw](#) lectured [Washington Goode](#) for an hour and a half on the habits of “intemperance” which he had had, the “ungodly” associates which he had had, the “dens of crime” which he had frequented, etc., informed him that having led such a life there was simply “no hope” that the governor of the state might reduce his sentence. The lecture probably was just what Seaman Goode needed. The judge then consigned him to be [hanged](#) by the neck, on May 25, Friday, 1849 (this seems to have been a traditional day upon which to conduct public hangings), until he was dead.⁴¹¹ The opponents of the death penalty, to wit, the Standing Committee of the Massachusetts Society for the Abolition of Capital Punishment, would have a little more than four months to mobilize public opinion to bring pressure to bear on Governor George Nixon Briggs:

Why Sir, even the boys, and they are worth saving, for we have nothing else to make men, and even Governors of, are now saying in our streets, “it is only a nigger.”

During those four months 24,440 signatures would be collected, petitioning the Governor Briggs to commute Seaman Goode’s sentence, from death by hanging to life in prison without any possibility of parole.

For instance, [Friend Joseph Ricketson](#), [Friend Daniel Ricketson](#)’s brother who, if I mistake not, was a birthright [Quaker](#) in good standing with his Monthly Meeting, reported that:

I have exerted myself very much for the last month in behalf of Washington Goode; there were several petitions here and we obtained 746 signatures.

In addition to the 24,440 signatures mentioned, there was one petition, from Woburn, Massachusetts, bearing a total of nine signatures, which demanded that Governor Briggs remain steadfast in the plan of “exicution.”

An article would appear in the [Boston Republican](#), pointing up the fact that in France the guillotine had been adopted, after consultation with medical men, as the least painful mode of execution, and that since the last hanging in Boston, “the [Ether](#) discovery has taken place.”

The question now arises, how shall the *hanging* be performed here in Boston.... Shall not the convict share also the advantage of this benign discovery? He is to be hanged by the neck. Shall not this be done *with the least possible pain*? If we follow the spirit of the law, there would seem to be no doubt that it must be done with the least possible pain. And it seems equally clear that it is within the *discretion* of the Sheriff, to permit any form of alleviating the pain, which is consistent with the one thing imposed upon him by the law; namely, the hanging of Goode, by the neck, until he is dead. We will not undertake to determine, whether Humanity does not require, that the convict, if he chooses, shall be allowed the benefit of ETHER. We content ourselves with saying that it is clearly within the *discretion* of the Sheriff to permit the pains of the convict to be thus alleviated.

411. In fact, [Boston](#) had not [hanged](#) anyone for simple homicide since 1826, almost a quarter of a century before, and there was another prisoner, Augustus Dutée, whose sentence to be hanged was being commuted during this period to life in prison — but then, we may presume that Augustus Dutée was a white man, not only because his sentence was commuted but also because the documents do not comment on his race as they would most assuredly have commented had he been anything other than white. In addition to Dutée, seven other murderers were then serving life in Massachusetts prison after having had their sentences to be hanged commuted by the state governor.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

The petition to commute the sentence of seaman Goode to life in prison without opportunity for parole that was being circulated and sponsored in Concord (either by [Anna Maria Whiting](#), one of the town's leading abolitionists, or by Caroline Hoar, the wife of Rockwood Hoar) is still in existence and bears, on the men's side of the sheet, the signature of [Henry Thoreau](#) as second in that column. It bears, on the women's side of the sheet, the signature of his younger sister, [Sophia Elizabeth Thoreau](#), as 5th in that column, followed in immediate succession by the signature of his mother, [Cynthia Dunbar Thoreau](#), the signature of his elder sister, [Helen Louisa Thoreau](#), the signature of his aunt [Louisa Dunbar](#), and the signature of his [Aunt Jane Thoreau](#). The signature of his father [John Thoreau, Sr.](#), however, appears nowhere on this petition. **Why not?** Thoreau's father was 62 years old at this point and still very actively engaged in his home business. Is one to suppose that he, quite alone in his home, **wanted** Seaman Goode to dance on air?

DUNBAR FAMILY

The full text of that petition, as it came to be circulated in the Prisoner's Friend, had been as follows:



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, solemnly protest against the intended execution of Washington Goode, as a crime in which we would under no circumstances participate, which we would prevent, if possible, and in the guilt of which we will not, by the seeming assent of silence, suffer ourselves to be implicated.

We believe the execution of this man will involve all who are instrumental in it in the crime of murder – of the murder in cold blood of a helpless fellow being.

The arguments by which executions are generally defended are wholly wanted here. The prisoner is not one who in spite of good instruction and example, for purposes of avarice, revenge or lust, deliberately planned the murder of a fellow-being. The intended victim of law was a man of misfortune from birth, made by his social position, and still more by the color which God gave him, the victim of neglect, of oppression, of prejudice, of all the evils inflicted upon humanity by man. If in a paroxysm of drunken rage, he killed his opponent, (and this is the utmost alleged against him,) his case comes far short of premeditated murder.

But even this fact is extremely doubtful. It is supported only by the most suspicious testimony, and such as would not have weighed with any jury to touch the life of a white man. And since the trial, facts have come to light materially lessening the credibility of the evidence which led to conviction.

The glaring unfairness of his mode of trial is of itself sufficient ground for this protest. The maxim which gives to the accused a trial by his peers was essentially violated. In a community where sympathy with a colored man is a rare and unpopular sentiment, the prisoner should have been tried by a jury composed partly, at least, of his own race. This violation of the principles of equal justice demands our solemn protest.

We claim also that the petition of more than 20,000 of our fellow-citizens to have this man's life spared, demands respect. Such a number of voluntary petitioners, all upon one side, indicates the will of the sovereign people of the State, that the penalty should be commuted. Our respect for the right of the people to a voice and a just influence in the administration of public justice, also demands this solemn protest against the legal murder of Washington Goode.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

NO-ONE'S LIFE IS EVER NOT DRIVEN PRIMARILY BY HAPPENSTANCE



January 29, Monday: The governor of Massachusetts, George Nixon Briggs, commuted the sentence of execution by [hanging](#) of George Hunnewell, for having set fire to his home in Cambridge resulting in the death of his brother, to life in prison. Gosh, it makes you wonder — you don't suppose, maybe, that George Hunnewell was a white man?⁴¹²

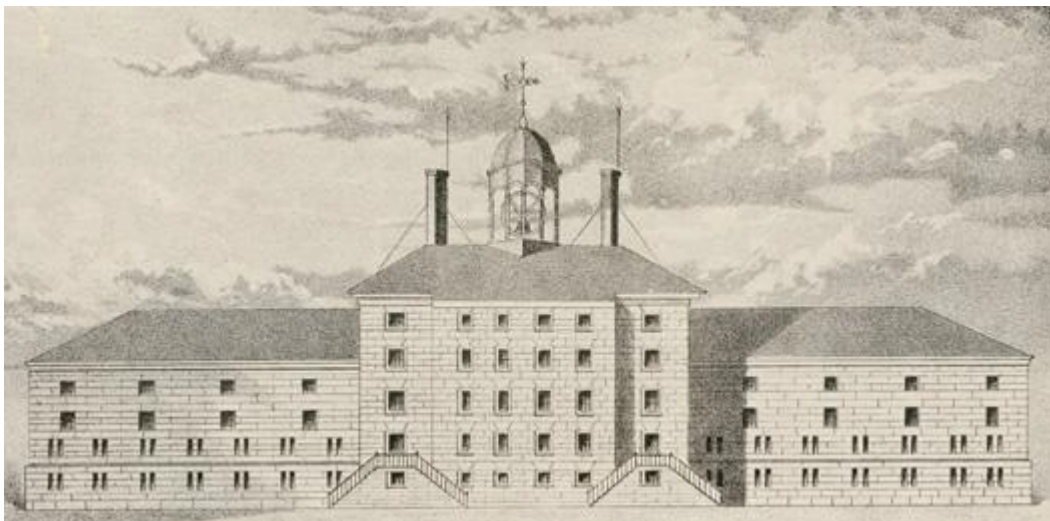
The [Boston Post](#), noting that the state governor had a quite unlimited power of pardon, would raise an obvious question after the execution of the black seaman [Washington Goode](#):

We have always had doubts of the guilt of the culprit. Facts will come out, and then will the community see who was right and who was wrong. But guilty or innocent, what necessity was there for this execution? ... Here was an individual on the last night determined to take his own life. The State stepping in and contending with him who should take it! But we have said sufficient for the present. Petitions have been sent in, meetings have been held, remonstrances have been made. Concord, by the influence of one female, sent in four hundred names. Norton sent in several. But all had no weight with the Governor and his Council. The deed is done. The body now lies cold and quiet in its final resting place. Instead of "Died," we would have had "murdered" May 25th. It was a murder, a cool, deliberate

State Murder

"Stack of the Artist of Kouroo" Project

412. Well gosh, yeah, he **must** have been a white man — for in this case life only meant 20 years, and on the occasion of Fast Day, April 7, 1869 he would be allowed to exit the Massachusetts State Prison in [Charlestown](#) as a free citizen.





STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

murder. No other term will answer. ... He has the pardoning power. Why did he not exercise it? Why save Dutee and Wolf and York, and then hang Goode? These are serious questions. But we have done. We close by saying, from a repetition of such scenes, God save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

February 16, Friday: Governor George Nixon Briggs of Massachusetts commuted the sentence of execution by [hanging](#) of Augustus Dutee –a French Canadian who had shot his paramour Ellen Oakes to death after she rejected his offer of marriage– to life in prison.

The [Boston Post](#), noting that the state governor had a quite unlimited power of pardon, would raise an obvious question after the execution of the black seaman [Washington Goode](#):

We have always had doubts of the guilt of the culprit. Facts will come out, and then will the community see who was right and who was wrong. But guilty or innocent, what necessity was there for this execution? ... Here was an individual on the last night determined to take his own life. The State stepping in and contending with him who should take it! But we have said sufficient for the present. Petitions have been sent in, meetings have been held, remonstrances have been made. Concord, by the influence of one female, sent in four hundred names. Norton sent in several. But all had no weight with the Governor and his Council. The deed is done. The body now lies cold and quiet in its final resting place. Instead of "Died," we would have had "murdered" May 25th. It was a murder, a cool, deliberate murder. No other term will answer. ... He has the pardoning power. Why did he not exercise it? Why save Dutee and Wolf and York, and then hang Goode? These are serious questions. But we have done. We close by saying, from a repetition of such scenes, God save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

**THE TASK OF THE HISTORIAN IS TO CREATE HINDSIGHT WHILE
INTERCEPTING ANY ILLUSION OF FORESIGHT. NOTHING A HUMAN CAN
SEE CAN EVER BE SEEN AS IF THROUGH THE EYE OF GOD.**





STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER



March 4, Sunday: The Austrian Reichstag sitting at Kremsier (Kromeriz), Moravia was by imperial order dissolved. A new constitution for the Austrian Empire was sanctioned by the emperor, declaring it to be an indivisible monarchy with common administration. Istria was made a crown land.

[Lewis Cass](#), defeated as the Democratic presidential candidate, returned to the US Senate.

President [James Knox Polk](#)'s term ended on this day and, since his Veep had already resigned and Zachary Taylor was refusing to take the oath of office on the Sabbath, technically the President of the United States of America was the President Pro Tem of the Senate. David Rice Atchison wisely slept late this day, then hung around in his Senate office chamber, taking a long nap there. (That's greatly superior to the day that, Ronald Reagan having been capped, General Alexander Haig declared himself to be in command at the White House! The tombstone of this David Rice Atchison would read "President of the U.S. one day." — The tombstone of this General Alexander Haig should already read "In command at the White House one day.")

What the President-Elect did do on this day in [Washington DC](#) was turn out his war horse "Old Whitey" to pasture on the [White House](#) lawn. As soon as Monday arrived and he deigned to take the oath of office, he would be President of the United States of America and eat broccoli only if he wanted to, until July 9, 1850. Of course, with the change in the office of President of the United States from a Democrat a Whig, the jobs of all previous Democratic appointees, such as [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) as the Surveyor of the Salem Custom House, became exceedingly insecure, for embroidered on the chest of Old Zach's inauguration suit in red letters was the motto "to the victor belong the spoils":⁴¹³

[SEE NEXT SCREEN]



LA GUILLOTINE
HEADCHOPPING

413. Never mind, for the friends of the [Hawthornes](#), such as [Henry Wadsworth Longfellow](#) and James Russell Lowell, would take up a subscription for their support.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

THE SCARLET LETTER: A remarkable event of the third year of my Surveyorship - to adopt the tone of "P.P." - was the election of General Taylor to the Presidency. It is essential, in order to a complete estimate of the advantages of official life, to view the incumbent at the in-coming of a hostile administration. His position is then one of the most singularly irksome, and, in every contingency, disagreeable, that a wretched mortal can possibly occupy; with seldom an alternative of good on either hand, although what presents itself to him as the worst event may very probably be the best. But it is a strange experience, to a man of pride and sensibility, to know that his interests are within the control of individuals who neither love nor understand him, and by whom, since one or the other must needs happen, he would rather be injured than obliged. Strange, too, for one who has kept his calmness throughout the contest, to observe the bloodthirstiness that is developed in the hour of triumph, and to be conscious that he is himself among its objects! There are few uglier traits of human nature than this tendency -which I now witnessed in men no worse than their neighbours- to grow cruel, merely because they possessed the power of inflicting harm. If the guillotine, as applied to office-holders, were a literal fact, instead of one of the most apt of metaphors, it is my sincere belief that the active members of the victorious party were sufficiently excited to have chopped off all our heads, and have thanked Heaven for the opportunity! It appears to me -who have been a calm and curious observer, as well in victory as defeat- that this fierce and bitter spirit of malice and revenge has never distinguished the many triumphs of my own party as it now did that of the Whigs. The Democrats take the offices, as a general rule, because they need them, and because the practice of many years has made it the law of political warfare, which unless a different system be proclaimed, it was weakness and cowardice to murmur at. But the long habit of victory has made them generous. They know how to spare when they see occasion; and when they strike, the axe may be sharp indeed, but its edge is seldom poisoned with ill-will; nor is it their custom ignominiously to kick the head which they have just struck off.

In short, unpleasant as was my predicament, at best, I saw much reason to congratulate myself that I was on the losing side rather than the triumphant one. If, heretofore, I had been none of the warmest of partisans I began now, at this season of peril and adversity, to be pretty acutely sensible with which party my predilections lay; nor was it without something like regret and shame that, according to a reasonable calculation of chances, I saw my own prospect of retaining office to be better than those of my democratic brethren. But who can see an inch into futurity beyond his nose? My own head was the first that fell.

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

May 24, Thursday: After hiding for 5 days in Magdala, [Richard Wagner](#) walked to Jena and the home of Professor Oskar Wolf.

That afternoon a reporter stopped by the [Boston](#) prison to ask black convict [Washington Goode](#) the usual journalistic questions, such as how does it feel to be waiting around to get hanged.

Q. How old are you?
 A. Don't know.
 Q. Is Washington Goode your real name?
 A. They call me so.
 Q. Have you a mother and sisters?
 A. Yes. In Pennsylvania.
 Q. Tell me truly now which you would prefer were it in your power, an execution or imprisonment for life?
 A. Imprisonment for life, for I am innocent and when that is found out, I could be liberated.
 Q. As the hour of execution is fixed, and you must suffer death, tell me now truly whether you are guilty or not?
 A. I am innocent. I never killed Harding.
 Q. What denomination do you belong to?
 A. I never belonged to any.
 Q. What made you say that you never told me that your cell was uncomfortable, and that you could not keep warm, except in bed?
 A. The jail is a miserable place, and at that time I could not keep warm.
 Here the jailer questioned him,
 Q. Did you ever want for anything?
 A. No. I have been well supplied, but then you know the jail is a miserable place. It will make, however, but little difference with me now. To-morrow I must die between eight and eleven.
 During our conversation, he expressed himself very strongly in regard to the publication of his disgraceful end. "I cannot bear," he said, "to have my name in the papers! What will they say when I am dead? Then, oh my mother and sisters!" He evidently showed that there was still a green spot left in his heart, a chord that might have been made to vibrate!
 We now took our final leave of the criminal, who grasped our hand firmly and bid us an everlasting farewell.

As the reporter was exiting he asked his escort for details about the construction of the gallows in the prison yard, but the official responded to his inquiry only with a question of his own, "What have you been writing so much in the papers for?"



The turnkey incidentally remarked to the reporter, that he expected this prisoner that night to attempt to do away with himself.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

**LIFE IS LIVED FORWARD BUT UNDERSTOOD BACKWARD?
— NO, THAT’S GIVING TOO MUCH TO THE HISTORIAN’S STORIES.
LIFE ISN’T TO BE UNDERSTOOD EITHER FORWARD OR BACKWARD.**

May 24, Thursday evening: Father Edward Thompson Taylor, chaplain at [Boston](#)’s Seamen’s Bethel, and a 2d Methodist pastor, the Reverend Mr. Dexter S. King, visited [Washington Goode](#), to discuss with the imprisoned 29-year-old seaman the condition of his immortal soul.

May 24/25, Thursday night and Friday morning: Desperate, in [Boston](#) prison, [Washington Goode](#) slashed an artery with a shard of broken glass, and swallowed tobacco and tarred rope, but this was not to be the worst day of this seaman’s life. Prompt medical attention saved him from bleeding to death.

May 25, Friday: This was [Waldo Emerson](#)’s 46th birthday.



Thomas Greene Wiggins was born to the [slaves](#) Domingo “Mingo” Wiggins, a field slave, and Charity Greene of Columbus GA. Domingo and Charity’s slavemaster would suppose this blind sickly “pickaninny” to have no labor potential, and so, a couple of years later when he sold off the father and mother, it was possible for them to carry Tom along at no additional charge to the purchaser. Although Tom’s parents had married, the prevailing custom of the time was that married female slaves and their offspring were to be known the names of their owners — following slavery tradition, therefore, the infant was to grow up as Thomas Greene Bethune.

Austrian troops entered Florence and restored the power of Grand Duke Leopold of Tuscany. He would return on July 28th.

After 3 weeks of withstanding furious bombardment, Venetians abandoned Fort Malghera and retreated to Venice, blowing up a large part of the railroad bridge that was their sole connection to the mainland.

Leaving his wife in Jena, [Richard Wagner](#) departed the shelter of Franz Liszt and under an assumed name, headed for Paris by way of Switzerland.

Rolands Knappen, oder Das ersehnte Glück, a komische-romantische Zauberoper by Albert Lortzing to words of the composer and Düringer after Masäus, was performed for the initial time, in Leipzig Stadttheater. This was a great success.

It had been 13 years since the last execution in [Boston](#) and many had hoped there wouldn’t be any more. Due to such petitionary unrest, it was not considered advisable to attempt to hang [Washington Goode](#) on Boston

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

Petitions in the Case of Washington Goode.

Amesbury,	43	Lawrence,	52
Acton,	22	Leicester,	146
Adams,	129	Lunenburg,	19
Ashburnham,	145	Lowell,	1205
Attleboro',	51	Leominster,	50
Abington,	356	Littleton,	110
Athol,	169	Lexington,	113
Ashby,	16	Mansfield,	214
Boston,	4936	Medway,	65
Boxboro',	90	Marshfield,	59
Bolton,	54	Marlboro',	235
Braintree,	36	Malden,	89
Boxford,	15	Marblehead,	114
Bradford,	25	Milford,	201
Blackstone,	93	Middleton,	45
Berlin,	76	Milton,	155
Bedford,	45	Northampton,	136
Barnstable,	254	Nantucket,	827
Bradford,	73	Newburyport,	199
Brookline,	304	Natick,	104
Cummington,	53	New Braintree,	41
Cambridgeport,	78	Needham,	148
Chelsea,	47	Newton,	155
Charlestown,	452	New Bedford,	776
Carroll,	33	N. Bridgewater,	129
Cochituate,	54	Pembroke,	282
Canton,	184	Pepperrell,	100
Cambridge,	150	Plymouth,	719
Concord,	51	Petersham,	91
Danvers,	227	Prescott,	78
Dedham,	82	Paxton,	79
Duxbury,	161	Roxbury,	42
Danvers,	227	Reading,	202
Dorchester,	132	Salem,	271
E. Bridgewater,	10	Sandwich,	46
Essex,	112	Salsbury,	44
Erving,	37	Springfield,	59
Easton,	230	Somerset,	34
Foxboro',	183	Sekonk,	57
Florida,	21	Sharon,	78
Falmouth,	66	Scituate,	318
Freetown,	50	Townsend,	17
Franklin,	124	Tyringham,	174
Fal' River,	381	Upton,	210
Fairhaven,	37	W. Bridgewater,	39
Frammingham,	30	Waltham,	202
Great Barrington,	42	Weymouth,	427
Gloucester,	430	Wareham,	40
Gardner,	96	West Cambridge,	116
Georgetown,	120	Warren,	113
Hatfield,	107	Webster,	76
Holliston,	66	Wrentham,	41
Heath,	48	Williamston,	35
Harvard,	152	Westfield,	170
Holden,	82	Woburn,	203
Hingham,	252	Westminster,	130
Hanson,	139	Watertown,	36
Halifax,	31	Walpole,	81
Kingston,	156	Worcester,	1627
Lynn,	1455	Yarmouth,	58
Lancaster,	60	Total,	24 440.

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STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

Common so, in order to witness this man die, many were reduced to the indignity of perching upon the rooftops overlooking the city's jailyard.



The going price for a nice window view is reported to have been \$20 or higher. The condemned man was so weak from loss of blood from his suicide attempt of the previous night that he needed to be carried to his [gallows](#) strapped to a chair. Evidently the warden had elected to ignore the plea of a local newspaper, that as had been done in Brooklyn a few years earlier, he offer the victim the option of the new discovery [ether](#) before dropping the trap of the scaffold. This was during a rainstorm, for we have a report that one of the packed spectators in the courtyard is reported to have cried out “Down with your umbrellas, and let’s see the bloody nigger swing!” The condemned man strapped in the chair, offered a cup of water, commented “This is the last Cochituate water that I shall ever drink.”

Famous Last Words:



"What school is more profitably instructive than the death-bed of the righteous, impressing the understanding with a convincing evidence, that they have not followed cunningly devised fables, but solid substantial truth."

— A COLLECTION OF MEMORIALS CONCERNING DIVERS DECEASED MINISTERS, Philadelphia, 1787



"The death bed scenes & observations even of the best & wisest afford but a sorry picture of our humanity. Some men endeavor to live a constrained life — to subject their whole lives to their will as he who said he might give a sign if he were conscious after his head was cut off — but he gave no sign Dwell as near as possible to the channel in which your life flows."

—Thoreau's JOURNAL, March 12, 1853

1836	James Madison	unsolicited comment	<i>"I always talk better lying down."</i>
1846	Benjamin Robert Haydon	final entry in 38-year journal before offing himself	<i>"Stretch me no longer on this tough world. — Lear"</i>
1848	John Quincy Adams	had just voted "no" on war on Mexico	<i>"This is the last of earth. I am composed."</i>
1849	Washington Goode	offered a cup of water before being hanged in Boston	<i>"This is the last Cochituate water that I shall ever drink."</i>
1849	Edgar Allan Poe	in bad shape in Baltimore	<i>"Lord help my poor soul."</i>
1850	John Caldwell Calhoun	unsolicited comment	<i>"The South! The poor South! God knows what will become of her."</i>
... other famous last words ...			

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STATE MURDER

The assembly sang a hymn, one that had been selected by Goode himself:

Soon shall I hear the solemn call,
(Prepared or not) to yield my breath ;
And this poor mortal frame must fall
A helpless prey to cruel death.

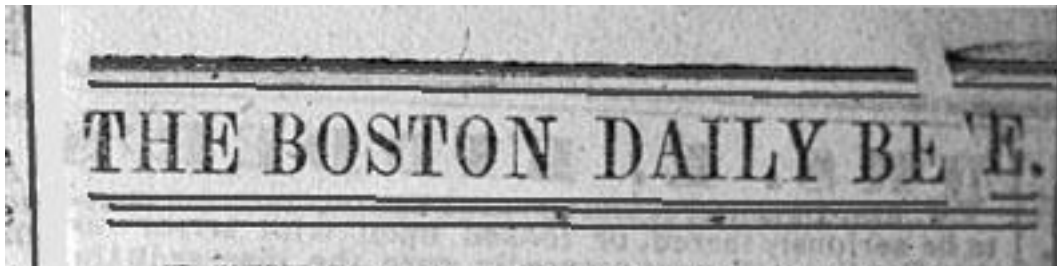
Then look, my soul, look forward now,
And anchor safe beyond the flood ;
Bow to the Savior's footstool, bow,
And get a life secure in God.

Before these fleeting hours are gone,
I'll bid this mortal world adieu ;
And to the Lord I'll now resign
My life, my breath, and spirit too.

Then welcome death, with all its force,
No more I'll fear the gaping grave ;
Jesus, my Lord, my last resource,
Will reach his arm my soul to save.

He will not hide his smiling face,
Nor leave me in that trying hour ;
I'll trust my soul upon his grace,
And cheerful leave this mortal shore.

At 9:50AM, local time, the trapdoor of the scaffold beneath the chair with the negro strapped into it was triggered and fell open with a thwack and –as the Boston Daily Bee reported– this black soul was “launched into the presence of the Supreme Being of us all.”



IT IS NO COINCIDENCE THAT IT IS MORTALS WHO CONSUME OUR
HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS, FOR WHAT WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO DO IS
EVADE THE RESTRICTIONS OF THE HUMAN LIFESPAN. (IMMORTALS,
WITH NOTHING TO LIVE FOR, TAKE NO HEED OF OUR STORIES.)



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

May 27, Sunday, 1849: [Henri-Frédéric Amiel](#), who would be referred to as the “Swiss [Thoreau](#),” wrote in his [JOURNAL INTIME](#): “To be misunderstood even by those whom one loves is the cross and bitterness of life. It is the secret of that sad and melancholy smile on the lips of great men which so few understand; it is the cruelest trial reserved for self-devotion; it is what must have oftenest wrung the heart of the Son of man; and if God could suffer, it would be the wound we should be forever inflicting upon Him. He also — He above all — is the great misunderstood, the least comprehended. Alas! alas! never to tire, never to grow cold; to be patient, sympathetic, tender; to look for the budding flower and the opening heart; to hope always, like God; to love always — this is duty.”

[Thomas Mayo Brewer](#) got married with [Sally R. Coffin](#), daughter of Mr. Stephen Coffin of Damariscotta, [Maine](#). The couple would produce two children.

After two Boston churches attended by persons of color had declined to allow the funeral services for the [hanged](#) black seaman to be conducted on their premises, on this afternoon the body of [Washington Goode](#) was interred in a city tomb at the South Burying Ground. The Reverend Mr. Grimes, pastor of the 12th Baptist Society, presided. On the handsome coffin of black walnut, a silver plate bore the simple inscription “Washington Goode, Died, May 25, 1849, Aged 29 years.”

[Margaret Fuller](#) reported to the New-York [Tribune](#) from Rome “between the heaves of storm”:

Rome, May 27, 1849.

I have suspended writing in the expectation of some decisive event; but none such comes yet. The French, entangled in a web of falsehood, abashed by a defeat that Oudinot has vainly tried to gloss over, the expedition disowned by all honorable men at home, disappointed at Gaëta, not daring to go the length Papal infatuation demands, know not what to do. The Neapolitans have been decidedly driven back into their own borders, the last time in a most shameful rout, their king flying in front. We have heard for several days that the Austrians were advancing, but they come not. They also, it is probable, meet with unexpected embarrassments. They find that the sincere movement of the Italian people is very unlike that of troops commanded by princes and generals who never wished to conquer and were always waiting to betray. Then their troubles at home are constantly increasing, and, should the Russian intervention quell these to-day, it is only to raise a storm far more terrible to-morrow. The struggle is now fairly, thoroughly commenced between the principle of democracy and the old powers, no longer legitimate. That struggle may last fifty years, and the earth be watered with the blood and tears of more than one generation, but the result is sure. All Europe, including Great Britain, where the most bitter resistance of all will be made, is to be under republican government in the next century.

“God moves in a mysterious way.”

Every struggle made by the old tyrannies, all their Jesuitical deceptions, their rapacity, their imprisonments and executions of the most generous men, only sow more dragon’s teeth; the crop shoots up daily more and more plenteous.

When I first arrived in Italy, the vast majority of this people had no wish beyond limited monarchies, constitutional governments. They still respected the famous names of the nobility; they despised the priests, but were still fondly attached to the dogmas and ritual of the Roman Catholic Church. It required King Bomba, the triple treachery of Charles Albert, Pius IX., and the “illustrious Gioberti,” the naturally kind-hearted, but, from the necessity of his position, cowardly and



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false Leopold of Tuscany, the vagabond "serene" meannesses of Parma and Modena, the "fatherly" Radetzsky, and, finally, the imbecile Louis Bonaparte, "would-be Emperor of France," to convince this people that no transition is possible between the old and the new. *The work is done*; the revolution in Italy is now radical, nor can it stop till Italy becomes independent and united as a republic. Protestant she already is, and though the memory of saints and martyrs may continue to be revered, the ideal of woman to be adored under the name of Mary, yet Christ will now begin to be a little thought of; *his* idea has always been kept carefully out of sight under the old *régime*; all the worship being for the Madonna and saints, who were to be well paid for interceding for sinners; – an example which might make men cease to be such, was no way coveted. Now the New Testament has been translated into Italian; copies are already dispersed far and wide; men calling themselves Christians will no longer be left entirely ignorant of the precepts and life of Jesus.

The people of Rome have burnt the Cardinals' carriages. They took the confessionals out of the churches, and made mock confessions in the piazzas, the scope of which was, "I have sinned, father, so and so." "Well, my son, how much will you *pay* to the Church for absolution?" Afterward the people thought of burning the confessionals, or using them for barricades; but at the request of the Triumvirate they desisted, and even put them back into the churches. But it was from no reaction of feeling that they stopped short, only from respect for the government. The "Tartuffe" of Molière has been translated into Italian, and was last night performed with great applause at the Valle. Can all this be forgotten? Never! Should guns and bayonets replace the Pope on the throne, he will find its foundations, once deep as modern civilization, now so undermined that it falls with the least awkward movement.

But I cannot believe he will be replaced there. France alone could consummate that crime, – that, for her, most cruel, most infamous treason. The elections in France will decide. In three or four days we shall know whether the French nation at large be guilty or no, – whether it be the will of the nation to aid or strive to ruin a government founded on precisely the same basis as their own.

I do not dare to trust that people. The peasant is yet very ignorant. The suffering workman is frightened as he thinks of the punishments that ensued on the insurrections of May and June. The man of property is full of horror at the brotherly scope of Socialism. The aristocrat dreams of the guillotine always when he hears men speak of the people. The influence of the Jesuits is still immense in France. Both in France and England the grossest falsehoods have been circulated with unwearied diligence about the state of things in Italy. An amusing specimen of what is still done in this line I find just now in a foreign journal, where it says there are red flags on all the houses of Rome; meaning to imply that the Romans are athirst for blood. Now, the fact is, that these flags are put up at the entrance of those streets where there is no barricade, as a signal to coachmen and horsemen that they can pass freely. There is one on the house where I am, in which is no person but myself, who thirsts for peace, and the Padrone, who thirsts for money.

Meanwhile the French troops are encamped at a little distance



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from Rome. Some attempts at fair and equal treaty when their desire to occupy Rome was firmly resisted, Oudinot describes in his despatches as a readiness for *submission*. Having tried in vain to gain this point, he has sent to France for fresh orders. These will be decided by the turn the election takes. Meanwhile the French troops are much exposed to the Roman force where they are. Should the Austrians come up, what will they do? Will they shamelessly fraternize with the French, after pretending and proclaiming that they came here as a check upon their aggressions? Will they oppose them in defence of Rome, with which they are at war?

Ah! the way of falsehood, the way of treachery, – how dark, how full of pitfalls and traps! Heaven defend from it all who are not yet engaged therein!

War near at hand seems to me even more dreadful than I had fancied it. True, it tries men's souls, lays bare selfishness in undeniable deformity. Here it has produced much fruit of noble sentiment, noble act; but still it breeds vice too, drunkenness, mental dissipation, tears asunder the tenderest ties, lavishes the productions of Earth, for which her starving poor stretch out their hands in vain, in the most unprofitable manner. And the ruin that ensues, how terrible! Let those who have ever passed happy days in Rome grieve to hear that the beautiful plantations of Villa Borghese – that chief delight and refreshment of citizens, foreigners, and little children – are laid low, as far as the obelisk. The fountain, singing alone amid the fallen groves, cannot be seen and heard without tears; it seems like some innocent infant calling and crowing amid dead bodies on a field which battle has strewn with the bodies of those who once cherished it. The plantations of Villa Salvage on the Tiber, also, the beautiful trees on the way from St. John Lateran to La Maria Maggiore, the trees of the Forum, are fallen. Rome is shorn of the locks which lent grace to her venerable brow. She looks desolate, profaned. I feel what I never expected to, – as if I might by and by be willing to leave Rome.

Then I have, for the first time, seen what wounded men suffer. The night of the 30th of April I passed in the hospital, and saw the terrible agonies of those dying or who needed amputation, felt their mental pains and longing for the loved ones who were away; for many of these were Lombards, who had come from the field of Novarra to fight with a fairer chance, – many were students of the University, who had enlisted and thrown themselves into the front of the engagement. The impudent falsehoods of the French general's despatches are incredible. The French were never decoyed on in any way. They were received with every possible mark of hostility. They were defeated in open field, the Garibaldi legion rushing out to meet them; and though they suffered much from the walls, they sustained themselves nowhere. They never put up a white flag till they wished to surrender. The vanity that strives to cover over these facts is unworthy of men. The only excuse for the imprudent conduct of the expedition is that they were deceived, not by the Romans here, but by the priests of Gaëta, leading them to expect action in their favor within the walls. These priests themselves were deluded by their hopes and old habits of mind. The troops did not fight well, and General Oudinot abandoned his wounded without proper care. All this says nothing against French valor, proved by ages of glory, beyond the doubt of their worst foes.



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They were demoralized because they fought in so bad a cause, and there was no sincere ardor or clear hope in any breast. But to return to the hospitals: these were put in order, and have been kept so, by the Princess Belgioioso. The princess was born of one of the noblest families of the Milanese, a descendant of the great Trivalzio, and inherited a large fortune. Very early she compromised it in liberal movements, and, on their failure, was obliged to fly to Paris, where for a time she maintained herself by writing, and I think by painting also. A princess so placed naturally excited great interest, and she drew around her a little court of celebrated men. After recovering her fortune, she still lived in Paris, distinguished for her talents and munificence, both toward literary men and her exiled countrymen. Later, on her estate, called Locate, between Pavia and Milan, she had made experiments in the Socialist direction with fine judgment and success. Association for education, for labor, for transaction of household affairs, had been carried on for several years; she had spared no devotion of time and money to this object, loved, and was much beloved by, those objects of her care, and said she hoped to die there. All is now despoiled and broken up, though it may be hoped that some seeds of peaceful reform have been sown which will spring to light when least expected. The princess returned to Italy in 1847-8, full of hope in Pius IX and Charles Albert. She showed her usual energy and truly princely heart, sustaining, at her own expense, a company of soldiers and a journal up to the last sad betrayal of Milan, August 6th. These days undeceived all the people, but few of the noblesse; she was one of the few with mind strong enough to understand the lesson, and is now warmly interested in the republican movement. From Milan she went to France, but, finding it impossible to effect anything serious there in behalf of Italy, returned, and has been in Rome about two months. Since leaving Milan she receives no income, her possessions being in the grasp of Radetzky, and cannot know when, if ever, she will again. But as she worked so largely and well with money, so can she without. She published an invitation to the Roman women to make lint and bandages, and offer their services to the wounded; she put the hospitals in order; in the central one, Trinita de Pellegrini, once the abode where the pilgrims were received during holy week, and where foreigners were entertained by seeing their feet washed by the noble dames and dignitaries of Rome, she has remained day and night since the 30th of April, when the wounded were first there. Some money she procured at first by going through Rome, accompanied by two other ladies veiled, to beg it. Afterward the voluntary contributions were generous; among the rest, I am proud to say, the Americans in Rome gave \$250, of which a handsome portion came from Mr. Brown, the Consul.

I value this mark of sympathy more because of the irritation and surprise occasioned here by the position of Mr. Cass, the Envoy. It is most unfortunate that we should have an envoy here for the first time, just to offend and disappoint the Romans. When all the other ambassadors are at Gaëta, ours is in Rome, as if by his presence to discountenance the republican government, which he does not recognize. Mr. Cass, it seems, is required by his instructions not to recognize the government till sure it can be sustained. Now it seems to me that the only dignified ground for our government, the only legitimate ground for any



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republican government, is to recognize for any nation the government chosen by itself. The suffrage had been correct here, and the proportion of votes to the whole population was much larger, it was said by Americans here, than it is in our own country at the time of contested elections. It had elected an Assembly; that Assembly had appointed, to meet the exigencies of this time, the Triumvirate. If any misrepresentations have induced America to believe, as France affects to have believed, that so large a vote could have been obtained by moral intimidation, the present unanimity of the population in resisting such immense odds, and the enthusiasm of their every expression in favor of the present government, puts the matter beyond a doubt. The Roman people claims once more to have a national existence. It declines further serfdom to an ecclesiastical court. It claims liberty of conscience, of action, and of thought. Should it fall from its present position, it will not be from, internal dissent, but from foreign oppression.

Since this is the case, surely our country, if no other, is bound to recognize the present government *so long as it can sustain itself*. This position is that to which we have a right: being such, it is no matter how it is viewed by others. But I dare assert it is the only respectable one for our country, in the eyes of the Emperor of Russia himself.

The first, best occasion is past, when Mr. Cass might, had he been empowered to act as Mr. Rush did in France, have morally strengthened the staggering republic, which would have found sympathy where alone it is of permanent value, on the basis of principle. Had it been in vain, what then? America would have acted honorably; as to our being compromised thereby with the Papal government, that fear is idle. Pope and Cardinals have great hopes from America; the giant influence there is kept up with the greatest care; the number of Catholic writers in the United States, too, carefully counted. Had our republican government acknowledged this republican government, the Papal Camarilla would have respected us more, but not loved us less; for have we not the loaves and fishes to give, as well as the precious souls to be saved? Ah! here, indeed, America might go straightforward with all needful impunity. Bishop Hughes himself need not be anxious. That first, best occasion has passed, and the unrecognized, unrecognized Envoy has given offence, and not comfort, by a presence that seemed constantly to say, I do not think you can sustain yourselves. It has wounded both the heart and the pride of Rome. Some of the lowest people have asked me, "Is it not true that your country had a war to become free?" "Yes." "Then why do they not feel for us?"

Yet even now it is not too late. If America would only hail triumphant, though she could not sustain injured Rome, that would be something. "Can you suppose Rome will triumph," you say, "without money, and against so potent a league of foes?" I am not sure, but I hope, for I believe something in the heart of a people when fairly awakened. I have also a lurking confidence in what our fathers spoke of so constantly, a providential order of things, by which brute force and selfish enterprise are sometimes set at naught by aid which seems to descend from a higher sphere. Even old pagans believed in that, you know; and I was born in America, Christianized by the Puritans, — America, freed by eight years' patient suffering,



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poverty, and struggle, — America, so cheered in dark days by one spark of sympathy from a foreign shore, — America, first “recognized” by Lafayette. I saw him when traversing our country, then great, rich, and free. Millions of men who owed in part their happiness to what, no doubt, was once sneered at as romantic sympathy, threw garlands in his path. It is natural that I should have some faith.

Send, dear America! to thy ambassadors a talisman precious beyond all that boasted gold of California. Let it loose his tongue to cry, “Long live the Republic, and may God bless the cause of the people, the brotherhood of nations and of men, — equality of rights for all.” *Viva America!*

Hail to my country! May she live a free, a glorious, a loving life, and not perish, like the old dominions, from, the leprosy of selfishness.

Evening.

I am alone in the ghostly silence of a great house, not long since full of gay faces and echoing with gay voices, now deserted by every one but me, — for almost all foreigners are gone now, driven by force either of the summer heats or the foe. I hear all the Spaniards are going now, — that twenty-one have taken passports to-day; why that is, I do not know.

I shall not go till the last moment; my only fear is of France. I cannot think in any case there would be found men willing to damn themselves to latest posterity by bombarding Rome. Other cities they may treat thus, careless of destroying the innocent and helpless, the babe and old grandsire who cannot war against them. But Rome, precious inheritance of mankind, — will they run the risk of marring her shrined treasures? Would they dare do it? Two of the balls that struck St. Peter’s have been sent to Pius IX. by his children, who find themselves so much less “beloved” than were the Austrians.

These two days, days of solemn festivity in the calends of the Church, have been duly kept, and the population looks cheerful as it swarms through the streets. The order of Rome, thronged as it is with troops, is amazing. I go from one end to the other, and amid the poorest and most barbarous of the population, (barbarously ignorant, I mean,) alone and on foot. My friends send out their little children alone with their nurses. The amount of crime is almost nothing to what it was. The Roman, no longer pent in ignorance and crouching beneath espionage, no longer stabs in the dark. His energies have true vent; his better feelings are roused; he has thrown aside the stiletto. The power here is indeed miraculous, since no doubt still lurk within the walls many who are eager to incite brawls, if only to give an excuse for slander.

To-day I suppose twelve thousand Austrians marched into Florence. The Florentines have humbled and disgraced themselves in vain. They recalled the Grand Duke to ward off the entrance of the Austrians, but in vain went the deputation to Gaëta — in an American steamer! Leopold was afraid to come till his dear cousins of Austria had put everything in perfect order; then the Austrians entered to take Leghorn, but the Florentines still kept on imploring them not to come there; Florence was as subdued, as good as possible, already: — they have had the answer they deserved. Now they crown their work by giving over Guerazzi and Petracchi to be tried by an Austrian court-martial. Truly the cup of shame brims over.



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I have been out on the balcony to look over the city. All sleeps with that peculiar air of serene majesty known to this city only; – this city that has grown, not out of the necessities of commerce nor the luxuries of wealth, but first out of heroism, then out of faith. Swelling domes, roofs softly tinted with yellow moss! what deep meaning, what deep repose, in your faintly seen outline!

The young moon climbs among clouds, – the clouds of a departing thunderstorm. Tender, smiling moon! can it be that thy full orb may look down on a smoking, smouldering Rome, and see her best blood run along the stones, without one nation in the world to defend, one to aid, – scarce one to cry out a tardy “Shame”? We will wait, whisper the nations, and see if they can bear it. Rack them well to see if they are brave. *If they can do without us*, we will help them. Is it thus ye would be served in your turn? Beware!

ARTHUR FULLER’S BOOK

THE FUTURE IS MOST READILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT





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June 11, Monday: The three kings of the *Dreikönigsbund* (Prussia, Saxony, Hanover) called on all [German](#) states to participate in elections for a [German](#) parliament to ratify the *Unionsverfassung* announced on May 28th.

According to pages 82-83 of Larry J. Reynolds's influence study *EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS AND THE AMERICAN LITERARY RENAISSANCE* (New Haven CT: Yale UP, 1988), there are excellent reasons why the alternate title for [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s new novel *THE SCARLET LETTER* was *THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS OF A DECAPITATED SURVEYOR*:

Predictably, the American press drew careless comparisons between the European revolutions and the American political scene. When Zachary Taylor began his series of political appointments in the spring and summer of 1849, they were reported in the Democratic papers as terrorist acts, as symbolic beheadings of Democratic party members. Some seven times in May and June, for example, the *Boston Post* printed, in conjunction with the announcement of a political appointment and removal, a small drawing presumably of General Taylor standing beside a guillotine, puffing a cigar, surrounded by heads (presumably of Democrats) at his feet. One of these drawings appeared on June 11th, and on the following day, a letter to the editor appeared objecting to Hawthorne's removal from the Salem Custom House. "This is one of the most heartless acts of this heartless administration," the anonymous writer declared. "The head of the poet and the scholar is stricken off to gratify and reward some greedy partizan!... There stands, at the guillotine, besides the headless trunk of a pure minded, faithful and well deserving officer, sacrificed to the worst of party proscription, Gen. Zachary Taylor, now President." As Arlin Turner has pointed out, this letter was probably a source of [Hawthorne](#)'s beheading metaphor; however, behind the reference were two years of revolutionary events in Europe, two years of revolutionary rhetoric and imagery.

HEADCHOPPING

Actually, the entire issue over [Nathaniel](#)'s dismissal as Surveyor of the Salem Custom House was an issue of classification. Was Hawthorne to be considered as a "political," or as a "non-political," employee? The Whigs who dismissed him were alleging that since he had been writing political articles for the Democrats, and since they believed that he had been discriminating against Whig employees in favor of Democratic employees in matters of salary at the Custom House, and since he had they believed then been requiring these Democrat employees to contribute a portion of their inflated salaries to the support of the party — he had in effect made himself into a political employee and could have no complaint in being treated as one.⁴¹⁴



414. I'm not saying they were right, but I am saying that they had an argument which it has become quite impossible for us now to evaluate on its merits.

Writers who are known to have supplemented their authorial income by serving in addition as revenue agents: the Reverend Orestes Augustus Brownson, Robert Burns, [Geoffrey Chaucer](#), [Hawthorne](#), and Herman Melville. (Not to mention, according to MATTHEW 9:9, the author of the gospel according to Matthew.)

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**THE WHOLE THING WAS STUPID BECAUSE SALEM WAS ALREADY
WELL ON ITS WAY TO BEING NO PORT AT ALL HAVING ALREADY
HAD ITS LUNCH EATEN BY THE BUSTLING PORT OF BOSTON**

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June 12, Tuesday: In accounting for the reasons why the new novel *THE SCARLET LETTER* would appear bearing an alternate title *THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS OF A DECAPITATED SURVEYOR*: The Boston *Post* had been printing, in conjunction with each announcement of a political dismissal of a Democrat and appointment of a Taylor supporter, a small woodblock presumably depicting President Zachary Taylor puffing on a cigar with his hand on the pull-rope of a guillotine, while a pile of Democratic heads accumulates at his feet. One such drawing had appeared in the previous issue and today an anonymous letter to the editor objected to [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s removal as Surveyor of the Salem Custom House as "one of the most heartless acts of this heartless administration."⁴¹⁵



A PORT THAT IS NO LONGER A PORT NO LONGER NEEDS A CUSTOM HOUSE HOW UNFAIR TO OUR BUSY WRITERS!

The letter glossed the event as a poet and scholar being decapitated in order to gratify and reward some greedy partizan. "There stands, at the guillotine, besides the headless trunk of a pure minded, faithful and well deserving officer, sacrificed to the worst of party proscription, Gen. Zachary Taylor, now President." —We are given to imagine, somehow, that a headless torso is standing next to the President of the United States of America, or, more likely, that an incoherently enraged letterwriter has made implicit reference to the woodblock in that previous day's issue.

HEADCHOPPING

(This letter is so poorly written that I can hardly believe that Hawthorne himself might have submitted it.);

October 2, Sunday: In his journal [Thoreau](#) began to construct the Tom-Hyde-the-tinker-standing-on-the-gallows parable that appears on page 327-8 of the "Conclusion" chapter of *WALDEN*, which he would add to his *ms*

415. In regard to the Custom House of his introduction, [Hawthorne](#) alleged to his friend Horatio Bridge that there had been "the greatest uproar that had happened here since witch times."

William Lee (1771-1851) had been the permanent inspector of the Custom House and the model for "the father of the custom house" of the narrative.



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in Draft F.

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WALDEN: Say what you have to say, not what you ought. Any truth is better than make-believe. Tom Hyde, the tinker, standing on the gallows, was asked if he had any thing to say. "Tell the tailors," said he, "to remember to make a knot in their thread before they take the first stitch." His companion's prayer is forgotten.

PEOPLE O
WALDEN

TOM HYDE

This initial rendition of the parable is slightly more elaborate, in that after Tom's ghastly stab at [gallows](#) humor he goes on to add some blubbery and tendentious pseudo-poetry, suggesting that the people who are killing him are making a mistake which is going to inconvenience them, which they are going to have to recognize in the future, but are only going to recognize after it has become too late for them to do anything about it — because in actuality, if they would only realize it, Tom Hyde, the tinker who should have "gone tinkering about his life to improve it" but failed to do so, would be worth more to them alive than he would be worth to them dead:

Tom Hyde's dying speech When Tom standing on the gallows was asked if he had anything to say—
He said—Tell the tailors to remember & make a knot in their thread before they take the first stitch. also
You Boston folks & Roxbury people
Will want Tom Hyde to mend your kettle

We note the ghastly little word "also" here. Tom inserts "also" because he is well aware that the moment he pauses is the moment the employee who is holding the cord will yank on it, opening the latch that snaps the trap, that allows him to drop straight down, and his neck to snap — and he doesn't want this employee to make a mistake and yank on the cord at some mere *hem* in this little departing sermon of his.

**YOUR GARDEN-VARIETY ACADEMIC HISTORIAN INVITES YOU TO CLIMB
ABOARD A HOVERING TIME MACHINE TO SKIM IN METATIME BACK
ACROSS THE GEOLOGY OF OUR PAST TIMESLICES, WHILE OFFERING UP
A GARDEN VARIETY OF COGENT ASSESSMENTS OF OUR PROGRESSION.
WHAT A LOAD OF CRAP! YOU SHOULD REFUSE THIS HELICOPTERISH
OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORICAL PAST, FOR IN THE REAL WORLD THINGS
HAPPEN ONLY AS THEY HAPPEN. WHAT THIS SORT WRITES AMOUNTS,
LIKE MERE "SCIENCE FICTION," MERELY TO "HISTORY FICTION":
IT'S NOT WORTH YOUR ATTENTION.**

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After October 15, Saturday, 1849: Why should we be related as mortals merely—as limited to one state of existence— Our lives are immortal our transmigrations are infinite—the virtue that we are livs ever—the vice dieth ever— Shall I exhibit to my friend a human narrowness. To what purpose mythology? The petty tragedy or comedy of our human life—we can sit spectators of it—let it pass. I would meet my friend not in the light or shadow of our human life alone—but as daimons We should not be less tender & human sympathizing for this because we should meet intimately as essences

I should consider this friend of mine is a Great fellow—my knowledge of him, our intercourse, is not to be limited to a few of Natures revolutions, a few paltry summers and winters—no! no! we are Great fellows—we shall be a long time together I do not despair of knowing him better— Ours is a tragedy of more than 5 acts—this is not the fifth act in our tragedy no, no! blow high, blow low, I will come upon my feet—& holding my friend by the hand. The undertaker will have a dusty time that undertakes to bury me— I go with the party of the gods: What falsehoods men do tell—they say that life's a fallacy— They are benighted—they are ineffectual men who walk in the valley of the shadow of Death. I am not agoing to be a man merely—

I will be Hari—

Not a little snivelling, hugging, hoping *protempore* loving exaggerating— A friendship which will survive despair & the grave thereafter and laugh at such sweet pains as a man hangs himsef for—

What sort of fruit comes of living as if you were a going to die? Live rather as if you were coming to life. How can the end of living be death? The end of living is life. Living is an active transitive state to life—

Life in the green state.

This seems strange and remote—yet step into the cars, & in six hours you may stand on those four planks—and see the Cape Thorfin & Gosnold saw.

The women may sit at their doors & see where their their husbands & sons are catching mackerel 20 miles off upon the sea.— in their ocean house with the white sails. The Cape is to them a sort of store ship laden with supplies, a safer & larger craft on which the women & children & old men take passage,—the village sees where its able bodied men are all ploughing the ocean together

From the northernmost village in Truro the women & girls may sit at their doors & sees their husbands & brothers ploughing the sea twenty miles off, and harvesting their mackerel, with hundreds of white harvest wagons—just as in the country the farmers' wives may sometimes see their husbands working in a distant field,—but the sound of no dinner horn can reach them there.— far beyond the sound of the dinner-horn

[HANGING](#)

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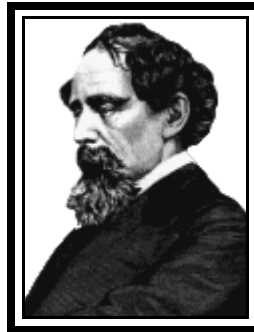
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November 3, Saturday: Ebenezer and Abijah Learned, brothers with prior grand larceny convictions living in a mansion overlooking the sea, were arrested and charged with the theft from the safe in Provincetown. Only \$200.⁰⁰ of the \$20,000.⁰⁰ was recovered from their possession (more research would be necessary, to verify that these brothers were convicted as charged and to discover what sort of prison terms they served).

In England, [Herman Melville](#) paid half a crown for permission to stand on an adjacent roof, in order to witness the [hanging](#) of a married couple, Maria and George Manning, who had conspired to murder a friend. How titillating this must have been for these spectators! Then he had breakfast and went to the zoo.



(Charles Dickens also attended this interesting hanging — though not in the company of Melville.)



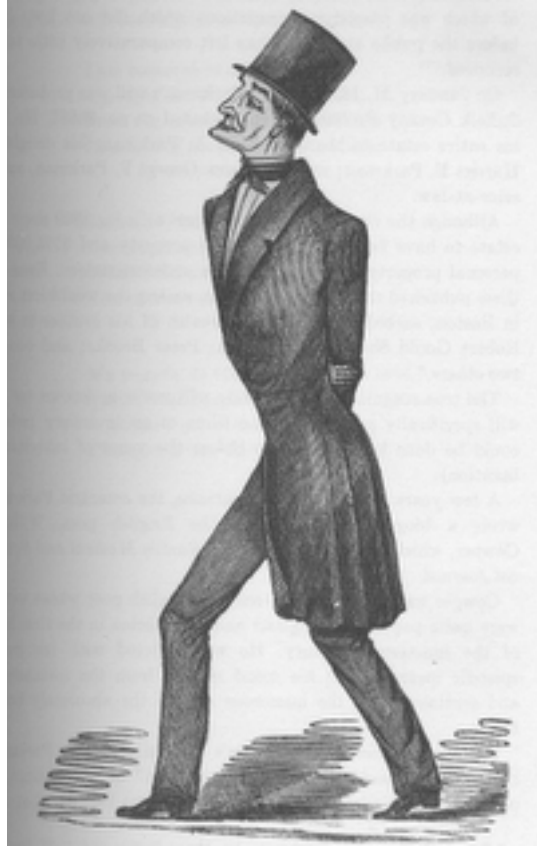
**WHAT I'M WRITING IS TRUE BUT NEVER MIND
YOU CAN ALWAYS LIE TO YOURSELF**

November 19, Monday: [Doctor George Parkman](#), whose personal fortune amounted to some half a million dollars (that'd be some fifty million, in today's currency) went to [Professor John White Webster](#)'s office to see if he couldn't humiliate him some more.

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November 23, Friday afternoon: [Doctor George Parkman](#) had called at the clock shop of William Bond and Son to pay part of a bill, and had promised to return in the afternoon but did not do so.



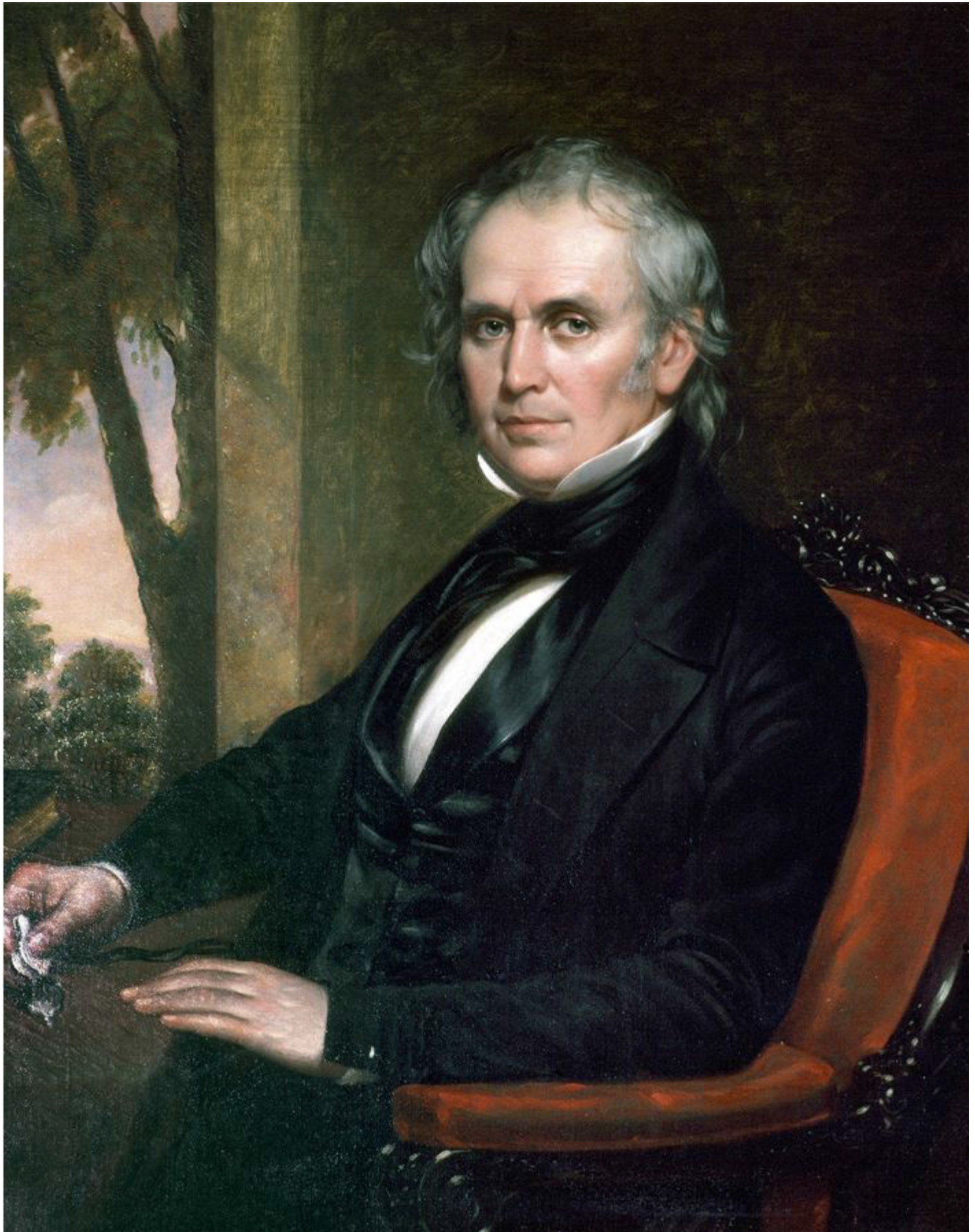
This was the shop which was producing the cash flow which was enabling the Bonds to run the [Harvard Observatory](#) without any salaries. When it later turned out to be his friend and colleague [Professor John White Webster](#) the chemistry professor of the medical college who was arrested for the murder of Doctor Parkman, however, [William Cranch Bond](#) was defensive and incredulous:

We who are intimately acquainted with Doctor Webster cannot harbor a suspicion of the kind for an instant.

Doctor Parkman was then seen at the Massachusetts Hospital on Allen Street (now Massachusetts General), and that was the last recorded sighting. From the later bill of indictment, we learn that one account of what happened that Friday afternoon at the [Harvard Medical College](#) was that “John White Webster with a certain knife which he then and there in his right hand had held, the said George Parkman then and there feloniously willfully and of his malice aforethought did strike, beat and kick upon the head, breast, back and belly, sides and other parts of him, the said George Parkman and then and there feloniously willfully and with malice aforethought did cast and throw the said George Parkman down unto and upon the floor with great force and violence there giving unto the said George Parkman then and there as well as by the beating, stabbing, striking and kicking of him several mortal wounds and bruises in and upon the head, breast, belly and other sides of

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the body ... of which said mortal strokes, wounds and bruises he the said George Parkman then and there instantly died.” From the “confession” which the Unitarian minister, the Reverend George Putnam said that [Professor John White Webster](#) had made to him in his jail cell after being condemned to death by hanging, we learn that another account of what happened that Friday afternoon at the [Harvard Medical College](#) was that Doctor Parkman was waving a copy of the letter of recommendation which he had originally prepared to help Doctor Webster obtain an appointment on the Harvard faculty many years before, and had said to Doctor Webster “I got you into your position and now I will get you out of it.” Whereupon Doctor Webster became enraged and fearful and, grabbing up a stump of grapevine from the stovewood, whacked [Doctor George Parkman](#) once solidly along the side of the head, killing him instantly.

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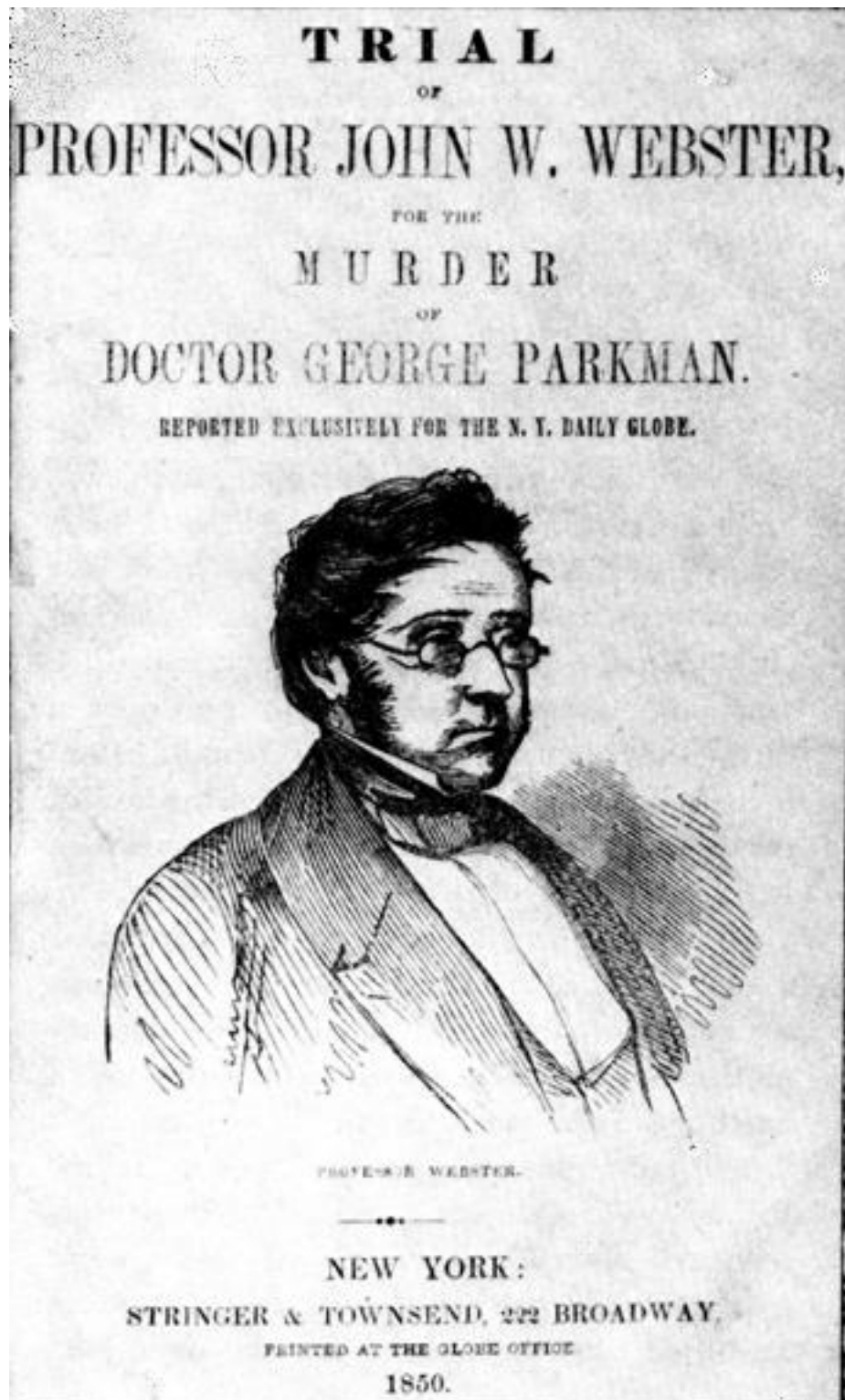
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November 25, Sunday morning: Handbills were out, asking for information on the whereabouts of the missing [Doctor George Parkman](#).



[Professor John White Webster](#) was burning more and more body parts in the assay oven, but burning something as wet as a human body sure takes a heck of a lot of firewood, doesn't it? At the trial, there would be expert testimony from another [Boston](#) medico, who had had problems when he attempted to burn the body of "a [pirate](#)" after dissecting it — for one thing, his neighbors had been complaining about the smell of burning flesh that was permeating the neighborhood.



According to BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS OF THE TOWN OF [CONCORD](#), MASSACHUSETTS (Groton, 1894), Charles Bartlett of Concord & Nancy Fuller of Groton filed an intention to marry.

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November 28, Wednesday: The handbills posted all over the place were causing the nickname for the slumlord [Doctor George Parkman](#), “The Pedestrian” (because he had never seen the need to indulge himself with the ownership of a horse and buggy), to become a cant term for “cheapskate” or “tinhorn” in [Boston](#). A revised flyer was therefore put out, by fellow rich Bostonian Robert Gould Shaw, speculating that the Doctor had been done in and asking for any events which had attracted suspicion. Of course, it was going to be hard to figure out, which of all the very many people who had had reason to detest the deceased had been the one actually to have volunteered to have done this dirty deed.



[Professor John White Webster](#) still had a long way to go, in burning up the pieces of [Doctor Parkman](#)'s corpse. Human bodies are alarmingly difficult to dispose of.

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November 29, Thursday: The struggling family of [Professor John White Webster](#) spent their Thanksgiving holiday in the relief of knowing that their financial troubles were for the time being behind them, the immensely wealthy family of [Doctor George Parkman](#) spent their Thanksgiving holiday in fretting about what might have become of their husband and father –the slumlord whom so many people hated– and the swamp-yankee family of Ephraim Littlefield, the janitor of the [Harvard Medical College](#), spent their Thanksgiving holiday feasting

Portrait of Ephraim Littlefield.



upon the big bird that had been so unexpectedly (and so unprecedentedly) presented to them by the suddenly-overly-generous Professor Webster.



Here Professor Webster presents the suspicious turkey to the Littlefields (a reenactment).

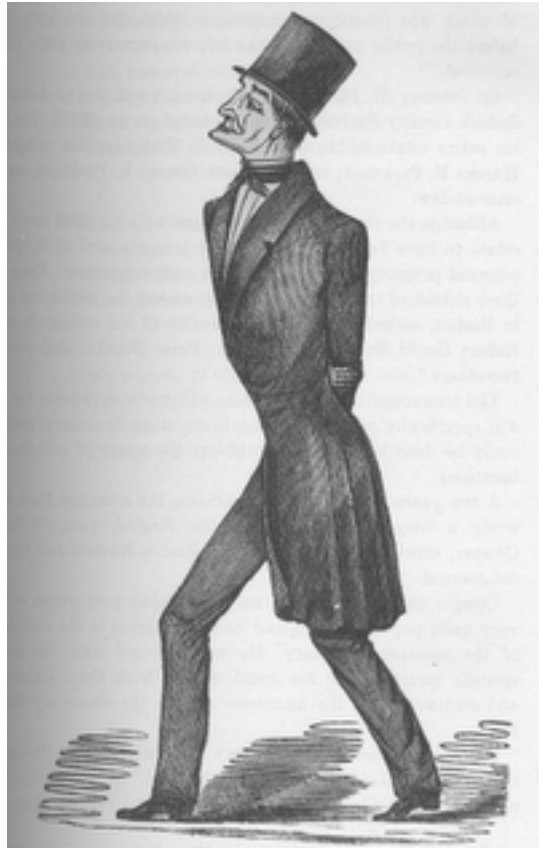
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The Littlefield family, as portrayed on an “The American Experience” television program

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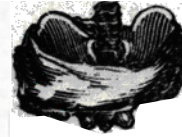


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November 30, Friday: After Boston police detective Derastus Clapp had inspected [Professor John White Webster's](#) laboratory at the Harvard Medical College without discovering anything, the building's janitor Ephraim Littlefield had taken matters into his own hands and chiseled his way through five courses of bricks to the point at which he was able to stick his head and arm, and a light, into the cavity under the building and sight a human pelvis and other body parts on the mud flats of the Charles River beneath Professor Webster's privy hole.⁴¹⁶



pelvis

I took the crowbar and knocked the bigness of the hole right through. There are five courses of brick in the wall. I managed to get in ... and to get the light and my head into the hole, and then ... I held my light forward, and the first thing I saw was the pelvis of a man and two parts of a leg.

416. Littlefield would eventually be able to collect the \$3,000 reward offered by the Parkman family, and retire.





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Suspecting these body parts to be those of [Doctor George Parkman](#), Detective Clapp took a coach, with two other officers for backup, to the Webster home in Cambridge. Stopping the coach away from the residence, Clapp proceeded alone to encounter the professor on his porch as he was saying farewell to a visitor. The detective requested that the professor accompany him to his laboratory to perform a second search. Webster went back inside for his hat and coat but then, as he approached the coach and sighted the other officers, claimed to have forgotten his keys. The officers deterred his effort to return to the house by telling him that “it was of no consequence” since they would be able to get in. The coach proceeded over Craigie’s Bridge where the police had been searching the waters earlier, and the conversation turned to the search efforts for the missing doctor. Professor Webster commented that he had last seen Dr. Parkman the week prior at the college, and that the doctor had departed alive. Noticing when the coach turned onto Brighton Street, he became agitated and said “The driver is going the wrong way.” Detective Clapp said that the driver was “probably green” and would get back on course. As they stopped in front of the jail, Professor Webster asked “What does this all mean?” The police escorted him inside the building before informing him that he was being confined on a charge of murder.

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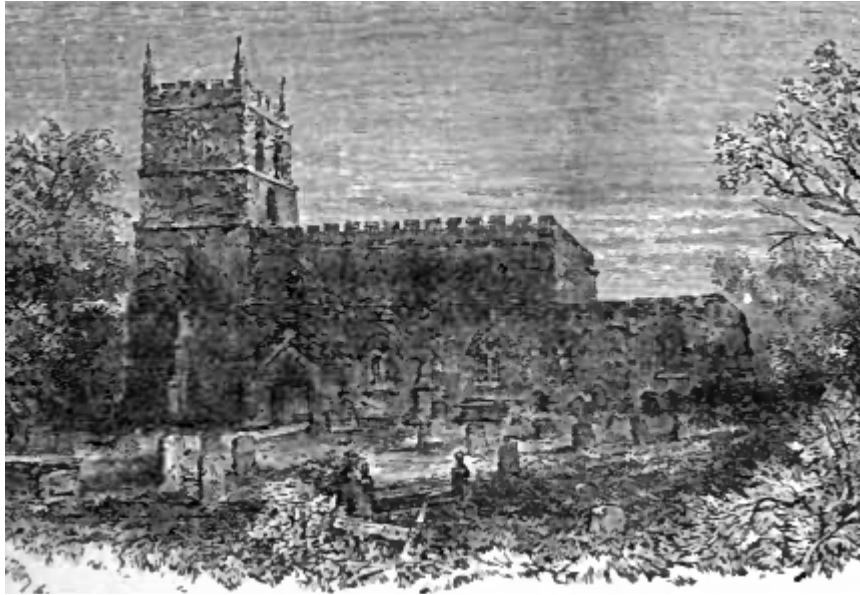
December 1, Saturday: A less-than-lifesize statue of [Aristides the Sophist](#), author of SACRED TALES (*HIEROI LOGOI*), was unveiled in Louisburg Square on top of [Boston](#)'s Beacon Hill. (What was this, some parlor ornament that some Boston richie was trying to find a decent way to dispose of?)

In front of Harvard Medical College, the medical school of [Harvard College](#), a surly mob of people had assembled who well knew that the students therein had been paying graverobbers (termed humorously "resurrectionists" at the time) to keep them supplied them with the fresh corpses of their relatives, for use in dissection.

DIGGING UP THE DEAD

Inside, the scorched torso and one of the thighs of [Doctor George Parkman](#) were being discovered at the bottom of an old tea chest packed full of chemical equipment. None of these downtown denizens gave a damn for Doctor Parkman the slumlord — but what an excellent opportunity this was to agitate to prevent the medical students and faculty from stealing and defiling any more bodies of poor people!

Since his obtaining enough money to retire from business in 1841, [Ebenezer Elliott](#) had been living quietly at Great Houghton, near Barnsley. On this day after long illness and depression, he died at the age of 68. The body would be placed in Darfield churchyard.



[John Greenleaf Whittier](#) would write a poem about him:

Elliott

Hands off! thou tithe-fat plunderer! play
No trick of priestcraft here!
Back, puny lordling! darest thou lay
A hand on Elliott's bier?
Alive, your rank and pomp, as dust,
Beneath his feet he trod:
He knew the locust swarm that cursed
The harvest-fields of God.

On these pale lips, the smothered thought
Which England's millions feel,
A fierce and fearful splendour caught,
As from his forge the steel.
Strong-armed as Thor, — and a shower of fire
His smitten anvil flung;
God's curse, Earth's wrong, dumb Hunger's ire,
He gave them all a tongue!



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Then let the poor man's horny hands
Bear up the mighty dead,
And labour's swart and stalwart bands,
Behind as mourners tread.
Leave cant and craft their baptized bounds,
Leave rank its minister floor;
Give England's green and daisied grounds
The poet of the poor!

Lay down upon his Sheaf's green verge
That brave old heart of oak,
With fitting dirge from sounding forge,
And pall of furnace smoke!
Where whirls the stone its dizzy rounds,
And axe and sledge are swung,
And, timing to their stormy sounds,
His stormy lays are sung.

There let the peasant's step be heard,
The grinder chant his rhyme;
Nor patron's praise nor dainty word
Befits the man or time.
No soft lament nor dreamer's sigh
For him whose words were bread, —
The Runic rhyme and spell whereby
The foodless poor were fed!

Pile up thy tombs of rank and pride,
O England, as thou wilt!
With pomp to nameless worth denied,
Emblazon titled guilt!
No part or lot in these we claim;
But, o'er the sounding wave,
A common right to Elliott's name,
A freehold in his grave!

[Thomas Carlyle](#)'s OCCASIONAL DISCOURSE ON THE NEGRO QUESTION (the essay which would in 1853 be reissued under the title initially planned, OCCASIONAL DISCOURSE ON THE NIGGER QUESTION) appeared in Fraser's Magazine. The author would be outraged at the outrage expressed by his readers.

Even more of a "Teutomaniac" than the history professor Thomas Arnold, [Carlyle](#) asserted that "if the Black gentleman is born to be a servant, and, in fact, is useful in God's creation only as a servant, then let him hire not by the month, but by a very much longer term."⁴¹⁷

417. You know, actually, what this sort of "humor" reminds me of? I once sighted a photograph of a Southern lynching, in which the dead man's black feet are protruding into the frame of the photograph from above, while all the white guys and their wives and children are clustering around to have their group portrait made. And from the big toe of the hanged man is hanging a piece of this Thomas Carlylish humor in the form of one of those funny little hotel room signs that you put on your outside doorknob, proclaiming something on the order of "Please do not disturb my slumbers."

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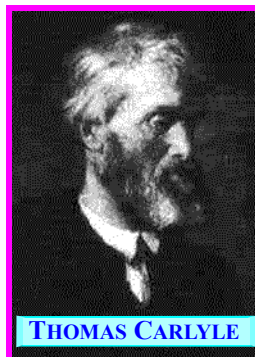
According to Simon Heffer's MORAL DESPERADO: A LIFE OF THOMAS CARLYLE (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1995), pages 276-7:

It is the form and tone, rather than the actual message, that did most of the damage. Carlyle constructs a brilliant parody of an Exeter Hall meeting, with an unnamed speaker spelling out unpalatable truths to an audience driven deeper and deeper into shock. Philanthropy in general he parodies as "the Universal Abolition of Pain Association," which is at risk of turning into a "Sluggard and Scoundrel Protection Society." Carlyle did not feel he was attacking the blacks; his targets were the liberals who were destroying them. This was not, though, how his audience saw it.

He was so open to interpretation because of the callous, heartless and brutally sarcastic language he used. He talks of the emancipated blacks being like the Irish, with a land of plenty they are refusing to exploit, because no one is there to guide them to the greater happiness that exists beyond eating pumpkins. The essay is also an attack on the "dismal science" of economics; the blacks were not more constructively employed because it was in no one's economic interest to do so, just as it was not in Ireland.... He cannot envision the black man being born for any other purpose than to serve; and while he may abhor slavery, he wonders whether being bound for life to a master in other circumstances is not the most humane and appropriate way to deal with the "emancipated," and ease them into civilization. To apply the principles of *laissez-faire* to them was, he argued, cruel, as they had no means to survive on their own. Again (and the allegorical is never far away), all this was true of Ireland, as he saw it.

His strictures about what actually constitutes slavery cannot be easily dismissed, and reflect directly his Irish experiences. "You cannot abolish slavery by act of parliament," he claims, "but can only abolish the **name** of it, which is very little!"

I encounter these materials myself with mixed feelings, since it is my suspicion that Carlyle may well have been correct in his assertion that a society cannot eliminate a scourge such as human chattel bondage that has grown from the bottom up, by any techniques which proceed merely from the top down. In fact here in the USA, when we would enact the XIIIth Amendment to our federal Constitution in 1865 in the indicated top-down manner, we would not abolish slavery so much as abolish the **name** of it, exactly as specified here by Carlyle.



For in fact the amendment initially ratified by $\frac{2}{3}$ ds of our state legislatures, including by now ratification even by the sovereign state of Mississippi, does not define precisely what might constitute a "[slave](#)," or "[slavery](#)," or "[enslavement](#)," nor does it proscribe whatever these entities might in some manner eventually be decided to be, but instead it merely extends to the federal congress the authority to enact legislation defining and



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proscribing these undefined entities, and criminalizing and punishing a certain range of abusive conduct, thus effectively forbidding the other two arms of our federal government, the executive arm and the judicial arm, forever from proscribing or punishing these undefined entities — and indeed, subsequent to this amendment, much as we hate to contemplate this, our federal government has never ever enacted any such proscription, and there has never been any such punishment. In fact in our nation slavery is as unassailable during this Year of Our Lord 2010 as it had been, say, in the year 1810. What a field day of sarcasm a 20th-Century Carlyle would have with us!

Documentation of the [international slave trade](#), per W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: “Report of the Secretary of the Navy.” –HOUSE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 31 Cong. 1 sess. III. pt. 1, No. 5, pt. 1, pp. 427-8.

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December 14, Friday: [Boston](#) Coroner Jabez Pratt declared that the remains found in the tea chest at [Harvard Medical College](#), and in the assay oven, and in the basement, were indeed those of the megamillionaire [Doctor George](#)



[Parkman](#) rather than the remains of one or another of the poor stiffes who were being stolen from their graves and cut up in the course of the continuing educational work going on at the college (one way to tell was the absence of any of the preserving chemicals normally used on dissection cadavers).



Dr. Parkman's dental prosthesis, in a cast of his jawbone

[Professor Jeffries Wyman](#), an anatomist of [Harvard Medical College](#), testified that he had found no duplicates among the bones in the furnace, indicating that these bones had come from a single human corpse.

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[Waldo Emerson](#) to his [JOURNAL](#):

Every day shows a new thing to veteran walkers. Yesterday reflections of trees in the ice; snowflakes, perfect rowels, on the ice; beautiful groups of icicles all along the eastern shore of Flint's Pond, in which, especially where encrusting the bough of a tree, you have the union of the most flowing with the most solidly fixed. Ellery all the way squandering his jewels as if they were icicles, sometimes not comprehended by me, sometimes not heard. How many days can Methusalem go abroad & see somewhat new? When will he have counted the changes of the kaleidoscope?

ELLERY CHANNING

December 18, Tuesday: [Henry Thoreau](#) was written to by Dr. Samuel Cabot in Boston about the American goshawk that Jacob B. Farmer, one of Thoreau's Concord friends, had shot, that Thoreau was forwarding to the [Boston Society of Natural History](#).

PROCEEDINGS, FOR 1849

{No MS — printed copy FL, 1894}

[December 18, 1849]

"It was first described by Wilson; lately Audubon has identified it with the European goshawk, thereby committing a very flagrant blunder. It is usually a very rare species with us. The European bird is used in hawking; and doubtless ours would be equally game. If Mr. Farmer skins him now, he will have to take second cut; for his skin is already off and stuffed, —his remains dissected, measured, and deposited in alcohol."

**Thoreau on
Normative Science**

The governor of Massachusetts commuted the sentence of execution by [hanging](#) of Milton W. Streeter, to life in prison.



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The rooms of the BOSTON SOCIETY OF NATURAL HISTORY are in the brick building adjoining the Boston Theatre, in Mason Street. They are nine in number. One of them is occupied by the librarian, and each of the others by objects of interest in the different departments of natural history. All who desire have *free* access to the cabinet every Wednesday; and strangers in the city, who cannot conveniently visit it on that day, can obtain admission at any time by application to an officer of the society. The main room, which is entered from the first floor, contains skeletons of different animals from all parts of the world, from that of the huge mastodon to slender bones of the sprightly squirrel. In an anteroom cases filled with rare specimens of geology and mineralogy. Around the main room is a light iron balcony, giving access to the glass cases, which are likewise filled with things strange and wonderful from all parts of the known world. Here are skulls and mummies, and serpents, fossil remains and foot marks of those huge animals that walked, or birds that flew, before Adam arose from kindred earth. Ascending to the next story, we enter a room nearly filled with every variety of birds, from the albatross to the minute hummingbird, while in the centre are long cases filled with eggs of the different species, and many kinds of nests. One of the anterooms is filled with shells, seemingly in endless variety, specimens of moss, sponges, corals, and aquatic plants enliven the collection with their singular beauty. Another anteroom is filled with fishes. In yet another room various members of the serpent family are present. Here we may see the enormous boa, the fairy green snake, the agile black snake, the famed hooded snake of India, and the poisonous copper head of our own country. Here, also, is the *fascinating* rattlesnake, and such numbers of the creeping race that a crawling feeling comes over us, and we quit the room with a feeling of relief.

Many strangers leave the city without seeing the splendid cabinet of this society, and many residents are even aware of its existence. But whether resident or stranger, the visitor will be well repaid for the expenditure of time.

The library belonging to the Massachusetts Society of Natural History contains several thousand volumes and a number of valuable manuscripts. The society holds monthly meetings, and several of their proceedings have been published. The institution now owns the building which was formerly occupied by the Massachusetts Medical College; but the building has been remodelled, to adapt it to its present purposes. The whole estate cost about thirty thousand dollars, which was obtained by subscription from the liberal citizens of Boston.



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1850

February 7, Thursday: [Henry Youle Hind](#) got married with Katherine Cameron (August 5, 1820-1909) in York Mills, Toronto, [Canada](#) (between 1851 and 1862 the couple would produce seven children).

The governor of Massachusetts commuted the sentence of execution by [hanging](#) of William E. Knowlston, to life in prison.

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1850

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
31/01	Margaret Lennox		Glasgow	Murder
11/04	Catherine Moore		Maryborough	Murder of husband
13/04	Mary Reeder	20	Cambridge	Murder of sister (hanged alongside Elias Lucas)
27/07	Briget Keogh		Ennis	Murder



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March 16, Saturday: An issue of Chambers' Edinburgh Journal:

CHAMBERS' EDINBURGH JOURNAL

ISSUE OF MARCH 16

Waldo Emerson delivered "The Superlative in Literature, Manners, and Races."

According to page 79 of Larry J. Reynolds's influence study *EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS AND THE AMERICAN LITERARY RENAISSANCE* (New Haven CT: Yale UP, 1988), there are distinct markings of sexist politics to be discerned within the novel published on this day by Ticknor and Fields, by Nathaniel Hawthorne, *THE SCARLET LETTER; OR, THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS OF A DECAPITATED SURVEYOR*.⁴¹⁸

theabsorbingcontemplationofthescarletletterthestoryentitled“**THESCARLET LETTER**”taleof“**TheScarletLetter**”thescarletletterandeventoucheditwithher fingerthewearerofthescarletlettertakethescarletletteroffthescarletletterthre waluridwearerofthescarletletterfingeronthescarletletterthescarletletterflam ingonherbreastthescarletletteronherbreastornamentthescarletletterwhichitwas herdoomtowearthescarletletterthescarletletterthescarletletteronHester’sbos omgazemightneveroncebefixeduponthescarletlettertouchedthescarletletterthe scarletletterthescarletletterendowedwithlifethescarletletterthewomanofthe scarletletterthelikenessofthescarletletterthescarletletterthewearerofthesca rletletterherchildandthescarletletterlinesofthescarletletterthatdecoratedthem aternalbosomthescarletletteronherbosomthescarletletteronherbreastherfingeron thescarletletterlookupon**thescarletletter**asthetoken**thescarletletter**Thesca rletletterhadnotdoneitsoffice**Thescarletletter**burnedonHesterPrynne’sbosom“Th avelefttheeto**thescarletletter**”Iwhom**thescarletletter**hasdisciplinedtotruthunder thetortureof**thescarletletter**asfor**thescarletletter**“Mother”saidshe“whatdoes**the scarletletter**mean?”investigationsabout**thescarletletterthescarletletter**Hema deastepnigheranddiscovered**thescarletletterthescarletletterthescarletletterT hescarletletter**washerpassport**thescarletletterthescarletletter**again**thescarl etletter**brought“Lookyourlaston**thescarletletter**anditswearer!”**thescarletletter thescarletletter**envelopeditfatedwearer“Thymotherisyonderwomanwith**thesca rletletter**”hadoftenheardof**thescarletletterthescarletletter**inthemarketplaceHe againextendedhishandtothewomanof**thescarletletter**Lo**thescarletletterthesca rletletter**themiddaysunshineon**thescarletletter**wearerof**thescarletletter**Thesto ryof**thescarletletter**grewintoalegendrecluseof**thescarletletter**theabsorbi



HEADCHOPPING

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Near the end of *THE SCARLET LETTER*, Hawthorne in a summary tells us about Hester's eventual change of heart, about how she at last forsook radicalism and recognized that the woman who would lead the reform movements of the future and establish women's rights must be less "stained with sin," less "bowed down with shame" than she. This woman must be "lofty, pure, and beautiful, and wise, moreover, not through dusky grief, but the ethereal medium of joy." More than one reader has correctly surmised that this ending to the novel constitutes a veiled complement to Hawthorne's little Dove, [Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#), and a veiled criticism of [Margaret Fuller](#) – radical, advocate of women's rights, and subject of gossip because of her child and questionable marriage. Hawthorne's ambivalent feelings toward Fuller indeed informed this and other parts of the novel, and although a number of women have been discussed as models for Hester, including [Anne Hutchinson](#), Ebe Hawthorne, and [Elizabeth Palmer Peabody](#), Fuller seems to have served in this capacity most provokingly. As Francis E. Kearns has pointed out, a number of parallels exist between Fuller and Hester: both had the problem of facing a Puritan society encumbered by a child of questionable legitimacy; both were concerned with social reform and the role of woman in society; both functioned as counselor and comforter to women; and both had children entitled to use the armorial seals of a non-English noble family. A more important parallel, which Kearns does not mention, is that for Hawthorne both women were linked to the figures of Liberty and Eve, that is, to the ideas of revolution and temptation, which lie at the heart of the novel.

For certain sure the benevolent Boston presence of George Stillman Hillard and the benign influence of [Waldo Emerson](#), among other notables, had been immortalized in [Hawthorne](#)'s preamble "The Custom-House":

THE SCARLET LETTER: Such were some of the people with whom I now found myself connected. I took it in good part, at the hands of Providence, that I was thrown into a position so little akin to my past habits; and set myself seriously to gather from it whatever profit was to be had. After my fellowship of toil and impracticable schemes with the dreamy brethren of Brook Farm; after living for three years within the subtle influence of an intellect like Emerson's; after those wild, free days on the Assabeth, indulging fantastic speculations, beside our fire of fallen boughs, with Ellery Channing; after talking with Thoreau about pine-trees and Indian relics in his hermitage at Walden; after growing fastidious by sympathy with the classic refinement of Hillard's culture; after becoming imbued with poetic sentiment at Longfellow's hearthstone – it was time, at length, that I should exercise other faculties of my nature, and nourish myself with food for which I had hitherto had little appetite. Even the old Inspector was desirable, as a change of diet, to a man who had known Alcott. I looked upon it as an evidence, in some measure, of a system naturally well balanced, and lacking no essential part of a thorough organization, that, with such associates to remember, I could mingle at once with men of altogether different qualities, and never murmur at the change.

BROOK FARM

WALDO EMERSON

ELLERY CHANNING

LONGFELLOW

BRONSON ALCOTT

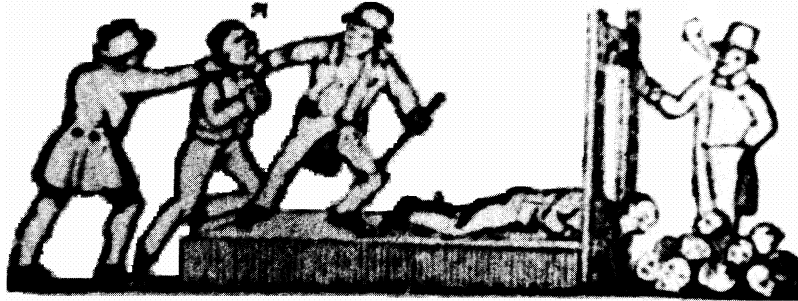
HENRY THOREAU

418. A claim of copyright has been made for *THE SCARLET LETTER* in 1962, for *FANSHAWE* and *THE BLITHEDALE ROMANCE* in 1964, for *THE HOUSE OF SEVEN GABLES* in 1965, and for *THE MARBLE FAUN* in 1968, by Ohio State UP. (We presume that those ostensibly appropriative and global copyright claims could actually have covered not more than whatever value was added to the works by that press at that time, such as their reformatting and pagination and suchlike.)

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[INSERT COMMENTARY ABOUT DECAPITATION HERE]

This “psychological bondage” book offered its appreciative audience a heroine who learns, finally, after much anguish, that as a woman her best game plan is to accept the cards society has dealt her, suffer passively, endure numbly, and wait, wait and hope for a better day, and that anything else she might try always makes her lot less bearable. To be silent and no bother, and maintain sexual purity, that constitutes female courage. Had slaves formed a reading market in that era, the author could easily have authored a companion volume about a black man who learns, finally, after much anguish, that as a slave his best game plan is to accept the cards society has dealt him, suffer passively, endure numbly, and wait, wait and hope for a better day, and that anything else he might try always makes his lot less bearable. To be silent and no bother, and polish shoes, that constitutes slave courage. Then, of course, the author could have created a grand synthesis, in a tale of a female slave who learns, finally, that her role as female and her role as slave quite reinforce one another.... To use a 19th-Century phrase, “women and Negroes.” Do you get the idea I actively dislike this romance? No, I actively dislike the mentality of its author [Hawthorne](#). The best thing I have seen on this subject was written by Jean Fagan Yellin:



Where Hiram Powers had distanced an enchained white woman in space and called her a *Greek Slave*, Nathaniel Hawthorne distanced an enchained white woman in time and called her Hester Prynne.

Clearly, anyone who is bonded to (or in bondage to — it’s much the same, isn’t it?) such a person has a tough row to hoe (you note I cast this suggestion in the present tense — it’s still the case). In particular [Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#), who had witnessed slavery while living for an extended period in her youth on a sugar plantation in Cuba, had a tough attitudinal row to hoe, being married to such an author-tarian. Sophia could have hardly become an active abolitionist like her sisters Mary and [Elizabeth Palmer Peabody](#). Her solution? —Sophia went for denial, and refused to give credence to various unsettling reports such as that some slave

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women had to strip to the buff on the auction block (“which I am sure is an exaggeration for I have read of these auctions often and even the worst facts are never so bad as absolute nudity”).



Then she also capable of ignoring the BOOK OF JOB in her BIBLE long enough to suppose that a good and benevolent God providentially “makes up to every being the measure of happiness which he loses thro’ the instrumentality of others” — so that it really is of no consequence how we treat each other. And then she could



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attempt to “lose myself in other subjects of thought,” embracing a sophisticated version of the Emersonian trick of resignation. She makes herself sound like a Minnesotan!⁴¹⁹

Such were some of the people with whom I now found myself connected. I took it in good part, at the hands of Providence, that I was thrown into a position so little akin to my past habits; and set myself seriously to gather from it whatever profit was to be had. After my fellowship of toil and impracticable schemes with the dreamy brethren of Brook Farm; after living for three years within the subtle influence of an intellect like Waldo Emerson's; after those wild, free days on the Assabeth, indulging fantastic speculations, beside our fire of fallen boughs, with Ellery Channing; after talking with Henry Thoreau about pine-trees and Indian relics in his hermitage at Walden; after growing fastidious by sympathy with the classic refinement of George Stillman Hillard's culture; after becoming imbued with poetic sentiment at Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's hearthstone - it was time, at length, that I should exercise other faculties of my nature, and nourish myself with food for which I had hitherto had little appetite. Even the old Inspector was desirable, as a change of diet, to a man who had known Bronson Alcott. I looked upon it as an evidence, in some measure, of a system naturally well balanced, and lacking no essential part of a thorough organization, that, with such associates to remember, I could mingle at once with men of altogether different qualities, and never murmur at the change.

As of mid-century, with the publication of Nathaniel Hawthorne's THE SCARLET LETTER, it is clear that the

419. We may well note that although Henry Thoreau would have a copy of Hawthorne's THE SCARLET LETTER in his personal library, he would cross out the reference to that item — indicating that the volume was no longer present (we infer that either the volume was lost, or given away).



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figure of [Uncle Sam](#) had become a fixture of our American imagination:

THE SCARLET LETTER: In my native town of Salem, at the head of what, half a century ago, in the days of old King Derby, was a bustling wharf - but which is now burdened with decayed wooden warehouses, and exhibits few or no symptoms of commercial life; except, perhaps, a bark or brig, half-way down its melancholy length, discharging hides; or, nearer at hand, a Nova Scotia schooner, pitching out her cargo of firewood - at the head, I say, of this dilapidated wharf, which the tide often overflows, and along which, at the base and in the rear of the row of buildings, the track of many languid years is seen in a border of unthrifty grass - here, with a view from its front windows adown this not very enlivening prospect, and thence across the harbour, stands a spacious edifice of brick. From the loftiest point of its roof, during precisely three and a half hours of each forenoon, floats or droops, in breeze or calm, the banner of the republic; but with the thirteen stripes turned vertically, instead of horizontally, and thus indicating that a civil, and not a military, post of Uncle Sam's government, is here established. Its front is ornamented with a portico of half-a-dozen wooden pillars, supporting a balcony, beneath which a flight of wide granite steps descends towards the street. Over the entrance hovers an enormous specimen of the American eagle, with outspread wings, a shield before her breast, and, if I recollect aright, a bunch of intermingled thunderbolts and barbed arrows in each claw. With the customary infirmity of temper that characterizes this unhappy fowl, she appears by the fierceness of her beak and eye, and the general truculency of her attitude, to threaten mischief to the inoffensive community; and especially to warn all citizens careful of their safety against intruding on the premises which she overshadows with her wings. Nevertheless, vixenly as she looks, many people are seeking at this very moment to shelter themselves under the wing of the federal eagle; imagining, I presume, that her bosom has all the softness and snugness of an eiderdown pillow. But she has no great tenderness even in her best of moods, and, sooner or later - oftener soon than late - is apt to fling off her nestlings with a scratch of her claw, a dab of her beak, or a rankling wound from her barbed arrows.



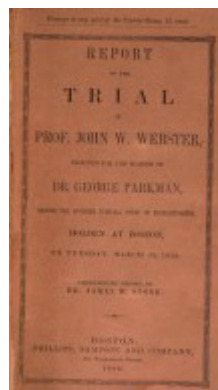
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March 19, Tuesday: In [Boston](#), the trial *in re* the Commonwealth of Massachusetts v. [John White Webster](#) began:



Massachusetts Attorney General John H. Clifford would be assisted in this prosecution by the Boston attorney George Bemis, hired by the Parkman family for \$1,500. This case would be one of the first to use forensic and circumstantial evidence to prove a defendant's guilt. It would be argued that the accused couldn't fairly be convicted on circumstantial evidence alone, since circumstantial evidence could not possibly remove every reasonable doubt. Up to that point the standard in murder cases had been proof "to an absolute certainty," rather than proof "beyond a reasonable doubt," that the dead body was indeed that of the victim. It would also be pointed out that others besides Professor Webster, such as the janitor, had had access to that laboratory. Judge Lemuel Shaw would issue a legal opinion that would become a basis for a subsequent appeal of the guilty verdict, that "It would be injurious to the best interests of society to have it so ordered that circumstantial proof cannot avail. If it were necessary always to have positive evidence, how many of the acts committed in the community ... would go entirely unpunished?" The attorney George Bemis would act not only as second chair for the prosecution but also as court reporter, eventually offering his notes as the official transcript of the case. He would heavily edit and "slant" this record to demonstrate the correctness of the prosecution case. At the time Boston was a city of 120,000 souls, and there would be all of 60,000 spectators at this trial, many from out of town. How were all these [tourists](#) to be accommodated in an era before television cameras and microphones could be set up in a popular courtroom? Tickets were issued, and those waiting in line were divided into groups which would exactly fill the public gallery of the building. Then every ten minutes the constables would clear the public galleries and allow the next group of spectators to file in and take their seats, for their ten minutes of someone else's fame. The lawyers and judges quickly got used to the noise of this every-ten-minute shuffle.



March 20, Wednesday: *In re* the Commonwealth of Massachusetts v. [John White Webster](#).

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March 21, Thursday: Robert and Clara Schumann performed in a concert with Jenny Lind in Altona.

From the Salem Register: "Hawthorne seeks to vent his spite ... by small sneers at Salem, and by vilifying some of his former associates, to a degree of which we should have supposed any gentleman ... incapable.... The most venomous, malignant, and unaccountable assault is made upon a venerable gentleman, whose chief crime seems to be that he loves a good dinner."



NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE

The chemist Charles T. Jackson, Mrs. Lidian Emerson's brother the ether controversialist, testified for the prosecution *in re* the Commonwealth of Massachusetts v. John White Webster that no traces of the normal embalming preservatives had been found in the remains of Doctor George Parkman. He also commented that he noticed that the 6-inch Bowie knife which the professor had habitually kept on his desk had seemed to have been recently cleaned.

WALDEN: The village appeared to me a great news room; and on one side, to support it, as once at Redding & Company's on State Street, they kept nuts and raisins, or salt and meal and other groceries. Some have such a vast appetite for the former commodity, that is, the news, and such sound digestive organs that they can sit forever in public avenues without stirring, and let it simmer and whisper through them like the Etesian winds, or as if inhaling ether, it only producing numbness and insensibility to pain, -otherwise it would often be painful to hear,- without affecting the consciousness. I hardly ever failed, which I rambled through the village, to see a row of such worthies, either sitting on a ladder sunning themselves, with their bodies inclined forward and their eyes glancing along the line this way and that, from time to time, with a voluptuous expression, or else leaning against a barn with their hands in their pockets, like caryatides, as if to prop it up. They, being commonly out of doors, heard whatever was in the wind. These are the coarsest mills, in which all gossip is first rudely digested or cracked up before it is emptied into finer and more delicate hoppers within doors.

In the middle of the testimony there was a ruckus, for a portion of the Tremont House had gone up in flames and fire brigades were rushing to the rescue.⁴²⁰

WILLIAM THOMAS GREEN MORTON

March 22, Friday: *In re* the Commonwealth of Massachusetts v. John White Webster.



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March 23, Saturday: *In re* the Commonwealth of Massachusetts v. [John White Webster](#).

An issue of Chambers' Edinburgh Journal:

CHAMBERS' EDINBURGH JOURNAL

ISSUE OF MARCH 23

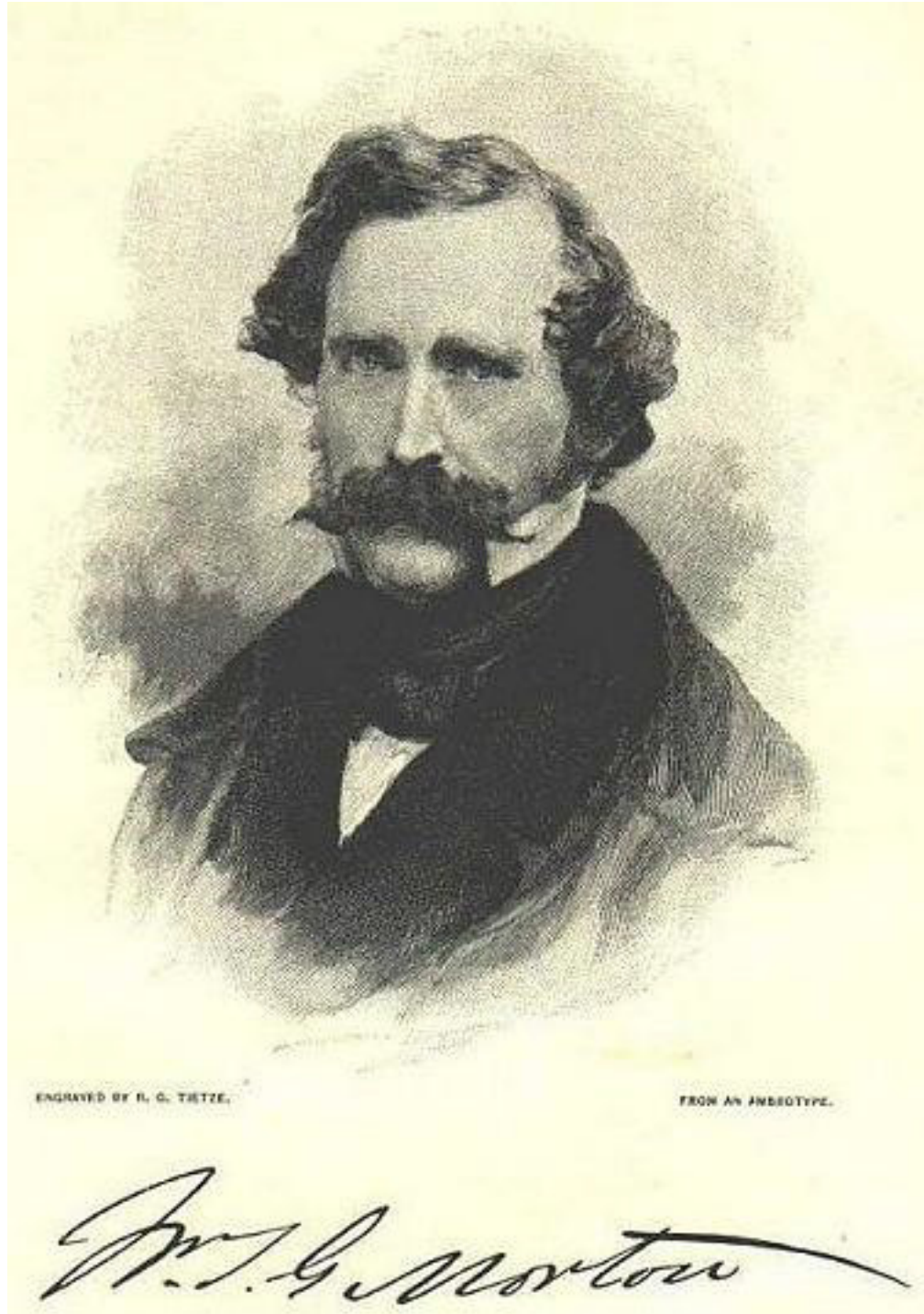
420. The Redding & Company that is mentioned in the above snippet from [WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS](#) was a periodical depot at 8 State Street in downtown Boston. They served the “easy reading” end of the market. The company had begun as a newspaper depot in the 1830s, became a periodical depot in the 1840s, and by the 1850s was a book publisher and seller as well as a tea merchant. George W. Redding (1824-1892) had started as a newsboy, then became a New-York newspaper distributor, then the proprietor of a periodical depot and a publisher of pamphlets such as “Easy Nat; or, Boston Bars and Boston Boys” (1844). Here is the sort of advice it offered to aspiring authors: “You see, our readers want everything condensed, rapid, dramatic. Take any ordinary novel, and cut it down one-half, and it’ll be twice as good as it was before.” Thoreau mentions that they didn’t merely sell magazines and dime novels and tea, but also, sold a few snack items such as nuts and raisins and a few bulk items such as salt and meal. They were really going after the extreme low end of the readership market, “the end with the munchies.” They were certainly never going to offer to sell anyone a book such as [WALDEN](#), although they might well offer the “Readers’ Digest” version (yes, there is such), or one or another of those many-Thoreau-snippets-out-of-context market opportunities that one or another clown seems to be forever generating!

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March 27, Wednesday: The defense began to present its case *in re* the Commonwealth of Massachusetts v. [John White Webster](#). Perhaps it is not entirely surprising that, since the chemist [Charles T. Jackson](#) had testified for the prosecution, the anesthesia [dentist William Thomas Green Morton](#) would testify for the defense. The two men



were professional enemies locked in combat for the great prestige of having been the first to recognize the value of anesthesia during protracted surgery. Doctor Morton suggested that the dental remains which had been discovered in the assay oven could have come from just about any poor stiff who had been cut up in the medical school as a dissection cadaver. Many men's mouths, in his observation, had exactly [Doctor George Parkman's](#) condition of teeth and dental appliances. The panel of judges found this testimony to be not entirely convincing



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and would say so, as the dentist who had prepared Parkman's partial plate had already testified in great detail as to all the various characteristics by which he was quite certain that this was the scorched remains of the plate which he had only recently taken the greatest of pains to create and fit for this specific deceased.

DENTISTRY

March 28, Thursday: The defense continued its case *in re* the Commonwealth of Massachusetts v. [John White Webster](#).

March 29, Friday: The defense spent only part of the day completing its case *in re* the Commonwealth of Massachusetts v. [John White Webster](#).

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March 30, Saturday: An issue of Chambers' Edinburgh Journal:

CHAMBERS' EDINBURGH JOURNAL

ISSUE OF MARCH 30

Nathaniel Hawthorne prepared a brief new preface for the 2nd edition of his THE SCARLET LETTER:

Much to the author's surprise, and (if he may say so without additional offense) considerably to his amusement, he finds that his sketch of official life, introductory to THE SCARLET LETTER, has created an unprecedented excitement in the respectable community immediately around him. It could hardly have been more violent, indeed, had he burned down the Custom-House, and quenched its last smoking ember in the blood of a certain venerable personage, against whom he is supposed to cherish a peculiar malevolence [the Reverend Charles W. Upham of Salem, characterized by Senator Charles Sumner as "that smooth, smiling, oily man of God"]. As the public disapprobation would weigh very heavily on him, were he conscious of deserving it, the author begs leave to say, that he has carefully read over the introductory pages, with a purpose to alter or expunge whatever might be found amiss, and to make the best reparation in his power for the atrocities of which he has been adjudged guilty. But it appears to him, that the only remarkable features of the sketch are its frank and genuine good-humor, and the general accuracy with which he has conveyed his sincere impressions of the characters therein described. As to enmity, or ill-feeling of any kind, personal or political, he utterly disclaims such motives. The sketch might, perhaps, have been wholly omitted, without loss to the public, or detriment to the book; but, having undertaken to write it, he conceives that it could not have been done in a better or a kindlier spirit, nor, so far as his abilities availed, with a livelier effect of truth. The author is constrained, therefore, to republish his introductory sketch without the change of a word.



Concluding arguments of counsel in the case of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts v. John White Webster. The defense was still insisting that it hadn't been the Professor but somebody else who had murdered the Doctor, that it might for instance have been the janitor who had keys to the rooms of the building and being a mere cleanup man was obviously a person of low character, but that if the Professor had been the one to do the deed, the deed would have had to have been manslaughter committed in a fit of passion rather than cold-blooded murder for profit, and anyway, this defendant was **such** a jolly family man and of **such** exemplary character. At 5PM the defendant asked leave to address the courtroom, and made the complaint that his attorneys in their **superior** wisdom had neglected to present to the court the hundreds of pages of evidence and

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argument which he had prepared while waiting in his jail cell. He pointed out, utterly irrelevantly, that shortly after the time at which he was alleged to have committed the murder, he had purchased a copy of [Alexander von Humboldt](#)'s COSMOS and was studying this new volume over a mutton-chop supper in a restaurant in Cambridge, and he could prove this. For in fact when he paid his bill and departed from the restaurant, he forgot and left his new copy of COSMOS behind, and the keeper of the public house could so testify, and this was not the conduct of a man who had just committed a murder. The jury was charged and retired before 8PM. Boston went to its supper, and boys hired at \$0.⁵⁰ per hour stood in the street outside, ready to run bearing the news of the verdict, and to shout it in the various districts and hotels and taverns of the city. In the jury's chambers, a verdict was reached in 40 minutes but the jury then spent two hours in silent prayer. At 10:30PM the jury returned to the courtroom with their verdict, "Guilty." The accused was then heard to exclaim:

Take me away from this place so that I may not be looked on any longer.

The Illustrated London News published a new, and inaccurate, depiction of the Great Lisbon Earthquake of November 1, 1755:



April 1, Monday: Charles Gounod signed his 1st contract to produce an opera, with librettist Emile Augier and Nestor Roqueplan, director of the Paris Opéra. This would be Sapho.

In the case *in re* the Commonwealth of Massachusetts v. [John White Webster](#), a jury of his peers having found him guilty of the crime of murder in the first degree, the convicted man was sentenced to be [hanged](#) by the neck at a time and a place to be approved by the authorities, until he be dead.

President Jared Sparks of Harvard College, and Professor Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, would visit the prisoner in his cell in the Leverett Street lockup (since demolished).

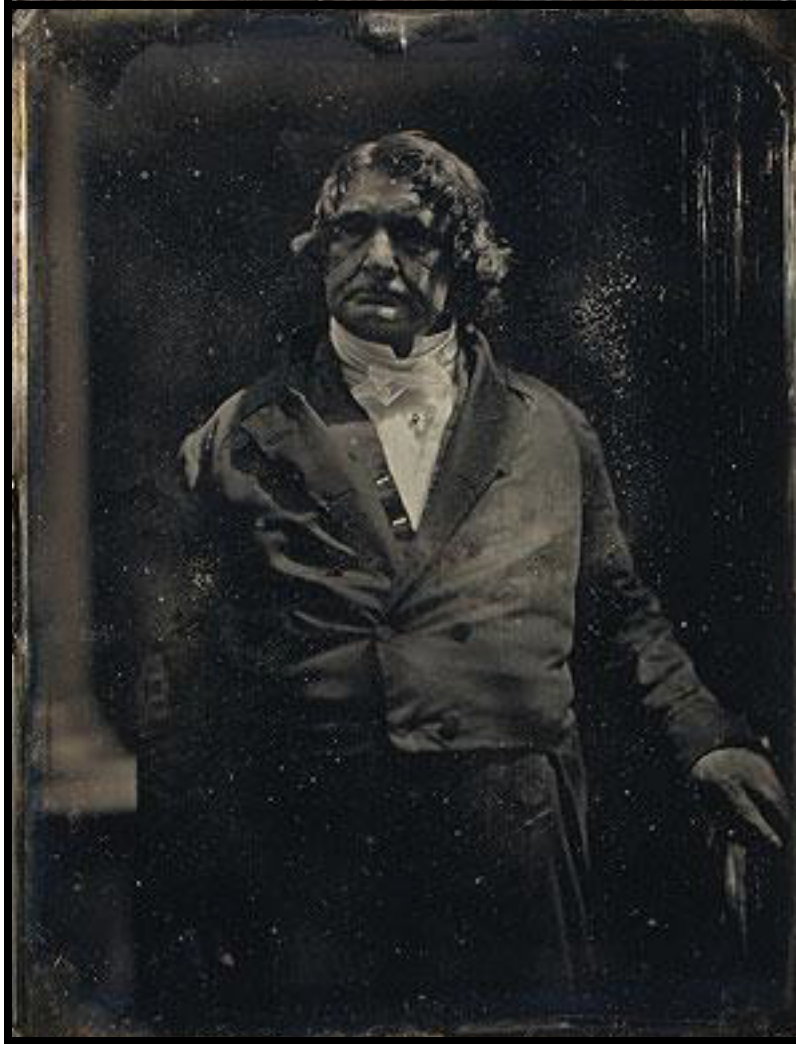
John C. Hays was elected Sheriff of San Francisco, [California](#).

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May 4, Saturday: [Professor John White Webster](#)'s lawyers submitted a petition for a writ of error against Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court Chief Justice [Lemuel Shaw](#), because of his allegedly faulty instructions to the jury:



[Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) paid his first visit to the Boston Athenæum, as the guest of a paying member. He might not be willing himself to become a paying member rather than a moocher, but he certainly recognized quality when he saw it:



The library is in a noble hall, and looks splendidly with its vista of alcoves.

An issue of [Chambers' Edinburgh Journal](#):

CHAMBERS' EDINBURGH JOURNAL

ISSUE OF MAY 4



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June 12, Wednesday: [Professor John White Webster](#)'s lawyers had submitted a petition for a writ of error against Judge Lemuel Shaw because of his faulty instructions to the jury. On this day the hearing was held before a panel of five judges one of whom was Shaw, and the writ denied. Webster would appeal to Governor George N. Briggs for a pardon, asserting his entire innocence. He had been convicted on evidence which was wholly circumstantial. Unfortunately for him, the black man [Washington Goode](#) had just been hanged in [Boston](#) for murder entirely on the basis of such circumstantial evidence. Thus, the Governor could not pardon Webster without seeming to allow different standards of evidence to accused white men. The Fall River [Weekly News](#) would express this matter most succinctly: "If any delays, misgivings or symptoms of mercy are manifested, the gibbeted body of Washington Goode will be paraded before the mind's eye of his Excellency. If he relents in this case, though the entire population of the State petition for a remission of sentence, Governor Briggs will forfeit all claim to public respect as a high minded, honorable and impartial chief magistrate. He can do one of two things and retain his character as a man and a public servant: resign his office, or let the law take its course." The governor signed the death warrant. Webster, therefore, in a last-ditch effort to avoid the gallows, would make a retreating confession. He had indeed struck the victim. However, he had only struck him once. Also, he was only defending himself as he had been provoked into doing this! His act had not been premeditated or malicious. He had been pushed into this by [Doctor Parkman](#), who had become so inordinately aggressive to collect the money he was owed. The creditor had been "gesticulating in the most violent and menacing manner." He had even been threatening to seize the professor's mineral cabinet, despite the fact that the professor had put this asset up as security to cover not only this loan, but another separate loan to another man. What could Professor Webster do under such extenuating circumstances but seize "whatever thing was handiest—it was a stick of wood— and [deal] him an instantaneous blow with all the force that passion could give it. It was on the side of his head, and there was nothing to break the force of the blow. He fell instantly upon the pavement. There was no second blow. He did not move." (Of course, such an exculpatory confession would get the man exactly nowhere, for it did nothing to restore the torn social fabric. For a suitable restoration of the torn social fabric, we will need to wait until after this [hanging](#), when the victim's widow would be listed as the 1st contributor to a fund created for the murderer's impoverished widow and daughters.)

BETWEEN ANY TWO MOMENTS ARE AN INFINITE NUMBER OF MOMENTS, AND BETWEEN THESE OTHER MOMENTS LIKEWISE AN INFINITE NUMBER, THERE BEING NO ATOMIC MOMENT JUST AS THERE IS NO ATOMIC POINT ALONG A LINE. MOMENTS ARE THEREFORE FIGMENTS. THE PRESENT MOMENT IS A MOMENT AND AS SUCH IS A FIGMENT, A FLIGHT OF THE IMAGINATION TO WHICH NOTHING REAL CORRESPONDS. SINCE PAST MOMENTS HAVE PASSED OUT OF EXISTENCE AND FUTURE MOMENTS HAVE YET TO ARRIVE, WE NOTE THAT THE PRESENT MOMENT IS ALL THAT EVER EXISTS — AND YET THE PRESENT MOMENT BEING A MOMENT IS A FIGMENT TO WHICH NOTHING IN REALITY CORRESPONDS.



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June 13, Thursday: According to one account I have seen, on this day [Henry Thoreau](#) surveyed the Bedford Road for the town of [Concord](#).

According to another account –and I do not know whether this might not be an alternative description of the same job– on this day Thoreau was making a survey of the courthouse (Town House) and adjacent lots and starting to help widen the road from Main Street to the New Hill Burying Ground (the first section of the present Sleepy Hollow Cemetery), and from Monument Street to that same spot.

View [Henry Thoreau](#)'s personal working drafts of his surveys courtesy of AT&T and the Concord Free Public Library:

http://www.concordlibrary.org/scollect/Thoreau_Surveys/Thoreau_Surveys.htm


(The official copy of this survey of course had become the property of the person or persons who had hired this Concord town surveyor to do their surveying work during the 19th Century. Such materials have yet to be recovered.)

View this particular personal working draft of a survey in fine detail:

http://www.concordlibrary.org/scollect/Thoreau_Surveys/7d.htm

This Sleepy Hollow had begun as “Deacon [Reuben] Brown’s pretty pasture, circled with a ridge of oaks and pines ... reached only by a lane.” It had been [Concord](#)’s hanging grounds, back when Concord was the main court center for Middlesex County: for instance, it was where Concord had hanged the burglar [Samuel Smith](#) at the turn of the century. It had also been used for group picnics, such as the one in 1840 while “Hard Cider Clubs” were keeping the big political ball a-rolling through Concord streets with cries of “Tippecanoe and Tyler too!” According to George Bradford Bartlett’s 1880 CONCORD GUIDE BOOK, it had been awarded this name due to the presence there of a natural “amphitheatre,” the deeper of two Dunge Holes there, that had long been so known.



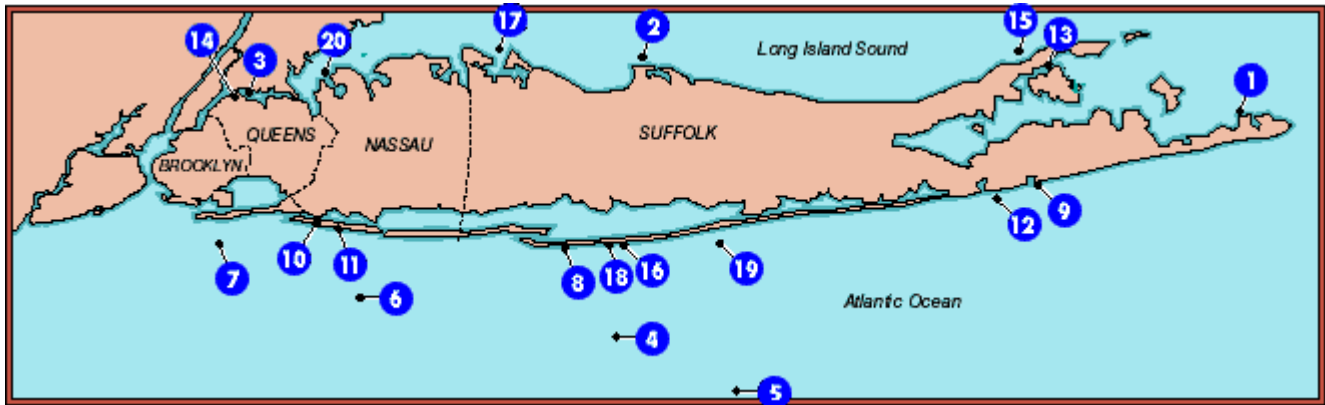
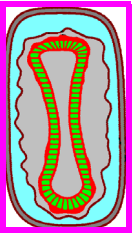
July 2, Tuesday: The minister of the Unitarian church in Roxbury, Massachusetts, the Reverend George Putnam, D.D. brought appeal before the Governor’s Council on Pardons, saying that [Professor John White Webster](#) had confessed his remorse to him in his jail cell for the unpremeditated act of passion which he had committed on the afternoon of November 23, 1849.  He said that Doctor Webster had informed him that what had actually happened was that he had invited [Doctor George Parkman](#) there not to kill him but to arrange to pay off the debt, but that Parkman had been entirely unreasonable about this and had been waving a copy of the letter of recommendation which he had originally prepared to help Doctor Webster obtain his appointment on the [Harvard College](#) faculty many years before, and had said to the Professor “I got you into your position and now I will get you out of it.” And that with this Professor Webster had become enraged and fearful and, grabbing up a stump of grapevine from the stovewood, had whacked Parkman once solidly along the side of the head, killing him instantly. For the good of Professor Webster’s soul, therefore, he ought not to be [hanged](#) by the neck in [Boston](#) until he be dead.

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July 19, Friday: At 3:30AM, holding course with close-reefed sails, the *Elizabeth* struck a Fire Island sandbar.

The ship's lifeboats were soon smashed. As it grew lighter figures could be made out on the beach but these humans didn't seem to be doing anything by way of a rescue, only waiting and watching. In fact these were not rescuers but resident scavengers waiting for their storm booty. At noon the first mate, in command of the *Elizabeth* since its skipper had died of the [small pox](#), picked himself out a likely plank and jumped overboard. His instructions to those he left behind: "Save yourselves!" There was only one life preserver, which would by tradition have gone to [Margaret Fuller](#), but as they all waited aboard the vessel and saw that it was breaking up in the surge, she offered that life preserver to a crewman who was volunteering to take his chances going overboard to summon aid (wreck #18 below):



TIMELINE OF SHIPWRECKS

The toddler had been slung into a canvas bag around the neck of a sailor. A [Tribune](#) reporter reached the beach at about 11AM. At about noon the Fire Island Lighthouse lifeboat and rescue howitzer arrived but, despite the fact that the ship was only a few hundred yards out into the breakers, rescue attempts were made difficult by wind and waves that were building into a hurricane. The lifeboat would never be launched. At about 3PM, with perhaps a thousand people on the beach at that point watching (half of whom were looting as cases of goods washed ashore), the ship began to come apart as pieces of its marble cargo broke through the hull. Some of the people aboard made it ashore by clinging to pieces of wreckage. When a sailor attempted to get the toddler ashore, the attempt failed and the tiny body would be submerged for about twenty minutes before being located and carried still warm out of the waves (the body would be placed in a chest donated by one of the sailors). Just before leaping overboard the cook heard Fuller, in her white nightgown, say "I see nothing but death before me." When the ship broke up all who had not made it to shore were drowned (of the total of 22 aboard, a total of 10 including the baby could not be gotten across the surf to shore). Ossoli was seen to reach up from

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the water and attempt to grab a piece of rigging before disappearing beneath the waves.



The bodies of Giovanni and Margaret were not immediately recovered. When [Ellery Channing](#) reached that beach, some people who were still standing around informed him that they would have made a rescue attempt had they known someone “important” was on board.⁴²¹ The reporter took some letters found on the beach in a box back to [New-York](#) and dried them and turned them over to [Horace Greeley](#). [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) had not met [Giovanni Angelo](#) but commented, according to his son’s NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE AND HIS WIFE, A

421. Four editions of the *ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA* held that their drownings occurred on July 16th and this error would not get corrected until 1974 — which would be hardly worth mentioning were it not such a graphic illustration of the general lack of value we place on a pushy woman’s contribution to our clownish society.

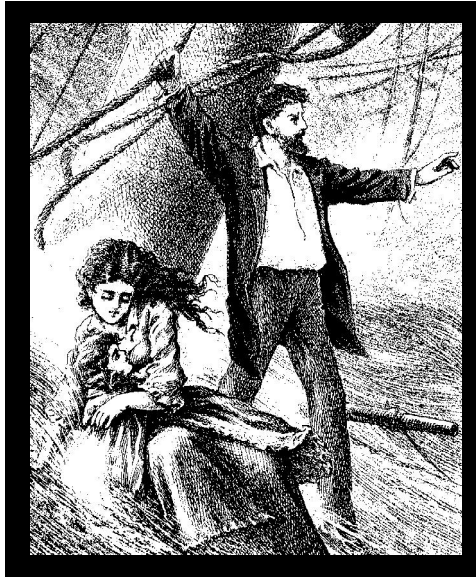
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BIOGRAPHY, that



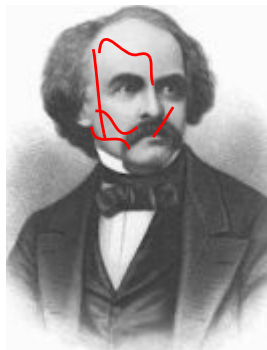
Providence was, after all, kind in putting her and her clownish husband and their child on board that fated ship.



Yeah, and a kind Providence put those clownish [variola](#) scarifications on the fated child's face!

Behind this term "Providence" mobilized by Hawthorne we can see lurking the notion that this was an unquestionably murderous, yet unquestionably kind, act of God. His deity was merely disposing of a female who had gotten out of her place, sort of like crushing an ant that had wandered onto the author's dinnerplate. God as the sanitary police for the Old Boys Network. The schadenfreudian remarks [Nathaniel](#) made from time to time about the Ossolis may have had less to do with his generally livid gender chauvinism, and less to do with the two of them as a couple, or with the two of them as particular individuals, than with Hawthorne's special ambivalence toward the twisted sister with whom he had had those starry-night walks while his wife was inconvenienced, or his general misanthropy toward any woman who would do such an unwomanly thing as **to write**:

I wish they were forbidden to write on pain of having their faces deeply scarified with an oyster-shell.



Dear reader, do you agree with Nathaniel that fortune was **kind** to Margaret and her family? Do you, perhaps,

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harbor a hope that fortune will smile on you and on your family as it did not smile on her and her family? Do you suspect, as so many scholars studying this period have suspected, that Margaret perhaps harbored some sort of a death wish, and that it was this death wish which prevented her from leaping overboard into the breakers and attempting to make it to the shore that was only a few yards away? Remember, if you will, that Margaret had a spinal deformity, which very likely was some part of the cause of part of pretty boy Nathaniel's hostility toward her and which very likely was the entire cause of his hostility toward her husband –what kind of clown could it be, who could marry a **deformed** woman, and have sex with her and produce a child?– and remember, also, if you will, that Margaret herself had long before been forced to abandon any suspicion she might have had in her earlier years, of the basic fairness of life. We were born to be mutilated, she commented, and, she might have added, we were born also, to be mocked:



I have no belief in beautiful lives; we were born to be mutilated: Life is basically unjust.

Several days after the *USS Elizabeth* had disintegrated, when all that lay in the breakers were some rough blocks of Italian marble and some hull timbers half buried in the sand, a sea captain named James Wick would show up at the offices of the [New-York Herald Tribune](#) on Manhattan Island with a packing crate containing the corpses of a man and a woman. [Greeley](#) was informed that these were the bodies of the “Italian count” Ossoli and Greeley's war correspondent [Margaret Fuller](#). He “refused to have anything to do with them,” according to [Tribune](#) reporter Felix Dominy.



The horses rattled the empty chariots,
longing for their noble drivers.
But they on the ground lay,
dearer to the vultures than to their wives.

So Captain Wick and his mate, to get rid of the bodies of Greeley's war correspondent and her clownish husband without getting themselves into trouble, would bury this packing crate at night on Coney Island without marking the spot.⁴²² We are reminded of something [Henry Thoreau](#) would jot down in his journal some nine months subsequent to this event, between April 19 and April 22, 1851, and something he would write into CAPE COD, and we are led to wonder whether Thoreau had in some manner come to suspect that his “friend” Greeley had something to do with the fact that it was **these** bodies in particular that had not been recovered from the wreck of the *USS Elizabeth*. For Thoreau did make an uncharacteristically bitter remark during this period, a remark about the moral character of editors in this country, a group of whom Greeley was arguably the single one who was the best known personally by Thoreau:



... probably no country was ever ruled by so mean a class of tyrants as are the editors of the periodical press in this country.

Later in this day, in Boston, an appeal brought on behalf of [Professor John White Webster](#) by the minister of the Unitarian church in Roxbury, Massachusetts, the Reverend George Putnam, D.D., failed to move the Governor's Council on Pardons. Murder being contrary to the law of God, with one dissenting vote they recommended to the Governor of the commonwealth that he murder this murderer.

July 26, Saturday: In [Boston](#), Daniel H. Pierson was [hanged](#) for murder.

422. A letter from Felix Dominy's son, that is among the Fuller papers at Harvard, attests to this incident and is described in Chevigny, Bell Gale. *THE WOMAN AND THE MYTH: MARGARET FULLER'S LIFE AND WRITINGS*. Old Westbury NY: The Feminist Press, 1976.

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August 29, Friday: The wife and children of [Professor John White Webster](#) visited him for the last time in his cell. The professor knew, but his family was prevented from knowing, that the ceremony had been set for the next morning.

The “Yellow House, reformed”:⁴²³ Having completed the extensive renovations to the property they had purchased at 73 Main Street in Concord, the Thoreau family moved into its [Yellow House](#). The family would live in this residence, now the “Thoreau/Alcott” house, for the remainder of [Henry Thoreau](#)’s life, with him occupying the finished attic room.⁴²⁴



423. “Reformed” here means that the ceilings had been raised and extensive modifications had been made.

424. Did this Thoreau home have a lawn? America’s obsession with outdoor living spaces in the vicinity of their homes would not begin until after the [Civil War](#), with sports such as lawn croquet catching on in the leisured middle class. In all likelihood, the lot on which the Thoreau boardinghouse stood inside this pretty fence in the 1850s consisted of swept dirt and sand kept bare — except of course for the family’s large garden.



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August 30, Saturday morning: In the morning [John White Webster](#) was [hanged](#) in public at #5 Leverett Street on Leverett Square in [Boston](#) for the murder of [George Parkman](#). It took about 4 minutes. In deference to the social standing of the culprit, there had not been a prior public announcement of the date or the place of the execution. The Reverend George Putnam, D.D. immediately departed for Cambridge to inform the family. That evening a lady and her two children visiting from New-York would come to the family home in Cambridge in the hope that she would be able to see the corpse of the murderer, but fortunately these ghoulish [tourists](#) would be intercepted by the maid and the widow and the daughters did not come to know of it. To fool the crowds which were assembling, and in addition to prevent the body from being exhumed, it would be interred in secret that night at the lowbrow cemetery on Copp's Hill — rather than in the expected venue at toney Mount Auburn Cemetery.⁴²⁵

FINAL EXECUTIONS		
February 14, 1844	John Gordon	hanged for murder of factory owner Amasa Sprague probably only because he was an Irish Catholic immigrant, in Rhode Island (no more such events would occur)
August 30, 1850	John White Webster	last Harvard College professor to be hanged by the neck in Boston
July 28, 1854	William B. Sheppard	last public open-air hanging in San Francisco attended by a huge crowd, at the Presidio before a crowd of not less than 10,000

On this day [Henry Thoreau](#) was also concerned with cemeteries, for at the request of [John Shepard Keyes](#), he was surveying two sides of the Concord West Burying Ground by running the lines of the old Hurd place, the so-called Block House now on Lowell Road, and the line of the river bank further east on Main Street.⁴²⁶ The purpose of this activity, probably, was to determine where to position the iron fence from the old courthouse around the burial ground. According to the Town Report, Thoreau received \$1.⁰⁰ for this on March 1, 1851.

View [Thoreau](#)'s personal working drafts of his surveys courtesy of AT&T and the Concord Free Public Library:

http://www.concordlibrary.org/scollect/Thoreau_surveys/Thoreau_surveys.htm

(The official copy of this survey of course had become the property of the person or persons who had hired this Concord town surveyor to do their surveying work during the 19th Century. Such materials have yet to be recovered.)

425. Due to this unpleasantness, [Harvard College](#) has created a special endowment for the relief of desperate professors. The widow Harriet Frederica Hickling Webster, who would only live for a few additional years, would take the four daughters back to the Azores. There, one of the four, Sarah Hickling Webster, would marry Samuel Wyllys Dabney (1826-1893), who would from 1872 to 1892 be the US consul to the Azores.

426. We can gather that it was sometime prior to this date, that this former [Concord Academy](#) classmate had become an selectman of Concord.



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Aug 31st Tall Ambrosia

Among the signs of Autumn I perceive
The Roman Wormwood (called by learned men
Ambrosia elatior, food for gods,—
For to impartial science the humblest weed
Is as *immortal* as the proudest flower—)
Sprinkles its yellow dust over my shoes
As I cross the now neglected garden
We trample under foot the food of Gods
& spill their nectar in each drop of dew—
My honest shoes thus powdered country-fide
Fast friends that never stray far from my coach
Bearing many a mile the marks of their adventure
At the post-house disgrace the Gallic gloss
Of those well dressed ones who no morning dew
Nor Roman wormwood ever have been through
Who never walk but are *transported* rather
For what old crime of theirs I do not gather

The grey blueberry bushes venerable as oaks why is not their fruit poisonous? Bilberry called *Vaccinium corymbosum* some say *amoenum* & or Blue Bilberry & *Vaccinium disomorphum* MX—Black Bilberry. Its fruit hangs on into September but loses its wild & sprightly taste.

'Tis very fit the ambrosia of the gods
Should be a weed on earth. their nectar
The morning dew with which we wet our shoes
For the gods are simple folks and we should
pine upon their humble fare

The purple flowers of the humble *Trichostema* mingled with the worm wood. smelling like it
And the spring-scented—dandelion scented primrose Yellow primrose
The swamp pink *Azalea viscosa*—its now withered pistils standing out.
The odoriferous sassafras with its delicate green stem its three-lobed leaf—tempting the traveller to bruise it it
sheds so rare a perfume on him equal to all the spices of the east. Then its rare tasting root bark—like nothing
else which I used to dig— The first navigators freighted their ships with it and deemed it worth its weight in gold.
The alder-leaved *Clethra* (*Clethra alnifolia* sweet smelling queen of the swamp—its long white racemes.
We are most apt to remember & cherish the flowers which appear earliest in the spring— I look with equal
affection on those which are the latest to bloom in the fall
The choke Berry *Pyrus arbutifolia*
The beautiful white waxen berries of the cornel—either *cornus alba* or *Paniculata* white berried or Panicked—
beautiful both when full of fruit & when its cymes are naked delicate red cymes or stems of berries. spreading
its little fairy fingers to the skies its little palms. Fairy palms they might be called.
One of the *Viburnums* *Lentago*—or *pyrifolium* or—*Nudum*—with its poisonous looking fruit in cymes first—
greenish white then red then purple or all at once.
The imp eyed red velvety looking berry of the swamps
The spotted *Polygonum* *Polygonum Persicaria* seen in low lands amid the potatoes now wild Princes feather?
Slight flower that does not forget to grace the Autumn
The Late Whortleberry (Dangle-berry) that ripens now that other huckleberries and blueberries are shrivelled
and spoiling

November 23, Saturday: The governor of Massachusetts commuted the sentence of execution by [hanging](#) of William Bullman, to life in prison.

An issue of Chambers' Edinburgh Journal:

CHAMBERS' EDINBURGH JOURNAL

ISSUE OF NOVEMBER 23



Nov 23 Today it has been finger cold.

Unexpectedly I found ice by the side of the brooks this afternoon nearly an inch thick. Prudent people get in their barrels of apples today. The difference of the temperature of various localities is greater than is supposed.

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If I was surprised to find ice on the sides of the brooks –I was much more surprised to find quite a pond in the woods containing an acre or more quite frozen over so that I walked across it.

It was in a cold corner where a pine wood excluded the sun. In the larger ponds & the river of course there is no ice yet. It is a shallow weedy pond. I lay down on the ice and looked through at the bottom– The plants appeared to grow more uprightly than on the dry land, being sustained & protected by the water. Cadis worms were everywhere crawling about in their handsome quiver like sheaths or cases

The wild apples though they are more mellow & edible have for some time lost their beauty, as well as the leaves, and now too they are beginning to freeze. The apple season is well nigh over. Such however as are frozen while sound are not unpleasant to eat when the spring sun thaws them.

I find it to be the height of wisdom not to endeavor to over-see myself –and live of life of prudence and common sense –but to see over & above myself –entertain sublime conjectures to make myself the thoroughfare of thrilling thoughts –live all that can be lived. The man who is dissatisfied with himself –what can he not do?



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1851

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1851

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
25/03	Sarah Chesham	42	Chelmsford	Murder
10/05	Catherine Connelly	70 ^a	Cork	Murder
19/08	Mary Cage	40	Ipswich	Murder of husband

a. This set an age record, of sorts.

It seems to be during this timeframe that the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) authored the following material in opposition to capital punishment, referring regretfully to the recent [hangings](#) of [Washington Goode](#), Daniel H. Pierson,⁴²⁷ and [John White Webster](#):

Capital Punishment: Reasons For Immediate Abolition

What is Capital Punishment?

It is the infliction of Death on a human being who has been convicted of murder or some other crime, and who is a helpless prisoner in the hands of the public authorities. It is commonly executed by hanging, beheading, shooting, &c.; in our country almost always by hanging.

Who Inflict the Death Penalty?

All the people in the State or Nation who do not unequivocally protest against it. This is emphatically true in our Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Reader, whether voter or non-voter, male or female, adult or youth, thou art either for Capital Punishment or against it. Thou art not a neutral in the case. When one of thy fellow creatures is put to death on the gallows by public authority, with thy approbation or with thy consent, consider the deed as thine own. Nay, if thou lettest it be done without thy solemn protest against it, the deed is virtually thine own. Wince not at this. Know thy responsibility before God in this matter. Unless thou hast cleared the skirts of thy garments by some public, unequivocal and uncompromising testimony against Capital Punishment, thou art the man or the woman who inflicts it. Thou and thy fellows took the life of [Washington Goode](#), Daniel H. Pierson, and [John W. Webster](#). Say not "the Sheriff did it - the Governor ordered it - the Court decreed it - the law requires it." All true: but in whose name and by whose authority does the Sheriff, the Governor, the Court, the law hang a man? Who made the law, the Court, the Governor and the Sheriff? Answer: the people - the sovereign people. They do all these things. Who are the people? Answer: the voters, together with all who help to form that public opinion which governs voters, legislators and rulers. Whatever

427. In 1848 they had hanged Pierson, a white imbecile of Boston, after he killed his wife and children.



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public opinion unequivocally demands should be done, is done. Voters, legislators and rulers see that it is done. They see that hanging is done. Why? Because public opinion demands it. And who form public opinion? All men, women and children who think and speak. Public opinion is nothing but the confluence of private opinions; like a mighty river made up of many small streams, rivulets or springs. Reader, remember that thou art one of these streams, rivulets or springs. Thy opinion is for or against Capital Punishment. So if not against it, thou art for it. If for it, thy private opinion is a part of that great river of public opinion which says to voters, legislators and rulers, "Keep on hanging murderers." Therefore thou art one of the executioners of Capital Punishment, acting through thy agents. The deed is really thine. If it be glorious, then glory on. But if it be abhorrent and abominable, hold back thy hand from thy guilty brother's life. Protest against the custom, the law, the public opinion. Let thy testimony be unequivocal, uncompromising and incessant against it, till the death penalty be utterly abolished.

Capital Punishment is Anti-Christian

Noah, Moses, and the ancients generally sanctioned it; but Christ prohibits it. The Old Testament, he knew, contained many sayings which authorized the taking of blood for blood, "life for life, eye for eye," &c. But he took care that the New Testament should record all imperative testimony against thus resisting evil with evil. Referring directly to that whole class of Old Testament sayings which sanction the taking of "life for life," our Lord says: "But I say unto you that ye resist not evil" - that is, by inflicting evil on the evil-doer, as you have heretofore done under the authority of these Noachic and Mosaic sayings. Away with all hatred and vindictiveness. Oppose evil only with good - only by doing what is best both for the injurious and the injured parties. "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you," &c. that ye may be the children of your father in heaven, who always acts on this divine principle toward the unthankful and evil. On the same ground he enjoined the duty of always cherishing the spirit of forgiveness. "When ye pray, say ... Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors." "For if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses." Is it forgiving an offender to take blood for blood, life for life, eye for eye? Is this forgiving as we would have God forgive us? Wilt thou hang thy son's murderer by the neck till he be "dead, dead, dead," and then pray God to forgive thine offences as thou hast his! And after this wilt thou still presume to call Jesus Christ thy Lord, and thyself a Christian! Of all such Christ demandeth, "Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?" As Jesus taught, so taught his apostles. Hear Paul: "Recompense to no man evil for evil"; "avenge not yourselves"; "be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good." "See that none render evil for evil unto any man." So Peter, John and all the apostles. Hanging the evil doer is recompensing "evil for evil." It is man avenging himself by "rendering evil for evil." It is a vain attempt to overcome evil with evil. Therefore it is utterly anti-Christian. Christ never gave countenance to Capital Punishment, or to the taking of human life for any cause. He exemplified what he taught. He was



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once called on to adjudge a woman to death for adultery, according to the law of Moses. Did he sanction Capital Punishment? No; but he required those who would have stoned the criminal to death, to be sure first that they themselves were without sin. They felt the rebuke and fled. The woman still remained to receive death, if at all, from his sinless hands. But forbearing to harm her, guilty though she was, he said, "Go and sin no more." Jesus was no patron either of crime or of Capital Punishment. When James and John would have called fire down from heaven upon the unaccommodating Samaritans, "even as Elias did," he turned and rebuked them, saying, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of. For the Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them." So then Christians, following out their Lord's mission in his divine spirit, are not to destroy men's lives, but to save them - even though Noah, Moses and Elias be officiously quoted to the contrary. When will this genuine Christianity come to be understood and exemplified throughout nominal Christendom? In that day will Capital Punishment, as well as War, be denounced and renounced as utterly anti-Christian. Reader, do not attempt to parry the force of the foregoing demonstration by any special pleading. Do not say, as some have, "Christ had no reference to public judicial proceedings; capital punishment, &c., when he gave forth those strong prohibitory precepts against resisting evil with evil; he only referred to petty revenge between individuals in common life," &c. This is groundless assumption, and contrary to the obvious meaning of Christ's language. "Ye have heard that it hath been said, an eye for an eye," &c. Where? By whom? See Gen. 9:6, Ex. 21:22-25, Lev. 24:17-20, Deut. 19:16-21. Examine those passages, and thou wilt see that "life for life, eye for eye," &c. were to be taken by public judicial authority. Can we, then, suppose Christ did not forbid legal and judicial resistance of evil with evil, but merely ordinary individual retaliations? No; he forbade all those sayings had authorized; that is, both individual and governmental takings of "life for life, eye for eye," &c. This is too plain to be caviled upon. Neither let the reader say, as some have, Christ did not refer to those sayings of Noah, Moses, &c. but only to certain glosses on them made by some of the Jewish Rabbis. Show us any rabbinical glosses stronger than the original Scripture sayings in the Pentateuch. There are none. It is sheer assumption to plead all such abatement of Christ's obvious meaning. Nor let anyone rise up and say, as some have said, "You make Christ to condemn Moses, and the New Testament to destroy the Old. Thus you pervert the Word of God." Strange notion! Is not Christ superior to Moses, and the New Testament to the Old? Who doubts this? The Jew may, but not the Christian. He who places Jesus Christ below Moses, or no higher than Moses, or the New Testament below the Old, or no higher than the Old, is anti-Christian, whatever else he may be. This is a settled point. But it does not follow that Christ condemns Moses, or that the New Testament destroys the Old. The less and the greater may mutually corroborate each other. Moses wrote of the Christ, and commanded that when he came, the people should hear him "in all things." Therefore said Jesus to the Jews, "Had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me; for he wrote of me." Moses was a faithful servant, but Christ is the Son of God. He who respects Moses as a servant, will surely respect Christ as the Son of God. And he who, under pretence of



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reverencing Moses, takes "life for life," regardless of Christ's solemn injunction to "resist not evil with evil," insults both of them. He tramples under foot his acknowledged Lord, and impudently says to Moses, "I will not obey thy command, to hear Christ in all things. I will hear him in nothing that differs from thy old law of "life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth." That law suits my own instincts exactly, and I will not allow it to be superseded, even by Jesus Christ!" Would Moses feel honored by such an adherent? No; he would rebuke the self-willed zealot, and say, "No man honors me who does not honor the Son of God more." If the patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament, who all predicted a more glorious dispensation of divine truth and righteousness to come, could be summoned to give judgment, they would unanimously concur with Paul in his testimony: "If that which was done away was glorious, much more that which remaineth is glorious." Instead of subordinating the New Testament to the Old, or lowering down its sublime law, of resisting evil only with good, to the ancient maxims, they would exalt Jesus Christ and his precepts above all, as the true light and life of men. Alas! that anyone should so poorly appreciate either the Old or the New Testament, as to imagine that he can truly honor the former without implicitly obeying the latter as God's revised statutes. The former had a glory which was designed to be superseded by the superior glory of the latter, even as the moon and the stars of night fade away in the radiance of the sun. Does the sun destroy the moon and stars, because he outshines them? No more does the New Testament destroy the Old by superseding its imperfect institutions with diviner ones. The position is impregnable. Capital Punishment, however sanctioned by Noah, Moses and the ancients, is anti-Christian. It ought therefore to be immediately abolished in all professedly Christian States. He who upholds it fights against Jesus Christ.

Capital Punishment is Unnecessary

There is no excuse for hanging a murderer, on the ground that he is outraging the public peace, and endangering the lives of his fellow-creatures. He is a helpless prisoner; completely in the power of the government, and there he can be kept in safe custody - in a custody which will prevent his injuring others, or being injured by others. What more does the public good require? What more does his own good require? What more does any reasonable, humane, upright man desire? Who is it that clamors for his life - that cries out to have this powerless, pinioned man thrust into eternity from a gallows? O spirit of vindictive cruelty, we know thee all through the dark ages! Thou art thyself a murderer from the beginning. Be thou exorcised from all well-meaning souls. Thou hast often transformed thyself into an angel of light, and seated thyself in the high places of Christianity; but thou shalt be cast down into the pit, whence thou camest. Thou deprecatest and revengest murder, but art forever predisposing mankind to commit it. We know thee; "Get thee behind us, Satan." Capital Punishment is not necessary in order to prevent the criminal's escaping his due recompense. God has not left rewards and punishments to the uncertainty and imperfection of human government. He himself will render to every man according to his deeds. No sinner can escape the divine judgment. No murderer can by any possibility evade a just retribution. He may all mere human punishments, but none of the



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divine. Who but an atheist doubts this great truth? Then let no man say, "The murderer must be hung, or he will go unpunished." Not so. His going unpunished is an impossibility. Keep him, then, unharmed, where he can harm no one, and let him be made better if possible. Leave him to be punished by the only authority that is competent to do it without error. Why not? Avenger of blood, thou art dismissed. Thy mission is fulfilled. To whom will the putting to death of the criminal do any good? It will preserve no one's life, that could not just as surely be preserved by the judicious confinement of the convict. It will not help God's administration of justice. It will not restore the murdered person to life. It will give no comfort to the murdered one's surviving friends, unless they are depraved enough to find comfort in retaliation. It will do the murderer himself no good. If he be unprepared to die, it will precipitate him into the spirit world against all the dictates of religion; and if he have become a penitent - a regenerate man, forgiven of God - man ought to be both ashamed and afraid to be less merciful. It will do the righteous, the well-disposed and tender-hearted, no good. They are grieved and disgusted by such State tragedies. It will do the wicked, the depraved, the hard-hearted, no good. They love such spectacles, crowd eagerly around them, display all the hateful traits of devils incarnate, and go away ripe for violence and bloodshed. Hence our State authorities will not allow them free access to the place of execution, giving tickets of admission only to a few select witnesses, or respectable amateurs of this kind of tragedy. This is proof positive, if proof were wanting, that the hanging of murderers works no good to the wicked. If it did, the more they should see of it the better. Away with a punishment which is as unnecessary as it is anti-Christian.

This Punishment is Irreparable

Man can take away life; but he cannot restore it. Many have been put to death for crimes which seemed to have been conclusively proved against them, who were afterwards ascertained beyond doubt, to be innocent. Then their judges and executioners would have given worlds for the power to reverse the fatal sentence - to repair the dreadful error. But there was no remedy - no reparation. What presumption is it in ignorant, fallible mortals, themselves daily beggars for Divine mercy, to crush the life out of their guilty fellows; to thrust them from the land of the living into the unknown world of spirits! It is the prerogative of the Most High to kill; for He knoweth when and how to take life, and is able, moreover, to restore it at pleasure. Not so man. In his pride and rashness he kills, and there his power ends. He may stare at the ruin he has wrought; he may deplore it; but he cannot repair it. Alas! for the accusers, the jurors, the judges, the executioners, and their abettors, who presume to quench the flame of human life. The guilt of their victims is no justification of their presumption. Vengeance belongeth unto God alone, who ever judgeth righteously, and can do no wrong. Let man content himself with imposing uninjurious restraint on the outrageous and dangerous. Then if he err in judgment, or in methods of treatment, he can correct his errors, repair his incidental wrongs, and prove himself to be, what he ever ought to be the overcomer of evil with good. Read the following extracts, and see how liable human



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tribunals are to put to death the innocent.

A few years ago, a poor German came to New York and took lodgings, where he was allowed to do his cooking in the same room with the family. The husband and wife lived in a perpetual quarrel. One day, the German came into the kitchen, with a clasp-knife and a pan of potatoes, and began to pare them for his dinner. The quarrelsome couple were in a more violent altercation than usual, but he sat with his back towards them, and, being ignorant of their language, felt in no danger of being involved in their disputes. But the woman, with a sudden and unexpected movement, snatched the knife from his hand, and plunged it into her husband's heart. She had sufficient presence of mind to rush into the street, and scream murder. The poor foreigner, in the meanwhile, seeing the wounded man reel, sprang forward to catch him in his arms, and drew out the knife. People from the street crowded in, and found him with the dying man in his arms, the knife in his hand, and blood upon his clothes. The wicked woman swore, in the most positive terms, that he had been fighting with her husband, and had stabbed him with a knife he always carried. The unfortunate German knew too little English to understand her accusation, or to tell his own story. He was dragged off to prison, and the true state of the case was made known through an interpreter; but it was not believed. Circumstantial evidence was exceedingly strong against the accused, and the real criminal swore that she saw him commit the murder. He was executed, notwithstanding the most persevering efforts of his lawyer, John Anthon, Esq., whose convictions of the man's innocence were so painfully strong, that, from that day to this, he has refused to have, any connection with a capital case. Some years after this tragic event, the woman died, and on her deathbed confessed her agency in the diabolical transaction; but her poor victim could receive no benefit from this tardy repentance. Society had wantonly thrown away its power to atone for the grievous wrong.

- Mrs. Child

A young lady, belonging to a genteel and very proud family in Missouri, was beloved by a young man named Burton; but, unfortunately, her affections were fixed on another, less worthy. He left her with a tarnished reputation. She was by nature energetic and high-spirited; her family were proud, and she lived in the midst of a society which considered revenge a virtue, and named it honor. Misled by this false popular sentiment, and her own excited feelings, she resolved to repay her lover's treachery with death. But she kept her secret so well that no one suspected her purpose, though she purchased pistols, and practiced with them daily. Mr. Burton gave evidence of his strong attachment by renewing his attentions when the world looked most coldly on her. His generous kindness won her bleeding heart, but the softening influence of love did not lead her to forego the dreadful purpose she had formed. She



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watched for a favorable opportunity, and shot her betrayer when no one was near to witness the horrible deed. Some little incident excited the suspicion of Burton, and he induced her to confess to him the whole transaction. It was obvious enough that suspicion would naturally fasten upon him, the well-known lover of her who had been so deeply injured. He was arrested; but succeeded in persuading her that he was in no danger. Circumstantial evidence was fearfully against him, and he soon saw that his chance was doubtful; but with affectionate magnanimity he concealed this from her. He was convicted and condemned. A short time before the execution, he endeavored to cut his throat; but his life was saved for the cruel purpose of taking it away according to the cold-blooded barbarism of the law. Pale and wounded, he was hoisted to the gallows, before the gaze of a Christian community. The guilty cause of all this was almost frantic when she found that he had thus sacrificed himself to save her. She immediately published the whole history of her wrongs and her revenge. Her keen sense of wounded honor was in accordance with public sentiment; her wrongs excited indignation and compassion, and the knowledge that an innocent and magnanimous man had been so brutally treated, excited a general revulsion of popular feeling. No one wished for another victim, and she was left unpunished, save by the dreadful records of her memory.

- Mrs. Child

Hold! all ye vindictives that would take "life for life." It is impious, cold-hearted presumption in man to do this awful deed! It is anti-Christian, unnecessary, irreparable, abhorrent! We challenge a refutation of these reasons for abolishing the death penalty. They are unanswerable. Let the abomination cease.

THE FALLACY OF MOMENTISM: THIS STARRY UNIVERSE DOES NOT CONSIST OF A SEQUENCE OF MOMENTS. THAT IS A FIGMENT, ONE WE HAVE RECOURSE TO IN ORDER TO PRIVILEGE TIME OVER CHANGE, A PRIVILEGING THAT MAKES CHANGE SEEM UNREAL, DERIVATIVE, A MERE APPEARANCE. IN FACT IT IS CHANGE AND ONLY CHANGE WHICH WE EXPERIENCE AS REALITY, TIME BEING BY WAY OF RADICAL CONTRAST UNEXPERIENCED — A MERE INTELLECTUAL CONSTRUCT. THERE EXISTS NO SUCH THING AS A MOMENT. NO INSTANT HAS EVER FOR AN INSTANT EXISTED.

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January 31, Friday: The San Francisco Orphan's Asylum, 1st in [California](#), was founded.

In upstate [New York](#), Reuben A. Dunbar was [hanged](#).



[Samuel H. Hammond](#) had been the prosecutor at his murder trial, and had obtained the conviction on the basis of evidence that was largely circumstantial. Dunbar, age 20, had killed his relatives Stephen V. Lester, age 8, and David L. Lester, age 10, in the town of Westerlo on the night of September 28, 1850. The bodies, found in the woods, had been interred at the Wickham Farm Burying Ground, Dunbar Hollow, Dormansville, New York. After conviction Dunbar had explained that since an uncle had died and he was newly married with a baby expected shortly, he had been after their inheritance.



REUBEN A. DUNBAR

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"I look upon [Phrenology](#) as the guide of Philosophy, and the handmaid of Christianity; whoever disseminates true Phrenology, is a public benefactor."
— Horace Mann, Sr.



THE MOST FOUL AND UNPARALLELED MURDER IN THE ANNALS OF CRIME LIFE AND CONFESSION OF REUBEN A. DUNBAR, CONVICTED AND EXECUTED FOR THE MURDER OF STEPHEN V. AND DAVID L. LESTER (AGED 8 AND 10 YEARS,) IN WESTERLY, ALBANY COUNTY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1850. (Published by John D. Parsons. Weed, Parsons & Co., Printers). The pamphlet included illustrations of the murders.

[Hammond, S.H.](#) THE CLOSING ARGUMENT IN THE CASE OF THE PEOPLE VS. REUBEN DUNBAR, MURDER; TRIED AT THE LATE NOVEMBER TERM OF THE COURT OF OYER AND TERMINER FOR ALBANY COUNTY (Albany: J. Munsell).

June: Hinton Rowan Helper, ever a believer in "lawn order," participated in a [California](#)-frontier lynch mob that [hanged](#) two men who were by popular acclamation being suspected of having robbed a third man. "Such proceedings as these," he would comment, "produced order throughout the state."

June 11, Wednesday: In San Francisco, [California](#), John Jenkins had been "arrested" by a group of citizens who had caught him in the act of stealing a safe and had turned him over to a newly formed Committee of Vigilance. In the span of about 6 hours this Committee of Vigilance "tried" him, condemned him, and [tightened a noose about his neck](#).

[Henry Thoreau](#) continued reading in [Charles Darwin](#)'s journal of his voyage around the world aboard HMS *Beagle*:

VOYAGE OF THE BEAGLE I

VOYAGE OF THE BEAGLE II



When Darwin left England for his round-the-world voyage in 1831, he carried with him a departure gift: Volume I of [Lyell](#)'s *PRINCIPLES*, published in its first edition the previous year. Before reaching the Cape Verde Islands, he had already been swept into Lyell's orbit. Thrilled, he preordered copies of Volumes II and III for pickup in ports of call as they were published. So influential was Lyell's thinking during the voyage that Darwin dedicated his *JOURNAL OF RESEARCHES* to him with this comment: "The chief part of whatever scientific merit this journal and the other works of the author may possess, have been derived from studying the well-known and admirable *PRINCIPLES OF GEOLOGY*." This dedication may have jumped out at [Thoreau](#) when he read it in 1851, because he, himself, had been smitten by [Lyell](#)'s great book in 1840, eleven years earlier.



June 11, Wednesday: Last night—a beautiful summer night not too warm moon not quite full⁴²⁸—after 2 or 3 rainy days. Walked to Fair Haven by RR returning by Potter's pasture & Sudbury Road. I feared at first that there would be too much white light—like the pale remains of day light—and not a yellow gloomy dreamier light—that it would be like a candle light by day but when I got away from the town & deeper into the night, it was better. I hear whipporwills & see a few fire flies in the meadow

428. The moon would be full on the night of the 12th.

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I saw by the shadows cast by the inequalities of the clayey sand-bank in the Deep Cut, that it was necessary to see objects by moon light—as well as sunlight—to get a complete notion of them— This bank had looked much more flat by day when the light was stronger, but now the heavy shadows revealed its prominences. The prominences are light made more remarkable by the dark shadows which they cast.

When I rose out of the deep Cut into the old Pigeon place field, I rose into a warmer stratum of air it being lighter. It told of the day, of sunny noon tide hours, an air in which work had been done—which men had breathed. It still remembered the sunny banks—of the laborer wiping his brow—of the bee humming amid flowers—the hum of insects Here is a puff of warmer air which has taken its station on the hills which has come up from the sultry plains of noon

I hear the nighthawks uttering their squeaking notes high in the air now at nine o'clock PM—and occasionally what I do not remember to have heard so late—their booming note. It sounds more as if under a cope than by day—the sound is not so fugacious going off to be lost amid the spheres but is echoed hollowly to earth—making the low roof of heaven vibrate— a sound is more confused & dissipated by day.

The whipporwill suggests how wide asunder the woods & the town— Its note is very rarely heard by those who live on the street, and then it is thought to be of ill omen—only the dwellers on the outskirts of the village—hear it occasionally— It sometimes comes into their yards— But go into the woods in a warm night at this season— & it is the prevailing sound— I hear now 5 or 6 at once— It is no more of ill omen therefore here than the night & the moonlight are. It is a bird not only of the woods but of the night side of the woods. New beings have usurped the air we breathe—rounding nature filling her crevices with sound— To sleep where you may hear the whipporwill in your dreams.

I hear from this upland from which I see Wachusett by day—a wagon crossing one of the bridges— I have no doubt that in some places to-night I could hear every carriage which crossed a bridge over the river within the limits of concord—for in such an hour & atmosphere the sense of hearing is wonderfully assisted & asserts a new dignity—& become the Hearalls of the story— The late traveller cannot drive his horse across the distant bridge but this still & resonant atmosphere tells the tale to my ear. Circumstances are very favorable to the transmission of such a sound— In the first place planks so placed & struck like a bell swung near the earth emit a very resonant & penetrating sound—add that the bell is in this instance hung over water, and that the night air, not only on account of its stillness, but perhaps on account of its density—is more favorable to the transmission of sound. If the whole town were a raised planked floor—what a din there would be!

I hear some whipporwills on hills—others in thick wooded vales—which ring hollow & cavernous—like an apartment or cellar with their note.— as when I hear the working of some artisan from within an apartment.

I now descend round the corner of the grain field—through the pitch-pine wood in to a lower field, more inclosed by woods—& find my self in a colder damp & misty atmosphere, with much dew on the grass— I seem to be nearer to the origin of things— There is something creative & primal in the cool mist—this dewy mist does not fail to suggest music to me—unaccountably—fertility the origin of things— An atmosphere which has forgotten the sun—where the ancient principle of moisture prevails.

The woodland paths are never seen to such advantage as in a moonlight night so embowered—still opening before you almost against expectation as you walk—you are so completely in the woods & yet your feet meet no obstacles. It is as if it were not a path but an open winding passage through the bushes which your feet find.

Now I go by the spring and when I have risen to the same level as before find myself in the warm stratum again—The woods are about as destitute of inhabitants at night as the streets in both there will be some night walkers—

Their are but few wild creatures to seek their prey. The greater part of its inhabitants have retired to rest.

Ah that life that I have known! How hard it is to remember what is most memorable! We remember how we itched, not how our hearts beat. I can sometimes recall to mind the quality the immortality of my youthful life—but in memory is the only relation to it.

The very cows have now left their pastures & are driven home to their yards—I meet no creature in the fields. I hear the night singing bird breaking out as in his dreams, made so from the first for some mysterious reason.⁴²⁹

Our spiritual side takes a more distinct form like our shadow which we see accompanying us

I do not know but I feel less vigor at night—my legs will not carry me so far—as if the night were less favorable to muscular exertion—weakened us somewhat as darkness turns plants pale—but perhaps my experience is to be referred to being already exhausted by the day and I have never tried the experiment fairly. It was so hot summer before last that the Irish laborers on the RR worked by night instead of day for a while—several of them having been killed by the heat & cold water. I do not know but they did as much work as ever by day. Yet methinks nature would not smile on such labors.

Only the Hunter's & Harvest moons are famous—but I think that each full moon deserves to be & has its own character well marked.— One might be called the midsummer night moon

The wind & water are still awake at night you are sure to hear what wind there is stirring. The wind blows—the river flows without resting— There lies Fair Haven lake undistinguishable from fallen sky.

The pines seem forever foreign; at least to the civilized man—not only their aspect but their scent—and their turpentine.

So still & moderate is the night—no scream is heard whether of fear or joy—no great comedy nor tragedy is being enacted. The chirping of crickets is the most universal if not the loudest sound.

There is no French revolution in Nature.— no excess— She is warmer or colder by a degree or two.

429. This appears to be Thoreau's first mention of the mysterious night warbler.

HDT

WHAT?

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THE MOST FOUL AND UNPARALLELED MURDER
IN THE ANNALS OF CRIME.

LIFE AND CONFESSION
OF
REUBEN A. DUNBAR,
CONVICTED AND EXECUTED



FOR THE
MURDER

OF
STEPHEN V. AND DAVID L. LESTER,
(Aged 8 and 10 Years.)
IN WESTERLO, ALBANY COUNTY,
September 28, 1850.

Second Edition.

PUBLISHED BY JOHN D. PARSONS.
WEED, PARSONS & Co., PRINTERS.
1851.

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By night no flowers –at least no variety of colors– The pinks are no longer pink –they only shine faintly reflecting more light Instead of flowers under foot stars over head.⁴³⁰

My shadow has the distinctness of a 2nd person –a certain black companion bordering on the imp –and I ask “Who is this?” Which I see dodging behind me as I am about to sit down on a rock

No one to my knowledge has observed the minute differences in the seasons– Hardly two nights are alike– The rocks do not feel warm tonight for the air is warmest –nor does the sand particularly. A Book of the seasons – each page of which should be written in its own season & out of doors or in its own locality wherever it may be– When you get into the road though far from the town & feel the sand under your feet –it is as if you had reached your own gravel-walk –you no longer hear the whipporwill nor regard your shadow –for here you expect a fellow traveller– You catch yourself walking merely The road leads your steps & thoughts alike to the town–

You see only the path & your thoughts wander from the objects which are presented to your senses– You are no longer in place.

In [Charles Darwins](#) Voyage of a Naturalist round the World –commenced in 1831– He gave to Ehrenberg some of an impalpably fine dust which filled the air at sea near the Cape de Verd Islands & he found it to consist in great part of “infusoria with siliceous shields, and of the siliceous tissue of plants” –found in this 67 dif organic forms.– The infusoria with 2 exceptions inhabitants of fresh water. Vessels have even run on shore owing to the obscurity. Is seen a thousand miles from Africa– Darwin found particles of stone above a thousandth of an inch square.

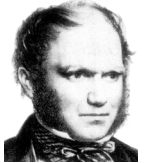
Speaking of St. Paul’s Rocks Lat 58’ N Long. 29° 15’ W– “Not a a single plant, not even a lichen, grows on this islet; yet it is inhabited by several insects & spiders. The following list completes, I believe, the terrestrial fauna: a fly (Olfersia) living on the booby, and a tick which must have come here as a parasite on the birds; a small brown moth, belonging to a genus that feeds on feathers; a beetle (Quedius), and a woodlouse from beneath the dung; and lastly numerous spiders, which I suppose prey on these small attendants and scavengers of the waterfowl. The often-repeated description of the stately palm and other noble tropical plants, then birds, and lastly man, taking possession of the coral islets as soon as formed, in the Pacific, is probably not quite correct; I fear it destroys the poetry of this story, that feather & dirt-feeding and parasitic insects and spiders should be the first inhabitants of newly formed oceanic land.”

At Bahia or San Salvador Brazil took shelter under a tree “so thick that it would never have been penetrated by common English rain” but not so there.

of A partridge [[Ruffed Grouse](#) [Bonasa umbellus](#)?] near the mouth of the Plata– “A man on horse back, by riding round & round in a circle, or rather in a spire, so as to approach closer each time, may knock on the head as many as he pleases.”– refers to Hearne’s Journey, p.383 for “In Arctic North America the Indians catch the Varying Hare by walking spirally round & round it, when on its form: the middle of the day is reckoned the best time, when the sun is high, and the shadow of the hunter not very long”

In the same place

“General Rosas is also a perfect horseman –an accomplishment of no small consequence in a country where an



430. William M. White’s version of the journal entry is:

*So still and moderate is the night!
No scream is heard, whether of fear or joy.
No great comedy nor tragedy is being enacted.
The chirping of crickets is the most universal,
If not the loudest, sound.
There is no French Revolution in Nature,
No excess.
She is warmer or colder by a degree or two.*

*By night no flowers,
At least no variety of colors.
The pinks are no longer pink;
They only shine faintly,
Reflecting more light.
Instead of flowers underfoot,
Stars overhead.*

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assembled army elected its general by the following trial: A troop of unbroken horses being driven into a corral, were let out through a gateway, above which was a cross-bar: it was agreed whoever should drop from the bar on one of these wild animals, as it rushed out, and should be able, without saddle or bridle, not only to ride it, but also to bring it back to the door of the corral, should be their general. The person who succeeded was accordingly elected, and doubtless made a general fit for such an army. This extraordinary feat has also been performed by Rosas."

Speaks of the Gaucho sharpening his knife on the back of the armadillo before he kills him.

Alcide d'Orbigny –from 1825 to 33 in S. Am. now (1846) publishing the results on a scale which places him 2d to [Humboldt](#) among S. Am. travellers.

Hail in Buenos Ayres as large as small apples –killed 13 deer beside ostriches –which last also it blinded. –&c &c Dr Malcomson told him of hail in India in 1831 which "much injured the cattle" Stones flat one ten inches in circumference. passed through windows making round holes.

A difference in the country about Monte Video & somewhere else attributed to the manuring & grazing of the cattle. refers to Atwater as saying that the same thing is observed in the prairies of N. America "where coarse grass, between five and six feet high, when grazed by cattle, changes into common pasture land" V Atwater's words in Sill. N. A. Journ. V. 1. p 117

I would like to read Azara's Voyage Speaks of the fennel & the cardoon (*Cynara cardunculus*) introduced from Europe, now very common in those parts of S. America. The latter occurs now on both sides the Cordillera, across the Continent. In Banda Oriental alone "very many (probably several hundred) square miles are covered by one mass of these prickly plants, and are impenetrable by man or beast. Over the undulating plains, where these great beds occur, nothing else can now live. – I doubt whether any case is on record of an invasion on so grand a scale of one plant over the aborigines."

Horses first landed at the La Plata in 1535 Now these, with cattle & sheep have altered the whole aspect of the country vegetation &c.– "The wild pig in some parts probably replaces the peccari; packs of wild dogs may be heard howling on the wooded banks of the less frequented streams; and the common cat, altered into a large and fierce animal, inhabits rocky hills."

At sea eye being 6 ft above level horizon is $2\frac{4}{5}$ miles dist. "In like manner, the more level the plain, the more nearly does the horizon approach within these narrow limits; and this, in my opinion, entirely destroys that grandeur which one would have imagined that a vast level plain would have possessed."

Darwin found a tooth of a *native horse* contemporary with the mastodon –on the Pampas of Buenos Ayres – though he says there is good evidence against any horse living in America at the time of Columbus– He speaks of their remains being common in N America. Owen has found Darwin's tooth similar to one Lyell brought from the U States –but unlike any other fossil or living & named this American horse *equus curvidens* –from a slight but peculiar curvature in it.

The great table land of Southern Mexico makes the division between N & S America with ref. to the migration of animals

Quotes Capt. Owen's Surveying voyage for saying that at the town of Benguela on the west coast of Africa in a time of great drought a number of elephants entered in a body to possess themselves of the wells, after a desperate conflict & the loss of one man the inhabitants –3000 –drove them off. During a great drought in India says Dr Malcomson, "a hare drank out of a vessel held by the adjutant of the regiment."

The Guanacos wild llama –& other animals of this genus –have the habit of dropping their dung from day to day in the same heap– The Peruvian Indians use it for fuel and are thus aided in collecting it.

Rowing up a stream which takes its rise in a mountain you meet at last with pebbles which have been washed down from it when many miles distant. I love to think of this kind of introduction to it.

The only quadruped native to the Falkland Islands is a large wolf-like fox. As far as he is aware, "there is no other instance in any part of the world of so small a mass of broken land, distant from a continent, possessing so large an aboriginal quadruped peculiar to itself."

In the Falkland Isles where other fuel is scarce they frequently cook their beef with the bones from which the meat has been scraped

Also They have "a green little bush about the size of common heath, which has the useful property of burning while fresh & green."

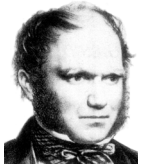
Saw a cormorant play with its fishy prey as a cat with a mouse, 8 times let it go & dive after it again.

Seminal propagation produces a more original individual than that by buds layers & grafts.

Some inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego having got some putrid whale's blubber in time of famine "an old man cut off thin slices and muttering over them, broiled them for a minute, and distributed them to the famished party, who during this time preserved a profound silence." This was the only evidence of any religious worship among them. It suggests that even the animals may have something divine in them & akin to revelation. Some inspiration, allying them to man as to God.

"Nor is it easy to teach them our superiority except by striking a fatal blow. Like wild beasts they do not appear to compare numbers; for each individual, if attacked, instead of retiring, will endeavor to dash your brains out with a stone, as certainly as a tiger under similar circumstances would tear you."

"We were well clothed, and though sitting close to the fire, were far from too warm; yet these naked savages, though further off, were observed, to our great surprise, to be streaming with perspiration at undergoing such a roasting."





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Ehrenberg examined some of the white paint with which the Fuegians daub themselves –and found it to be composed of infusoria, including 14 polygastrica, and 4 phytolitharia, inhabitants of fresh water –all old & known forms!!

Again of the Fuegians “Simple circumstances –such as the beauty of scarlet cloth or blue beads, the absence of women, our care in washing ourselves –excited their admiration far more than any grand or complicated object, such as our ship. Bougainville has well remarked concerning these people, that they treat the “chef-d’oeuvres de l’industrie humaine, comme ils traitent les loix de la nature, et ses phénomènes.”

He was informed of a tribe of foot-Indians now changing into horse-Indians –apparently in Patagonia.

“With the exception of a few berries, chiefly of a dwarf arbutus, the natives (i.e. of T. del-Fuego) eat no Vegetable food besides this fungus.” [Cyttaria Darwinii] the “only country where a cryptogamic plant affords a staple article of food.”

No reptiles in T. del Fuego nor in Falkland Islands.

Describes a species of kelp there –Macrocystis pyrifera– “I know few things more surprising than to see this plant growing and flourishing amidst those great breakers of the Western Ocean, which no mass of rock, let it be ever so hard, can long resist. – – A few [stems] taken together are sufficiently strong to support the weight of the large loose stones to which, in the inland channels, they grow attached; and yet some of these stones were so heavy that when drawn to the surface, they could scarcely be lifted into a boat by one person.” Capt. Cook thought that some of it grew to the length of 360 ft “The beds of this sea-weed even when not of great breadth,” says D. “make excellent natural floating breakwaters. It is quite curious to see, in an exposed harbor, how soon the waves from the open sea, as they travel through the straggling stems, sink in height, and pass into smooth water.”

Number of living creatures of all orders whose existence seems to depend on the kelp –a volume might be written on them. If a forest were destroyed anywhere so many species would not perish as if this weed were – & with the fish would go many birds & larger marine animals, and hence the Fuegian himself perchance.

Tree-ferns in [Van Diemen’s Land](#) (Lat 45°) 6 feet in circ.

Missionaries encountered icebergs in Patagonia in lat. corresponding to the Lake of Geneva, in a season corresponding to June in Europe. In Europe –the most southern glacier which comes down to the sea is on coast of Norway lat 67° 20° or 1230 nearer the pole.

erratic boulders not observed in the inter tropical parts of the world.– due to ice-bergs or glaciers.

Under Soil perpetually frozen in N. A. in 56° at 3 feet in Siberia in 62° at 12 to 15 ft

In an excursion from Valparaiso to the base of the Andes– “We unsaddled our horses near the spring and prepared to pass the night. The evening was fine, and the atmosphere so clear, that the masts of the vessels at anchor in the bay of Valparaiso, although no less than 26 geographical miles distant, could be distinguished clearly as little black streaks.”

Anson had been surprised at the distance at which his vessels were discovered from the coast without knowing the reason –the great height of the land and the transparency of the air.

Floating islands from 4 to 6 ft thick in lake Tagua-tagua in central Chile –blown about.

June 12, Thursday: Victor Hugo was fined and imprisoned for writing against [capital punishment](#).



June 12, Thursday: Listen to music religiously as if it were the last strain you might hear.

There would be this advantage in travelling in your own country even in your own neighborhood, that you would be so thoroughly prepared to understand what you saw– You would make fewer traveller’s mistakes. Is not he hospitable who entertains thoughts?

July 7, Monday: [Henry Thoreau](#) went with Sexton Anthony Wright to view the universe through Perez Blood’s [telescope](#). Just for the fun of it, I will illustrate this with a depiction, prepared in this very year by H. Dassel, which is not of Thoreau peering through Blood’s telescope but of the astronomer [Maria Mitchell](#), peering presumably through her father’s telescope on the roof of his bank at the comet she had discovered ([see following screen](#)).



July 7, Monday: The intimations of the night are divine methinks. men might meet in the morning & report the news of the night.– What divine suggestions have been made to them I find that I carry with me into the day often some such hint derived from the gods Such impulses to purity –to heroism –to literary effort even as are never day-born.

One of those morning’s which usher in no day –but rather an endless morning –a protracted auroral season –for

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clouds prolong the twilight the livelong day—
And now that there is an interregnum in the blossoming of the flowers so is there in the singing of the birds—
The golden robin is rarely heard —& the bobolink &c.

I rejoice when in a dream I have loved virtue & nobleness.

Where is Grecian History? It is when in the morning I recall the intimations of the night.

The moon is now more than half full.⁴³¹ When I come through the village at 10 o'clock this cold night —cold as in May —the heavy shadows of the elms covering the ground with their rich tracery impress me as if men had got so much more than they had bargained for —not only trees to stand in the air, but to check the ground with their shadows— At night they lie along the earth. They tower —they arch —they droop over the streets like chandeliers of darkness. In my walk the other afternoon I saw the sun shining into the depths of a thick pine wood, checkering the ground like moonlight —and illuminating the lichen-covered bark of a large white-pine, from which it was reflected Through the surrounding thicket as from another sun—; This was so deep in the woods that you would have said no sun could penetrate thither.

I have been tonight with Anthony Wright to look through Perez Bloods Telescope a 2nd time.⁴³² A dozen of his Bloods neighbors were swept along in the stream of our curiosity. One who lived half a mile this side said that Blood had been down that way within a day or two with his terrestrial or day glass looking into the eastern horizon the hills of Billerica Burlington —and Woburn— I was amused to see what sort of respect this man with a telescope had obtained from his neighbors —something akin to that which savages award to civilized men — though in this case the interval between the parties was very slight. Mr Blood with his scull cap on his short figure —his north European figure made me think of Tycho Brahe— He did not invite us into his house this cool evening —men nor women— Nor did he ever before to my knowledge

I am still contented to see the stars with my naked eye Mr Wright asked him what his instrument cost He answered — “Well, that is something I don't like to tell. (stuttering or hesitating in his speech a little, as usual) It is a very proper question however” — “Yes,” said I, “and you think that you have given a very proper answer.”

Returning my companion Wright the sexton told me how dusty he found it digging a grave that afternoon for one who had been a pupil of mine —for two feet he said, notwithstanding the rain, he found the soil as dry as ashes.

With a certain wariness, but not without a slight shudder at the danger oftentimes, I perceive how near I had come to admitting into my mind the details of some trivial affair, as a case at court— And I am astonished to observe how willing men are to lumber their minds with such rubbish —to permit idle rumors tales incidents even of an insignificant kind —to intrude upon what should be the sacred ground of the thoughts Shall the temple of our thought be a public arena where the most trivial affair of the market & the gossip of the teatable is discussed —a dusty noisy trivial place —or shall it be a quarter of heaven itself —a place consecrated to the service of the gods —a hypaethral temple. I find it so difficult to dispose of the few facts which to me are significant that I hesitate to burden my mind with the most insignificant which only a divine mind could illustrate. Such is for the most part the news —in newspapers & conversation. It is important to preserve the mind's chastity in this respect Think of admitting the details of a single case at the criminal court into the mind —to stalk profanely through its very sanctum sanctorum for an hour —aye for many hours— —to make a very bar-room of your mind's inmost apartment —as if for a moment the dust of the street had occupied you —aye the very street itself with all its travel passed through your very mind of minds —your thoughts shrine —with all its filth & bustle [possibly “hustle”]— Would it not be an intellectual suicide? By all manner of boards & traps threatening the extreme penalty of the divine law excluding trespassers from these grounds it behoves us to preserve the purity & sanctity of the mind. It is so hard to forget what it is worse than useless to remember. If I am to be a channel or thorough [thoroughfare] —I prefer that it be of the mountain springs —& not the town sewers— The Parnassian streams There is inspiration —the divine gossip which comes to the ear of the attentive mind —from the Courts of Heaven —there is the profane & stale revelation of the barroom & the police Court. The same ear is fitted to receive both communications —only the character of the individual determines to which source chiefly it shall be open & to which closed. I believe that the mind can be profaned by the habit of attending to trivial things so that all our thoughts shall be tinged with triviality. They shall be dusty as stones in the street— Our very minds shall be paved and macadamized as it were —its foundation broken into fragments for the wheels of travel to roll over. If we have thus desecrated ourselves the remedy will be by circumspection —& wariness by our aspiration & devotion to consecrate ourselves —to make a fane of the mind. I think that we should treat ourselves as innocent & ingenuous [ingenuous] children whose guardians we are —be careful what objects & what subjects we thrust on its attention⁴³³

Even the facts of science may dust the mind by their dryness —unless they are in a sense effaced each morning or rather rendered fertile by the dews of fresh & living truth. Every thought that passes through the mind helps to wear & tear it & to deepen the ruts which as in the streets of Pompeii evince how much it has been used. How many things there are concerning which we might well deliberate whether we had better know them. Routine —conventional manners &c &c —how insensibly and undue attention to these dissipates & impoverishes the mind —robs it of its simplicity & strength emasculates it. Knowledge doe[s] not cone [come] to us by details but by lieferungs from the gods. What else is it to wash & purify ourselves? Conventionalities are as bad as

431. The moon would have been half full on the 4th.

432. I don't know when the first time was.



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impurities. Only thought which is expressed by the mind in repose as it wer[e] lying on its back & contemplating the heaven's —is adequately & fully expressed— What are side long —transient passing half views? The writer expressing his thought —must be as well seated as the astronomer contemplating the heavens —he must not occupy a constrained position. The facts the experience we are well poised upon —! Which secures our whole attention!⁴³⁴

The senses of children are unprofaned their whole body is one sense —they take a physical pleasure in riding on a rail —they love to teter —so does the unviolated —the unsophisticated mind derive an inexpressable pleasure from the simplest exercise of thoughts.

I can express adequately only the thought which I *love* to express.— All the faculties in repose but the one you are using —the whole energy concentrated in that.

Be ever so little distracted —your thoughts so little confused— Your engagements so few —your attention so free your existence so mundane —that in all places & in all hours you can hear the sound of crickets in those seasons when they are to be heard. It is a mark of serenity & health of mind when a person hears this sound much —in streets of cities as well as in fields. Some ears never hear this sound —are called deaf. Is it not because they have so long attended to other sounds?

July 11, Friday: In San Francisco, [California](#), James Stuart had been “arrested” on July 2d by a group of citizens who had turned over to a Committee of Vigilance. They [hanged](#) him on this day.

[Henry Thoreau](#), walking at night with [Ellery Channing](#), became concerned that Ellery seemed incapable of grasping the fact that Nature has a darker side:

433. [Henry Thoreau](#) would use some of the material from this day in regard to his “we should live in eternity rather than in time” theme, in his early lecture “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT”:

[Paragraph 81] If we have thus desecrated ourselves,—as who has not?—the remedy will be by wariness and circumspection, by devotion and aspiration to reconsecrate ourselves—and make once more a fane of the mind. We should treat our minds—that is, ourselves—as innocent and ingenuous children, whose guardians we are, and be careful what objects and what subjects we thrust on their attention. Read not the Times.¹ Read the Eternities.² Even the facts of science may dust the mind by their dryness, unless they are in a sense effaced each morning, or rather rendered fertile by the dews of fresh and living truth. Knowledge does not come to us by details, but in flashes of light from heaven. Yes, every thought that passes through the mind helps to wear and tear it, and to deepen the ruts, which, as in the streets of Pompeii, evince how much it has been used. How many things there are concerning which we might well deliberate whether we had better know them—had better let their peddling carts be driven even at the slowest trot or walk—over that bridge of glorious span by which we trust to pass at last from the furthest brink of time to the nearest shore of eternity. Conventionalities are as bad as impurities. By an undue attention to routine, manners, and so forth,³ the mind is insensibly dissipated and impoverished—robbed of its simplicity and strength and, in short, emasculated.

1.[“The Times” was presumably the London [Times](#).]

2.I [Bradley P. Dean] emend the essay copy-text by omitting ‘Conventionalities are at length as bad as impurities.’, which appears after this sentence in the essay but which appears without the words ‘at length’ as the penultimate sentence of this paragraph in the extant reading-draft manuscript.

3.I [Bradley P. Dean] emend the manuscript copy-text by expanding ‘&c’ to ‘and so forth’.

The poet W.H. Auden has in 1962 brought forward a snippet from this day’s entry as:

THE VIKING BOOK OF APHORISMS, A PERSONAL SELECTION BY W.H. AUDEN...

Pg	Topic	Aphorism Selected by Auden out of Thoreau
353	Reason and Thought	We should treat our minds as innocent and ingenious children whose guardians we are — be careful what objects and what subjects we thrust on their attention.

STATE MURDER



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July 11, Friday: At 7¹/₄ PM with W.E.C. go forth to see the moon the glimpses of the moon— We think she is not quite full— we can detect a little flatness on the eastern side.⁴³⁵ Shall we wear thick coats? The day has been warm enough, but how cool will the night be? It is not sultry as the last night. As a general rule, it is best to wear your thickest coat even in a July night. Which way shall we walk? North west—that we may see the moon returning— But on that side the river prevents our walking in the fields—and on other accounts that direction is not so attractive. We go toward Bear Garden Hill.⁴³⁶ The sun is setting. The meadow sweet has bloomed. These dry hills & pastures are the places to walk by moon light— The moon is silvery still—not yet inaugurated. The tree tops are seen against the amber west— Methinks I see the outlines of one spruce among them—distinguishable afar. My thoughts expand & flourish most on this barren hill where in the twilight I see the moss spreading in rings & prevailing over the short thin grass carpeting the earth—adding a few inches of green to its circle annually while it dies within.

As we round the sandy promontory we try the sand & rocks with our hands—the sand is cool on the surface but warmer a few inches beneath—though the contrast is not so great as it was in May. The larger rocks are

434. [Thoreau](#) would later use this comment pertaining to his “different drummer” theme, in his early lecture “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT”:

[Paragraph 79] Not without a slight shudder at the danger, I often perceive how near I had come to admitting into my mind the details of some trivial affair,—the news of the street; and I am astonished to observe how willing men are to lumber their minds with such rubbish,—to permit idle rumors and incidents of the most insignificant kind to intrude on ground which should be sacred to thought. Shall the mind be a public arena, where the affairs of the street and the gossip of the tea-table chiefly are discussed? Or shall it be a quarter of heaven itself,—an hypæthral temple, consecrated to the service of the gods?¹ I find it so difficult to dispose of the few facts which to me are significant, that I hesitate to burden my attention with those which are insignificant, which only a divine mind could illustrate. Such is, for the most part, the news in newspapers and conversations. It is important to preserve the mind’s chastity in this respect. Think of admitting the details of a single case of the criminal court into our thoughts, to stalk profanely through their very *sanctum sanctorum* for an hour, ay, for many hours! to make a very bar-room of the mind’s inmost apartment, as if for so long the dust of the street had occupied us,—the very street itself, with all its travel, its bustle, and filth had passed through our thoughts’ shrine! Would it not be an intellectual and moral suicide?

[Paragraph 80] By all kinds of traps and sign-boards, threatening the extreme penalty of the divine law, exclude such trespassers from the only ground which can be sacred to you. It is so hard to forget what it is worse than useless to remember! If I am to be a thoroughfare, I prefer that it be of the mountain-brooks, the Parnassian streams, and not the town-sewers. There is inspiration, that gossip which comes to the ear of the attentive mind from the courts of heaven. There is the profane and stale revelation of the bar-room and the police court. The same ear is fitted to receive both communications. Only the character of the hearer determines to which it shall be open, and to which closed. I believe that the mind can be permanently profaned by the habit of attending to trivial things, so that all our thoughts shall be tinged with triviality. Our very intellect shall be macadamized, as it were,—its foundation broken into fragments for the wheels of travel to roll over; and if you would know what will make the most durable pavement, surpassing rolled stones—spruce blocks—and asphaltum—you have only to look into some of our minds which have been subjected to this treatment so long.

1. Compare I Corinthians 3:16.

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DRUMMER

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perceptibly warm. I pluck the blossom of the milk-weed in the twilight & find how sweet it smells. The white blossoms of the Jersey tea dot the hill side—with the yarrow everywhere. Some woods are black as clouds—if we knew not they were green by day, they would appear blacker still. When we sit we hear the mosquitoes hum. The woodland paths are not the same by night as by day—if they are a little grown up the eye cannot find them—but must give the reins to the feet as the traveller to his horse—so we went through the aspens at the base of the cliffs—their round leaves reflecting the lingering twilight on the one side the waxing moon light on the other—always the path was unexpectedly open.

Now we are getting into moon light. We see it reflected from particular stumps in the depths of the darkest woods, and from the stems of trees, as if it selected what to shine on.— a silvery light. It is a light of course which we have had all day but which we have not appreciated— And proves how remarkable a lesser light can be when a greater has departed. Here simply & naturally the moon presides— 'Tis true she was eclipsed by the sun—but now she acquires an almost equal respect & worship by reflecting & representing him—with some new quality perchance added to his light—showing how original the disciple may be—who still in mid-day is seen though pale & cloud-like beside his master. Such is a worthy disciple— In his masters presence he still is seen & preserves a distinct existence—& in his absence he reflects & represents him—not without adding some new quality to his light—not servile & never rival— As the master withdraws himself the disciple who was a pale cloud before begins to emit a silvery light—acquiring at last a tinge of golden as the darkness deepens, but not enough to scorch the seeds which have been planted or to dry up the fertilising dews which are falling.

BAKER FARM

Passing now near Well meadow head toward Bakers orchard— The sweet fern & Indigo weed fill the path up to ones middle wetting us with dews so high The leaves are shining & flowing— We wade through the luxuriant vegetation seeing no bottom— Looking back toward the cliffs some dead trees in the horizon high on the rocks make a wild New Hampshire prospect. There is the faintest possible mist over the pond holes, where the frogs are eructating—like the falling of huge drops—the bursting of mephitic air bubbles rising from the bottom—a sort of blubbing Such conversation as I *have* heard between men.— a belching conversation expressing a sympathy of stomachs & abdomens. The peculiar appearance of the Indigo weed, its misty massiveness is striking. In Baker's Orchard the thick grass looks like a sea of mowing in this weird moonlight—a bottomless sea of grass— our feet must be imaginative—must know the earth in imagination only as well as our heads. We sit on the fence, & where it is broken & interrupted the fallen & slanting rails are lost in the grass (really thin & wiry) as in water. We ever see our tracks a long way behind, where we have brushed off the dew. The clouds are peculiarly wispy wispy tonight some what like fine flames—not massed and dark nor downy—not thick but slight thin wisps of mist—

BAKER FARM

I hear the sound of Heywood's brook falling into Fair Haven Pond—inexpressibly refreshing to my senses—it seems to flow through my very bones.— I hear it with insatiable thirst— It allays some sandy heat in me— It affects my circulations—methinks my arteries have sympathy with it What is it I hear but the pure water falls within me in the circulation of my blood—the streams that fall into my heart?— what mists do I ever see but such as hang over—& rise from my blood— The sound of this gurgling water—running thus by night as by day—falls on all my dashes—fills all my buckets—overflows my float boards—turns all the machinery of my nature makes me a flume—a sluice way to the springs of nature— Thus I am washed thus I drink—& quench my thirst. Where the streams fall into the lake if they are only a few inches more elevated all walkers may hear—

BAKER FARM

On the high path through Bakers wood I see or rather feel the Tephrosia— Now we come out into the open pasture. And under those woods of elm & button wood where still no light is seen—repose a family of human beings By night there is less to distinguish this locality from the woods & meadows we have threaded.

We might go very near to Farm houses covered with ornamental trees & standing on a high road, thinking that were in the most retired woods & fields still. Having yielded to sleep man is a less obtrusive inhabitant of nature. Now having reached the dry pastures again—we are surrounded by a flood of moon light— The dim cart path over the wood curves gracefully through the Pitch-pines, ever to some more fairy-like spot. The rails in the fences shine like silver— We know not whether we are sitting on the ruins of a wall—or the materials which are to compose a new one. I see half-a mile off a phosphorescent arc on the hill side where Bartlett's cliff reflects the moon light. Going by the shanty I smell the excrements of its inhabitants which I had never smelt before.

And now at half past 10 o'clock I hear the cockrils crow in Hubbard's barns.— and morning is already anticipated. It is the feathered wakeful thought in us that anticipates the following day. This sound is wonderfully exhilarating at all times. These birds are worth far more to me for their crowing & cackling—than for their drumsticks & eggs. How singular the connexion of the hen with man, that she leaves her eggs in his barns always—she is a domestic fowl though still a little shyish of him— I cannot looking at the whole as an

435. Actually, this was the night of the full moon. At 7PM there was no flatness whatever on the eastern side:



436. In recent years Bear Garden Hill has been proposed for a condo complex, to accompany the office development that had been proposed for Brister's Hill (but which has since been defeated).

STATE MURDER

experiment still and wondering that in each case it succeeds. There is no doubt at last but hens may be kept – they will put their eggs in your barn – by a tacit agreement – They will not wander far from your yard.

JAMES BAKER



July 19, Saturday: It was being reported in the gazettes that in England a determined effort was being made to convert everyone to [Mormonism](#).

Mormonism — The *Sheffield Independent* states that the Mormons have determined on a great and systematic attempt to convert England to Mormonism. They are at this moment adding to their churches, by adult baptism, 400 disciples every month. So confident are they, that they propose to hold a great Mormon Conference in London in the month of June.

On November 20th, 1850, because he had been determinedly living beyond his means, Count Hippolyte Visart de Bocarmé had needed to invite his well-to-do one-legged young brother-in-law Gustave Fougnyes to dinner at his château of Bury, Belgium and poison him (previously, using a false name, the count had consulted a professor of chemistry and had conducted experiments on cats and ducks to verify that the sort of alkaloids present in *Nicotiana tabacum* would indeed induce death, and had prepared two wine bottles containing concentrated [nicotine](#)). On this day the count was taken to the [guillotine](#) in one of the squares of Mons – the blade, at the convicted man's request, having been freshly sharpened – and his head was neatly taken off.



To the displeasure of the Belgian audience of thousands, Lydie Victoire Josèphe Fougnyes, countess of Bocarmé, who had been a full participant in the murder and subsequent destruction of evidence, had been presumed to have been under duress (one may doubt that she even attended at the event of the demise of her husband).

HEADCHOPPING

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July 19, Saturday: Here I am 34 years old, and yet my life is almost wholly unexpanded. How much is in the germ! There is such an interval between my ideal and the actual in many instances that I may say I am unborn. There is the instinct for society –but no society. Life is not long enough for one success. Within another 34 years that miracle can hardly take place. Methinks my seasons revolve more slowly than those of nature, I am differently timed. I am –contented. This rapid revolution of nature even of nature in me –why should it hurry me. Let a man step to the music which he hears however measured. Is it important that I should mature

DIFFERENT DRUMMER

as soon as an apple tree? Ye, as soon as an oak?⁴³⁷ May not my life in nature, in proportion as it is supernatural, be only the spring & infantile portion of my spirit's life shall I turn my spring to summer? May I not sacrifice a hasty & petty completeness here –to entireness there? If my curve is large –why bend it to a smaller circle? My spirits unfolding observes not the pace of nature. The society which I was made for is not here, shall I then substitute for the anticipation of that this poor reality. I would have the unmixed expectation of that than this reality.

If life is a waiting –so be it. I will not be shipwrecked on a vain reality. What were any reality which I can substitute. Shall I with pains erect a heaven of blue glass over myself though when it is done I shall be sure to gaze still on the true etherial heaven –far above as if the former were not –that still distant sky oer arching that blue expressive eye of heaven. I am enamored of the blue eyed arch of heaven

I did not **make** this demand for a more thorough sympathy. This is not my idiosyncrasy or disease. He that made the demand will answer the demand.

My blood flows as slowly as the waves of my native Musketaquid –yet they reach the ocean sooner perchance than those of the Nashua.

Already the golden-rod is budded, but I can make no haste for that.



July 19, Saturday: 2 Pm The weather is warm & dry –& many leaves curl. There is a threatening cloud in the SW. The farmers dare not spread their hay. It remains cocked in the fields. As you walk in the woods now a days the flies striking against your hat sound like rain drops. The stump or root fences on the Corner road remind me of fossil remains of mastodons &c exhumed and bleached in sun & rain. To day I met with the first orange flower of autumn– What means this doubly torrid –this Bengal tint– Yellow took sun enough –but this is the fruit of a dogday sun. The year has but just produced it. Here is the Canada thistle in bloom visited by butterflies & bees The butterflies have swarmed within these few days especially about the milkweed's. The swamp pink still fills the air with its perfume in swamps & by the causeways –though it is far gone. The wild rose still scatters its petals over the leaves of neighboring plants. The wild morning glory or bind-weed with its delicate red & white blossoms– I remember it ever as a goblet full of purest morning air & sparkling with

437. William M. White's version is:

*Methinks my seasons revolve more slowly
Than those of nature;
I am differently timed.
I am contented.*

*This rapid revolution of nature,
Even of nature in me,
Why should it hurry me?*

*Let a man step to the music which he hears,
However measured.
Is it important that I should mature
As soon as an apple tree?
Aye, as soon as an oak?*

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dew. showing the dew point –winding round itself for want of other support– It grows by the Hubbard bridge causeway near the Angelica. The cherry birds [Cedar Waxwing **Bombycilla cedrorum**] are making their seringo sound as they flit past. They soon find out the locality of the cherry trees. And beyond the bridge there is a golden rod partially blossomed. Yesterday it was spring & to-morrow it will be autumn– Where is the summer then? First came the St Johns wort & now the golden rod to admonish us. I hear too a cricket amid these stones under the blackberry vines –singing as in the fall. Ripe blackberries are multiplying. I see the red-spotted berries of the small solomons seal in my path. I notice in the decayed end of an oak post that the silver grain is not decayed –but remains sound in thin flakes alternating with the decayed portions, & giving the whole a honey-combed look.– Such an object supramundane –as even a swallow **may** descend to light on –a dry mullein stalk for instance – – I see that hens too follow the cows feeding near the house like the cowtroopial [Brown-headed Cowbird **Molothrus ater**] –& for the same object. They cannot so well scare up insects for themselves. This is the dog the cowbird uses to start its insect game

I see yellow butterflies in pairs pursuing each other –a rod or two into the air & now as he had bethought himself of the danger of being devoured by a passing birds he descends with a zig zag flight to the earth & the other follows. The black huckleberries are now so thick among the green ones that they no longer incur suspicion of being worm eaten. When formerly I was looking about to see what I could do for a living –some sad experience in conforming to the wishes of friends being fresh in my mind to tax my ingenuity –I thought often & seriously of picking huckleberries –that surely I could do, and its small profits might suffice. So little capital it required –so little distraction from my wonted thoughts I foolishly thought– While my acquaintances went unhesitatingly into trade or the professions I thought of this occupation as most like theirs. ranging the hills all summer to pick the berries which came in my way which I might carelessly dispose of –so to keep the flocks of king Admetus– My greatest skill has been to want but little. I also dreammed that I might gather the wild herbs –or carry evergreens to such villagers as love to be reminded of the woods & so find my living got. But I have since learned that trade curses everything it handles. & though you **trade** in messages from heaven –the whole curse of trade attaches to the business.

The wind rises more & more The river & the pond are blacker than the threatening cloud in the south– The thunder mutters in the distance– The surface of the water is slightly rippled– Where the pads grow is a light green border– The woods roar. Small white clouds are hurrying across the dark blue ground of the storm – which rests on all the woods of the South horizon But still no rain now for some hours as if the clouds were dissipated as fast as they reached this atmosphere.

The barberry's fruit hangs yellowish green– What pretty covers the thick bush makes so large & wide & drooping. The Fringilla juncorum⁴³⁸ sings still in spite of the coming tempest which perchance only threatens The wood chuck is a good native of the soils. The distant hills side & the grain fields & pastures are spotted yellow or white with his recent burrows –and the small mounds remain for many years Here where the clover has lately been cut, see what a yellow mound is brought to light!

Heavily hangs the Common Yellow lily Lilium Canadense in the meadows– In the thick alder copses by the causeway side I find the Lysimachia hybrida. Here is the Lactuca Sanguinea with its runcinate leaves –tall-stem & pale crimson ray. And that green stemmed one higher than my head resembled the last in its leaves –is perchance the “tall lettuce or Fire weed. Can that fine white flowered meadow plant with the leaf be a Thalictrum?

BARBERRY

438. **Thoreau** could not have intended here the bird then known as *Fringilla* or *F. linaria* (Common Redpoll **Carduelis flammea**), for this record is for the month of July and that bird winters in Concord and summers in the far north. He must have intended the bird then known as *juncorum* (Field Sparrow **Spizella pusilla**). So, can anyone explain why he wrote *Fringilla juncorum*, other than as a mere slip of the pen?

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STATE MURDER

August 16, Saturday: Some of López's [filibusters](#) having been captured at sea, they had been taken to [Havana](#), and on this day the last 51 members of the regiment (excepting Narciso López himself) were executed by [firing squad](#).



August 16, Saturday: Agrimonia Eupatoria small flowered (yellow) plant with hispid fruit 2 or 3 feet high turnpike at Tuttle's peatmead. Hemp –Cannabis sativa said by Gray to have been introduced not named by Bigelow –is it not a native?

BIGELOW

It is true man can and does live by preying on other animals, but this is a miserable way of sustaining himself –and he will be regarded as a benefactor of his race –along with Prometheus & Christ –who shall teach men to live on a more innocent & wholesome diet. Is it not already acknowledged to be a reproach that man is a carnivorous animal?

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August 24, Sunday: The [Australian](#) immigrants Samuel Whittaker and Robert McKenzie, members of a criminal organization known as the “[Sydney Ducks](#),” were “rescued from the authorities” of the county jail of San Francisco, [California](#) by a citizens’ “Vigilance Committee” while Sheriff John C. “Jack” Hays was observing a bullfight (most likely “wittingly or unwittingly” lured away), and were [lynched](#) before an audience of 15,000 citizens at 3PM. A lithograph was promptly circulated, showing the men hanging from block and tackle at the ends of commercial buildings on a dock, with Telegraph Hill notable in the background.



[Australian](#) immigrants, in general, would flee from the settlement.



August 24, Sunday: *Mollugo verticillata*, carpet weed, flat, whorl-leaved weed in gardens with small white flowers— *Portulaca oleracea* Purslane with its yellow blossoms — *Chelone Glabra*. I have seen the small mulleins as big as a ninepence in the fields for a day or two. [The word “mulleins” is queried in pencil.]

The weather is warmer again after a week or more of cool days— There is greater average warmth — but not such intolerable heat as in July— The nights especially are more equally warm now even when the day has been comparatively rather cool. There are few days now — fewer than in July, when you cannot lie at your length on the grass— You have now forgotten winter & its fashions & have learned new summer fashions. Your life may be out of doors now mainly.

Rattlesnake grass is ripe. The pods of the *Asclepias pulchra* stand up pointedly like slender vases — on a salver — an open salver truly!





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—Those of the *Asclepias Syriaca* hang down. The interregnum in the blossoming of flowers being *well* over Many small flowers blossom now in the low grounds having just reached their summer— It is now dry enough— & they feel the heat their tenderness required. The Autumnal flowers Golden rods — Asters & Johnswort though they have made demonstrations have not yet commenced to reign. The tansy is already getting stale it is perhaps the first conspicuous yellow flower that passes from the stage— [Channing, page 215]

In Hubbard's swamp where the blue berries — Dangle berries & especially the *Pyrus* or chokeberries were so abundant last summer — there is now perhaps not one (unless a blueberry) to to be found. Where the chokeberries held on all last winter — the black & the red.

The Common skull-cap *Scutellaria Galericulata* quite a handsome & middling large blue flower— *Lobelia pallida* still— Pointed Cleavers or Clivers *Galium asprellum*.

Is that the naked *Viburnum* so common with its white —red —then purple berries? —in Hubbards meadow. [Yes.] Did I find the Dwarf Tree Primrose in Hubbard's meadow today? *Stachys aspera* Hedge Nettle or Woundwort a rather handsome purplish flower—

The Capsules of the *Iris versicolor* or blue flag are now ready for humming. Elder berries are ripe.



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STATE MURDER

1852

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1852

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
16/03	Elizabeth Pinchard	51	Northampton	Murder
10/04	Sarah French	27	Lewes	Murder of husband

January 23, Friday: The case of John Gordon, [hanged](#) for the murder of Amasa Sprague, had been being discussed in [Rhode Island](#) for seven years. Had he been guilty of a crime, or had he been the innocent [Catholic/Irish](#) impoverished immigrant victim of a rush to judgment and a judicial murder?

The Orléans family (the former ruling house) was banned from [France](#) by President [Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte](#).



January 23, Friday: The snow is so deep & the cold so intense that the crows [[American Crow](#) [Corvus brachyrhynchos](#)] are compelled to be very bold in seeking their food – and come very near the houses in the village. One is now walking about & pecking the dung in the street in front of Frank Munroe's. They remind me as they sail along over the street of the turkey buzzards of the south & perhaps many hard winters in succession would make them as tame.

There is a vegetable life as well as a spiritual & animal life in us – for the hair & nails continue to grow after the *anima* has left the body & the spiritual & animal life it is dead. There is also probably an inorganic mineral life.

The surface of the snow on the 20th was not yet disturbed or rippled even by the wind.

P.m. Deep Cut going to Fair Haven Hill No music from the telegraph harp on the causeway – where the wind is strong but in the cut this cold day I hear memorable strains. What must the birds & beasts think where it passes through woods – who heard only the squeaking of the trees before? I should think that these strains would get into their music at last. Will not the mocking bird be heard one day inserting this strain in his medley? It intoxicates me. Orpheus is still alive – All poetry and mythology revive – The spirits of all bards sweep the strings. I hear the clearest silver lyre-like tones – Tertian tones. I think of Menander & the rest – It is the most glorious music I ever heard. All those bards revive & flourish again in that half-hour in the deep-cut. The breeze came through an oak still wearing its dry leaves The very fine clear tones seemed to come from the very core & pith of the telegraph pole. I know not but it is my own chords that tremble so divinely. There are barytones – & high sharp tones &c Some come sweeping seemingly from further along the wire. The latent music of the earth had found here a vent. Music AEolian – There were 2 strings in fact one each side

AEOLIAN HARP

I do not know but this will make me read the Greek poets. Thus as ever the finest uses of things are the accidental. Mr Morse did not invent this music.

I see where the squirrels have torn the pine-cones in pieces for the sake of to come at their seeds. And in some cases the **mice**? have nibbled the buds of the pitch pines where the plums have been bent down by the snow.

The Blue Hills of Milton are now White.

[Lindley](#) in Loudon dismisses the winter berries by saying “The species are low shrubs of little beauty.”

There are some whose ears help me so that my things have a rare significance when I read to them. It is almost too good a hearing – so that for the time I regard my own writing from too favorable a point of view.

Just before sunset there were few clouds or specks to be seen in the western sky – but the sun gets down lower, and many dark clouds are made visible – their sides toward us being darkened. In the bright light they were but floating feathers of vapor – now they swell into dark evening clouds.

It is a fair sunset with many purplish fishes in the horizon – pinkish & golden with bright edges – like a school of purplish whales they sail or float down from the north – Or like leopards skins they hang in the west. – If the sun goes behind a cloud – it is still reflected from the least haziness or vapor in that part of the sky – the air is so clear – and the after glow is remarkably long – And now the blaze is put out – and only a few glowing clouds like the flickering light of the fire skirt the west. And now only the brands and embers mixed with smoke



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VENUS

make an Indian red along the horizon. And the new moon⁴³⁹ & [the evening star](#) together preside over the twilight scene.

The thermometer was at 21° this morning

Some botanical names have originated in a mere blunder. Thus the *Cytharexylum melanocardium* of the West Ind. "called by the French *fidele*, from its faithfulness or durability in building," the English have corrupted into fiddle-wood & so the genus goes. It is unfit for musical instruments – [Lindley](#)

February 1, Sunday: [John White](#) died after a brief illness, at the age of 64.



Mr. White's preparatory studies were carried on at the seminary in Exeter, and he entered Harvard College at the age of thirteen. He graduated in 1805, and with a good reputation as a student. He was then a tutor in Bowdoin College for a short period. His theological studies were begun under the instruction of the Rev. Joseph Chickering, of Woburn, and were concluded under Dr. Ware in Cambridge. At this period, he held some connection with the college, probably as a tutor. "There I first saw him," says Dr. Lamson, "and I remembered well the same look, —grave, sincere, respectful, and full of self-respect,— which he never ceased to wear; and I know how greatly he was esteemed by acquaintances and friends." ...During the ministry of Mr. White, the parish became Unitarian; but it became so without any special agitation, and probably without controversy or bitterness of any kind. His preaching was practical, and not theological; and it was calculated to teach men how to live rather than how to settle disputed points in religion. People of all shades of belief heard his preaching, and all alike were edified by it. He drove no one away by what he said, because he said nothing at which any one could take offense. He was devout, trusting, possessed of the true spirit of a living faith; and he made religion real and helpful to those who heard him. His aim was to develop a pure and holy living, in the gospel manner and purpose. He was not an aggressive Unitarian, sought no controversies with those of other religious professions, and had no desire to promote the interests of a sect. His Unitarianism was that of the first generation of its professed advocates in this country, who wished to return to the pure and simple teachings of Jesus, and who wished to get rid of all theology that was in opposition to the ten commandments, the Sermon on the Mount, a pure trust in God and a future life, and who found in Jesus a Master to whom they gave the truest reverence. They took the Bible as their creed, and they gave it a generous and a loving interpretation.

[Henri-Frédéric Amiel](#), who would be referred to as the "Swiss [Thoreau](#)," wrote in his *JOURNAL INTIME*: "Passed the afternoon in reading the Monologues of Schleiermacher. This little book made an impression on me almost as deep as it did twelve years ago, when I read it for the first time. It replunged me into the inner world, to which I return with joy whenever I may have forsaken it. I was able besides, to measure my progress since then by the transparency of all the thoughts to me, and by the freedom with which I entered into and judged the point of view.

It is great, powerful, profound, but there is still pride in it, and even selfishness. For the center of the universe is still the self, the great Ich of Fichte. The tameless liberty, the divine dignity of the individual spirit, expanding till it admits neither any limit nor anything foreign to itself, and conscious of a strength instinct with creative force, such is the point of view of the Monologues.

The inner life in its enfranchisement from time, in its double end, the realization of the species and of the individuality, in its proud dominion over all hostile circumstances, in its prophetic certainty of the future, in its immortal youth, such is their theme. Through them we are enabled to enter into a life of monumental

439. January 21st and 22nd had been the nights of no moon.

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interest, wholly original and beyond the influence of anything exterior, an astonishing example of the autonomy of the ego, an imposing type of character, Zeno and Fichte in one. But still the motive power of this life is not religious; it is rather moral and philosophic. I see in it not so much a magnificent model to imitate as a precious subject of study. This ideal of a liberty, absolute, indefeasible, inviolable, respecting itself above all, disdaining the visible and the universe, and developing itself after its own laws alone, is also the ideal of Emerson, the stoic of a young America. According to it, man finds his joy in himself, and, safe in the inaccessible sanctuary, of his personal consciousness, becomes almost a god.

He is himself principle, motive, and end of his own destiny; he is himself, and that is enough for him. This superb triumph of life is not far from being a sort of impiety, or at least a displacement of adoration. By the mere fact that it does away with humility, such a superhuman point of view becomes dangerous; it is the very temptation to which the first man succumbed, that of becoming his own master by becoming like unto the Elohim. Here then the heroism of the philosopher approaches temerity, and the Monologues are therefore open to three reproaches: Ontologically, the position of man in the spiritual universe is wrongly indicated; the individual soul, not being unique and not springing from itself, can it be conceived without God?

Psychologically, the force of spontaneity in the ego is allowed a dominion too exclusive of any other. As a fact, it is not everything in man. Morally, evil is scarcely named, and conflict, the condition of true peace, is left out of count. So that the peace described in the Monologues is neither a conquest by man nor a grace from heaven; it is rather a stroke of good fortune."



February 1, Sunday: When I hear that a Friend on whom I relied has spoken of me not with cold words perhaps but even with a cold and indifferent tone to another, ah! what treachery I feel it to be! the sum of all crimes against humanity. My friend may cherish a thousand suspicions against me—and they may but represent his faith and expectations—till he cherishes them so heartlessly that he can speak of them.

If I have not succeeded in my friendships it was because I demanded more of them—& did not put up with what I could get—and I got no more partly because I gave so little.

I must be dumb to those who, I have not faith, appreciate my actions, not knowing the springs of them.

While we preach obedience to human laws & to that portion of the divine laws set forth in the New Testament—The natural laws of genius of love & friendship we do not preach nor insist upon. How many a seeming heartlessness is to be explained by the very abundance of the heart. How much of seeming recklessness even selfishness is to be explained by obedience to this code of the divine laws. It is evident that as buyers & sellers—we obey a very different law from what we do as lovers & Friends. The Hindoo is not to be tried in all things by the Christian standard, nor the Christian by the Hindoo. How much fidelity to law of a kind not commonly recognized—how much magnanimity even may be thrown away on mankind! Is like pearls cast before swine! The hero obeys his own law—the Christian—his—the lover & friend theirs— They are to some extent different

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codes. What incessant tragedy between men where one silently obeys the code of Friendship—the other the code of Philanthropy—in their dealings with one another. As our constitutions our geniuses are different—so are our standards, and we are amenable to different codes. My neighbor asks me in vain to be good as he is good. I must be good as I am made to be good, Whether I am heathen or christian. Every man's laws are hard enough to obey. The christian falls as far short of obeying the heathen's moral law as the heathen does. One of little faith looks for his rewards & punishments to the next world—& despairing of this world behaves accordingly in it—another thinks the present a worthy occasion & arena—sacrifices to it and expects to hear sympathizing voices. The man who believes in another world and not in this is wont to put me off with christianity— The present moment in which we talk is of a little less value to him than the next world— So we are said to hope in proportion as we do not realize. It is all hope deferred. But one grain of realization—of instant life—on which we stand is equivalent to acres of the leaf of hope hammered out—to gild our prospect— The former so qualifies the vision that it gilds all that we look upon with the splendor of truth.⁴⁴⁰ We must meet the hero on heroic grounds.— Some tribes inhabit the Mts. Some dwell on the plain. We discourage one another. We obey different laws.

Is not the midnight like central africa to most? Are we not tempted to explore it—to penetrate to the shores of its Lake Tchad—to discover the sources of its Nile perchance in the Mts of the moon? Who knows what fertility what beauty in the animal & vegetable kingdom are there to be found. What primeval simplicity & reflexion of the truth among its dusky inhabitants. We illuminate only the first hours of the night. The light behind the face of the clock on the state house in Philadelphia extinguished at 11 o'clock Pm with punctuality—to save oil. Those hours are resigned to a few watchmen in the cities. watching for the disgrace of humanity— Shall we never have watchmen in the country of another sort—watching for the glory of God.

In the Mts of the moon—in the Central Africa of the night— There is where all Niles hide their heads. The expeditions up the niles extend but to the Cataracts past the ruins of Thebes— —or perchance to the mouth of the White Nile— —but it is the Black Nile that concerns us. Of some of the great rivers—like the Nile & the Orinoco? men still only conjecture the sources.

Shall we ask the watch-men—the city police to tell us of the night—what its signs of gladness are—?! Are these the questions we shall put to the watchmen? Who then shall we put them to.? Or is there none who can answer them?

Each thing is attracted to each—& running to coalesce. like drops of water The fingers incline to be webbed— & run together. When I hold mine up to the light & bring them near together—such are the laws of light that just before they touch—a web appears to grow on them & unite them— So of objects seen through imperfections in glass.

It depends upon how a man has spent his day—whether he has any right to be in his bed. So spend some hours that you may have a right to sleep in the sunshine.

My friends! My friends! it does not cheer me to see them. They but express their want of faith in me or in mankind—their coldest cruellest thought comes clothed in polite & easy spoken words at last. I am silent to their invitations—because I do not **feel** invited.— & we have no reasons to give for what we do **not** do. One says love me out of this mire— The other says come out of it & be lovely. One speaks with scorn of the scorners.

In the winter the botanist can study lichens

The recent rush to California & the attitude of its philosophers & prophets in relation to it—appears to me to reflect the greatest disgrace on mankind. That so many are ready to get their living by the lottery of gold digging without contributing any value to society—and that the great majority who stay at home justify them in this both by precept and example— It matches the infatuation of the Hindoos who have cast themselves under the car of Juggernaut. I know of no more startling development of the morality of trade and all the modes of getting a living that the rush to California affords. Of what significance the Philosophy—or poetry or religion of a world that will rush to the lottery of California gold digging on the receipt of the first news—to live by luck to get the means of commanding the labor of others less lucky, ie. of slaveholding—without contributing any value to society—and that is called enterprise and the devil is only a little more enterprising. The philosophy & Poetry & religion of such a mankind are not worth the dust of a puff-ball The hog that **roots** his own living would be ashamed of such company. If I could command the wealth of all the worlds by lifting my finger I would not pay so mean a price for it. It makes God to be a moneyed gentleman who scatters a handful of pennies in order to

440. [Henry Thoreau](#) would combine with an entry made on February 9, 1852 to form the following paragraph of his early lecture “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT”:

[Paragraph 43] God gave the righteous man a certificate entitling him to food and raiment,¹ but the unrighteous man found a **facsimile** of the same in God's coffers, and appropriated it, and obtained food and raiment like the former. It is one of the most extensive systems of counterfeiting that the world has seen. I did not know that mankind were suffering for want of gold. I have seen a little of it. I know that it is very malleable, but not so malleable as wit. A grain of gold will gild a great surface, but not so much as a grain of wisdom.

1. An allusion to MATTHEW 6:25.



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see mankind scramble for them. Going to California. It is only 3000 miles nearer to Hell. I will resign my life sooner than live by luck. The World's raffle. A subsistence in the domains of nature a thing to be raffled for! No wonder that they gamble there. I never heard that they did anything else there. What a comment what a satire on our institutions! The conclusion will be that mankind will hang itself upon a tree. And have all the precepts in all the bibles taught men only this—and is the last and most admirable invention of the Yankee race—only an improved muckrake?—patented too! If one came hither to sell lottery tickets—bringing satisfactory credentials—and the prizes were seats in heaven—this world would buy them with a rush.⁴⁴¹

Did god direct us so to get our living digging where we never planted, and he would perchance reward us with lumps of gold! It is a text oh! for the Jonahs of this generation—and yet the pulpits are as silent as immortal Greece—silent—some of them, because the preacher is gone to California himself. The gold of California is a touch-stone which has betrayed the rottenness the baseness of mankind. Satan showed mankind the kingdom of California and they entered into a compact with him at once—

God gave a man a certificate of righteousness which secured him food & raiment—but the rest were discontented & envied him. But at last news came that one had discovered a depository of like certificates intended also for the righteous in times to come— and a cry went up from all lands and sinners rushed thither from all parts & appropriated them.

God gave the righteous man a certificate entitling him to food & raiment but the unrighteous man found a facsimile in God's coffers, and appropriated it and obtained food & raiment like the former.

There are some things which God may afford to smile at—man can-not.

February 11, Wednesday: The [Rhode Island](#) General Assembly abolished [capital punishment](#) even for such crimes as murder and arson. (In 1872, the General Assembly would re-enact the penalty of death by [hanging](#), for a murder committed while under sentence of life imprisonment.)

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

In [California](#), Candelario Valencia laid claim to lands at the Mission Dolores.



February 11: When the thermometer is down to 20° in the morning, as last month, I think of the poor dogs who have no masters.

If a poor dog has no master, every body will throw a billet of wood at him. it never rains but it pours
It now rains—a drizzling rain mixed with mist—which ever and anon fills the air to the height of 15 or 20 feet—
It makes what they call an old fashioned mill-privelege in the streets—i.e. I suppose a privelege on a small stream good only for a part of the year.

Perhaps the best evidence of an amelioration of the climate—at least that the snows are less deep than formerly—is the snow-shoes which still lie about in so many garrets—now useless—though the population of this town has not essentially increased for 75 years past—and the travelling within the limits of the town accordingly not much facilitated. No man ever uses them now—yet the old men used them in their youth.

I have lived some 30 odd years on this planet and I have yet to hear the first syllable of valuable or even earnest advice from my seniors. They have told me nothing and probably can tell me nothing to the purpose. There is life—an experiment untried by me—& it does not avail me that you have tried it. If I have any valuable experience I am sure to reflect that this my mentors said nothing about. What were mysteries to the child, remain mysteries to the old man

It is a mistake to suppose that in a country where rail roads & steamboats the printing press and the church and the usual evidences of what is called civilization exists the condition of a very large body of the inhabitants cannot be as degraded as that of savages. Savages have their high & their low estate—& so have civilized nations. To know this I should not need to look further than the shanties which everywhere line our rail roads—that last improvement in civilization. But I will refer you to Ire Land, which is marked as one of the white or enlightened spots on the map— Yet I have no doubt that that nations rulers are as wise as the averaged of civilized rulers.

DOG



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July 30, Friday: [Jefferson Davis](#)'s wife [Varina](#) gave birth to a son whom they would name Samuel Emory Davis.

[Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) learned of the death of his younger sister in the burning and sinking of the steamer *Henry Clay*. In George Templeton Strong's New York diary we find some interesting applications of

441. [Thoreau](#) would copy this into "WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT" as:

[Paragraph 42] The rush to California, for instance, and the attitude, not merely of merchants, but of philosophers and prophets, so called, in relation to it, reflect the greatest disgrace on mankind. That so many are ready to live by luck, and so get the means of commanding the labor of others less lucky, without contributing any value to society! And that is called enterprise! I know of no more startling development of the immorality of trade, and all the common modes of getting a living. The philosophy and poetry and religion of such a mankind are not worth the dust of a puff-ball. The hog that gets his living by rooting, stirring up the soil so, would be ashamed of such company. If I could command the wealth of all the worlds by lifting my finger, I would not pay such a price for it. I would not buy a ticket in a lottery even if the prize were a seat in heaven.¹ It makes God to be a moneyed gentleman who scatters a handful of pennies in order to see mankind scramble for them. The world's raffle! A subsistence in the domains of Nature a thing to be raffled for! What a comment, what a satire on our institutions! The conclusion will be, that mankind will hang itself upon a tree.² And have all the precepts in all the Bibles taught men only this? and is the last and most admirable invention of the human race only an improved muck-rake?³ Is this the ground on which Orientals and Occidentals meet? Did God direct us so to get our living, digging where we never planted,—and He would, perchance, reward us with lumps of gold?⁴ And yet the pulpits are silent—silent, some of them, because the preacher is gone to California.⁵ Satan, from one of his elevations, showed mankind the kingdom of California, and instead of the cry, "Get thee behind me, Satan,"⁶ they shouted, "Go ahead!"⁷ and he had to exert himself to get there first.

1. Bradley P. Dean has emended the essay copy-text by substituting this sentence for the sentence 'Even Mahomet knew that God did not make this world in jest.' His justification is the Nantucket [Inquirer](#) summary which is the source for this sentence, plus a similar sentence "If one came hither to sell lottery tickets, bringing satisfactory credentials, and the prizes were seats in heaven, this world would buy them with a rush" in the journal source of this paragraph.

2. An allusion to the report in MATTHEW 27:3-5 that after betraying Jesus, Judas hanged himself.

3. In [John Bunyan](#)'s [THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS](#), a man disregards an offer to trade his muck-rake for a celestial crown.

4. An allusion to GALATIANS 6:7.

5. This and the following sentence were reconstructed from the following passages:

Journal: It is a text, oh! for the Jonahs of this generation, and yet the pulpits are as silent as immortal Greece, silent, some of them, because the preacher is gone to California himself.... Satan, from one of his elevations, showed mankind the kingdom of California, and they entered into a compact with him at once. Nantucket [Inquirer](#): Why are the pulpits silent? Silent, because some of their preachers even are gone to California. Satan in one of his revelations [sic] showed mankind California, when instead of the cry "Get thee behind me, Satan," they shouted "Go ahead," and he had to exert himself to get there.

Boston [Banner of Light](#): Satan, from one of his elevations, showed mankind the kingdom of California, and they shouted "Go ahead!" and he had to exert himself to get there first—but he did.

Unidentified newspaper clipping in Alcott's journal: And yet pulpits are silent—some of them because the preacher had gone to California. Satan took them up into a high mountain and showed them the kingdom of California. Did they say "Get thee behind me, Satan!" No; but "Go ahead," and Satan had to hurry to get there first.

6. Thoreau alludes to LUKE 4:5-7 in this sentence and quotes from LUKE 4:8.

7. "Go ahead" was a phrase often used during the 1850s to express the progress-at-any-cost mentality of many Americans. In her review of WALDEN in the Westminster [Review](#), for example, George Eliot described the book as "a bit of pure American life (not the 'go-ahead' species, but its opposite pole)" (65 [January 1856]: 302).



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imagery obtained from the contemporary institution of capital punishment by [hanging](#):



Went up by railroad last night. The funeral took place this morning, attended by nearly every one on the Point; a melancholy business it was. I shall never forget poor Bailey's figure, and look of apathy – almost of stupor; and the three little boys clinging round him and crying, unnoticed; the still sunlight on the cemetery, the burial service, the multitude of sad faces, the two coffins with which we all felt that all the life and hope and heart of one man were sinking into the earth to wither into dust. And all this and so much beside, that the Henry Clay might beat the Armenia. It is time that this drowning and burning to death of babies and young girls and old men to gratify the vanity of steamboat captains were stopped. I would thank God for the privilege of pulling the cap over the eyes of the captain and owners of this boat, and feel as I completed my hangman's office that I had not lived utterly in vain.... The scene at the wreck yesterday morning was hideous: near thirty bodies exposed along the shore – many children among them. And some enterprising undertakers from Yonkers and New York had sent up their stock of coffins on speculation. "Looking for deceased friend, sir?" "Buying a coffin, sir?" "Only five dollars, sir, and warranted." Public feeling is very strong now. But it will die out within the week. These scoundrels will never be punished, not even indicted. Damn them! No, I retract that, for God knows we all stand in need of something less than the rigor of justice. But a thousand years or so of fire and brimstone after [hanging](#) in this world, would be a moderate award of retribution....



July 30, Friday: The fore part of this month was the warmest weather we have had; the last part sloping toward autumn has reflected some of its coolness, for we are very forward to anticipate the fall. Perhaps I may say the spring culminated with the commencement of haying –& the summer side of the year in mid July.

3 1/2 Pm to Flints Pond

How long is it since I heard a veery? Do they go or become silent when the goldfinch heralds the autumn? Do not all flowers that blossom after mid. July remind us of the fall? After midsummer we have a belated feeling as if we had all been idlers –& are forward to see in each sight –& hear in each sound some presage of the fall. –just as in mid. age man anticipates the end of life.

Tansy is a prevalent flower now –dog's bane still common– Night hawks squeak & fly low over Thrush alley at 4 Pm. A small purple orchis *Platanthera psychodes* –quite small –so that I perceive what I called by this name before must have been the **fimbriata**. The sand cherry is a handsome fruit but not very palatable. *Hedeoma pulegioides* pennyroyal is out of bloom ap for some time –in the ruts of an old path through a copse. *Lobelia dortmanna* water L. ap. for some time. A small kind of *potamogeton* which I have not examined before –most like the *P. hybridum* but with a cylindrical spike. The ripple marks on the east shore of Flints are nearly parallel firm ridges in the white sand one inch or more apart– They are very distinctly felt by the naked feet of the wader. What are those remarkable spherical masses of fine grass or fibres looking like the nests of water mice –washing toward the shore at the bottom amid the weeds–? quite numerous over a long shore. I thought they must be nests of mice till I found some solid. The *clethra alnifolia* is just beginning –(as the swamp pink shows its last white petals–) but August will have its beauty. It is important as one of the later flowers. High-blackberries ripe ap – for a day or two That succulent plant by Tuttle's sluice appears to be *Sedum telephium* –Garden Orpine or live for ever –called also house leek –since it will grow if only one end is tucked under a shingle.



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What a gem is a bird's egg especially a blue or a green one –when you see one broken or whole in the woods– ! I noticed a small blue egg this afternoon washed up by Flint's Pond & half buried by White sand –& and as it lay there alternately wet & dry no color could be fairer –no gem could have a more advantageous or favorable setting. Probably it was shaken out of some nest which overhung the water. I frequently meet with broken egg shells where a crow perchance or some other thief has been marauding. And is not that shell something very precious that houses that winged life?– Caught in a thunder shower –when S of Flints Pond –came back by C. Smith's road. Stood under thick trees. I care not how hard it rains if it does not rain more than 15 minutes– I can shelter myself effectually in the woods. It is a grand sound that of the rain on the leaves of the forest 1/4 of a mile distant approaching.– But I got wet through after all being caught where there were no trees.

December 10, Friday: 10,000 citizens turned out to watch Jose Forni (AKA Jose Forner y Brugada) get hanged from a gallows that had been erected on the slope of Russian Hill. He had confessed to the stabbing murder of Jose Rodriguez and the confession had been printed on a lettersheet for sale by Bonestell & Williston, Clay Street, San Francisco along with a drawing of Forni sitting in his cell. Sheriff John C. Hays, who officiated at this hanging, “cut the rope which held up the ‘drop’” (this wouldn't be the 1st hanging in San Francisco, but it would be something to watch because it would be the 1st legal one).

HANGING

CALIFORNIA



[THOREAU MADE NO ENTRY IN HIS JOURNAL FOR DECEMBER 10th]



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1853

Nicolas Roch, grandson of Antoine Roch and the [guillotinish](#) at Lons-le-Saulnier, succeeded Henri Ganier as head-chopper at Amiens.

HEADCHOPPING

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1853

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
29/04	Honora Stackpole		Ennis	Murder
29/04	Bridget Stackpole		Ennis	Murder
11/08	Helen Blackwood	30	Glasgow	Murder

May 6, Friday: The railroad drawbridge outside South Norwalk, Connecticut had been raised to allow the passage of the steamboat *Pacific*. A red ball the size of a basketball (not invented yet) had been raised to the top of a signal mast alongside the tracks, to warn approaching trains that the Norwalk River drawbridge was up. The speed limit posted on these tracks was 10 miles per hour. A passenger train approached the Norwalk River at a high rate of speed, disregarding the speed limit, its engineer being the Edward Tucker who had survived the New York & New Haven's first wreck in 1849,⁴⁴² and when Tucker belatedly saw the red ball at the top of the mast he yelled out for his brakemen to apply the brakes (railroad safety brakes had been invented by Elisha Graves Otis in 1845), and leaped from the locomotive without closing the throttle of the engine. His jump broke his leg. The brakemen, seeing their engineer leaping out of the locomotive, followed almost instantly by the fireman, also jumped instead of applying the brakes. The train took a nose-dive off the end of the tracks, shattering against the stone bridge abutments on the other side of the drawbridge and dropping into the water. Of the passengers, 46 were killed and 25 injured. This being America, a mob immediately assembled but was distracted from its purpose by an argument, hopefully staged, about whether to hang Tucker with his broken leg from the signal mast or, [hanging](#) being too fine a fate for him, to simply put him out of his misery by shooting him, and meanwhile Tucker was blubbering that the bridge attendant must have raised the red ball after the accident to save his own hide, and this combination of argumentation and blubbering and blaming delayed the mob from its amusement until the authorities could come to Tucker's rescue. The engineer had survived yet another crash.⁴⁴³

TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS

442. For general background, please refer to Robert B. Shaw's A HISTORY OF RAILROAD ACCIDENTS, SAFETY PRECAUTIONS, AND OPERATING PRACTICES (2d edition, N.p.: Vail-Ballou Press, 1978).

443. Was Edward Tucker fired for his misconduct? No, because he had already lost his job with the railroad on account of his injury. This was the United States of America, land of liberty, and Tucker was a free man, which meant that his destiny was his own. In that day and age anyone injured in the workplace for any reason was automatically out of work — because an injured worker can't continue to do work and therefore had no claim to receive any more pay. In the American South, this was one of the arguments for slavery: that being someone's slave meant that someone had some responsibility toward one, and cared whether one lived or died.

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During this year and the following one, Draft F of [Henry Thoreau](#)'s [WALDEN](#) *ms*:

[WALDEN](#): Ah, the pickerel of Walden! when I see them lying on the ice, or in the well which the fisherman cuts in the ice, making a little hole to admit the water, ^{^golden and emerald} I am always surprised by their rare beauty, as if they were fabulous fishes—~~fresh water dolphins dauphins eldest sons of Walden,~~ they are so foreign to the streets, even to the woods, foreign as Arabia to our Concord life. They possess a ^{^quite} dazzling and transcendent beauty which separates them ~~far~~ ^{^by a wide interval} from the cadaverous cod and haddock ~~at least two days old~~ whose fame is trumpeted in our streets. ~~handsome artlovers [ILLEGIBLE] & gems—they~~ ^{^They} are not green like the pines, nor gray like the stones nor blue like ^{^the} sky; but they have, to my ~~eye~~ ^{^eyes}, if possible, yet rarer colors, like ^{^flowers} and precious stones, as if they were the pearls, ~~of this great shell—~~ ^{^some} ~~solid opied &~~ ^{^the} animalized nuclei or crystals of the Walden water. They, of course, are ~~composed of Walden wholly~~ ^{^Walden all over} and all through; are ^{^themselves small} Waldens in the animal kingdom, ^{^Waldenses} ~~perhaps dolphins~~ ~~—dauphins eldest sons of Walden, for~~ ~~whose behalf this whole world is but a dauphin edition to study—~~ It is surprising that ~~these fishes~~ ^{^fish} ^{^they} are caught here, —that in this deep and capacious spring, far beneath the rattling teams and chaises and tinkling sleighs that travel the Walden road, this great gold and emerald fish swims. I never chanced to see its kind in any market; it would be the cynosure of all eyes there. ^{^Easily}, with a few convulsive quirks, they give up their ~~diluted~~ ^{^watery} ghosts, like a mortal translated before his time to the ~~subtile~~ ^{^thin} air of heaven.

“like a mortal translated before his time to the thin air of heaven”: This is a reference not only to [hanging](#), but to the hanging of the [Huguenot](#) saints in France after revocation of the Edict of Nantes, while the members of [Thoreau](#)'s family, the intermarried Thoreaus and Guillets, were fleeing to the relative safety offered by the Isle of [Jersey](#) in the English Channel.

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The pickerel of Walden Pond was of course a small pike, and the pike is named of course for its pointy head. Per FACTS ON FILE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORD AND PHRASE ORIGINS, this is the fish that lifted its head from the water to observe the Crucifixion — and it bears images of the cross, three nails, and a sword. You will remember that on page 40 of A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS, Thoreau imagines that his soul is “bright invisible green.” These great gold and emerald Waldenses are the ghosts of Thoreau’s Huguenot ancestors, translated before their time, by the believers of France, to the thin air of heaven. Hanged! I show, on the next page, an old illustration of Anne du Bourg dancing on air, and a 20th Century painting by N.C. Wyeth titled “Fishing Through the Ice,” and what I suggest is that the one is quite as apt an illustration of this passage from WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS as the other.

No, more than that. I suggest that the painter Wyeth had no **clue** what Thoreau was talking about in this passage. He was trapped in the pikeresque, and might as well have been drawing Norman-Rockwellish kitsch covers for the Saturday Evening Post. But WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS is a book of pending issues, a book in which Brahmins hang suspended over flames on page 4, in which we hang conspirators from the tough rafters of the trees on page 208, in which still-living heads hang on either side of a warrior like ghastly trophies on page 231, in which a man thinks to hang himself because he belongs to the race of pygmies on page 326, in which a man stands on the gallows on page 327 and says “Tell the tailors to remember to make a knot in their thread before they take the first stitch” —although his companion’s prayer is forgotten,— and in which on page 330 our author chooses not to hang by the beam of the scale and try to weigh less.

GALLOWS HUMOR



You may well wonder how I am going to make a connection between these two illustrations, of Anne du Bourg dancing on air and of a pickerel dancing on air, other than by offering that the pickerel, being a fish, evokes that old graphitum of primitive Christianity scratched into the walls of the catacombs of Rome.

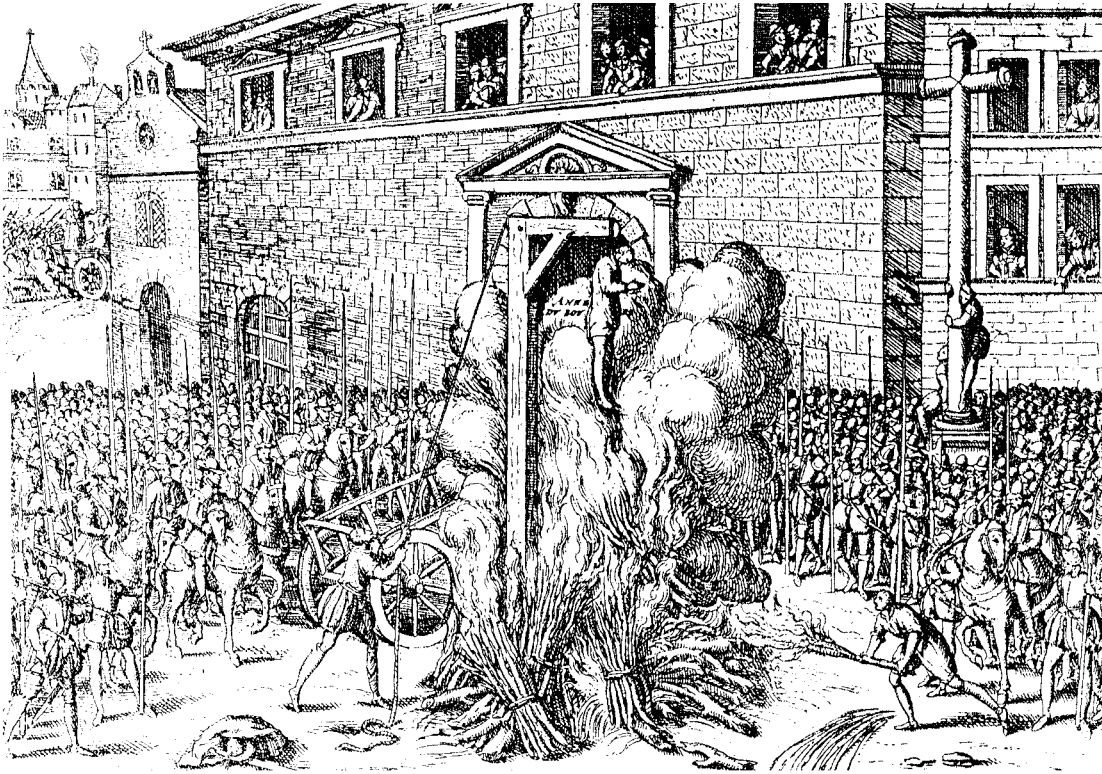
ιχθϋς = “fish”

ι = Jesus
 χ = Christ
 θ = God’s
 υ = Son
 ς = Savior



But the pickerel connection, once it is made, will be obvious to you, for Thoreau speaks of them as “Waldenses” and that word is only from the Medieval Latin *Valdenses* via the French *Vaudois* and the Italian *Valdese*. The followers of that “Peter Waldo” or “Pierre Vaudès” —who, in AD1170, in his thirtieth year, hired two priests to translate the Bible into common French, and then accepted the invitation of Luke 18:23 to sell all he had and give the proceeds to the poor— were medieval convinced persons who strived, until they were suppressed by Christians, to live in the manner of life portrayed in the Gospels. At his point of greatest acceptability, Waldo was confirmed in his vow of poverty by Pope Alexander III, although this dangerous man was most pointedly **not** granted permission to teach or preach about his convictions. His teaching was banned by Pope Lucius III in the bull *Ad Abolendam* issued at the Synod of Verona in AD1184. Innocent VIII declared in AD1487 that when a Christian kills one of the Waldenses —followers of the way of Waldo— he inherit his property if any. Those who embraced this discipline were variously termed *Pauperes* or “poor ones” (the entire subject of the first chapter of WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS), *Picards* or “those who read the Bible for themselves” (thus Thoreau’s “pickerel” metaphor), *Waldenses* (to get this reference into his text, Thoreau pretends that “Waldenses” is merely a plural form for “Walden” like the more obvious “Waldens,” whereas “Waldenses” is a collective term), *Vaudois* and *Valdese* or “those who live in the valleys,” and finally “Huguenots” or people who have made a covenant, people who have “sought individual perfection apart from the Roman Church, rejected the official clergy, abstained from oaths and the use of force, and attempted in general to reintroduce primitive Christian fellowship and apostolic simplicity of living.”⁴⁴⁴

444. Reaman, G. Elmore. THE TRAIL OF THE HUGUENOTS IN EUROPE, THE UNITED STATES, SOUTH AFRICA AND CANADA. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1966, page 21.

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Anne du Bourg said, in the presence of Henry II, in regard to his execution of a primitive Christian, that it was no small thing to condemn those who, amidst the flames, invoked the name of Jesus Christ.

The penalty for saying this to the king was the usual penalty accorded to heretics in France in the late 1550s: suspension over a fire by a rope, and dipping in and out of the flames until death.

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**Pickerel dancing on air;
N.C. Wyeth fishing for meaning through the ice of his own incomprehension**



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1854

American pugilism appeared in [California](#) during the mid-1850s (well-known pugilists such as Chris Lilly, John Morrissey, and Yankee Sullivan made the tour). For extra drama, John Morrissey had his seconds threaten his competition with pistols and clubs.

It was not unheard of, in [California](#), for the noose of a man being [hanged](#) to come untied. That happened spectacularly in this year in El Dorado County, when both nooses of two men being hanged together, James Logan and William Lipsey, came untied during the drop, necessitating a “do over.”

[Chinese](#) miners waved homemade spears and swords at one another in Trinity County, [California](#). While reputed killers had been hired by both sides in this mining dispute, the only actual casualties were drunken American and European spectators who shot or stabbed one another while attempting to collect or avoid paying side bets (so the first killing to be clearly attributed to North American Chinese would not be in this year, but would only arrive during November 1857 with the robbery and murder of the bank clerk M.V.B. Griswold).

In [China](#), meanwhile, a 2d child was born to the Reverend [Issachar J. Roberts](#) 罗孝全 and Mrs. [Virginia Young Roberts](#).

The Growth of the White Community in [Shanghai](#)



1844	50
1846	134
1848	159
1849	175
1850	210
1851	265
1854	250
1860	569
1865	5,129 (due to foreign troops fighting the Taipings)

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[Elizabeth A. Parkhill Gloucester](#) and [the Reverend James Newton Gloucester](#) gave up their 2d-hand clothing store on 7th Avenue in [New-York](#).

Victor Hugo, in exile on the island of Guernsey, assisted in the campaign against the hanging by the English government of a local man guilty of murder. After the execution he attempted to transform this agitation into a general campaign for the abolition of [capital punishment](#) by the British.

COLDBLOODED MURDER

He produced at this time what would later be repurposed and would be transformed by its new context into the single most famous and graphic European image to appear in the wake of the raid by American abolitionists upon the US arsenal at [Harpers Ferry](#). In this engraving, in an indistinct scene of gloom, a human figure hangs from a gallows. Shafts of light are, however, falling on the figure on the gallows, from one side of the heavens.

It would be in late 1859 or early 1860 that Hugo would be moved to repurpose this bleak illustration to indicate the figure as being [John Brown](#) on his American gallows, and he would be able to do so simply by inscribing beneath it the words:

*Pro Christo-Sicut Christus, John Brown, — Charleston.
Designed by Victor Hugo.*

April 4, Tuesday: A week after declaration of war, Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka left Paris for Russia.

The 2d Regiment of Dragoons under Lieutenant Colonel Philip St. George Cooke defeated the Jicarilla Apaches at the canyon of Ojo Caliente.



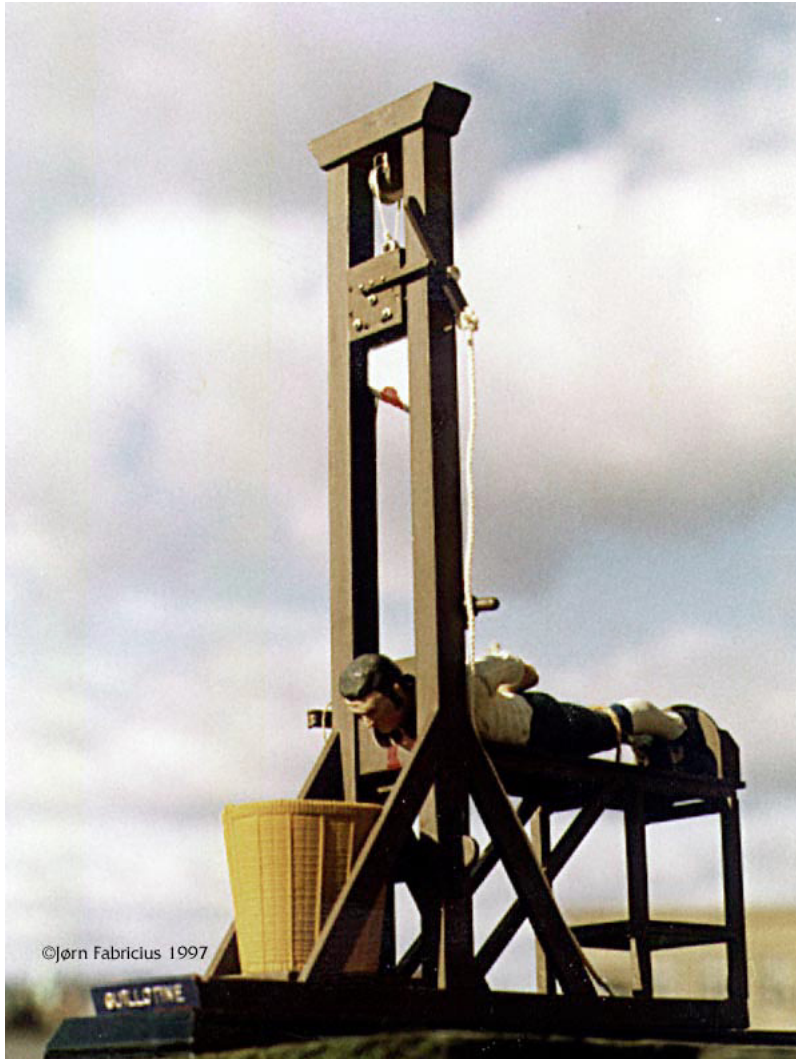
The police raided a fandango house on Pacific Street between Stockton Street and Dupont Street in San Francisco, and arrested 11 men and 14 women under this municipality's new anti-prostitution ordinance (evidently these people were suspected of having been up to no good).

CALIFORNIA

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

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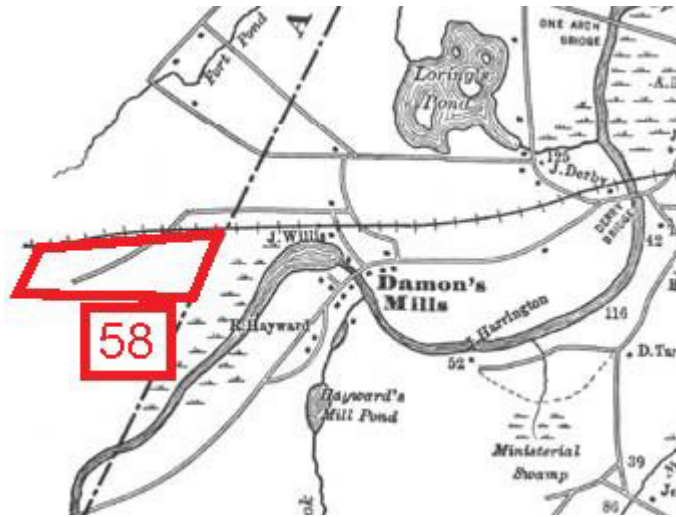
Joseph Tussaud returned to London with a head-chopping machine that he had procured from Clément Sanson. This “[guillotine](#)” was to become a part of Madame Tussaud’s Waxworks.

[HEADCHOPPING](#)

[Henry Thoreau](#) spent all day surveying an Acton woodlot belonging to Abel Hosmer near the railroad and the road to Stow, Jessie Willis, George Wright, Joel Conant, (?) Adams, Asa Parker and the area just west of the Damon Mill land.

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View [Henry Thoreau](#)'s personal working drafts of his surveys courtesy of AT&T and the Concord Free Public Library:

http://www.concordlibrary.org/scollect/Thoreau_Surveys/Thoreau_Surveys.htm

(The official copy of this survey of course had become the property of the person or persons who had hired this Concord town surveyor to do their surveying work during the 19th Century. Such materials have yet to be recovered.)

View this particular personal working draft of a survey in fine detail:

http://www.concordlibrary.org/scollect/Thoreau_Surveys/58a.htm

An article by [John Russell Bartlett](#) appeared in the [New York Herald](#), on pages 5 and 6, entitled "The Aboriginal Semi-civilization of the Great California Basin, with a Refutation of the popular theory of the Northern Origin of the Aztecs of Mexico," on the migration of Aztecs and the distribution of Native Americans in the Great Basin region, from which [Thoreau](#) would copy into his eighth Indian Notebook.

American and English ships began to land forces at [Shanghai](#) to protect American interests during Chinese civil strife. This would continue until June 17th.

US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS

May 27, Saturday: In the afternoon [Henry Thoreau](#) went to Saw Mill Brook.

In London, the [Athenaeum](#) reported that although [Thoreau](#) was a graduate of Harvard College and therefore qualified as a minister, instead he had chosen to manufacture pencils and had moved into a hut on the shore of a pond in order to live in a primitive manner and write. The article described WEEK as "a curious mixture of dull and prolix dissertation, with some of the most faithful and animated descriptions of external nature which has [*sic*??] ever appeared."

In [Worcester](#), [Bronson Alcott](#) succeeded in persuading the Reverend [Thomas Wentworth Higginson](#) to take charge of the Boston vigilantes, and the two took the train into Boston. Martin Stowell of Worcester came also. When they reached Boston, however, they found that the Committee was unable to agree upon a plan of action, and it appears that the Reverend took matters into his own hands. He went out and purchased a dozen axes with which to attack the door of the courthouse. That night, at the mass rally at Faneuil Hall at which the committee intended to instigate the sort of howling mob which would be needed in order to cover their

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purposive activity and distract the guards, the committee members slipped out early and took up their positions at the courthouse and waited for the mob to be marshaled. When Martin Stowell gave the signal, a black man ran to the west door and hammered it open with a 12-foot beam and leaped inside, with the Reverend Higginson close behind him. The people who managed to get inside the courthouse were immediately, however, repulsed by a group of policemen with clubs. The Reverend Higginson was badly beaten on the head and face, and one of the policemen was killed either by knife or gunshot to the midriff. The police began arresting individual rioters, and the mob began to pull back, but the Reverend Higginson, and a lawyer named Seth Webb who had been one of his classmates in college, held firm. Then they were joined by Alcott, came in hand, who walked right up to the door of the courthouse and looked in. A shot was fired inside the building, or was not fired (although some claimed this, Alcott himself never made any mention of having heard such a sound), as Alcott turned around and came back away from the courthouse.



A little-known fact is that [Newport, Rhode Island](#) businessman [George Thomas Downing](#) was one of those involved in this attack on the Boston courthouse.

One of the onlookers to these events, who would take no part in them but would suffer in his home town for having so much as been present, was [Moncure Daniel Conway](#). Word that he had been present would circulate in Virginia, so that when he attempted to return to visit his father and mother, a crowd of young men would confront him and order him to leave the town immediately or suffer the consequences.

The Boston mayor, Dr. Jerome Van Crowninshield Smith, a local-politics weathervane, issued the following declaration:

Under the excitement that now pervades the city, you are respectfully requested to cooperate with the Municipal authorities in the maintenance of peace and good order. The law must be obeyed, let the consequences be what they may.



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Of course, just as the courthouse officials could agree with peace with quiet, the abolitionists could agree with peace with justice. —They could agree that the ideal of peace and good order was utterly incompatible with kidnapping, and with human enslavement. They could agree that the higher law, which was the law of righteousness, and the law of nature and of God, must be obeyed — whatever the consequences.

RESISTING THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW

HIGHER LAW

A jury, meeting in the building in which [Anthony Burns](#) was being held and judged, rendered a verdict of guilty at 10:15 PM — James Wilson was to [hang](#).

Because there had been an alert that Peter Dunbar's⁴⁴⁵ truckmen were planning to attack the home of [Wendell Phillips](#), Phillips being elsewhere but his family being in the home, [Bronson Alcott](#), Henry Kemp, Francis Jackson, and the Reverend [Samuel Joseph May](#) each armed themselves with a pistol, to sit out the night in the Phillips parlor. They would sit out this night with their pistols in their laps, however, without incident.

Because there were fears that the slavemaster, Mr. Charles Francis Suttle, and his attorney at law, William Brent, might be attacked at their lodgings on the 1st floor of the Revere House, an honor guard of southern students was recruited from Harvard College.⁴⁴⁶ Suttle and Brent then relocated to a room in the hotel's garret, for greater security inside their cordon of armed students.

Knowing that during the attack on the courthouse he had discharged his pistol toward Watson Freeman but that Freeman had been unharmed, [Lewis Hayden](#) considered it entirely possible that it had been his bullet that had

445. What relation would this Peter Dunbar, a member of the management team at the Customs House on the waterfront, and his son Peter Dunbar, Jr., the captain of the guard at the courthouse guarding [Anthony Burns](#), have been to Concord's [Cynthia Dunbar Thoreau](#)?

446. [Moncure Daniel Conway](#), as a Harvard student from the South, was recruited to take part in this armed guard at the hotel. The two visitors to Boston were not unknown to him, but rather, they were close neighbors or distant relatives. Nevertheless, he declined to get involved in the affair.



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struck the deputy James Batchelder in the major vein of his leg, causing him to bleed out and promptly killing him. Therefore in the evening some activist friends got Hayden into a carriage and conveyed him to the home of Dr. Henry Ingersoll Bowditch in Brookline. (In that period, no-one would have imagined that a person of



color could have been permitted to ride inside such a horse-and-carriage. Thus, drawing the carriage's window curtains was in and of itself adequate to provide complete concealment.) Hayden was met at his destination by a group of black men resolved to prevent the re-enslavement of Burns.



The [Reverend Higginson](#) in a note to his wife in Worcester, written in haste from a home in Boston in which he had sought refuge after the attempted rescue of [Anthony Burns](#): “There has been an attempt at rescue, and failed. I am not hurt, except for a scratch on the face which will probably prevent me from doing anything more about it, lest I be recognized.”

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Our national birthday, Tuesday the 4th of July: This was [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 50th birthday.



Rowland Hussey Macy (1822-1919) had gotten started in retail in 1851 with a dry goods store in downtown Haverhill. Macy's policy from the very first was "His goods are bought for cash, and will be sold for the same, at a small advance." On this date Macy's 1st parade marched down the main drag of the little New England village. It was too hot and only about a hundred people viewed his celebration. In 1858 Macy would sell this store and, with the financial backing of Caleb Dustin Hunking of Haverhill, relocate the retail business to easier pickings in New-York. (So, have you heard of the New York Macy's department store? –Have you shopped there?)

When the mayor of Wilmington, Delaware jailed City Council member Joshua S. Valentine for setting off firecrackers, he was mobbed by a group of indignant citizens.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

[Henry Thoreau](#) went at "8 A.M. – To Framingham."

At this abolitionist picnic celebrating our nation's birthday and the [Declaration of Independence](#) and the successful completion of the [1st Great American Disunion](#), attended by some 600, a man the [Standard](#) described as "a sort of literary recluse," name of Henry David Thoreau, **declared for dissolution of the federal union.**

[Thoreau](#) was a secessionist — he believed that New Englanders should secede from the federal union of the United States of America, as the necessary step in disentangling themselves from the US national sin of race slavery.

THE 2D GREAT AMERICAN DISUNION

[Sojourner Truth](#) was another of the speakers, although we do not know whether she spoke before or after Thoreau (the newspaper reporter who was present failed entirely to notice that Sojourner took part), nor





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whether he sat on the platform beside her. [Stephen Symonds Foster](#) and [Abby Kelley Foster](#) were present



(Abby probably brought her daughter Alla to the pic nic, for it was always a family affair, with swings for the children, boating on a nearby pond, and a convenient refreshment stand since the day would be quite hot,

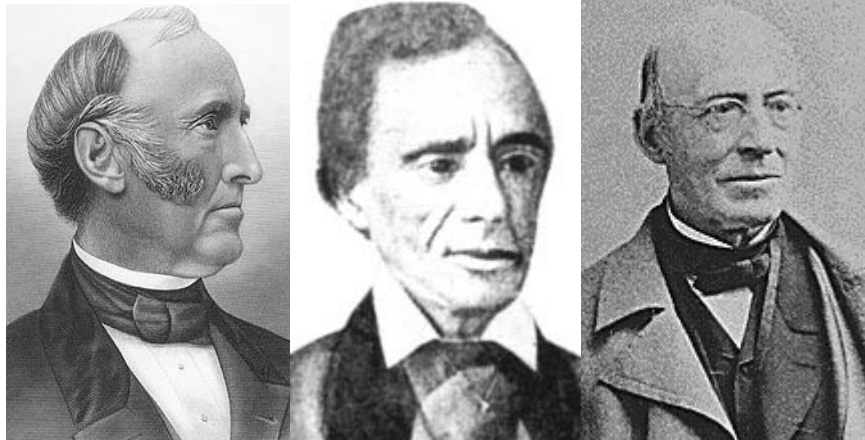
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and confined her remarks to an appeal for funds), and [Lucy Stone](#), as were [Wendell Phillips](#), Charles Lenox



Remond, and [William Lloyd Garrison](#).⁴⁴⁷



When the meeting in the shady amphitheater was called to order at 10:45AM by Charles Jackson Francis, the first order of business had to be election of officials for the day. [Garrison](#) became the event's president and



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Francis Jackson of Boston, [William Whiting](#) of [Concord](#), Effingham L. Capron of Worcester, Dora M. Taft of Framingham, Charles Lenox Remond of Salem, John Pierpont of Medford, Charles F. Hovey of Gloucester, [Jonathan Buffum](#) of Lynn, Asa Cutler of Connecticut, and Andrew T. Foss of New Hampshire its vice presidents. The Reverend Samuel J. May, Jr., of Leicester, William H. Fish of Milford, and R.F. Wallcut of Boston became its secretaries. [Abby Kelley Foster](#), Ebenezer D. Draper, Lewis Ford, Mrs. Olds of Ohio, [Lucy Stone](#), and Nathaniel B. Spooner would constitute its Finance Committee. Garrison then read from Scripture, the assembly sang an Anti-Slavery hymn, and Dr. Henry O. Stone issued the Welcome.

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447. There was an active agent of the Underground railroad on that platform, we may note, and it was not the gregarious Truth but the “sort of literary recluse” Thoreau. That is, please allow me to state the following in regard to the existence of eyewitness testimony, that the Thoreau home in Concord was in the period prior to the Civil War a waystation on the Underground Railway: we might reappraise [Thoreau](#)’s relationship with [Sojourner Truth](#), of whom it has been asserted by [Ebony Magazine](#) that she was a “Leader of the Underground Railroad Movement” (February 1987), by asking whether there is any comparable eyewitness testimony, that Truth ever was involved in that risky and illegal activity? Her biographer refers to her as a “loose cannon,” not the sort of close-mouthed person who could be relied upon as a participant in a quite secret and quite illegal and quite dangerous endeavor, and considers also that no such evidence has ever been produced. The Thoreaus, in contrast, not only were never regarded as loose in this manner, but were, we know, regarded as utterly reliable — and in the case of the Thoreau family home the evidence for total involvement exists and is quite conclusive.

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I will quote a couple of paragraphs about the course of the meeting from the Foster biography, AHEAD OF HER TIME:

Heading the finance committee, Abby made her usual appeal for funds, Stephen called on the friends of liberty to resist the Fugitive Slave Law, "each one with such weapons as he thought right and proper," and Wendell Phillips, Sojourner Truth, and Lucy Stone held the audience in thrall with their "soul-eloquence." After an hour's break for refreshments Henry Thoreau castigated Massachusetts for being in the service of the Slaveholders and demanded that the state leave the Union. "I have lived for the last month -and I think that every man in Massachusetts capable of the sentiment of patriotism must have had a similar experience- with the sense of having suffered a vast and indefinite loss. I did not know what ailed me. At last it occurred to me that what I had lost was a country."

Thoreau's speech is still reprinted, but William Lloyd Garrison provided the most dramatic moment of that balmy July day. Placing a lighted candle on the lectern, he picked up a copy of the Fugitive Slave Law and touched it to the flame. As it burned, he intoned a familiar phrase: "And let all the people say **Amen**." As the shouts of "Amen" echoed, he burned the U.S. commissioner's decision in the Burns case. Then he held a copy of the United States Constitution to the candle, proclaiming, "So perish all compromises with tyranny." As it burned to ashes, he repeated, "And let all the people say **Amen**." While the audience responded with a tremendous shout of "Amen," he stood before them with arms extended, as if in blessing. No one who was present ever forgot the scene; it was the high point of unity among the Garrisonian abolitionists.

This biography of Abby Kelley, with its suggestion that [Thoreau](#)'s speech, which it condenses to three sentences, must have been significant because it is "still reprinted," overlooks the fact that Thoreau had not been granted an opportunity to read his entire lecture. A contemporary comment on the speech was more accurate:

Henry Thoreau, of Concord, read portions of a racy and ably written address, the whole of which will be published in [The Liberator](#).

That is, Thoreau delivered a 4th-of-July oration at Framingham, Massachusetts on "[SLAVERY IN MASSACHUSETTS](#)", criticizing the governor and the chief justice of Massachusetts who were in the audience.





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–But, he was not allowed the opportunity to read his entire essay.

The whole military force of the State is at the service of a Mr. Suttle, a slaveholder from Virginia, to enable him to catch a man whom he calls his property; but not a soldier is offered to save a citizen of Massachusetts from being kidnapped! Is this what all these soldiers, all this training has been for these seventy-nine years past? Have they been trained merely to rob Mexico, and carry back fugitive slaves to their masters? These very nights, I heard the sound of a drum in our streets. There were men training still; and for what? I could with an effort pardon the cockerels of Concord for crowing still, for they, perchance, had not been beaten that morning; but I could not excuse this rub-a-dub of the "trainers." The slave was carried back by exactly such as these, i.e., by the soldier, of whom the best you can say in this connection is that he is a fool made conspicuous by a painted coat.

Note that on paper, at least, if not verbally as well, he made a reference to martyrdom by [hanging](#): "I would side with the light, and let the dark earth roll from under me, calling my mother and my brother to follow." In other words, let us New Englanders secede from the federal union of the United States of America, as the necessary step in our clearing ourselves of this US national sin of race slavery.

Here is another account of the actual speech, as opposed to what was printed later, from one who was there in the audience standing before that platform draped in mourning black:

He began with the simple words, "You have my sympathy; it is all I have to give you, but you may find it important to you." It was impossible to associate egotism with Thoreau; we all felt that the time and trouble he had taken at that crisis to proclaim his sympathy with the "Disunionists" was indeed important. He was there a representative of Concord, of science and letters, which could not quietly pursue their tasks while slavery was trampling down the rights of mankind. Alluding to the Boston commissioner who had surrendered Anthony Burns, Edward G. Loring, Thoreau said, "The fugitive's case was already decided by God, –not Edward G. God, but simple God." This was said with such serene unconsciousness of anything shocking in it that we were but mildly startled.

– AUTOBIOGRAPHY, MEMORIES, AND
EXPERIENCES OF MONCURE DANIEL
CONWAY (Boston MA: Houghton,
Mifflin & Co.), Volume I,
pages 184–5.
[[Moncure Daniel Conway](#)]

DISUNION

ANTHONY BURNS

EDWARD GREELEY LORING

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At the end of the morning meeting [Thoreau](#) was on the platform while [Garrison](#), the featured speaker, burned [the federal Constitution](#) on a pewter plate as a “covenant with death” because it countenanced the return of runaway slaves to their owners — [Margaret Fuller](#)’s grandfather Timothy Fuller Sr., who had refused to consent to that document when it was originally promulgated because of its ridiculous mincing about slavery, would have been proud of him! Thoreau’s inflammatory oratory was less inflammatory than addresses made on that occasion by Garrison, [Wendell Phillips](#), and Charles Lenox Remond, for their speeches drew comments but Thoreau’s did not.

On our nation’s birthday the platform had been draped in black crepe as a symbol of mourning, as at a state funeral, and carried the insignia of the State of Virginia, which stood as the destination of [Anthony Burns](#), and this insignia of the State of Virginia was decorated with — with, in magnificent irony, ribbons of triumph! Above the platform flew the flags of [Kansas](#) and Nebraska, emblematic of the detested new [Kansas/Nebraska Act](#). As the background of all this, the flag of the United States of America was hung, but it was upside down, the symbol of distress, and it also was bordered in black, the symbol of death.

I think no great public calamity, not the death of [Daniel Webster](#), not the death of [Charles Sumner](#), not the loss of great battles during the War, brought such a sense of gloom over the whole State as the surrender of [Anthony Burns](#).

[Garrison](#) placed a lighted candle on the lectern, and touched a corner of the Fugitive Slave Law to the flame. As it burned, he orated “And let all the people say **Amen**” and the crowd shouted “Amen!” Then he touched a corner of the US commissioner’s decision in the Burns case to the candle flame. Then he touched a corner of a copy of [the federal Constitution](#) to the candle flame, and orated “So perish all compromises with tyranny.” As the paper was reduced to ashes, he orated “And let all the people say **Amen**” and stood with his arms extended as if in blessing.



[William Lloyd Garrison \(in 1865\)](#)

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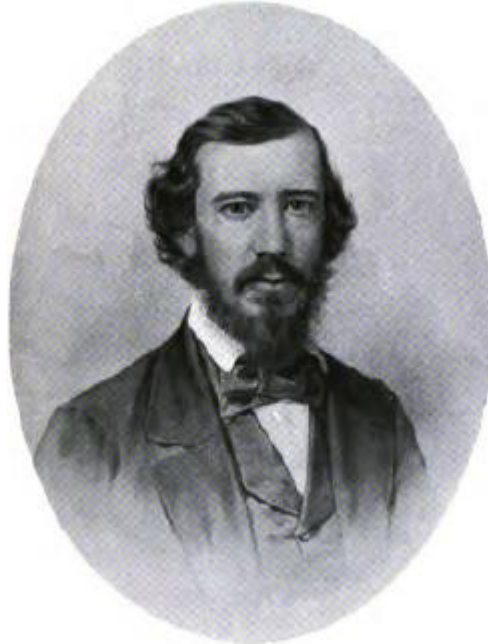
[Moncure Daniel Conway](#)'s comment, later, about the moment when [Garrison](#) set the match to the constitution, and the few scattered boos and hisses were drowned out by the thunderous "Amen" of the crowd, was:

That day I distinctly recognized that the antislavery cause was a religion.

In the afternoon [Moncure Daniel Conway](#) spoke, as a Virginian aristocrat, a child of position and privilege. Look at me! It was his 1st antislavery attempt at identity politics grandstanding. Leaning on the concept, he insisted that the force of public opinion in his home state was so insane and so hotheaded that every white man with a conscience, "or even the first throbbings of a conscience," was a **slave** to this general proslavery public posture. He offered that to resist this Southern certitude, each Northerner would need to "abolish slavery in his heart."⁴⁴⁸

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

VOLUME II



(So, you see, the white man has been self-enslaved: the problem is not so much that slavery harms the black man as that slavery harms the white man, shudder.)

Then [Wendell Phillips](#) spoke.

448. We may note how different this was from the Reverend [Theodore Parker](#)'s "kill the Negro in us."



STATE MURDER

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We know that [Sojourner Truth](#) spoke from that mourning-draped platform after a white man from Virginia had described his being thrown in jail there on account of his antislavery convictions, because in her speech she commented on this: how helpful it was for white people to obtain some experience of oppression. She warned that “God would yet execute his judgments upon the white people for their oppression and cruelty.” She asked why it was that white people hated black people so. She said that the white people owed the colored race a debt so huge that they would never be able to pay it back — but would have to repent so as to have this debt forgiven them. Nell Painter has characterized this message as “severe and anguished,” and has commented that despite the cheers and applause, “Her audiences preferred not to grapple with all she had to say.” Her humor must have been such, Painter infers, as to allow her white listeners to exempt themselves from this very general denunciation:

They did not hear wrath against whites, but against the advocates of slavery. It is understandable, no doubt, that Truth’s audiences, who wanted so much to love this old black woman who had been a slave, found it difficult to fathom the depths of her bitterness.



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Carleton Mabee's BLACK FREEDOM

Americans at large often held the abolitionists responsible for the war. They argued that the abolitionists' long agitation, strident as it often was, had antagonized the South into secession, thus beginning the war, and that the abolitionists' insistence that the war should not end until all slavery had been abolished kept the war going. In 1863 the widely read New York Herald made the charge devastatingly personal. It specified that by being responsible for the war, each abolitionist had in effect already killed one man and permanently disabled four others. ... While William Lloyd Garrison preferred voluntary emancipation, during the war he came to look with tolerance on the abolition of slavery by military necessity, saying that from seeming evil good may come. Similarly, the Garrisonian-Quaker editor, Oliver Johnson, while also preferring voluntary emancipation, pointed out that no reform ever triumphed except through mixed motives. But the Garrisonian lecturer Pillsbury was contemptuous of such attitudes. Freeing the slaves by military necessity would be of no benefit to the slave, he said in 1862, and the next year when the Emancipation Proclamation was already being put into effect, he said that freeing the slaves by military necessity could not create permanent peace. Parker Pillsbury won considerable support for his view from abolitionist meetings and from abolitionist leaders as well. Veteran Liberator writer Edwin Percy Whipple insisted that "true welfare" could come to the American people "only through a **willing** promotion of justice and freedom." Henry C. Wright repeatedly said that only ideas, not bullets, could permanently settle the question of slavery. The recent Garrisonian convert, the young orator Ezra Heywood, pointed out that a government that could abolish slavery as a military necessity had no antislavery principles and could therefore re-establish slavery if circumstances required it. The Virginia aristocrat-turned-abolitionist, Moncure Daniel Conway, had misgivings that if emancipation did not come before it became a fierce necessity, it would not reflect true benevolence and hence could not produce true peace. The Philadelphia wool merchant, Quaker Alfred H. Love, asked, "Can so sublime a virtue as ... freedom ... be the offspring of so corrupt a parentage as war?" The long-time abolitionist Abby Kelley Foster—the speak-inner and Underground Railroader—predicted flatly, if the slave is freed only out of consideration for the safety of the Union, "the hate of the colored race will still continue, and the poison of that wickedness will destroy us as a nation." Amid the searing impact of the war—the burning fields, the mangled bodies, the blood-splattered hills and fields—a few abolitionists had not forgotten their fundamental belief that to achieve humanitarian reform, particularly if it was to be thorough and permanent reform, the methods used to achieve it must be consistent with the nature of the reform. ... What abolitionists often chose to brush aside was that after the war most blacks would still be living in the South, among the same Confederates whom they were now trying to kill.



CHANGE IS ETERNITY, STASIS A FIGMENT

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July 28, Friday: Charles Henry Branscomb, a lawyer from Holyoke, Massachusetts serving as a general agent for the Emigrant Aid Society in the [Kansas Territory](#), traveled up the [Kansas River](#) as far as Fort Riley with a pioneer party of 30 persons to select a location for an antislavery town. He and Dr. Charles Robinson of Fitchburg would agree on the site of Lawrence.

THE 2D GREAT AMERICAN DISUNION

William B. Sheppard, who had hoped to get married with his boss Henry C. Day’s daughter, had, when his employer had refused to consent, stabbed him to death. On this day Sheriff William Gorham officiated over the [hanging](#) of the murderer on “Government Reserve property” near the Presidio in [San Francisco](#), before a crowd of 10,000 citizens. The body of the executed man would hang for an hour before Sheriff Gorham would permit it to be cut down.

FINAL EXECUTIONS		
August 30, 1850	John White Webster	last Harvard College professor to be hanged by the neck in Boston
July 28, 1854	William B. Sheppard	last public open-air hanging in San Francisco , at the Presidio before a crowd of not less than 10,000
July 25, 1857	John Lewis	hanged outside the municipal prison of Cardiff before a crowd of 12,000, the final public hanging in Wales

Also, in San Francisco on this day, [California](#) Freemasons adopted a constitution and installed officers.

A pre-publication announcement of [WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS](#) titled “Life in the Woods. Former Inhabitants” appeared on the 4th page of the Boston [Daily Evening Traveller](#), in columns 1 and 2.

EXTRACT FROM MR. THOREAU’S “WALDEN.” (In press, by Ticknor & Fields.)

[Reprints “Former Inhabitants; and Winter Visitors,”
pages 256.1-264.3.]

TIMELINE OF WALDEN



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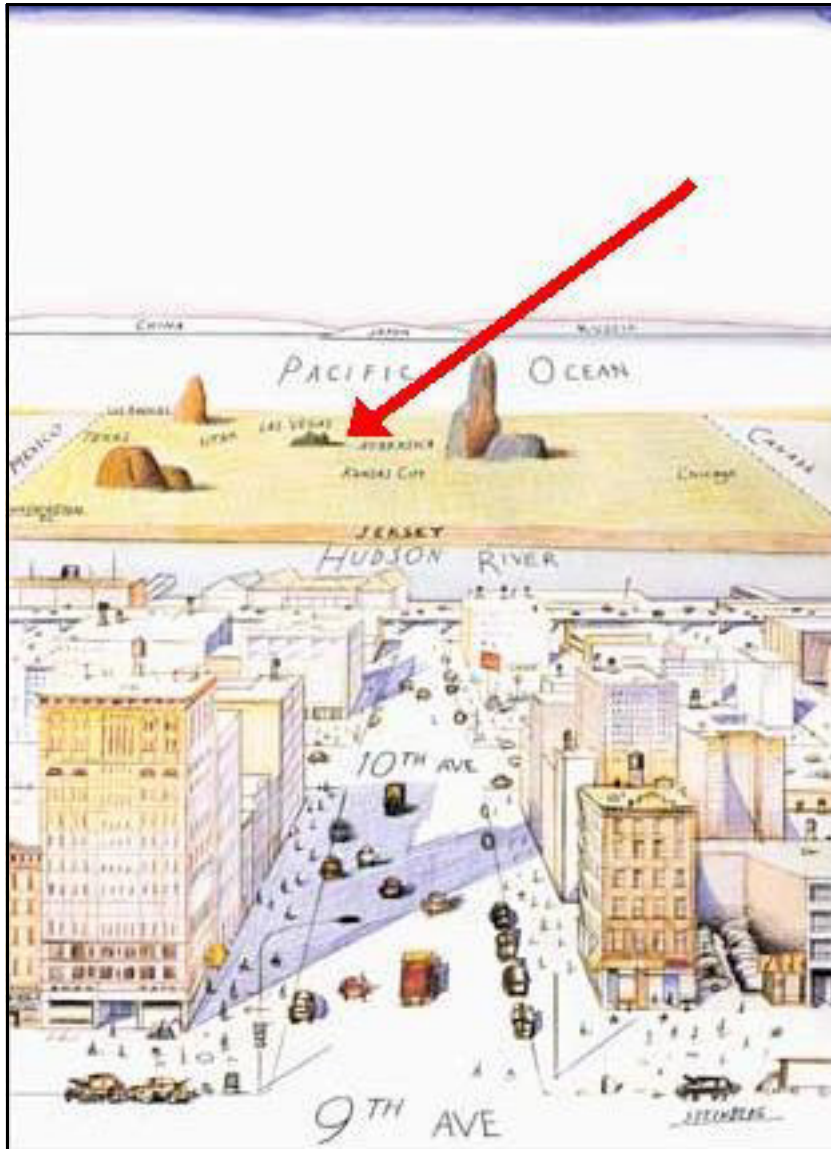
1855

In [Boston](#), having completed the portion of his sentence that required one year spent at hard labor, James Wilson was taken from prison and [hanged](#) by the neck until he was dead.

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In [California](#), a milestone of sorts was occurring: the first white [tourists](#) were arriving at [Yosemite Valley](#).



Most of the time a condemned man in [California](#) would be allowed to make a short statement before his [hanging](#). Sometimes he would sing a song. However, in this year Jose Sebade invited a harpist onto the gallows structure so he could “dance his way out of the world.” Since California had become a state in the United States of America, in 1851, hangings had been carried out at the local level, by the sheriff of each county. This practice would continue until 1890, and during these 4 decades, there would be a total of more than 230 executions in the various California counties. Virtually all of these executions would be by hanging, but the executions varied greatly from county to county. A condemned man was sometimes allowed to be so drunk that he needed to be carried to the gallows. Most hangings were of a single prisoner but on some occasions 2 or 3 would be hung side by side.

[John Adams](#) had been contributing to the extinction of the grizzly bear, by capturing them for zoos, displays, and bear-baiting events reminiscent of 17th-Century London. At this point a grizzly managed to rip up his scalp and leave a permanent depression about the size of a silver dollar in his skull. The scalp it was possible to reattach, but the bone injury would be permanent. Then while wrestling with General Fremont, a grizzly he had retained for his own display, the injury would be re-opened and this time brain tissue would be exposed.



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You're going to need to keep your hat on, guy:



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January 12, Friday: Felipe Alvitre was [hanged](#) in Los Angeles, [California](#).


Calvin Carver Damon died of consumption in Concord, Massachusetts at the age of 50.

[Dorcas Honorable Esop](#), last of the Nantucket native Americans, died. She had been born in 1776.



FAMOUS LASTS		
July 28, 1854	William B. Sheppard	last public open-air hanging in San Francisco attended by a huge crowd, at the Presidio before a crowd of not less than 10,000
January 12, 1855	Dorcas Honorable Esop	last of the Nantucket native Americans
March 8, 1862	Captain Nathaniel Gordon	had been smuggling fresh slaves into the USA, hanged for this (classified as piracy)



January 12: Perhaps what moves us in winter is some reminiscence of far-off summer. How we leap by the side of the open brooks! What beauty in the running brooks! What life! What society! The cold is merely superficial; it is summer still at the core, far, far within. It is in the cawing of the crow [**American Crow**  *Corvus Brachyrhynchos*], the crowing of the cock, the warmth of the sun on our backs. I hear faintly the cawing of a crow far, far away, echoing from some unseen wood-side, as if deadened by the spring-like vapor which the sun is drawing from the ground. It mingles with the slight murmur of the village, the sound of children at play, as one stream empties gently into another, and the wild and tame are one. What a delicious sound! It is not merely crow calling to crow, for it speaks to me too. I am part of one great creature with him; if



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he has voice, I have ears. I can hear what he calls, and have engaged not to shoot nor stone him if he will caw to me each spring. On the other hand, it may be, is the sound of children at school saying their a, b, ab's, on the other, far in the wood-fringed horizon, the cawing of crows from their blessed eternal vacation, out at their long recess, children who have got dismissed! While the vaporous incense goes up from all fields of the spring, —if it were spring. Ah, bless the Lord, O my soul! bless him for wildness, for crows that will not alight within gunshot! and bless him for hens, too, that croak and cackle in the yard! (VII, 112-3)



GOD IN CONCORD by Jane Langton © 1992

Viking Penguin

Penguin Books USA Inc.

66

*Ah, bless the Lord, O my soul! bless him for
wildness, for crows that will not alight
within gunshot!
Journal, January 12, 1855*

It was mid-autumn in Concord. Sugar maples flamed along
Walden Street. The swam maples had already lost their

ISBN 0-670-84260-5 — PS3562.A515G58

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1856

Public [hangings](#) in San Francisco, [California](#) had become a spectator sport. Sheriff David Scannell therefore moved the executions to a gallows in the enclosed yard of the county jail on Broadway Avenue. Several hundred spectators, mostly public officials, the press and civic leaders, were invited. There were still opportunities to gawk, however, as citizens could congregate on Telegraph Hill and on nearby rooftops behind the jailyard. As many as 1,000 would gather in the street in front of the jail, despite the fact that they would be able to see nothing except perhaps the body being removed.

Due to increase in the Episcopal population, [California](#) became a diocese in its own right and the [Reverend William Ingraham Kip](#) was elected as its Episcopal Bishop.

Pierre Pellier, who has recently immigrated from France, introduced the Agen plum. This would become the basis for a large prune industry in the Santa Clara Valley.



"The only lesson of history is that there are no lessons of history."

— A.J.P. Taylor



April: It would appear that Miss [Mary Moody Emerson](#) was back in [Concord](#) again at this point, settled by [Elizabeth Sherman Hoar](#) in the "Deacon Brown" house — for we date this remark in [Waldo Emerson](#)'s journal to approximately this month:

Monochord. Mary Moody Emerson cannot sympathize with children. I know several persons whose world is only large enough for one person, and each of them, though he were to be the last man, would, like the executioner in Hood's poem, guillotine the last but one. 'Tis A's [Alcott's] misfortune, & T's [Thoreau's].

HEADCHOPPING

The biographer Phyllis Cole would explain the meeting between Waldo's petite Aunt Mary and [Henry Thoreau](#) as follows:



Back in Concord a year and a half later, Mary gave Thoreau the attention across generations that she had no way of giving Dickinson. Once more he recorded the event in his journal. "Talking with Miss Mary Emerson this evening, she said, 'It was not the fashion to be so original when I was young.' She is readier to take my view -look through my eyes for the time- than any young person that I know in this town." Mary endorsed his high valuing of simplicity, even at the expense of his own mother. Holding court at the "Deacon Brown" house the same year, she shut her eyes while conversing with her old friend Cynthia Thoreau in protest against the long yellow ribbons on her cap. "I did not wish to look upon those ribbons of yours," she explained, "so unsuitable at your time of life and to a person

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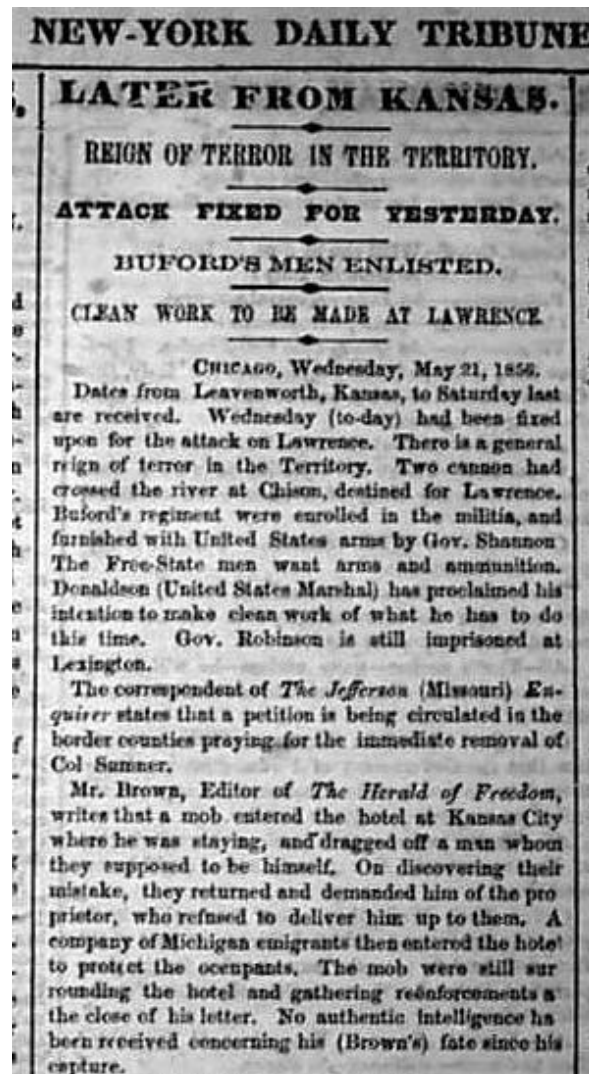
of your serious character." Perhaps others in the room challenged her to defend the more "original" oddities of her own apparel.

[EMILY DICKINSON](#)[CYNTHIA DUNBAR THOREAU](#)

May 22, Thursday: [Lola Montez](#) and her manager Frank Folland (previously known as Augustus Noël Follin) sailed from [Australia](#) for [San Francisco, California](#).

In San Francisco, [California](#), Charles Cora was [hanged](#) by a Committee of Vigilance for the murder of Federal Marshal William Richardson. Cora perhaps shot Richardson because Richardson had insulted Cora's lover, or perhaps fired in self-defense. James P. Casey, a member of the Board of Supervisors, was [hanged](#) by a Committee of Vigilance for having murdered James King of William, editor of The Daily Evening Bulletin, because he had exposed Casey's criminal record.

The news from [Kansas](#):

[THE 2D GREAT AMERICAN DISUNION](#)

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May 30, Friday: For having stabbed Joseph Brooks, a shipmate, to death on January 18th, 1856, Nicholas Graham was [hanged](#) in the yard of the county jail on Broadway Avenue in San Francisco. Graham admitted the stabbing but had offered a defense of drunkenness. The execution was conducted by Sheriff of [San Francisco, California](#) David Scannell in the presence of about 100 witnesses.



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August 9, Saturday: In England, [Thomas Hardy](#) attended the [execution](#) of Elizabeth “Martha” Brown at Dorchester.



After she had discovered her husband in bed with another woman he had struck her with a whip, whereupon she had bludgeoned him with the kitchen wood-axe. This was an interesting escalation of domestic hostilities that Hardy could use as material for *TESS OF THE D'URBERVILLES*!



“Summer Stories,” a condescending Brit notice of [WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS](#), appeared on page 760



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of London's The Leader.

Here we have a very agreeable series of natural and social studies, fresh in manner and style, with many entertaining anecdotes, and sketches of forest life in America. It is excellent, as a picture of young-settlement manners.

(Isn't this the sort of review of [WALDEN](#) that one might expect, from the sort of people who need to attend a hanging in order to acquire fresh ideas? Phew!)

TIMELINE OF WALDEN



August 9. Saturday. Notwithstanding the very copious rain, with lightning, on the night of August 5th and the deluge which fell yesterday, raising the river still higher, it rained again and again with very vivid lightning, more copiously than ever, last night, and without long intervals all this day. Few, if any, can remember such a succession of thunder-storms merged into one long thunderstorm, lasting almost continuously (the storm does) two nights and two days. We are surprised to see that it can lighten just as vividly, thunder just as loud, rain just as copiously at last as at first.

P.M. — Up Assabet.

The river is raised about two feet! My boat is nearly even full, though under the willows. The water stands nearly a foot over the highest part of the large flat rock by Island. There is more current. The pads are drowned; hardly one to be seen afloat; the utmost length of their tethers does not permit them to come within a foot or ten inches of the surface. They lay smoothly on the top before, with considerable spare coil beneath; now they strain in vain toward the surface. All the *Bidens Beckii* is drowned too, and will be delayed, if not exterminated for this year. The water is cool to the bather after so much rain.

The notes of the wood pewee and warbling vireo are more prominent of late, and of the goldfinch twittering over. Does the last always titter his twitter when ascending? These are already feeding on the thistle seeds.

Again I am surprised to see the *Apocynum cannabinum* close to the rock at the Island, several plants, apparently not more than ten days out; say July 25th, including the ones I saw before. The flowers of this are white, with divisions of the corolla erect or nearly so, corolla not one eighth of an inch wide, calyx-segments lanceolate, pointed, *as long as* the tube of the corolla. I now notice that *all* the branches are about equally upright, and hence the upper ones are much more upright than the upper ones of the *A. androsæmifolium*. The plant is inclined to be taller and narrower than that, perhaps because it grows by water. The leaves are more oblong or lanceolate and pointed, the downiness and petioles about the same with that of the common; in this case, none heart-shaped. The one found the 5th was between this and the common, a rose-streaked one, in fact colored like the common; this, a white one with still longer calyx-segments and no heart-shaped leaves. This is rather smooth. Say, then, for that of the 5th and this, they are varieties of the *A. cannabinum*.⁴⁴⁹

I scare up a couple of wood ducks separately, undoubtedly birds bred and dispersed about here. The rise of the river attracts them.

What I have called *Aster corymbosus* out a day, above Hemlocks. It has eight to twelve white rays, smaller than those of the *macrophyllus*, and a dull-red stem commonly. It differs from Gray's *corymbosus* in the achenia being apparently *not* slender, not opening in July, and there being no need of distinguishing it from *A. macrophyllus*; from his *cordifolius* in the rays *not* being numerous, nor the paniced heads very numerous (sometimes pretty numerous), and the rays not pale-blue. Perhaps I must call it *A. cordifolius*, yet the lower and principal petioles are naked (Gray makes them so commonly!), not at all winged, though the upper are. Found one individual at Miles Swamp whose lower petioles were winged. Its petioles (the lower) are only sometimes winged here. The flowers of *A. macrophyllus* are white with a very slight bluish tinge, in a coarse flat-topped corymb. Flowers nine to ten eighths of an inch in diameter. *A. cordifolius* flowers six eighths of an inch [in] diameter.

449. At Astor Library, New York, Nov. 8th, 1856, in [Richardson's](#) *Flora Boreali*, etc., the leaves of *Apocynum cannabinum* in the plate are an inch or more beyond the flowers, and not hearted! Of the *A. hypericifolium*, the lower leaves are decidedly hearted, and the flowers are about terminal.

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1857

January 19, Monday: At the Place de la Roquette in Paris, the head of one M. Provost proved to be easy to remove:



HEADCHOPPING

William T. Sherrard, appointed as sheriff in the Kansas Territory, seriously threatened and menaced Governor John White Geary for having refused to sign his appointment.

THE 2D GREAT AMERICAN DISUNION



January 19. A snow-storm with very high wind all last night and to-day. Though not much snow falls (perhaps seven or eight inches), it is exceedingly drifted, so that the first train gets down about noon and none gets up till about 6 P. M.! There is no vehicle passing the house before 2 P. M.! A fine dry snow, intolerable to face.

July 25, Saturday: On this day John Lewis was hanged outside the municipal prison of Cardiff, Wales — his wife Mrs. Gwen Lewis had been found dead in a stairwell after her employer, the solicitor John Morgan, had allowed her money to purchase food, and the court inferred that her husband had shoved her down because he wanted this money in order to purchase alcohol (this would be the final public hanging in Wales).



FINAL EXECUTIONS

<u>July 28, 1854</u>	<u>William B. Sheppard</u>	last public open-air <u>hanging</u> in <u>San Francisco</u> , at the Presidio before a crowd of not less than 10,000
<u>July 25, 1857</u>	<u>John Lewis</u>	<u>hanged</u> outside the municipal prison of Cardiff before a crowd of 12,000, the final public hanging in Wales
<u>August 10, 1858</u>	<u>James Seale or Searle</u>	<u>Thomas Hardy</u> watched last <u>execution</u> in Dorset in Dorchester, and final public <u>execution</u> in England

At Vandoeuvres, Professor Henri-Frédéric Amiel, who would be referred to as the “Swiss Thoreau,” wrote in his JOURNAL INTIME: “At ten o’clock this evening, under a starlit sky, a group of rustics under the windows of the salon employed themselves in shouting disagreeable songs. Why is it that this tuneless shrieking of false notes and scoffing words delights these people? Why is it that this ostentatious parade of ugliness, this jarring vulgarity and grimacing is their way of finding expression and expansion in the great solitary and tranquil night?

Why? Because of a sad and secret instinct. Because of the need they have of realizing themselves as individuals, of asserting themselves exclusively, egotistically, idolatrously — opposing the self in them to

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everything else, placing it in harsh contrast with the nature which enwraps us, with the poetry which raises us above ourselves, with the harmony which binds us to others, with the adoration which carries us toward God. No, no, no! Myself only, and that is enough! Myself by negation, by ugliness, by grimace and irony! Myself, in my caprice, in my independence, in my irresponsible sovereignty; myself, set free by laughter, free as the demons are, and exulting in my freedom; I, master of myself, invincible and self-sufficient, living for this one time yet by and for myself! This is what seems to me at the bottom of this merry-making. One hears in it an echo of Satan, the temptation to make self the center of all things, to be like an Elohim, the worst and last revolt of man. It means also, perhaps, some rapid perception of what is absolute in personality, some rough exaltation of the subject, the individual, who thus claims, by abasing them, the rights of subjective existence. If so, it is the caricature of our most precious privilege, the parody of our apotheosis, a vulgarizing of our highest greatness. Shout away, then, drunkards! Your ignoble concert, with all its repulsive vulgarity, still reveals to us, without knowing it, something of the majesty of life and the sovereign power of the soul.”




July 25, Saturday. Very early this morning we heard the note of the wood thrush, on awaking, though this was a poor singer. I was glad to find that this prince of singers was so common in the wilderness... The shores of this lake are rocky, rarely sandy, and we saw no good places for moose to come out on, i.e. no meadows. What P. called Cancomgomoc Mountain, with a double top, was seen north over the lake in mid-forenoon. Approaching the shore, we scared up some young dippers with the old bird. Like the *shecorways*, they ran over the water very fast. Landing on the east side, four or five miles north of Kinco, I noticed roses (*R. nitida*) in bloom, and, as usual, an abundance of rue (*Thalictrum Cornuti*) along the shore. The wood there was arbor-vitæ, spruce, fir, white pine, etc. The ground and rotting trunks, as usual, covered with mosses, some strange kinds, — various wild feather and leaf-like mosses, of rank growth, that were new or rare to me, — and an abundance of *Clintonia borealis*....

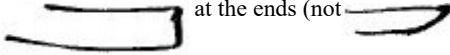

The Indian started off first with the canoe and was soon out of sight, going much faster than an ordinary walk. We could see him a mile or more ahead, when his canoe against the sky on the height of land between Moosehead and the Penobscot was all that was to be seen about him....

Here, among others, were the *Aster Radula*, just in bloom; large-flowered bellwort (*Uvularia grandiflora*), in fruit. The great purple orchis (*Platanthera fimbriata*), very splendid and perfect ones close to the rails. I was surprised to see it in bloom so late. *Vaccinium Canadense*; *Dalibarda repens*, still in bloom; *Pyrola secunda*, out of bloom; *Oxalis Acetosella*, still occasionally in flower; Labrador tea (*Ledum latifolium*), out of bloom; *Kalmia glauca*, etc., etc., close to the track.

A cousin of mine and his son met with a large male moose on this carry two years ago, standing within a few rods of them, and at first mistook him for an ox. They both fired at him, but to no purpose.

As we were returning over the track where I had passed but a few moments before, we started a partridge [Ruffed Grouse  *Bonasa umbellus* (Partridge)] with her young partly from beneath the wooden rails. While the young hastened away, she sat within seven feet of us and plumed herself, perfectly fearless, without making a noise or ruffling her feathers as they do in our neighborhood, and I thought it would be a good opportunity to observe whether she flew as quietly as other birds when not alarmed. We observed her till we were tired, and when we compelled her to get out of our way, though she took to wing as easily as if we had not been there and went only two or three rods, into a tree, she flew with a considerable whirl, as if this were unavoidable in a rapid motion of the wings....

Here was a canoe on the stocks, in an earlier stage of its manufacture than I had seen before, and I noticed it particularly. The St. Francis Indian was paring down the long cedar strips, or lining, with his crooked knife.

As near as I could see, and understand him and Polis, they first lay the bark flat on the ground, outside up, and two of the top rails, the inside and thickest ones, already connected with cross-bars, upon it, in order to get the form; and, with logs and rocks to keep the bark in place, they bend up the birch, cutting down slits in the edges from within three feet of the ends and perpendicularly on all sides about the rails, making a square corner at the ground; and a row of stakes three feet high is then driven into the ground all around, to hold the bark up in its place. They next lift the frame, i.e. two rails connected by cross-bars, to the proper height, and sew the bark strongly to the rails with spruce roots every six inches, the thread passing around the rail and also *through* the ends of the crossbars, and sew on strips of bark to protect the sides in the middle. The canoe is as yet carried out square down  at the ends (not ) , and is perfectly flat on the bottom.

(This canoe had advanced thus far.)

Then, as near as I could learn, they shape the ends (?), put in all the lining of long thin strips, so shaped and shaved as just to fit, and fill up the bark, pressing it out and shaping the canoe. Then they put in the ribs and put on the outer or thinnest rail over the edge of the bark....

Our path up the bank here led by a large dead white pine, in whose trunk near the ground were great square-cornered holes made by the woodpeckers, probably the red-headed. They were seven or eight inches long by





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four wide and reached to the heart of the tree through an inch or more of sound wood, and looked like great mortise-holes whose corners had been somewhat worn and rounded by a loose tenon. The tree for some distance was quite honeycombed by them. It suggested woodpeckers on a larger scale than ours, as were the trees and the forest.'...

Returning, we found the tree cranberry in one place still in bloom. The stream here ran very swiftly and was hard to paddle against.

September 11, Friday: At Mountain Meadows in what is now southwestern Utah, during the Utah War between Mormons and the United States government over non-Mormon settlement of Utah, Mormons and allied native tribes killed 120 emigrants bound from Arkansas for [California](#) across the transverse ranges of the high desert.

This had been a wagon train of rather wealthy farming families, the Baker/Fancher party, perhaps the wealthiest such group ever, and at first seemed to have been intercepted by a warrior band of Paiute native Americans. However, the attackers had been surprisingly heavily armed with rifles and pistols and had an unusual abundance of shot and powder, rather than being equipped as was ordinarily the case with mere bows and arrows plus an occasional decrepit firearm with minuscule quantities of lead and gunpowder! These wealthy travelers had even been sporting personal jewelry, and had brought with them 1,000 head of longhorns, the first such to be seen in the vicinity of the Great Salt Lake. They had made themselves a most tempting target. After a 4-day standoff the people of the wagon train had agreed to a truce and to a surrender of their arms. This had turned out to be a ploy and, after being disarmed, on this day the Baker/Fancher party was attacked at close range with clubs, knives, and guns at point-blank range. In less than five minutes 120 of them lay dead. There were 17 under the age of eight (the age of innocence in the [Mormon](#) religion) and these were spared for adoption into Mormon families. As the bodies of their parents were being stripped of clothing and jewelry the children watched some of these attackers wipe off their paint, revealing themselves as white men. (The members of the Paiute tribe who had participated would soon disband and aggregate themselves to other tribal groups to evade detection and punishment for their participation. In December, [Brigham Young](#) would cynically invoice the United States federal government for \$3,527.⁴³ for “articles furnished sundry



bands of Indians near Mountain Meadows” by Salt Lake City merchant Levi Stewart in a distribution that Lee and Dimick Huntington, certified “on honor” that they had personally witnessed –171 pairs of pants, 135 shirts, 39½ pounds of gunpowder, 109 pounds of lead, 14,000 firing caps, steers, clothing, and butcher knives—that had in fact been mere spoils gathered up after the slaughter.) It is probable that this action had been directly ordered by Young himself, who had sent his adopted son John D. Lee to create an incident that would point out to the US government that Utah was not part of its national domain. Over the following years the children, adopted by local Mormon families, would see various items of their relatives’ clothing and various pieces of their relatives’ jewelry being worn by Mormons. (Finally the children would be repatriated to surviving relatives, and John D. Lee would be executed by [firing squad](#). Geoffrey Ward would term this massacre “the most hideous example of the human cost exacted by religious fanaticism in American history until 9/11.”)

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Commander [William Lewis Herndon](#) had been in charge of the mail steamboat that had come to bear the name [SS Central America](#) for a total of 18 voyages. On the 19th, one that had begun at the port of Colón, Panama on September 3d, at 9AM, beginning the 2d day of enduring an Atlantic hurricane, the old vessel sprang multiple leaks. Passengers would assist the crew in bailing, to no avail.



September 11, Friday. Up railroad and to Clamshell.
Solidago puberula apparently in prime, with the *S. stricta*, near *gerardia* oaks. Red choke-berry ripe; how long? On the east edge of Dennis Swamp, where I saw the strange warbler once.
 To my surprise I find, by the black oaks at the sandhole east of Clamshell, the *Solidago rigida*, apparently in prime or a little past. The heads and rays were so large I thought at first it must be a hieracium. The rays are from ten to fourteen, and three to three and a half fortieths of an inch wide. The middle leaves are *clasping* by a heart-shaped base. The heads are seven fortieths of an inch wide and seventeen fortieths long, in recurved panicles, —*these*. [Eaton](#) says truly, “Scales of the calyx round-obtuse, nerved, membranous at the edges.” My old *S. stricta* (early form) must be *S. arylata* var. *juncea*. It is now done.⁴⁵⁰

October 4, Sunday: At the site of the battle with mutineers that had taken place two days earlier in [India](#), in the [Chatra](#) portion of the [Hazaribagh](#) district of [North Chotanagpur](#). The British forces [hanged](#) Jai Mangal Pandey and Nadir Ali Khan, junior native officers called subedars (something like lieutenants or sergeants major, but lacking authority over any British soldier), and presumably heaving their corpses onto the pile in the well. An inscription now recognizes these leaders.

At one point during his seasons at Walden Pond, [Henry Thoreau](#) had been rather seriously injured while coming home from some day work, building a woodshed for a farmer who lived out the Lexington Road. My guess is that this was something that would have happened subsequent to the June 12, 1846 frost that ruined his cash crop for that growing season. In his journal here, he reminisced about this:



October 4, Sunday: A.M. —By boat to Conantum.
 River fallen again. Barberrying and graping. Many of the grapes shrivelled and killed by frost now, and the leaves mostly fallen. The yellow leaves of the white willow thickly strew the bottom of my boat. Willows, elms, etc., shed their oldest leaves first, even like pines.⁴⁵¹ The recent and green ones are seen mottling a yellowish ground, especially in the willow; and, in the case of the willow, at least, these green ones wither and fall for the most part without turning yellow at all.
 The button-bushes are generally greenish-yellow now; only the highest and most exposed points brown and crisp in some places. The black willow, rising above them, is crisped yellowish-brown, so that the general aspect of the river's brim now is a modest or sober ripe yellowish-brown, —generally no bright colors. When I scare up a bittern from amid the weeds, I say it is the color of that bird's breast, —or body generally, for the darker part of its wings correspond to the sere pickerel-weed. Now that the pontederia is brown, the humble, weedy green of the shore is burweed, polygonum, wool-grass, and, in some places, rushes. Such is the river's border ordinarily, —either these weeds mingled with the sere and dark-brown pontederia or a convex raised rim of button-bushes, two to four feet high by a rod wide, through [which] the black willows rise one to a dozen feet higher. Here and there, to be sure, are the purple-leaved *Cornus sericea*, yellowish sweet-gale, reddish rose bushes, etc., etc.
 Alders are still a fresh green. The grape leaves are generally crisp and curled, having a very light-colored appearance, but where it is protected by other foliage it is still a dense canopy of greenish-yellow shields. From the midst of these yellowing button-bushes, etc., I hear from time to time a half-warbled strain from some young sparrow who thinks it is spring.
 Scared up from the low shore at the bend, on the south side, opposite Clamshell, a flock of seventy-five or one hundred of what appeared solitary tattlers (??), that went off with a rippling note, wheeled, and alighted there again.⁴⁵²
 Now again, when other trees prove so fickle, the steadfast evergreenness of the pines is appreciated. Bright-tinted flaming scarlet or yellow maples amid pines show various segments of bright cones embosomed in green.

450. The 5th edition of Professor Eaton's [A MANUAL OF BOTANY FOR THE NORTHERN STATES](#), published in 1829, was what was available to Henry Thoreau in the library of Waldo Emerson.

AMOS EATON'S BOTANY

451. Altered in pencil so as to read, “These willows shed,” etc.
 452. Henry Haynes next year thought they might be “Black-backs.”



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At Potter's Swamp, where they are all maples, it adds to the beauty of the maple swamp at this season that it is not seen as a simple mass of color, but, different trees being of different tints, –green, yellow, scarlet, crimson, and different shades of each, –the outline of each tree is distinct to where one laps on to another. Yet a painter would hardly venture to make them thus distinct a quarter of a mile off.⁴⁵³

Hear a catbird and chewink, both faint.

Fever-bush has begun to yellow. Some nightshade leaves are a very dark purple.

See a grackle on the shore, so near I see the light mark about the eye.

While I lived in the woods I did various jobs about the town, –some fence-building, painting, gardening, carpentering, etc., etc. One day a man came from the east edge of the town and said that he wanted to get me to brick up a fireplace, etc., etc., for him. I told him that I was not a mason, but he knew that I had built my own house entirely and would not take no for an answer. So I went.

It was three miles off, and I walked back and forth each day, arriving early and working as late as if I were living there. The man was gone away most of the time, but had left some sand dug up in his cow-yard for me to make mortar with. I bricked up a fireplace, papered a chamber, but my principal work was whitewashing ceilings. Some were so dirty that many coats would not conceal the dirt. In the kitchen I finally resorted to yellow-wash to cover the dirt. I took my meals there, sitting down with my employer (when he got home) and his hired men. I remember the awful condition of the sink, at which I washed one day, and when I came to look at what was called the towel I passed it by and wiped my hands on the air, and thereafter I resorted to the pump. I worked there hard three days, charging only a dollar a day.

About the same time I also contracted to build a wood-shed of no mean size, for, I think, exactly six dollars, and cleared about half of it by a close calculation and swift working. The tenant wanted me to throw in a gutter and latch, but I carried off the board that was left and gave him no latch but a button. It stands yet, –behind the Kettle house. I broke up Johnny Kettle's old "trow," in which he kneaded his bread, for material. Going home with what nails were left in a flower bucket on my arm, in a rain, I was about getting into a hay-rigging, when my umbrella frightened the horse, and he kicked at me over the fills, smashed the bucket on my arm, and stretched me on my back; but while I lay on my back, his leg being caught over the shaft, I got up, to see him sprawling on the other side. This accident, the sudden bending of my body backwards, sprained my stomach so that I did not get quite strong there for several years, but had to give up some fence-building and other work which I had undertaken from time to time. I built the common slat fence for \$1.50 per rod, or worked for \$1.00 per day. I built six fences.

TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS

Minott and Rice are apt to tell me the same story many times over. Minott told me the other day again of his peach tree. John Richardson was going by with a basket full of peach-stones. What are you going to do with them?" asked M. He said he was going to plant. "Well, give me two or three of them, and I'll try too." So he raised one fine tree, which bore first-rate rare-ripes as big as an apple, but after bearing once or twice something got into it and the tree died. They're short-lived things.

GEORGE MINOTT

November 5, Thursday: [Henry Thoreau](#) worked on his natural history material.

**Ross/Adams
commentary**



November 5, Thursday: P.M. –To the Dam Meadows.

But little corn is left in the field now, and that looks rather black. There is an abundance of cat-tail in the Dam Meadows.

Returning, talked with Minott. He told me how he and Harry Hooper used to go to Howard's meadow (Heywood's, by the railroad) when it was flowed and kill fishes through the ice. They would cut a long stick and go carefully over the ice when it was only a couple of inches thick, and when they saw a fish, strike the ice smartly, cracking it in all directions, right over him, and when he turned his belly, being stunned, would cut him out quickly before he came to. These were little fishes which he called "prods." He did n't know much more about them. They were somewhat like a small pout, but had different heads. They got so many once that he told Harry to cut a stick and string them and they'd give them to Zilpha as they went by. He has caught pickerel in

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the brook there which weighed two or three pounds.



HANGING

He went to Bateman's Pond once in the winter to catch minnows with a net through the ice, but did n't get any. He went –rode– with Oliver Williams first into Acton and then round to this pond on this errand.

Minott was rather timid. One day early in-the winter he had been over to Fair Haven Hill after a fox with John Wyman, but they did n't get him. The pond was frozen about two inches thick, but you could easily see the water through the ice, and when they came back, Wyman said he was going straight across because it was nearer, but Minott objected. But Wyman told him to follow; it was safe enough. Minott followed half a dozen rods and then decided that he would n't risk it and went back; he'd go ten miles round sooner than cross. "But," said Minott, "the fellow kept on and I'll be hanged if he did n't get safe across."

The pitch pines generally have lost their leaves now, and the larches are fast falling. The elms have been bare some time.

Sometimes I would rather get a transient glimpse or side view of a thing than stand fronting to it, –as those polypodies. The object I caught a glimpse of as I went by haunts my thoughts a long time, is infinitely suggestive, and I do not care to front it and scrutinize it, for I know that the thing that really concerns me is not there, but in my relation to that. That is a mere reflecting surface. It is not the polypody in my pitcher or herbarium, or which I may possibly persuade to grow on a bank in my yard, or which is described in botanies, that interests me, but the one that I pass by in my walks a little distance off, when in the right mood. Its influence is sporadic, wafted through the air to me. Do you imagine its fruit to stick to the back of the leaf all winter? At this season polypody is in the air.⁴⁵⁴

It is worth the while to walk in swamps now, to bathe your eyes with greenness. The terminal shield fern is the handsomest and glossiest green.

Start up a snipe feeding in a wet part of the Dam Meadows.

I think that the man of science makes this mistake, and the mass of mankind along with him: that you should coolly give your chief attention to the phenomenon which excites you as something independent on you, and not as it is related to you. The important fact is its effect on me. He thinks that I have no business to see anything else but just what he defines the rainbow to be, but I care not whether my vision of truth is a waking thought or dream remembered, whether it is seen in the light or in the dark. It is the subject of the vision, the truth alone, that concerns me. The philosopher for whom rainbows, etc., can be explained away never saw them. With regard to such objects, I find that it is not they themselves (with which the men of science deal) that concern me; the point of interest is somewhere between me and them (i. e. the objects)....

And where does your Eastern stuff go to?⁴⁵⁵ Whose houses does it build? It has built Bangor, and what is the precise value of Bangor, omitting the lumber on its wharves? Western stuff is good enough for me. I think that this craving a better material than we deserve, and wasting what we get, is the secret of bankruptcy. And what is it, after all, but lumber? I do not wish to see any more poor men in rich houses. I would rather see one rich man in a poor house. No more cripples on stilts....

For a man to pride himself on this kind of wealth, as if it enriched him, is as ridiculous as if one struggling in the ocean with a bag of gold on his back should gasp out, "I am worth a hundred thousand dollars!"

I see his ineffectual struggles just as plainly, and what it is that sinks him.

454.Channing, p. 103.

455.Refers, of course, to the lumbering operations of the Maine woods.



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1858

May 19, Wednesday: On this morning some 30 Missourian white men led by Captain Charles A. Hamilton arrived at a “Blooming Grove” trading post in Linn County in the southern portion of the [Kansas Territory](#). When they set out on the road back toward Missouri, they intercepted along the way 11 unarmed free-state men. It appears that most of these Kansas men had been Hamilton’s neighbors while he had been living in the vicinity, and none had been taking any part in any of the fighting (they evidently had no intimation, therefore, that their former neighbor meant them any particular harm). However, when his column came to a defile surrounded by mounds near the Marais du Cygne of the French voyageurs, they herded their prisoners into line against one side of this defile and formed themselves into another line along the other side.

“BLEEDING KANSAS”

Patrick Ross, B.L. Reed, William A. Stillwell, Asa and William Hairgrove, Austin and Amos Hall, William Colpetzer, M. Robinson, Asa Snyder, and John F. Campbell were drawn up in line. Hamilton himself fired the initial shot. John F. Campbell, William Colpetzer, Patrick Ross, William A. Stillwell, and M. Robinson were killed by the volley and 5 others were wounded (while one person was able to fall in the pile unharmed and escape injury). Captain Hamilton ordered his [firing squad](#) to dismount and finish the job with pistols, but it is clear they did not. (John Brown, arriving at the scene toward the end of June, would construct a 2-story flat-roofed log fortification some 220 yards south of the site of the massacre, at a place where water from a spring could seep into a pit at its southwest corner. Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) would write a poem, “Le Marais du Cygne” that would appear in the September 1858 issue of [The Atlantic Monthly](#). Although William Griffith of Bates County, Missouri would be arrested during Spring 1863 and hanged on October 30, 1863 for participation in this day’s events, Hamilton himself would be able to return to Georgia and would be able to there survive until 1880.)

<http://www.kshs.org/places/marais/history.htm>

Le Marais du Cygne, by [John Greenleaf Whittier](#).

A BLUSH as of roses
Where rose never grew!
Great drops on the bunch-grass,
But not of the dew!
A taint in the sweet air
For wild bees to shun!
A stain that shall never
Bleach out in the sun!

Back, steed of the prairies!
Sweet song-bird, fly back!
Wheel hither, bald vulture!
Gray wolf, call thy pack!
The foul human vultures
Have feasted and fled;
The wolves of the Border
Have crept from the dead.

From the hearths of their cabins,
The fields of their corn,
Unwarned and unweaponed,
The victims were torn, —
By the whirlwind of murder
Swooped up and swept on
To the low, reedy fen-lands,
The Marsh of the Swan.

With a vain plea for mercy
No stout knee was crooked;
In the mouths of the rifles



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Right manly they looked.
How paled the May sunshine,
O Marais du Cygne!
On death for the strong life,
On red grass for green!

In the homes of their rearing,
Yet warm with their lives,
Ye wait the dead only,
Poor children and wives!
Put out the red forge-fire,
The smith shall not come;
Unyoke the brown oxen,
The ploughman lies dumb.

Wind slow from the Swan's Marsh,
O dreary death-train,
With pressed lips as bloodless
As lips of the slain!
Kiss down the young eyelids,
Smooth down the gray hairs;
Let tears quench the curses
That burn through your prayers.

Strong man of the prairies,
Mourn bitter and wild!
Wail, desolate woman!
Weep, fatherless child!
But the grain of God springs up
From ashes beneath,
And the crown of his harvest
Is life out of death.

Not in vain on the dial
The shade moves along,
To point the great contrasts
Of right and of wrong:
Free homes and free altars,
Free prairie and flood, —
The reeds of the Swan's Marsh,
Whose bloom is of blood!

On the lintels of Kansas
That blood shall not dry;
Henceforth the Bad Angel
Shall harmless go by;
Henceforth to the sunset,
Unchecked on her way,
Shall Liberty follow
The march of the day.

THE 2D GREAT AMERICAN DISUNION

June 25, Friday: James McGee was [hanged](#) on the same gallows on which [Washington Goode](#) and [John White Webster](#) had been hung, for having stabbed to death Deputy Warden Galen C. Walker in the Massachusetts State Prison on December 15, 1856.

For what would be known as the four Treaties of Tientsin, the [Chinese](#) negotiators were not allowed to dispute a single word of the prepared English text, involving 56 articles. Privileges for the Russians and for the Americans were included along with the privileges for the British and the French. From this point Westerners would import and sell their [opium](#) at will.

DOPERS

FIGURING OUT WHAT AMOUNTS TO A “HISTORICAL CONTEXT” IS WHAT

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THE CRAFT OF HISTORICIZING AMOUNTS TO, AND THIS NECESSITATES
DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN THE SET OF EVENTS THAT MUST HAVE
TAKEN PLACE BEFORE EVENT E COULD BECOME POSSIBLE, AND MOST
CAREFULLY DISTINGUISHING THEM FROM ANOTHER SET OF EVENTS
THAT COULD NOT POSSIBLY OCCUR UNTIL SUBSEQUENT TO EVENT E.

August 6, Friday: The USS *Constellation* arrived at the Boston Navy Yard: “Hove up the anchor and stood up to the Navy Yard in tow of steam tugs. Ship in charge of pilot. Secured ship to the wharf. At 2:30 transferred to the receiving ship “Ohio” the Seamen, Ord. Sea., Landsmen and boys: Sent the [Marines](#) to the Marine Barracks and remainder of crew ashore on liberty.”



August 6, 1858: P.M. –Walk to Boulder Field.

The broom is quite out of bloom; probably a week or ten days. It is almost ripe, indeed. I should like to see how rapidly it spreads. The dense roundish masses, side by side, are three or four feet over and fifteen inches high. They have grown from near the ground this year. The whole clump is now about eighteen feet from north to south by twelve wide. Within a foot or two of its edge, I detect many slender little plants springing up in the grass, only three inches high, but, on digging, am surprised to find that they are two years old. They have large roots, running down straight as well as branching, much stouter than the part above ground. Thus it appears to spread slowly by the seed falling from its edge, for I detected no runners. It is associated there with indigo, which is still abundantly in bloom.

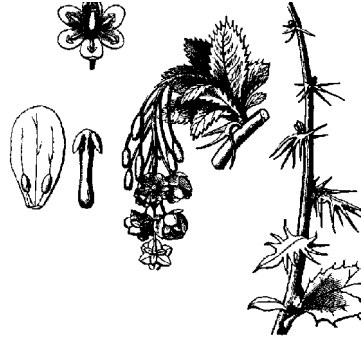
I then looked for the little groves of barberries which some two months ago I saw in the cow-dung thereabouts, but to my surprise I found some only in one spot after a long search. They appear to have generally died, perhaps dried up. These few were some two inches high; the roots yet longer, having penetrated to the soil beneath. Thus, no doubt, some of those barberry clumps are formed; but I noticed many more small barberry plants standing

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single, most commonly protected by a rock.

BARBERRY



Cut a couple of those low scrub apple bushes, and found that those a foot high and as wide as high, being clipped by the cows, as a hedge with shears, were about twelve years old, but quite sound and thrifty.

If our sluggish river, choked with potamogeton, might seem to have the slow-flying bittern for its peculiar genius, it has also the sprightly and aerial kingbird [Eastern Kingbird █ *Tyrannus tyrannus*] to twitter over and lift our thoughts to clouds as white as its own breast.

Emerson is gone to the Adirondack country with a hunting party. Eddy says he has carried a double-barrelled gun, one side for shot, the other for ball, for Lowell killed a bear there last year. But the story on the Mill-Dam is that he has taken a gun which throws shot from one end and ball from the other!

I think that I speak impartially when I say that I have never met with a stream so suitable for boating and botanizing as the Concord, and fortunately nobody knows it. I know of reaches which a single country seat would spoil beyond remedy, but there has not been any important change here since I can remember. The willows slumber along its shore, piled in light but low masses, even like the cumuli clouds above. We pass haymakers in every meadow, who may think that we are idlers. But Nature takes care that every nook and crevice is explored by some one. While they look after the open meadows, we farm the tract between the river's brinks and behold the shores from that side. We, too, are harvesting an annual crop with our eyes, and think you Nature is not glad to display her beauty to us?

Early in the day we see the dewdrops thickly sprinkled over the broad leaves of the potamogeton. These cover the stream so densely in some places that a web-footed bird can almost walk across on them.

Nowadays we hear the squealiny notes of young hawks. The kingfisher is seen hovering steadily over one spot, or hurrying away with a small fish in his mouth, sounding his alarum nevertheless. The note of the wood pewee is now more prominent, while birds generally are silent.

This is pure summer; no signs of fall in this, though I have seen some maples, as above the Assabet Spring, already prematurely reddening, owing to the water, and for some time the *Cornus sericea* has looked brownish red.

Every board and chip cast into the river is soon occupied by one or more turtles of various sizes. The sternotherus oftenest climbs up the black willows, even three or more feet.

I hear of pickers ordered out of the huckleberry-fields, and I see stakes set up with written notices forbidding any to pick there. Some let their fields, or allow so much for the picking. Sic transit gloria ruris. We are not grateful enough that we have lived part of our lives before these evil days came. What becomes of the true value of country life? What if you must go to market for it? Shall things come to such a pass that the butcher commonly brings round huckleberries in his cart? It is as if the hangman were to perform the marriage ceremony, or were to preside at the communion table. Such is the inevitable tendency of our civilization, —to reduce huckleberries to a level with beef-steak. The butcher's item on the door is now "calf's head and huckleberries." I suspect that the inhabitants of England and of the Continent of Europe have thus lost their natural rights with the increase of population and of monopolies. The wild fruits of the earth disappear before civilization, or are only to be found in large markets. The whole country becomes, as it were, a town or beaten common, — & the fruits left are a few hips & haws.

HANGING

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August 10, Tuesday: [Thomas Hardy](#) viewed, through a telescope from a distant hill, the final public [execution](#) in England, that of [James Seale or Searle](#), which took place in Dorset in Dorchester and would be the final [hanging](#) of any kind in that town.⁴⁵⁶



FINAL EXECUTIONS		
July 25, 1857	John Lewis	hanged outside the municipal prison of Cardiff before a crowd of 12,000, the final public hanging in Wales
August 10, 1858	James Seale or Searle	Thomas Hardy watched last execution in Dorset in Dorchester, and final public execution in England
March 8, 1862	Captain Nathaniel Gordon	had been smuggling fresh slaves into the USA, hanged for this (classified as piracy)



August 10: P.M. – To yew, etc.

It is cloudy and misty dog-day weather, with a good deal of wind, and thickening to occasional rain this afternoon. This rustling wind is agreeable, reminding me, by its unusual sound, of other and ruder seasons. The most of a storm you can get now is rather exhilarating. The grass and bushes are quite wet, and the pickers are driven from the berry-field. The rabbit’s-foot clover is very wet to walk through, holding so much water. The fine grass falls over from each side into the middle of the woodland paths and wets me through knee-high. I see many tobacco-pipes, now perhaps in their prime, if not a little late, and hear of pine-sap. The Indian pipe, though coming with the fungi and suggesting, no doubt, a close relation to them,— a sort of connecting link between flowers and fungi,— is a very interesting flower, and will bear a close inspection when fresh. The whole plant has a sweetish1 earthy odor, though Gray says it is inodorous. I see them now on the leafy floor of this oak wood, in families of twelve to thirty sisters of various heights, —from two to eight inches,— as close together as they can stand, the youngest standing close up to the others, all with faces yet modestly turned downwards under their long hoods. Here is a family of about twenty-five within a diameter of little more than two inches, lifting the dry leaves for half their height in a cylinder about them. They generally appear bursting up through the dry leaves, which, elevated around, may serve to prop them. Springing up in the shade with so little color,

456. James Seale or Searle, for slashing the throat of Sarah Ann Guppy or Griffy with a cheese knife and setting the house on fire.



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they look the more fragile and delicate. They have very delicate pinkish half-naked stems with a few semitransparent crystalline-white scales for leaves, and from the sinuses at the base of the petals without (when their heads are drooping) more or less dark purple is reflected, like the purple of the arteries seen on a nude body. They appear not to flower only when upright. Gray says they are upright in fruit. They soon become black-specked, even before flowering.

Am surprised to find the yew with ripe fruit (how long?), – though there is a little still small and green, – where I had not detected fertile flowers. It fruits very sparingly, the berries growing singly here and there, on last year's wood, and hence four to six inches below the extremities of the upturned twigs. It is the most surprising berry that we have: first, since it is borne by an evergreen, hemlock-like bush with which we do not associate a soft and bright-colored berry, and hence its deep scarlet contrasts the more strangely with the pure, dark evergreen needles; and secondly, because of its form, so like art, and which could be easily imitated in wax, a very thick scarlet cup or mortar with a dark-purple (?) bead set at the bottom. My neighbors are not prepared to believe that such a berry grows in Concord.

I notice several of the hylodes hopping through the woods like wood frogs, far from water, this mizzling [day]. They are probably common in the woods, but not noticed, on account of their size, or not distinguished from the wood frog. I also saw a young wood frog, with the dark line through the eye, no bigger than the others. One hylodes which I bring home has a perfect cross on its back, – except one arm of it.



The wood thrush's was a peculiarly woodland nest, made solely of such materials as that unfrequented grove afforded, the refuse of the wood or shore of the pond. There was no horsehair, no twine nor paper nor other relics of art in it.

October 7, Thursday: [Frederick Douglass](#) prepared resolutions for a public meeting on [capital punishment](#) held at Rochester, New York, that included various Quakers among its attendees, and [Susan B. Anthony](#). In effect, his argument was:

Murder is no cure for murder.

Resolved, That life is the great primary and most precious and comprehensive of all human rights– that whether it be coupled with virtue, honour, or happiness, or with sin, disgrace and misery, the continued possession of it is rightfully not a matter of violation; that it is neither deliberately nor voluntarily destroyed, either by individual separately, or combined in what is called Government; that it is a right derived solely and directly from God –the source of all goodness and the centre of all authority– and is most manifestly designed by Him to be held, esteemed, and revered among men as the most sacred, solemn and inviolable of all his gifts to man.

Resolved, That the love of man as manifested in his actions to his fellows, whether in his public or private relations, has very been the surest test of the presence of God in the soul; that the degree in which the sacredness of human life has been exemplified in all ages of the world, has been the truest index of the measure of human progress; that in proportion as the tale of barbarism has receded, a higher regard has been manifested for the God-given right to life, its inviolability has been strengthened in proportion to the development of the intellect and moral sentiments, and that conscience, reason, and revelation unite their testimony against the continuance of a custom, barbarous in its origin, antichristian in its continuance, vindictive in its character, and demoralizing in its tendencies.



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Resolved, That any settled custom, precept, example or law, the observance of which necessarily tends to cheapen human life, or in any measure serves to diminish and weaken man's respect for it, is a custom, precept, example, and law utterly inconsistent with the law of eternal goodness written on the constitution of man by his Maker, and is diametrically opposed to the safety, welfare and happiness of mankind; and that however ancient and honorable such laws and customs may be in the eyes of prejudice, superstition and bigotry, they ought to be discountenanced, abolished and supplanted by a higher civilization and a holier and more merciful Christianity.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting, when a criminal is firmly secured in the iron grasp of the government, and on that account can no longer endanger the peace and safety of society; that when he is wasted and emaciated by heavy chains and horrid thoughts, and long confinement in a gloomy cell - when, as it is often the case, he is completely transformed, both in temper and spirit- the execution of the death penalty on such an one is an act of cold blooded and barbarous enormity, and is as cowardly as it is cruel, and that instead of repressing and preventing the horrid crime of murder, it really serves by shocking and blunting the finer and better feelings of human nature, to undermine respect for human life, and leads directly to the perpetration of the crime which it would extinguish.

Resolved, That the time to advance opinions and principles is when those opinions and principles are upon trial, and threatened with outrage; and that while we have respectfully remained silent till the ends of justice have been served in fixing the guilt of the criminal, we now come in the sacred office of humanity and benevolence, to appeal for mercy at the hands of his Excellency, Governor King, on behalf of young Ira Stout, and to ask that his punishment shall be commuted from being capitally executed to imprisonment for life.

Resolved, That punishment as such, is a form of revenge, wreaking upon the criminal the pain he has inflicted on another, wrong in principle and pernicious in practice; arises out of the lowest propensities of human nature, and is opposed to the highest civilization: that it has no sanction in the spirit and teachings of Christ, which everywhere abound in loving kindness and forgiveness.

Resolved, That rather than visit the crime upon the head of the criminal, thus descending to his level, we ought to place him in a position to develop his higher nature; and instead of descending to a spirit of revenge, and degrading ourselves on one hand, and the criminal on the other, we should urge a thorough reform in our criminal laws - basing them on the truly Christian principle of love and good will towards men, and to reject forever the cold blooded and barbarous principle of retaliation.

Resolved, That a copy of the foregoing resolutions and the proceedings of this meeting, be transmitted to his Excellency, Governor King, as an expression of the sense of this meeting, and that the same be subscribed by the Chairman and Secretary thereof.



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December 10, Friday: Henry F.N. Meuse (AKA Charles Douse) had stabbed Peter Becker to death on June 4th, 1858 while robbing him of \$100. Deputy Sheriff of San Francisco, [California](#) John Ellis read the death warrant as the prisoner stood on the trap door in the Broadway County jailyard. “The culprit was neatly dressed in a white shirt, brown pants, black frock coat, black satin vest and black cravat.” The body was allowed to [hang](#) for 30 minutes before being cut down.

At the funeral of Barzillai Frost, the [Reverend Convers Francis](#) “offered a very fervent prayer.”



At 7:30 AM [Henry Thoreau](#) and [Thomas Cholmondeley](#) left [Friend Daniel Ricketson](#)’s for the Tarkiln Hill train station. Thoreau went to the [Boston Society of Natural History](#)⁴⁵⁷ and charged out [Edward Jesse](#)’s GLEANINGS IN NATURAL HISTORY, SECOND SERIES (he would make entries in his 2d Commonplace Book)⁴⁵⁸

JESSE’S GLEANINGS

and Zadock Thompson’s HISTORY OF VERMONT (1842),⁴⁵⁹

THOMPSON’S HISTORY I

THOMPSON’S HISTORY II

THOMPSON’S HISTORY III

and evidently Cholmondeley stayed in Boston or departed for the Southern states on his way ostensibly to the West Indies (at any rate, Cholmondeley was gone before the end of the year at the outside).



[THOREAU MADE NO ENTRY IN HIS JOURNAL FOR DECEMBER 10th]

457. These would be the proceedings, for this year, of the Society:

PROCEEDINGS, FOR 1858

458. [Edward Jesse](#). GLEANINGS IN NATURAL HISTORY, WITH LOCAL RECOLLECTIONS... TO WHICH ARE ADDED MAXIMS AND HINTS FOR AN ANGLER. London, 1832.

[Edward Jesse](#). GLEANINGS IN NATURAL HISTORY, SECOND SERIES. TO WHICH ARE ADDED SOME EXTRACTS FROM THE UNPUBLISHED MSS. OF... MR. WHITE OF SELBORNE. London, 1834.

[Edward Jesse](#). GLEANINGS IN NATURAL HISTORY, THIRD AND LAST SERIES. TO WHICH ARE ADDED NOTICES OF SOME OF THE ROYAL PARKS AND RESIDENCES. London, 1835.

(Since many American publishers consider [Thoreau](#) to fall within their category “nature writer” — some have considered him the creator of this category in America, others derogate him as one of it poorest exemplars because he fails to focus on the pleasantries they vend. It may be useful, therefore, to contrast Thoreau with a well-published “nature writer” of his own period such as this Edward Jesse, Esquire — why don’t you struggle to detect some similarities with the life or writings of HDT?)

459. For the associated 1842 map of Vermont, see:

THOMPSON’S 1842 MAP



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1859

During this year the [Illinois](#) legislature chose Stephen A. Douglas for the federal Senate over [Abraham Lincoln](#), by a vote of 54 to 46 — but this was not because the Illinois legislature was experiencing any distress at Lincoln's racism.

There was a report from Arkansas that 3 white men there had been [hanged](#) when they had been found to have in their possession literature by the troublesome [antislavery](#) racist [Hinton Rowan Helper](#). In London, in this year, the US Minister was approached by a representative of Her Majesty's government, on behalf of a visiting white Englishman who had been caught distributing Helperite materials in Virginia. The US Minister refused to intercede on behalf of Her Majesty's government in the internal criminal affairs of the State of Virginia.

[THE 2D GREAT AMERICAN DISUNION](#)

(Get this, just as it wasn't enough to be a white man in the southern states of the United States of America, it also wasn't enough to be a racist — being the **wrong kind** of white racist could get one into really big trouble in the fastest way.)

[William Still](#) started a press campaign to end racial discrimination on Philadelphia's railroad cars. After [John Brown](#) and his insurrection at [Harpers Ferry](#) failed, Still would shelter some of his men and help them escape capture.

January 14, Friday: According to the diary of Phebe Townley Dod in Cedar Grove, New Jersey, her relative Albert, who had procured a ticket, reported to her that on Wednesday morning James McMahon, condemned for killing his sister-in-law, had been [hung](#) in the presence of some 150 spectators. Albert reported — and this made Phebe feel faint — that the man had “met his fate apparently very fearlessly, said nothing, neither raised his eyes, only beat his heart continuously with a cross which he held in his hand. After he was raised in the air, he beat it twice and then his hand dropped and the cross fell to the floor.”

When Hans von Bülow conducted Die Ideale by Franz Liszt at the Berlin Singakademie, there were hisses during the conclusion. The conductor left, then returned and announced “I request that the hissers leave the hall, since it was not customary to hiss here.” Silence filled the hall as he completed the concert.



January 14. The fog-frosts and the fog continue, though considerable of the frostwork has fallen. This forenoon I walk up the Assabet to see it. The hemlocks are perhaps a richer sight than any tree,—such Christmas trees, thus sugared, as were never seen. On [*sic*] side you see more or less greenness, but when you stand due north they are unexpectedly white and rich, so beautifully still, and when you look under them you see some great rock, or rocks, all hoary with the same, and a finer frost on the very fine dead hemlock twigs there and on hanging roots and twigs, quite like the cobwebs in a grist-mill covered with meal,—and it implies a stillness like that; or it is like the lightest down glued on. The birch, from its outline and its numerous twigs, is also one of the prettiest trees in this dress.

The fog turns to a fine rain at noon, and in the evening and night it produces a glaze, which this morning,—

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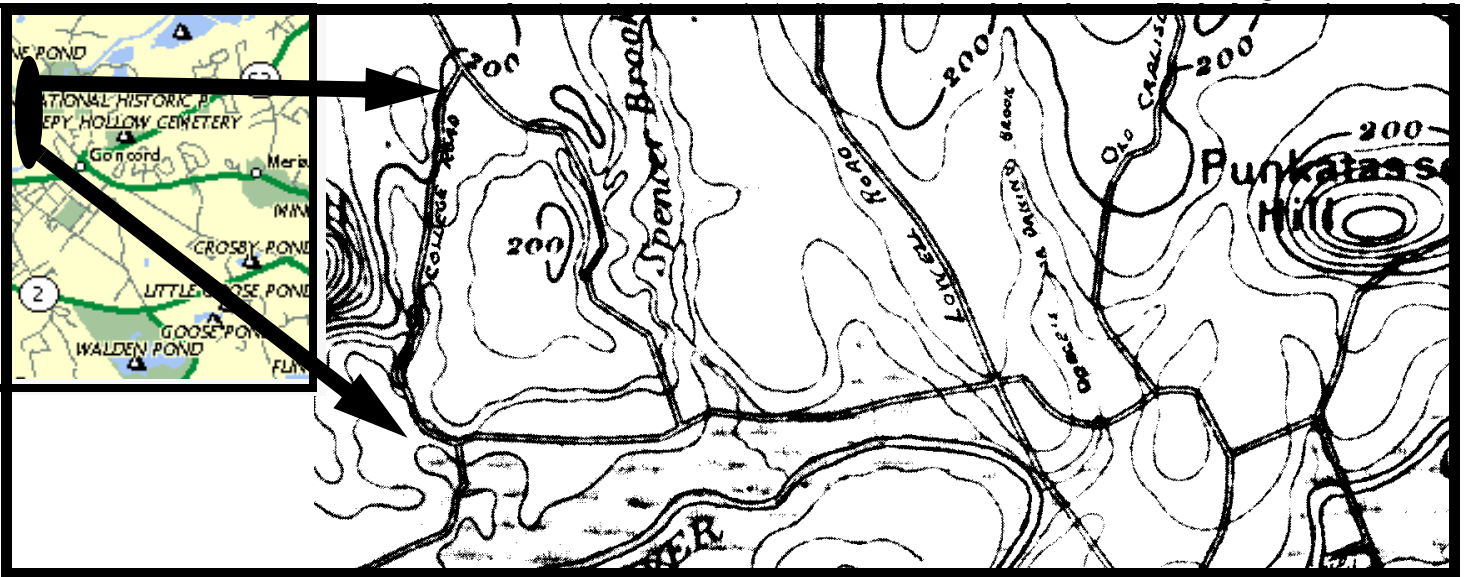
June 10, Friday: [John Brown](#) was at Westport, Connecticut.

Pyotr Illyich Tchaikovsky graduated from the School of Jurisprudence at St. Petersburg, Russia.

William Morris (AKA "Tipperary Bill") was [hanged](#) in the Broadway jailyard in San Francisco, [California](#) for having gunned down Richard K. Doak in a bar on November 19th, 1858.

C.F. Bernard wrote to Charles Wesley Slack to request the distribution of a report. He praised the 28th Congregational Society and the Reverend [Theodore Parker](#), and sent well wishes.

[Henry Thoreau](#) surveyed on College Road below Annursnack Hill near the Acton town line, for Daniel Brooks Clark, and was informed that the road had received that name due to "a house so called once standing on it":



He also surveyed 16 acres near Prescott Barrett's house on Barrett's Mill Road west of Spencer Brook. Thoreau remarked that the whole area had belonged to Peter Temple in 1811, and part was sold to Jonathan Hildreth and part to Stephen Barrett. The List of Bills in the FIELD NOTES shows a bill for \$2.⁵⁰ for this date.



http://www.concordlibrary.org/scollect/Thoreau_surveys/4.htm



June 10, Friday: Surveying for D. B. Clark on "College Road," so called in Peter Temple's deed in 1811. Clark thought from a house so called once standing on it. Cut a line, and after measured it, in a thick wood, which passed within two feet of a blue jay's nest which was about four feet up a birch, beneath the leafy branches and quite exposed. The bird sat perfectly still with its head up and bill open upon its pretty large young, not moving in the least, while we drove a stake close by, within three feet, and cut and measured, being about there twenty minutes at least.



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October 16, Sunday-October 18, Tuesday: [Henry Thoreau](#) was working on his natural history materials.

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ROSS/ADAMS COMMENTARY

The raid by the [John Brown](#) forces on the federal arsenal at [Harpers Ferry](#), Virginia involved 5 persons of color and 13 whites. Of the persons of color, 2 were killed during the raid, [John Anderson Copeland, Jr.](#) and [Shields Green](#) were captured and would be [hanged](#) and one managed to escape. That is to say, back from the West, Captain Brown committed the treason of attempting to free men and women from their rightful masters by seizing the weapons at the federal arsenal, and of course the owners of these men and women, who had a perfect right to resist being deprived of the use of their property, of course resisted being deprived, and therefore of course there were deaths during his raid upon this locale where the government to which he owed loyalty was manufacturing its weapons of slaughter. Although Brown did not effectively free the slaves of the sovereign state of Virginia –except of course that he freed those who listened to him and took up pikes and were gunned down– he was able effectively to sacrifice the lives of other people to his own enthusiasms. That has to count as a personal “win” of sorts! For instance, the 1st to be killed by the raiders at Harpers Ferry was

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Hayward Shepard, a free black who happened to be in harm's way because he was serving as the baggage handler between the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad terminal and the Winchester & Harpers Ferry Railroad Terminal (the old man failed to respond appropriately to the raiders' orders). There were 21 fighters with Brown in the raid, and of these 10 were killed outright, 5 were captured for trial and would be hanged, and 7 escaped, of which 2 would later be captured and tried and hanged. Although the US government did effectively save the contents of their arsenal from these bold insurrectionaries, shortly thereafter the weapons of the arsenal would be seized by the insurrectionary Governor Wise of Virginia, who had as perfect a right to them as anyone, and he would distribute these weapons to [Confederate](#) troops.

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[NOTE: There was every reason to believe that if Governor Wise of Virginia could get his hands on [Frederick](#)

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[Douglass](#), the black leader would hang alongside the white leader.



Douglass was at the moment in Philadelphia. The telegraph operator there would seek out Douglass and warn him, so that he would have three full hours in which to effect his escape — before the telegram ordering his arrest needed to be handed over to the local sheriff. Douglass, in fleeing went first to familiar haunts, the Hoboken, New Jersey lodgings of [Ottile Assing](#), and only from there to Rochester and then to Ontario, and



England. On the dock in Rochester, embarking for Ontario, William Parker would press into Douglass's hand what was purported to be the pistol dropped by Gorsuch  when he had been shot dead in Christiana (actually, it seems that the man had been unarmed with anything more deadly than a curiously foolish moral courage).]

This sort of situation has been described many times, and you will forgive me if I here repeat one of the early descriptions of this sort of situation:

More weapons, more murder.

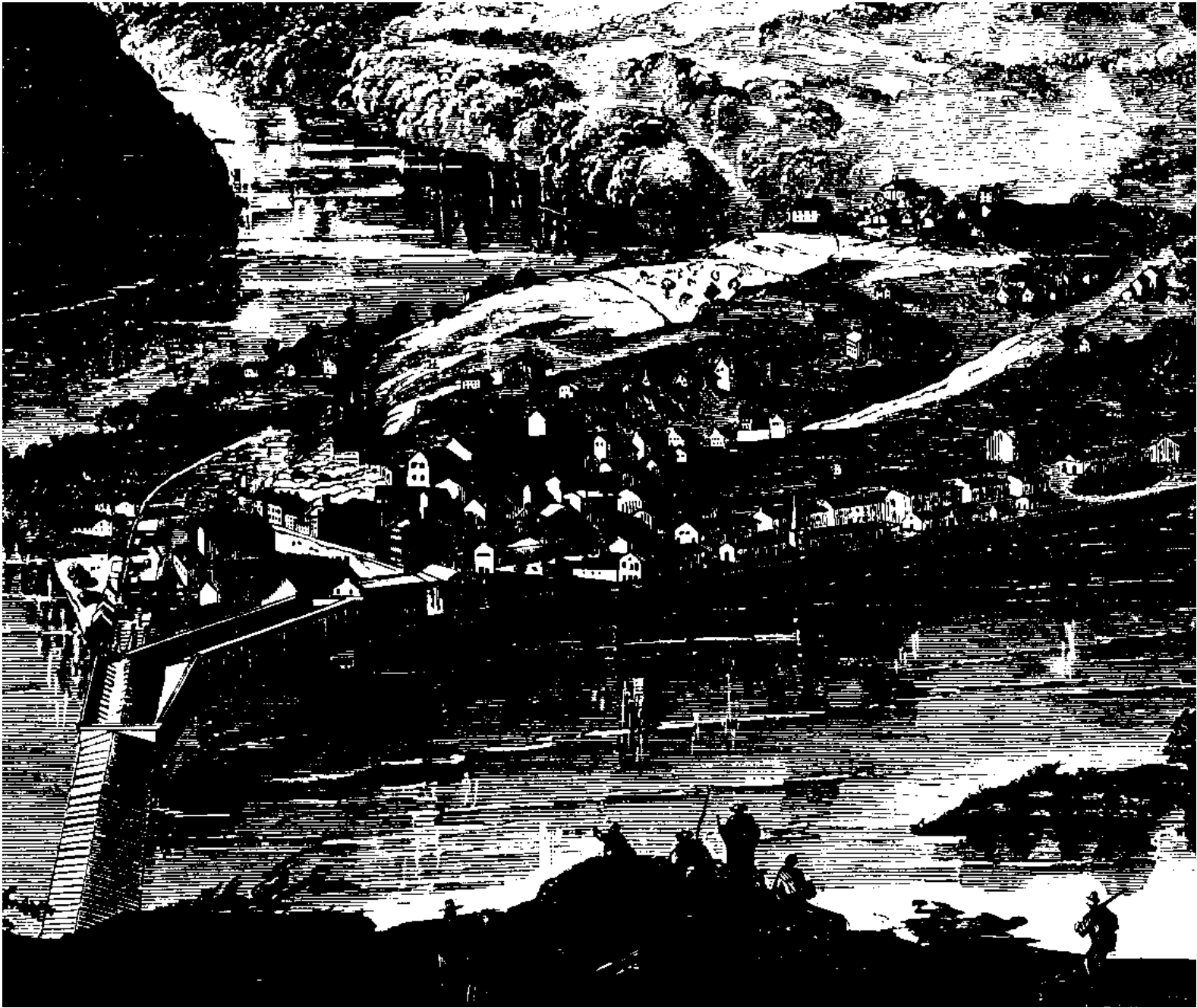
—Lao Tzu



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Harpers Ferry from Brown's overlook in Maryland

Brown's Sharps carbine, his "[Henry Ward Beecher's Bible](#)," was captured with him after the [Harpers Ferry](#) skirmish, along with that famous [George Washington](#) sword he had just stolen from



← **George Washington's sword
(in the famous Leutze painting).**

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a plantation, and to which he had as much right as its current owner (or, for that matter, its original owner).



After they would take Captain John Brown's Sharps rifle away from him at Harpers Ferry, they would allow this little boy to pose with it. Grow up, son, and be a Christian like us: kill people, own slaves.

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Although [Charles Plummer Tidd](#) opposed the attack on [Harpers Ferry](#), he nevertheless took part both in the



raid on the planter Washington's home and on the federal arsenal itself. He and [John Brown](#)'s son [Owen Brown](#) escaped, and made their way on foot toward the northwestern part of Pennsylvania.

(Tidd would visit Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Canada and take part in the planning for the rescue of [Aaron D. Stevens](#) and [Albert Hazlett](#) while the Mason Commission of the Congress was presuming that he had been killed in the fighting at the arsenal.)

[Owen Brown](#) was 35 at the time of the [Harpers Ferry](#) raid. He escaped on foot toward the northwestern part of Pennsylvania. It was due largely to his psychological grit, and physical endurance despite a withered arm, that the little group of survivors of which he was the leader did reach safety. He and [Charles Plummer Tidd](#) would find work and safety under assumed names, on an oil well crew in Crawford County, Pennsylvania. After the civil war he would grow grapes for some time in Ohio in association with two of his brothers, before migrating to [California](#). He would be the only one of the 5 escaped raiders not to participate in the civil war, and would be the last of the raiders when he died on January 8th, 1889 near Pasadena at his mountain home "Brown's Peak." He never married. A marble monument now marks his mountain grave.

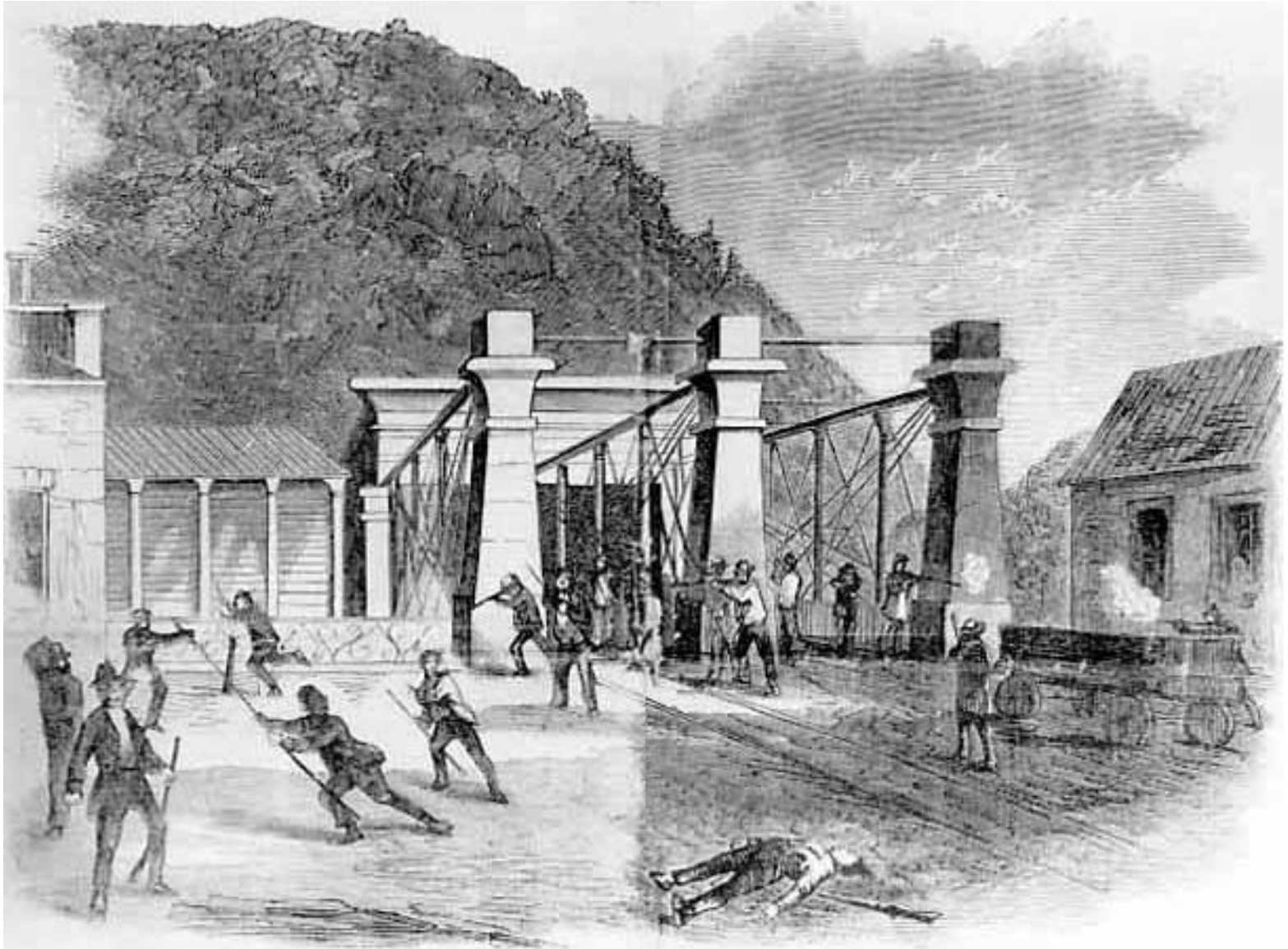


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Perhaps this white corpse is meant to be [Oliver Brown](#), usefully lying dead in the foreground of a contemporary news illustration? (This wouldn't have been a depiction of [Dangerfield Newby](#), also shot down at the bridge, since he was a very tall man with a splendid physique and since his mulatto body was abused by the attackers, who among other things snipped off its ears as trophies before they herded some hogs to root on it.)

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[John E. Cook](#) was sent out by Captain Brown to collect weapons, and instead climbed into a tree and observed the fight.



When [John Brown](#) sent his son [Watson Brown](#) out to negotiate, he was gunned down by the citizens of [Harpers Ferry](#).



(He would manage to crawl back to the shelter of the engine house and live on, groaning, his head cradled in [Edwin Coppoc](#)'s lap, for a considerable period. He would expire on October 18, 1859. His widow Isabella M. Thompson Brown would remarry with his brother [Salmon Brown](#).)

[John Henry Kagi](#) became trapped along with [John Anderson Copeland, Jr.](#) and [Lewis Sheridan Leary](#) in the armory called Hall's Rifle Works. When the three men made a run for it, heading down to the Shenandoah

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River, they came under a crossfire and Kagi was the first killed, his body being left to float in the river.



A monument would be erected by the citizens of [Oberlin, Ohio](#) in honor of their three free citizens of color who had died in the raid or been hanged, [John Anderson Copeland, Jr.](#), [Lewis Sheridan Leary](#), and [Shields Green](#) (the 8-foot marble monument would be moved to Vine Street Park in 1971).

Captain [John Brown](#) sent [William Thompson](#) out from the engine house to negotiate under flag of truce, and the mob of citizens placed him under arrest, took him to the local hotel barroom, discussed what to do, dragged him into the street, executed him by shooting him in the head, and dumped his body into the Potomac River.⁴⁶⁰ Thompson's brother [Dauphin Adolphus Thompson](#) also was killed during the raid.



Dauphin



William

460. An interesting fact about this case is that it just about got a young lady into serious trouble. According to a letter of explanation she would provide to the local paper, Miss C.C. Fouke was the daughter of the tavernkeeper at [Harpers Ferry](#), operating at the local hotel. The story had gone around, after the fact, that on the 2d day of the raid in her father's saloon in the hotel she had thrown her body in front of this Brown conspirator [William Thompson](#) while the mob was debating whether or not to off him. Rather than be classed with Pocahontas or with [Florence Nightingale](#), Miss Fouke attempted to explain the rationale for her conduct to the public at large. She had indeed thrown her body between the mob and the captive, she freely confessed, but she had done so, she needed to point out, "without touching him," and she insisted also that her action was not motivated by any concern that this man was about to be shot in the head, but rather because her sister-in-law was resting in the next room and should not be disturbed as she was ailing — and/or out of a conviction that the man before being offed should be tried by a court of law.

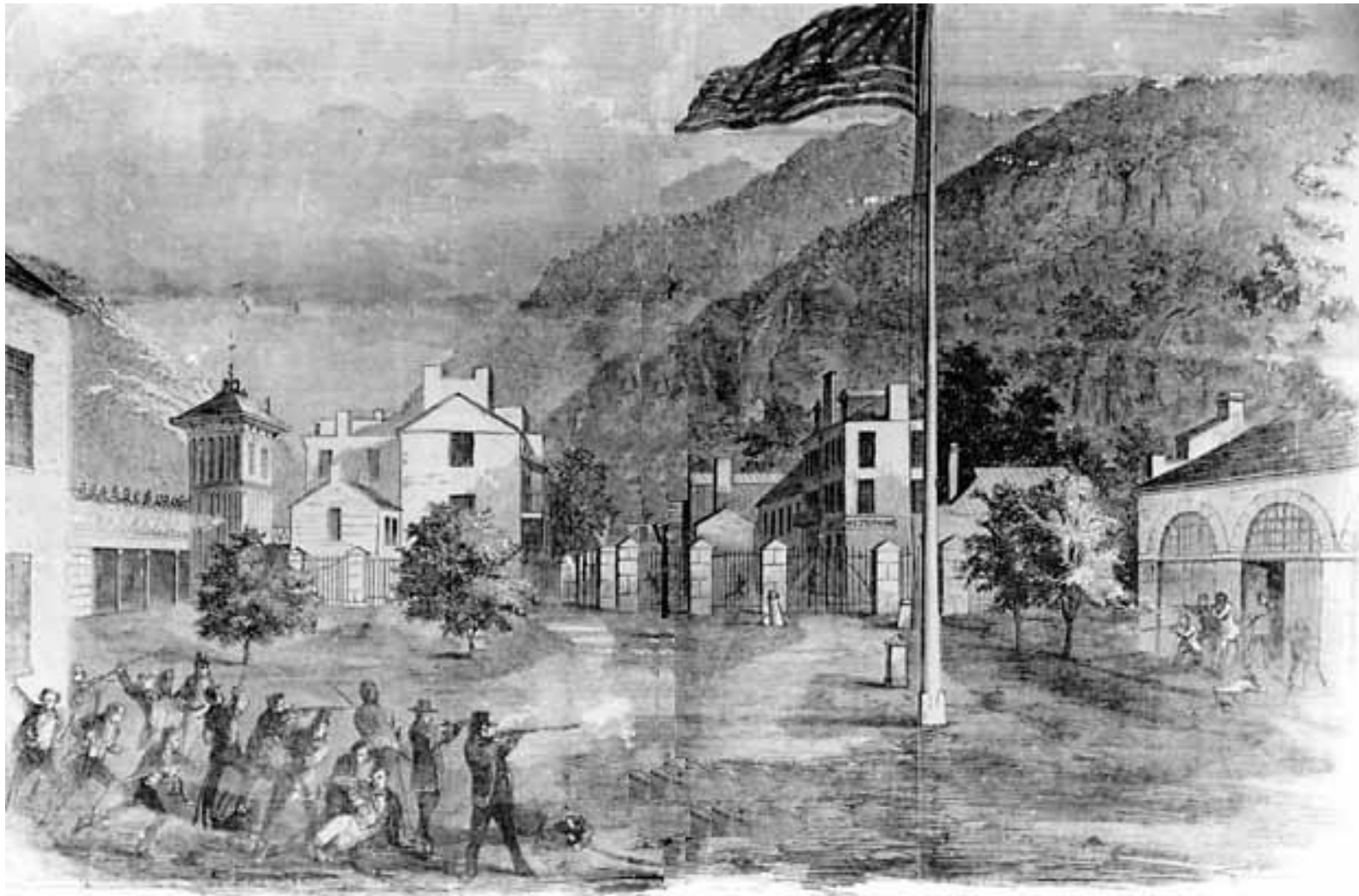
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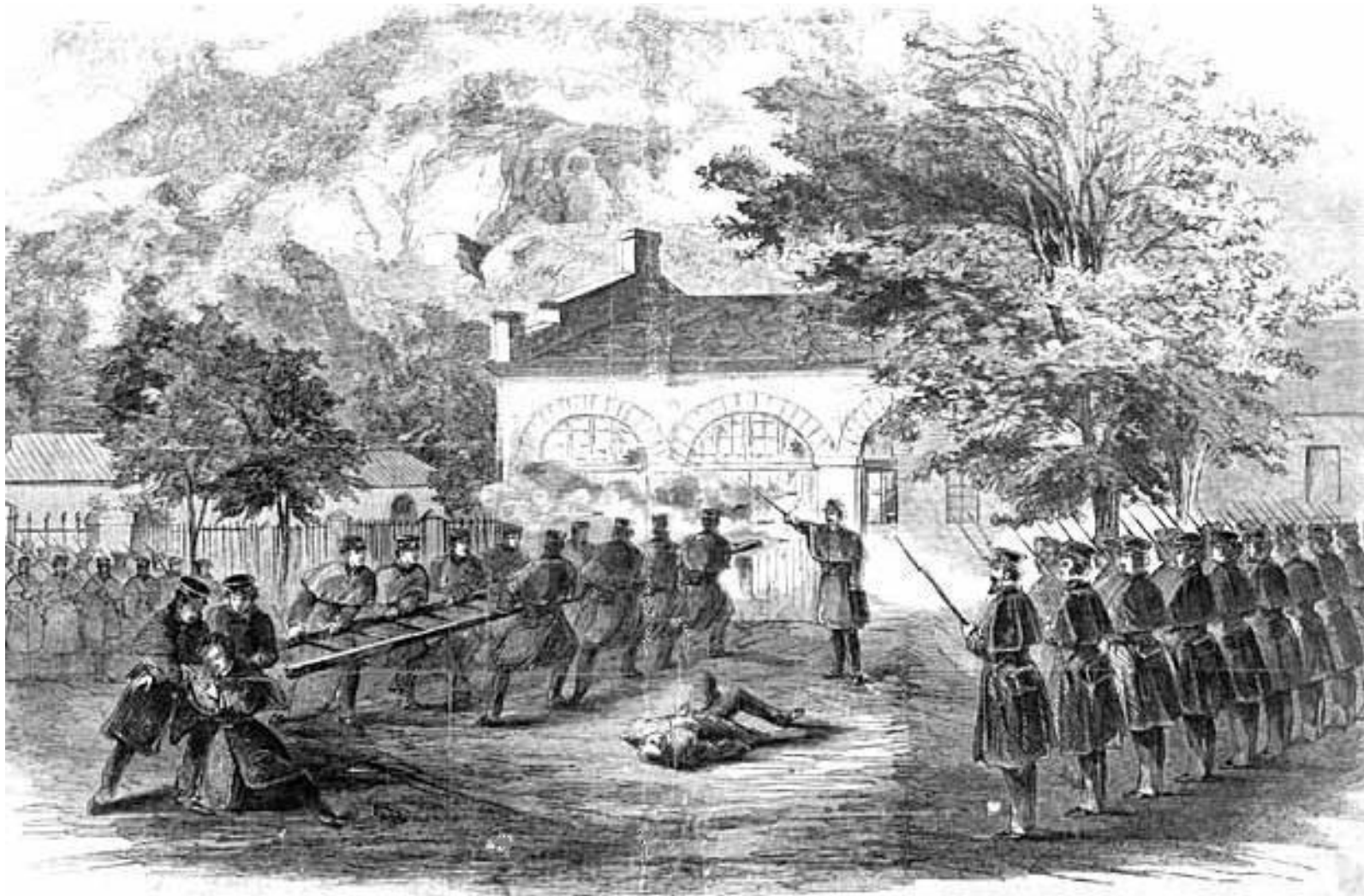
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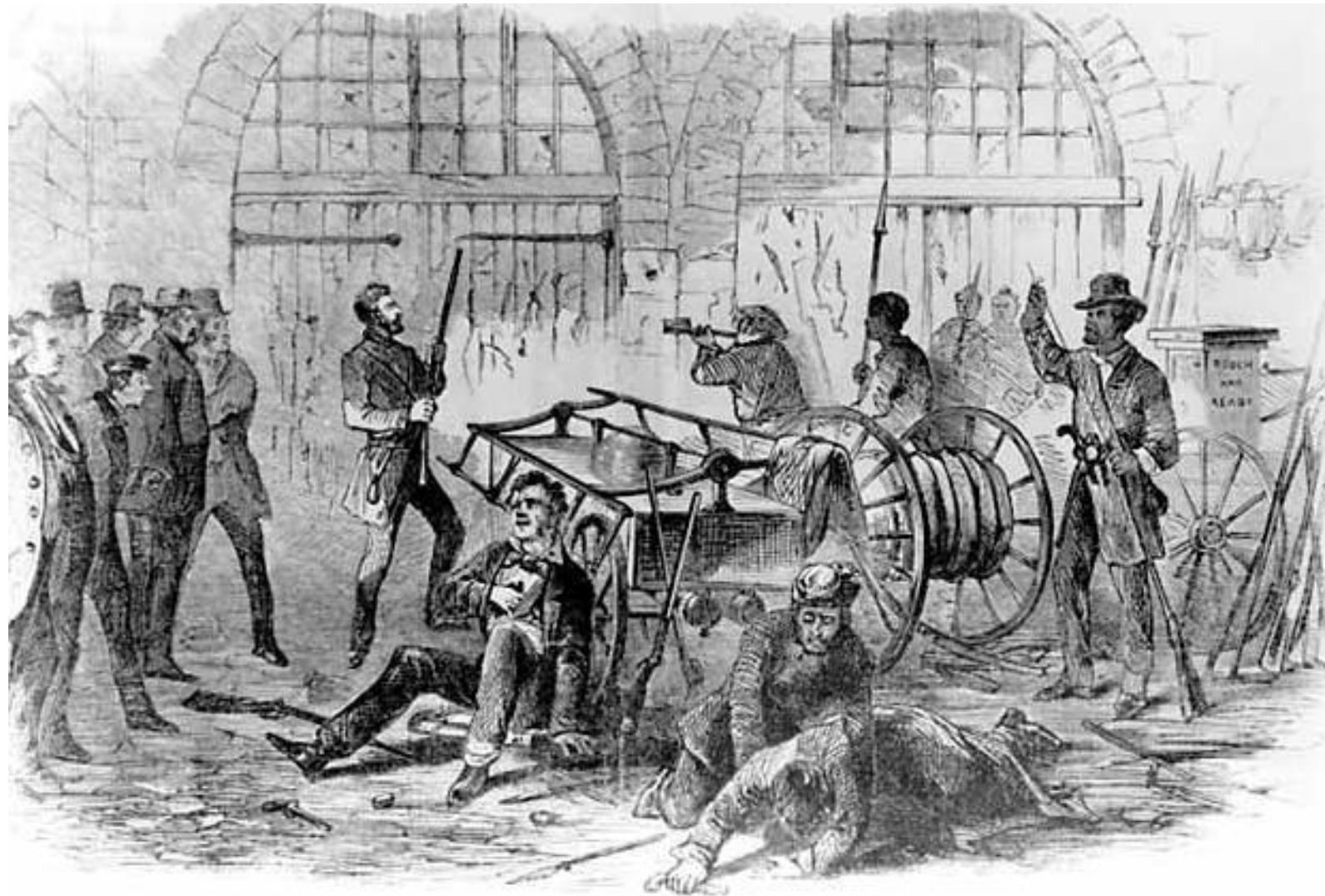
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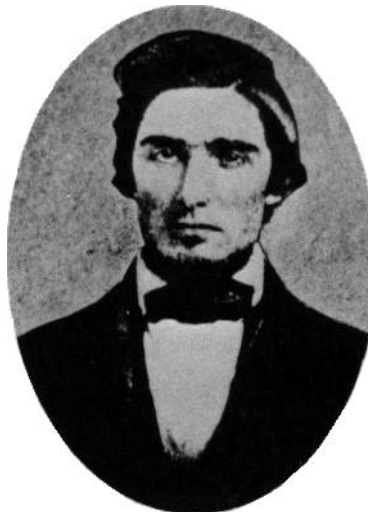
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[Jeremiah Goldsmith Anderson](#) was pinned against the wall by a bayonet-thrust of one of the [Marines](#).



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“One of the prisoners described Anderson as turning completely over against the wall in his dying agony. He lived a short time, stretched on the brick walk without, where he was subjected to savage brutalities, being kicked in body and face, while one brute of an armed farmer spat a huge quid of tobacco from his vile jaws into the mouth of the dying man, which he first forced open.” (You see, these people were incorrectly perceiving him to be not a white man but a light mulatto. When opportunistic medical students would go to transport his remains to their college in Winchester, Virginia for use as a dissection specimen, their treatment of this “light mulatto” corpse was so casual as to be recorded by a bystander: “In order to take him away handily they procured a barrel and tried to pack him into it. Head foremost, they rammed him in, but they could not bend his legs so as to get them into the barrel with the rest of the body. In their endeavor to accomplish this feat, they strained so hard that the man’s bones or sinews fairly cracked.”)

In the engine house at Harpers Ferry, [Edwin Coppoc](#) surrendered with Captain [John Brown](#).




(He would be tried by a jury of his white male peers immediately after the conclusion of the trial of Captain Brown. He would be sentenced to death on November 2, 1859. From prison before his hanging, he would write to his adoptive mother, of a nonresistant-abolitionist [Quaker](#) farm family, that he was

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"sorry to say that I was ever induced to raise a gun."

He would be hung with [John E. Cook](#) on December 16, 1859. The body would be buried in Winona after a funeral attended by the entire town. Later the body would be reburied in Salem OH.)

You will remember that in July 1854,  when [Moncure Daniel Conway](#) graduated from Harvard Theological School and was ordained, his classmate [William H. Leeman](#) had not graduated with him. This fellow had drunk some illicit alcohol Conway had smuggled onto campus and then refilled Conway's illicit bottles with water, and so student Conway had turned him in to the college administration. Leeman had been refused graduation on grounds of moral turpitude, and warned not to make any attempt to preach. At this point he reappears, or his mutilated body reappears — salvaged from the waters after being used for target practice, and thrown into the common pit on the bank of the Shenandoah River upstream from [Harpers Ferry](#).⁴⁶¹



461. See pages 87-8 and 240-1 of d'Entremont, where this account of Leeman was put together for the first time.

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[Barclay Coppoc](#) escaped from Harpers Ferry.



“We were together eight days before [[John E. Cook](#) and [Albert Hazlett](#) were] captured, which was near Chambersburg, and the next night Meriam [[Francis Jackson Meriam](#)] left us and went to Shippensburg, and there took cars for Philadelphia. After that there were but three of us left [[John Brown](#)’s son [Owen Brown](#), [Barclay Coppoc](#), and [Charles Plummer Tidd](#)], and we kept together, until we got to Centre County, Pennsylvania, where we bought a box and packed up all heavy luggage, such as rifles, blankets, etc., and after being together three or four weeks we separated and I went on through with the box to Ohio on the cars.” ([Osborn Perry Anderson](#), [Barclay Coppoc](#), and [Francis Jackson Meriam](#) would travel separately to safe exile in the area of [St. Catharines](#), Canada. [Barclay Coppoc](#) would go from there to Iowa, with Virginia agents in close pursuit. He would be back in Kansas in 1860, helping to run off some Missouri slaves, and would nearly lose his life in a 2d undertaking of this kind. On July 24, 1861 he would become a 1st Lieutenant in Colonel Montgomery’s regiment, the 3d Kansas Infantry. Eventually he would be killed by the fall of a train into the Platte river from a trestle forty feet high, the supports of which had been burned away by Confederates.)



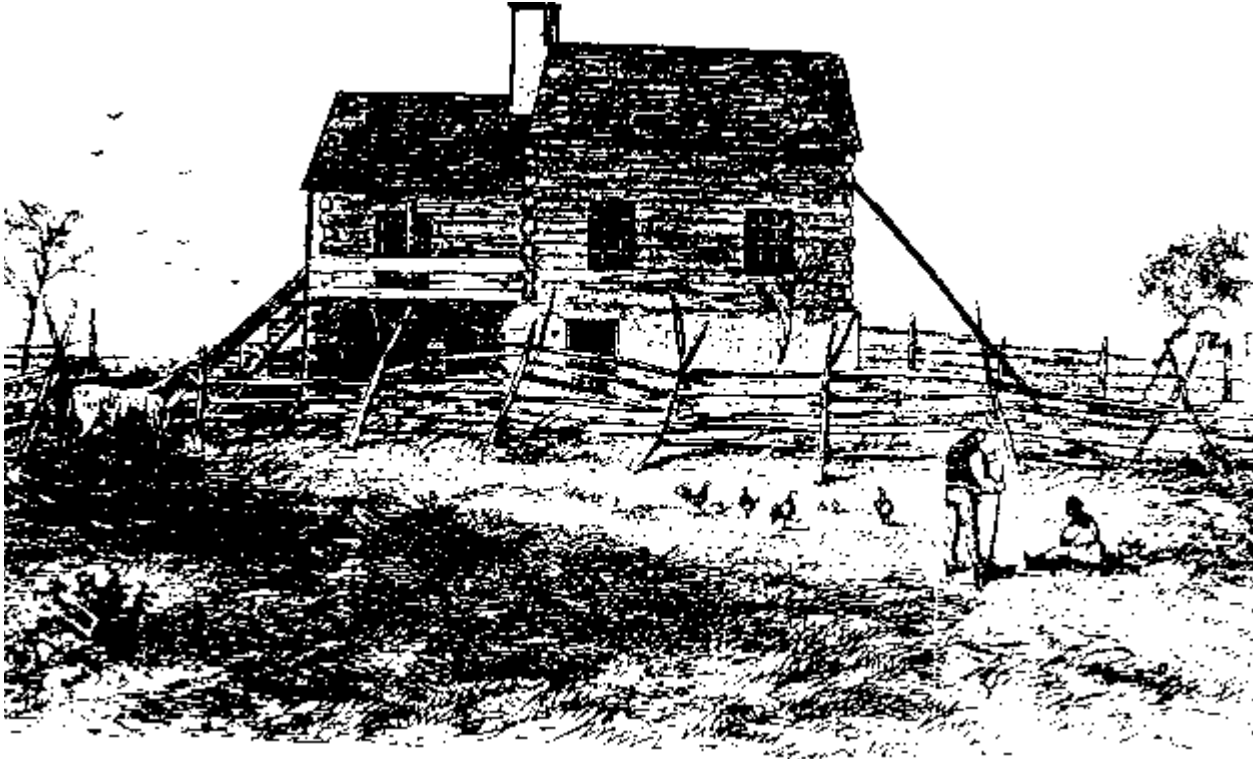
[Francis Jackson Meriam](#) was not killed or captured in the raid on [Harpers Ferry](#) because he had been left at the

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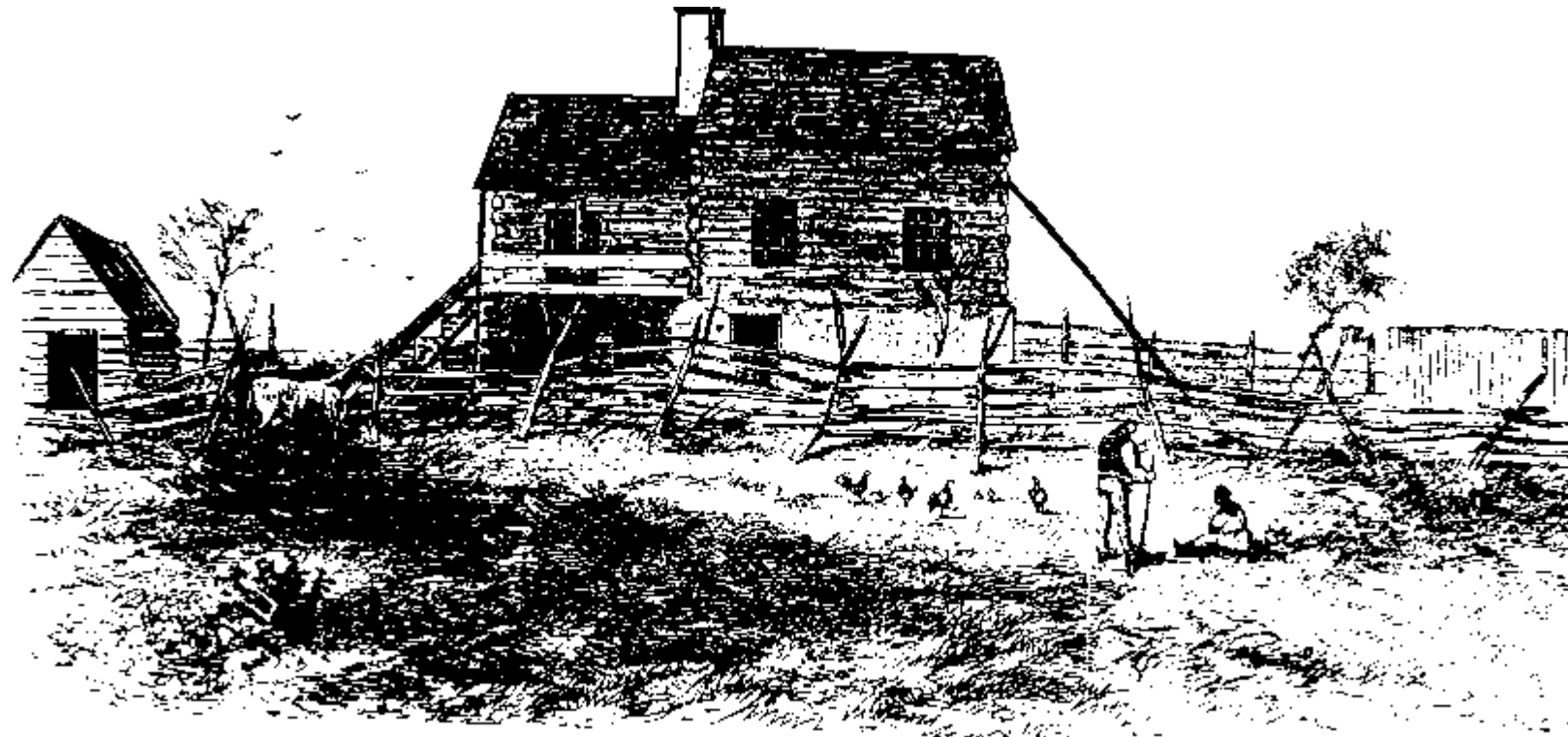
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Kennedy farmhouse, in one of his fits of despair.



He was a great drag on the other escapees as they hiked through the woods as he needed to stop and rest every mile or so.



To the great relief of the others, Meriam boarded a train in the town of Shippensburg heading for Philadelphia. Eventually [Thoreau](#) would put him on a train headed for Canada.

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[Oliver Brown](#), the youngest of [John Brown](#)'s sons to reach adulthood, had been shot dead at the age of 20 while serving as a sentinel at the river bridge.



His and 9 other corpses left by the Provisional Army were "subjected to every indignity that a wild and madly excited people could heap upon them." A horrified reporter could only rationalize: "It may be thought that there was cruelty and barbarity in this; but the public mind had been frenzied by the outrages of these men, who, being outlaws, were regarded as food for carrion birds, and not as human creatures." The corpses the Provisional Army needed burial but [Harpers Ferry](#) residents refused to allow their cemetery to be used for these who had sought to create servile insurrection. Two men, hired for \$5 from the public purse to dispose of the corpses, heaved the bodies into the bed of a common wagon –witnesses recalled the welter of sprawling limbs– and carted them over the bridge to the opposite bank of the Shenandoah River, where a burial site was selected on the bank half a mile above the town. Without any ceremony the corpses were dumped into a shallow common pit.

By a week after the execution of John Brown, our nation would be teetering on the edge of civil war. The disruption, however, was not directly related to John Brown's raid upon the federal arsenal at [Harpers Ferry](#), but had to do instead with Helperism and its attitude of antislavery racism. The struggle was over the Speakership in the new US House of Representatives. Neither of the primary parties had the requisite 119 votes to win this position, and so a decision would be reachable only after there had been some considerable defection on one side or the other, from party discipline. The [Republicans](#) had proposed Representative John Sherman for this important position, and the Democrats were countering that no one who had endorsed Helperism, a concoction of recommended murder and treason, could possibly be considered for such a vital and influential role. If Representative Sherman got the job, the Southern states would be forced to withdraw their representatives from the halls of the US federal government. In endorsing [Hinton Rowan Helper](#)'s book during the spring of this year, the South's attitude was, Sherman had endorsed treason and murder.

By the 2d day of the debate over the speakership, a linkage was being suggested between Helper's ideas and [John Brown](#)'s actions. The illegality of the actions was coming to be considered to have been a direct expression of this strange belief system, according to which there was a "higher law" to which humans owed their primary obedience. The idea that there was a law higher than human law was considered an utterly presumptuous and iniquitous doctrine.



October 16. Sunday. P.M.– Paddle to Puffer's and thence walk to Ledum Swamp and Conant's Wood. A cold, clear, Novemberish day. The wind goes down and we do not sail. The button-bushes are just bare, and the black willows partly so, and the mikania all fairly gray now. I see the button-bush balls reflected on each side, and each wool-grass head and recurved withered sedge or rush is also doubled by the reflection. The *Scirpus lacustris* is generally brown, the *Juncus militaris* greener. It is rather too cool to sit still in the boat unless in a sunny and sheltered place. I have not been on the river for some time, and it is the more novel to me this

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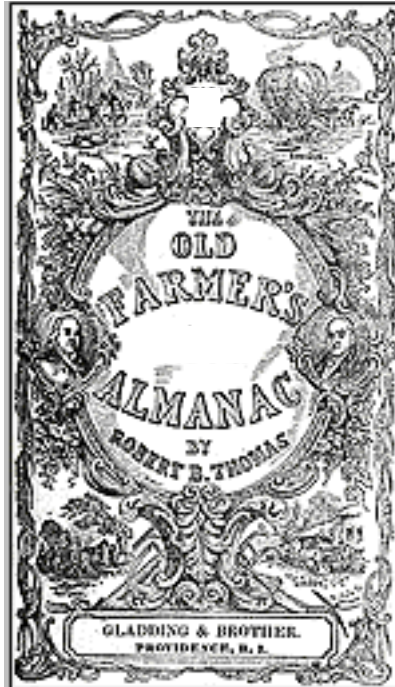
cool day.

When I get to Willow Bay I see the new musquash-houses erected, conspicuous on the now nearly leafless shores. To me this is an important and suggestive sight, as, perchance, in some countries new haystacks in the yards; as to the Esquimaux the erection of winter houses. I remember this phenomenon annually for thirty years. A more constant phenomenon here than the new haystacks in the yard, for they were erected here probably before man dwelt here and may still be erected here when man has departed. For thirty years I have annually observed, about this time or earlier, the freshly erected winter lodges of the musquash along the riverside, reminding us that, if we have no gypsies, we have a more indigenous race of furry, quadrupedal men maintaining their ground in our midst still. This may not be an annual phenomenon to you. It may not be in the Greenwich almanac or ephemeris, but it has an important place in my Kalendar. So surely as the sun appears to be in Libra or Scorpio, I see the conical winter lodges of the musquash rising above the withered pontederia and flags. There will be some reference to it, by way of parable or otherwise, in *my* New Testament. Surely, it is a defect in our Bible that it is not truly ours, but a Hebrew Bible. The most pertinent illustrations for us are to be drawn, not from Egypt or Babylonia, but from New England.

Talk about learning our *letters* and being *literate*! Why, the roots of *letters* are *things*. Natural objects and phenomena are the original symbols or types which express our thoughts and feelings, and yet American scholars, having little or no root in the soil, commonly strive with all their might to confine themselves to the imported symbols alone. All the true growth and experience, the living speech, they would fain reject as "Americanisms." It is the old error, which the church, the state, the school ever commit, choosing darkness rather than light, holding fast to the old and to tradition. A more intimate knowledge, a deeper experience, will surely originate a word. When I really know that our river pursues a serpentine course to the Merrimack, shall I continue to describe it by referring to some other river no older than itself which is like it, and call it a *meander*? It is no more *meandering* than the Meander is *musketaquidding*. As well sing of the nightingale here as the Meander. What if there were a tariff on words, on language, for the encouragement of home manufactures? Have we not the genius to coin our own? Let the schoolmaster distinguish the true from the counterfeit.

They go on publishing the "chronological cycles" and "movable festivals of the Church" and the like from mere habit, but how insignificant are these compared with the annual phenomena of your life, which fall within your experience! The signs of the zodiac are not nearly of that significance to me that the sight of a dead sucker in the spring is. That is the occasion for an *immoveable* festival in my church. Another kind of Lent then begins in my thoughts than you wot of. I am satisfied then to live on fish alone for a season.

Men attach a false importance to celestial phenomena as compared with terrestrial, as if it were more respectable and elevating to watch your neighbors than to mind your own affairs. The nodes of the stars are not the knots we have to untie. The phenomena of our year are one thing, those of the almanac another. For October, for



instance, instead of making the sun enter the sign of the scorpion, I would much sooner make him enter a musquash-house. Astronomy is a fashionable study, patronized by princes, but not fungi. "Royal Astronomer." The snapping turtle, too, must find a place among the constellations, though it may have to supplant some doubtful characters already there. If there is no place for him overhead, he can serve us bravely underneath,



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supporting the earth.

This clear, cold, Novemberish light is inspiring. Some twigs which are bare and weeds begin to glitter with hoary light. The very edge or outline of a tawny or russet hill has this hoary light on it. Your thoughts sparkle like the water surface and the downy twigs. From the shore you look back at the silver-plated river.

Every rain exposes new arrowheads. We stop at Clamshell and dabble for a moment in the relics of a departed race.

Where we landed in front of Puffer's, found a jug which the haymakers had left in the bushes. Hid our boat there in a clump of willows, and though the ends stuck out, being a pale green and whitish, they were not visible or distinguishable at a little distance.

Passed through the sandy potato-field at Witherell's cellar-hole. Potatoes not dug; looking late and neglected now; the very vines almost vanished on some sandier hills.

When we emerged from the pleasant footpath through the birches into Witherell Glade, looking along it toward the westering sun, the glittering white tufts of the *Andropogon scoparius*, lit up by the sun, were affectingly fair and cheering to behold. It was already a cheerful Novemberish scene. A narrow glade stretching east and west between a dense birch wood, now half bare, and a ruddy oak wood on the upper side, a ground covered with tawny stubble and fine withered grass and cistuses. Looking westward along it, your eye fell on these lit tufts of andropogon [Vide Nov. 8th.], their glowing half raised a foot or more above the ground, a lighter and more brilliant whiteness than the downiest cloud presents (though seen on one side they are grayish) [Vide (by chance) same date, or October 16th, 1858].

Even the lespedezas stand like frost-covered wands, and now hoary goldenrods and some bright-red blackberry vines amid the tawny grass are in harmony with the rest; and if you sharpen and rightly intend your eye you see the gleaming lines of gossamer (stretching from stubble to stubble over the whole surface) which you are breaking. How cheerful these cold but bright white waving tufts! They reflect all the sun's light without a particle of his heat, or yellow rays. A thousand such tufts now catch up the sun and send to us its light but not heat. His heat is being steadily withdrawn from us. Light without heat is getting to be the prevailing phenomenon of the day now. We economize all the warmth we get now.

The frost of the 11th, which stiffened the ground, made new havoc with vegetation, as I perceive. Many plants have ceased to bloom, no doubt. Many *Diplopappus linariifolius* are gone to seed, and yellowish globes. Such are the stages in the year's decline. The flowers are at the mercy of the frosts. Places where ercethites grows, more or less bare, in sprout-lands, look quite black and white (black withered leaves and white down) and wintry.

At Ledum Swamp, feeling to find the *Vaccinium Oxycoccus* berries, I am struck with the coldness of the wet sphagnum, as if I put my hands into a moss in Labrador, – a sort of winter lingering the summer through there. To my surprise, now at 3.30 P.M., some of the sphagnum in the shade is still stiff with frost, and when I break it I see the glistening spiculae. This is the most startling evidence of winter as yet. For only on the morning of the 11th was there any stiffening of the ground elsewhere. Also in the high sedgy sprout-land south of this swamp, I see hoary or frost-like patches of sedge amid the rest, where all is dry; as if in such places (the lowest) the frost had completely bleached the grass so that it now looks like frost. I think that that is the case.

It is remarkable how, when a wood has been cut (perhaps where the soil was light) and frosts for a long while prevent a new wood from springing up there, that fine sedge (*Carex Pennsylvanica*?) will densely cover the ground amid the stumps and dead sprouts. It is the most hardy and native of grasses there. This is the grass of the sprout-lands and woods. It wants only the sun and a reasonably dry soil. Then there are the grasses and sedges of the meadows, but the cultivated fields and the pastures are commonly clothed with introduced grasses. The nesaea is all withered, also the woodwardia The ledum and *Andromeda Polifolia* leaves have fallen. The *Kalmia glauca* is still falling. The spruce, also, has fallen.

The ledum smells like a bee, – that peculiar scent they have. C., too, perceives it.

See a hairy woodpecker on a burnt pitch pine. He distinctly rests on his tail constantly. With what vigor he taps and bores the bark, making it fly far and wide, and then darts off with a sharp whistle!

I remark how still it is to-day, really Sabbath-like. This day, at least, we do not hear the rattle of cars nor the whistle. I cannot realize that the country was often as still as this twenty years ago.

Returning, the river is perfectly still and smooth. The broad, shallow water on each side, bathing the withered grass, looks as if it were ready to put on its veil of ice at any moment. It seems positively to invite the access of frost. I seem to hear already the creaking, shivering sound of ice there, broken by the undulations my boat makes. So near are we to winter. Then, nearer home, I hear two or three song sparrows on the button-bushes sing as in spring, – that memorable tinkle, – as if it would be last as it was first.

The few blackish leaves of pontederia rising above the water now resemble ducks at a distance, and so help to conceal them now that they are returning.

The weeds are dressed in their frost jackets, naked down to their close-fitting downy or flannel shirts. Like athletes they challenge the winter, these bare twigs. This cold refines and condenses us. Our spirits are strong, like that pint of cider in the middle of a frozen barrel.

The cool, placid, silver-plated waters at even coolly await the frost. The musquash is steadily adding to his winter lodge. There is no need of supposing a peculiar instinct telling him how high to build his cabin. He has had a longer experience in this river-valley than we. Evergreens, I should say, fall early, both the coniferous and the broad-leaved.





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That election-cake fungus which is still growing (as for some months) appears to be a *Boletus*.

I love to get out of cultivated fields where I walk on an imported sod, on English grass, and walk in the fine sedge of woodland hollows, on an American sward. In the former case my thoughts are heavy and lumpish, as if I fed on turnips. In the other I nibble groundnuts.

Your hands begin to be cool, rowing, now. At many a place in sprout-lands, where the sedge is peculiarly flat and white or hoary, I put down my hand to feel if there is frost on it. It must be the *trace* of frost. Since the frost of the 11th, the grass and stubble has received another coat of tawny.

That andropogon bright feathery top may be put with the clematis seed and tail. Only this cold, clear sky can light them up thus.

The farmer begins to calculate how much longer he can safely leave his potatoes out.

Each ball of the button-bush reflected in the silvery water by the riverside appears to me as distinct and important as a star in the heavens viewed through "optic glass." This, too, deserves its Kepler and Galileo.

As nature generally, on the advent of frost, puts on a russet and tawny dress, so is not man clad more in harmony with nature in the fall in a tawny suit or the different hues of Vermont gray? I would fain see him glitter like a sweet-fern twig between me and the sun.

A few green yellow lily pads lie on the surface waiting to be frozen in. All the *Lycopodium complanatum* I see to-day has shed its pollen.

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October 22, Saturday: Ludwig (Louis) Spohr died after a short illness, in Kassel, at the age of 75.

After Moroccans attacked unfinished fortifications at Ceuta in August, Spain declared war on Morocco.

The breakaway city of Buenos Aires was defeated by Argentinian troops and forced to rejoin the nation.

The Lunatic Asylum West of the Alleghany Mountains opened for patients in Weston, Virginia. This facility would wind up in West Virginia due to the Civil War and be renamed the West Virginia Hospital for the Insane. It would later be known as Weston State Hospital and then as Weston Hospital.⁴⁶²

PSYCHOLOGY

The Reverend [Samuel Joseph May](#) sailed from England for the United States.



[Franklin Benjamin Sanborn](#) wrote from his Canadian hideout to his co-conspirator of the [Secret "Six"](#) conspiracy, the Reverend [Theodore Parker](#), in exile in Rome: "Our old friend struck his blow in such a way, —either by his own folly or the direction of Providence,— that it has recoiled, and ruined him, and perhaps those who were his friends.... The poor old man fought like a hero, and will die like one, —by the rope, it is

462. Street, W.R. A CHRONOLOGY OF NOTEWORTHY EVENTS IN AMERICAN [PSYCHOLOGY](#). Washington DC: American Psychological Association, 1994



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most likely. Two of his sons were shot by his side, and three-fourths of his men. There has been nothing so much in the 'high Roman fashion' seen in this country for many a year. Now he lies in a Virginia jail, tormented with questions, wounded, and waiting his trial for murder and treason.... What course the government will pursue remains to be seen; but most likely they will follow up the matter as closely as possible; and we shall have plenty of treason-trials, and bloody threats, and some bloodshed. All this will weaken the Slave Power; and the good of the tragedy will outweigh the evil, no doubt."

[Henry Thoreau](#) developed his thoughts on Captain [John Brown](#), positing a future in which just as the American society was doing away with [dueling](#) or fighting one another with pistols, in course of time it might be possible also to do away with fighting one another with lawyers — "Such improvements are not altogether unheard of."



October 22: P.M.—To Cliffs and Fair Haven.

I am surprised to find in the field behind the top of the Cliffs a little vetch still perfectly fresh and blooming, where Wheeler had grain a year or two since, with numerous little plump pods four or five eighths of an inch long and commonly four roundish seeds to each. It must be, I think, Gray's *Vicia tetrasperma*, though he makes that have white flowers (apparently same as Bigelow's *V. pusilla*, also made to have white flowers, but Dewey calls them "bluish white"), while these are purple. Otherwise it corresponds.

A marsh hawk sails over Fair Haven Hill. In the wood-path below the Cliffs I see perfectly fresh and fair *Viola pedata* flowers, as in the spring, though but few together. No flower by its second blooming more perfectly brings back the spring to us.

In my blustering walk over the Mason and Hunt pastures yesterday, I saw much of the withered indigo-weed which was broken off and blowing about, and the seeds in its numerous black pods rattling like the rattlepod though not nearly so loud.

The very surface of the earth itself has been rapidly imbrowned of late, like the acorns in their cups, in consequence of cold and frost; and the evergreens and few deciduous plants which are slow to wither, like Jersey tea, are more and more distinct.

F. hyemalis quite common for a week past.

One would say that the modern Christian was a man who had consented to say all the prayers in their liturgy, provided you would let him go straight to bed and sleep quietly afterward. All his prayers begin with "Now I lay me down to sleep." He has consented to perform certain old-established charities, too, after a fashion, but he doesn't wish to hear of any new-fangled ones; he doesn't want to have any codicils added to the contract, to fit it to the present time,—unexpected demands made on him, after he has said his prayers. He shows the whites of his eyes on the Sabbath and the blacks all the rest of the week.

It was evidently far from being a wild and desperate and insane attempt. It was a well-matured plan.

The very fact that he had no rabble or troop of hirelings about him would alone distinguish him from ordinary heroes. His company was small indeed, because few could be found worthy to pass muster. He would have no rowdy or swaggerer, no profane swearer, for, as he said, he always found these men to fail at last. He would have only men of principle, and they are few. When it was observed that if he had had a chaplain his would have been a perfect Cromwellian company, he said that he would have had a chaplain if he could [HAVE] found one who could perform that service suitably.

Each one who there laid down his life for the poor and oppressed was thus a picked man, culled out of many thousands, if not millions; a man of principle, of rare courage, and of devoted humanity; ready to lay down their lives any moment for the weak and enslaved. It may be doubted if there were any more their equals in all the land, for their leader scoured the land far and wide, seeking to swell his troop. These alone stood forward, prepared to step between the oppressor and the oppressed. Surely they were the very best men you could select to be hung. That was the greatest compliment this country could pay them. They were ripe for the gallows.

I regard this event as a touchstone designed to bring out with glaring distinctness the character of this government.

A man of Spartan habits, who at sixty has scruples about his diet at your table, must eat sparingly and fare hard, as becomes a soldier, he says, and one who is ever fitting himself for difficult enterprises.

A man of rare common sense and directness of speech, as of action; a Transcendentalist above all, a man of ideals and principles,—that was what distinguished him. Of unwavering purposes, not to be dissuaded but by an experience and wisdom greater than his own. Not yielding to a whim or transient impulse, but carrying out the purpose of a life.

He did not go to the college called Harvard; he was not fed on the pap that is there furnished. As he phrased it, "I know no more of grammar than one of your calves." But he went to the great university of the West, where he sedulously pursued the study of Liberty, for which he had early betrayed a fondness, and, having taken many degrees, he finally commenced the practice of Humanity, as you all know.

I see now that it was necessary that the bravest and humanest man in all the country should be hung. Perhaps he saw it himself. If any leniency were shown him, any compromise made with him, any treating with him at all, by the government, he might be suspected.



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We needed to be thus assisted to see our government by the light of history. It needed to see itself. Compare the platform of any or all of the political parties, which deem themselves sane, with the platform on which he lay and uttered these things!!

I foresee the time when the painter will paint that scene, the poet will sing it, the historian record it, and, with the Landing of the Pilgrims and the [Declaration of Independence](#), it will be the ornament of some future national gallery, when the present form of slavery shall be no more. We shall then be at liberty to weep for John Brown. Then and not till then we will take our revenge.

I rejoice that I live in this age, that I was his contemporary.

When I consider the spectacle of himself, and his six sons, and his son-in-law, enlisted for this fight, proceeding coolly, reverently, humanely to work, while almost all America stood ranked on the other side, I say again that it affects me as a sublime spectacle. For months if not years, sleeping and waking upon it, summering and wintering the thought, without expecting any reward but a good conscience and the gratitude of those made free. If he had had any journal advocating "his cause," it would have been fatal to his efficiency,—any "organ," as the phrase is, monotonously and wearisomely playing that same old tune, and then passing round the hat. If he had acted in any way so as to gain the respect or toleration of the government, he might have been suspected. It was the fact that the tyrant must give place to him, or he to the tyrant, that distinguished him from all other reformers that I know.

For once the Sharp's rifle and the revolver were employed in a righteous cause. The tools were in the hands of one who could use them. I know that the mass of my neighbors think that the only righteous use that can be made of them is to fight duels with them when we are insulted by other nations, or hunt Indians, or shoot fugitive slaves with them.

Talk of political parties and their platforms! he could not have any platform but that of the Harper's Ferry engine-house.

I am aware that I anticipate a little,—that he was still, at the last accounts, alive in the hands of his foes; but that being the case, I find myself most naturally thinking and speaking of him as physically dead.

The same indignation that cleared the temple once will clear it again. The question is not about the weapon, but the spirit in which you use it. No man has appeared in America as yet who loved his fellowman so well and treated him so tenderly. He lived for him; he took up his life and he laid it down for him.

Though you may not approve of his methods or his principles, cease to call names, to cry mad dog. The method is nothing; the spirit is all in all. It is the deed, the devotion, the soul of the man. For you this is at present a question of magnanimity. If the schoolboy, forgetting himself, rushed to the rescue of his drowning playmate, what though he knock down somebody on his way, what though he does not go to the same church with you, or his father belong to the same political party! Would you not like to claim kindred with him in this, though in no other thing he is like, or likely, to you?

Heroes have fought well on their stumps when their legs were shot off, but I never heard of any good done by a government that had no heart, or at least had not brains of a high order.

This is not the time to hear what Tom, Dick, or Harry is doing, or in such a case would have done. We shall have time enough to find that out in, if we do not know it already. We ask you to the extent of your ability to appreciate this man and his deed, in spite of the difference between you and him. Who cares whether he belonged to your clique, or party, or sect, or not?

A man does a brave and humane deed, and at once, on all sides, we hear people and parties declaring: "I didn't do it, nor countenance him to do it, in any conceivable way. It can't fairly be inferred from my past career." Now, I am not interested to hear you define your position. I don't know that I ever was, or ever shall be. I am not now, at any rate. I think [IT] is mere egotism, and impertinent.

On the whole my respect for my fellow-men, except as one may outweigh a million, is not being increased these days. I have noticed the cold-blooded way in which newspaper-writers and men generally speak of this event, as if an ordinary malefactor, though one of unusual pluck,—as the Governor of Virginia says, using the language of the cockpit, "the gamest man he ever saw,"—had been caught and were about to be hung. He was not dreaming of his foes when the Governor thought he looked so brave.

Think of him,—of his rare qualities!—such a man as it takes ages to make, and ages to understand; no mock hero, not the representative of any party. A man such as the sun may never rise upon again in this benighted land, to whose making went the costliest material, the finest adamant, the purest gold; sent to be the redeemer of those in captivity;—and the only use to which you can put him, after mature deliberation, is to hang him at the end of a rope. I need not describe him. He has stood where I now stand; you have all seen him. You who pretend to care for Christ crucified, consider what you are about to do to him who offered himself to be the savior of four millions of men!

I wish to correct the tone and some of the statements of the newspapers respecting the life and character and last action of John Brown. The newspapers seem to ignore, or perhaps they are really ignorant of, the fact that there are at least as many as one or two individuals to a town throughout the North who think much as I do about him and his enterprise. I do not hesitate to assert that they are an important and growing party.

I speak for the slave when I say that I prefer the philanthropy of John Brown to that philanthropy which neither shoots me nor liberates me.

Talk of failure and throwing his life away! he is not dead yet in any sense, and if he were dead he would still live. Were the battles of Black Jack and Ossawatimie and many encounters of less note useless and a failure? I

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think that it was he more than any other who made Kansas as free as she is, who taught the slaveholder that it was not safe for him to carry his slaves thither. None of the political parties have ever accomplished anything of the sort. It was he who taught Missouri that it was not profitable to hold slaves in that neighborhood. Was it a failure to deliver from bondage thirteen human beings and walk off with them by broad daylight, for weeks if not months, at a leisurely pace, through one State after another, for half the length of the North, conspicuous to all parties, with a price set upon his head, going into a court-room on his way and telling what he had done? To face singly in his work of righteousness the whole power of this unrighteous government, and successfully too! Who has gained the most ground within five years,—Brown or the Slave Power?

And this, not because the government was lenient, but because none of its menials dared to touch him. They counted the cost and concluded that a thousand dollars was not enough.

There are a few—there are more than you suppose—who cannot help thinking of that man now in the clutches of the enraged slaveholder.

He is one of that class of whom we hear a great deal, but, for the most part, see nothing at all,—the Puritans. It is in vain to kill him. He died lately in the time of Cromwell, but he reappeared here. Why should he not? Some of the Puritan stock are said to have come over and settled in New England. They were a class that did something else than celebrate their forefathers' day and eat parched corn in remembrance of their ancestors. They were neither Democrats nor Republicans. They were men of simple habits, straightforward, prayerful; not thinking much of rulers who did not fear God, not making many compromises, or seeking after available candidates.

He is of the same age with the century. He is what is called a thin and wiry-looking man, being composed of nerves instead of flesh, some five feet nine or ten inches high, with a sharp eye, and the last time he was hereabouts wore a long white beard; with a very soldier-like bearing.

I understand his grandfather was an officer in the Revolution; that he himself was born in Connecticut, but early went to Ohio with his father. His father was a contractor who furnished beef to the army there in the last war, and young Brown, accompanying his father to the camp and assisting him in his employment, saw considerable of military life,—more perhaps than he would if he had been a soldier, for he was sometimes present at the councils of the officers. He saw enough, at any rate, to disgust him with war and excite in him a great abhorrence of it; so much so that, though he was offered some petty office in the army, he not only refused it, but also refused to train when he was warned, and was fined for it. He was then about eighteen. He said that few persons had any conception of the cost, even the pecuniary cost, of firing a single bullet in war. Above all, he learned by experience how armies were collected, supplied, and maintained in the field for a length of time,—a work which required at least as much experience and skill as to lead them in battle. And he then resolved that he would never have anything to do with war, unless it were a war for liberty. I should say that he was an old-fashioned man in his respect for the Constitution and the [Declaration of Independence](#), and his faith in the permanence of this Union. Slavery he saw to be wholly opposed to all of these, and he was its determined foe.

When the troubles first broke out in Kansas, he sent several of his sons thither to strengthen the party of the Free State men, fitting them out with such weapons as he had, telling them if the troubles should increase, and there should be need of him, he should follow, to assist them with his hand and counsel. It was not long before he felt it to be his duty to give the Free State men of Kansas, who had no leader of experience, the benefit of what experience he had had.

At a time when scarcely a man from the Free States was able to reach Kansas by any direct route, at least without having his arms taken from him, he, carrying what imperfect firelocks and other weapons he could collect, openly drove an ox-cart through Missouri, with his surveyor's compass exposed in it, and, passing for a simple surveyor, who by his very profession must be neutral, he met with no resistance and in the course of his leisurely journey became thoroughly acquainted with the plans of the Border Ruffians. For some time after his arrival he pursued, before he was known, similar tactics. When, for instance, he saw a knot of the Ruffians on the prairie, discussing, of course, the single topic that then occupied their minds, he would take his compass and one of his sons, and perhaps proceed to run an imaginary line which passed through the very spot on which that conclave had assembled, and then of course he would have some talk with them, learn their news and their plans, and when he had heard all they had to impart, he would resume his surveying, and run on his line till he was out of sight. This is enough to show that his plans were not crazily laid.

For a good part of his life he was a surveyor, part of the time, I think, in Illinois. At one time he was engaged in wool-growing, and went to Europe once as the agent of some wool-growers; and there too he carried his common sense with him. I have been told, for instance, that he made such a remark as this,—that he saw why the soil of England was so rich and that of Germany (or a part of it at least) so exhausted, and he thought of writing to some of the crowned heads about it. It was because in England the peasantry lived on the soil which they cultivated, while in Germany they were gathered into villages at night. It would be worth the while to have collected all the remarks of such a traveller.

Of course, he is not so foolish as to ask or expect any favors from the government, nor probably will his friends for him.

No wonder it struck the politicians and preachers generally very forcibly that either he was insane or they, and they, being the painters, or judges, this time, decided, naturally enough, that it must be he. Such, however, as far as I learn, has not been nor is likely to be the decision of those who have recently stood face to face to him and who are now about to hang him. They have not condescended to such insult. The slaveholders and the slaves who have really dealt with him are not likely sincerely to question his sanity, but rather political or religious



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parties, who stand further off from a living man.

I almost fear to hear of his deliverance, doubting if a prolonged life, if any life, can do as much good as his death. No doubt many of you have seen the little manuscript book which he carried about him, during the Kansas troubles,—his “orderly book,” as I think he called it,—containing the names of his small company, a score at most, and half of them his own family, and the rules which bound them together,—a contract which many of them have sealed with their blood. There was one rule, as I remember, which prohibited prophane swearing in his camp. I believe that he never was able to find more than a score or so of recruits whom he would accept, and only ten or a dozen in whom he had perfect faith.

Perhaps anxious politicians may prove that only seventeen white men and five negroes were concerned in this enterprise, but the anxiety to prove this might suggest to themselves that all is not told. Why do they still dodge the truth? Do they not realize why they are so anxious? It is because of a dim consciousness of the fact, which they do not distinctly face, that at least five millions of the inhabitants of the United States who were not pining to attempt, would have rejoiced if it had succeeded. They at most only criticise the tactics.

He said that if any man offered himself to be a soldier under him who was forward to tell what he could or would do if he could only get sight of the enemy, he had but little confidence in him.

One writer says, I know not with what motive, that it is a fact “illustrative of Brown’s insanity, that he has charts of nearly all the great battle-fields of Europe.” I fear that his collection is not to be compared for completeness with that which this government possesses, however his sanity may be compared with its, though it did not make them itself, but there are two or three fields in Kansas of which he did not need to make any chart.

At any rate, I do not think it is sane to spend one’s whole life talking or writing about this matter, and I have not done so. A man may have other affairs to attend to.

The murderer always knows that he is justly punished; but when a government takes the life of a man without the consent of his conscience, it is an audacious government, and is taking a step toward its own dissolution. Is it not possible that an individual may be right and a government wrong? Are laws to be enforced simply because they were made, and declared by any number of men to be good, when they are not good? Is there any necessity for a man’s being a tool to perform a deed of which he disapproves? Is it the intention of lawmakers that good men shall be hung ever? Are judges to interpret the law according to the letter, and not the spirit? Who is it whose safety requires that Captain Brown be hung? Is it indispensable to any Northern man? If you do not wish it, say so distinctly. What right have you to enter into a compact with yourself (even) that you will do thus or so, against your better nature? Is it for you to make up your mind,—to form any resolution whatever,—and not accept the convictions that are forced upon you, and which even pass your understanding?

Any man knows when he is justified, and not all the wits in the world can enlighten him on that point.

I do not believe in lawyers,—in that mode of defending or attacking a man,—because you descend to meet the judge on his own ground, and, in cases of the highest importance, it is of no consequence whether a man breaks a human law or not. Let lawyers decide trivial cases. If they were interpreters of the everlasting laws which rightfully bind man, that would be another thing.

Just as we are doing away with duelling or fighting one another with pistols. I think that we may in course of time do away with fighting one another with lawyers. Such improvements are not altogether unheard of. A counterfeiting law-factory, standing half in a slave land and half in a free! What kind of laws for freemen can you expect from that? Substantial justice!! There’s nothing substantial about it, but the Judge’s salary and the lawyer’s fee.

The thought of that man’s position and probable fate is spoiling many a man’s day here at the North for other thinking. We do not think of buying any crape this time.

It seems that one of his abettors had lived there for years, and Brown took all his measures deliberately. The country was mountainous, and it was given out that they were concerned in mining operations, and to play this part required very little invention on his part, such had been his previous pursuits and habits. Having been a surveyor, he would not make a strange figure in the fields and woods; this, too, would account [FOR] quantities of spades and pickaxes, and strangers from time to time visiting and conferring with him in a somewhat mysterious manner.

I have no respect for the judgment of any man who can read the report of that conversation and still call the principal insane. It has the ring of a saner sanity than an ordinary discipline and habits of life, than an ordinary organization, secures. Take any sentence of it,—“Any questions that I can honorably answer, I will; not otherwise. So far as I am myself concerned, I have told everything truthfully. I value my word, sir.”

He never overstated anything, but spoke within bounds. I remember particularly how, in his speech here, he referred to what his family had suffered in Kansas, never giving the least vent to his pent-up fire. It was a volcano with an ordinary chimney-flue. Also, referring to the deeds of certain Border Ruffians, he said, rapidly paring away his speech, like an experienced soldier keeping a reserve of force and meaning, “They had a perfect right to be hung.”

I would fain do my best to correct, etc., little as I know of him.

But I believe, without having any outward evidence, that many have already silently retracted their words.

They (Allen and Stark) may have possessed some of his love of liberty, indignation, and courage to face their country’s foes, but they had not the rare qualities—the peculiar courage and self-reliance—which could enable them to face their country itself, and all mankind, in behalf of the oppressed.

He could give you information on various subjects, for he had travelled widely and observed closely. He said



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that the Indians with whom he dealt in Kansas were perhaps the richest people in a pecuniary sense on the earth. The money that this government annually paid them gave so much to each member of the community. They were, moreover, more intelligent than the mass of the Border Ruffians, or that class of the inhabitants of Missouri.

Much of the time of late years he has had to skulk in the swamps of Kansas with a price set upon his head, suffering from sickness and poverty and exposure, befriended only by Indians and [A] few white men. When surprise was expressed that he was not taken, he accounted for it by saying that it was perfectly well understood that he would not be taken alive. He would even show himself openly in towns which were half composed of Border Ruffians, and transact some business, without delaying long, and yet nobody attempted to arrest [HIM], because, as he said, a small party did not like to undertake it, and a large one could not be got together in season. I thought the same of his speech which I heard some years ago,—that he was not in the least a rhetorician, was not talking to Buncombe or his constituents anywhere, who had no need to invent anything, but to tell the simple truth and communicate his resolution. Therefore he appeared incomparably strong, and eloquence in Congress or elsewhere was at a discount. It was like the speeches of Cromwell compared with those of an ordinary king. They have tried a long time; they have hung a good many, but never found the right one before.

Dispersing the sentiments of humanity! As if they were ever found unaccompanied by its deeds! as if you could disperse them as easily as water with a watering-pot and they were good only to lay the dust with!

A few ministers are doing their duty in New York. This use of the word “insane” has got to be a mere trope. Newspaper-editors talk as if it were impossible that a man could be “divinely appointed” in these days to do any work whatever, as if vows and religion were out of date as connected with any man’s daily work, and as if a man’s death were a failure and his continued life, be it of whatever character, were a success. They argue that it is a proof of his insanity that he thought he was appointed to do this work which he did,—that he did not suspect himself for a moment!

If they do not mean this, then they do not speak the truth and say what they mean. They are simply at their old tricks still.

He said truly that the reason why such greatly superior numbers quailed before him with a handful of men only was, as some of his prisoners stated, that the former lacked a cause,—a kind of armor which he and his party never lacked. He said that when the time arrived, few men were found willing to lay down their lives in defense of what they knew to be wrong. They did not like that this should be their last act in this world.

As if the agent to abolish slavery could only be somebody “appointed” by the President or some political party. All this—his insanity (monomania, says one), etc.—made him to be “dreaded by the Missourians as a supernatural being.” Sure enough, a hero in the midst of us cowards is always so dreaded. He is just that thing. He shows himself superior to nature. He has a spark of divinity in him.

“Unless above himself he can
Erect himself, how poor a thing is man!”

I have read all the newspapers I could get within a week, and I do not remember in them a single expression of sympathy for these men.

Most of them decided not to print the full report of Brown’s words in the armory “to the exclusion of other matter.” Why, they have matterated, and there is no safety for them but in excluding the dead part and giving place to the living and healthy. But I object not so much to what they have not done as to what they have done. He was by descent and birth a New England farmer, a man of great common sense, deliberate and practical as that class, and tenfold more so. He was like the best of those who stood at our bridge once, on Lexington Common, and on Bunker Hill, only he was firmer and higher-principled than any that I chance to have heard of as there. It was no Abolition lecturer that converted him.

A Western paper says, to account for his escape from so many perils, that he was concealed under a “rural exterior,” as if in that prairie land a hero should by good rights wear a citizen’s dress only. It would appear from published letters that the women of the land are where the men should be. What sort of violence is that which is encouraged not by soldiers but by citizens, not so much by laymen as by ministers of the Gospel, not so much by the fighting sects as by Quakers, and not so much by Quaker men as Quaker women? The enemy may well “quake” at the thought of it. Is not that a righteous war where the best are thus opposed to the worst?

Governor Wise speaks far more justly and admiringly of him than any Northern editor that I have heard of. “They are themselves mistaken who take him to be a madman. . . . He is cool, collected, and indomitable, and it is but just to him to say that he was humane to his prisoners. . . . And he inspired me with great trust in his integrity as a man of truth. He is a fanatic, vain and garrulous (!), but firm, truthful, and intelligent. His men, too, who survive, are like him. . . . Colonel Washington says that he was the coolest and firmest man he ever saw in defying danger and death. With one son dead by his side, and another shot through, he felt the pulse of his dying son with one hand, and held his rifle with the other, and commanded his men with the utmost composure, encouraging them to be firm, and to sell their lives as dear as they could. Of the three white prisoners, Brown, Stevens, and Coppoc, it was hard to say which was the most firm.” There is another man with whom the South and a good part of the North heartily sympathize. His name is Walker.

I subscribed a trifle when he was here three years ago, I had so much confidence in the man,—that he would do right,—but it would seem that he had not confidence enough in me, nor in anybody else that I know, to



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communicate his plans to us.

I do not wish to kill or to be killed, but I can foresee circumstances in which both of these things would be by me unavoidable. In extremities I could even be killed.

This event advertises me that there is such a fact as death,—the possibility of a man's dying. It seems as if no man had ever died in America; for in order to die you must first have lived. I don't believe in the hearses and palls and funerals that they have had. There was no death in the case, because there had been no life; they merely rotted or sloughed off, pretty much as they had rotted or sloughed along. No temple's veil was rent, only a hole dug somewhere. The best of them fairly ran down like a clock. I hear a good many pretend that they are going to die; or that they have died, for aught I know. Nonsense! I'll defy them to do it. They haven't got life enough in them. They deliquesce like fungi, and keep a hundred eulogists mopping the spot where they left off. Only half a dozen or so have died since the world began. Memento mori! they don't understand that sublime sentence which some worthy got sculptured on his gravestone once. They've understood it in a grovelling and snivelling sense. They've wholly forgotten how to die. Be sure you die. Finish your work. Know when to leave off. Men make a needless ado about taking lives,—capital punishment. Where is there any life to take? You don't know what it means to let the dead bury the dead.

Beauty stands veiled the while, and music is a screeching lie.

These men, in teaching us how to die, have at the same time taught us how to live. If this man's acts and words do not create a revival, it will be the severest possible satire on the acts and words of those who are said to have effected such things.

Do you ever think you have died, or are going to die, sir? No! there is no hope of you, sir. You haven't got your lesson yet. You've got to stay after school.

It is the best news that America has ever heard.

Franklin,—Washington,—they were let off without dying; these were merely missing one day.

It has already quickened the public pulse of the North; it has infused more, and more generous, blood into her veins and heart than any number of years of what is called commercial and political prosperity could. How many a man who was lately contemplating suicide has now something to live for!

Mr. Giddings says of them that "their sad fate will occupy a brief page in the history of our nation." Does he think that the history of the Republican Party—hitherto, for it may be re-created by his death—will be in the proportion of a sentence to that page?

When I reflect to what a cause this man devoted himself, and how religiously, and then reflect to what cause his judges and all who condemn him so angrily and fluently devote themselves, I see that they are as far apart as the heavens and earth are asunder. The amount of it is our "leading men" are a harmless kind of folk, and they know well enough that they were not divinely appointed, but elected by the votes of their party.

The most sensible of the apparently editorial articles on this event that I have met with is in the Wheeling Intelligence. Vide Supplement to Journal, October 29th.

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October 30, Sunday: Franz Liszt was admitted to the Austrian nobility as “Franz, Ritter von Liszt.” On the same day, in Weimar, his setting of the 137th Psalm for alto, violin, and keyboard was performed for the initial time.

The trial of [John Brown](#) concluded, with a finding of guilt. The separate trials of the others indicted, [John Anderson Copeland, Jr.](#), [Edwin Coppoc](#), [Shields Green](#), and [Aaron D. Stevens](#), would begin, and would come to their conclusions, shortly.



Green

Copeland

Haslitt

[Henry Thoreau](#) notified [Concord](#) town officials that he would speak that evening on “The character of [John Brown](#), now in the clutches of the slaveholder.”

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KILLED OR WOUNDED BY THE INSURGENTS AT HARPERS FERRY

Heywood Shepherd	black railroad porter	Killed
Fontaine Beckham	white railroad agent and mayor of Harpers Ferry	Killed
G.W. Turner	white resident of Jefferson County VA	Killed
Thomas Boerly	white resident of Harpers Ferry	Killed
Quinn	white U. S. Marine private	Killed
Rupert	white U. S. Marine private	Wounded
Murphy	white resident in vicinity of Harpers Ferry	Wounded
Young	white resident in vicinity of Harpers Ferry	Wounded
Richardson	white resident in vicinity of Harpers Ferry	Wounded
Hammond	white resident in vicinity of Harpers Ferry	Wounded
McCabe	white resident in vicinity of Harpers Ferry	Wounded
Dorsey	white resident in vicinity of Harpers Ferry	Wounded
Hooper	white resident in vicinity of Harpers Ferry	Wounded
Woollet	white resident in vicinity of Harpers Ferry	Wounded



That evening, [Thoreau](#) delivered “A PLEA FOR CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN” in the vestry of the First Parish Meetinghouse in Concord. Emerson was present, and would report to Charles Wesley Slack in Boston that “He read it with great force & effect, & though the audience was of widely different parties, it was heard without a murmur of dissent.” In regard to Thoreau’s impassioned oration, this is what I have to offer. Take it for granite, Thoreau always knows what he is saying. Speaking not only of [John Brown](#)’s sharp tongue but also of his carbine bought and paid for, one of the things Henry said on the evening of October 30, 1859 was



The tools were in the hands of one who could use them.



This is now on page 133 of REFORM PAPERS. **But what I need to get you to understand is that it means**

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exactly what it means, not what you maybe thought it would mean were it you who had said it. The thing I need you to notice is that Thoreau's remark is an implicit reference to [Miguel de Cervantes](#)'s



*En manos eftâ el pandero que le fabra bien tañer,
refpondio Sancho Pança.*



This is an aphorism from Part II, Chapter 22 of *EL INGENIOSO HIDALGO DON QUIJOTE DE LA MANCHA*. In current Spanish: *En manos está el pandero que le sabrán bien tañer*, or “In hands is the drum that it they know well to beat” or, rather, “The drum is in the hands of one who well knows how to thump it.” Thus Thoreau's remark about the *rat-a-tat-tat* of Brown's sharp tongue and Christian carbine is also an implicit reference to the most-quoted passage in *WALDEN* by far, the passage in which an obscure metaphor is drawn apparently on the basis of the drummer-boy *rat-a-tat-tatting* away on [Concord](#) common during the annual militia training!



What is happening in that passage of Cervantes's book is that Sancho Panza was lowering Don Quijote into the Montecinos cave by a rope. And he was using this old Spanish proverb to say don't worry, I know how to handle this rope, I won't let you fall. He was practicality incarnate, all means and no end, while Don Quijote

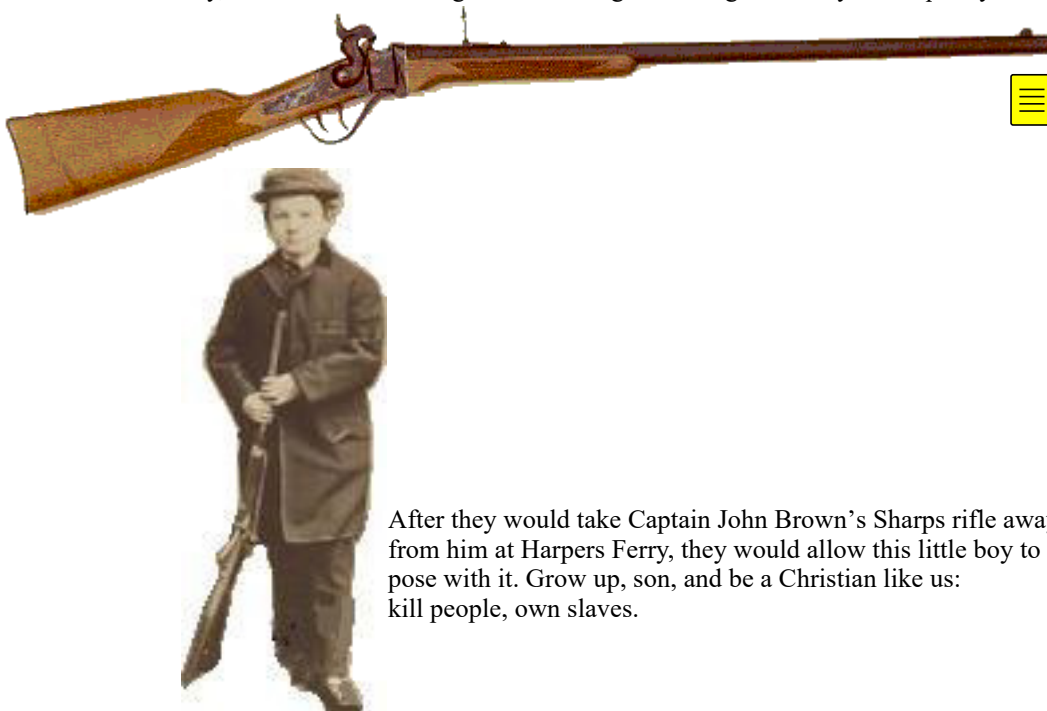
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was impracticality ensouled, on his way to make his central attempt to define the relationship between reality and illusion, all end and no means.

We may well ask ourselves in what way a reference to Don Quijote might be seen as appropriate in this context of Thoreau's defense of Brown. I can think of several right off.

1st, many scholars would insist to us that a study of the work of Cervantes is central to any consideration of the manner in which our representations of the world can, and cannot, modify the contexts in which our lives are embedded. That Sharps rifle was supposed to be the lever by which Brown was rearranging reality, but in actuality in that world of men at arms such a stick was of influence primarily as a symbol, while Brown's primary lever for rearranging the reality of American race relations was –as Thoreau was emphasizing– his sharp tongue. Holding that Sharps rifle in his hand only served to draw attention to that tongue of his, attention that his sharp tongue deserved. We can say Thoreau's problem essentially was, in the case of Brown, that he had decided he could not be satisfied with reality. Refusing to repeat the gestures that custom, tradition, and instinct make so easy, Thoreau was insisting on the coming into being of our myth of equality and fraternity.



After they would take Captain John Brown's Sharps rifle away from him at Harpers Ferry, they would allow this little boy to pose with it. Grow up, son, and be a Christian like us: kill people, own slaves.

2d, Don Quijote was *un hombre exageradamente grave y serio o puntilloso*, and this is a fine and accurate description not only of Concord's own knight of the woebegone countenance, [Bronson Alcott](#), but also of [John Brown](#). If Alcott could be said to have been a Quijote whose favorite reading was the New Testament, Brown was a Quijote whose favorite reading was the Old. Don Quijote said

These saints and knights were of the same profession as myself, which is the calling of arms. Only there is this difference between them and me, that they were saints, and fought with divine weapons, and I am a sinner and fight with human ones.

3d, there is the problem of the ridiculous mismatch of means and objectives about which Brown commented in his note on the morning of his [hanging](#). Brown wanted a world of justice and peace and dignity so he set about enthusiastically to kill us until we got his idea, which is a fine way to get someone's attention but is



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inherently self-defeating.

4th, in associating Brown with Don Quijote, [Thoreau](#) was making an implicit reference to the freeing of slaves as a knightly suspension of the ethical — for Don Quijote’s pity, compassion, and love came to outweigh the rigor of justice in that knight’s liberating of the galley slaves, and in the declaration he made to the guards of the slaves, and in his comments to Sancho and the priest. He said

It is not right that honorable men should be executioners of others.

Finally, this “tool” aphorism extracted from the episode in which Don Quijote descended on a rope into the cave of Montecinos is central to the story’s process of *sanchificación* of the knight’s spirituality and *quijotización* of the squire’s carnality. By virtue of their shared adventures, the righteously indignant northern white American and the desperately indignant southern white American needed to figure out a way to rid themselves of a society based on shackles: they needed to sanchify and quijotize each other. That’d be preferred to our northern Quijotes and southern Panzas using their efficient tools to kill each other standing in rows, which was otherwise the obvious prospect. When Don Quijote emerged from the cave of Montecinos he said to Sancho Panza

Everything that offers some difficulty seems impossible to you.

But he added

Time will pass.

In this writing I will not only attempt to salvage Thoreau’s talk about Christian carbines and sharp tongues by linking it (via its implicit referent in Cervantes’s *rub-a-dub-dub* text about the foolishness of desperate acts of chivalry) to its implicit referent in Thoreau’s *rat-a-tat-tat* text about the foolishness of a life of quiet desperation.

I will also demonstrate that this sound metaphor of Thoreau’s —the distant different drummer— is, itself, an implicit reference to a [Quaker](#) non-violent metaphor of the inner light in common usage among members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), particularly those of the liberal faction including Friend [Elias Hicks](#) and his student Friend [Lucretia Mott](#), and that such a metaphor cannot be bent —as it is commonly now bent by the unspirited— to sponsor the path of violence. Thoreau left himself an escape hatch and, in his appeal for sympathy for Captain Brown after that man’s desperate attempt to set free the despairing slaves of America, neither explicitly nor implicitly sanctioned any of [John Brown](#)’s violent means. I would maintain that Thoreau’s deportment and his words subsequent to the ill-advised [Harpers Ferry](#) raid in 1859 were precisely

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parallel to Friend Lucretia's deportment and her words after the ill-advised "Christiana Riot" in 1851.



Thoreau said in public, in regard to American slavery, that he did not wish to kill nor to be killed, but could foresee circumstances in which both these things would be by him unavoidable (REFORM PAPERS 133). Playing to his audience, our author elided the vast difference between killing and dying precisely as Richardson elided Charles Baudelaire. It was only in Thoreau's private notes during his lifetime—to his Journal that is, and although as he says there was no lock on the door of his cabin there was in fact a lock on the desk in which he kept his Journal— that he was able to say plainly that **when he said “both these things” he meant precisely “both these things,”** not one and, if he turned out to be a lucky and competent killer, not the other, that if it came to the sacrificing of others to his own principles, this would necessarily involve his own simultaneous self-sacrifice for his principles, that he meant he might decide to not be alive rather than continue to be alive in a world that also included slavery.⁴⁶³ Now, Søren Aabye Kierkegaard pointed out in a writing

463. There is a phrase “noble army of Martyrs” in the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER that came into use in 1549 that may explain Thoreau's remark about becoming willing to kill, or to die, to end enslavement. The phrase may have come into the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER from the *TE DEUM*, quite a bit older.

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that, although it dates to the same year of 1859, was unavailable to [Thoreau](#),⁴⁶⁴ that



Assuming then that a person is the victim of an illusion, and that in order to communicate the truth to him the first task, rightly understood, is to remove the illusion — if I do not begin by deceiving him, I must begin with direct communication. But direct communication presupposes that the receiver's ability to receive is undisturbed. But here such is not the case; an illusion stands in the way. That is to say, one must first of all use the caustic fluid. But this caustic means is negativity, and negativity understood in relation to the communication of the truth is precisely the same as deception. What then does it mean "to deceive"? It means that one does not begin **directly** with the matter one wants to communicate, but begins by accepting the other man's illusion as good money.



I am not saying Thoreau was wrong to elide in this way in that place at that time, for he was doing his level best to communicate with a bunch of people who were getting ready to line up and shoot each other down in windrows, and also I was not there and also I have great respect for his judgment, but I am saying that if there was a time for this sort of elision, it is now past. If not then, at least now, we should face the issue squarely. But unfortunately, as I said, the issue is not being faced squarely. For instance, on the night of July 10th in the Center Galleria of [Worcester](#), an actor employed by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, David Barto, sponsored in part by the Massachusetts Department of Environmental Management, re-enacted [Thoreau](#)'s lecture.

Worcester's Mechanics Hall where the lecture was originally delivered was under restoration, but every effort was made for verisimilitude and Barto was able to lean on the wooden lectern that Thoreau had used on November 3, 1859 at Mechanics Hall. My impression is that Barto makes a Thoreau who is entirely too belligerent, for instance humorously threatening to beat children with his walking stick should they ask questions at the wrong times, humorously inviting one fellow to join him outside for a fight after the talk should he fail to follow Thoreau's rules, etc. Therefore, in the question and answer period, I raised my hand

464. Søren Aabye Kierkegaard. THE POINT OF VIEW FOR MY WORK AS AN AUTHOR. NY: Harper & Row, 1962, pages 25-6.



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and posed the following question to Barto in his rôle as [Thoreau](#):

I have heard you, and am troubled, troubled by what would seem to be a studied ambiguity on an issue of the greatest relevance. Tell me, in the dark of the night when you could not sleep, and you scratched these lines frantically across scraps of paper with your pencil - can you recollect that frame of mind?- what was your intention? If it came to kill or be killed, for those are two very different things, if it came to the taking of the life of another for liberty, or giving your own for liberty -for these are two very different things- if it came to continuing your life but as a murderer- if it came to the point of doing evil so that good will come- what, sir, was your secret intention as you scratched out your draft of this speech? Is it your intention to teach us, by your life, how and when to **die** or how and when to **kill**?

In response Barto feigned anger and told me I had no right to inquire as to his private musings. He was unable or unwilling to address the question as posed. Need I mention that this might have got him in trouble with his employer, an agency which also employs a number of armed men in blue and a number of armed men in green, and instructs these armed employees in the fine art of when and how to kill in the name of their employer?

“A PLEA FOR CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN”

This topic of elision is an interesting topic for those of us who find this sort of topic interesting. While [Thoreau](#) was delivering his “A PLEA FOR CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN” at the Concord Town Hall, the Reverend [Henry Ward Beecher](#) was delivering a sermon in his Plymouth Church in Brooklyn. Later on he would revise this sermon for publication, so we can credit it with some seriousness of preparation, and yet in the sermon he was portraying the raid on [Harpers Ferry](#) as having been perpetrated by 17 white men who had gone South without any black sponsorship or involvement and, in their whiteness, had created a race panic: “Seventeen white men surrounded two thousand, and held them in duress.”

A black newspaper would need to comment upon this elision, as of course it had been the noticing of men of mixed race among the members of that invading party which had set off the pronounced race panic: “Mr. Beecher must have read the papers, must have read that there were twenty-two invaders, seventeen white and five black. Why does he omit all mention of the latter? Were they not men?”⁴⁶⁵

We note that in this speech [Thoreau](#) made use of the political term of art “Buncombe.”⁴⁶⁶

465. It is very clear from several other things that the Reverend [Henry Ward Beecher](#) had written, that had he been forced to respond to this “Were they not men?” rhetorical question, he would easily have responded that indeed they were men — inasmuch as they were all of mixed race rather than being in that “low animal condition” (his category, his words) of pure blackness.

466. Buncombe is a county in western North Carolina; the representative from that district in Congress had a reputation for blathering on the public record and through the newspapers simply because he thought his constituents in Buncombe County would thereby think he was really some hot potato of a Congressman. “Buncombe” came to mean blowing hot air to little purpose beyond self-aggrandizement, an expression that showed up even in Thomas Carlyle’s LATTER DAY PAMPHLETS because Waldo Emerson had deployed this Americanism when he and Carlyle met: “A Parliament speaking through reporters to Buncombe and the twenty-seven millions, mostly fools.”



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November 8, Tuesday: Alyeksandr Borodin left St. Petersburg to travel abroad as a delegate of the Academy of Physicians and gain experience for the position that had recently been offered to him, of Adjunct-Professor of Chemistry.

In the evening in Boston, [Waldo Emerson](#) his lecture “Courage” before a large crowd at the Music Hall in Boston, averring that [John Brown](#) was

that new saint than whom none purer or more brave was ever led by love of men into conflict and death, -the new saint awaiting his martyrdom, and who, if he shall suffer, will make the [gallows](#) glorious like the cross.


(But when he would publish this lecture as an essay, he would reconsider and remove this remark.)

The Springfield, Massachusetts [Republican](#) editorialized, punning on the [Thoreau](#) family name and its usual pronunciation, that “This Thoreau seems to be a thorough fanatic — why don’t [*sic*] he imitate Brown and do good by rushing to the gallows?”

[Louisa May Alcott](#) wrote to [Alfred Whitman](#) that she was “full of admiration for old Brown’s courage and pity for his probable end.” She reported that Concord folks were “boiling over with excitement” because “many of our people (anti-slavery I mean) are concerned in it. We have a daily stampede for papers, and a nightly indignation meeting over the wickedness of our country, and the cowardice of the human race. I’m afraid mother will die of spontaneous combustion if things are not set right soon.”



November 8: A pleasant day.
P. M.—To Nut Meadow and Fair Haven Hill.
I hear a small z-ing cricket.

[Coombs](#) says that quite a little flock of pigeons [[Passenger Pigeon](#)  [Ectopistes migratorius](#)] bred here last summer. He found one nest in a small white pine near his pigeon-stand (where he baited them in the summer), so low he could put his hand in it (!?). I saw, while talking with him, a trout playing about in the open roadside watering-place, on the Jimmy Miles road (i.e. in Nut Meadow Brook), which was apparently fifteen inches long; not lurking under the bank but openly swimming up and down in midstream.

How richly and exuberantly downy are many goldenrod and aster heads now, their seed just on the point of falling or being blown away, before they are in the least weather-beaten! They are now puffed up to their utmost, clean and light. [Vide back, October 16th.]

The tufts of purplish withered andropogon in Witherell Glade are still as fair as ever, soft and trembling and bending from the wind; of a very light mouse-color seen from the side of the sun, and as delicate as the most fragile ornaments of a lady’s bonnet; but looking toward the sun they are a brilliant white, each polished hair (of the pappus?) reflecting the November sun without its heats, not in the least yellowish or brown like the goldenrods and asters.



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December 2, Friday: The spirit of [John Brown](#), allegedly, to Governor [Henry A. Wise](#):

First Hevan Dec 2

Friend Wise

I got here this Morning at 11 1/2 o'clock Set Peter was at the Door. he said welcom John Brown you are the first man that come here from Virginia in 20 years and I am afraid you will Be the last excep Cook and his friends

Youres &ca

John Brown

P.S. Write soon and send your letter By Cook as that will Be the Last canse you ever will get


J.B

The Reverend [Henry Highland Garnet](#) announced at a service in New-York's Shiloh Church that henceforward "the Second day of December will be called **Martyr's Day.**"



"There can be no redemption of sin

without the shedding of blood."

We may now allow ourselves to notice what for a long time has not been awarded an adequate commentary, that for this commemorative service which coincided with the hanging of [John Brown](#) for treason, [Henry Thoreau](#), [Waldo Emerson](#), and the other "speakers" delivered nothing of their own thoughts. (A local lad named Frank Pierce would later have occasion to recall that he had helped his dad move some sort of heavy musical instrument, a piano or organ, into the hall for this occasion: ) The speakers merely took the podium in their turn to read entirely innocuous stuff out of Andrew Marvell, and out of Sir [Walter Raleigh](#), and out of Tacitus. Why were they doing this upon such an occasion? It must have been like drinking Polynesian Double Mai-Tais at a wake. Well, one reason might have been that enflamed Concord townspeople were

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nearby, counting down the minutes as the traitor rode atop his own coffin out to the hanging ground,



until the traitor would swing at the stroke of noon — and as he swung, igniting a hanging effigy of the traitor. These local patriots did not want their world turned upside down, but instead, they wanted that all respect and consideration continue to be accorded to worthy people. They were not ready to begin to accord respect and consideration also to unworthy people, such as coloreds, and criminals. Such patriots constituted an obvious and unpredictable, although local and temporary, hazard. We have the testimony of one participant in this classics-reading, however, that something else, a more permanent and extensive threat, was on the minds of the participants and their audience. What if, as a result of this meeting, they were arrested by officials of the federal government and charged with high treason? In a trial, they would need to be able to defend themselves in some manner, and this would enable to defend themselves on the grounds that actually this meeting had been for the simple and straightforward and entirely innocuous purpose of reading of the classic authors. Not a word had they spoken about this traitor Brown who, coincidentally, was being hanged in another state at that hour. Well, does this make you think less of Henry David Thoreau, that such considerations would have been borne in mind under the uncertainties of the moment? How would you yourself have conducted yourself in the face of such uncertainties? You will please to note that there was all the difference in the world between defending Brown in public while he was merely an accused citizen before a court-martial panel of military officers,



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before he had been found to have committed the capital crime of treason, of having attempted by force and violence to overthrow the government of the United States of America, and defending him in public after that finding of guilt. It may well be that, in critical times, with martial law a very real possibility, one who attempts to give aid and comfort to treason is himself a traitor, and may well anticipate being treated as one.

While people have begun hanging people, who can be sure where this spate of hanging is going to stop?

Friday, December 2, 1859, broke clear and summerlike over a nation solemn and awed by the grim business taking place in Virginia. Southerners put up a facade of business-as-usual, but in the free states church bells tolled morning, noon, and night from Cape Cod to Kansas. In Concord, Thoreau argued with the narrow-minded selectmen who refused to endorse the ringing and threatened to fire off the town's minute guns as a countermeasure, but in Albany the council authorized a one-hundred-gun salute in tribute to Brown and in Syracuse the great fire bell in City Hall rang mournfully all through the day.

The above, from page 500 of Mayer's ALL ON FIRE makes it sound as if Thoreau was threatening to fire off Concord's minute-guns because narrow-minded selectmen were refusing permission to knell the 1st Parish bell. No. What Thoreau recorded was that local **opponents** to the commemoration service threatened that if mourners knelled the 1st Parish bell in honor of [John Brown](#)'s passing, **they** would fire off the town's minute-guns in **celebration** of the traitor's execution.

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Upon expecting that the federal captive John Brown had probably been put to death in Charlestown, Virginia, [Friend Daniel Ricketson](#) mused on how his sympathy for Brown's determined endeavor related to the qualms he had as to episodically violent manner in which Brown had conducted himself in response to the constant violence that was the institution of slavery:



To-day at 12 M. John Brown was probably executed at Charlestown, Va., for a noble but apparently ineffectual attempt to emancipate slaves. My sympathy for the brave and self-sacrificing old man has been deeply aroused. His sufferings are now probably all over, and his body rests in peace, the bloody requisitions of the law having been satisfied.... Feeling sad at the mournful close of poor John Brown's life, now I trust with his Father and his God beyond the reach of the tyrant slaveholder. Cloudy this afternoon, and all nature affected with a general gloom, as it were at the loss of the brave old philanthropic hero now lying dead and cold in the hands of his enemies and the enemies of humanity.

John Brown cannot die; his body may perish, but that which was the most himself, his noble, self-sacrificing spirit, will survive, and that object to which he so heartily devoted himself and for which he has died, will be hastened to its accomplishment by his cruel and untimely death, untimely so far as the means used to effect it on the part of his tyrannical captors.

The Reverend [Samuel Joseph May](#) organized a crowd to gather at the Syracuse NY city hall to do honor to



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him who had honored in “spirit and letter the great holy doctrine of the [Declaration of Independence](#).”



The reverend termed the action “ill-advised,” condemned its violence, and then repeated the sentiment of [John Brown](#)’s closing speech at his trial — that had he acted on behalf of the rich and well-born, the government would be glorifying him rather than killing him, and that therefore the true reason why the courts martial panel was condemning him to death had nothing to do with the nature of his actions in and of themselves, and had everything to do with the fact that he had performed these actions on behalf of the humble people of this world.⁴⁶⁷ When the appointed time arrived for the federal government to kill its captive, the minister intoned “The day has come, it is slavery or liberty, compromises are at an end,” and the sexton tolled the bell of the city hall 63 times.

Upon the request of [Franklin Benjamin Sanborn](#), [Thoreau](#) borrowed [Emerson](#)’s covered wagon and mare and delivered a distressed young man at sunrise past the railroad depot in Concord to the railroad depot next down the line, in South Acton. No questions asked or answered, Thoreau simply did as his friends needed. The young man sat in the back seat and talked continuously, insisted that his driver was Mr. Emerson, and at one point attempted to dismount and walk back to Concord. The “Mr. Lockwood” whom Thoreau escorted was [Francis Jackson Meriam](#), a young manic-depressive with but one good eye, one of the culprits of the [Harpers Ferry](#) fiasco, the last-recruited agent of the [Secret “Six”](#), and it is an open question what would have happened to Thoreau, had anyone seen through “Mr. Lockwood’s” assumed identity and had Henry been captured while assisting such an escaping “traitor.”



(Meriam had been in Boston coming from Canada, and finally had been induced by friends to head back toward the vicinity of [St. Catharines](#), Canada; he eventually would settle in Illinois and marry with Minerva Caldwell of Galena, Illinois and obtain a position as a captain in the 3rd South Carolina Colored Infantry. Erratic and unbalanced, he would often urge wild schemes upon his superiors, and sometimes attempt them. In an engagement under General Grant he would be severely wounded in the leg. In 1865 he would die suddenly in New-York.)



Then Thoreau drove back to Concord from South Acton, returned the wagon, and delivered “The Martyrdom of John Brown” at Concord Town Hall. This was the noon of Brown’s hanging and other residents of Concord,

467. Which, of course, was an excellent point, and one which needed to be made.

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down the street, were hanging Brown in effigy.



While the condemned man was being [hanged](#), the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) stayed at home and wrote an editorial asking “Are Non-Resistants for Murder?” He had not been much impressed with Brown’s reliance upon pikes, or reliance on the readings of the “Beecher’s Bible” (Sharps rifle, ten “verses” per minute).

[NON-RESISTANCE](#)

After they would take Captain John Brown’s Sharps rifle away from him at Harpers Ferry, they would allow this little boy to pose with it. Grow up, son, and be a Christian like us: kill people, own slaves.

Down South, just before noon, as Brown was being taken from his cell to sit on his own coffin in a wagon and ride away in the midst of the troops, a guard handed him a slip of paper and a quarter, requesting an autograph.

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Brown wrote hurriedly on the slip of paper:⁴⁶⁸

Charlestown, Va. 2^d December, 1852.
 I John Brown am now quite certain that
 the crimes of this guilty, land; will never be
purged away; but with Blood. I had as I now
think; vainly flattered myself that without very
much bloodshed; it might be done

We may notice in passing that what [John Brown](#) was repeating here was the idea of the Reverend Henry Highland Garnet, that Brown had himself caused to be published and distributed. In a speech to a national black convention in 1843, the Reverend Garnet had declared that



“There can be no redemption of sin

without the shedding of blood.”

We understand how such a speech, determinedly ignoring (*à la* Robert D. Richardson, Jr.) the vast difference between shedding one’s own blood in the furtherance of one’s agenda and shedding the blood of another, could fit right into a desperate man’s desperate agenda — for Brown had printed and distributed this speech.

Be sure you grok the logic here:

**The logic is not “A black minister said it
and therefore we should pay attention.”**

**The logic is: “They should die for their sins and set us free;
therefore by becoming murderers we will set ourselves free.”**

Also, on December 2nd, several hundred medical students from Virginia marched through the streets of Philadelphia, with red ribbons on their coats, shouting out how many niggers they owned.

468. He handed the man back his quarter.

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As [John Brown](#) was being led down the corridor in the prison, he kissed the warder John Avis's young son.⁴⁶⁹



Currier & Ives would record this as the kissing of a black baby:



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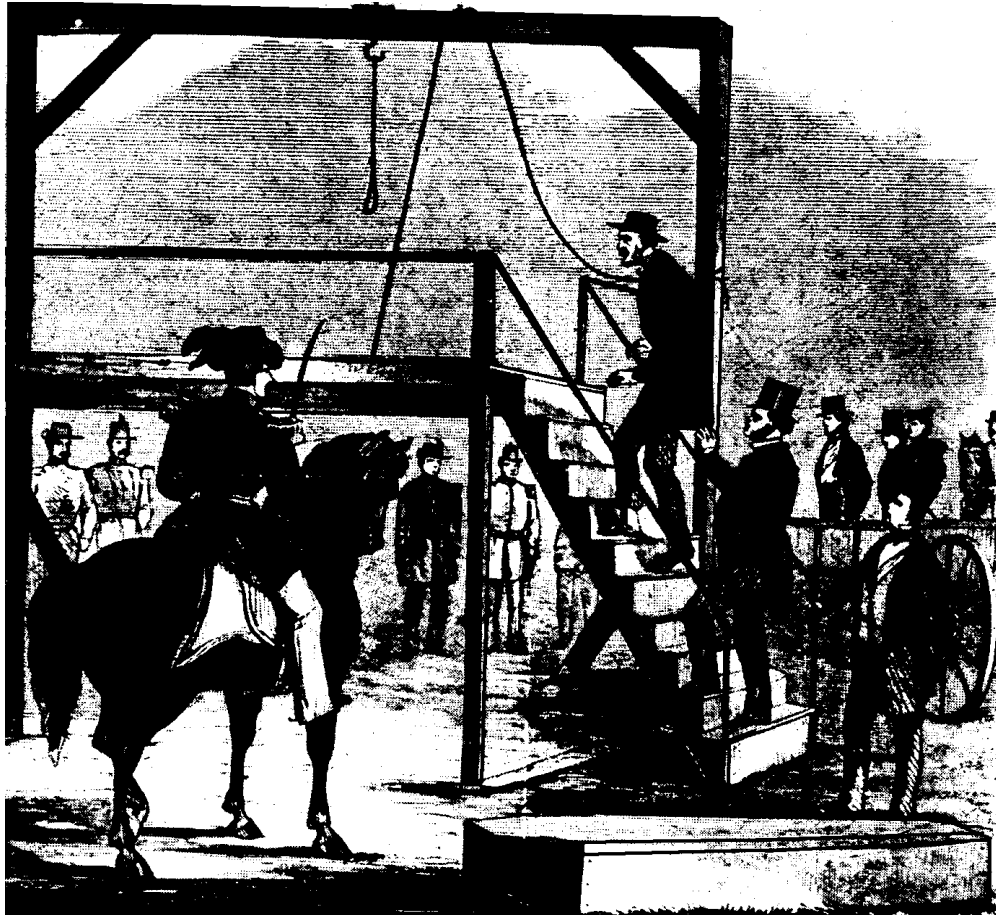
469. The warder's family, a white family named Avis, lived at the front of the prison. This, plus the fact that Brown had spoken of how desirable it would be to have black people in attendance during his hanging, evidently led to the disgusting and inflammatory and utterly unfounded and unwarranted report in the popular newspapers, that the child he had kissed was **black**.

John Brown of Ossawatimie spake on his dying day:
'I will not have to shrive my soul a priest in Slavery's pay;
But let some poor slave-mother whom I have striven to free,
With her children, from the gallows-stair put up a prayer for me!'
John Brown of Ossawatimie, they led him out to die;
And lo! a poor slave-mother with her little child pressed nigh:
Then the bold, blue eye grew tender, and the old harsh face grew mild,
As he stooped between the jeering ranks and kissed the negro's child!
The shadows of his stormy life that moment fell apart,
And they who blamed the bloody hand forgave the loving heart;
That kiss from all its guilty means redeemed the good intent,
And round the grisly fighter's hair the martyr's aureole bent!
Perish with him the folly that seeks through evil good!
Long live the generous purpose unstained with human blood!
Not the raid of midnight terror, but the thought which underlies;
Not the borderer's pride of daring, but the Christian's sacrifice.
Nevermore may yon Blue Ridges the Northern rifle hear,
Nor see the light of blazing homes flash on the negro's spear;
But let the free-winged angel Truth their guarded passes scale,
To teach that right is more than might, and justice more than mail!
So vainly shall Virginia set her battle in array;
In vain her trampling squadrons knead the winter snow with clay!
She may strike the pouncing eagle, but she dares not harm the dove;
And every gate she bars to Hate shall open wide to Love!

— Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#)

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It was high noon on 2 Dec 1859 and time for the military ceremony.
If anyone did, John Brown had a perfect right to dance:
After giving the lives of a number of *other* people for what *he* believed,
he had somewhat belatedly gotten the idea of sacrifice
that Angelina Grimké had tried to explain in 1835:

*It is my deep, solemn, deliberate conviction that this
is a cause worth dying for.... YES! LET IT COME — let
us suffer, rather than insurrections should arise.*

—and offered his *own* life rather than *somebody else's* life for what *he* believed.
Then the death roll of the drums of Robert E. Lee's marching band, snares
loosened, purposefully drowned out John Brown's last words from the
high scaffold in the stubble field as the black hood was placed over his head.
(This particular prisoner was not going to address the conscience of the nation
from this particular pulpit: no famous last words, if you please sir.)

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In 1884, Thomas Hovenden would prepare a painting depicting the famous falsehood, what supposedly had



taken place at the door of the Charlestown jail while [John Brown](#) was being led to his execution, and would do at least as good a job of it as Currier & Ives had done at the time.

At least this Thomas Hovenden, by following the imagination of the Currier & Ives Sketcher, would get the backdrop for his sentimental picture reasonably accurate, for this would be the Charlestown jail as it would

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appear in the year 1900:

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Assorted companies of horse soldiers went into formation about the wagon as three infantry companies were ordered to hold their regular files. A total of 1,500 troops had been amassed to take up formation in the stubble field around the scaffold. "I had no idea Governor Wise considered my execution so important," [John Brown](#) commented as he was seating himself atop his coffin in the wagon drawn by a team of white horses, in loose-fitting clothes, carpet slippers, and a hat. One of the Governor's sons was there to be a voyeur, as was a

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militiaman from Company F of Richmond, [John Wilkes Booth](#).⁴⁷⁰ Virginia Military Institute cadets were in



formation behind the scaffold with the commander they called Stonewall Jackson. It was noon and time for the execution when Brown commented “This is a beautiful country — I never before had the pleasure of seeing

470. [John Wilkes Booth](#) would lie to his sister, and then to the general public, alleging that he had rushed to [Harpers Ferry](#) to aid in suppressing the raiders. The truth was that he had merely ventured from the Richmond, Virginia stage to Charlestown, as a voyeur.

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it.”

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He dropped his hat to the ground as the hood and then the noose were lowered over his head. “I can’t see, gentlemen,” he commented, “you must lead me.” When the sheriff asked him if he would like to have some kind of private signal just before the drop, he responded “It does not matter to me — I only want that everyone should not keep me waiting so long.” Then a hatchet was used to chop through the rope that was holding the

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trap door of the platform shut.

A READY RECKONER FOR HANGMEN.

RULE.—Take the weight of the Client in Stones and look down the column of weights until you reach the figures nearest to 24 cwt., and the figure in the left-hand column will be the Drop. See page 167 of this Handbook.

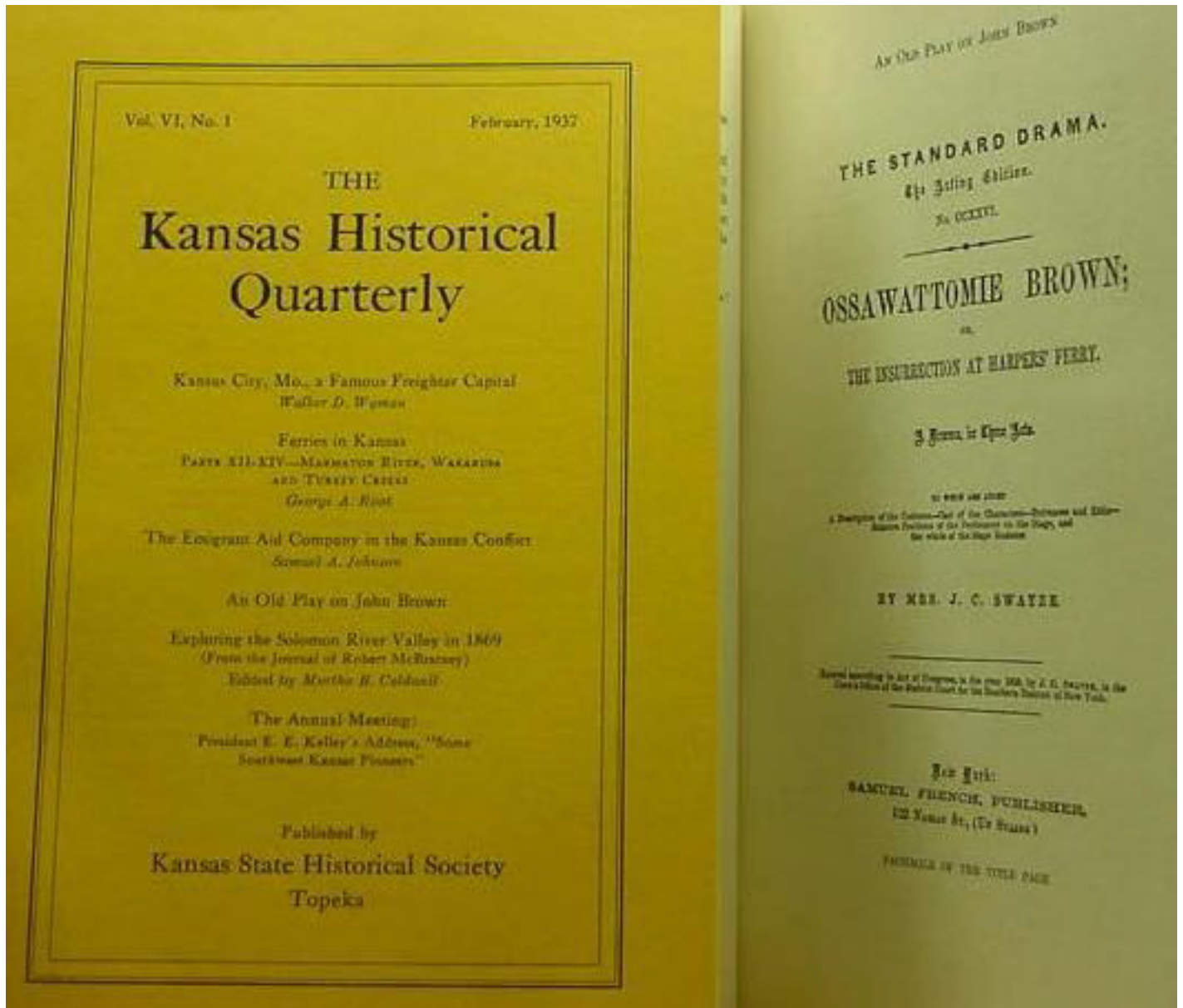
Distance falling in feet. Zero.	8 Stone	9 Stone	10 Stone	11 Stone	12 Stone	13 Stone	14 Stone	15 Stone	16 Stone	17 Stone	18 Stone	19 Stone
	cwt. qr. lb.	cwt. qr. lb.	cwt. qr. lb.	cwt. qr. lb.	cwt. qr. lb.	cwt. qr. lb.	cwt. qr. lb.	cwt. qr. lb.	cwt. qr. lb.	cwt. qr. lb.	cwt. qr. lb.	cwt. qr. lb.
1 ft.	8 0 0	9 0 0	10 0 0	11 0 0	12 0 0	13 0 0	14 0 0	15 0 0	16 0 0	17 0 0	18 0 0	19 0 0
2 ft.	15 2 15	16 2 15	17 2 15	18 2 15	19 2 15	20 2 15	21 2 15	22 2 15	23 2 15	24 2 15	25 2 15	26 2 15
3 ft.	13 3 16	15 2 15	17 1 14	19 0 12	20 3 11	22 2 9	24 1 8	26 0 7	27 3 5	29 2 4	31 1 2	33 0 1
4 ft.	16 0 0	18 0 0	20 0 0	22 0 0	24 0 0	26 0 0	28 0 0	30 0 0	32 0 0	34 0 0	36 0 0	38 0 0
5 ft.	17 2 11	19 3 5	22 0 0	24 0 22	26 1 16	28 2 11	30 3 5	33 0 0	35 0 22	37 0 16	39 2 11	41 3 5
6 ft.	19 2 11	22 0 5	24 2 0	26 3 22	29 0 16	31 3 11	34 1 5	36 3 0	39 0 22	41 2 16	44 0 11	46 2 5
7 ft.	21 0 22	23 3 11	26 2 0	29 0 16	31 3 5	34 1 22	37 0 11	39 3 0	42 1 16	45 0 5	47 2 22	50 1 11
8 ft.	22 2 22	25 2 4	28 1 14	31 0 23	34 0 5	36 3 15	39 2 25	42 2 7	45 1 16	48 0 26	51 0 8	53 3 18
9 ft.	24 0 11	27 0 12	30 0 14	33 0 23	36 0 16	39 0 18	42 0 19	45 0 21	48 0 22	51 0 23	54 0 25	57 0 26
10 ft.	25 1 5	28 1 23	31 2 14	34 3 4	37 3 22	41 0 12	44 1 2	47 1 21	50 2 11	53 3 1	56 3 19	60 0 9

"Dislocation of the neck is the ideal aimed at ..."
— British Medical Journal, 1817

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This sad material would even, within this same year, become subject matter for a play by Kate Lucy Edwards, "Ossawatimie Brown, or, The Insurrection at Harpers' Ferry," at the Bowery Theater in New-York:⁴⁷¹ Eventually, certified hairs from Brown's head, or, who knows, from his beard, would be being



OSAWATOMIE

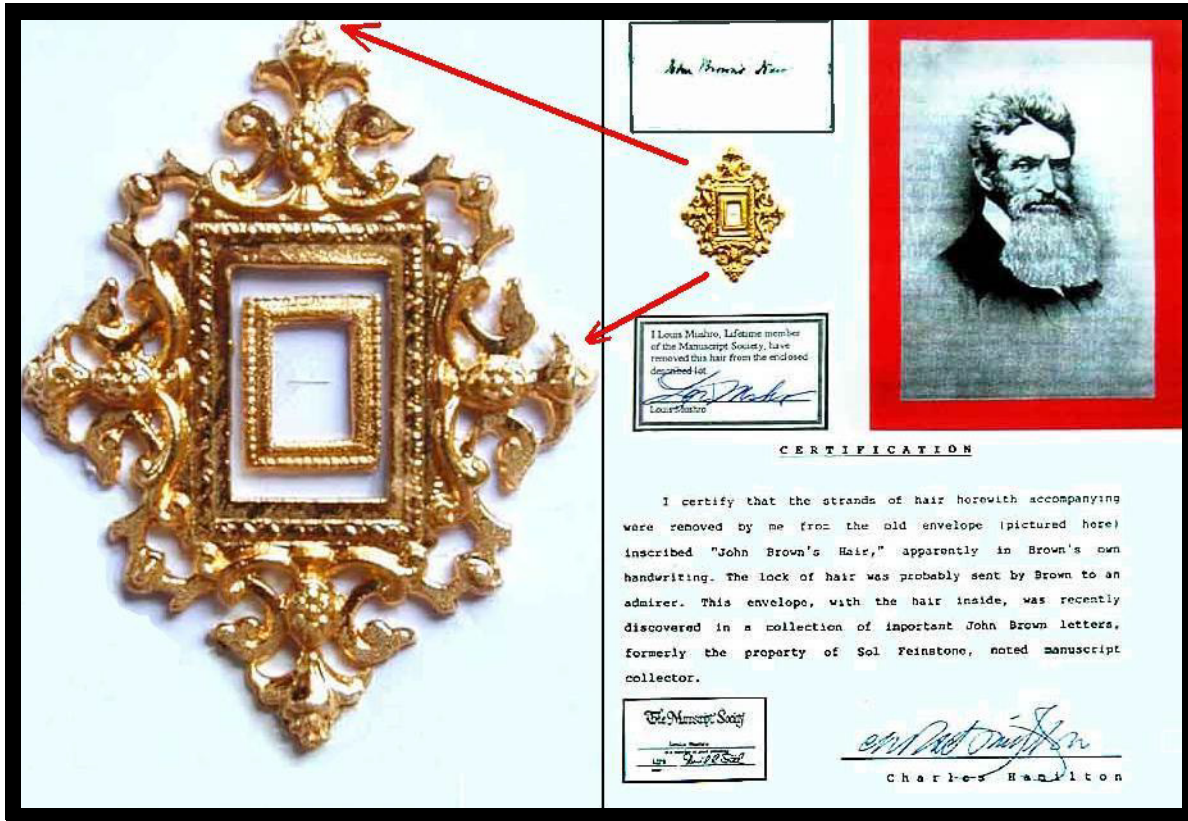
471. This 3-act play would be published in the Kansas Historical Quarterly in February 1937, complete not only with the original script, but also with the cast of characters with their entrances and exits, and descriptions of their costumes.

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chopped into pieces and offered for sale on Ebay:



There would also be an anonymous journalistic publication, reprinted here in full, bearing the title THE LIFE, TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN KNOWN AS "OLD BROWN OF OSSAWATOMIE," WITH A FULL ACCOUNT OF THE ATTEMPTED INSURRECTION AT HARPER'S FERRY. COMPILED FROM OFFICIAL AND AUTHENTIC SOURCES. INCLUDING COOKE'S CONFESSION, AND ALL THE INCIDENTS OF THE EXECUTION, printed in New-York by the Robert M. De Witt firm of 161 & 162 Nassau Street:

[READ ME](#)



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**THE
LIFE, TRIAL AND EXECUTION
OF
CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN
KNOWN AS
“OLD BROWN OF OSSAWATOMIE,”
WITH A FULL ACCOUNT OF THE ATTEMPTED
INSURRECTION AT HARPER’S FERRY.

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INCLUDING COOKE’S CONFESSION, AND ALL THE INCIDENTS OF
THE EXECUTION.

NEW YORK.
ROBERT M. DE WITT, PUBLISHER.

161 & 162 NASSAU STREET.**

READ ME



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December 3, Saturday: Tuscany, Parma, Piacenza, Modena, and Reggio formed The United Provinces of Central Italy.

[Harpers Ferry](#) residents George Mauzy and Mary Mauzy wrote again to their daughter Eugenia Mauzy Burton and son-in-law James H. Burton, who were then living in England (Burton had been a machinist, foreman, and Acting Master Armorer at the Harpers Ferry Armory between 1844-1854):

To Mr. & Mrs. James H. Burton

December 3, 1859

My dear Children:

Well the great agony is over. "Old Osawatomie Brown" was executed yesterday at noon - his wife came here the day before, & paid him a short visit, after which she returned here under an escort, where she and her company remained until the body came down from Charlestown, in the evening, after which she took charge of it and went home.

This has been one of the most remarkable circumstances that ever occurred in this country, this old fanatic made no confession whatever, nor concession that he was wrong, but contended that he was right in everything he done, that he done great service to God, would not let a minister of any denomination come near or say anything to him, but what else could be expected from him, or anyone else who are imbued with "Freeloveism, Socialism, Spiritualism," and all the other isms that were ever devised by man or devil.

There is an immense concourse of military at Charlestown, not less than 2000 men are quartered there, the Courthouse, all the churches & all the Lawyers offices are occupied. We have upwards of 300 regulars & 75 or 80 Montgomery Guards. These men were all sent here by the Sec. of War & Gov. Wise to prevent a rescue of Brown & his party by northern infidels and fanatics: of which they boasted loudly, but their courage must have oozed out of their finger ends, as none made their appearance. We are keeping nightly watch, all are vigilant, partys of 10 men out every night, quite a number of incendiary fires have taken place in this vicinity & County, such as grain stacks, barns & other out-buildings. -George Mauzy

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John Brown Statue dedicated May 9, 1935 at John Brown Memorial State Park located at Quenemo, Kansas

THE 2D GREAT AMERICAN DISUNION

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Upon learning that [John Brown](#) had indeed been executed, [Friend Daniel Ricketson](#) continued his musing in his journal:



HANGING

Learned that John Brown was hanged in Charlestown, Virginia, yesterday, between 11 and 12 A.M., – a martyr to the cause of the oppressed slave, – meeting death with the dignity and composure of a Christian martyr, as he undoubtedly was, although I do not think he took the wisest or best way to effect his noble object, – that of liberating the slaves of this professed republic. Peace to his memory. Good men will bless his name, and his memory will be venerated by the wise and good.

His death must prove the destruction of the blood-cemented union of this nation.

Mark this record, whosoever may at some future day read this page. I would make this record with due humility, and with a tender solicitude for the best interests of my countrymen. I wish not the blood of the tyrant, but that he may become abashed and conscience-stricken before God. My soul truly yearneth for peace and prosperity to all mankind, but cruelty and slavery must cease.



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[Mary Ann Day Brown](#) would be granted the corpse of her [hanged](#) husband, but not those of her two sons.



The widow Brown would continue to bear the year of *Jubilee* as best she could.

The Reverend [Thomas Wentworth Higginson](#) would visit her and then write A VISIT TO JOHN BROWN'S HOUSEHOLD IN 1859, and Edmund Wilson has commented, in regard to this (page 247), that Higginson interviewed the "widow in her bleak little Adirondack farm with a piety that could not have been more reverent if Mrs. Brown had been the widow of Emerson."

On this morning [Francis Jackson Meriam](#) had come out from Boston to Concord on the train, and made an appearance on the doorstep of [Secret "Six" conspirator Franklin Benjamin Sanborn](#). Sanborn wondered whether the man was being activated by a "wish for suicide," and sicked his inconvenient fugitive on his friend [Henry Thoreau](#) under the name "Mr. Lockwood." They got [Waldo Emerson](#) to rent a horse and covered wagon so Thoreau could drop him off at the train station in South Acton in the morning, where he would be less likely to be noticed as he boarded the train (toward Boston, although Sanborn was presuming toward Canada). Thoreau referred to Meriam in his journal as "X" and noted: "Rode with a man this forenoon who said that if



he did not clean his teeth when he got up, it made him sick all the rest of the day, but he found by late



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experience that when he had not cleaned his teeth for several days they cleaned themselves. I assured him that such was the general rule, —that when from any cause we were prevented from doing what we had commonly thought indispensable for us to do, things cleaned or took care of themselves. X was betrayed by his eyes, which had a glaring film over them and no serene depth into which you could look. Inquired particularly the way to Emerson's and the distance, and when I told him, said he knew it as well as if he saw it. Wished to turn and proceed to his house. Told me one or two things which he asked me not to tell S. Said, "I know I am insane," — and I knew it too. Also called it "nervous excitement." At length, when I made a certain remark, he said, "I don't know but you are Emerson; are you? You look somewhat like him." He said as much two or three times, and added once, "But then Emerson would n't lie." Finally put his questions to me, of Fate, etc., etc., as if I were Emerson. Getting to the woods, I remarked upon them, and he mentioned my name, but never to the end suspected who his companion was. Then "proceeded to business," — "since the time was short," — and put to me the questions he was going to put to Emerson. His insanity exhibited itself chiefly by his incessant excited talk, scarcely allowing me to interrupt him, but once or twice apologizing for his behavior. What he said was for the most part connected and sensible enough." [Francis Jackson Meriam](#) made it safely to Boston without being identified and arrested, and would be hid out for several days in the home of his namesake grandfather on Hollis Street, the Garrisonian abolitionist and Boston historian Francis Jackson.



December 3: Suddenly quite cold, and freezes in the house.

Rode with a man this forenoon who said that if he did not clean his teeth when he got up, it made him sick all the rest of the day, but he had found by late experience that when he had not cleaned his teeth for several days they cleaned themselves. I assured him that such was the general rule,—that when from any cause we were prevented from doing what we had commonly thought indispensable for us to do, things cleaned or took care of themselves.

X was betrayed by his eyes, which had a glaring film over them and no serene depth into which you could look. Inquired particularly the way to Emerson's and the distance, and when I told him, said he knew it as well as if he saw it. Wished to turn and proceed to his house. Told me one or two things which he asked me not to tell S. [SANBORN]. Said, "I know I am insane,"—and I knew it too. Also called it "nervous excitement." At length, when I made a certain remark, he said, "I don't know but you are Emerson; are you? You look somewhat like him." He said as much two or three times, and added once, "But then Emerson wouldn't lie." Finally put his questions to me, of Fate, etc., etc., as if I were Emerson. Getting to the woods, I remarked upon them, and he mentioned my name, but never to the end suspected who his companion was. Then "proceeded to business," — "since the time was short,"— and put to me the questions he was going to put to Emerson. His insanity exhibited itself chiefly by his incessant excited talk, scarcely allowing me to interrupt him, but once or twice apologizing for his behavior. What he said was for the most part connected and sensible enough.

When I hear of John Brown and his wife weeping at length, it is as if the rocks sweated.

According to the Elwood [Free Press](#) for this date, this had been candidate [Abraham Lincoln](#)'s speech at Elwood in "[Bleeding Kansas](#)," a speech that must have been delivered on or about November 30th:

Mr. Lincoln was received with great enthusiasm. He stated the reasons why he was unable to make a speech this evening. He could only say a few words to us who had come out to meet him the first time he had placed his foot upon the soil of Kansas. Mr. Lincoln said that it was possible that we had local questions in regard to Railroads, Land Grants and internal improvements which were matters of deeper interest to us than the questions arising out of national politics, but of these local interests he knew nothing and should say nothing. We had, however, just adopted a State Constitution, and it was probable, that, under that Constitution, we should soon cease our Territorial existence, and come forward to take our place in the brotherhood of States, and act our parts as a member of the confederation. Kansas would be Free, but the same questions we had had here in regard to Freedom or Slavery would arise in regard to other Territories and we should have to take our part in deciding them. People often ask, "why make such a fuss about a few niggers?" I answer the question by asking what will you do to dispose of this question? The Slaves constitute one seventh of our entire



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population. Wherever there is an element of this magnitude in a government it will be talked about. The general feeling in regard to Slavery had changed entirely since the early days of the Republic. You may examine the debates under the Confederation, in the Convention that framed the Constitution and in the first session of Congress and you will not find a single man saying that Slavery is a good thing. They all believed it was an evil. They made the Northwest Territory –the only Territory then belonging to the government– forever free. They prohibited the African Slave trade. Having thus prevented its extension and cut off the supply, the Fathers of the Republic believed Slavery must soon disappear. There are only three clauses in the Constitution which refer to Slavery, and in neither of them is the word Slave or Slavery mentioned. The word is not used in the clause prohibiting the African Slave trade; it is not used in the clause which makes Slaves a basis of representation; it is not used in the clause requiring the return of fugitive Slaves. And yet in all the debates in the Convention the question was discussed and Slaves and Slavery talked about. Now why was this word kept out of that instrument and so carefully kept out that a European, be he ever so intelligent, if not familiar with our institutions, might read the Constitution over and over again and never learn that Slavery existed in the United States. The reason is this. The Framers of the Organic Law believed that the Constitution would outlast Slavery and they did not want a word there to tell future generations that Slavery had ever been legalized in America. Your Territory has had a marked history – no other Territory has ever had such a history. There had been strife and bloodshed here, both parties had been guilty of outrages; he had his opinions as to the relative guilt of the parties, but he would not say who had been most to blame. One fact was certain – there had been loss of life, destruction of property; our material interests had been retarded. Was this desirable? There is a peaceful way of settling these questions – the way adopted by government until a recent period. The bloody code has grown out of the new policy in regard to the government of Territories. Mr. Lincoln in conclusion adverted briefly to the [Harpers Ferry Affair](#).⁴⁷² He believed the attack of [Brown](#) wrong for two reasons. It was a violation of law and it was, as all such attacks must be, futile as far as any effect it might have on the extinction of a great evil. We have a means provided for the expression of our belief in regard to Slavery – it is through the ballot box – the peaceful method provided by the Constitution. John Brown has shown great courage, rare unselfishness, as even Gov. [[Henry A. Wise](#) of Virginia] testifies. But no man, North or South, can approve of violence or crime. Mr. Lincoln closed his brief speech by wishing all to go out to the election on Tuesday and to vote as became the Freemen of Kansas.

On this evening candidate [Abraham Lincoln](#) was speaking in Stockton Hall at Leavenworth, Kansas. This is how his speech would be reported in the newspaper:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: You are, as yet, the people of a Territory; but you probably soon will be the people of

472. October 16-18, 1859. This is apparently [Abraham Lincoln](#)'s 1st reference to [John Brown](#), whose execution scheduled for December 2, 1859, undoubtedly placed him in the forefront of conversational topics among his former friends and enemies in Kansas.



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a State of the Union. Then you will be in possession of new privileges, and new duties will be upon you. You will have to bear a part in all that pertains to the administration of the National Government. That government, from the beginning, has had, has now, and must continue to have a policy in relation to domestic slavery. It cannot, if it would, be without a policy upon that subject. And that policy must, of necessity, take one of two directions. It must deal with the institution as being wrong or as not being wrong.

Mr. Lincoln then stated, somewhat in detail, the early action of the General Government upon the question – in relation to the foreign slave trade, the basis of Federal representation, and the prohibition of slavery in the Federal territories; the Fugitive Slave clause in the Constitution, and insisted that, plainly that early policy, was based on the idea of slavery being wrong; and tolerating it so far, and only so far, as the necessity of its actual presence required.

He then took up the policy of the Kansas-Nebraska act, which he argued was based on opposite ideas – that is, the idea that slavery is not wrong. He said:

You, the people of Kansas, furnish the example of the first application of this new policy. At the end of about five years, after having almost continual struggles, fire and bloodshed, over this very question, and after having framed several State Constitutions, you have, at last, secured a Free State Constitution, under which you will probably be admitted into the Union. You have, at last, at the end of all this difficulty, attained what we, in the old North-western Territory, attained without any difficulty at all. Compare, or rather contrast, the actual working of this new policy with that of the old, and say whether, after all, the old way – the way adopted by Washington and his compeers – was not the better way.

Mr. Lincoln argued that the new policy had proven false to all its promises – that its promise to the Nation was to speedily end the slavery agitation, which it had not done, but directly the contrary – that its promises to the people of the Territories was to give them greater control of their own affairs than the people of former Territories had had; while, by the actual experiment, they had had less control of their own affairs, and had been more bedeviled by outside interference than the people of any other Territory ever had.

He insisted that it was deceitful in its expressed wish to confer additional privileges upon the people; else it would have conferred upon them the privilege of choosing their own officers. That if there be any just reason why all the privileges of a State should not be conferred on the people of a Territory at once, it only could be the smallness of numbers; and that if while their number was small, they were fit to do some things, and unfit to do others, it could only be because those they were unfit to do, were the larger and more important things – that, in this case, the allowing the people of Kansas to plant their soil with slavery, and not allowing them to choose their own Governor, could only be justified on the idea that the planting a new State with slavery was a very small matter, and the



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election of Governor a very much greater matter. "Now," said he, "compare these two matters and decide which is really the greater. You have already had, I think, five Governors, and yet, although their doings, in their respective days, were of some little interest to you, it is doubtful whether you now, even remember the names of half of them. They are gone (all but the last) without leaving a trace upon your soil, or having done a single act which can, in the least degree, help or hurt you, in all the indefinite future before you. This is the size of the Governor question. Now, how is it with the slavery question? If your first settlers had so far decided in favor of slavery, as to have got five thousand slaves planted on your soil, you could, by no moral possibility, have adopted a Free State Constitution. Their owners would be influential voters among you as good men as the rest of you, and, by their greater wealth, and consequent, greater capacity, to assist the more needy, perhaps the most influential among you. You could not wish to destroy, or injuriously interfere with their property. You would not know what to do with the slaves after you had made them free. You would not wish to keep them as underlings; nor yet to elevate them to social and political equality. You could not send them away. The slave States would not let you send them there; and the free States would not let you send them there. All the rest of your property would not pay for sending them to [Liberia](#). In one word, you could not have made a free State, if the first half of your own numbers had got five thousand slaves fixed upon the soil. You could have disposed of, not merely five, but five hundred Governors easier. There they would have stuck, in spite of you, to plague you and your children, and your children's children, indefinitely. Which is the greater, this, or the Governor question? Which could the more safely be intrusted to the first few people who settle a Territory? Is it that which, at most, can be but temporary and brief in its effects? or that which being done by the first few, can scarcely ever be undone by the succeeding many?"

He insisted that, little as was Popular Sovereignty at first, the Dred Scott decision, which is indorsed by the author of Popular Sovereignty, has reduced it to still smaller proportions, if it has not entirely crushed it out. That, in fact, all it lacks of being crushed out entirely by that decision, is the lawyer's technical distinction between decision and dictum. That the Court has already said a Territorial government cannot exclude slavery; but because they did not say it in a case where a Territorial government had tried to exclude slavery, the lawyers hold that saying of the Court to be dictum and not decision. "But," said Mr. Lincoln, "is it not certain that the Court will make a decision of it, the first time a Territorial government tries to exclude slavery?"

Mr. Lincoln argued that the doctrine of Popular Sovereignty, carried out, renews the African Slave Trade. Said he: "Who can show that one people have a better right to carry slaves to where they have never been, than another people have to buy slaves wherever they please, even in Africa?"

He also argued that the advocates of Popular Sovereignty, by their efforts to brutalize the negro in the public mind — denying him any share in the [Declaration of Independence](#), and comparing him to the crocodile — were beyond what avowed pro-slavery men ever do, and really did as much, or more than they, toward making



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the institution national and perpetual.

He said many of the Popular Sovereignty advocates were "as much opposed to slavery as any one;" but that they could never find any proper time or place to oppose it. In their view, it must not be opposed in politics, because that is agitation; nor in the pulpit, because it is not religion; nor in the Free States, because it is not there; nor in the Slave States, because it is there. These gentlemen, however, are never offended by hearing Slavery supported in any of these places. Still, they are "as much opposed to Slavery as anybody." One would suppose that it would exactly suit them if the people of the Slave States would themselves adopt emancipation; but when Frank Blair tried this last year, in Missouri, and was beaten, every one of them threw up his hat and shouted "Hurrah for the Democracy!"

Mr. Lincoln argued that those who thought Slavery right ought to unite on a policy which should deal with it as being right; that they should go for a revival of the Slave Trade; for carrying the institution everywhere, into Free States as well as Territories; and for a surrender of fugitive slaves in Canada, or war with Great Britain. Said he, "all shades of Democracy, popular sovereign as well as the rest, are fully agreed that slaves are property, and only property. If Canada now had as many horses as she has slaves belonging to Americans, I should think it just cause of war if she did not surrender them on demand.

"On the other hand, all those who believe slavery is wrong should unite on a policy, dealing with it as a wrong. They should be deluded into no deceitful contrivances, pretending indifference, but really working for that to which they are opposed." He urged this at considerable length.

He then took up some of the objections to [Republicans](#). They were accused of being sectional. He denied it. What was the proof? "Why, that they have no existence, get no votes in the South. But that depends on the South, and not on us. It is their volition, not ours; and if there be fault in it, it is primarily theirs, and remains so, unless they show that we repeal them by some wrong principle. If they attempt this, they will find us holding no principle, other than those held and acted upon by the men who gave us the government under which we live. They will find that the charge of sectionalism will not stop at us, but will extend to the very men who gave us the liberty we enjoy. But if the mere fact that we get no votes in the slave states makes us sectional, whenever we shall get votes in those states, we shall cease to be sectional; and we are sure to get votes, and a good many of them too, in these states next year.

You claim that you are conservative; and we are not. We deny it. What is conservatism? Preserving the old against the new. And yet you are conservative in struggling for the new, and we are destructive in trying to maintain the old. Possibly you mean you are conservative in trying to maintain the existing institution of slavery. Very well; we are not trying to destroy it. The peace of society, and the structure of our government both require that we should let it alone, and we insist on letting it alone. If I might advise my [Republican](#) friends here, I would say to them, leave your Missouri neighbors alone. Have nothing whatever to do with their slaves. Have nothing whatever to do with the



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white people, save in a friendly way. Drop past differences, and so conduct yourselves that if you cannot be at peace with them, the fault shall be wholly theirs.

You say we have made the question more prominent than heretofore. We deny it. It is more prominent; but we did not make it so. Despite of us, you would have a change of policy; we resist the change, and in the struggle, the greater prominence is given to the question. Who is responsible for that, you or we? If you would have the question reduced to its old proportions go back to the old policy. That will effect it.

But you are for the Union; and you greatly fear the success of the Republicans would destroy the Union. Why? Do the Republicans declare against the Union? Nothing like it. Your own statement of it is, that if the Black Republicans elect a President, you won't stand it. You will break up the Union. That will be your act, not ours. To justify it, you must show that our policy gives you just cause for such desperate action. Can you do that? When you attempt it, you will find that our policy is exactly the policy of the men who made the Union. Nothing more and nothing less. Do you really think you are justified to break up the government rather than have it administered by Washington, and other good and great men who made it, and first administered it? If you do you are very unreasonable; and more reasonable men cannot and will not submit to you. While you elect [the] President, we submit, neither breaking nor attempting to break up the Union. If we shall constitutionally elect a President, it will be our duty to see that you submit. Old John Brown has just been executed for treason against a state. We cannot object, even though he agreed with us in thinking slavery wrong. That cannot excuse violence, bloodshed, and treason. It could avail him nothing that he might think himself right. So, if constitutionally we elect a President, and therefore you undertake to destroy the Union, it will be our duty to deal with you as old John Brown has been dealt with. We shall try to do our duty. We hope and believe that in no section will a majority so act as to render such extreme measures necessary.

Mr. Lincoln closed by an appeal to all —opponents as well as friends— to think soberly and maturely, and never fail to cast their vote, insisting that it was not a privilege only, but a duty to do so.



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December 8, Thursday: [Boston](#) had for some 30 years been intimately entangled with the financial affairs of the South. The shipping interests had been making money by moving the cotton produced by slaves, and the manufacturing interests had been making money by spinning it into cloth. Thus as soon as [John Brown](#) was safely dead (his last words had been “I am ready at any time — do not keep me waiting....”), there was created a political organization at Faneuil Hall, euphemistically named the Constitutional Union Party, which would commonly be known by the more accurate designator “Cotton Whigs.” These folks would do everything possible to suck up on a suspicious South.

Burial of the corpse of [John Brown](#) at North Elba, New York, with a note from [Henry Thoreau](#) (now lost) read last of all at the graveside. “The face was hardly changed, and wore its usual expression.” Although I have a note asserting that Brown had requested that the Reverend [William Henry Furness](#) officiate at his funeral, I cannot find corroboration that the Reverend was present, or traveled to New York. A choir of black neighbors sang the old man’s favorite hymn:

Blow Ye the Trumpet Blow,
The gladly solemn sound,
Let all the nations know,
To earth’s remotest bound,
The year of *Jubilee* has come.

Additional corpses had been unearthed and scrutinized at [Harpers Ferry](#), and the corpse of the son [Oliver Brown](#) had been separated out to be handed over to [Mrs. Mary Ann Day Brown](#) per the letter of petition she had sent to Virginia Governor [Henry A. Wise](#). Alfred Barbour, Superintendent of the United States Armory, made his report: “Upon examination, the body of one of Mrs. Brown’s sons was recognized among the disinterred invaders. The bodies of them all have been again buried properly on the right bank of the Shenandoah in the County of Jefferson, Virginia.” This time they packed the remaining corpses tightly into a couple of “store boxes.” Francis Yates, Overseer of the Poor for Jefferson County, submitted a bill for \$55, pointing out that because “these men were killed on the property of the United States, whilst they had forcible possession of said property ... the Government, and not the Overseers ... should pay the expenses of interment.”

The widow continued to bear the year of *Jubilee* as best she could. The Reverend [Thomas Wentworth Higginson](#) would visit her and then write A VISIT TO JOHN BROWN’S HOUSEHOLD IN 1859, and Edmund Wilson has famously commented in regard to this (page 247), that Higginson interviewed the “widow in her bleak little Adirondack farm with a piety that could not have been more reverent if Mrs. Brown had been the widow of Emerson.”



[Thomas De Quincey](#) died in Edinburgh. His body would be interred beside that of Margaret in St Cuthbert’s Churchyard.

ATTITUDES ON DE QUINCEY



December 8. Here is a better glaze than we have yet had, for it snowed and rained in the night. I go to Pleasant Meadow, — or rather toward the sun, for the glaze shows best so. The wind has risen and the trees are stiffly waving with a brattling sound. The birches, seen half a mile off toward the sun, are the purest



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dazzling white of any tree, probably because their stems are not seen at all. It is only those seen at a particular angle between us and the sun that appear thus.

Day before yesterday the ice which had fallen from the twigs covered the snow beneath in oblong pieces one or two inches long, which C. well called lemon-drops.

When a noble deed is done, who is likely to appreciate it? They who are noble themselves. I am not surprised that certain of my neighbors speak of John Brown as an ordinary felon. Who are they? They have much flesh, or at least much coarseness of some kind. They are not ethereal natures, or the dark qualities predominate in them, or they have much office. Several of them are decidedly pachydermatous. How can a man behold the light who has no answering inward light? They are true to their sight, but when they look this way they see nothing, they are blind. For the children of the light to contend with them is as if there should be a contest between eagles and owls. Show me a man who feels bitterly toward John Brown, and then let me hear what noble verse he can repeat.

Certain persons disgraced themselves by hanging Brown in effigy in this town on the 2d. I was glad to know that the only four whose names I heard mentioned in connection with it had not been long resident here, and had done nothing to secure the respect of the town.

It is not every man who can be a Christian, whatever education you give him. It is a matter of constitution and temperament. I have known many a man who pretended to be a Christian, in whom it was ridiculous, for he had no genius for it.

The expression "a liberal education" originally meant one worthy of freemen. Such is education simply in a true and broad sense. But education ordinarily so called—the learning of trades and professions which is designed to enable men to earn their living, or to fit them for a particular station in life—is servile.

Two hundred years ago is about as great an antiquity as we can comprehend or often have to deal with. It is nearly as good as two thousand to our imaginations. It carries us back to the days of aborigines and the Pilgrims; beyond the limits of oral testimony, to history which begins already to be enamelled with a gloss of fable, and we do not quite believe what we read; to a strange style of writing and spelling and of expression; to those ancestors whose names we do not know, and to whom we are related only as we are to the race generally. It is the age of our very oldest houses and cultivated trees. Nor is New England very peculiar in this. In England also, a house two hundred years old, especially if it be a wooden one, is pointed out as an interesting relic of the past. When we read the history of the world, centuries look cheap to us and we find that we had doubted if the hundred years preceding the life of [Herodotus](#) seemed as great an antiquity to him as a hundred years does to us. We are inclined to think of all Romans who lived within five hundred years B.C. as contemporaries to each other. Yet Time moved at the same deliberate pace then as now. Pliny the Elder, who died in the 79th year of the Christian era, speaking of the paper made of papyrus which was then used, —how carefully it was made,—says, just as we might say, as if it were something remarkable: "There are, thus, ancient memorials in the handwriting of Caius and Tiberius Gracchus, almost two hundred years old, which I have seen in the possession of Pomponius Secundus the poet, a very illustrious citizen. As for the handwriting of Cicero, Augustus, and Virgil, we very often meet with it still." This too, according to Pliny, was the age of the oldest wines. "In one year the quality of all kinds of wine was peculiarly good. In the consulship of Lucius Opimius, when Caius Gracchus, disturbing the people with seditions, was killed, there was that bright and serene weather (ea caeli temperies fulsit) which they call a cooking (of the grape) by the heat of the sun. This was in the year of the city 634. And some of those wines have lasted to this day, almost two hundred years, now reduced to the appearance of candied honey (in speciem redacta mellis asperi)." [[Bohn's](#) translation says, "have assumed the consistency of honey with a rough taste!!"]

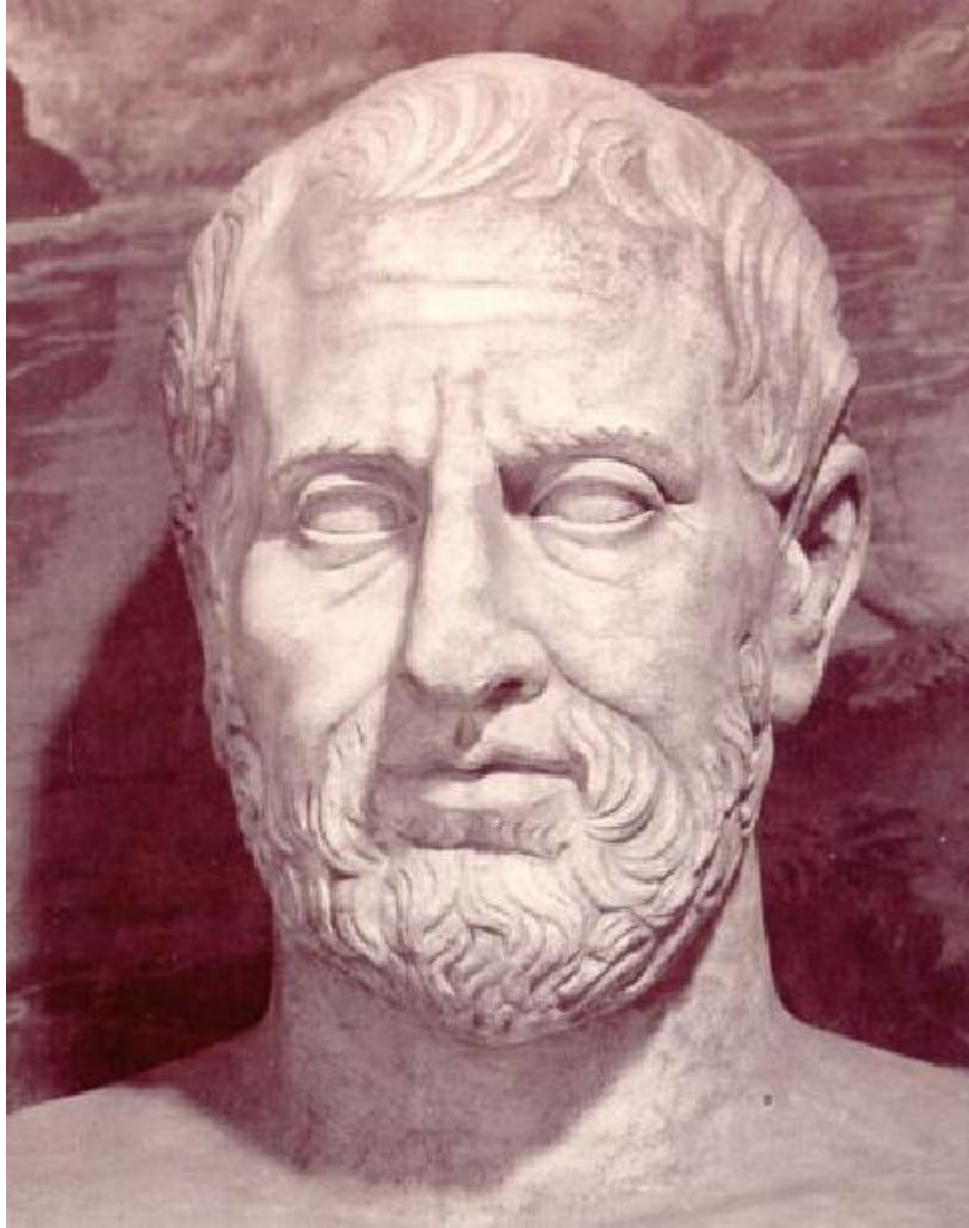
How is it that what is actually present and transpiring is commonly perceived by the common sense and understanding only, is bare and bald, without halo or the blue enamel of intervening air? But let it be past or to come, and it is at once idealized. As the man dead is spiritualized, so the fact remembered is idealized. It is a deed ripe and with the bloom on it. It is not simply the understanding now, but the imagination, that takes cognizance of it. The imagination requires a long range. It is the faculty of the poet to see present things as if, in this sense, also past and future, as if distant or universally significant. We do not know poets, heroes, and saints for our contemporaries, but we locate them in some far-off vale, and, the greater and better, the further off we [ARE] accustomed to consider them. We believe in spirits, we believe in beauty, but not now and here. They have their abode in the remote past or in the future.

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December 16, Friday: [Henry Thoreau](#) checked out, from [Harvard Library](#), the 2d volume of a 5-volume set prepared 1818-1821 (*THEOPHRASTI ERESII QUAE SUPERSUNT OPERA: ET EXCERPTA LIBRORUM* by [Theophrastus of Eresus](#) (circa 372-circa 287BCE), JOHANN GOTTLOB SCHNEIDER, HEINRICH FRIEDRICH LINK. Lipsiae: Sumtibus Frid. Christ. Guil. Vogelii) of ΘΕΟΠΗΡΑΣΤΥΣ ΕΡΕΣΙΩΝ ΤΑ ΣΟΟΛΟΜΕΝΑ.



THEOPHRASTUS

He also checked out the two volumes of [Aristotle](#)'s *HISTOIRE DES ANIMAUX D'ARISTOTE* in Greek and in the

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French translation by M. Camus (Paris: Chez la veuve Desaint, 1783).



HISTOIRE DES ANIMAUX I

HISTOIRE DES ANIMAUX II

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While at the [Harvard Library](#), [Thoreau](#) read from but did not check out [John Gerard](#)'s 1597 [botanical](#) resource, THE HERBALL OR GENERALL HISTORIE OF PLANTES:

GREAT HERBALL OF 1597



INTERNET COMMENTARY



December 16, 1859: A.M.—To Cambridge, where I read in [Gerard](#)'s Herbal. [Vide extracts from preface made in October 1859.] His admirable though quaint descriptions are, to my mind, greatly superior to the modern more scientific ones. He describes not according to rule but to his natural delight in the plants. He brings them vividly before you, as one who has seen and delighted in them. It is almost as good as to see the plants themselves. It suggests that we cannot too often get rid of the barren assumption that is in our science. His leaves are leaves; his flowers, flowers; his fruit, fruit. They are green and colored and fragrant. It is a man's knowledge added to a child's delight. Modern botanical descriptions approach ever nearer to the dryness of an algebraic formula, as if $c + y$ were = to a love-letter. It is the keen joy and discrimination of the child who has just seen a flower for the first time and comes running in with it to its friends. How much better to describe your object in fresh English words rather than in these conventional Latinisms! He has really seen, and smelt, and tasted, and reports his sensations.

Bought a book at Little & Brown's, paying a nine-pence more on a volume than it was offered me for elsewhere. The customer thus pays for the more elegant style of the store.

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The Select Committee on the Invasion of [Harpers Ferry](#) created by Democratic Senator [James Murray Mason](#) of Virginia held its first meeting in regard to the [John Brown](#) affair and its [Secret "Six"](#) conspiracy. The committee would be in existence for 6 months before delivering its final report and would summon, in all, 32 witnesses.

[Edwin Coppoc](#) and [John E. Cook](#) were [hanged](#) in Charlestown, Virginia.⁴⁷³ Edwin's body would be buried in Winona after a funeral attended by the entire town. Later his body would be reburied in Salem, Ohio.



(Edwin had written from the prison to his adoptive mother, of a nonresistant-abolitionist [Quaker](#) farm family, 473. I have been advised that according to THE QUAKERS OF IOWA by Louis Thomas Jones, a scholarly work published under the auspices of the State Historical Iowa at Iowa City, Iowa in 1914 (I haven't myself actually seen this book), prior to their deaths the Coppoc brothers were disowned by the Red Cedar Monthly Meeting of Friends in the West Branch/Springdale area.



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that he was

"sorry to say that I was ever induced to raise a gun."

Edwin's brother [Barclay Coppoc](#) was still eluding capture.)

[John E. Cook](#) had made a full confession of his activities with the raiders and at the last moment had sought to save his neck by representing that he had been deceived through false promises, but this had not saved him, nor had the fact that his brother-in-law A.P. Willard was Governor of Indiana.

When it came the turn of [John Anderson Copeland, Jr.](#) to be [hanged](#), too short a drop was used. He strangled slowly.



Just before being taken from his cell to the execution field that morning, he had completed a last letter to his family:

*Charlestown Jail, Va.,
Dec. 16, '59*

*Dear Father, Mother, Brothers Henry, William and Freddy, and
Sisters Sarah and Mary:*

*The last Sabbath with me on earth has passed away. The last
Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday that I shall ever see
on this earth have now passed by God's glorious sun, which he
has placed in the heavens to illuminate this earth- whose
refulgent beams are watched for by this poor invalid, to enter
& make as it were in heaven of the room in which he is confined-
I have seen declining behind the western mountains for the last
time. Last night for the last time, I beheld the soft bright
moon as it rose, casting its mellow light into my felons cell,
dissipating the darkness and filling it with that soft pleasant
light which causes such thrills of joy to all those in like
circumstance with myself. This morning for the last time, I
beheld the glorious sun of yesterday rising in the far-off East,
away off in the country where our Lord Jesus Christ first
proclaimed salvation to man, and now as he rises higher and his
bright light takes the place of the pale, soft moonlight, I will
take my pen, for the last time, to write you who are bound to
me by those strong ties (yea, the strongest that God ever
instituted,) the ties of blood and relationship. I am well, both*

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*in body and in mind. And now, dear ones, if it were not that I know your hearts will be filled with sorrow at my fate, I could pass from this earth without a regret. Why should you sorrow? Why should your hearts be racked with grief? Have I not everything to gain and nothing to lose by the change? I fully believe that not only myself but also all three of my poor comrades who are to ascend the same scaffold- (a scaffold already made sacred to the cause of freedom, by the death of that great champion of human freedom, Capt. JOHN BROWN) are prepared to meet our God. I am only leaving a world filled with sorrow and woe to enter one in which there is but one lasting day of happiness and bliss. I feel that God in his mercy has spoken peace to my soul, and that all my numerous sins are now forgiven me. Dear parents, brothers and sisters, it is true that I am now in a few hours to start on a journey from which no traveler returns. Yes, long before this reaches you, I shall as I sincerely hope, have met our brother and sister who have for years been worshiping God around his throne - singing praises to him, and thanking him that he gave his Son to die that they might have eternal life. I pray daily and hourly that I may be fitted to have my home with them, and that you, one and all, may prepare your souls to meet your God, that so, in the end, though we meet no more on earth, we shall meet in Heaven, where we shall not be parted by the demands of the cruel and unjust monster Slavery. But think not that I am complaining, for I feel reconciled to meet my fate. I pray God that his will be done; not mine. Let me tell you that it is not the mere act of having to meet death, which I should regret, (if I should express regret I mean,) but that such an unjust institution should exist as the one which demands my life; and not my life only, but the lives of those to whom my life bears but the relative value of zero to the infinite. I beg of you one and all that you will not grieve about me, but that you will thank God that he spared me time to make my peace with Him. And now, dear ones, attach no blame to anyone for my coming here for not any person but myself is to blame. I have no antipathy against anyone, I have freed my mind of all hard feelings against every living being, and I ask all who have any thing against me to do the same. And now dear parents, Brothers and sisters, I must bid you to serve your God and meet me in heaven. I must with a few words, close my correspondence with those who are the most near and dear to me: but I hope, in the end, we may again commune, never to cease. Dear ones, he who writes this will, in a few hours, be in this world no longer. Yes, these fingers which hold the pen with which this is written will, before to-day's sun has reached his meridian have laid it aside forever, and this poor soul have taken its flight to meet its God. And now dear ones I must bid you that last, long, sad farewell. Good-day, Father, Mother, Henry, William, and Freddy, Sarah and Mary, serve your God and meet me in heaven.
Your Son and Brother to eternity,
John A. Copeland.*

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Is it that [Aaron D. Stevens](#), and 10 of Captain Brown's black supporters, having been duly found guilty of treason and murder by a jury of their white male peers, were [hanged](#) on this date?



Or is it that the other surrendered survivors of the raid on Harpers Ferry, [John Anderson Copeland, Jr.](#), [Shields Green](#), and [Aaron D. Stevens](#), having been duly found guilty of treason and murder by a jury of their white male peers, were [hanged](#) on this date?⁴⁷⁴

A monument would be erected by the citizens of [Oberlin, Ohio](#) in honor of their 3 free citizens of color who had died in the raid or been [hanged](#), [Shields Green](#), [John Anderson Copeland, Jr.](#), and [Lewis Sheridan Leary](#) (the 8-foot marble monument would be moved to Vine Street Park in 1971).

WHAT I'M WRITING IS TRUE BUT NEVER MIND

474. In THE CAPTURE AND EXECUTION OF JOHN BROWN: A TALE OF MARTYRDOM, BY ELIJAH AVEY, EYE WITNESS, WITH THIRTY ILLUSTRATIONS, dated 1906, we have on page 45 an assertion that the white men [John E. Cook](#) and [Edwin Coppoc](#), and then the black men [John Anderson Copeland, Jr.](#) and [Shields Green](#), were [hanged](#) on December 16th, 1859. The reference says that, the gallows being not large enough, the 2 black men Copeland and Green were forced to stand and watch the 2 white men Cook and Coppoc being hanged before themselves ascending the scaffold. But I have from another reference this assertion that it was one surrendered surviving white man, [Aaron D. Stevens](#), who was hanged on the 16th along with 10 black supporters of Captain [John Brown](#), and that Cook actually would be among the last hanged. Which account would be correct — and why is there such a glaring discrepancy between these various accounts?

The book SECRET SIX treats each retreating admission of each of the co-conspirators in treason as if it were holy writ. No attempt has been made to discern, behind this haze of post-facto explanations and justifications, what the brags of these participants might have been had their plot been successful in initiating the race war they contemplated and had this race war been completed, as it would certainly have been completed, by a historic genocide against black Americans. (Joel Silbey has contended, in "The Civil War Synthesis in American History," that postbellum American historians have been misconstruing antebellum American politics by viewing them in conjunction with our knowledge of the bloodbath that followed. It is only after the fact that we can "know" that the US Civil War amounted to a sectional dispute, North versus South. We avoid learning that before the fact, it was undecided whether this conflict was going to shape up as a race conflict, a class conflict, or a sectional conflict. We avoid knowing that the raid on Harpers Ferry might have resulted in a race war, in which peoples of color would be exterminated in order to create an all-white America, or might have resulted in a class war, in which the laboring classes might have first destroyed the plantation owners' equity by killing their slaves, and then gone on to purge the nation of the white plantation owners themselves, with their privileged-class endowments.) Also, according to the endmatter, the SECRET SIX study had obtained its material on [Frederick Douglass](#) basically from McFeely's FREDERICK DOUGLASS of 1991, and its material on [Thoreau](#) from Sanborn's HENRY DAVID THOREAU of 1917, neither of which were the last word on the subject when the book was prepared. In addition, this work provides no reference whatever for the Emerson life: evidently he was simply presumed not to be of even marginal pertinence. There is no consideration to be found anywhere in this volume of the comparison event: the other American struggle for freedom, the one which had taken place in [Haiti](#) under General [Toussaint Louverture](#).

For these reasons, the study is, fundamentally, incompetent. It is as if O.J. Simpson and his Dream Team had been allowed to control what would appear in our social history texts. Or, it is as if the White House staff had been allowed to define once and for all the extent of President [Richard Milhouse Nixon](#)'s involvement in the Watergate break-in, with, after their initial defensive testimony, after their establishment of the official consensus "truth," all explanations accepted at their putative face value — with no further questioning tolerated.



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YOU CAN ALWAYS LIE TO YOURSELF



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1860

Use of the [guillotine](#) ceased in the Papal States near [Rome](#), and in the kingdoms of Piedmont and Bourbon [Naples](#). (You don't suppose, do you, that they might have come, after due reflection, to think of this sort of activity as somewhat inconsistent with the spirit of Jesus Christ?)

HEADCHOPPING

September 21, Friday: British and French troops defeated the [Chinese](#) at Palikao.

Arthur Schopenhauer died in Frankfurt-am-Main at the age of 72.

James Whitford was [hanged](#) in the jailyard in San Francisco, [California](#) for having shot Edward Sheridan on February 1, 1860 over a pay dispute.



September 21, Friday: Hard rain last night. About one and seven eighths inches fallen since yesterday morning, and river rising again. See, at Reynolds's, Hungarian millet raised by Everett. It is smaller and more purple than what is commonly raised here.

P.M.— To Easterbrooks Country.

The fever-bush berries have begun some time,—say one week; are not yet in prime. Taste almost exactly like lemon-peel. But few bushes bear any.

The bayberries are perhaps ripe, but not so light a gray and so rough, or wrinkled, as they will be.

The pods of the broom are nearly half of them open. I perceive that one, just ready to open, opens with a slight spring on being touched, and the pods at once twist and curl a little. I suspect that such seeds as these, which the winds do not transport, will turn out to be more sought after by birds, etc., and so transported by them than those lighter ones which are furnished with a pappus and are accordingly transported by the wind; i. e., that those which the wind takes are less generally the food of birds and quadrupeds than the heavier and wingless seeds.

Muhlenbergia Mexicana by wall between E. Hosmer and Simon Brown, some time. Some large thorn bushes quite bare.



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1861

[Dr. John Aitken Carlyle](#) edited the posthumous THE HISTORY OF [SCOTTISH](#) POETRY of his friend Dr. David Irving (1778-1860), adding notes and appending a brief glossary of the Scots words that appeared in the volume.

In [California](#), Tuolumne County authorities conducted a group [hanging](#) of 4 [Chinese](#) men.

The English law which had mandated that “Any person, who commits the crime of sodomy, either with a man, or with any animal, and is found guilty, will be put to death” was eased in this year to replace the sentence of death for bestiality with a sentence to life imprisonment which is still in effect, and to replace the sentence of [hanging](#) for anal intercourse with a sentence of ten years to life for sodomitical acts. England would continue, for the time being, to have the most stringent laws against homosexual acts of any of the European countries.

England had had an extraordinary run of good luck in regard to female criminals. For the fifth year in a row, a great new record, it would need to hang no women or girls.

(In this “Criminal Law Consolidation Act,” England was also abandoning hanging as punishment for arson of dwelling-houses, and, after the execution of Martin Doyle in Chester in this year for attempting to commit murder, it would be abandoning hanging as punishment for attempted murder.)

According to Jeffrey Weeks’s COMING OUT: HOMOSEXUAL POLITICS IN BRITAIN FROM THE NINETEENTH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT (revised edition, Quartet Books 1990), this easing applied in Wales as well as England, but did not as yet apply in [Scotland](#):

Pages 11-12: Before 1885 the only legislation which directly affected homosexual acts was that referring to sodomy or buggery.... The 1533 Act of Henry VIII, which first brought sodomy within the scope of statute law, superseding ecclesiastical law, adopted the same criterion as the Church: all acts of sodomy were equally condemned as being “against nature,” whether between man and woman, man and beast, or man and man. The penalty for the “Abominable Vice of Buggery” was death. The keynote Act, re-enacted in 1563, was the basis for all homosexual convictions up to 1885.

Page 13: As part of his consolidation of the English criminal law, Sir Robert Peel actually tightened up the law on sodomy in 1826. The need to prove emission of seed as well as penetration was removed, and the death penalty re-enacted. This was particularly striking at a period when the death penalty was abolished for over a hundred other crimes.... When Lord John Russell attempted to removed “unnatural offences” from the list of capital crimes in 1841, he was forced to withdraw through lack of parliamentary support.

Pages 13-15: The death penalty for buggery, tacitly abandoned after 1836, was finally abolished in England and Wales in 1861 (in Scotland in 1889) to be replaced by penal servitude of between ten years and life. It was to remain thus for homosexual activities until 1967. But this was a prelude not to a liberalization of the law but to a tightening of its grip. By section 11 (the “Labouchere Amendment”) of the 1885 Criminal Law Amendment Act, all male homosexual acts short of buggery, whether committed in public or private, were made illegal.... And thirteen years later, the Vagrancy Act of 1898 clamped down



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on homosexual "soliciting." These two enactments represented a singular hardening of the legal situation and were a crucial factor in the determination of modern attitudes.

June 4, Tuesday: African American John Clarkson was [hanged](#) in the jailyard in San Francisco, [California](#) for having cut the throat of his estranged lover, Caroline F. Park, with a razor on December 1st, 1860.

June 17, Monday: Spain declared neutrality in the American Civil War but recognized the Confederate States of America as a belligerent.

[US CIVIL WAR](#)

June 18, Tuesday: [Henry Thoreau](#) was on the [Minnesota](#) steamboat with Governor Alexander H. Ramsey and Mrs. Anna Earl Jenks Ramsey:



June 18, 9 AM, a letter by Horace Mann, Jr.: "Dear Mother We are this moment stopping at Henderson on the Minnesota River.... We can see the water marks of this spring [flood] on the houses up above the first floor. There may be a hundred houses in the town, but they are much scattered and I cannot see more than half that number. We left St. Paul last night about 5 oclock with Governor Ramsey, the Governor of Minnesota, on board and about 25 volunteers on board going up to Fort Ridgely.... The Minnesota River is a very crooked one, and I suppose we have gone ten miles by water which would have been two or three in a straight line to go from one end of this town to where we are now stopping. We have to double on ourselves several times perhaps like this [a wavy line] and sometimes so sharp a bend that they have to reverse one wheel of the steamer while the other goes ahead and so turn round right where they are. The river is very narrow being in some places that we have come past not more than 7 or 8 rods wide and usually not more than 10 or 15, and it is full of snags. They have a band on board which is now playing a tune I do not know what one. There are I should think over a hundred passengers on board, and it is a small boat, so that a great many of them have to sleep wherever they can around on chairs, or on the floor, or on trunks, etc. It is a beautiful day, rather hot in the sun and as the river is so narrow we can see everything on the banks very easily.... 9:45 P.M. Since I wrote the above we have passed Le Sueur, Traverse des Sioux, St. Peter's and Mankato, & we are now stopping at South Bend and I do not know but what we may stay here all night as the water is pretty low and the river is full of sand bars and snags."

At Fort Ridgely, the "Soldiers' House" was being manned by volunteer troops. Primary reliance for the defense of the fort was being placed upon the "mountain" howitzers left behind by the regular troops who had marched off to fight in the Civil War.⁴⁷⁶

[US CIVIL WAR](#)

475. Actually, Governor Alexander H. Ramsey and Mrs. Anna Earl Jenks Ramsey. Ramsey had been the first governor of the territory, then a senator, then governor of the state. He had also recently violated Minnesota's sense of "nice" by refusing to pardon a white wife who had poisoned her husband with arsenic on behalf of her lover, and had then gotten religion in jail. He insisting on [hanging](#) her high in the saintly city (but you can bet we tied her dress around her ankles before we dropped the trap). Be sure to visit the Ramsey mansion if you come to Minnesota, for Ramsey became president of the Minnesota Historical Society and we give nice tours of his digs (265 Exchange Street, St. Paul MN, 296-8681).

476. Bronze barrel weight 884 pounds. Effective when firing 6-pound solid roundshot at ranges of 1,500 yards, with muzzle elevated some five degrees, but also effective with antipersonnel tin cannisters of grapeshot at 300 to 450 yards.

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August 9, Friday: The new song "John Brown's Body" was spreading rapidly through the Union Army. Few would realize that the "John Brown" being sung had been merely a short second tenor Scotts sergeant who had drowned while crossing a river, rather than the famous [hanged](#) traitor desperado "Captain" [John Brown](#). (The verses we now have are later redactions in that they explicitly mention Harpers Ferry and Kansas and hanging, and date to a subsequent era in which the identification of John Brown of the song with the John Brown of Harpers Ferry had become complete; the song about the body of Sgt. Brown a'mouldering in its grave as it was initially being sung of course included no such topical references.)



John Brown's body lies a mouldering in the grave,
While weep the sons of bondage, whom he ventured all
to save ;
But, tho' he lost his life in struggling for the slave,
His Soul is marching on.
Chorus : Glory, Glory Hallelujah !
Glory, Glory Hallelujah !
Glory, Glory Hallelujah !
His Soul is marching on.

John Brown was a Hero undaunted, true and brave ;
And Kansas knew his valor, when he fought her rights
to save ;
And now, though the grass grows green above his grave,
His Soul is marching on. Glory, &c.

He captured Harper's Ferry with his nineteen men so true,
And he frightened Old Virginny, till she trembled
through and through.
They hung him for a traitor : themselves a Traitor crew ;
But his Soul is marching on. Glory, &c.

John Brown was John the Baptist of Christ we are to see,
Christ who of the bondman shall the Liberator be ;
And soon, throughout the Sunny South, the slaves
shall all be free :
For, his Soul is marching on ! Glory, &c.

The conflict that he heralded, he looks from Heaven to view
On the army of the Union, with his Flag, red, white and blue,
And Heaven shall ring with anthems o'er the deed :
they mean to do :
For, his Soul is marching on. Glory, &c.

Ye, Soldiers of Freedom, then strike, while strike ye may,
The death-blow of Oppression, in a better time and way ;
For, the dawn of Old John Brown has brightened into day,
And his Soul is marching on. Glory, &c.

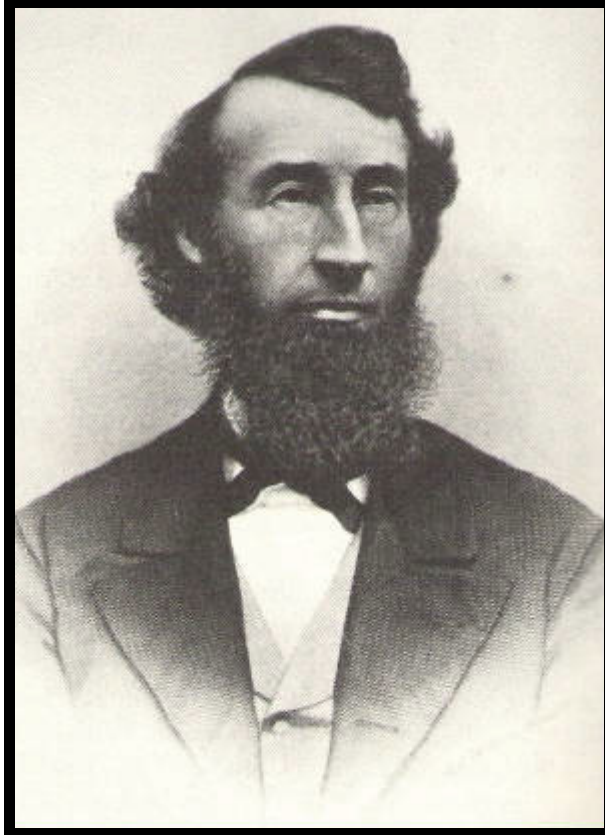
US CIVIL WAR

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November 30, Saturday: In [New-York](#), Captain [Nathaniel Gordon](#) was convicted of the capital offense of having engaged in the [international slave trade](#) off the coast of Africa in violation of the capital federal ordinance of May 15, 1820, and was condemned to be [hanged](#) as a [pirate](#):



Oops, my bad

(Mmmm, this looks dreadfully like the end of the road, doesn't it? –Sentenced to be hanged by the neck until you are dead dead dead? Actually, our nation had gotten itself into this situation a number of times before, and in each and every instance the problem been dealt with by means of a straightforward and automatic Presidential pardon. –So, you might suppose that the arrogant and selfrighteous Captain Gordon would have been in fear of his life at this point, but if you suppose that, you might be in error.)

UNITED STATES v. GORDON. 25 F.Cas. 1364
Circuit Court, S. D. New York.
Nov. 8, 1861; Nov. 30, 1861.

This was an indictment against the defendant [[Nathaniel Gordon](#)], under the 5th section of the act of May 15, 1820 (3 Stat. 601), for forcibly confining and detaining, on the 8th of August, 1860, on waters within the admiralty and maritime jurisdiction of the United States, and within the jurisdiction of this court, and out of the limits of any state or district, on board of the ship [Erie](#), owned wholly or in part, or navigated for, or in behalf of, a citizen or citizens of the United States, certain negroes, not having been held to service by the laws of either of the states or territories of the United States, with intent to make such negroes [slaves](#), he being, at the time of the commission of the crime, one of the ship's company of the ship, and a citizen of the United States, and the Southern district of New York being the district in which he was apprehended and



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into which he was first brought. The trial took place before NELSON, Circuit Justice, and SHIPMAN, District Judge, and a jury.

E. Delafield Smith, Dist. Atty., for the United States.
Gilbert Dean, for defendant.

NELSON, Circuit Justice (charging jury).

The 5th section of the act of May 15, 1820, under which the prisoner is indicted, provides, "that if any citizen of the United States, being of the crew or ship's company of any foreign ship or vessel engaged in the slave trade, or any person whatever, being of the crew or ship's company of any ship or vessel, owned wholly or in part, or navigated for, or in behalf of, any citizen or citizens of the United States, shall forcibly confine or detain, or aid and abet in forcibly confining or detaining, on board such ship or vessel, any negro or mulatto not held to service by the laws of either of the states or territories of the United States," with intent to make him a slave, such person shall be adjudged a pirate, and, on conviction, shall suffer death. There are two counts in the indictment, to which we shall call your attention, and to which the observations that we shall make on the law of the case will be confined. The first count is, in substance, that the prisoner, one of the ship's company of the ship Erie, owned in whole or in part by American citizens, in the river Congo, did piratically, feloniously, and forcibly confine and detain eight hundred negroes on board, with intent to make them slaves. The third count is, that the prisoner, a citizen of the United States, one of the ship's company of the ship Erie, a foreign vessel, engaged in the slave trade, in the river Congo, did piratically and forcibly confine and detain eight hundred negroes on board such vessel, with intent to make them slaves. Under the statute which we have read to you, in order to make out the offence against the prisoner, it is necessary, on the part of the government, to prove, either that he is a citizen of the United States, or that the vessel on which he served, with which he was engaged in the slave trade, belonged, in whole or in part, to citizens of the United States. If the prisoner is a citizen of the United States, then the crime charged against him, of forcibly detaining these negroes, may be made out, if he was on board of a foreign vessel. But, if he was not a citizen of the United States, but a foreigner, then, in order to charge him with the crime, it must appear that it was committed upon an American vessel, or at least a vessel owned, in whole or in part, by citizens of the United States. Two questions, therefore, become material: 'First- Was the prisoner at the bar a citizen? Now, proof is given by two witnesses, that they knew both his father and his mother in Portland, Maine, before their marriage. They were both residents of that place. The witnesses also knew them after their marriage, in the same place, and knew the prisoner, the fruit of that marriage, when two or three years old. The question is, upon this testimony- Was the prisoner a native-born citizen, born in Portland or in the United States? It has been argued, by the counsel for the prisoner, that there is some evidence that the mother, after the marriage, was in the habit of going with her husband, who was a sea captain, upon



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foreign voyages; and it is insisted that, upon this state of facts, the prisoner may have been born abroad. Perhaps, the presumption being, upon the evidence, that he was born in Portland, a prima facie case being made out that he was born there, the burden would rest upon him, to show that he was born abroad. But we take it to be settled law, that, although he was born in a foreign country, yet if his father and mother were American citizens, and did not have the design of removing to the foreign country, but touched there in the course of a voyage which the father made as a sea captain, the child would still be regarded as an American citizen.

Next, gentlemen, as to the character of the vessel. Was she an American vessel, or owned, in whole or in part, by American citizens? It appears that she was built in the United States, and belonged to American citizens, and made a voyage from England to Havana; and, it is insisted that, after her arrival at Havana, she was sold and transferred by those American citizens. We have the account from Mr. Post, who owned three-fourths of her at the time of the sale. He states, that though he was not present at the time of the sale, yet one of the other part owners, Mr. Knudsen, was with the vessel as its master, and that he received from Havana, in March, 1860, the proceeds of the sale, and had no doubt that she had been sold and transferred. Perhaps, on this evidence, it would be difficult to deny that a sale and transfer was made of this vessel out of those American owners, so far at least as Mr. Post is concerned; and he says, also, that he accounted with the other part owners for their share of the price. The difficulty, in this part of the case, is, that it is not enough to show that the title to this vessel was conveyed by these American owners in March, 1860. That is not sufficient, because, before any change can be made in the character of a vessel, after it has been proved that she belonged to American owners, it must appear that the transfer was made to a foreigner. To whom this vessel was transferred, we have no evidence in the case. But, as I before said to you, gentlemen, it is not necessary, upon this branch of the case, that the prisoner should be a citizen, and, also, that the vessel should be an American vessel. It is sufficient, if either of these facts exists, for the commission of the crime charged in the indictment.

This brings us, gentlemen, to the merits of the case, and the question is, is the prisoner guilty or not, of forcibly confining or detaining the negroes on board of this vessel, in the Congo river, with the intent of making them slaves? This is the issue in the case, so far as the real merits are involved. Now, you have the evidence, on the part of the government, of Martin, Green, Alexander, and Hetelberg, four seamen on board of the Erie, who shipped in Havana, in April, 1860, a short time after this alleged sale and transfer. They have detailed to you the circumstances of their employment as seamen, the cargo with which the vessel was laden at that port — some 150 or more hogsheads of liquor, a number of barrels of pork and beef, bags of beans, barrels of bread and rice, and some 250 bundles of shooks, with a corresponding number of hoops, for the purpose of being subsequently manufactured into barrels or casks. Now, it may be material for you to inquire, in entering upon the consideration of this issue, whether this was a bona fide cargo, for lawful trade and commerce, or whether it was a cargo fitted



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out and intended to be used in the slave trade. The vessel was of some 500 tons. If this was a fitting out for the purpose of engaging in the slave trade, and the prisoner at the bar had a knowledge of this intended service of the vessel, then that fact would accompany him to the Congo river, and will have its weight and its influence upon your minds, as to the connection that he had with the transaction that occurred there, in receiving these negroes on board and detaining them. It may undoubtedly be assumed, without any injustice, as a matter of law, the prisoner being the master of the vessel at the port of Havana, and for her voyage to the Congo river, that if this cargo was fitted out for that purpose, if it was a cargo not only proper for that purpose, but intended for that purpose, he, as master, who had the control and charge of the vessel in procuring the cargo, in stowing it, and in shipping the seamen, is chargeable with a knowledge of these facts. Now, these four witnesses, whom you have seen on the stand, have detailed the progress of the voyage from Havana to the Congo river, and the taking of these negroes on board, and the starting from the river on the return voyage to Havana. Their testimony has been so frequently referred to by counsel, and commented upon by them, that I shall not take up your time in going over it. The four concur in the account which they have given of the voyage. They state that, after they had been out some thirty days, and had discovered the provisions and freight on board, a suspicion arose, in the minds of the sailors, that the vessel might be intended for the slave trade, and that they disclosed this suspicion to the captain, assigning to him the reason and grounds of it. The captain, however, disclaimed any such purpose, rebuked the suspicion, and ordered them forward. They all concur in stating that, after the vessel arrived in the Congo river, and while the persons connected with her, and those who furnished the cargo of negroes, were engaged in putting the negroes on board, the captain continued in command of her, so far as they saw, and exercised the same control over the vessel, and her management, and the putting on board of these negroes, as he had previously exercised in the course of the voyage. They also state that, after the negroes were put on board, they were called aft, and were applied to for the purpose of ascertaining whether they would continue to serve as seamen on the return voyage, and were told that, if they would, they should be paid a dollar a head for every negro landed at [Cuba](#). They also state, especially some of them, that the prisoner gave a direction for hoisting the anchor, and directed the course of the vessel when she came out of the river. These are the material facts which have been testified to by the witnesses for the prosecution. On the part of the prisoner, you have the testimony of the first and second mates, who, in all these respects, with, perhaps, one exception, contradict these four witnesses. They state that, after the arrival of the vessel and the discharge of the cargo, the prisoner no longer exercised any control over the management of the vessel, and the control of the vessel and her navigation were passed over to the hands of another person, first, to Mr. Hill, who died, and afterwards to Mr. Manuel, whom they regarded as the captain of the vessel; and that subsequently the prisoner had no management or control of her. One of them, the mate, I think, states that he was present when the seamen were applied to, with the view of ascertaining whether they would serve on the return voyage, and



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his statement differs from the account given by the seamen in this: He says, that the prisoner applied to the seamen, on behalf of the owners of the vessel, and that, as agent, or on behalf of the owners, holding a letter in his hand at the time, which purported to be an authority, he made this offer to them, for the purpose of engaging them. This is the only discrepancy, so far as regards that fact testified to by the seamen.

Now, as I before stated to you, if the prisoner at the bar, as master of this vessel, at Havana, had a knowledge that she was fitted out, equipped, and provisioned for a voyage to the Congo river, on the coast of Africa, for the purpose of engaging in the slave trade, then, in view of the fact of his entering upon that voyage, conducting the vessel to a foreign coast, remaining in her, and coming back with her, or starting to come back with her, before she was captured, this previous knowledge of the prisoner, and his engagement to navigate the vessel for that purpose, will have its influence as to the purpose for which he was found upon the vessel in the Congo river, at the time the negroes were put on board; and it is entitled to whatever weight you may think it deserves, in aiding or supporting the testimony of the four seamen, and will raise the question, for your consideration and decision, whether or not the transfer was a part of the original plan of carrying out this engagement of the vessel in the slave trade, and, if such, colorable and not bona fide. This, however, is a question for your consideration and determination.

Now, we have said that, in order to sustain the charge against the prisoner, it must appear that these negroes were "forcibly" confined and detained on board of that vessel, for the purpose of making them slaves – for the purpose of bringing them to Cuba, or elsewhere, to make them slaves. This word "forcibly," which is a material element in the crime charged, does not mean physical or manual force. Even the crime of robbery, in which force is a peculiar element of the crime, it being the taking violently the property of another from his person, need not be accompanied with or consist of actual force. Any conduct, on the part of the robber, putting the person deprived of his goods in bodily fear and terror, is equivalent to actual force. And so in this case. These negroes were collected at the place where they were put on board, in barracoons, and were there under restraint by the persons who furnished them at the ship's side. They were in bondage at the time, and under the control of those persons, who transferred them to the vessel. They came upon the deck of the vessel in that condition, and it would be strange, indeed, if it was made necessary by the law, that it should be shown that they made personal, physical resistance at the time, against being put on board and detained on board, under all these circumstances. It is sufficient that they were under moral restraint and fear – their wills controlled by this superior power exercised over their minds and bodies; and any person participating in that forcible detention, that sort of detention, is a principal, participating in the guilt of the offence.

Then, as to the intent of making them slaves. This, undoubtedly, is a question of fact for the jury. You must find it, but you can find it as an inference from the surrounding circumstances attending their being put on board and forcibly detained on board. If any other purpose, any lawful purpose, had been shown





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to you by the evidence in the case, undoubtedly it would have been pertinent and satisfactory for the purpose of rebutting such a presumption of intent. But, in the absence of any such evidence, it is for you to say whether the inference is warranted by the testimony.

These are all the observations that we deem in advisable to submit to you, but we will call back your minds to the material question, so that you may look into the case with intelligence and comprehend the real issue involved in the case, which is—Were these negroes, that were put on board of the Erie, in the Congo river, in August, 1860, forcibly detained or confined, with the intention of making them slaves, and did the prisoner, on board of that vessel, at the time, participate in that confinement and detention? If he did, he is guilty of this offence, under the statute. If he did not, he is innocent.

The jury found the defendant guilty. He subsequently made, before NELSON, Circuit Justice, and SHIPMAN, District Judge, a motion for an arrest of judgment and a motion for a new trial.

SHIPMAN, District Judge.

We have carefully considered the point submitted to us, on the motions for an arrest of judgment and for a new trial, and the arguments of counsel thereon. In disposing of these motions, we do not deem it important to discuss any exceptions taken to the form of the indictment, except such as apply to the first and third counts, inasmuch as it was upon those two counts that we put the case to the jury. If either one of those counts is good, the indictment is sufficient to support the verdict.

The only objection taken to the form of the first and third counts is, that they do not aver, in the precise words of the statute, the condition of the negroes, as "not held to service by the laws of either of the states or territories of the United States," at the time of the commission of the offence, the language of the indictment being, "not having been held to service, &c." It is argued that, if the defendant had been able to prove that they had been once held to service, at some time prior to the commission of the offence, this averment would have been negatived, and he would have been entitled to an acquittal. But this, we think, only proves that the language of the indictment, in this particular, is more comprehensive than was necessary. The indictment charges him with having forcibly confined and detained the negroes, they not having been held to service, &c., that is, not having been held to service at the time he so confined and detained them, or at any time previous. The fact that the terms of the averment are somewhat broader than those of the statute is not material, so long as they cover the offence described in the latter.

To the objection that there was no such proof that the vessel upon which the offence was committed, was "owned wholly, or in part, or navigated for, or in behalf of, any citizen or citizens of the United States," as would warrant a conviction on the first count, we cannot accede. The government proved that she was built in, and owned by citizens of, the United States. This fixed the national character of the vessel, and this character and ownership would be presumed to continue until they were shown to have been changed. To show such a change, the burden of proof was on the defendant. The evidence offered only tended to show



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that a sale was made of the vessel at Havana, but without showing to whom such sale was made. It is urged, by the defendant's counsel, that, inasmuch as the sale claimed to have been proved was made in a foreign country, the law will presume, until the contrary is shown, that it was made to foreigners. We think there is no foundation, in law or reason, upon which such a presumption can rest.

In support of that part of the indictment which charges that the defendant was an American citizen at the time of committing the offence, the government proved that his father and mother were residents of Portland, in the state of Maine, for many years, both before and after their marriage, and before the birth of the defendant, and while he was a small child. It also appeared, from the testimony of the same witnesses, that his father was a sea captain, and that sometimes his wife, the defendant's mother, accompanied him on his foreign voyages. The defendant's counsel claimed, that it appeared, from this evidence, that he might have been born abroad, and that, if he was, he was not a citizen of the United States, and, therefore, not amenable to those criminal laws of the United States which are limited in terms to its citizens. The court instructed the jury, however, that, even if the defendant was born during one of those voyages which the father made as a sea captain, without any intention of removing to, but merely touching at, foreign countries, he would still be regarded in law as an American citizen, although thus born abroad, provided his parents were American citizens. The defendant's counsel excepted to this part of the charge, on the ground that it did not lay down the correct rule of law applicable to children of American parents, born in foreign countries. Without here discussing the general principles of law applicable to that subject, it is a sufficient answer to the exception taken in this case, that the charge on this point, taken in connection with the facts in evidence to which it was to be applied, clearly referred to a possible birth of the defendant on board of his father's American vessel, while the latter was in a foreign country, in the course of the voyage. We are clearly of opinion, that there was no error in this part of the charge.

The only remaining objection that we deem it necessary to notice, is, that, if the Erie was a foreign vessel, even admitting the citizenship of Gordon, this court has not the jurisdiction to try him for an act committed on the river Congo, in the Portuguese dominions, and not on tide waters. There are two answers to this objection: First. There is no proof that the Erie was a foreign vessel, but the proof is clear and uncontradicted that she was an American vessel, owned by American citizens. Second. The allegation, in the indictment, that the offence was committed "in the river Congo, on the coast of Africa, on waters within the admiralty and maritime jurisdiction of the United States, and within the jurisdiction of this court," is, we think, fully sustained by the proof. The proof is, that the negroes were taken on board in the Congo river, some distance from its mouth, but where it is several miles broad, and really an arm of the sea. The proof is clear and uncontradicted, that the offence of confining and detaining the negroes on board was continuous and uninterrupted, until her capture in the Atlantic Ocean, several miles from land. Of course, it was committed in the very mouth of the river, where



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its broad expanse is lost in the Atlantic, and where the jurisdiction of every nation, over its citizens or its ships, clearly extends. The other exceptions to these two counts and to the charge, are overruled.

Upon all these points, we are clearly of opinion, that there is no error in the indictment, and that none intervened on the trial, and that the jurisdiction of the court is beyond dispute. We are, therefore, constrained to deny the application for a certificate of division, which is asked for by the defendant, to enable him to carry the case to the supreme court. It is hardly necessary for me to add that these views are the result of consultation, and are fully concurred in by Mr. Justice NELSON.

Sentence of death being about to be passed on the defendant by Judge SHIPMAN, holding the court alone, in the absence of Mr. Justice NELSON, it was objected by the counsel for the defendant, that this could not be done, because the trial had taken place before both of the judges. Judge SHIPMAN stated, that he and Mr. Justice NELSON had agreed, on consultation, that it was competent for the court, when held by only one of the judges, to pass the sentence.

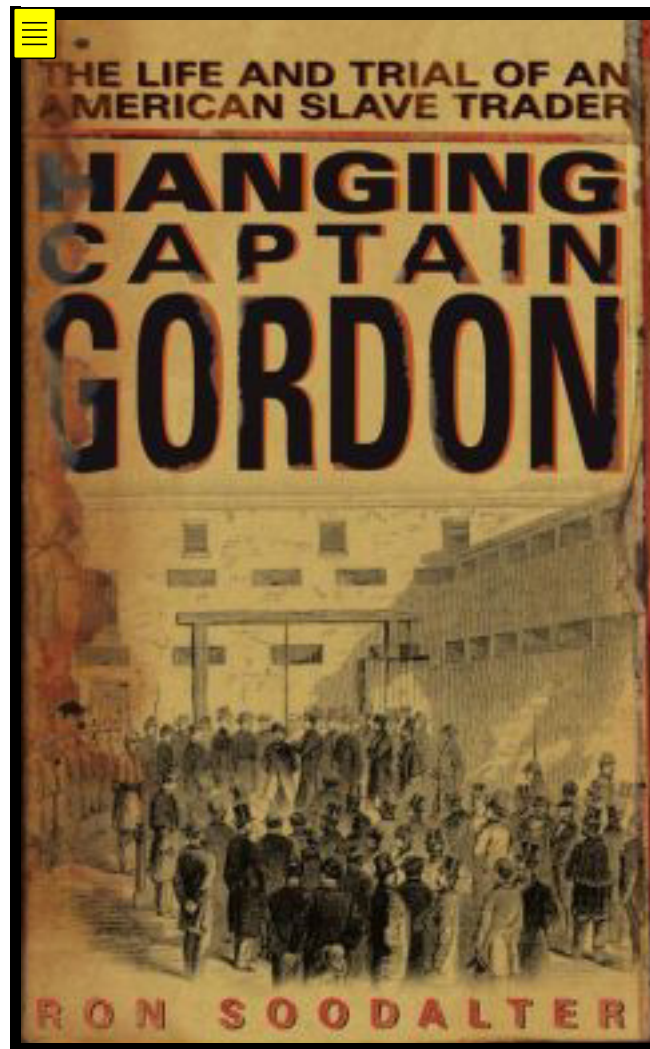
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1862



For 5 years in a row England had hanged no women or girls. In this year it would hang 2, for murder:

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1862

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
29/04	Mary Ann Reid (Timney)		Dumfries	Murder of neighbour
20/10	Catherine Wilson	40	Newgate	Murders (poisoning)

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March 8, Saturday: To avoid a one-on-one duel between the CSS *Merrimac* and the USS *Monitor*, the CSS *Merrimac* withdrew.

As the [Confederate](#) ironclad CSS *Virginia* steamed out of Hampton Roads, Virginia, it sank 2 [Federal](#) warships and ran 3 others aground.

[Federal troops](#) occupied Chattanooga and Knoxville, Tennessee as well as Leesburg, Virginia.

At Pea Ridge (Elkhorn Tavern), Arkansas, [Federal troops](#) defeated [Confederate forces](#) and Indians in the largest battle of the war west of the Mississippi River. 2,200 total casualties resulted, and the rebels would be forced to evacuate Arkansas.

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Un ballo in maschera op.272, a quadrille by Johann Strauss, was performed for the initial time, in Pavlovsk.

President [Abraham Lincoln](#) –impatient with General McClellan’s inactivity– issued an order reorganizing the Army of Virginia and relieving McClellan of supreme command. McClellan was given command of the Army of the Potomac and ordered to attack Richmond. This marked the beginning of the Peninsular Campaign.



Harper's Weekly reported on the execution of Captain [Nathaniel Gordon](#):

NOT the least important among the changes which are taking place in the current of national policy and public opinion is evidenced by the fact that on Friday, 21st February, in this city, NATHANIEL GORDON was hung for being engaged in the slave-trade. For forty years the slave-trade has been pronounced piracy by law, and to engage in it has been a capital offense. But the sympathy of the Government and its officials has been so often on the side of the criminal, and it seemed so absurd



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to hang a man for doing at sea that which, in half the Union, is done daily without censure on land, that no one has ever been punished under the Act. The Administration of Mr. Lincoln has turned over a new leaf in this respect. Henceforth the slave-trade will be abandoned to the British and their friends. The hanging of Gordon is an event in the history of our country. He was probably the most successful and one of the worst of the individuals engaged in the trade. A native of Maine, he had engaged in the business many years since, and had always eluded justice. The particular voyage which proved fatal to him was undertaken in 1860. The following summary of the case we take from the Times:

It was in evidence (given by Lieutenant Henry D. Todd, U.S.N.) that the ship Erie was first discovered by the United States steamer Mohican, on the morning of the 8th day of August, 1860; that she was then about fifty miles outside of the River Congo, on the West Coast of Africa, standing to the northward, with all sail set; that she was flying the American flag, and that a gun from the Mohican brought her to.

It was shown by Lieutenant Todd that he went on board himself about noon, and took command of the prize. He found on board of the Erie, which our readers will remember was but 500 tons burden, eight hundred and ninety-seven (897) negroes, men, women, and children, ranging from the age of six months to forty years. They were half children, one-fourth men, and one-fourth women, and so crowded when on the main deck that one could scarcely put his foot down without stepping on them. The stench from the hold was fearful, and the filth and dirt upon their persons indescribably offensive.

FINAL EXECUTIONS		
August 10, 1858	James Seale or Searle	Thomas Hardy watched last execution in Dorset in Dorchester, and final public execution in England
March 8, 1862	Captain Nathaniel Gordon	had been smuggling fresh slaves into the USA, hanged for this (classified as piracy)
August 7, 1862	John Doidge	hanged in the final public execution in Cornwall

EXECUTION OF GORDON THE SLAVE-TRADER, NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 21, 1862.

At first he of course knew nothing about them, and until Gordon showed him, he was unable to stow them or feed them – finally he learned how, but they were stowed so closely that during the entire voyage they appeared to be in great agony. The details are sickening, but as fair exponents of the result of this close stowing, we will but mention that running sores and cutaneous diseases of the most painful as well as contagious character infected the entire load. Decency was unthought of; privacy was simply impossible – nastiness and wretchedness reigned supreme. From such a state of affairs we are not surprised to learn that, during the passage of fifteen days, twenty-nine of the sufferers died, and were thrown overboard.



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It was proved by one of the seamen that he, with others, shipped on the Erie, believing her to be bound upon a legitimate voyage, and that, when at sea they suspected, from the nature of the cargo, that all was not right, which suspicion they mentioned to the Captain (Gordon), who satisfied them by saying that he was on a lawful voyage, that they had shipped as sailors, and would do better to return to their duties than to talk to him. Subsequently they were told that they had shipped on a slaver, and that for every negro safely landed they should receive a dollar.

The negroes were taken on board the ship on the 7th day of August, 1860, and the entire operation of launching and unloading nearly nine hundred negroes, occupied but three quarters of an hour, or less time than a sensible man would require for his dinner. As the poor creatures came over the side Gordon would take them by the arm, and shove them here or there, as the case might be, and if by chance their persons were covered from entire exposure by a strip of rag, he would, with his knife, cut it off, fling it overboard, and send the wretch naked with his fellows.

Several of the crew testified, all agreeing that Gordon acted as Captain; that he engaged them; that he ordered them; that he promised them the \$1 per capita; that he superintended the bringing on board the negroes; and that he was, in fact, the master-spirit of the entire enterprise.

For this crime Gordon was arrested, tried, and, mainly through the energy of District-Attorney Smith, convicted, and sentenced to death. Immense exertions were made by his friends and the slave-trading interest to procure a pardon, or at least a commutation of his sentence, from President Lincoln, but without avail. He was sentenced to die on 21st. We abridge the following account of his last hours and execution [which we illustrate above] from the Herald and Times:

THE ATTEMPT TO COMMIT SUICIDE.

Nothing worthy of note occurred until about three o'clock A.M. on Friday morning, when the keepers were alarmed by the prisoner being suddenly seized with convulsions. At first it was supposed that he was trying to strangle himself; but on a close examination it was evident that he was suffering from the effects of poison. Dr. Simmons, the prison physician, was immediately sent for, and stimulants were freely administered for the purpose of producing a reaction. For the first half hour or so the efforts of the physician appeared to have but little effect. The patient became quite rigid under the influence of the poison, his pulse could scarcely be felt, and it was thought that after all the gallows would be cheated of its victim. Drs. James R. Wood and Hodgman, who were also in attendance upon the prisoner, labored hard to resuscitate the dying man, and finally, by means of the stomach-pump and the use of brandy, the patient was sufficiently recovered to be able to articulate. It was not until eight o'clock, however, that the physicians had any hope of saving Gordon's life. From that hour, however, the prisoner gradually recovered, although he was subject to fainting fits for hours afterward. When sensible he begged of the doctors to let him alone, preferring, he said, to die by his own hand rather than suffer the ignominy of a public execution. It has not been satisfactorily ascertained how or in what manner



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the unfortunate man procured the poison with which he contemplated self-destruction. The symptoms were evidently those of strychnine, and the only way in which the keepers can account for the presence of the poison is its introduction in the cigars which Gordon had smoked so freely the night before. On Thursday the prisoner was compelled to undergo a rigid search, his clothing was changed entirely, and he was placed in a new cell, so that it would seem impossible almost for him to have procured the poison in any other way than that suggested by his keepers.

A few minutes after eleven o'clock, when it was apparent to Gordon that the execution would certainly take place, notwithstanding his attempt at suicide, he sent for Marshal Murray, and said he had something of a private nature to communicate. The Marshal repaired to the bedside of the culprit and asked if any thing could be done to alleviate his sufferings. Gordon raised himself slowly from his cot, and with much difficulty, said: "Cut a lock of hair from my head and give it to my wife." Then taking a ring from his finger, he requested that that also should be sent to his wife in remembrance of her husband. The request was cheerfully complied with, and the official, quite overcome with emotion, left the unhappy man to his fate.

THE EXECUTION.

At 12 o'clock, Marshal Murray notified Gordon, through Mr. Draper, that the hour had arrived. At this he expressed great surprise, and said he thought he had two hours more in which to live. The clergyman entered the cell and prayed with him, or rather for him. Deputy Marshal Borst aided him in dressing and gave him a large drink of clear whisky, when his arms were tied, the black cap was put carelessly on one side of his head, and he was carried on the deputy's shoulders to a chair in the corridor. The sight was simply shocking.

The man was not sober – that is, so powerful had been the effect of the poison that, in order to keep him alive till the necessary moment, they had been obliged to give him whisky enough to make an ordinary man drunk three times over. He sat lolling in the chair, gazing listlessly around, while the Marshal, with unaffected emotion, read the former reprieve to him. That done, he was helped to his feet, and held there while the Marshal read to him the death-warrant.

After this he looked around with a senseless smile, asked for some more whisky, which was kindly given him. The procession was then formed, Gordon stalking with a bravadoish air, upheld by the Marshals, toward the scaffold.

To a casual spectator it would appear that, exhausted by mental or physical suffering, Gordon was making a great effort to walk manfully to his fate. As it was, however, he had just sense enough left to endeavor to follow out the suggestion of the well-meaning deputy, who told him to die like a man, and to walk to the rope, so that no one could accuse him of fear. When he reached the scaffold, he said, "Well, a man can't die but once; I'm not afraid." The cap was drawn over the whitened, meaningless features, the noose-knot was carefully adjusted under his ear, and he stood, an unthinking, careless, besotted wretch waiting for he knew not what, when with a jerk he went high in air, and fell to the length of the rope, still senseless,



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still unfeeling, still regardless of pain or pleasure. The body swayed hither and thither for a few moments, and all was quiet. No twitchings, no convulsions, no throes, no agonies. His legs opened once, but closed again, and he hung a lump of dishonored clay.

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May 9, Friday: The Springfield, Massachusetts Daily Republican noted Henry Thoreau's demise:

Henry D. Thoreau, the recluse author, died of consumption at Concord, 7th inst. aged 44 years. His work entitled "Walden" and his magazine writings evinced great originality and keenness as a student of nature. He was a favorite disciple of Ralph Waldo Emerson.

(It intrigues me, that an obituary can be published by the popular press in such manner as to bear a suppressed final summation: "So that's it, that's all there was, that's everything it amounted to." And, nobody needs to be offended.)

The Confederates evacuated from Norfolk, Virginia.

David Hunter, commander of the federal government's Department of the South, proclaimed the manumission of all the slaves of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida.

Friend Daniel Ricketson went into Boston to Dunshee's to secure the ambrotype which he had had taken of his friend during his visit in August 1861, and then arranged as precious objects the 27 letters which Henry had written to him.

Edward Bonney (AKA Frank Bonney) was hanged in San Leandro, California for having killed a San Francisco man.

Captain Charles Henry Davis became the Acting Flag Officer in command of the Western Gunboat Flotilla.

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June 29, Tuesday: As [Southern forces](#) attacked across the Chickahominy River, [Federal troops](#) withdrew to safety leaving behind 2,500 sick and wounded.

There was fighting at Savage's Station.

[US CIVIL WAR](#)

[Waldo Emerson](#) repeated his funeral oration on [Henry David Thoreau](#) for the benefit of the Reverend [Theodore Parker](#)'s "Fraternity" in Boston.

After Thoreau's death [Louisa May Alcott](#) wrote a poem "Thoreau's Flute" for [The Atlantic Monthly](#). According to [Dr. Edward Waldo Emerson](#) she wrote the poem while she was nursing in the military hospital in [Washington DC](#) where she had received the news of Henry Thoreau's death:

We sighing said, "Our Pan is dead—
His pipe hangs mute beside the river,
Around it friendly moonbeams quiver,
But music's airy voice is fled.
Spring comes to us in guise forlorn,
The blue-bird chants a requiem,
The willow-blossom waits for him,
The genius of the wood is gone"

Then from the flute, untouched by hands,
There came a low, harmonious breath:
For such as he there is no death.
His life the eternal life commands.
Above men's aims his nature rose.
The wisdom of a just content
Make one small spot a continent,
And turned to poetry life's prose

Haunting the hills, the stream, the wild,
Swallow and aster, lake and pine
To him seemed human or divine,
Fit mates for this large-hearted child.
Such homage nature ne'er forgets;
And yearly on the coverlid
'Neath which her darling lieth hid
Will write his name in violets.

To him no vain regrets belong
Whose soul, that finer instrument,
Gave to the world no poor lament,
But wood-notes ever sweet and strong.
Oh lonely friend, He still will be
A potent presence, though unseen,
Steadfast, sagacious and serene.
Seek not for him: he is with Thee.

At that time the magazine was withholding the names of contributors, and [Louisa](#) was informed by her father [Bronson Alcott](#) that one day while he was visiting [Henry Wadsworth Longfellow](#), the poet had picked up the [The Atlantic Monthly](#) and had read aloud a few lines from her poem, and had asked her father whether he had read "Emerson's fine poem on Thoreau's Flute?"

[THE ALCOTT FAMILY](#)

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Whittier-Holmes-Emerson-Motley-Alcott-Hawthorne-Lowell-Agassiz-Longfellow



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In “[Chiefly about War Matters](#),” edited and expurgated by [Ticknor & Fields](#), [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) revealed that he had been utterly at odds with [Emerson](#)’s and [Thoreau](#)’s attitude while [John Brown](#) was awaiting execution in 1859.



I shall not pretend to be an admirer of old John Brown, any farther than sympathy with Whittier’s excellent ballad about him may go; nor did I expect ever to shrink so unutterably from any apophthegm of a sage, whose happy lips have uttered a hundred gold sentences, as from that saying (perhaps falsely attributed to so honored a source), that the death of this blood-stained fanatic has “made the Gallows as venerable as the Cross!” Nobody was ever more justly hanged.

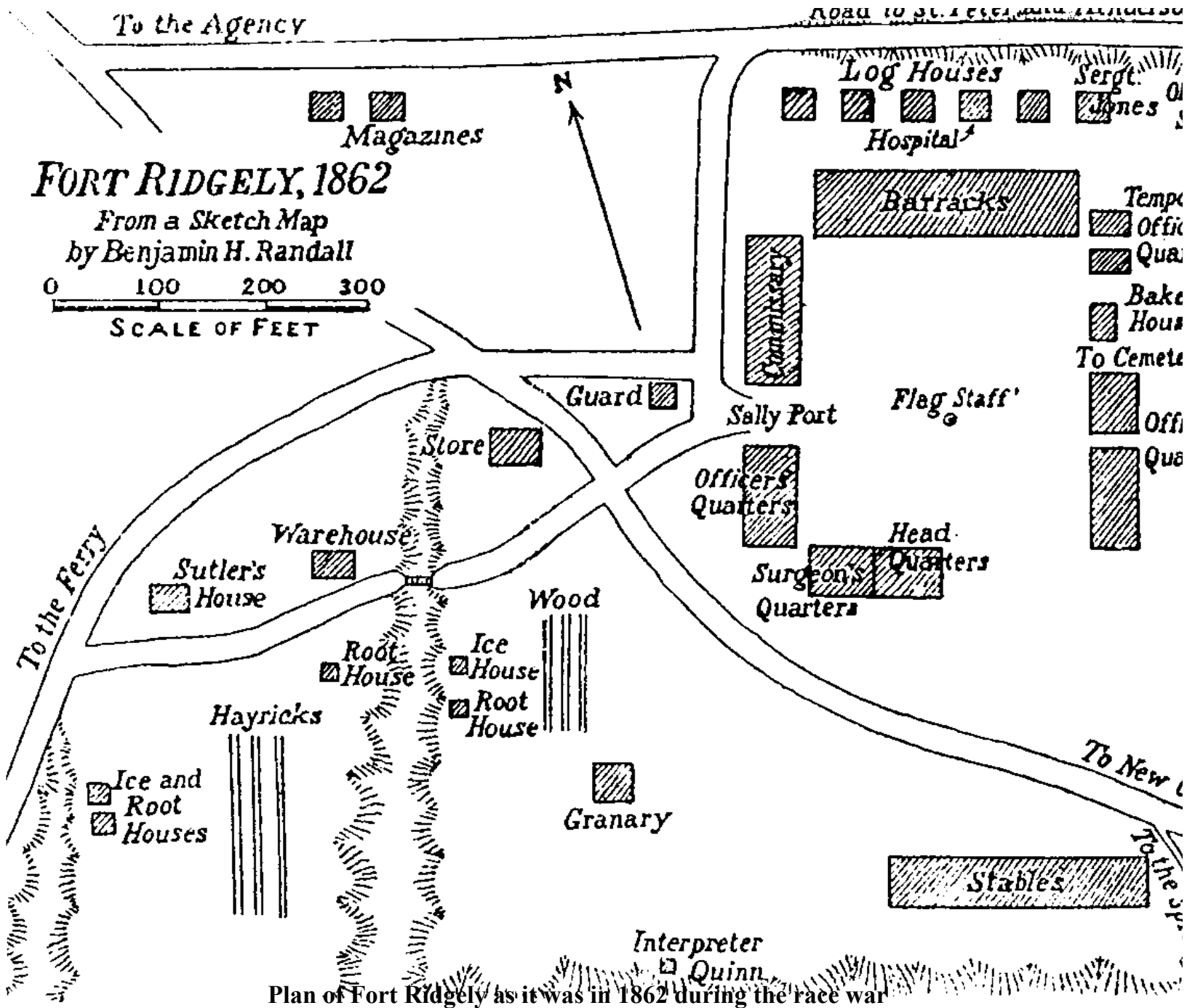
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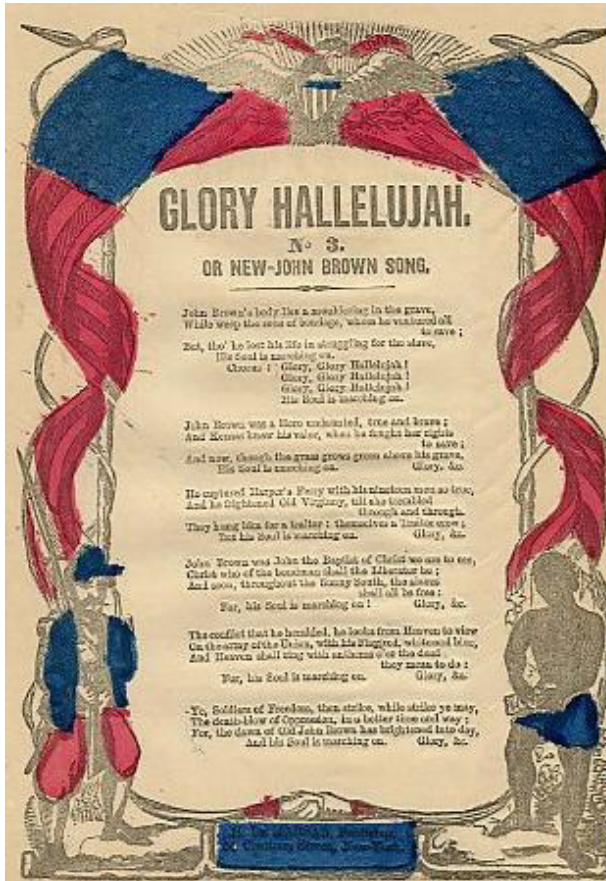
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July: The short Scots sergeant and 2d tenor, [Sgt. John Brown](#), a putative subject of the song “John Brown’s Body,” was drowned while attempting to ford the Rappahannock River with his unit of the 2d Battalion of Boston Light Infantry, Massachusetts Volunteer Militia.



John Brown's body lies a mouldering in the grave,
While weep the sons of bondage, whom he ventured all
to save ;
But, tho' he lost his life in struggling for the slave,
His Soul is marching on.
Chorus : Glory, Glory Hallelujah !
Glory, Glory Hallelujah !
Glory, Glory Hallelujah !
His Soul is marching on.

John Brown was a Hero undaunted, true and brave ;
And Kansas knew his valor, when he fought her rights
to save ;
And now, though the grass grows green above his grave,
His Soul is marching on. Glory, &c.

He captured Harper's Ferry with his nineteen men so true,
And he frightened Old Virginy, till she trembled
through and through.
They hung him for a traitor : themselves a Traitor crew ;
But his Soul is marching on. Glory, &c.

John Brown was John the Baptist of Christ we are to see,
Christ who of the bondman shall the Liberator be ;
And soon, throughout the Sunny South, the slaves
shall all be free :
For, his Soul is marching on ! Glory, &c.

The conflict that he heralded, he looks from Heaven to view
On the army of the Union, with his Flag, red, white and blue,
And Heaven shall ring with anthems o'er the deed ;
they mean to do :
For, his Soul is marching on. Glory, &c.

Ye, Soldiers of Freedom, then strike, while strike ye may,
The death-blow of Oppression, in a better time and way ;
For, the dawn of Old John Brown has brightened into day,
And his Soul is marching on. Glory, &c.

(Note well that these gallows-humorous soldiers were already singing about the body of their sergeant lying a mouldering in the grave, while Sgt. Brown was still alive and kicking in their regiment.)

[Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) placed an essay on the civil war, “Chiefly about War Matters,” in [The Atlantic Monthly](#). Some remarks he thought to make were censored by [James Thomas Fields](#) of [Ticknor & Fields](#), the publisher of the magazine, with Hawthorne’s prior consent, as just too outrageous to publish during a war situation. Fields evidently had, however, no objection to Hawthorne’s revealing how utterly he had been at odds with [Emerson](#)’s and [Thoreau](#)’s attitude toward [John Brown](#) while his execution had been pending in late 1859.



I shall not pretend to be an admirer of old John Brown, any farther than sympathy with Whittier’s excellent ballad about him may go; nor did I expect ever to shrink so unutterably from any apophthegm of a sage, whose happy lips have uttered a hundred gold sentences, as from that saying (perhaps falsely attributed to so honored a source), that the death of this blood-stained fanatic has “made the Gallows as venerable as the Cross!” Nobody was ever more justly hanged.

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JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER

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In the course of this article Hawthorne alleged something we have no reason whatever to believe to be true, and indeed, something we have no reason to believe was ever suggested by any evidence, to wit, that after bringing over the white people, the *Mayflower* had been used as a black slaver, a *negrero*.



Hawthorne, whose politics had always been anti-negro and pro-slavery, was evidently the sort of guy who made up this sort of stuff up as he went along. At this critical juncture in the Civil War –the North toying with the idea of re-defining the war into a noble purpose in order to get it won– he was deliberately stirring the waters to make them muddier.

There is an historical circumstance, known to few, that connects the children of the Puritans with these Africans of Virginia in a very singular way. They are our brethren, as being lineal descendants from the *Mayflower*, the fated womb of which, in her first voyage, sent forth a brood of Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock, and, in a subsequent one, spawned slaves upon the Southern soil, – a monstrous birth, but with which we have an instinctive sense of kindred, and so are stirred by an irresistible impulse to attempt their rescue, even at the cost of blood and ruin. The character of our sacred ship, I fear, may suffer a little by this revelation; but we must let her white progeny offset her dark one, – and two such portents never sprang from an identical source before.



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August 7, Thursday: In England, when [John Doidge](#) was [hanged](#) in the final public execution in Cornwall, their necks being afflicted by a stiffness, two ladies persuaded the hangman to place the corpse's dead hands upon their stiff necks. This would be the last occasion on which a person was hanged in England in public, and also would be the final occasion (of record) on which that legendary and macabre cure for neck stiffness would be enacted.

THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS

FINAL EXECUTIONS		
March 8, 1862	Captain Nathaniel Gordon	had been smuggling fresh slaves into the USA, hanged for this (classified as piracy)
August 7, 1862	John Doidge	hanged in the final public execution in Cornwall
April 2, 1868	Francis Kidder	last woman to be hanged at a place of public execution (as opposed to inside a prison) in England

August 8, Friday: At Weymouth on May 3d, 1860 the pregnant Betsy Frances Tirrell had ingested 10 grains of strychnine in preserved fruit, supplied to her by her fiancé George Canning Hersey under the pretense that this deadly poison would merely produce miscarriage. Tirrell had been convicted of murder.

TRANSCRIPT OF THE TRIAL

The accused was [hanged](#) in the rotunda of Dedham jail at about the center of the north side, between the wings, on this morning, on the same gallows upon which [Washington Goode](#), James McGee, and [John White Webster](#) had been hung. The rope used was a small cord of Italian flax that had been tested with a weight of 3,400 pounds. Hersey declined to make a statement prior to execution but left a written confession protesting only that he had not also, as suspected, poisoned his wife Emeline Hersey, or poisoned Mary Tirrell. Hersey was 29 years of age at the point of his death.

“HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE” BEING A VIEW FROM A PARTICULAR POINT IN TIME (JUST AS THE PERSPECTIVE IN A PAINTING IS A VIEW FROM A PARTICULAR POINT IN SPACE), TO “LOOK AT THE COURSE OF HISTORY MORE GENERALLY” WOULD BE TO SACRIFICE PERSPECTIVE ALTOGETHER. THIS IS FANTASY-LAND, YOU’RE FOOLING YOURSELF. THERE CANNOT BE ANY SUCH THINGIE, AS SUCH A PERSPECTIVE.



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October: After the last battle of the race war in [Minnesota](#), Colonel Henry Hastings Sibley's white troops assembled at the Hazelwood Republic of farmer Dakotas who had taken no part in the fighting. You will remember Sibley, he was one of those who fed at the trough when the Dakotas were cheated in 1851. His cut had been \$145,000.⁰⁰ so of course it would be much better if the people he had cheated were dead.

But these were not hostiles, these were the Christian Indians led by the Presbyterian missionary Riggs, by *Mazakutemane* "Walks Shooting Iron" and by his brother [Man of the Clouds \(Ma-hpi-ya-wi-ca-sta\) \(L.O. Skyman\)](#), the first Minnesota pacifist. These were farmers from the farmlands of the Hazelwood Republic of Christian Indians in the reservation on the south bank of the Minnesota River, who had sheltered white neighbors and had welcomed the arrival of Sibley's army of white men because this meant that their friends were safe.

The general ordered them to be loaded onto farm wagons and taken off to the Pike Island Aggregation Facility so they could be held under the grapeshot-loaded cannon of Fort Snelling as hostages against the good behavior of any hostiles not yet in captivity. *Wikanhpiwastewin* "Good Star Woman," a little girl hidden by her father under a buffalo robe on the floor of a wagon, peeked out as they passed through Henderson MN and later recorded that

The people brought poles, pitchforks, and axes and hit some of the women and children in the wagons.

Those who were killed or otherwise died on the way to Fort Snelling were buried at night in hidden graves, so the white farmers could not dig them up to obtain scalps for the State reward money.

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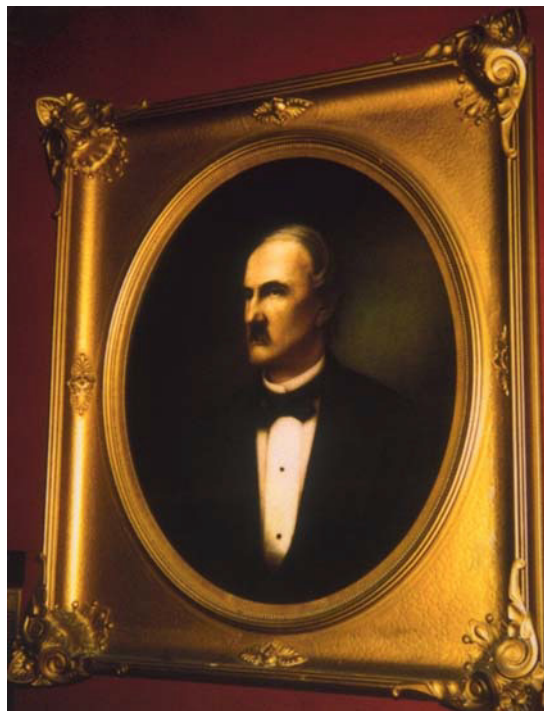
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Coincidentally, or conveniently, Colonel Sibley had written to his wife that

My heart is hardened against them beyond any touch of mercy.



We may be pardoned for noting here that a better rôle for Henry Hastings Sibley, one which would have made his descendants here less ashamed for him, would have been for him to have comported himself in such a manner that the race war had not occurred.



His soldiers promptly organized a prisoner-of-war column to march all these people who were of the wrong



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color for the new [Minnesota](#), to the Pike Island Sequestration Facility⁴⁷⁷ that had just been established by building a high board fence around two or three acres of public land below the guns of Fort Snelling — land originally claimed by Zebulon Montgomery Pike on September 23, 1805 and about the only place remaining in the state of Minnesota where Dakotas could be reasonably safe from being murdered by bands of white settlers who were preparing to seize their farmlands without compensation.

477. I first termed this a “concentration camp,” only to be met by extreme hostility. Local people interrupted to demand how I could prove that the people in this compound were being intentionally exterminated, and I had to respond by arguing definitions. I tried to offer that a “concentration camp” was simply a place where people were put to get them out of circulation, en masse, on the basis of race or creed or ethnic background. But the hostility did not diminish—for evidently only the bad people full of hatred who are our enemies create concentration camps—so I am now using the term of choice employed by the Smithsonian Institution of [Washington DC](#): “sequestration.”

STATE MURDER

White justice arrived, and as is usual in such cases, required exemplary executions from among captive ethnic leaders. The US Army would line up the heads of Dakota families and run them through the procedure in a log cabin at a rate of better than one every fifteen minutes, for a number of days. Some days they would process 40 prisoners. It was quite a scene at the “courthouse” of the Lower Sioux Agency, that [Henry Thoreau](#) had visited a couple of years before.

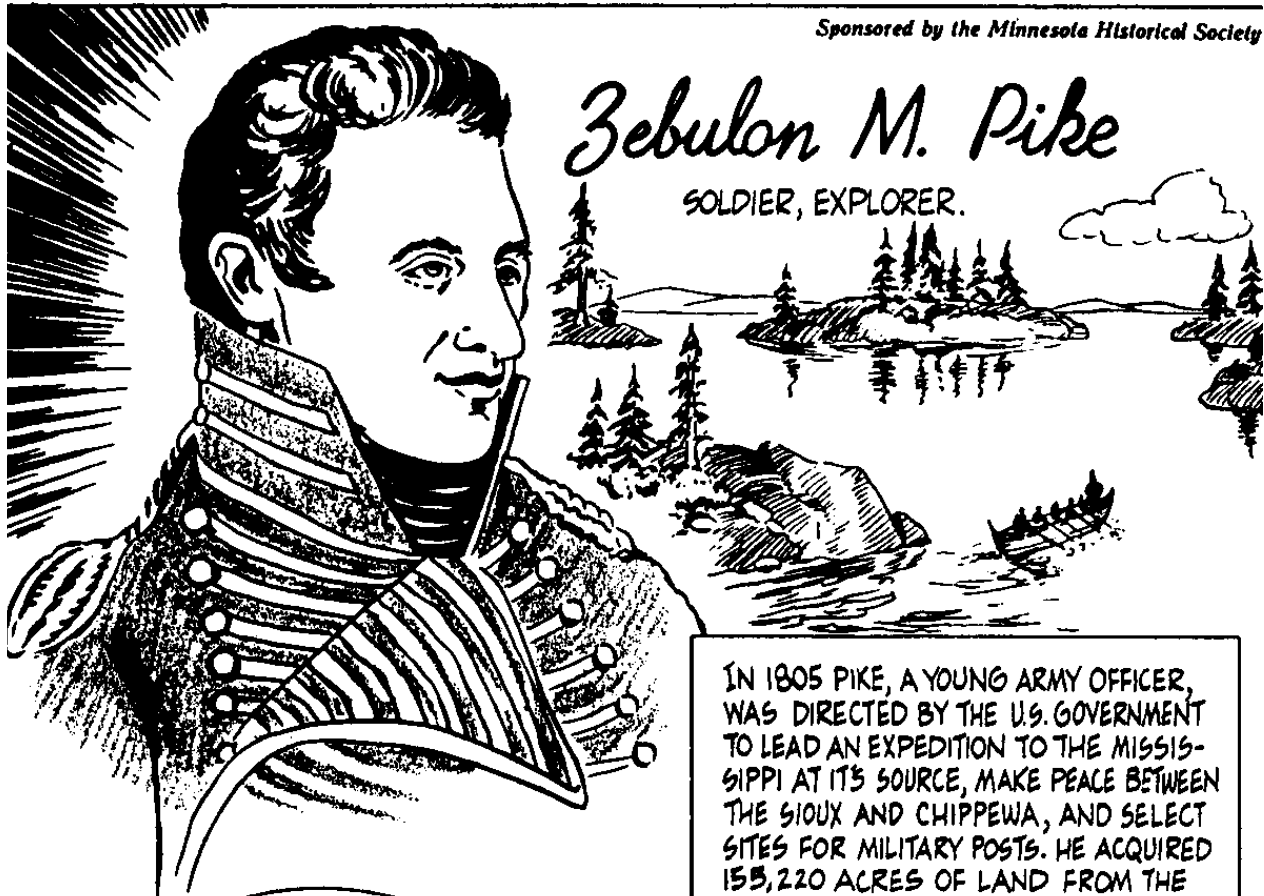
STATE MURDER



Although the missionary Riggs told them which ones to “try,” basically this court’s selection procedure was that they “tried” regardless of age and condemned to death whoever had stepped forward when heads of families to step forward and receive rations for their families, usually excusing the personages that a white man (man, not woman) spoke up for. Contrary to the usual procedure in courts martial, they didn’t bother to assign a junior officer to pretend to be counsel for the accused. The most obvious exception to this was a black man who had been living with the Dakotas and who, as an ex-slave, had enthusiastically taken part in the slaughters. Him they spared — for evidently they were only interested in killing Indians to frighten Indians and evidently they figured

• MAKERS OF MINNESOTA •

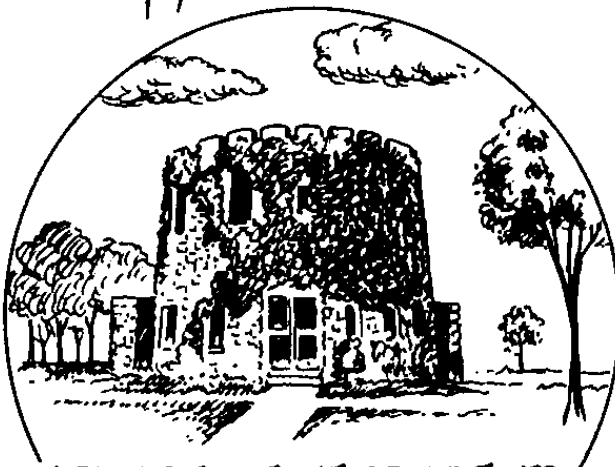
Sponsored by the Minnesota Historical Society



Zebulon M. Pike

SOLDIER, EXPLORER.

IN 1805 PIKE, A YOUNG ARMY OFFICER, WAS DIRECTED BY THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TO LEAD AN EXPEDITION TO THE MISSISSIPPI AT ITS SOURCE, MAKE PEACE BETWEEN THE SIOUX AND CHIPPEWA, AND SELECT SITES FOR MILITARY POSTS. HE ACQUIRED 155,220 ACRES OF LAND FROM THE INDIANS, PAYING \$1.28 PER ACRE!



A BRONZE TABLET ON THE ROUND TOWER AT FORT SNELLING HONORS PIKE, WHO ON SEPT. 23 1805, ACQUIRED FOR THE GOVERNMENT, BY TREATY WITH THE SIOUX INDIANS, THE SITE OF FORT SNELLING!!



PIKE'S PEAK IN COLORADO WAS NAMED FOR ZEBULON PIKE WHO MADE AN UN-SUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT TO SCALE THE PEAK.



PIKE AND HIS PARTY ARRIVED AT RED CEDAR LAKE (NOW CASS LAKE) ON FEB. 12 1806. HE THOUGHT THIS WAS THE SOURCE OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER.



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there wasn't any constituency they could frighten by offering the hemp to a black man.

In regard to the mistake by which Chaska was hanged instead of another [Chaskadon, who had killed a pregnant woman and ripped out her fetus], I doubt whether I can satisfactorily explain it.... I do not think anyone was to blame. We all regretted the mistake very much.

-The Reverend Stephen Riggs, in a letter to a white woman whose life Chaska had saved, who had indignantly and loudly spoken out in his defense but to no avail



At a prison in Mankato, the more than three hundred Indians whose death sentences had been commuted, plus those who had been given prison terms, also experienced a mass religious conversion. Dr. Thomas Williamson from the Upper Agency, the father of the missionary who was saving souls at Fort Snelling, preached every Sunday. During the week, Robert Hopkins, a Christian mixed-blood, held three daily prayer sessions. The guards were permitted to remove the chains from the Indians so they could participate in these services, and they prayed and sang for hours at a time. They studied the English language, as though by learning to read and write, they could absorb the white man's power.

Williamson and Gideon Pond, a Presbyterian minister, baptized 274 of the prisoners. Pond recalled that some of the Indians told him that "their whole lives had been wicked, that they had adhered to the superstitions of their ancestors until they had reduced themselves to their present state of wretchedness and ruin. They declared that they had left it all, and will leave all forever; that they do and will embrace the religion of Jesus Christ, and adhere to it as long as they live.... They say that before they came to this state of mind, this determination, their hearts failed them with fear, but now they have much mental ease and comfort." The Indians would soon need all the mental comfort they could muster.

November 5, Wednesday: President Abraham Lincoln named Ambrose E. Burnside as commander of the Army of the Potomac, replacing McClellan.

At the end of the Military Commission "trial" in Minnesota 303 of the 392 surrendered Dakota warriors had been condemned to be hanged.

RACE WAR IN MINNESOTA



The Hanging of the Sioux Murderers.

AFTER the battle of Wood Lake between the soldiers, under Gen. H. H. Sibley, and the Indians, under Little Crow, 2,000 Indians surrendered. The Sioux warriors were all arraigned before a military commission, consisting of Col. Wm. Crooks, Lieut. Col. Wm. R. Marshall and Capt. H.

P. Grant, with I. V. D. Heard as judge advocate. The commission completed its work November 5, 1862, and condemned three hundred and three of the culprits to death. They were at once removed to South Bend, on the Minnesota River. Their families and the other Indians were taken to Fort Snelling and confined all winter in a stockade. The condemned Indians were shortly removed to Mankato and confined in a large stone warehouse, which is shown at the left in the picture. President Lincoln was prevailed upon by Eastern people to mitigate the sentence of most of the murderers. He ordered that thirty-nine should be hung, and the others imprisoned.¹

1. Bear in mind that the term "Sioux warriors" here is a term of art that merely means "male Dakotas," for some of these captives were little boys who had accompanied their fathers but had taken no part whatever in the fighting.

December 5, Friday: President Abraham Lincoln issued execution orders on 38 out of the 303 Dakotas who had been condemned by the army to be hanged in [Minnesota](#). This was set to be the largest mass execution in US history.⁴⁷⁸

RACE WAR IN MINNESOTA

Check your history books on this one, folks. You will find that you are being told that this was an act of kindness on the part of the President — by hanging many he was preventing his army from hanging all!



"...The conflicts of Europeans with American-Indians, Maoris and other aborigines in temperate regions ... if we judge by the results we cannot regret that such wars have taken place ... the process by which the American continent has been acquired for European civilization [was entirely justified because] there is a very great and undeniable difference between the civilization of the colonizers and that of the dispossessed natives...."

— [Bertrand Russell](#),

THE ETHICS OF WAR, January 1915

Bertrand Russell



478. In the case of one of these 26 the sentence of death would be commuted upon the production of new evidence.



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Ordered that of the Indians and Half-breed sentenced to be hanged by the Military Commission, composed of Colonel Crockett, Lt. Colonel Marshall, Capt. Sprunt, Captain Bailey, and Lieutenant Olmstead, sitting in Minnesota, you were to be executed on Friday the nineteenth day of December, instant, the following names, to-wit:

- "Ch-hu-haa-mu-chai" No. 3. by the record.
- "Sajo" alias "Pian-doo-tai" No. 4. by the record.
- "My-a-tah-to-wah" No. 5. by the record.
- "Kin-han-shoon-ko-yag." No. 6. by the record.
- "Muy-ga-kon-a-shi" No. 10. by the record.
- "Wah-pag-shi-tai" No. 11. by the record.
- "Na-ke-kuei" No. 12. by the record.
- "Anu-ma-mi" No. 14. by the record.
- "Ch-te-mi-ha" No. 15. by the record.
- "Paa-in-yau-kna" No. 19. by the record.
- "Do-wu-pai" No. 23. by the record.
- "Kau-pau" No. 24. by the record.
- "Shooi-kw-a-hu" (White dog). No. 35. by the record.
- "Sow-kow-a-chu-toy-mu" No. 67. by the record.
- "Lo-loy-hoo-loy" No. 68. by the record.
- "Hou-dai-chai" No. 69. by the record.
- "Kau-pau-dou-or, Kuum-mu-ho-tai" No. 70. by the record.
- "Mak-pa-o-kw-hu-jii" No. 96. by the record.

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"Henry Mierow" a Kuy. name.	Nº 115. by the name.
"Cheskey-awaw" or "Cheskey-chay".	Nº 121. by the name.
"Dupleto Camp" or "a Kuy. name."	Nº 138. by the name.
"Jah kar-kay-gay."	Nº 155. by the name.
"Kaw-pink-paw."	Nº 170 by the name.
"Koypolik Ango" a Kuy. name.	Nº 175 by the name.
"Kaw-pay-shiw."	Nº 178. by the name.
"Naw-Kaw-law Kai."	Nº 210. by the name.
"Tow-Kaw-Kaw-gay-a-naw-jin."	Nº 235. by the name.
"Mar-Kat-u-naw-jin."	Nº 254. by the name.
"Pa-yeu-koo-lay-mar-nai."	Nº 264. by the name.
"Ja-tay-haw-dow."	Nº 275. by the name.
"Na-She-Choon" or "Tow-kaw-shikaw-shikaw-maw-hay."	Nº 318 - by the name.

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"A-e-cha-yai"
 "Haw-low-in-koo."
 "Chay-low-hoon-kaw."
 "Chaw-ka-koo."
 "Haw-hin-tuday."
 "O-yay-tay-a-koo."
 "May-hoo-way-wa."
 "Ho-kin-yow-hai."

"The other condemned prisoners you will hold sub-
 ject to further orders, taking care that they neither
 escape, nor, ^{and} subjected to any unlawful violence.

Abraham Lincoln, Pres-
 ident of the United States.

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No 337 - by the record.
 No 338. by the record.
 No 342. by the record.
 No 351. by the record.
 No 373. by the record.
 No 377. by the record.
 No 382. by the record.
 No 383 by the record

Execution Instructions from "Executive Mansion"

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December 26, Friday: [Richard Wagner](#) conducted music from his unperformed music-dramas *Das Rheingold*, *Die Walküre*, and *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* in Vienna in a concert attended by the Empress of Austria.



LISTEN TO IT NOW

Confederate President [Jefferson Davis](#) addressed the state legislature in Jackson, Mississippi.

US CIVIL WAR

Witnessing the 38 hangings of natives and half-breeds ordered by President [Abraham Lincoln](#) in Mankato, [Minnesota](#), allegedly, was a worker in a traveling circus, Albert Woolson, 15 years of age, who would enlist as a drummer boy and would eventually become the last survivor of the Union Army, dying in 1956 at the age of 106 (allegedly, that is, unless all these memories were merely part of some elaborate extended circus con). The hangings were carried out to the cheers of a local crowd. After the mass murder the bodies were disposed of in a mass grave, but that night several local doctors would dig them back up as unprotected objects for dissection.⁴⁷⁹



RACE WAR IN MINNESOTA

The decomposing bodies of Indians evidently made the most excellent fertilizer, for in the panorama description of the aftermath of the Sioux War, white maidens in party dresses were only needing to shake the

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479. The famous medico sons of Dr. William Mayo, in particular, would learn their osteology by studying the skeleton of *Marpiya Okinajin*, or “Cut Nose,” and a specimen of his skin would be preserved in a white museum.



Whether anyone learned more than osteology from this curious contact with the native Other is presently unknown.

THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS

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trees in order to produce a plentiful crop of white babies:

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1863

Execution of women had somehow fallen out of favor in England. However, in this year 27-year-old Alice Holt would be hanged in Chester for having murdered her mother.

In California, the US Army hanged 5 native Americans all in a row.

Texas, a district not known for its compassion, executed Chipita Rodriguez for having murdered a horse trader. Texas, a district known for its chivalry, has not executed any woman since that point, that is, until Governor Bush recently executed by lethal injection Karla Faye Tucker:

COLDBLOODED MURDER

Famous Last Words:



"What school is more profitably instructive than the death-bed of the righteous, impressing the understanding with a convincing evidence, that they have not followed cunningly devised fables, but solid substantial truth."

— A COLLECTION OF MEMORIALS CONCERNING DIVERS DECEASED MINISTERS, Philadelphia, 1787



"The death bed scenes & observations even of the best & wisest afford but a sorry picture of our humanity. Some men endeavor to live a constrained life — to subject their whole lives to their will as he who said he might give a sign if he were conscious after his head was cut off — but he gave no sign Dwell as near as possible to the channel in which your life flows."

—Thoreau's JOURNAL, March 12, 1853

1932	George Eastman	Suicide note — he shot himself.	<i>"My work is done. Why wait?"</i>
1936	George V, King of England	It was suggested that he might recuperate at Bogner Regis	<i>"Bugger Bogner."</i>
1945	Franklin Delano Roosevelt	having a massive cerebral hemorrhage	<i>"I have a terrific headache."</i>
1945	Adolf Hitler	as hypothesized by Kurt Vonnegut	<i>"I never asked to be born in the first place."</i>
1946	Alfred Rosenberg	hangman asked if he had last words	<i>"No."</i>
1977	Gary Gilmore	being inventively executed	<i>"Let's do it."</i>
1997	Diana, Princess of Wales	per French police records	<i>"My God. What's happened?"</i>
1998	Karla Fay Tucker	Governor George W. Bush refused requests from Christian organizations based upon her alleged conversion	<i>"I am going to be face to face with Jesus now.... I will see you all when you get there. I will wait for you."</i>





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... other famous last words ...

July 3, Friday: The end of the administration of Sir Edward Hay Drummond Hay as governor of [St. Helena](#), and the beginning of the administration of Admiral Sir Charles Elliot.

[Giacomo Meyerbeer](#) received a letter from Cosima von Bülow asking him to become an honorary member of a new music society in Berlin (he would accept).

Slavimo slavno slaveni! for male chorus and organ by Franz Liszt to words of Pucic was performed for the initial time, in Rome, for the millennium celebration of St. Cyril and St. Methodius.

After the [race war](#) it was open season in [Minnesota](#). Near Hutchinson, an Indian man and boy were detected by a Minnesota farmer picking raspberries in the dusk near a poplar grove adjoining Scattered Lake, so of course the farmer stalked them with a rifle. He was able to get one from ambush, first in the groin and then in the chest. The boy could be heard crawling through the bushes to him, giving him water, covering him with a blanket, and the farmer was able to hear him saying something to the boy. Later it became clear that they had been a 53-year-old father and his 16-year-old son, and that before crawling away through the bushes the boy had taken a fresh pair of moccasins from a pouch and placed them on his father's feet. No-one had been able to get a clear shot at him. The orphan would be soon caught starving by the army, after having managed with his last cartridge to kill a wolf to gnaw upon, and he would readily confess that he was *Wowinape* "The Appearing One" or "Thomas Wakeman," son of headman *Taoyateduta* Little Crow "Our Red Nation," and that it had been he, that dusk, who had been the other raspberry picker who had gotten away.⁴⁸⁰ The boy would turn 17 years old by the time he would be tried and sentenced by a military court to be [hanged](#).⁴⁸¹ After being released from the Sequestration Facility to the Indian reservation, Thomas Wakeman, a Presbyterian, would

480. Wowinape's account is in the St. Peter [Tribune](#) of August 19, 1863.

481. He would then be reprieved as he had committed no offense other than being with his father when his father was killed. The crippled father also had committed no offense, having great difficulty holding a weapon and always having spoken for moderation and restraint and accommodation and negotiation — but then he was already dead and his name was already detested and his body parts were already objects of contempt and it didn't matter.

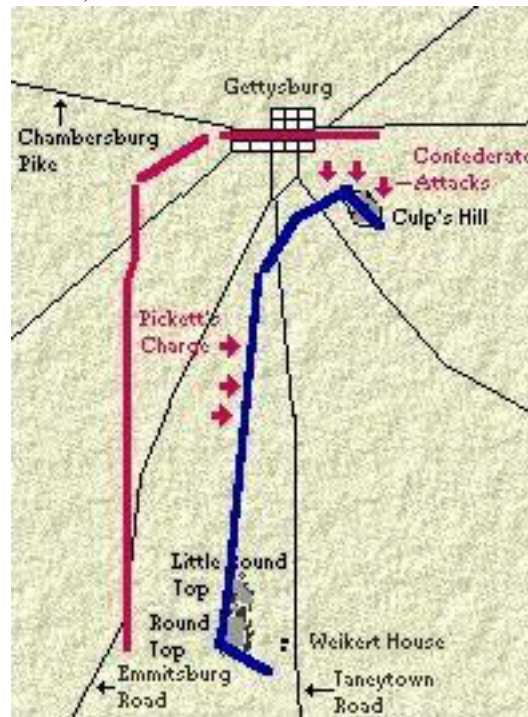
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devote his life to the YMCA.

But the above is not important as it was not what was happening to white people. (Only what happens to white people is important.)

At 2:00PM after an artillery duel lasting an hour, 13,000 [Confederate](#) assaulted the [Union](#) center on Cemetery Ridge at Gettysburg and were repulsed with heavy losses. In the largest battle ever fought in the Western Hemisphere 7,058 people were lying dead and 33,264 had been wounded, and 10,790 were missing (many of these would have been prisoners).



US CIVIL WAR

A report from [Walt Whitman](#):

"Specimen Days"

This forenoon, for more than an hour, again long strings of cavalry, several regiments, very fine men and horses, four or five abreast. I saw them in Fourteenth street, coming in town from north. Several hundred extra horses, some of the mares with colts, trotting along. (Appear'd to be a number of prisoners too.) How inspiring always the cavalry regiments. Our men are generally well mounted, feel good, are young, gay on the saddle, their blankets in a roll behind them, their sabres clanking at their sides. This noise and movement and the tramp of many horses' hoofs has a curious effect upon one. The bugles play – presently you hear them afar off, deaden'd, mix'd with other noises. Then just as they had all pass'd, a string of ambulances commenc'd from the other [Page 729] way, moving up Fourteenth street north, slowly wending along, bearing a large lot of wounded to the hospitals.

US CIVIL WAR

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July 13, Monday through July 16, Thursday: Antebellum white anti-slavery people were **forced** to have categorically excessive positive feelings for the American black as victim, because the race issue was so troublesome and dangerous that the only alternative attitude available to them would have been an unacceptably bitter resentment of American blacks in all their troublesomeness. In fact this submerged resentment did from time to time come to the surface, as in the [New-York](#) anti-draft riot of this summer, and ever and again would need to be pushed down into the cultural unconsciousness.

US CIVIL WAR

During this 4-day period in steamy New-York, a largely [Irish](#) proslavery Copperhead mob attacked the Colored Orphan Asylum at 5th Avenue and 43d Street, driving the orphans into the street. One of the orphans, 10 year old, by the name of Jane Barry, was killed when the rioters were heaving a bureau out of a window and by accident it landed on top of her.

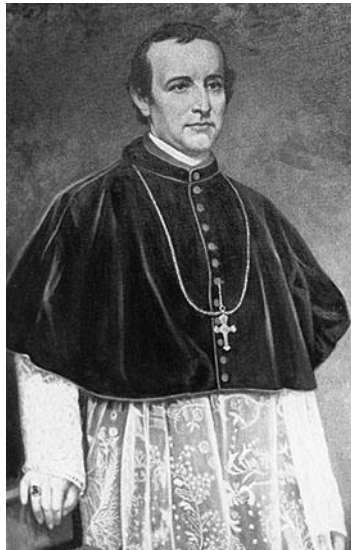
TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS



During the 4 days in which this sort of thing would be going on, the mob would also [lynch](#) some citizens of African descent, lightening people up by hanging them from lamp-posts. Sometimes they lightened them up by cutting off their fingers and toes.

THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS

In regard to a Mr. William Jones whom they [hanged](#) from a tree on Clarkson Street, they lit a fire beneath him as he swung. After they had strongarmed a disabled black coachman by the name of Abraham Franklin from his home and strung him up in this manner, an 18-year-old Irishman by the name of Patrick Butler dragged the corpse of Abraham Franklin through the streets by its genitals, to general applause. The mob drove some blacks into the river, where they drowned. The Roman [Catholic](#) bishop there, John Joseph Hughes, who had



been born in [Ireland](#), helped bring this to a stop, but mostly, what brought it to a stop was the arrival of US



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Army troops still alive after an intense struggle which had taken place at Gettysburg PA (July 2d and 3d) to take military control over the streets of the city.⁴⁸² For these four days the city police made themselves very scarce –precisely as the white-dominated LAPD would make itself scarce while the 1992 riots in LA were starting, though perhaps for quite opposite tactical reasons– while these gangs of “outraged citizens” went into black neighborhoods and set them to the torch. The question of the day among these outraged whites was, “Is it not outrageous that Irish men are being drafted by the Union government in [Washington DC](#), merely to send them off and endanger their precious lives in order to obtain freedom for these unworthy black people?” In other words, these race riots were draft riots, with anger directed against the distant government that was offering to let rich men escape the draft for a cash payment of \$300, and yet were redirected against innocent and helpless local people.

482. This factoid has been offered by some in a demonstration that it is not categorically correct to presume that during this period, due to the intensity of the economic competition, the American [Irish](#) were hopelessly hostile to American blacks on a racial basis. If it makes you feel better to suppose this, fine, but factor into your thinking that once upon a time during a correspondence with the convert to [Catholicism Orestes Augustus Brownson](#), Archbishop John Joseph Hughes declared himself as perplexed and frustrated at the insanity of a crusade to end human enslavement in America:

[S]ometimes it has appeared to us that abolitionism ... stands in need of a strait jacket and the humane protection of a lunatic asylum.



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The complex of events would be described by [Herman Melville](#) in “The House-Top: A Night Piece”:

No sleep. The sultriness pervades the air
And blinds the brain — a dense oppression, such
As tawny tigers feel in matted shades,
Vexing their blood and making apt for ravage.
Beneath the stars the roofy desert spreads
Vacant as Libya. All is hushed near by.
Yet fitfully from far breaks a mixed surf
Of muffled sound, the Atheist roar of riot.
Yonder, where parching Sirius set in drought,
Balefully glares red Arson — there — and there.
The town is taken by its rats — ship-rats
And rats of the wharves. All civil charms
And priestly spells which late held hearts in awe —
Fear-bound, subjected to a better sway
Than sway of self; these like a dream dissolve
And man rebounds whole aeons back in nature.
Hail to the low dull rumble, dull and dead,
And ponderous drag that jars the wall.
Wise Draco comes, deep in the midnight roll
Of black artillery; he comes, though late;
In code corroborating Calvin's creed
And cynic tyrannies of honest kings;
He comes, nor parlies; and the Town, redeemed,
Gives thanks devout; nor, being thankful, heeds
The grimy slur on the Republic's faith implied,
Which holds that man is naturally good,
And — more — is Nature's Roman, never to be scourged.

The rioters, it would turn out, had been able to disrupt police communications merely by clipping single telegraph lines. This would have the effect of forcing the police to become intensely aware of their need to establish multiple independent routes for information flow: redundancy. And it was this sort of concern for the reliability which comes only through redundancy which would eventually lead to Dr. Douglas C. Engelbart's proposal in 1950 that we establish a national information network. Just as it was the police in 1863 that first grasped the need for local redundancy, it would be the military in 1950 that would first grasp the need for national redundancy. This was achieved by asking the military hard questions such as “How does the East Coast give orders to the West Coast after Castro has taken out the Midwest?” and the result would be an item in the development of ELECTRIC WALDEN technology, the military ARPAnet of 1969.



Commenting on the Scorsese movie “Gangs of New York”:
“In my own research of New York history, through
first-person accounts and newspaper reports, I have
found that our past was often at least as violent and
squalid, if not more so, than the movie depicts.”

— Kevin Baker



Eric Foner refers to this event as “the largest civil insurrection in American history other than the South's rebellion. Nevertheless it has been the sort of non-event which Mary McCarthy, writing in 1946, would term, like [Hiroshima](#) and [Nagasaki](#), the phenomenon of the “hole in human history.” There is such a hole in human history, it would seem, at every point at which an atrocity has been committed by some group which then “won.” —For instance, the hole in Concord history which resulted from the racial mass murder on the watershed of [Walden Pond](#) as of the Massachusetts race war in 1675-1676.—For instance, the hole in human history which resulted from the use of Christian Dakota as hostages during this race war of 1863. Writing thirty years after the fact of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Ralph Lapp, who had worked on the A-bomb, would ask “If the memory of things is to deter, where is that memory?” He would add that “Hiroshima has been taken out of the American conscience, eviscerated, extirpated.” We might easily say “The New-York draft riot of 1863 has been taken out of the American conscience, eviscerated, extirpated.”

Speaking of holes in American history, one hole was left when the bulk of the private papers of Friend [Isaac T. Hopper](#) were destroyed in the sacking and torching of the home of his daughter Abby Hopper Gibbons. The

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home was known to the Copperhead rioters to have been one that had housed antislavery activists. Abby herself was not endangered by the proslavery New-York rioters because at the time she was nursing wounded at the front. However, we have been forced to reconstruct the detail of Friend Hopper's life out of what Lydia Maria Child had included in her 1853 biography of him.⁴⁸³

Here are these New-York draft riots, as they would be described in [Frederick Douglass](#)'s 1893 LIFE AND TIMES:

This [race prejudice] was especially true of New York, where there was a large Irish population. The attempt to enforce the draft in that city was met by mobs, riot, and bloodshed ... the Irish began to hang, stab, and murder the negroes in New York.

Douglass had come to detest the American Irish and lower-class [Catholics](#) in general. At one point he would become reflective, attempting to figure out why it was that these marginal whites were "among our bitterest persecutors." Here is his rumination, in which, to put the matter in the vernacular, his concept was simply that what had been going around had been coming around:

It is said that a negro always makes the most cruel negro driver.... The Irishman has been persecuted for his religion about as rigorously as the black man has been for his color.

* * *

They [the immigrant Irish, arriving as foreigners] are taught to believe that he [the native-born American negroes] eats the bread that belongs to them.

What Douglass had to say to Ireland in 1893, by way of amelioration of this hostile standoff, was utterly blunt and hostile:

[S]end no more such children here.

(For background, on the following screens appears the article "The Conscription a Great National Benefit"

483. [Lydia Maria Child](#). [ISAAC T. HOPPER](#): A TRUE LIFE (Boston: Jewett)



A TRUE LIFE



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as it was printed on this day in [The New-York Times](#).)

STATE MURDER

The New York Times
"May you live in interesting times."



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The National Enrollment Act, the enforcement of which was commenced in this City on Saturday, will be carried into execution until the quota of the State of New York and of every State in the Union shall be raised and in the field. It may not be necessary that a man of those drafted shall ever go into line of battle during this war. Yet it is a national blessing that the Conscription has been imposed. It is a matter of prime concern that it should now be settled, once for all, whether this Government is or is not strong enough to compel military service in its defence. More than any other one thing, this will determine our durability as a Republic and our formidableness as a nation. Once establish that not only the property, but the personal military service of every able-bodied citizen is at the command of the national authorities, constitutionally exercised, and both successful rebellion and successful invasion are at once made impossible for all time to come. From that time it will be set down as a known fact that the United States is the most solidly based Government on the face of the earth.

The standing reproach against the Republican form of government hitherto has been, that its superior freedom was obtained at the expense of its security. It has been deemed a very comfortable sort of Government for fair weather, but quite unfit for a storm. A Federal Republic, made up like ours of distinct States, has been considered particularly weak. Every philosophical writer who has treated of our institutions, has put his finger upon the weakness of the central authority as the special reason for doubting their perpetuity. De Tocqueville himself, much as he admired our constitutional system, did not hesitate to say, "It appears to me unquestionable that if any portion of the Union seriously desired to separate itself from the other States, they would not be able, nor indeed would they attempt, to prevent it." and to illustrate the helplessness of the federal authority, he cites from a letter of Jefferson's to Lafayette the statement that, "during the [War of 1812](#), four of the Eastern States were only attached to the Union like so many inanimate bodies to living men." Everybody knows that one of the chief embarrassments of that war was the unwillingness of some of the State authorities to surrender the control of their military forces to the Federal Executive. Another of these embarrassments was the great difficulty of keeping the armies up to the necessary figure, notwithstanding extraordinary bounties for the encouragement of the enlistments. The Secretary of War, at that period, in his strait for soldiers, proposed a Conscription system, but it was deemed by Congress dangerous and impracticable, and hardly obtained a hearing.

In fact, up to the last year the popular mind had scarcely bethought itself for a moment that the power of an unlimited Conscription was, with the sanction of Congress, one of the living powers of the government in time of war. The general notion was that Conscription



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was a feature that belonged exclusively to despotic Governments, and that the American reliance could only be upon volunteered effort, as prompted by patriotic feeling or pecuniary inducements. It was not until the second year of this terrible rebellion that the public mind began seriously to question whether it would answer to depend entirely upon these precarious stimulants; and even then it began to question only in a whisper. Even the boldest shrank; for they well understood how quickly the factious enemies of the Government would seize upon the old hated word Conscription, and do their best with it to make the war itself odious. But as the war lingered on without result, the Government gradually braced itself up to the responsibility of demanding under the mild name of a National Enrollment bill, what was in reality nothing less than a Conscription law on the European model. Congress, after deliberation, framed and passed such a law. The great practical question now to be determined is whether such a law can be sustained or not in other words, whether this American Republic has or has not the plenary power of its own defence which is possessed by a European monarchy.

For a time after the act was passed, the chiefs of faction were free in their threats that any attempt to carry it out should be resisted by force and arms. In some few localities they succeeded in working up popular passion against its first processes, even to a fighting place; but it was very quickly made apparent that the people at large would never sustain any such resort to violence, and that it was worse than idle to contend thus with the Government. Since then, the talk of these factionists on the platform and in their newspaper organs has been that the appeal shall be carried to the ballot-box. They flatter themselves that, by working diligently upon the basest motives and meanest prejudices, they can secure popular majorities that will force a repeal of the measure, or at least deter the Government from carrying it out to its complete execution.

Well, let them do their worst. We want it determined whether the majority of the American people can be induced by any such influences to abandon the cause of their country. So far as the Government itself is concerned, we have no fear that it will fail to do its duty. Every day adds new evidence that it means to go straight on to the complete enforcement of the act. The world will now have a better chance to judge than ever before what the real strength of this Republic is. And unless we greatly mistake, it will be seen that an overwhelming majority of the people will stand by the Government in this exercise of the mightiest of its powers; and will show a proud satisfaction in demonstrating that freemen are as capable as subjects and serfs of abiding any needful requirements for the national safety. No people on the face of the earth have such reason to submit to the extremist sacrifices for the salvation of their Government; and, if conscription



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be necessary to replenish its struggling armies, no population, we undertake to say, has ever endured it with more patience or cheerfulness than the American people will now do. The Government is the people's Government, and the people will never consent that their Government shall suffer in a critical hour for the want of a power which is not grudged even the worse Government when its existence is threatened. When it is once understood that our national authority has the right, under the Constitution, to every dollar and every right arm in the country for its protection, and that the great people recognize and stand by that right, thenceforward, for all time to come this Republic will command a respect, both at home and abroad, far beyond any ever accorded to it before. It will be a new and priceless security against all future rebellion and wanton foreign attack.



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LABOR COMPETITION AND THE NEW YORK DRAFT RIOTS OF 1863

By Albon P. Man, Jr.

Journal of Negro History, Vol. XXXVI, No. 4, October 1951

The New York draft riots of July, 1863, had their origin largely in a fear of black labor competition which possessed the city's, Irish unskilled workers. Upon emancipation, they believed, great numbers of Negroes would cross the Mason-Dixon line, underbid them in the Northern labor market and deprive them of jobs. Similar fears helped produce mass anti-Negro violence in World Wars I and II, also periods of acute labor shortage. The movement of Negro strikebreakers into the East St. Louis, Illinois, area, for example, touched off the demonstrations which occurred there in July, 1917,⁴⁸⁴ while the upgrading of a few Negro employees signalled the start of the ugly Philadelphia transit strike of August, 1944.⁴⁸⁵

But the New York draft disturbances remain the bloodiest race riots of American history. Police figures on deaths among the white rioters ranged from 1,200 to 1,500, and it is impossible to know how many bodies of Negro victims of the lynch mobs were borne away by the waters on either side of Manhattan Island.⁴⁸⁶ Significantly, the Negro population of the metropolis dropped 20% between 1860 and 1865, declining from 12,472 to 9,945.⁴⁸⁷

This article will seek to answer some of the more important questions bearing upon the white workers' dread of labor competition from contrabands: What predictions as to the consequences of emancipation were made by pro-slavery politicians and journalists between the campaign of 1860 and the sultry week of July 12, 1863? How did abolitionists and Republicans try to allay the fear stirred up in the minds of white workers by opponents of emancipation? Did former slaves within Union lines in the South really wish to go northward at that time? Was there any appreciable migration to the North? In addition, this article will examine the actual, rather than anticipated, labor competition between whites and Negroes in various occupations in New York, with special attention to the crucial longshore field and to the anti-Negro violence which marked the waterfront strikes of 1855 and 1863.⁴⁸⁸ For that violence was to be repeated, intensified a thousandfold, in the draft riots immediately following the strikes of 1863.

At the outset, mention should be made of the fact that before the spurt in immigration in the decades of the forties and fifties, such occupations in New York as those of longshoremen, hod-carriers, brickmakers, whitewashers, coachmen, stablemen, porters, bootblacks, barbers, and waiters in hotels and restaurants had been almost wholly in the hands of colored men.⁴⁸⁹ Domestic maids, cooks, scullions, laundresses and seamstresses were generally colored women. They were secure in

484. Arna Bontemps and Jack Conroy, *They Seek a City* (Garden City, 1945), pp. 125-131.

485. *New York Times*, August 2-11, 14-18, 1944.

486. William Osborn Stoddard, *The Volcano Under the City* (New York, 1887), p. 293; *New York Herald*, July 18, 1863.

487. United States Census Office, 8th Census, 1860; *Population of the United States in 1860* (Washington, 1864), pp. 335, 337.

488. For a preliminary but suggestive treatment of the subject of labor competition, see Williston H. Lofton, "Northern Labor and the Negro during the Civil War," *Journal of Negro History*, XXXIV (July, 1949), 251.



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these types of employment and earned relatively good wages. But with the huge influx of white foreigners, particularly after the Irish famine of 1846, their position changed radically.

The unskilled Irish swarmed into the menial occupations which had been monopolized by the colored. Offering to work for any wages they could obtain, they reduced the Negroes' earnings drastically and deprived many of employment.⁴⁹⁰

As Frederick Douglass wrote, admonishing Negroes to learn trades or perish: "Every hour sees the black man elbowed out of employment by some newly arrived emigrant whose hunger and whose color are thought to give him a better title to the place."⁴⁹¹ Thus the Irish themselves had earlier subjected Negroes to the same job rivalry that Democratic politicians and journalists prophesied would be offered to the Irish by former slaves from the South. To those dire predictions, especially as uttered during the election campaigns of 1860, 1861 and 1862 and after the Emancipation Proclamation and adoption of the draft act in March, 1863, we shall now turn.

At the Democratic rally on October 8, 1860, to ratify the coalition Douglas-Breckinridge-Bell slate of presidential electors in New York, James W. Gerard, prominent lawyer and candidate for Congress, ventured a typical prediction of intensified Negro-white labor competition in the event of emancipation.⁴⁹² He warned his listeners—above all, his "friends from Ireland" and immigrants from other countries—that the Republican party was an abolition party:

Abraham Lincoln, if honest to his party, means to do his best that the free men of the North shall make free the laboring population of the South. (Cries of "Never," and cheers.) ... I call upon all adopted citizens to stand up and vote against Abraham Lincoln, or you will have negro labor dragging you from your free labor.

Speaking again later in the month, Gerard returned to this theme, cautioning Irish and German laborers not to vote Republican lest in casting their ballots to exclude slavery, they "exclude bread from their own table."⁴⁹³

Likewise, General Leslie Combs, of Kentucky, declared at a Democratic mass meeting in New York during the campaign of 1860 that if the slaves in the South were liberated, they would come North and take away the jobs of white longshoremen and other laborers. He warned:

Let the four millions of slaves in the South be set at liberty, and left to their own free will and desires, and we should very soon have, not the great conflict so long predicted between free labor and slave labor, but a terrible conflict between white labor and black labor.

489. The New Moral World (Owenite newspaper), June 29, 1844, in John R. Commons et al., A Documentary History of American Industrial Society (Cleveland, 1910-1911), IX, 60, 61; G. E. Haynes, The Negro at Work in New York City (New York, 1912), pp. 67, 68, 97; A.A. Payne, "The Negro in New York prior to 1860," Howard Review, I (June, 1923), 1-64; Sterling D. Spero and Abram L. Harris, The Black Worker (New York, 1931), pp. 12, 13.

490. J.H. Harmon, A.G. Lindsay and C.G. Woodson, The Negro as a Business Man (Washington, 1929), p. 4; Lindsay, "The Economic Condition of the Negroes of New York Prior to 1861," Journal of Negro History, VI (April, 1921), 193-196; Charles E. Wesley, Negro Labor in the United States, 1850-1925 (New York, 1927), pp. 75-77.

491. Quoted in Charles E. Wesley, Negro Labor in the United States, 1850-1925 (New York, 1927), pp. 61, 62.

492. Herald, October 9, 1860.

493. Herald, October 28, 1860.



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*(Applause.) ... The unemployed slaves will be found among you in sufficient numbers to compete with you at your wharves and your docks, and in every branch of labor in which white people alone are now employed.*⁴⁹⁴

Pro-South business houses, too, brought pressure to bear upon their employees to vote for the fusion Democratic ticket, to preserve themselves from Negro competition.⁴⁹⁵

During the campaign of 1860, the virulently anti-Negro Herald also carried editorials foretelling catastrophe if Lincoln were elected. A wholesale exodus of four million Negroes from the South would occur. If they were anything like the fugitive slaves "of the most vicious and degraded, character" who had already emigrated to the North, it said on one occasion, they would refuse to work and would steal the fruits of Northern industry and burden Northern workers with taxes for their maintenance." The Herald did not hesitate to contradict itself in its arguments, however, for after dwelling one day upon the supposed laziness of freed Negroes, the tax burden for their support, and their criminal tendencies, on another day it would raise the spectre of job competition from apparently hard-working contrabands:

*Hundreds of thousands will emigrate to their friends - the republicans -- North, and be placed by them side by side in competition with white men. Are you ready to divide your patrimony with the negro? Are you ready to work with him in competition to work more than you do now for Less pay? If you are, vote for the republican candidate.*⁴⁹⁶

Similar to this was the final appeal of James Gordon Bennett, editor of the Herald, to Irish and German laborers on election day, 1860: "If Lincoln is elected to-day, you will have to compete with the labor of four million emancipated negroes.... The North will be flooded with free negroes, and the labor of the white man will be depreciated and degraded."⁴⁹⁷

Even the surge of patriotism which swept the city immediately after the attack on Port Sumter did not delete from Democratic newspapers the theme of Negro labor competition upon emancipation.⁴⁹⁸ It was reiterated by the demagogic Fernando Wood in campaigning for the office of mayor of New York in the fall of 1861. He charged that his Republican opponent was the candidate of a party which would fill regiments with Irish and German laborers and then bring Negroes North to take their jobs away.⁴⁹⁹ Wood also used the inconsistent argument that the support of contraband paupers in the North would be a crushing financial burden."⁵⁰⁰ He played upon fear of Negro labor competition most often in bidding for Irish votes.⁵⁰¹ In the mayoralty campaign of 1861 the Herald once more used its stock prediction of the displacement of white workers, notably the Irish, by black workers, should the Republicans prevail.⁵⁰²

494. Herald, October 25, 1860.

495. Basil Lea Lee, *Discontent in New York City, 1861-1865* (Washington, 1943), p. 7.

496. Herald, October 1, 1860.

497. Herald, November 5, 1860.

498. Herald, November 6, 1860.

499. Herald, April 20, 1861; Irish American, May 24, 1861.

500. Herald, November 28, 1861; New York Tribune, November 28, 1861; Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

501. Herald, November 30, 1861; Tribune, November 30, 1861.



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In the interval between the campaigns of 1861 and 1862, there were few allusions by politicians and press to the danger of Negro labor competition in the event of emancipation. But with the appearance of the preliminary proclamation of emancipation in September, 1862, and the Seymour Wadsworth contest for the New York governorship that year, the old warnings were re-echoed. George Francis Train, the Irish nationalist, said that the abolitionists were "combining to manacle the white man" and were engaged in a "conspiracy against the Irish," whom they sought to degrade by placing Negroes to work beside the⁵⁰³ Another Irish-American leader, Richard O'Gorman, describing himself as "a sincere friend of the negro," spoke of the impolicy of freeing the black man from the civilizing restraints of servitude.⁵⁰⁴ "May not these poor people, joying their newly acquired freedom, swarm on us here in the North?" he asked.

Congressman Samuel S. Cox, of Ohio, felt sure that New Yorkers would elect the Democratic candidate for Governor, Horatio Seymour, because "they would never consent to have negroes compete with them. "I Indeed, he suggested that when whites and freed Negroes clashed in New York's labor market, blood would flow and colored men would get the worst of it.⁵⁰⁵ In his campaign pronouncements Seymour himself was more restrained in criticizing Lincoln's preliminary proclamation on the score of Negro labor competition.⁵⁰⁶ Of course, the Herald ran true to form editorials on the menace of Negro labor, addressed to Irish and German laborers. "The Irish and German immigrants, to say nothing of native laborers of the white race, must feel enraptured," Bennett wrote, "at the prospect of hordes of darkeys overrunning the Northern States and working for half wages, and thus ousting them from employment."⁵⁰⁷

Promulgation of the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863, and adoption of the conscription act on March 3, 1863, caused a new outburst. The rabid New York Weekly Caucasian rejoiced that the Proclamation had led the Metropolitan Record, which had been the official organ of the Catholic Archbishop of New York, to oppose the war and asserted that its course was generally approved by Irish Americans, who did not relish the thought of having Negroes on their economic level.⁵⁰⁸ The newly-formed Society for the Diffusion of Political Knowledge, an anti-emancipation propaganda group in New York City, published as its first pamphlet a letter written by Henry Clay twenty years before, depicting a horrible doom for white labor in the North if slavery were abolished. As Orestes A. Brownson, one of the few leading anti-slavery Catholics, wrote, Democratic leaders and journalists in this period convinced the Irish that in resisting the draft they were simply refusing to fight for their own economic suicide.⁵⁰⁹

How did Republicans and Abolitionists deal with these predictions of their opponents? In 1860 and 1861 they failed to

502. Harper's Weekly, V (December 21, 1861), 802, 803.

503. Herald, October 20, 31, November 27, 28, 1861.

504. Herald, September 24, 1862; Tribune, October 2, 1862; Irish American, October 11, 1862.

505. Herald, November 8, 1862.

506. Herald, October 29, 1862.

507. Herald, October 30, 1862; Tribune, October 30, 1862.

508. De Alva Stanwood Alexsinder, Political History of the State of New York (New York, 1906-1923), III, 27-29; Sidney D. Brummer, Political History of New York State during the Period of the Civil War (New York, 1911), pp. 238-240.

509. Herald, October 20, 1862; see also Herald, October 13, 21, November 1, 1862.



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answer them at all. In 1862, however, they began to grasp the fact that the labor competition argument was making a deep impression upon the working people of New York, particularly the Irish, and that it could no longer be allowed to go unchallenged. In fact, Horace Greeley declared on the eve of the election of 1862 that it was the most common argument advanced against the abolition of slavery.⁵¹⁰

From the summer of 1862 on, Greeley and other Republican and abolitionist leaders undertook to refute it on every possible occasion. Whatever Negroes had migrated to the North had done so to escape slavery, they said. Eliminate, slavery, and the movement northward would stop, the Negro having an exceptionally strong attachment to the locality in which he was born, according to General Hunter.⁵¹¹ Furthermore, with the terror of the auction block removed, the colored population of the North would go south, as it was by nature better suited to the climate there and more adept at raising cotton, tobacco, rice and sugar than earning a living at other pursuits in the North. It was therefore clearly to the interest of white workers, including Irish laborers, to support emancipation.⁵¹²

This was the approach of James S. Wadsworth, in his message in October, 1862, accepting the Union party's nomination for Governor of New York and defending Lincoln's preliminary proclamation against the Negro labor competition arguments. Daniel S. Dickinson, erstwhile Democratic leader, reasoned the same way, as did Secretary of War Stanton, Senator Charles Sumner, Governor John A. Andrew of Massachusetts, Major General Cassius M. Clay (who was most disturbed by the effect of the competition idea upon the Irish), and Robert Dale Owen.⁵¹³

Greeley also ridiculed the inconsistency of anti-emancipationists in contending that former slaves would work so hard and so cheaply that they would displace white men and then adding in the same breath that they would be indolent paupers whose upkeep would drain the public treasury.⁵¹⁴

In his extremely eloquent oration on the Emancipation Proclamation, on February 6, 1863, at the Cooper Institute, Frederick Douglass similarly heaped scorn upon such logic.⁵¹⁵ Once Greeley was bold enough to declare that even if there were an influx of fugitives into the North, it would not injure white workers, because the normal labor force of the North had been depleted by the demands of the army and needed supplementing.⁵¹⁶ The Negroes would produce as much as they would consume, he insisted, observing not very convincingly that they would, moreover, leave whites free to secure "higher, easier, better recompensed positions."⁵¹⁷

Lincoln himself took note of the Negro labor competition

510. New York Weekly Caucasian, March 28, 1863.

511. Society for the Diffusion of Political Knowledge, Papers (New York, 1863), no. 1.

512. [Orestes Augustus Brownson](#), "Catholics and the Anti-draft Riots," [Brownson's Quarterly Review](#), Third New York Series, IV (October 1863), 401.

513. Tribune, November 5, 1862.

514. Tribune, August 4, 1862.

515. Harper's Weekly, VI (August 23, 1862), 530, 531; Tribune, August 28, November 5, 1862; January 12, March 23, April 16, 1863; R. Dale Owen, J. McKays and Samuel G. Howe, Preliminary and also the Final Report of the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission. United States Congress. Senate Executive Documents, No. 53, 38th Cong., 1st seas., p. 8, 1864.

516. Herald, October 6, 1862; Tribune, October 6, 23, 1862; Brummer, op. cit, pp. 238-240.

517. Tribune, October 7, 9, 22, November 24, December 5, 1862; Herald, October 8, 17, 1862.



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argument against the emancipation program in his message to Congress on December 1, 1862.⁵¹⁸ His answer was colonization: "Reduce the supply of black labor by colonizing the black laborers out of the country, and by precisely so much you increase the demand for, and the wages of, white labor." But Lincoln denied that even without the deportation of freed slaves there would be any mass migration northward and supplanting of white workers, since Negroes would no longer have to flee from bondage in the South.

Unfortunately, information on whether there was actually any movement of freed Negroes from the South to the Northeast is scanty, incidental and inconclusive.⁵¹⁹

There is a hint here and there buried in the fine print of a Civil War newspaper, a random suggestion in an obscure pamphlet, but no authoritative or extended treatment of this interesting problem. The Tribune would, at one time, admit unqualifiedly that Negroes were leaving the South in considerable numbers to escape slavery. "Were slavery dead tomorrow, the main current of negro migration would flow southward, not northward," wrote Greeley in January, 1863.⁵²⁰ To the same effect he declared in March: "There is at present a very general exodus of poor people from the region cursed by the Slaveholders' Rebellion ... Black men are fleeing to escape from Slavery to traitors."⁵²¹ Yet within a month of making this last assertion he said of liberated slaves: "It is quite certain that up to this time many thousands have been liberated, but as far as we can learn, very few have come among us."⁵²² This, however, was contradicted in January 1863 by Fincher's Trades Review, which stated that a large number of colored persons had already reached the Northern states and that many of them were filling positions formerly occupied by white men. The leading labor paper of its time then proceeded to demand that the government place restrictions on the ingress of emancipated slaves into the North.

It is doubtless true that by the summer of 1863 thousands of former slaves had left Missouri, [Kentucky](#), Tennessee and Mississippi for Ohio, Indiana, [Illinois](#), [Kansas](#) and Minnesota, despite stringent laws passed by some midwestern states forbidding the immigration of contrabands lest whites be deprived of employment.⁵²³ So many Negroes left Missouri, in fact, that it was predicted that crops would perish or remain undeveloped for want of labor.⁵²⁴ The codes of these states which excluded former slaves but urgently needed agricultural workers to replace men serving in the army were hotly denounced by abolitionists as examples of the absurd lengths to which fear of Negro labor competition could carry white people.⁵²⁵ But the opposition to emancipation could still point to the northward movement of Negroes in the midwest and predict a similar influx

518. Tribune, July 5, August 6, 1862; March 27, 1863.

519. Tribune, February 7, 1863; National Anti-Slavery Standard, February 14, 1863.

520. Tribune, October 17, 1862.

521. The idea of giving Negroes land confiscated from rebels was hailed by Greeley and Roscoe Conkling as removing the apprehension of white workers that the North would be swamped by an influx of freedmen. Tribune, February 12, March 21, 1863; Loyal National League, Opinions of Loyalists Concerning the Great Questions of the Times ... Mass Meeting on Union Square, New York, on the 11th of April, 1863 (New York, 1863), p. 96.

522. Carl Sandburg, Abraham Lincoln - the War Years (New York, 1941), I, 620, 621.

523. Woodson is volume pioneered in this field. Carter G. Woodson, A Century of Negro Migration (Washington, 1918).

524. Tribune, January 12, 1863.

525. Tribune, March 27, 1863; Anti-Slavery Standard, March 7, 1863.



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into New York and consequent unemployment for white men.⁵²⁶

Into the Middle Atlantic states only a negligible migration of freed Negroes took place. The demand for colored labor in Washington, D.C., and on Maryland plantations exceeded the Supply.⁵²⁷ Three hundred contrabands did arrive in Washington in the summer of 1862 from various parts of Virginia, but the men among them were promptly hired about government hospitals and camps and on public works, while the women did washing for the soldiers.⁵²⁸ The advent of a small number of contrabands in Chester County, Pennsylvania, however, did cause some excitement, which was reported in the New York press. False rumors arose that they were so numerous that they took work away from whites and accepted employment for ten cents a day. These statements led to assaults upon Negroes in Northern cities.⁵²⁹ When about a hundred fugitives who came from the South by boat landed in Philadelphia in March, 1862, an immense crowd greeted them with shrieks of abuse.⁵³⁰ There was probably a trickle of Negroes into New Jersey also, for anti-administration forces there called upon the legislature early in 1863 to bar former slaves from the state.⁵³¹

Some migration of Negroes to New York City did unquestionably occur, at least enough to give an appearance of validity to the predictions of politicians and press and the fear of the Irish proletariat regarding black labor competition.⁵³² Refugees may well have settled in the Five Points neighborhood, in close proximity to the Irish.⁵³³ During the longshore strike a month before the draft riots it was reported that three carloads of contrabands had reached Jersey City and that the Negroes then took the ferry to New York.⁵³⁴ One source suggests that the colored workers used to break the strikes of longshoremen in 1863 were emancipated slaves, but there is no definite proof of that.⁵³⁵ It does, seem, though, that the Negroes sheltered in the Seventh Avenue Arsenal during the draft riots included contrabands,⁵³⁶ and not to be forgotten is that shout by "someone with an Irish accent" who interrupted Archbishop John Hughes's speech appealing to Catholics to abstain from rioting: "Let the niggers stay in the South!"⁵³⁷ The following day, speaking of Negroes "that float hither from the South," the Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register urged that they be "driven out again, imprisoned or exterminated."⁵³⁸ Such a furor could hardly have arisen without some pretext.

526. Tribune, April 16, 1863.

527. Fincher's Trades Review, June 13, 1863.

528. Tribune, August 4, October 30, 1862; Herald, September 22, 1862; Anti-Slavery Standard, January 30, June 30, 1863. On the fear of an influx of contrabands into Kentucky, see Governor Robinson's message to the Kentucky legislature upon the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation. Tribune, January 12, 1863.

529. Anti-Slavery Standard, June 20, 1863.

530. Tribune July 9, 1862; Anti-Slavery Standard, May 9, 30, 1863. Minnesota farmers did employ contrabands in place of whites serving in the army. Anti-Slavery Standard, May 30, 1863.

531. Tribune, October 30, 1862.

532. Anti-Slavery Standard, January 10, 1863.

533. Tribune, August 11, 1862.

534. Tribune, July 11, August 6, 1862; Anti-Slavery Standard, March 28, 1863.

535. Tribune, April 3, 1862.

536. Tribune, January 12, 1863.

537. Woodson's work has an account of the migration of fugitives to New York City in the first half of the century. Woodson, op. cit., pp. 82-86.

538. Committee of Representatives of the New York [Yearly Meeting](#) of Friends upon the Condition and Wants of the Colored Refugees, Report (New York, 1862), P. 20.



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But that the pretext was small is apparent from the available information on whether the Negroes of the South did really wish to go north in 1862 and 1863. Although it was well known that General Hunter, commander of the army's Department of the South, at Port Royal, South Carolina, gave passes to the North to all Negroes seeking them, he stated in July, 1862, that not more than a dozen had applied to him for such passes since his arrival.⁵³⁹ Hunter branded the idea of a general migration of Negroes to the North a "carefully fostered delusion." The superintendent in charge of contrabands in Washington, D. C., made a special investigation into the supposed desire of former slaves to emigrate to the North and found it non-existent.⁵⁴⁰ Of those who came under his charge during his first four months in office, not thirty-five were willing to go farther north.

The most thorough attempt to ascertain whether Southern Negroes wished to move to the North was made by a special committee of the Emancipation League.⁵⁴¹ Late in 1862 this committee sent a questionnaire to the different superintendents of contrabands in the South containing the following query, among others: "Do they desire to go North? In the event of general emancipation, and fair treatment at home, would there, in your judgment, be any disposition to go North?" Even though the question was obviously loaded, the answers received leave little room for doubt that the contrabands did not wish to leave the South. The reply from Fortress Monroe, Virginia, was typical: Very few are willing to go North, except for safety. I have had applications from large numbers wishing servants, and offering good wages, lying over for months, because of the unwillingness of any to go." The results of this survey were confirmed by a report of the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission in June, 1863, that there was no disposition on the part of Negro refugees within Union lines in South Carolina and Florida to go north.⁵⁴²

The preceding pages have described the manner in which political leaders and journalists in New York played upon the fear of white workers that freed Negroes would compete with them for jobs. They have also discussed the extent to which there was a movement of contrabands from the South who could compete with them. It is now appropriate to look into the competition actually taking place between Negroes and whites before the draft riots of July, 1863.

Such competition was omnipresent in the South, to be sure. It greatly heightened the tension between Negroes and poor whites, with slaves used in skilled capacities both on plantations and in towns and cities, as well, where their masters easily underbid white mechanics. It extended to almost all branches of manual labor.⁵⁴³ Everywhere the Southern white worker turned, the Negro seemed to deprive him of a job, except for the most dangerous occupations, in which it would be folly to expose a valuable slave to injury or death.⁵⁴⁴

In the North, some contrabands were competing with white workers by June, 1863, at least according to Fincher's *Trades Review*,

539. *Tribune*, June 10, 1863; Committee of New York Meeting of Friends, op. cit., p. 14.

540. Spero and Harris, op. cit., p. 17.

541. *Tribune*, July 18, 1863; *Herald*, July 18, 1863.

542. *Herald*, July 18, 1863; *Daily News*, July 18, 1863; *Irish American*, July 18, 1863.

543. *Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register*, July 18, 1863.

544. *Tribune*, August 4, 1862.



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and this development drew a cry for restrictions by the Federal government upon the movement of emancipated slaves into free states.⁵⁴⁵ Although our information about racial competition in the longshore field, which will be explored below, is rather plentiful, the press was not very specific about other areas in which the new rivalry was occurring. Random reports did tell of trouble in Washington, D. C., where navy yard workers showed hostility toward twenty or thirty colored calkers brought from Baltimore,⁵⁴⁶ and of the replacement of white domestic servants by Negro contrabands in St. Louis.⁵⁴⁷ The agitation throughout the North during the Civil War for state laws banning the immigration of Negroes from the South can also be taken as a probable indication of job competition between blacks and whites.

In New York, the ousting of the Democratic party from control of the Federal government in 1861 appeared ominously to bring even political patronage to Negroes. Colored men were appointed to positions in the custom house, replacing good Irish Democrats, said the newspapers, and depressing the wages paid custom house employees.⁵⁴⁸ When, in July, 1862, Negro workers were substituted for whites on a ferry line in New York harbor, and the press carried rumors of contrabands' taking away the jobs of white men in Pennsylvania by agreeing to work for ten cents a day, it seemed high time to stop this trend.⁵⁴⁹ The method of doing so which was applied by a mob of Irishmen in Brooklyn in August, 1862, may well have been suggested by attacks in recent weeks upon Negroes in Cincinnati and Toledo, Ohio, and Evansville, Indiana.⁵⁵⁰

In the midst of an Irish neighborhood in south Brooklyn stood two tobacco factories.⁵⁵¹ All the employees of one were colored, numbering from fifty to seventy-five and consisting mostly of women and children. About 250 persons, colored and white, were employed in the other and worked harmoniously side by side. The resentment against the employment of the Negroes that had been smoldering among the Irish in that area finally broke into flames on August 4, 1862, when a mob of from two to three thousand whites, stirred up by pothouse politicians I talk of competition from contrabands, smashed their way into one of the factories, shouting "Down with the nagurs!" Many were drunk from liquor dispensed at the neighborhood's numerous rum-shops, where the attack on the factory was planned. Failing to reach the Negro employees barricaded on the second floor, they prepared to set fire to the place and were prevented from doing so only by the arrival of a strong detachment of police, who quelled the riot, after a fashion, by clubbing the, Negroes.

The rioters may be said to have won their point, however. Although one tobacco factory closed down entirely, the proprietor of the other promised not to hire any more colored

545. Tribune, November 7, 1862.

546. Tribune, January 27, 1863; Anti-Slavery Standard, February 7, 1863.

547. R. Dale Owen et al, op. cit., p. 8.

548. Spero and Harris, op. cit., pp. 5-11. In an emancipation debate with George Francis Train in New York, Cassius M. Clay gave an excellent description of the underbidding of free labor by slave labor in the South. Herald, November 2, 1862. See also Charles Nordhoff, America for Free Working Men! (New York, 1865), p. 1.

549. Charles Nordhoff, America for Free Working Men! (New York, 1865), pp. 12, 13.

550. Fincher's Trades Review, June 13, 1863; Frank Tracy Carlton, History and Problem of Organized Labor (Boston and New York, 1920), p. 64.

551. Herald, September 26, 1862.



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workers.⁵⁵² Thus the effectiveness of mob violence in reducing black labor competition was fully demonstrated. Greeley raged, but his editorial lectures to the rioters were scarcely of a type which would cause them to repent, conceding the very competition that had incensed them in the first place. In a characteristic piece he flayed Democratic leaders for playing upon the Irishman's fear of black labor competition and then continued in this dubious manner:

*Least of all have the laboring white men of the United States, native or foreign, cause to hate the negro. He takes off from them the discredit of the lowest social place, and does offices which leave them free to compete for the higher rewards of industry.... The fugitive colored porter, waiter, or stevedore promotes some shrewd Irish lad to keep a shop, to become constable, or alderman, or to go to Congress.... The transformation of four million chattel slaves into four million free citizens ... will benefit no class so much as that whose tasks they assume and whose toils they relieve.*⁵⁵³

In the weeks following the attack on the tobacco factory, there were a number of cases in Brooklyn and New York City in which gangs of Irishmen beat up individual Negroes.⁵⁵⁴ A secret organization of workingmen formed in New York at this time inserted in its otherwise radical statement of principles a warning about the danger of emancipated slave labor.⁵⁵⁵ In refusing to work with Negroes, the longshoremen, whose strikes and anti-Negro violence will be discussed presently, were not unique. The Tribune cited the typical experience of a Negro cooper, a refugee from the South, who had just been refused work at several barrel-making establishments in New York. The employer at each place told him: "Yes, I have work; I would like to employ you; but my journeymen would all leave me if I did, and I cannot."⁵⁵⁶

Another movement of workingmen at this time expressed apprehension about Negro competition. It consisted of whites concerned over the importation of cheap labor from abroad by employers, with the cooperation of the Lincoln administrations Iron and shipbuilding workers, in particular, faced the prospect of wage reductions occasioned by an influx of foreigners. Early in February, 1863, they held a mass meeting at Tammany Hall, primarily to protest the importation of foreign labor. It is noteworthy, however, that they also adopted an angry statement denouncing steps by employers "to bring hordes of blacks from the South, as well as whites from Europe, to fill the shops, yards and other places of labor, and by that means compel -us to compete with them for the support of our families." To cope with this menace, they declared their intention "to effect a common organization of all the artisans and laborers throughout the country against the anticipated inundation of contrabands in Northern cities." One speaker at this gathering of ironworkers charged that their masters had already started to introduce contrabands in their midst.⁵⁵⁷

552. Freeman's Tourn, January 17, 1863.

553. Lee, op. cit., pp. 137, 138.

554. Lee, op. cit., p. 139; Tribune, August 6, 1862.

555. Tribune, August 8, 1862.

556. Tribune, August 5, 6, 1862; Lee, op. cit., pp. 139, 140.



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But the fiercest competition, with the most violent and far-reaching results, occurred in the longshore field. The remainder of this article will be devoted chiefly to an analysis of longshore work, labor organization among waterfront workers, their strikes of 1855, 1862, and 1863, and their violence against Negro strikebreakers.

Almost all longshoremen in New York City were Irish.⁵⁵⁸ Strictly speaking, it is incorrect to classify their work as unskilled labor.⁵⁵⁹ It required a degree of special competence to perform the more difficult branches of the work which could be acquired only by years of experience and which raised it above the level of what is ordinarily known as common labor. It was, however, an exhausting, hazardous, casual, and oversupplied occupation.⁵⁶⁰ The irregular employment of longshoremen resulted in unstable earnings which made a settled standard of living impossible.⁵⁶¹ One of the persistent complaints of striking longshoremen in 1855, 1862, and 1863 was that they averaged only three or four days of work a week. At the October, 1862, pay rate of \$1.50 a day, this meant that they earned between \$4.50 and \$6.00 a week, which was low even according to Civil War wage standards.

Their irregularity of employment and hanging about piers in the hope of being hired also led longshoremen to drift into waterfront bars and encouraged drinking.⁵⁶² Many of the waterfront assaults on Negroes by longshoremen during the spring of 1863 and at the time of the draft riots planned in groggeries on West Street and South Street, across from the piers.⁵⁶³ Press reports to that effect were borne out by the testimony of the police captain in charge of stopping fights between whites and Negroes along the waterfront in April, 1863: "The trouble is due more to the influence of rum than anything else."⁵⁶⁴

Nevertheless, having no steady jobs to be endangered, longshoremen flared up at bad treatment more quickly than men in other trades. Hence their readiness to strike.⁵⁶⁵ The first longshore strike in New York of which there is record took place in February, 1836, when for several days the men paraded through the streets and before the docks in what amounted to a kind of picketing's.⁵⁶⁶ The strike of 1836 eventually became so violent that the civil authorities called out a regiment of soldiers, which, abundantly supplied with ammunition, established itself at City Hall, thereby intimidating the longshoremen.

The earliest permanent associations of New York longshoremen were formed for benevolent purposes. The Longshoremen's Union Benevolent Society, the organization of longshoremen most frequently mentioned by the press during the first two years of the Civil War, was founded in 1852 and had as its chief functions

557. Tribune, January 24, 1863.

558. Tribune, August 8, 1862.

559. Tribune, August 21, 22, 29, September 4, 6, 1862.

560. Tribune, August 8, 1862.

561. Tribune, November 25, 1862; January 24, 1863.

562. Weekly Caucasian, February 14, 1863; Tribune, February 7, 1863.

563. Nor were urban occupations the only ones in which there were complaints of racial competition. A few days before the draft riots, contrabands obtained from a Government agent were reported working for no pay on farms near New York City. Daily News, July 10, 1863.

564. Charles B. Barnes, *The Longshoremen* (New York, 1915), p. 5.

565. Charles B. Barnes, *The Longshoremen* (New York, 1915), pp. 51-54.

566. Charles B. Barnes, *The Longshoremen* (New York, 1915), pp. 129 ff.



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to provide relief to members who were injured or sick, to aid in the burial of deceased members, and to give financial assistance to their widows and orphans.⁵⁶⁷ It was overwhelmingly Irish in make-up. But although members complained at its meetings of the high cost of living during the war, calling for wage increases and threatening to strike, the Longshoremen's U. B. Society, as it was called, never had any power as a labor union in the present-day sense of the term.

Negro-white friction on the waterfront became pronounced in the middle fifties. In December 1854, the merchants of New York reduced the wages of longshoremen from \$1.75 to \$1.50, using as one reason for the slash the allegation that the Longshoremen's U. B. Society had "attempted to dictate to them."⁵⁶⁸ A strike, not led by the Society, broke out. Gangs of strikers visited ships from which other longshoremen were still unloading cargo, forced them to desist, and beat them as they came ashore. The merchants, however, called the police, under whose protection the work of loading and unloading vessels was resumed. When employers replaced striking Irishmen with colored labor, anti-Negro violence resulted, with the whites trying to prevent the blacks from working.⁵⁶⁹ But, handicapped by the fact that shipping was slow at the time, the strike petered out in the ensuing weeks.⁵⁷⁰ The Negroes, having served their strikebreaking purpose, were gradually discharged by the merchants, and by the middle of February, 1855, only a few were still working, in the employ of shippers who had taken the lead in the movement to reduce wages.

There is no evidence that the Longshoremen's U. B. Society called the strikes of 1862 and 1863. By the time of the Civil War it had evidently abandoned any pretense to trade union action and confined itself exclusively to benevolent, social and Irish functions, including annual balls and St. Patrick's Day parades.⁵⁷¹ Its members would turn out six hundred strong on the latter occasions, dressed in handsome green and gold regalia and carrying Irish and American flags and the Society's imposing banners.

Scattered items in the press in June and July, 1863, indicate the existence of one or two other organizations of longshoremen at the time of the draft riots. In June, 1863, a Longshoremen's Association was established and within a week enrolled three hundred members.⁵⁷² During the riots it was said that white workers, in driving the Negroes from the docks, were insisting that longshore jobs be held exclusively by members of the Longshoremen's Association and such other whites as they permitted upon the waterfront.⁵⁷³ The only other longshore labor organization mentioned during the strike of June, 1863, was a Joint Committee of the North and East Rivers, which agreed upon a general rate of wages to be asked of the shippers.⁵⁷⁴

In the interval between the winter of 1854-1855 and October,

567. Charles B. Barnes, *The Longshoremen* (New York, 1915), pp. 55-92; *Tribune*, January 19, 1855; *Herald*, October 22, 1862.

568. Barnes, *op. cit.*, pp. 13 ff.

569. *Herald*, April 14, 1863; *Anti-Slavery Standard*, April 18, July 25, 1863.

570. *Herald*, April 16, 1863.

571. Barnes, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

572. William Leete Stone, *History of New York City* (New York, 1872), pp. 486, 487.

573. *Tribune*, February 15, 1855; *Irish American*, March 22, 1862; March 28, 1863.

574. *Tribune*, January 18, 19, 1855.



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1862, no major labor disputes occurred on the city's waterfront. In the autumn of 1862, however, the strain of having to buy with 1855 wages goods sold at war-inflated prices became too great for the longshoremen, who were then working only three days a week. On October 20 they struck. Through a representative committee they demanded that wages be increased from \$1.50 a day to \$1.75, overtime rates raised, and the working day reduced from nine to eight hours, giving as their reason for wanting more pay "the advanced prices of food, clothing, and other necessities."⁵⁷⁵ Alongside one editorial on the danger of an influx of Negro labor into the North, the Herald published another supporting the strike, which the next day brought fulsome praise from the chairman of a strikers' meeting at the Battery.⁵⁷⁶ What role, if any, Negro strikebreakers played in this dispute is not clear, but it appears that the longshoremen failed to win an increase in wages at that time.⁵⁷⁷

For late in January, 1863, workers in one section of the waterfront were informed that thenceforth their pay would be only \$1.12 a day instead of the \$1.50 they had been receiving previously.⁵⁷⁸ This action of the merchants started a labor war on the docks of New York which, except for brief truces, continued till the draft riots in July. Upon reduction of their wages the longshoremen went on strike. They were willing to go back at \$1.25 a day provided they were employed permanently, claiming that their irregular work on the waterfront often compelled them to seek jobs elsewhere or remain idle much of the time. Press accounts of two longshore strikes in March, 1863, which refer to \$1.12 a day as the prevailing rate of wages, indicate, though, that the cut was put into effect on a wide scale and that the January strike against it did not succeed.⁵⁷⁹ But on March 23, 1863, longshoremen working on the North River piers of the Erie Railroad Company, having previously won back part of the slash and restored their wages to \$1.25 a day, struck for \$1.50.⁵⁸⁰

When the company foreman refused to yield to their terms and announced that he would employ other workers in their places, a thousand men gathered in the street in front of the pier. No disturbances broke out until the foreman hired a gang of Negroes to move bales of cotton. Instantly the crowd fell upon the Negroes with sticks, stones, and fists and drove them from the waterfront. The company then agreed to pay \$1.50 a day but declined to hire about half the strikers. At first some measure of solidarity was shown by the group, as those whom the company offered to take back held out for the reemployment of the others. By the next morning, however, this unity had disappeared. The company hired all but sixty of the most militant strikers, and work resumed under strong police protection.⁵⁸¹

575. Tribune, February 15, 1855; Charles Lionel Franklin, *The Negro Labor Unionist of New York* (New York, 1936), p. 25; Spero and Harris, op. cit., p. 197; Wesley, op. cit., pp. 79, 80.

576. Tribune, February 15, 1855.

577. Irish American, October 27, December 8, 1860; January 5, March 23, August 3, October 12, 10, November 2, 1861; February 15, March 15, 22, August 30, November 15, 1862; February 21, March 7, 14, 28, 1863.

578. Daily News, June 16, 1863.

579. Daily News, July 17, 1863. Speaking of the longshore and railroad workers strikes in 1863, McNeil says that "assaults were made upon the non-unionists who took the place of the men on strike." (Emphasis added.) George E. McNeil, *The Labor Movement: the Problem of Today* (Boston and New York, 1887), p. 126. This implies the existence of a union conducting the strike. See also United States Commissioner of Labor, Third Annual Report (1887), p. 1048.

580. Herald, June 10, 1863.

581. Tribune, October 21, 22, 1862; Herald, October 21, 22, 1862.



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The example set by the Erie Railroad longshoremens was immediately followed by employees of the Hudson River Railroad, who struck for an increase in wages from \$1.12 a day to \$1.50 and notified the company's directors that they would not allow any other persons to take their places for lower wages. Nevertheless, with a squad of police standing by, the company did hire both white and colored strikebreakers. Although here no violence actually broke out, the defeated workers seethed with resentment against those replacements whose dark skin made them stand out conspicuously and rendered them easy targets for revenge.

The next month, April, new strikes broke out among the longshoremens of lower Manhattan. Their exact wage demands are not clear, but for three days mobs of Irish longshoremens, inflamed by drink, beat up Negroes found working on the waterfront and chased them from the docks, shouting "Drive off the damn niggers" and "Kill the niggers."⁵⁸² "They were determined, they said, that the blacks should not drive white labor out of the market, and remonstrated against the employment of negroes along shore."⁵⁸³ Four or five hundred white longshoremens took part in these disturbances, and with difficulty the Metropolitan Police saved from lynching a couple of Negroes who tried to defend themselves. At least two hundred colored longshoremens were employed on the docks at that time, and according to police they did not receive less than the usual rate of wages. In the course of this outbreak, crowds of longshoremens also hunted down and stoned Negroes in other sections of lower Manhattan besides the waterfront, pursuing all the colored porters, cartmen and laborers within sight until routed by the locust batons of the police.

Greeley regarded the episode as the natural result of the persistent efforts of the pro-slavery press of New York to strengthen its readers' prejudices and to persuade them that "white men were to be cheated out of work by an immigration of negroes." Said he further:

*If longshoremens or any other class of laborers do not choose to work with negroes they need not. No law compels them. But the negro, as well as the white man, has a right to work for whoever will employ and pay him, and the law, and courts, and police, and public opinion ought to protect him in that right, and will.*⁵⁸⁴

May was a quiet month on the waterfront, but trouble flared up again early in June, when the longshoremens of New York stopped work *en masse*, demanding an increase in pay to twenty-five cents an hour during the regular working day and overtime of fifty cents an hour after 6 PM. Five hundred of them marched from pier to pier, inducing men who were still working to quit. Their number swelled as they proceeded. When non-strikers at one pier balked at leaving work, they were attacked by the strikers and compelled to desist until the police arrived and gave them protection.⁵⁸⁵

582. Tribune

583. Wesley, *op. cit.*, pp. 99, 100.

584. Tribune, February 2, 1863.

585. Tribune, March 25, 1863; Herald, March 25, 1863.



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After a week of fruitless negotiation between committees of strikers and shipowners, the United States government stepped in. It was a now-familiar story: Army transports, supposed to sail with cargoes of ammunition and other supplies, were being held up by the strike.⁵⁸⁶ Accordingly, about 150 deserters from Governor's Island and sixty-five convalescent soldiers from Bedloe's Island were put to work loading the transports, as a detachment of regular troops stood guard with fixed bayonets and nearly five hundred policemen patrolled the waterfront.⁵⁸⁷

But the strike grew despite this formidable show of might opposing it. By the middle of June three thousand longshoremen were idle.⁵⁸⁸ On June 18, however, a group of important shipping firms gave notice that they would pay \$2.00 for a day of nine hours and twenty-five cents an hour overtime, and that was probably the formula on which the strike ended. One thousand of the strikers accepted it by returning to their jobs the next day.⁵⁸⁹

While the longshoremen were thus engaged in June, 1863, (with the impassioned support, it might be noted, of the pro-slavery Daily News), occupational groups closely related to them struck successfully for higher pay.⁵⁹⁰ These included workers on canal boats and barges in the lower part of the city and freight handlers on the Hudson River Railroad and the New York Central. Another strike of Erie Railroad employees for a wage increase occurred.⁵⁹¹ Again the company hired strike breakers, although it is not certain that they were Negroes, and again the strikebreakers were assaulted by some of the old employees.

Similar work stoppages for higher wages took place in other northern cities during the Civil War. Negroes were often used as strikebreakers, with uniformly violent results.⁵⁹²

Such strikes are important as a partial explanation of the draft riots in those places. Perhaps the most serious disorders broke out in Buffalo. In August, 1862, striking Buffalo longshoremen demanded higher pay and sought to keep non-strikers from continuing to work at the former rates, but the racial aspect does not seem to have entered into their struggle at that time.⁵⁹³ The same is true of another strike of longshoremen and grain shovellers in Buffalo in May, 1863, when they won an increase in pay to \$1.50 a day.⁵⁹⁴ Only a week before the draft riots, though, some Buffalo shippers tried to replace Irish longshoremen with colored workers, and violence ensued, with three Negroes slain and twelve badly beaten.⁵⁹⁵ Not only did Irish longshoremen seek to prevent Negroes from working on the docks, but, in addition, mobs of other whites attacked colored

586. Times, March 24, 1863; Tribune, March 24, 1863; Herald, March 24, 1863.

587. Herald, March 25, 1863; Tribune, March 25, 1863.

588. Herald, April 18, 1863.

589. Herald, April 16, 1863. See also Herald, April 14, 15, 1863; Tribune, April 13-16, 1863; Anti-Slavery Standard, April 18, 1863; Lee, op. cit., pp. 141, 142.

590. Tribune, April 14, 1863.

591. Herald, June 6, 9, 1863; Tribune, June 8, 9, 20, 1863.

592. Herald, June 15, 16, 1863; Herald, June 16, 1863.

593. Similar to the longshore situation in 1863 was the strike of New York longshoremen in October, 1945, at the end of World War II. At that time, Federal authorities, pleading the piling up of military cargoes on the docks, sent two platoons of Negro soldiers with longshore experience to unload mail and baggage from the British transport, Queen Elizabeth. Times, October 10, 11, 1945. The Negro troops performed this task amid the hissing and booing of the strikers.

594. Tribune, June 15, 1863.

595. Tribune, June 20, 1863; Herald, June 20, 1863; Daily News, June 20, 1863.



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inhabitants of the city generally. A prominent Democratic politician was heard to declare publicly that every Negro and every Black Republican ought to be driven out of town.⁵⁹⁶ More truthfully than they knew, the editors of Fincher's Trades Review commented on the Buffalo situation two days before the draft riots began: "This, we fear, is but the beginning of the end."⁵⁹⁷

The result of this labor strife was that when resistance to the draft started in New York on July 13, 1863, longshoremen formed the van of the mobs.⁵⁹⁸ Deputations recruiting rioters thoroughly canvassed the waterfront, so that by the second day of the upheaval the loading and unloading of ships in the harbor had stopped, except at a wharf here and there which happened to be under the guns of an armed vessel.⁵⁹⁹ No colored dockhands were to be found on any pier.⁶⁰⁰ Negroes who ventured on the streets near the waterfront or near saloons frequented by longshoremen were horribly tortured and beaten to death by bands of longshoremen and their bodies cast into the East River and Hudson River.⁶⁰¹ One reporter described conditions about the piers thus:

*So determined and bitter is the feeling of the 'longshoremen against negroes that not one of the latter dares show himself upon the docks or piers even when a regular employee of the place. The white workmen have resolved, by concerted action, to keep colored men from this branch of labor, and have evinced, by their conduct toward their former comrades in work, a spirit as murderous and brutal as it is illiberal and selfish. It is a prevalent rumor, to which the authorities give full credence, and which the 'longshoremen seem proud of, that scores of these unfortunates have been thrown into the river and drowned, for no other reason than that they were obnoxious to the sensitive-minded individuals of a lighter color.*⁶⁰²

Another observer likewise noted that longshoremen made

*no attempt to conceal their determination to keep negroes ... from that sort of labor. They insist upon it that the colored people must and shall be driven to other departments of industry, and that the work upon the docks, the stevedoring, and the various job-work therewith connected, shall be attended to solely and absolutely by members of the 'Longshoremen's Association, and such white laborers as they see fit to permit upon the premises.*⁶⁰³

The mobs along the waterfront which attacked other Negroes besides dock workers consisted, in all likelihood, of white longshoremen.⁶⁰⁴ Next to the colored dock workers, waiters and

596. Tribune, June 16, 1863; Herald, June 16, 1863; Tribune, June 17, 1863.

597. Daily News, June 20, 1863.

598. Spero and Harris, Op., Cit., pp. 197, 198; Wesley, op. cit., pp. 99, 100. For an interesting account of anti-Negro violence in a Toledo, Ohio, longshore strike, during which the members of the local board of trade were sworn in as special police, see Tribune, July 11, 1862.

599. Tribune, August 13, 1862.

600. Tribune, May 14, 1863; Herald, May 14, 16, 1863.

601. Fincher's Trades Review, July 11, 1863; Tribune, July 8, 1863; Herald, July 8, 1863; Daily News, July 11, 1863.

602. Tribune, July 10, 1863.

603. Fincher's Trades Review, July 11, 1863.



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other Negro employees in downtown hotels and restaurants were the chief objects of the rioters' fury.⁶⁰⁵ One firm, fearful that its property might be destroyed by demonstrators who believed it to have employed colored persons, sought to avert that fate by placing in the window a sign in conspicuous capitals: "No niggers in the rear."⁶⁰⁶

It is not contended here that the competition of Negroes with whites ceased completely with the draft disturbances. Indeed, as early as Saturday, July 18, the last day of the riot week, a few colored workers began to pursue their usual vocations in public without being molested.⁶⁰⁷ On Monday, the 20th, more colored people, including waiters in several restaurants, summoned up enough courage to return to their jobs, and this trend continued in the succeeding days, to a point where even some Negro longshoremen returned to the docks of the Erie Railroad Company.⁶⁰⁸

But the committee of merchants formed to give relief to colored victims of the riots was forced to admit that after this civil war within a Civil War many Negroes discharged by employers who feared destruction of their property because they had hired colored workers were not taken back in their old positions, despite years of service. White workers who wished to drive their competitors from the city were responsible, said the merchants, for pressure upon employers not to reinstate Negroes. They also persuaded the street railway companies to refuse colored persons permission to ride on their cars, making it difficult for or them to travel to work.⁶⁰⁹

To alleviate these conditions, the committee kept its office open as an employment agency after it stopped dispensing financial relief,⁶¹⁰ in pursuance of a resolution, adopted at its first meeting, on July 18:

*That we will exert all the influence we possess to protect the colored people of this city in their rights to pursue unmolested their, lawful occupations.... That we will not recognize or sanction any distinction of persons of whatever nation, religion, or color, in their natural right to labor peaceably in their vocations in the support of themselves and those dependent upon them.*⁶¹¹

Brave talk this, but its implementation was another matter. As the more timorous merchants and transportation companies continued to withhold jobs from Negro former employees, their brethren connected with the committee could only shake their heads and repeat that the whole sorry mess was the result of the merchants' having tolerated months ago the dictation of striking

604. Emerson David Fite, *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North during the Civil War* (New York, 1910), pp. 189, 190; Spero and Harris, op. cit., pp. 197, 198.

605. *Daily News*, July 15, 1863; *Weekly Caucasian*, July 18, 1863; Stoddard, op. cit., p. 158.

606. *Herald*, July 17, 1863.

607. *Daily News*, July 17, 1863; New York Committee of Merchants for the Relief of Colored People Suffering from the Late Riots, 1863, Report (New York, 1863), pp. 20, 21; David M. Barnes, *The Draft Riots in New York* (New York, 1863), p. 24; Stoddard, op. cit., p. 239.

608. *Times*, July 17, 1863; *Anti-Slavery Standard*, July 25, 1863.

609. *Daily News*, July 17, 1863.

610. *Tribune*, July 17, 1863.

611. Barnes, op. cit., p. 34; Stoddard, op. cit., pp. 80, 81, 91; Alexander, op. cit., 111, 68. Colored servants in private homes were another large class assaulted by rioters. *Herald*, July 17, 1863.



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longshoremen as to whom they should employ and on what terms.⁶¹²

That many, Negroes were not restored to their old jobs is also clear from editorials in the Tribune after the riots. Greeley urged the merchants of New York to welcome Negroes back "to any work they are able and willing to do at a satisfactory price," and, in a thrust at the Irish, urged that colored persons -- "American born and bred" -- be protected in the exercise of this right.⁶¹³ Failure to do so meant capitulation to the demands of the rioters:

*The mob exults in the belief that, if it failed in its other objects, it [had?] at least secured possession of the labor of the city, and has driven the blacks to seek work elsewhere... . It is the duty of merchants and other employers to take pains to recall their workmen immediately, and assure them of permanent protection.*⁶¹⁴

Greeley observed, nevertheless, that reluctance to reemploy Negroes persisted.⁶¹⁵ Of course, the great decrease in the city's colored population by 1865 also indicated a drop in the employment of Negroes.⁶¹⁶

To review the main points of this article, Democratic leaders and newspapers in New York, from the secession crisis to the draft riots, constantly harped upon the note that if the slaves were freed, they would flock north and take away the jobs of Irish laborers. The election campaigns of 1860, 1861, and 1862 and Lincoln's emancipation program were the occasions for their heaviest barrages of propaganda on this score. Republicans and abolitionists were slow to answer their opponents' predictions. When they finally did reply, they argued that elimination of slavery would forestall any danger of an inundation of blacks.

Although information about the actual movement of Negroes during the Civil War is sparse, it appears that some northward migration of contrabands did take place. It was small, to be sure, but enough seemingly to give point to the warnings of anti-administration politicians and journalists and to alarm the New York proletariat, despite surveys proving that the great majority of former slaves had no desire to leave the South.

Rivalry for jobs between Negroes and Irishmen in New York had existed before the Civil War, and employers had occasionally hired black workers to break the strikes of white workers. During the war, with the numerous strikes for higher wages which it brought, the use of Negro strikebreakers by employers became much more frequent, particularly in the longshore field, dominated by the Irish. In the first half of 1863 the

612. Tribune, July 20, 1863. When the danger abated, this concern denied the charge that it had disclaimed having any Negro employees, asserting that it sheltered a number of colored refugees during the disorders. Tribune, July 21, 1863.

613. Tribune, July 20, 1863.

614. Tribune, July 21, 22, 1863; Herald, July 30, 1863; New York Committee of Merchants, op. cit., pp. 4-6. The claim of the committee that within a few weeks the demand for colored servants had increased tenfold must be treated with caution. Herald, p. 27. It is quite possible that new Negro domestics were being sought to replace those who had fled from the city during the riots.

615. Herald, pp. 12, 13.

616. Wesim op. cit., pp. 100, 101

136. Tribune, July 21, 1863.

137. Tribune, July 25, 1863.

138. Tribune, July 20, 1863.

139. Tribune, July 21, 1863.

140. Tribune, July 23, 1863.

141. See footnote 4 supra.



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longshoremen of New York went On strike after strike for increased pay, only to see their places filled by colored men working for less money under police protection. While longshore wages gradually rose, white labor on the waterfront was, obsessed with the fear of competition from Negroes which needed only the commencement of the draft to be transformed into wholesale murder. The violence inflicted upon black workers on the docks and in other occupations by the draft rioters did, in fact, result in a decline for some years to come in the job rivalry which the former had offered. Thus the rioters partially achieved their aims.

ALBON P. MAN, JR.

New York, New York

US CIVIL WAR

December 15, Tuesday: Confederate President [Jefferson Davis](#) was in consultation with [General Robert E. Lee](#) in Richmond, Virginia.

Both in the North and in the South, [conscientious objectors](#) had been facing difficulties. For instance, a southern [Quaker](#), Friend Seth W. Laughlin, after more than a week of beatings, had been told that he was to be executed. As the [firing squad](#) prepared, Friend Seth repeated the words of Jesus: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do," and the soldiers, hearing this, refused to fire (Friend Seth would succumb, however, a few weeks later, from beatings he had already sustained). The military both North and South had been forced to become aware that this sort of activity was a waste of their time and resources, and therefore on this day the Adjutant General signed an order directing that the holdouts who were refusing not only to fight but also to pay the fine –primarily [Quakers](#)– be released on their own parole (refer to Fernando G. Cartland's SOUTHERN HEROES; OR THE FRIENDS IN WAR TIME, Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1895, pages 211-13).

US CIVIL WAR

**NEVER READ AHEAD! TO APPRECIATE DECEMBER 15TH, 1863 AT ALL
ONE MUST APPRECIATE IT AS A TODAY (THE FOLLOWING DAY,
TOMORROW, IS BUT A PORTION OF THE UNREALIZED FUTURE AND IFFY
AT BEST).**



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

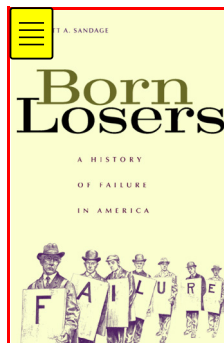
1864

February 5, Friday: In [California](#), George Colmere used a comb tooth to open a vein the night before he was to be [hanged](#).

US Congressman [Thomas Allen Jenckes](#) received a letter from a private citizen who was, shall we say, generally in favor of standardized and liberalized federal bankruptcy legislation:

If the administration could know the feelings of the thousands who are tied in stronger chains than the Black man ever was, they would as a matter of policy (if not of justice) remove the shackles from off us.

Racist comparisons defined failure and rebuked the government for letting white men fall so low.





STATE MURDER

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1865

November 10, Friday: *Wicasa itancan* or “chief” Shakpe II “Little Six” and his band’s *pejuta wicasa* or “traditional healer” “Medicine Bottle,” the current political and spiritual leaders of the Shakpe village –who had been drugged with opium by a US government agent and kidnapped in Canada, and brought into the United States bound and gagged, breathing chloroform vapors, on a dog sled at night, to stand trial before a US military commission, and who had of course been found guilty of something and sentenced to be [hanged](#) by the neck until they were dead Indians in spite of the uncontroverted fact that every piece of evidence that could be offered against them in that court had been a piece of hearsay⁶¹⁷ – had for a period of time been sweeping the walkways at Fort Snelling with chains and cannonballs welded to their ankles⁶¹⁸ to earn their keep while being stared at by local urchins and tourists, during their process of “judicial review” at War Department headquarter in Washington DC. Word finally got back to St. Paul, Minnesota that the sentence had been approved. On November 10th, the day before their sentence was to be executed, a St. Paul Pioneer editorial writer pointed out that

No serious injustice will be done by the execution tomorrow, but it would have been more creditable if some tangible evidence of their guilt had been obtained.... no white man, tried before a jury of his peers, would be executed upon the testimony thus produced. The general supposition that they are guilty, is very likely correct, but their execution will, nevertheless, establish the precedent of hanging without proving... About the only admirable element in the whole course of the cases was the serene and dignified behavior of the chiefs in their last hour.

The superintendent of the notorious Confederate prison at Andersonville, Georgia, Captain Henry Wirz, had been tried by a military commission presided over by General Lew Wallace from August 23rd to October 24th, and convicted of cruelty, and was on this date [hanged](#) in the yard of the Old Capitol Prison.

US CIVIL WAR

617. One would have thought they would have been more careful, after having [hanged](#) at least one man by attaching the wrong number to his nametag in 1863, and after having [hanged](#) one innocent boy merely because he had been in the care of his father. But no.

618. An actual ball and chain is not at all as represented in cartoons. When you visit Fort [hanged](#) Historical Landmark, ask the “blacksmith” to let you try on a ball and chain. Shakpe II and Medicine Bottle, in being [hanged](#) with hempen ropes, were “given hemp medicine” an old history book has said, evidently relying on old common knowledge that an infusion of hemp (marijuana) would induce sufferers to forget their cares. (Incidentally, to forget your cares, it will help if you visit the “Little Six Bingo Palace” at 2350 Sioux Trail in Prior Lake MN, telephone 445-9000.)

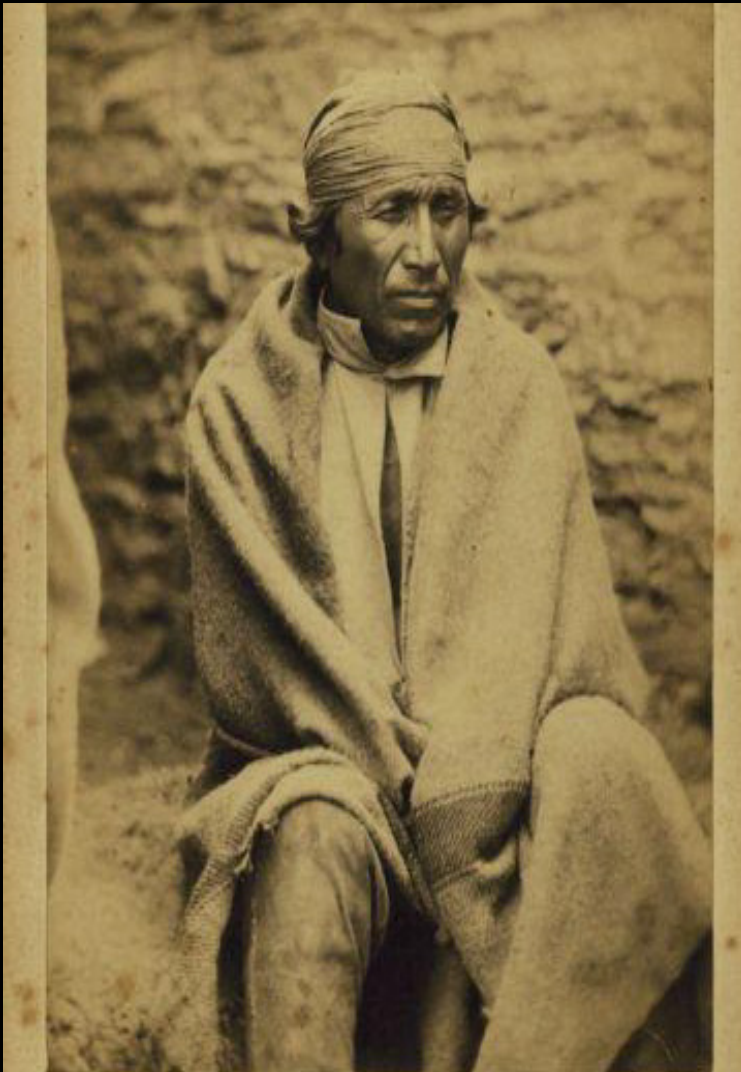
STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

November 11, Saturday: The two current political and spiritual leaders of the Shakpe village, *Wicasa itancan* or “chief” Shakpe II “Little Six” and his band’s *pejuta wicasa* or “traditional healer” “Medicine Bottle,” were **hanged** on a scaffold on the knob in front of Fort Snelling in sight of Pike Island and Pilot Knob: the good little Indians could see what happened to inconvenient little Indians and be wary. Being executed, the men could see the city of St. Paul in the distance. While a soldier was putting the bag over Chief Shakpe II’s head, a locomotive sounded its whistle and he commented



As the white man comes in the Indian goes out.



Wicasa Itancan Shakpe II “Little Six”

Pejuta Wicasa “Medicine Bottle”

This from the “Memories of Fort Snelling in Civil War Days” of Mary J. Newson, daughter of the fort’s



STATE MURDER

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surgeon:



In our play about the parade ground we often watched with frightened delight the two captive Indians, leaders in the Sioux War, each dragging a cannon ball chained to his left leg, while under guard he swept the walks.... The gallows were erected outside the fort on a little knoll, commanding a view of the hills across the Minnesota River and Pilot Knob, now the Acacia Cemetery. All the children of the garrison, save only ourselves, were allowed to be present at the hanging. However, I recall most distinctly that from some vantage point I saw in the distance the crowds, the scaffold, and the swinging bodies.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1866

Execution of women had somehow fallen out of favor in England. However, in this year 45-year-old Mary Ann Ashford would be [hanged](#) in Exeter for having murdered her husband.

Formation, in England, of the Howard Association, a group led (of course) by Quakers in opposition to the death penalty for forgery. A thousand signatures from British bankers would persuade the Parliament.

José Martí wrote: “The US has never looked upon [Cuba](#) as anything but an appetizing possession with no drawback other than its quarrelsome, weak and unworthy population.” He warned Cubans that “to change masters is not to be free.”



It is clear, at least in retrospect, that Martí could have offered some useful stand-down counsel to [John Rollin Ridge](#) “*Chee-squa-ta-law-ny*” — for during this year Yellow Bird visited Washington DC with a delegation of [Cherokee](#) and unsuccessfully petitioned for statehood in the United States of America for the region allotted to them as their reservation.

Carleton Watkins photographed “Mirror Lake, Yosemite.”

In [San Francisco, California](#), Sheriff Henry Davis decided to improve the protocol for [hanging](#). He erected a makeshift gallows inside the county jail-house by dropping the rope from a cross-beam attached to rooftop windows and installing a hinged platform in a walkway in front of the 2d-floor cells. His invited spectators could stand along this walkway and witness the executed man disappear through the floor, or they could stand in the center aisle of the ground floor, in which case they could see the body as it came to its halt — as they preferred.



January 22, Monday: In [San Francisco, California](#), Barney Howell was [hanged](#) for having shot a farmer, James Irwin, on January 13th, 1865 (Irwin had owed Howell \$40).

April 28, Saturday: In [San Francisco, California](#), Antonio Sassovich was [hanged](#) for having stabbed Edward Walter on June 3d, 1865 (Sassovich had felt Walter had laughed at and insulted him).



STATE MURDER

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July 6, Friday: Edward Geoffrey Stanley, Earl of Derby replaced John Russell, Earl Russell as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

In [San Francisco, California](#), Chung Wang (AKA Chu Wong) made himself the 1st person of [Chinese](#) descent to be [hanged](#) there for murder (he stabbed his mistress when she abandoned him for another man).

September 3, Monday: The Prussian Parliament, quite unconstitutionally, granted Chancellor Bismarck an indemnity to collect taxes. This marked the effective end of Prussian liberalism.

The Grand Duchy of Hesse transferred Mainz, Worms, and Hesse-Homburg to Prussia.

In [San Francisco, California](#), Thomas Byrnes was [hanged](#) for having murdered Charles P. Hill in the course of a robbery during February 1865.

The 28th anniversary of [Frederick Douglass](#)'s freedom, which we may well elect to celebrate **in lieu of an unknown slave birthday**.



Here is a Daguerreotype, by an unidentified photographer in the 1850-1855 timeframe.



"It has been a source of great annoyance to me, never to have a birthday."



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1867

Execution of women had somehow fallen out of favor in England. However, in this year 29-year-old Ann Lawrence would be [hanged](#) in Maidstone for the murder of a child.

During this year and the following one, Charles Dickens would be on a 2d reading tour of the United States. In his later years his personality seemed to have changed remarkably, perhaps due to his being sadly disappointed in the conduct of his children. Coming through Boston, the wife of his American publisher, [James Thomas Fields](#), commented that for a sad man he seemed remarkably happy. He somewhat distressed his local tour guides when there was only one thing that interested him this 2nd time, about the Boston area:

I want to see where Dr. Parkman was killed.

Cleveland Amory would explain the incident in this way in 1957 in his *THE PROPER BOSTONIANS* (NY: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., page 226):

Tremors of the Parkman earthquake continued to be felt by Boston Society often at times when they were least desired. Twenty years later, when Boston was privileged to play proud host to Charles Dickens, there was a particularly intense tremor. Dickens was asked which one of the city's historic landmarks he would like to visit first. "The room where Dr. Parkman was murdered," he replied, and there being no doubt he meant what he said, nothing remained for a wry-faced group of Boston's best but to shepherd the distinguished novelist out to the chemistry laboratory of the Harvard Medical School.

(Don't go looking for this two-story brick building set on piers at the waterfront near Massachusetts General Hospital associated with the [Professor John White Webster/Doctor George Parkman](#) case. [Harvard Medical College](#) there was long ago relocated, and the old edifice demolished.)



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1868

April 2, Thursday: Since the turn of the century in the British Isles (including Southern Ireland and the Isle of Man), a total of 205 women and girls had been taken to places of public execution and there [hanged](#) by their necks until they were dead. Francis Kidder, who had drowned a friend's daughter, became the 206th and final British woman to suffer this fate when she was hanged on this day by William Calcraft on the gallows set up outside the prison gates at Maidstone. Like many other of this executioner's clients, she "died hard."

(Now, you might suppose, from an incautious reading of the above paragraph, that no more women and girls would be executed in Britain, that Francis Kidder who had drowned a friend's daughter was the last one to be hanged. No, that's not what the paragraph says. The paragraph clearly indicates "taken to places of public execution." In fact such executions would continue, but would take place inside the prisons, which is to say, no longer "in public." A further 23 women would be hanged during the 19th Century, and a further 17 would be hanged during the 20th Century, up until 1955 when Ruth Ellis would be the 18th and final woman to suffer the death penalty during the 20th Century in Britain — cumulatively in total, the 247th since January 1800.)

(Why am I listing women and not men? The answer is that women represent well under 5% of the total: if I included all the men and boys, such a list would simply become unmanageable. In the whole of the British Isles, which until 1923 included Ireland, the total list of such events occurring between January 1800 and 1965, the year of the final hanging, would need to include at least 5,508 personal names and crimes and dates of execution and places of execution.)

FINAL EXECUTIONS		
August 7, 1862	John Doidge	hanged in the final public execution in Cornwall
April 2, 1868	Francis Kidder	last woman to be hanged at a place of public execution (as opposed to inside a prison) in England
May 26, 1868	Michael Barrett	Fenian hanged outside London's Newgate Prison — the final public execution in Britain



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

May 26, Thursday: Naturalization Treaty between the United States of America and Bavaria.

READ THE FULL TEXT

President Andrew Johnson had been impeached. The US House of Representatives had voted for conviction. On this date the US Senate, having previously acquitted the President in regard to another section of the bill against him by one vote, again acquitted the President on the 2d and 3d Articles of Impeachment by one vote. The trial was over.

While a crowd of 2,000 sang “Rule, Britannia,” the [Fenian](#) Michael Barrett was [hanged](#) outside Newgate Prison in London for having bombed Clerkenwell Prison during the previous December. It was a grand send-off indeed, and would turn out to be the final public execution in Britain.

FINAL EXECUTIONS		
April 2, 1868	Francis Kidder	last woman to be hanged at a place of public execution (as opposed to inside a prison) in England
May 26, 1868	Michael Barrett	Fenian hanged outside London’s Newgate Prison — the final public execution in Britain
February 14, 1890	Wong Ah Hing (AKA Ah Tee)	last hanging in San Francisco, California (subsequently, hangings would be at San Quentin, a new state prison across the bay)



STATE MURDER

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1869

April: Settling in [Basel](#), Friedrich Nietzsche became a [Swiss](#) citizen.

In [California](#), Ah Kow, condemned to be hanged, [hanged](#) himself in his cell.



STATE MURDER

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1870

Leon Berger, an assistant beheader and a carpenter, would over the next couple of years improve and develop a new head-chopping apparatus. Among his improvements would be a spring system, to stop the mouton at the bottom of the grooves, and a lock or blocking device placed at the lunette. He would also pioneer a new release mechanism for the blade. All subsequent apparatuses would be per his redesign.⁶¹⁹

HEADCHOPPING

619. Never trust anything that has moving parts.



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1871

When the posts of the regional head-choppers were abolished, Jean-François Heindrecht became the 1st beheader for all of France. One of his assistants was Louis Deibler.

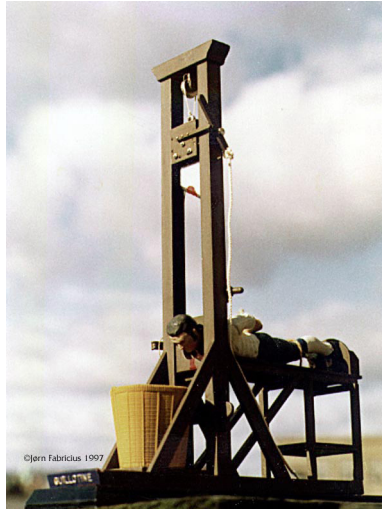
HEADCHOPPING

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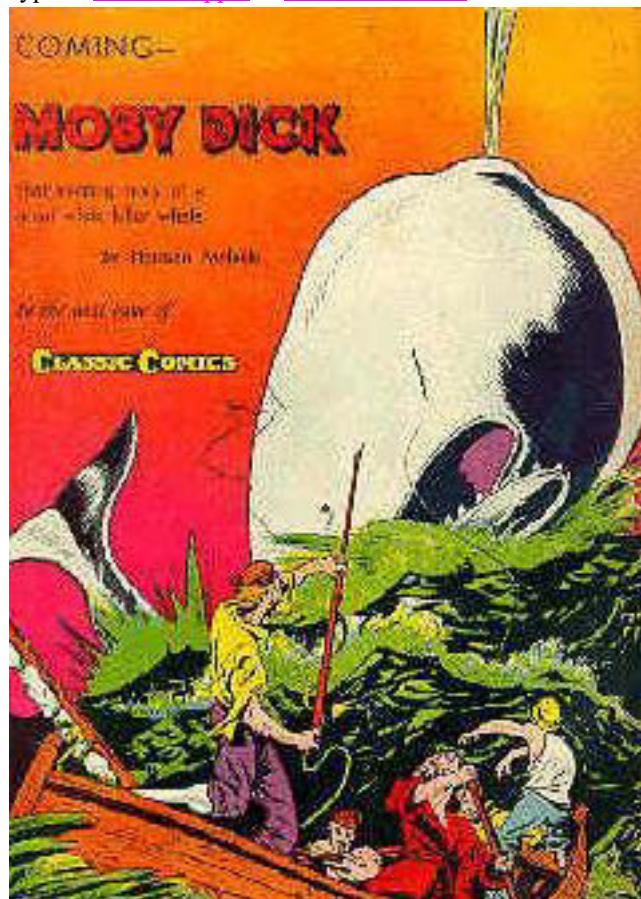
April 6, Thursday: Friedrich, Baron Lindelhof became prime minister of Hesse.

In Paris, National Guard units rolled out the guillotine apparatus and burned it, as onlookers cheered.



HEADCHOPPING

Death of [Edward Thompson Taylor](#), the famous chaplain of the Methodist Seamen's Bethel on the [Boston](#) waterfront and prototype of [Father Mapple](#) in [Herman Melville's](#) MOBY-DICK.



The body would be placed beside the body of “Mother Taylor,” his wife [Deborah D. Millett Taylor](#) and the

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mother of his children, at Mount Hope Cemetery in Mattapan, Massachusetts.

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1872

Nicolas Roch, grandson of Antoine Roch, had become at this point the beheader at Paris itself. Over the years of his career, he would have five assistants, among them Leon Berger, Henri Ganier, and Jules-Henri Desfourneaux.

[HEADCHOPPING](#)

In this year or the previous year, “The Apotheosis of War,” by Vassili Vereshchagin (1842-1904), a painting which now hangs in the Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow:



Since this painting has on occasion been used to illustrate the Armenian Genocide of the 1920s in Turkey, it should be recorded here that the painting was prior, and imaginative, and that there is no such connection.

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STATE MURDER

[Rhode Island](#) attorney [Thomas Allen Jenckes](#) helped prosecute the railroad profiteers and the congressmen on-the-take of the “Crédit Mobilier” scandal.



There had been no death penalty in [Rhode Island](#) for three decades. At this point the General Assembly decided to re-enact the penalty of death by [hanging](#), in the case of murder committed while under sentence of life imprisonment.

STATE MURDER

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STATE MURDER

1873

Kintpuash “Captain Jack” led his *Modoc* band away from the [California](#) reservation of another tribe, to which they had been assigned, killed General Edward Canby and two US commissioners, and attempted to hole up in the California Lava Beds. *Kintpuash* and five other men were surrounded and besieged in the lava beds by the US army, and when they surrendered, a courts martial condemned them to be [hanged](#). America, of course, was burning for revenge, and the white people in general were unwilling to pay regard to the laundry list of injustices the Modoc had accumulated prior to the massacre.

Only a week after the massacre, the Philadelphia Radical Club, a human-rights organization led by [Friend] [Lucretia Mott](#), charged that the weakness of [President [Ulysses S. Grant](#)’s] peace policy “was a natural result of the war system.” A general of the Army, Canby, with the army at his back was not a suitable representative of the peace policy. In a remonstrance to the President, the club charged that [General] Sherman’s telegram expressing his hope that the Modocs “have met the doom they so richly have earned” was revengeful and unjust in its tone.⁶²⁰

Friend Lucretia had what she termed “a very satisfactory interview” with the man capable of executive clemency. He had pledged “Madam, they will not all be executed.” Ultimately he commuted the sentences of two of the six, and only Captain Jack and three others at Fort Klamath were hanged on October 3, 1873. The other 153 tribespeople ended up at the Quapaw Agency in Indian Territory (Oklahoma), where “under the supervision of the [Quakers](#) they were to be civilized and Christianized.” One Oregon newspaper declared the peace policy “a wretched farce, that was conceived in sin and iniquity by a few Indian sympathizers,” while another hoped the country would “hold these hypocritical Indian worshippers to a strict accountability.”

Body parts from the corpse of *Kintpuash* would be put on display in an Army museum in San Francisco.

THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS



May 14, Wednesday: In [San Francisco, California](#), John “[Shanghai Chicken](#)” Devine was [hanged](#) inside the Broadway jail for shooting August Kamp during a robbery (see lengthy story about Chicken Devine in *Shanghaiing Days*, by Richard Dillon, 1961).

July 25, Friday: In [San Francisco, California](#), Charles Russell was [hanged](#) for the murder of James Crotty (Russell had shot Crotty in the head and his explanation was that he was drunk at the time).



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1874

On numerous occasions in [California](#) a [hanging](#) had been botched, with the murderer's head being yanked off by the rope. In this year such an occasion happened again, in Contra Costa County, this time to Marshall Martin.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1876

Another edition of [TWO YEARS BEFORE THE MAST](#) was put out, with further changes. [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) was serving as delegate-at-large to the [Republican](#) National Convention in Cincinnati, and thus playing his own minor role in the infamous “[Hayes-Tilden](#)” compromise whereby Ohio Republican [Rutherford B. Hayes](#) got to be President of the United States of America basically by promising to withdraw federal troops from the South in exchange for southern Democratic political support, thereby abandoning to a condition of “Jim Crow” apartheid the black Americans who had been freed as a result of the civil war.

(Note that at this point –since the federal legislature had not as yet enacted any legislative definition for the terms of art “slave,” “slavery,” and “enslavement,” and since subsequent to this it would not ever be politically possible to enact such a legislative definition– the XIIIth Amendment to the US Constitution, which had authorized the federal congress to regulate or prohibit this undefined “slavery,” was rendered essentially nugatory. There is simply no force whatever to a law which purports to prohibit something, when that “whatever it is” has been provided with no legal definition. If someone were to come before a federal court saying “You must protect me, I have been ‘enslaved’,” the court would be forced to respond “We are prepared to grant that it would be a crime to ‘enslave’ you, but there is simply no way for you to prove to us that you have been ‘enslaved’ because we have been provided with no legislative act or Common Law case precedent which would instruct us as to the meaning of this term ‘enslaved’ — and thus there is no way on earth by which we might be able to determine whether you have or have not in fact been subjected to a crime of having been ‘enslaved’.” This explains why it is that no American citizen has ever been arraigned or convicted or punished for the crime of having enslaved someone.)



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1877

May 4, Friday: Chin Mook Sow was [hanged](#) for the stabbing murder of Ye Ah Chin, occasioned by a dispute over money. Sheriff of [San Francisco, California](#) Matthew Nunan oversaw Sow's execution inside the Broadway Street county jail. On the following day the [San Francisco Examiner](#) would report that "There gathered on Broadway, in front of the jail, nearly a thousand men and boys, and, we are sorry to say, women and young girls, drawn thither by this morbid appetite, although every one of them must have known that it would be impossible to satisfy it by the sight of the execution. This large crowd stood there in the street and upon the sidewalks, as near to the steps leading to the jail entrance as the lines of policemen, drawn up to make a clear passage-way for all who had permits, would permit them to come, and they held the place from two or three hours before the execution until it was all over. They could do no more than look up at the walls of the prison, or watch the going and coming out of those who were permitted to do either. They could see nothing whatever of the scenes inside, nor hear anything, except that which those who at last passed out told them. Yet there the multitude remained eagerly watching for any sign that might afford them information of the progress inside the jail toward the awful end, and meanwhile they indulged in rough jokes and unfeeling remarks. Many tarried until the coffined corpse of Chin Mook Sow was brought out and the wagon in which it was placed had been driven away. And even then the place seemed to have an overpowering fascination for them, as they slowly walked away and would stop and turn and look back upon the prison.... Between two hundred and three hundred persons, all told, were admitted on the occasion."

December 17, Monday: Jules-Henri Desfourneaux was born at Bar-Le-Duc.

[HEADCHOPPING](#)

STATE MURDER

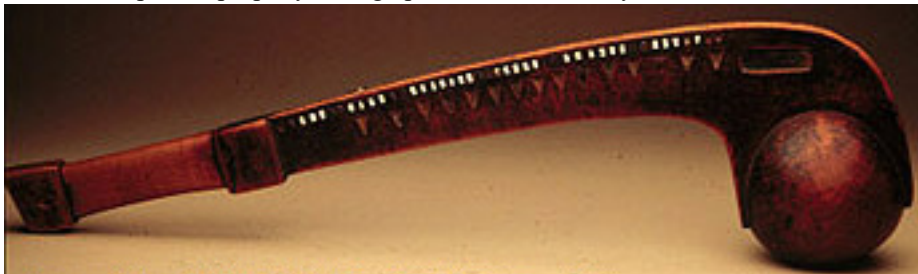
STATE MURDER

1878

Nicolas Roch installed a wooden shield that would mask the blade of the [guillotine](#) from the sight of an approaching victim (this novelty would in the next year be removed, when Roch died and was replaced by Louis Deibler).

HEADCHOPPING

Mrs. James wrote to the Historical Society of Connecticut, asking that they return to her possession the three trophy items that allegedly had been seized by Alderman at the site of his killing of [Metacom](#), that allegedly had come to be her private property through purchase followed by a chain of inheritance.





STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1879

[Walt Whitman](#) reported on Western jurisprudence:

“Specimen Days”

ON TO DENVER — A FRONTIER INCIDENT

The jaunt of five or six hundred miles from Topeka to Denver took me through a variety of country, but all unmistakably prolific, western, American, and on the largest scale. For a long distance we follow the line of the Kansas river, (I like better the old name, Kaw,) a stretch of very rich, dark soil, famed for its wheat, and call'd the Golden Belt — then plains and plains, hour after hour — Ellsworth county, the centre of the State — where I must stop a moment to tell a characteristic story of early days — scene the very spot where I am passing — time 1868. In a scrimmage at some public gathering in the town, A. had shot B. quite badly, but had not kill'd him. The sober men of Ellsworth conferr'd with one another and decided that A. deserv'd punishment. As they wished to set a good example and establish their reputation the reverse of a Lynching town, they open an informal court and bring both [Page 855] men before them for deliberate trial. Soon as this trial begins the wounded man is led forward to give his testimony. Seeing his enemy in durance and unarm'd, B. walks suddenly up in a fury and shoots A. through the head — shoots him dead. The court is instantly adjourn'd, and its unanimous members, without a word of debate, walk the murderer B. out, wounded as he is, and [hang](#) him.

In due time we reach Denver, which city I fall in love with from the first, and have that feeling confirm'd, the longer I stay there. One of my pleasantest days was a jaunt, via Platte cañon, to Leadville.

Nicolas Roch, the beheader at Paris, died and was replaced by Louis Deibler, who tore off the wooden shield which Roch had installed to mask the blade of the [guillotine](#) from the sight of an approaching victim. During this year an attempt was made to elicit a reaction from the freshly severed head of the murderer Prunier, but the results were negative.

[HEADCHOPPING](#)



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1880

When, three hours after the decapitation of the rapist and murderer Menesclou, a doctor pumped blood from a living dog into the severed veins of the neck, the lips were observed to tremble, and the eyelids to twitch. Although the head seemed to onlookers to be about to speak, the lips formed no words.

HEADCHOPPING



STATE MURDER

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1883

March 2, Friday: In [California](#), Sing Lum, condemned to hang, asked the deputy assigned to watch over him to fetch them both some tea, and while the deputy was absent [hanged](#) himself in his cell.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1884

January 23, Wednesday: [Edmond François Valentin About](#) was elected to the *Académie française* (he would die prior to the award ceremony).

Up to 2 o'clock on the afternoon the Sheriff's office in [San Francisco, California](#) was being besieged with applicants for invitations to the latest [hanging](#) at the jailhouse, that of George Wheeler, who had been found guilty of the murder of his sister-in-law, Delia Tillson, who had been attempting to break off her affair with Wheeler. The Examiner reported that "So great was the demand that Sheriff Patrick Connolly was obliged to seek shelter in the County Jail, while Undersheriff Cummings had to hide himself in the old City Hall to escape the mob so morbidly eager to see a human being meet a sudden and horrible death. In all there were some 2,000 applications, but only 350 cards were issued. Of this number 52 were sent to the Sheriffs of the different counties, of whom some eight or ten will probably be present. The other cards were distributed among the city officials and newspaper offices. The jail will not comfortably hold more than 250 spectators, and it is not likely that more than this number will attend."

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January 24, Thursday: At the execution of George Wheeler in the [San Francisco, California](#) jailhouse, according to the [Examiner](#), when the condemned prisoner was handed a small glass of whiskey he turned to Sheriff Connolly and “thanked him for the favors he had received at his hand, and said he would like to express his thanks from the [gallows](#). The Sheriff replied: ‘If you wish to do me a favor George, say as little as possible and die like a man. Do not give us any trouble.’ ‘I promise you that,’ was the reply, shaking him by the hand.”

[Frederick Douglass](#) remarried, with Helen Pitts of Rochester, New York, his Irish American secretary,



20 years younger than Otilie Assing. The bride’s father, an abolitionist, would disown her. Douglass would

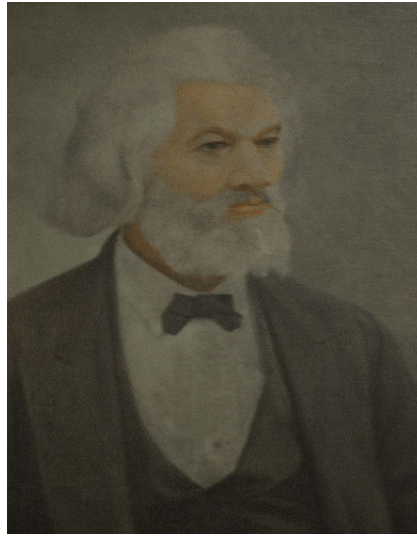




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remark upon some occasion that his 1st wife had been the color of his mother, his 2d the color of his father.



September 12, Friday: Frank Hutchings was [hanged](#) in the [San Francisco, California](#) jailhouse for the murder by strangulation of Jeanette Simms, who had been trying to leave him for another man. According to the [San Francisco Examiner](#) on the following day, “The possessors of ... black-bordered sheets of notepaper [permits issued by Sheriff Patrick Connolly] had been clamoring for admission for an hour. The Sheriff had issued invitations to 400 persons, all the jail would hold, and there were at least 4,000 more hunting him high and low all over the town during the past two days seeking passes. So great was the clamor that the official has been obliged to keep himself locked up in jail for about forty-eight hours. The telephone in the Captain’s room was kept tinkling all morning by people who had discovered that they had been forgotten. Seven messenger boys at one time stood on the front steps with notes to the Sheriff requesting permits. The office on Kearny Street was crowded with applicants waiting for the Sheriff to come down from breakfast. He was compelled to go to a strange barbershop to get shaved, and was almost worried into a bad temper when a man with a pass attempted to ring in a couple of friends through the door. An old man who had successfully evaded the vigilant eyes of Captain Douglass and his squad of police, who were keeping clear the sidewalk, tried to shove himself through the door, but Chief Kirkpatrick stopped him. ‘Won’t you please let me in?’ he pleaded. ‘Can’t do it,’ said the Chief. ‘I’ll give you a dollar if you do,’ beseeched the individual. The bribe had no effect, and the old fellow was soon back in the crowd gazing pathetically at the walls.”



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1885

January 16, Friday: [Edmond François Valentin About](#) died.

During his 2d week in office, Sheriff Peter Hopkins [hanged](#) Wright Leroy inside the county jail of [San Francisco, California](#) for the strangling of Nicholas Skerrett (after strangling Skerrett, Leroy had made an attempt to transfer all of Skerrett's considerable assets to himself).

March 20, Friday: An African American, Stephen Jones, was [hanged](#) inside the Broadway county jail in [San Francisco, California](#) for the murder of a former lover, Agnes Riley (after shooting her several times, Jones had attempted to off himself but hadn't been able to get himself to pull the trigger).

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1886

May 3, Monday: At the McCormick Harvesting Machine Company factory in [Chicago](#), 176 policemen attempted to intervene in a fight between employees who were striking for an 8-hour workday and “scab” strikebreakers, and two of the crowd of 200 employees were killed.

Attention Workingmen!

MASS MEETING

TO-NIGHT, at 7.30 o'clock,

HAYMARKET, Randolph St, Bet. Desplaines and Halsted.

Good Speakers will be present to denounce the latest
atrocious act of the police, the shooting of our
fellow-workmen yesterday afternoon.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Achtung Arbeiter!

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May 4, Tuesday: Queen Victoria officially opened the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in Royal Albert Hall, [London](#). Ode for the Opening of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition by Arthur Sullivan to words of Tennyson was performed for the initial time.

Chichester Bell and Charles Sumner Tainter received 3 patents to cover improvements on their graphophone (this would be the first practical phonograph).

During a protest rally at [Haymarket Square](#) in [Chicago](#), about the police killings of the previous day, someone lobbed a bomb and the police opened fire. Many people were injured and there were at least 10 killed, including policemen. Eight of the activists would be singled out for prosecution and convicted of inciting to riot through “inflammatory speeches and publications.” One of the accused men would comment sarcastically to the trial judge that they ought to hang his wife and children with him — since in attending the Haymarket speeches these innocents had been doing exactly as much as he had. Four of these thought-criminals would be hanged, and another would commit suicide while awaiting hanging.



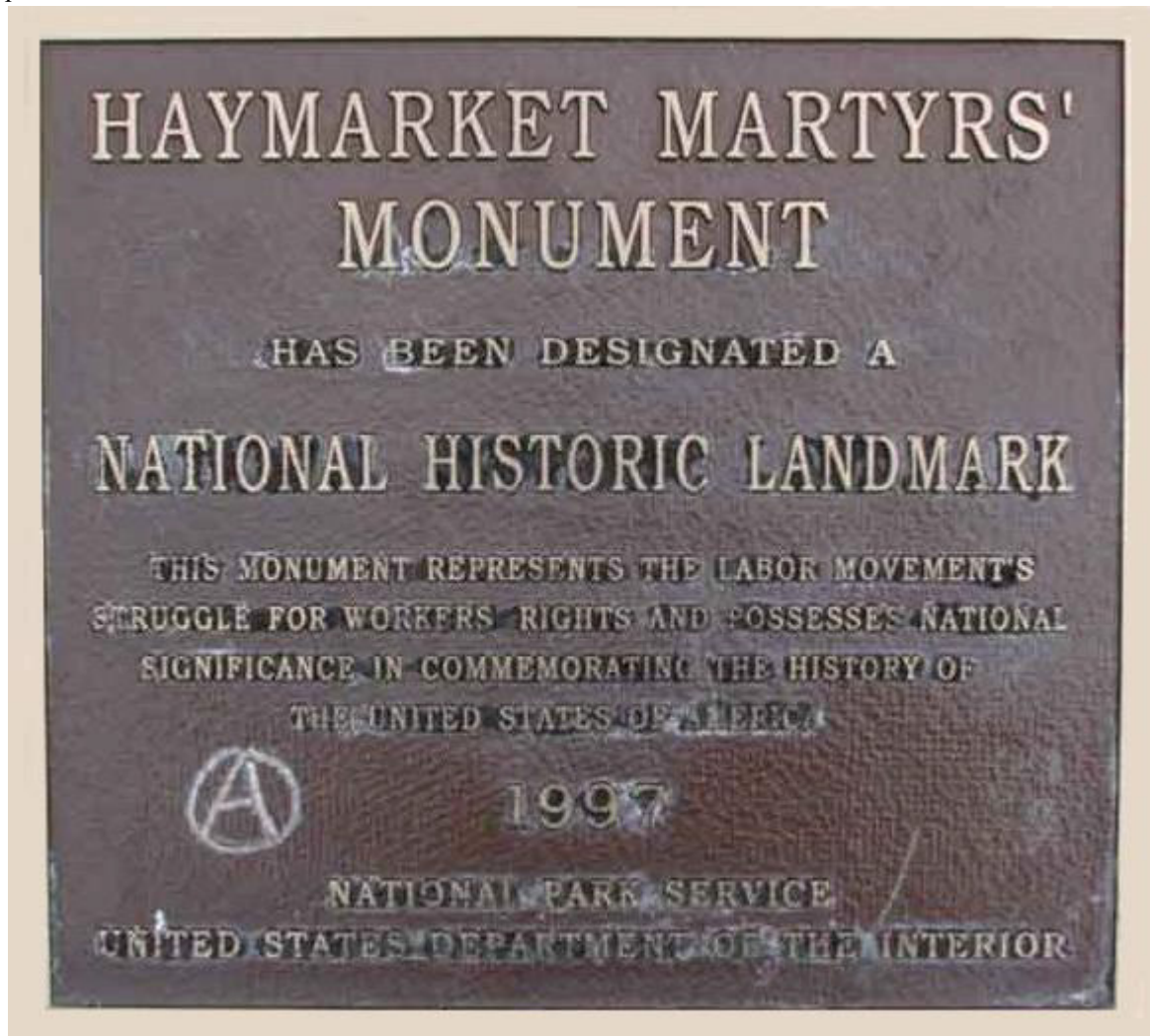
[Lysander Spooner](#) would write about these martyred workers in Boston’s anarchist magazine [Liberty](#).

After passions had cooled and it had come to be recognized that no link had been established between them and the unknown person who had thrown the bomb, the three still surviving eventually would receive full

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pardons!



When the four men would be [hanged](#), they would be hanged inside all-enveloping white shrouds with hoods, and short ropes would be used so that when they fell their necks would not snap. They were intended to hang there jerking, swinging from side to side and dying slowly by strangulation.

Those who know something about this sort of thing (I do, since I was trapped inside the Khomeini Revolution in Iran in 1977-1979) know that there is always the possibility of reverse responsibility, or what is known as a “false flag” maneuver. That is to say, just as it turned out to be SAVAK, the Shahanshah’s secret police, who were responsible for the Rex Theater tragedy in Abadan in which so many innocent families were burned to death rather than the fundamentalist revolutionaries who were the prime suspects at the time, so also, in the case of the Haymarket incident, it is at least theoretically possible that it was a policeman who threw the dynamite that set off the incident, in an attempt to make the Chicago anarchists more culpable and therefore more vulnerable to police action. That possibility should at least have been the cause to some investigation, and most definitely it was not.



Since we have suicide bombers today and most of them seem to be Muslim, there is a detail of these 19th-Century circumstances to which we now should be paying careful attention. It is that in this American labor situation is the origin of the idea of the suicide bomber despite the fact that there were zero Muslims on the scene. Nitroglycerin had been around since the 1840s, and [Alfred Nobel](#) had figured out a way to make the substance stable enough to be carried and handled by mixing it with an inert filler material. It was being



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speculated that if every worker had a few pounds of dynamite in his pocket, every worker would be being treated with respect: dynamite as the great equalizer. In this year, therefore, the wife of Albert Parsons, an [anarchist](#), suggested that since there were always unfortunates who were contemplating drowning themselves, there was a better course that might be made available to them: they be rendered useful to society, and make their deaths meaningful, by becoming suicide bombers. By their death as a sacrifice they could make themselves a force of protest on behalf of justice in an otherwise out-of-all-control labor situation. Perhaps, if enough workers could be persuaded to make themselves suicide bombers, killing themselves in conjunction with the police and capitalists who were oppressing them, she speculated, it would be possible to get the average workweek down from 60 hours to, say, 48 — so that laborers could have some time to feel the sunshine and smell the flowers:

We want to feel the sunshine
We want to smell the flowers;
We're sure God has willed it,
And we mean to have eight hours.

November 19, Friday: Fong Ah Sing was [hanged](#) inside the county jail of [San Francisco, California](#) for having, on October 18th, 1881, shot dead Choy Cum, a [Chinese](#) courtesan (Choy Cum had spilled water on him).



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1887

September 23, Friday: John Kernaghan, the owner of a saloon, was [hanged](#) inside [San Francisco, California](#)'s Broadway Street jailhouse for having beaten to death his sister-in-law Martha Hood, whom he felt had been humiliating him by talking about his financial troubles and general incompetence, with a hammer.

September 30, Friday: [Robert Louis Stevenson](#) boarded a train in [New-York](#) to Saranac Lake, [New York](#), where a recently opened open-air treatment center for phthisis, the Trudeau Institute, seemed to offer some prospects of relief.

Sare Bo Lee was [hanged](#) for having on October 3d, 1882 caused the murder of Chu Ah Chuck. The victim had been ambushed by a couple of gunmen in the heart of [Chinatown](#), apparently because he had been cooperating with the police. This was part of the "Tong Wars" that scarred San Francisco's Chinatown from the early 1880s through 1921. Many citizens, including the Chief of Police and the former District Attorney, had unsuccessfully sought clemency for him. Sare Bo Lee had protested his innocence throughout his trial and continued to plead his innocence while he was standing on the trap inside the county jailhouse of [San Francisco, California](#).



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1888

The State of [New York](#) took charge of all [executions](#) within its jurisdiction. It constructed its 1st “electric chair” with no purpose whatever to diminish the pain or indignity of the execution punishment for crime (this device would not be tried out on a human subject until 1890).

COLDBLOODED MURDER

By this point perhaps 15% of the newborn males of the US population were being [circumcised](#). John Harvey Kellogg (the breakfast cereal freak!) offered a “pain and punishment are what is to be desired” attitude in a treatise on treatment for self-abuse and its effects:

A remedy [for [masturbation](#)] which is almost always successful in small boys is [circumcision](#). The operation should be performed by a surgeon without administering an anesthetic, as the pain attending the operation will have a salutary effect upon the mind, especially if it be connected with the idea of punishment.

September 14, Friday: In the [San Francisco, California](#) jailhouse, Alexander Goldenson was [hanged](#) for having gunned down 14-year-old Mary Kelly on November 10th, 1886. There had been, during the trial, an attempt to lynch Goldenson, and then he had attempted to take his own life with poison in jail. Goldenson had been 18 years of age at the time of this murder. He had had a crush on this 14-year-old and she had rebuffed him. As he stood on the gallows trap he held a photo of Mary Kelly and an American flag. The [Examiner](#) would report on the following day that “Sheriff McMann erred on the side of generosity in the manner of distributing passes to the execution. There was also some lack of discrimination in the selection of the recipients. As a consequence the capacity of the jail was overtaxed, many with tickets were unable to get in, and the crowd was one of the noisiest and most turbulent that ever thronged Broadway in front of the old jail. The experiment of holding the Sheriff’s guests back until an hour before the execution also proved unfortunate, for there proved so many of them that the experienced ones promptly recognized the fact that the jail’s capacity was not equal to containing all, and began to make a fight for a position to command the jail steps when the ticket-takers put in an appearance. Their movement started the remainder of the crowd, and by 11 o’clock there was a brawling, sweating, swearing, yelling, laughing mob of 1,500 men, fighting shoulder to shoulder, every man against his neighbor, to advance toward a common goal – a commanding view of the death of a murderer.”

December 28, Friday: In [San Francisco, California](#)’s Broadway county jail, Leong Sing was [hanged](#) for the murder of his uncle Leong Chun at Chun’s restaurant at 830 Washington Street on March 30th, 1877. The uncle had been treasurer of the Leong Si Tong and the murderer had asked for his \$5 membership fee back. When his uncle had refused Sing had shot him 3 times. This hanging would be one of the final official acts of Sheriff William McMann. The following sheriff, Charles Laumeister, had already been elected but had not yet assumed office. Nevertheless, the Sheriff-elect attended the execution along with his new Chief Jailer Michael Smith, and his new Undersheriff Peter Deveney.



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1890

February 14, Friday: Wong Ah Hing (AKA Ah Tee), who had fatally stabbed his uncle Wong Ming See by whom he had felt humiliated, would be the final person [hanged](#) within the municipality of [San Francisco, California](#). Future executions of this city's criminals would take place in a state prison across the bay, San Quentin.

FINAL EXECUTIONS		
May 26, 1868	Michael Barrett	Fenian hanged outside London's Newgate Prison — the final public execution in Britain
February 14, 1890	Wong Ah Hing (AKA Ah Tee)	last hanging in San Francisco, California (subsequently, hangings would be at San Quentin, a new state prison across the bay)
February 2, 1905	Louis Crowie and Richard Crowie	final hangings on the island of St. Helena

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August 6, Wednesday: [New York](#) introduced the [electric chair](#) for [capital punishment](#). At Auburn State Prison at 6:00AM on this day it was used for the 1st time, to officiously murder one William Kemmler of Buffalo, who had whacked his common-law wife with a hatchet. It was hoped that electrocution by alternating current would be somewhat more humane than hanging, although Kemmler's lawyers appealed, terming such a manner of death to be both cruel and unusual. George Westinghouse, Jr., a backers of AC current, supported the convict's appeal, while Thomas Edison, a backer of the rival direct current, plumped for the use of Westinghouse's AC in the execution (we presume that Edison's intent was to demonstrate that our nation should standardize on the safer DC — and thus make him an even richer inventor).

After Westinghouse's AC had been fed to him for 17 seconds, the badly burned Kemmler was noticeably still alive — but the supply had been depleted. After allowing the generator to charge up again, an attempt was made to stop the man's moaning, this time with the voltage increased to 2,000 volts. After the AC had been on for more than a minute, smoke was rising from Kemmler's head and the stench of burning flesh made it obvious that the convict had indeed passed on.



Elsewhere in the state of [New York](#) on this day, "Cy" Young was pitching his 1st major-league [baseball](#) game.

SPORTS



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1891

Ida B. Wells started her lifelong anti-[lynching](#) campaign by establishing her own newspaper, the Memphis Free Speech, to draw attention to the brutal lynch-mob murders of African-Americans.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE



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1893

February 1, Sunday: The newspapers were announcing that Martin Kellogg, who has been acting as president of the University of California, had just been formally elected by the regents to that position. Regent Bartlett had made the nominating speech and this had been seconded by Regent Martin. Several regents then offered strong and warm speeches in opposition, feeling a need for an infusion of new and young blood so that the university might achieve proper standing. Their last of the votes taken added up to 8 over 5.

[José Martí](#) offered [Antonio Maceo](#) a leading place in the new [Cuban](#) revolutionary movement (Maceo would not immediately respond).

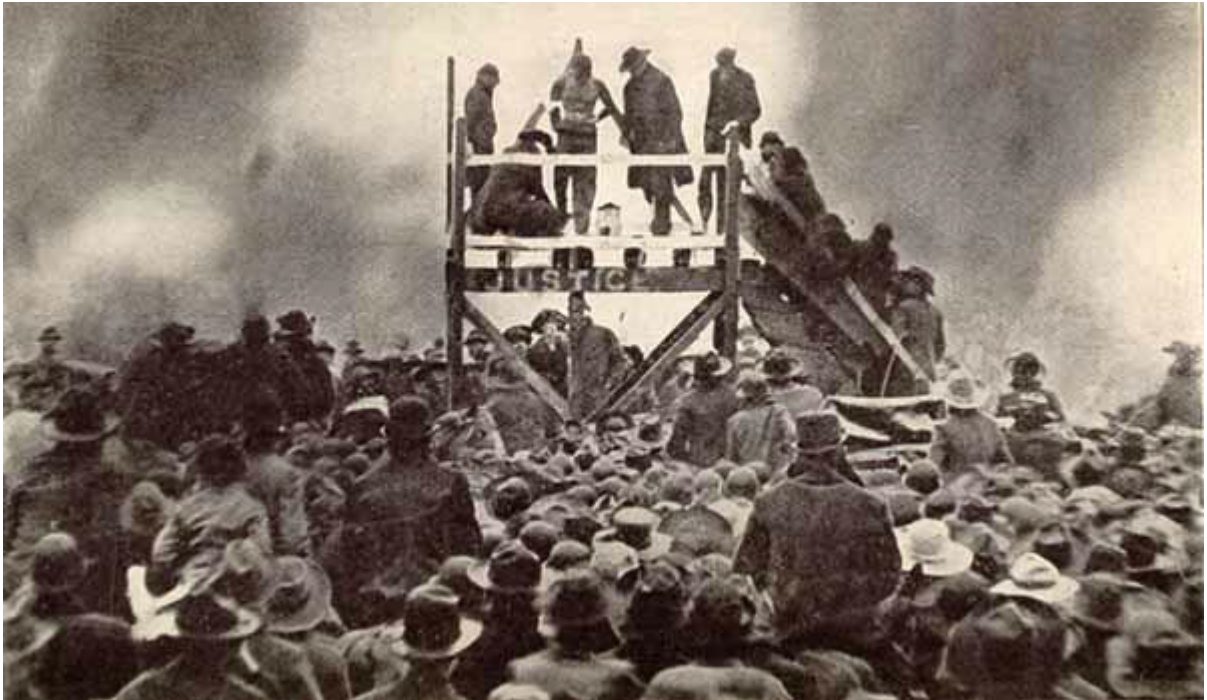


[Henry Smith](#), an American of color, had at some earlier point been arrested for drunkenness in Paris, [Texas](#) ("Pinhook," renamed in honor of then-Governor Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar), and beaten with a nightstick by Henry Vance, a policeman, while in custody. This policeman's 3-year-old daughter Myrtle subsequently disappeared. Although there were no clues, Smith obviously had motivation to seek revenge so the white people of the town naturally had presumed that he probably was responsible, and then when he had learned he was being accused he had fled to near Hope, Arkansas — which more or less confirmed in the minds of the white townspeople that they must indeed have identified the perpetrator. A special [lynching](#) platform was

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prepared, decorated as we can see with the word JUSTICE:



The accused was transported to this venue atop a specially prepared carnival float. Naked and tied to a post, he was [tortured](#) with red-hot irons from bottom upward for 50 minutes by the father of the little girl, several uncles, and her 12-year-old brother, with a crowd of good Christians from all surrounding towns, extending 600 yards in every direction, cheering them on. After the irons had finally been shoved into his eyes and down his throat, kerosene was poured on the body, cottonseed hulls were dumped around him, and he was set afire. Smith succeeded several times in rolling himself out of the flames and was shoved back in. Afterward bones, teeth, and pieces of char would be in demand as souvenirs of the occasion.

Soon there would be offerings of “phonographic entertainment” on city streets across America. For a fee pedestrians could listen while, purportedly, Henry Smith screamed, and pleaded to be put immediately to death — four or five paying customers at a time through multiple sets of earphones connected by air-tubes to a rotating cylinder. However, in this year no adequate electric microphone had as yet been developed and thus recording could only be achieved by use of the same horn from which the sounds were then reproduced. For this cylinder to have been an authentic Edison recording, such a recording horn would have needed to have been positioned up on the platform directly in front of the condemned man, where he could see that he was being recorded for the idle amusement of his torturers, and knowing that he was being thus recorded, it seems most unlikely that he would have cooperated. In addition, there are no photographs that contain any evidence of the presence of such an apparatus, and no 1st-hand descriptions of the lynching ceremony made any reference to such sound-recording activities. It seems, therefore, that this cylinder, labeled “Burning of Smith at Paris, Texas” in the 1899 catalog of the Talking Machine Company of Chicago — no copies of the cylinder still exist — must have been a studio dramatic recreation of memories of the sounds of the torture — pleading and screams performed by professional singers who were accustomed to the needs of the recording device. Of course, the interesting information revealed by this history is that idle passers-by in the city streets of America were willing to pay a coin and stand and listen in public to such dubious and disgusting material. There would seem to have been no sense of shame.

Toward the end of this year, one of the very 1st films would be made and copyrighted — a short one of [Fred Ott](#) sneezing for the moving picture camera. The film would be titled “The Edison Kinetoscopic Record of a Sneeze.” That film was, of course, silent — although it is perfectly possible that a hidden performer produced a suitable sound effect.



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March 3, Friday: Legislation had been passed in 1891 redirecting all [California](#) executions to the State Prison. The 1st such State Prison execution took place in San Quentin prison when Jose Gabriel, a Native American, was [hanged](#) for a murder that had been committed in San Diego county. There would be only a few more hangings in individual [California](#) counties.

April 14, Friday: An American of color, name unknown, was [lynched](#) in Paris, [Texas](#) by being burned at the stake.

COLDBLOODED MURDER

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1894

January: Still majestic in his wrath, [Frederick Douglass](#) delivered “The Lessons of the Hour” at a church in the District of Columbia, carefully detailing the ways in which color prejudice worked to keep blacks down. “A white man has but to blacken his face and commit a crime,” he said, “to have some Negro [lynched](#) in his stead. An abandoned woman has only to start to cry that she has been insulted by a black man, to have him arrested and summarily murdered by the mob.” More than 850 Southern blacks had been executed by officials or lynched by mobs between 1890 and 1892.



COLDBLOODED MURDER

The usual trumped-up charge of sexual assault on white women, Douglass offered, was shrewdly calculated to drive from the suspect “all sympathy and all fair play.” Moreover, it was a charge not merely against the individual but against all blacks: “When a white man steals, robs or murders, his crime is visited upon his own head alone.... When [a black man] commits a crime the whole race is made to suffer.” The so-called race problem, Douglass said, “cannot be solved by keeping the Negro poor, degraded, ignorant and half-starved.... It cannot be solved by keeping the wages of the laborer back by fraud.... It cannot be done by ballot-box stuffing ... or by confusing Negro voters by cunning devices. It can, however, be done, and very easily done.... Let the white people of the North and South conquer their ... race prejudice. Banish the idea that one class must rule over another. Recognize ... that the rights of the humblest citizen are as worthy of protection as are those of the highest, and ... your Republic will stand and flourish forever.”

On the following screen is an illustration of the races of humankind, prepared during this year:

March 3, Saturday: Lou Tye, an American of color, was [lynched](#) in Harlan County, Kentucky by being burned at the stake.

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1895

May 19, Sunday: At Dos Ríos in eastern [Cuba](#), [José Martí](#) was killed from ambush as he made his 1st appearance on the battlefield. He had reached 42 years of age. The rebels were unable to recover the body.

Three American men of color, Echols, Crowley and Brooks, given names unknown, were [lynched](#) near Madison, Florida by being burned at the stake.⁶²¹

COLDBLOODED MURDER

October 29, Sunday: Henry Hillard, an American of color, was [lynched](#) in Tyler, [Texas](#) by being burned while chained to an iron stake before a white crowd of perhaps 5,000 citizens. Afterward, scorched mementos were distributed to those who desired them.

COLDBLOODED MURDER

621. Pardon me, but you know how sardonic I am! This reminds me of a joke told during the recent “Compassionate Conservative” Presidential campaign, to the effect that **although a Liberal would give a man a fire that would keep him warm for merely an hour, Compassionate Conservatives know that when you set a man on fire, he will be warm for the rest of his life.** (Bearing in mind that a Bush was in charge of the State of Florida, and that he apparently helped engineer the election of another Bush, his Compassionate Conservative brother, as President, and that he achieved this in part by disenfranchising a large number of black Florida voters through having them falsely accused at the polling places of being ex-convicts ineligible to cast a ballot — this sardonic humor may unfortunately not be too far afield.)



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1896

January 12, Sunday: Letter from [Lev Nikolævich Tolstòy](#) to Ernest Howard Crosby about Christian nonresistance as exemplified for fully half a century by the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#), as translated by Professor Leo Wiener in 1905:

My Dear Crosby: — I am very glad to hear of your activity and that it is beginning to attract attention. Fifty years ago Garrison's proclamation of non-resistance only cooled people toward him, and the whole fifty years' activity of Ballou in this direction was met with stubborn silence. I read with great pleasure in Peace the beautiful ideas of the American authors in regard to non-resistance. I make an exception only in the case of Mr. Bemis's old, unfounded opinion, which calumniates Christ in assuming that Christ's expulsion of the cattle from the temple means that he struck the men with a whip, and commanded his disciples to do likewise. The ideas expressed by these writers, especially by H. Newton and G. Herron, are beautiful, but it is to be regretted that they do not answer the question which Christ put before men, but answer the question which the so-called orthodox teachers of the churches, the chief and most dangerous enemies of Christianity, have put in its place.

Mr. Higginson says that the law of non-resistance is not admissible as a general rule. H. Newton says that the practical results of the application of Christ's teaching will depend on the degree of faith which men will have in this teaching. Mr. C. Martyn assumes that the stage at which we are is not yet suited for the application of the teaching about non-resistance. G. Herron says that in order to fulfil the law of non-resistance, it is necessary to learn to apply it to life. Mrs. Livermore says the same, thinking that the fulfilment of the law of non-resistance is possible only in the future.

All these opinions treat only the question as to what would happen to people if all were put to the necessity of fulfilling the law of non-resistance; but, in the first place, it is quite impossible to compel all men to accept the law of non-resistance, and, in the second, if this were possible, it would be a most glaring negation of the very principle which is being established. To compel all men not to practise violence against others! Who is going to compel men?

In the third place, and above all else, the question, as put by Christ, does not consist in this, whether non-resistance may become a universal law for all humanity, but what each man must do in order to fulfil his destiny, to save his soul, and do God's work, which reduces itself to the same.

The Christian teaching does not prescribe any laws for all men; it does not say, "follow such and such rules under fear of punishment, and you will all be happy," but explains to each separate man his position in the world and shows him what for him personally results from this position. The Christian teaching says to each individual man that his life, if he recognizes his life to be his, and its aim, the worldly good of his personality or of the personalities of other men, can have no rational meaning, because this good, posited as the end of



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life, can never be attained, because, in the first place, all beings strive after the goods of the worldly life, and these goods are always attained by one set of beings to the detriment of others, so that every separate man cannot receive the desired good, but, in all probability, must even endure many unnecessary sufferings in his struggle for these unattained goods; in the second place, because if a man even attains the worldly goods, these, the more of them he attains, satisfy him less and less, and he wishes for more and more new ones; in the third place, mainly because the longer a man lives, the more inevitably do old age, diseases, and finally death, which destroys the possibility of any worldly good, come to him.

Thus, if a man considers his life to be his, and its end to be the worldly good, for himself or for other men, this life can have for him no rational meaning. Life receives a rational meaning only when a man understands that the recognition of his life as his own, and the good of personality, of his own or of that of others, as its end, is an error, and that the human life does not belong to him, who has received this life from some one, but to Him who produced this life, and so its end must not consist in the attainment of his own good or of the good of others, but only in the fulfilment of the will of Him who produced it. Only with such a comprehension of life does it receive a rational meaning, and its end, which consists in the fulfilment of God's will, become attainable, and, above all, only with such a comprehension does man's activity become clearly defined, and he no longer is subject to despair and suffering, which were inevitable with his former comprehension. "The world and I in it," such a man says to himself, "exist by the will of God. I cannot know the whole world and my relation to it, but I can know what is wanted of me by God, who sent men into this world, endless in time and space, and therefore inaccessible to my understanding, because this is revealed to me in the tradition, that is, in the aggregate reason of the best people in the world, who lived before me, and in my reason, and in my heart, that is, in the striving of my whole being.

"In the tradition, the aggregate of the wisdom of all the best men, who lived before me, I am told that I must act toward others as I wish that others would act toward me; my reason tells me that the greatest good of men is possible only when all men will act likewise.

"My heart is at peace and joyful only when I abandon myself to the feeling of love for men, which demands the same. And then I can not only know what I must do, but also the cause for which my activity is necessary and defined.

"I cannot grasp the whole divine work, for which the world exists and lives, but the divine work which is being accomplished in this world and in which I am taking part with my life is accessible to me. This work is the destruction of the discord and of the struggle among men and other beings, and the establishment among men of the greatest union, concord, and love; this work is the realization of what the Jewish prophets promised, saying that the time will come when all men shall be taught the truth, when the spears shall be forged into pruning-hooks, and the scythes and swords into ploughshares, and when the lion shall lie with the lamb."

Thus, the man of the Christian comprehension of life not only knows how he must act in life, but also what he must do.



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He must do what contributes to the establishment of the kingdom of God in the world. To do this, a man must fulfil the inner demands of God's will, that is, he must act amicably toward others, as he would like others to do to him. Thus the inner demands of a man's soul coincide with that external end of life which is placed before him.

And here though we have an indication which is so clear to a man of the Christian comprehension, and incontestable from two sides, as to what the meaning and end of human life consists in, and how a man must act, and what he must do, and what not, there appear certain people, who call themselves Christians, who decide that in such and such cases a man must depart from God's law and the common cause of life, which are given to him, and must act contrary to the law and the common cause of life, because, according to their ratiocination, the consequences of the acts committed according to God's law may be profitless and disadvantageous for men.

Man, according to the Christian teaching, is God's workman. The workman does not know his master's whole business, but the nearest aim to be attained by his work is revealed to him, and he is given definite indications as to what he should do; especially definite are the indications as to what he must not do, in order that he may not work against the aim for the attainment of which he was sent to work. In everything else he is given complete liberty. and so for a man who has grasped the Christian conception of life the meaning of his life is clear and rational, and he cannot have a moment of wavering as to how he should act in life and what he ought to do, in order to fulfil the destiny of his life.

According to the law given him in the tradition, in his reason, and in his heart, a man must always act toward another as he wishes to have done to him: he must contribute to the establishment of love and union among men; but according to the decision of these far-sighted people, a man must, while the fulfilment of the law, according to their opinion, is still premature, do violence, deprive of liberty, kill people, and with this contribute, not to union of love, but to the irritation and enagement of people. It is as though a mason, who is put to do certain definite work, who knows that he is taking part with others in the building of a house, and who has a clear and indubitable command from the master himself that is to lay a wall, should receive the command from other masons like him, who, like him, do not know the general plan of the structure and what is useful for the common work, to stop laying the wall, and to undo the work of the others.

Wonderful delusion! The being that breathes today and disappears tomorrow, that has one definite, incontestable law given to him, as to how he is to pass his short term of life, imagines that he knows what is necessary and useful and appropriate for all men, for the whole world, for that world which moves without cessation, and goes on developing, and in the name of this usefulness, which is differently understood by each of them, he prescribes to himself and to others for a time to depart from the unquestionable law, which is given to him and to all men, and not to act toward all men as he wants others to act toward him, not to bring love into the world, but to practise violence, to deprive of freedom, to punish, to kill, to introduce malice into the world, when it is found that this is necessary. and he



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enjoins us to do so knowing that the most terrible cruelties, tortures, murders of men, from the Inquisitions and punishments and terrors of all the revolutions to the present bestialities of the anarchists and the massacres of them, have all proceeded from this, that men suppose that they know what people and the world need; knowing that at any given moment there are always two opposite parties, each of which asserts that it is necessary to use violence against the opposite party, – the men of state against the anarchists, the anarchists against the men of state; the English against the Americans, the Americans against the English; the English against the Germans; and so forth, in all possible combinations and permutations.

Not only does a man of the Christian concept of life see clearly by reflection that there is no ground whatever for his departure from the law of his life, as clearly indicated to him by God, in order to follow the accidental, frail, frequently contradictory demands of men; but if he has been living the Christian life for some time, and has developed in himself the Christian moral sensitiveness, he can positively not act as people demand that he shall, not only as the result of reflection, but also of feeling.

As it is for many men of our world impossible to subject a child to torture and to kill it, though such a torture may save a hundred other people, so a whole series of acts becomes impossible for a man who has developed the Christian sensitiveness of his heart in himself. A Christian, for example, who is compelled to take part in court proceedings, where a man may be sentenced to capital punishment, to take part in matters of forcible seizure of other people's property, in discussions about the declaration of war, or in preparations for the same, to say nothing of war itself, finds himself in the same position in which a good man would be, if he were compelled to torture or kill a child. It is not that he decides by reflection what he ought not to do, but that he cannot do what is demanded of him, because for a man there exists the moral impossibility, just as there is a physical impossibility, of committing certain acts. Just as it is impossible for a man to lift up a mountain, as it is impossible for a good man to kill a child, so it is impossible for a man who lives a Christian life to take part in violence. Of what significance for such a man can be the reflections that for some imaginary good he must do what has become morally impossible for him?

How, then, is a man to act when he sees the obvious harm of following the law of love and the law of non-resistance, which results from it? How is a man to act –this example is always adduced– when a robber in his sight kills or injures a child, and when the child cannot be saved otherwise than by killing the robber?

It is generally assumed that, when they adduce such an example, there can be no other answer to the question than that the robber ought to be killed, in order that the child be saved. But this answer is given so emphatically and so quickly only because we are not only in the habit of acting in this manner in the case of the defence of a child, but also in the case of the expansion of the borders of a neighbouring state to the detriment of our own, or in the case of the transportation of lace across the border, or even in the case of the defence of the fruits of our garden against depredations by passers-by.



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It is assumed that it is necessary to kill the robber in order to save the child, but we need only stop and think on what ground a man should act thus, be he a Christian or a non-Christian, to convince ourselves that such an act can have no rational foundations, and is considered necessary only because two thousand years ago such a mode of action was considered just and people were in the habit of acting thus. Why should a non-Christian, who does not recognize God and the meaning of life in the fulfilment of His will, kill the robber, in defending the child? To say nothing of this, that in killing the robber he is certainly killing, but does not know for certain until the very last moment whether the robber will kill the child or not, to say nothing of this irregularity: who has decided that the life of the child is more necessary and better than the life of the robber?

If a non-Christian does not recognize God, and does not consider the meaning of life to consist in the fulfilment of God's will, it is only calculation, that is, the consideration as to what is more profitable for him and for all men, the continuation of the robber's life or that of the child, which guides the choice of his acts. But to decide this, he must know what will become of the child which he saves, and what would become of the robber if he did not kill him. But that he cannot know. And so, if he is a non-Christian, he has not rational foundation for saving the child through the death of the robber.

But if the man is a Christian, and so recognizes God and sees the meaning of life in the fulfilment of His will, no matter what terrible robber may attack any innocent and beautiful child, he has still less cause to depart from the law given him by God and to do to the robber what the robber wants to do to the child; he may implore the robber, may place his body between the robber and his victim, but there is one thing he cannot do, — he cannot consciously depart from the law of God, the fulfilment of which forms the meaning of his life. It is very likely that, as the result of his bad bringing up and of his animality, a man, being a pagan or a Christian, will kill the robber, not only in the defence of the child, but also in his own defence or in the defence of his purse, but that will by no means signify that it is right to do so, that it is right to accustom ourselves and others to think that that ought to be done.

This will only mean that, in spite of the external education and Christianity, the habits of the stone age are still strong in man, that he is capable of committing acts which have long ago been disavowed by his consciousness. A robber in my sight is about to kill a child and I can save it by killing the robber; consequently it is necessary under certain conditions to resist evil with violence.

A man is in danger of his life and can be saved only through my lie; consequently it is necessary in certain cases to lie. A man is starving, and I cannot save him otherwise than by stealing; consequently it is necessary in certain cases to steal.

I lately read a story by Coppee, in which an orderly kills his officer, who has his life insured, and thus saves his honour and the life of his family. Consequently in certain cases it is right to kill.

Such imaginary cases and the conclusions drawn from them prove only this, that there are men who know that it is not right to



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steal, to lie, to kill, but who are so loath to stop doing this that they use all the efforts of their mind in order to justify their acts. There does not exist a moral rule for which it would be impossible to invent a situation when it would be hard to decide which is more moral, the departure from the rule or its fulfilment. The same is true of the question of non-resistance to evil: men know that it is bad, but they are so anxious to live by violence, that they use all the efforts of their mind, not for the elucidation of all the evil which is produced by man's recognition of the right to do violence to others, but for the defence of this right. But such invented cases in no way prove that the rules about not lying, stealing, killing are incorrect.

"Fais ce que doit, advienne que pourra, -do what is right, and let come what may,"- is an expression of profound wisdom. Each of us knows unquestionably what he ought to do, but none of us knows or can know what will happen. Thus we are brought to the same, not only by this, that we must do what is right, but also by this, that we know what is right, and do not know at all what will come and result from our acts.

The Christian teaching is a teaching as to what a man must do for the fulfilment of the will of Him who sent him into the world. But the reflections as to what consequences we assume to result from such or such acts of men not only have nothing in common with Christianity, but are that very delusion which destroys Christianity.

No one has yet seen the imaginary robber with the imaginary child, and all the horrors, which fill history and contemporary events, have been produced only because men imagine that they can know the consequences of the possible acts.

How is this? Men used to live a beastly life, violating and killing all those whom it was advantageous for them to violate and kill, and even eating one another, thinking that that was right. Then there came a time, when, thousands of years ago, even in the time of Moses, there appeared the consciousness in men that it was bad to violate and kill one another. But there were some men for whom violence was advantageous, and they did not recognize the fact, and assured themselves and others that it was not always bad to violate and kill men, but that there were cases when this was necessary, useful, and even good. And acts of violence and murder, though not as frequent and cruel, were continued, but with this difference, that those who committed them justified them on the ground of usefulness to men. It was this false justification of violence that Christ arraigned. He showed that, since every act of violence could be justified as actually happens, when two enemies do violence to one another and both consider their violence justifiable, and there is no chance of verifying the justice of the determination of either, it is necessary not to believe in any justifications of violence, and under no condition, as at first was thought right by humanity, is it necessary to make use of them.

It would seem that men who profess Christianity would have carefully to unveil this deception, because in the unveiling of this deception does one of the chief manifestations of Christianity consist. But the very opposite has happened: men to whom violence was advantageous, and who did not want to give up these advantages, took upon themselves the exclusive propaganda of Christianity, and, preaching it, asserted that,



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since there are cases in which the non-application of violence produces more evil than its application (the imaginary robber who kills the child), we must not fully accept Christ's teaching about non-resistance to evil, and that we may depart from this teaching in the defence of our lives and of those of other men, in the defense of our country, the protection of society from madmen and malefactors, and in many other cases. but the decision of the question as to when Christ's teaching ought to be set aside was left to those very men who made use of violence. Thus Christ's teaching about non-resistance to evil turned out to be absolutely set aside, and, what is worse than all that, those very men whom Christ arraigned began to consider themselves the exclusive preachers and expounders of His teaching. But the light shineth in the dark, and the false preachers of Christianity are again arraigned by His teaching. We can think of the structure of the world as we please, we may do what is advantageous and agreeable for us to do, and use violence against people under the pretext of doing good to men, but it is absolutely impossible to assert that, in do so, we are professing Christ's teaching, because Christ arraigned that very deception. The truth will sooner or later be made manifest, and will arraign the deceivers, even as it does now.

Let only the question of the human life be put correctly, as it was put by Christ, and not as it was corrupted by the churches, and all the deceptions which by the churches have been heaped on Christ's teaching will fall of their own accord.

The question is not whether it will be good or bad for human society to follow the law of love and the resulting law of non-resistance, but whether you -a being that lives today and is dying by degrees tomorrow and every moment- will now, this very minute, fully do the will of Him who sent you and clearly expressed it in tradition and in your reason and heart, or whether you want to act contrary to this will. As soon as the question is put in this form, there will be but one answer: I want at once, this very minute, without any delay, without waiting for anyone, and without considering the seeming consequences, with all my strength to fulfil what alone I am indubitably commanded to do by Him who sent me into the world, and in no case, under no condition, will I, can I, do what is contrary to it, because in this lies the only possibility of my rational, unwretched life.



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1897

November 27, Saturday: Nathan Willis, an American of color, was lynched in South Carolina by being burned at the stake.

COLDBLOODED MURDER



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1898

June 3, Friday: William Street, an American of color, was [lynched](#) in Doyline, Louisiana by being burned at the stake.

COLDBLOODED MURDER

August 6, Sunday: Richard Coleman, an American of color, was [lynched](#) in Maysville, Kentucky by being burned at the stake.

COLDBLOODED MURDER

October 21, Saturday: “Joe” Leflore, an American of color, was [lynched](#) in St. Ann’s, Mississippi by being burned at the stake.

COLDBLOODED MURDER

December: At the urging of Estrada-Palma, El Partido Revolucionario Cubano, the [Cuban](#) Revolutionary Party, founded by José Martí, was dissolved.

Louis Deibler abdicated as the beheader of the French, in favour of his son Anatole Deibler.

HEADCHOPPING



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1899

January 2, Monday: Anatole Deibler carried out his 1st beheading of a Frenchman.

HEADCHOPPING

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1900

The US Census indicated that [Charles Wesley Moffet](#) or Moffett was living in Iowa.



During the previous century, of course, the human population had been exploding:



As of 1790 the center of the human population of the USA had been a little town just about a day's travel inland

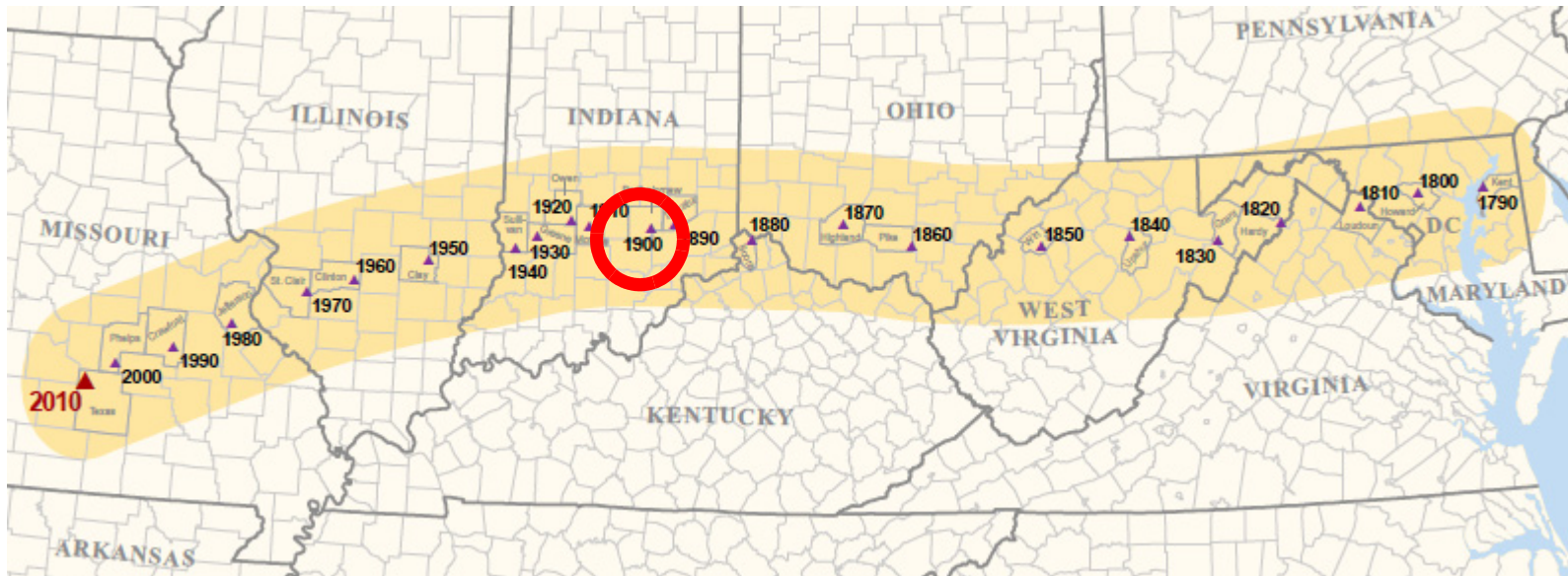
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from [Maryland](#). By this period the center of population had relocated.



(Nowadays, of course, we've all been coming from one or another center in Missouri.)



The 12th US national census counted 12 million [Roman Catholics](#), 6 million Methodists, 5 million Baptists, 1.5 million Lutherans, 1.5 million Presbyterians, 1 million Jews, 700,00 Episcopalians, 350,000 Mormons, 80,000 Christian Scientists, and 75,000 Unitarians.

Here is a period statistic in regard to cause of death which did not appear in our federal census, a statistic



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allegedly tabulated by John Edward Bruce (Bruce Grit) of the Chicago Tribune: during this year 117 black Americans were [lynched](#), which would make it that a lynching was occurring about every third day.

One strange fact that appears, in this record of one year's lynchings, is that accusations of sexual misconduct play a remarkably small role. Whereas the usual story told about lynching was that it was motivated by a desire of the white man to restrict the black man's access to white females, this usual story is not at all corroborated by the statistic for the year 1900.

The [Holy Roman Catholic Church](#) resolved once and for all in this year the vexing issue of contesting official foreskin relics of [Jesus Christ](#) (there had been some 8 to 18 such contending objects scattered across Europe) by warning that anyone who thenceforward wrote about or spoke about a Holy Prepuce would be excommunicated.

January 9, Tuesday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Ripley, Tennessee, Henry and Roger Giveney, suspected of murder, were [lynched](#).

January 11, Thursday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in West Spring, South Carolina, Rufus Salter, suspected of arson, was [lynched](#).

The Imperial [Chinese](#) government issued a decree to local authorities, that seemed to suggest that they ought not to interfere with the Boxers.

January 16, Tuesday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a [lynching](#), typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so — because of this list we know what happened on this day in Henning, Tennessee to a man, Anderson Gause, who was under suspicion of having aided a murderer to escape.

[Edith Holländer](#) (who would be [Anne Frank](#)'s mother) was born in Aachen, Germany. She was a Jew.

ANTISEMITISM

JUDAISM

February 17, Saturday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Basket Mills, South Carolina, William Burts, accused of having made a threat to commit murder, was [lynched](#).



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March 4, Sunday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Clyde, [North Carolina](#), George Ratliffe, accused of having committed rape, was [lynched](#), and that on this day in Selo Hatchel, Alabama, James Crosby, accused of making threats, was [lynched](#).

March 10, Saturday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Hernando, Mississippi, Thomas Clayton, accused of having committed rape, was [lynched](#).

March 11, Sunday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Jennings, Nebraska, a black American man, name unknown, accused of having committed murder, was [lynched](#).

March 18, Sunday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Marietta, Georgia, John Bailey, accused of having attempted an assault, was [lynched](#), and in Lee County, Alabama, Charles Humphries, also accused of having attempted an assault, was [lynched](#).

March 22, Thursday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Canhaft, [North Carolina](#), George Ritter, accused of being an informer, was [lynched](#).

Of all lynchings, however, the states of Virginia and [North Carolina](#) had by far the fewest, at least on record, of any of the states of the Old South. They have arrived at 100 recorded lynchings each (the overwhelming majority of these having been of course of non-white individuals). Here is how that raw statistic contrasts with other regions of our nation in which various lynchings have been recorded over the years to have occurred.

	White Victims	Non-White Victims	Total
Montana	82	2	84
Colorado	66	2	68
Nebraska	52	5	57
Kansas	35	19	54
West Virginia	20	28	48
Indiana	33	14	47
California	41	2	43
New Mexico	33	3	36



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Wyoming	30	5	35
Illinois	15	19	34
Arizona	31	0	31
Maryland	2	27	29
South Dakota	27	0	27
Ohio	10	16	26
Washington	25	1	26
Oregon	20	1	21
Idaho	20	0	20
Iowa	17	2	19
North Dakota	13	3	16
Minnesota	5	4	9
Michigan	7	1	8
Pennsylvania	2	6	8
Utah	6	2	8
Nevada	6	0	6
Wisconsin	6	0	6
New York	1	1	2
Delaware	0	1	1
New Jersey	0	1	1
Vermont	1	0	1

March 23, Friday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Ripley, Tennessee, Luis Rice, accused of having given testimony, was [lynched](#).

March 24, Saturday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Emporia, Virginia, Walter Cotton, accused of having committed murder, was [lynched](#).

Construction began on the New York city subway system.

March 26, Monday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Belair, [Maryland](#), Lewis Harris, accused of having committed rape, was [lynched](#).

March 27, Tuesday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Deer Creek Bridge, Mississippi, William Edward, accused of having committed murder, was [lynched](#).



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April 3, Tuesday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Berryville, Georgia, Allen Brooks, accused of having committed rape, was [lynched](#).

April 5, Thursday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Southampton County, Virginia, a black man whose name is not of record, accused of having committed arson, was [lynched](#).

The [St. Helena Guardian](#) advised that:

In a few days the troopship *Milwaukee* escorted by the HMS *Niobe* will arrive with prisoners of war. No unauthorized person will be allowed on the Wharf at the time of disembarkation. The Police will assist, as far as they can, the Military acting under the orders of the Officer Commanding the Troops in keeping order. His Excellency the Governor expresses the hope that the Inhabitants will treat the prisoners with that courtesy and consideration which should be extended to all men who have fought bravely in what they have considered the cause of their Country and will help in repressing any unseemly demonstration which individuals might exhibit.

April 16, Monday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day near Tunica, Mississippi, Moses York, accused of having committed murder, was [lynched](#).

April 19, Thursday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Brownsville, Mississippi, Henry McAfee, accused of having attempted assault, was [lynched](#).

April 20, Friday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Tazewell, West Virginia, John Peters, accused of having committed rape, was [lynched](#).



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April 22, Sunday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Allentown, Florida, John Hughley, accused of having plotted to kill white people, was [lynched](#).

[Julian Hawthorne](#) acknowledged in an article "Famous American Authors / [Henry David Thoreau](#)" for the Denver Sunday Post that: "Thoreau died two years after I returned to Concord, so that my personal knowledge of him was not great" (this may well be counted as the final true sentence the guy would utter, in which the name "Thoreau" would appear).

April 26, Thursday [Charles Francis Richter](#) was born.

April 28, Saturday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Marshall, Missouri, Mindee Chowgee, accused of having committed murder, was [lynched](#).

April 30, Monday [Casey Jones](#) was killed in a train wreck in Vaughn, Mississippi while trying to get the Cannonball Express up to schedule.

May 1: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Gloucester, Mississippi, Henry Ratcliff, accused of having attacked a white man, was [lynched](#), and that on this day in Albin, Mississippi, George Gordon, accused of having attacked a white man, was [lynched](#).

May 4: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Douglas, Georgia, Marshall Jones, accused of having committed murder, was [lynched](#), and that on this day in Liberty, [Maryland](#), Henry Darley, accused of having committed rape, was [lynched](#).

May 7, Friday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Geneva, Alabama, a black man whose name is not on the record, accused of having committed rape, was [lynched](#), and that on this day in Amite, Mississippi, a black man whose name is not on the record, accused of no offense, was [lynched](#).

May 9, Sunday: [Franklin Benjamin Sanborn](#) read a paper at the semiannual meeting of the Social Science Association.



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May 11, Saturday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Hinton, West Virginia, William Lee, accused of having attempted assault, was [lynched](#).

May 13, Sunday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Harlem, Georgia, Alexander Whitney, accused of having committed murder, was [lynched](#).

May 14, Monday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Grovetown, Georgia, William Willis, accused of having committed murder, was [lynched](#), and that on this day in Brooksville, Florida, two black men whose names are not on the record, accused of having committed murder, were [lynched](#).

May 15, Tuesday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Lena, Louisiana, Henry Harris, accused of having attempted assault, was [lynched](#).

May 16, Wednesday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Cushtusha, Mississippi, Samuel Hinson, accused of having committed an assault, was [lynched](#).

Senator Augustus O. Bacon of Georgia rose in the federal Senate to oppose US occupation of [Cuba](#). He accused the military government of spending many times more for the comfort of American soldiers on the island than would have been the case had they been quartered in the US. This, he offered, was an extravagant and wasteful use of funds. Such a large occupation was not merely unnecessary, it was in fact illegal. He charged that the delay (there has been peace for almost two years) was due to a secret agenda of annexation.

May 22, Tuesday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring more or less every 3d day. Because of this list we know that on this day in Pueblo, Colorado, Calvin Hilburn, accused of having committed murder, was [lynched](#).

May 26, Saturday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring more or less every 3d day. Because of this list we know that on this day in West Point, Arkansas, a black man whose name is not on the record, accused of being a robber, was [lynched](#).



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

June 3, Saturday: Her Majesty's ships *Lizard*, *Mohawk*, and *Wallaroo*, from the British Royal Navy's [Australian](#) Squadron, were dispatched from Sydney to [China](#) to join the squadron commanded by Admiral Sir E.H. Seymour that was being assigned to help put down the Boxer Rebellion.

For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago [Tribune](#) made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Tutwiler, Mississippi, Dago Pete, accused of having committed rape, was [lynched](#).

June 5: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago [Tribune](#) made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Newport News, Virginia, W.W. Watts, accused of having committed rape, was [lynched](#).

June 9, Friday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago [Tribune](#) made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day near Columbia, Georgia, Simon Adams, accused of attempted assault, was [lynched](#).



Muslim troops of General Tung Fu-tsiang entered [Peking](#), and with them large numbers of Boxers.

NOBODY COULD GUESS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT





STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

June 10, Saturday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Snead, Florida, a black man whose name is not on record, accused of having committed murder, and John Sanders, accused of complicity in murder, were lynched, and that on this day in Mississippi City, Mississippi, a black man whose family name was Askew and another black man whose family name was Reese, both suspected of having committed murder, were lynched.

An allied (United Kingdom/Russia/Germany/France/United States/Japan/Italy/Austria) relief force of 2,129 departed Tientsin by train for Peking. Shortly after a telegram was sent to Peking announcing this to the legations, the telegraph line was cut.

The 116th Psalm for women's chorus and orchestra by Franz Schreker was performed for the initial time, as part of the composer's graduation ceremony from Vienna Conservatory.

June 11, Sunday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Metcalf, Georgia, Senny Jefferson, accused of attempted assault, was lynched.

The chancellor of the Japanese legation in Peking, Akira Sugiyama, was killed by regular troops of General Dong Fuxiang (Tung Fu-tsiang).

The relief force reached Langfang, still a distance from Peking, and drove off Boxers destroying the tracks.

The Royal Navy landed 150 troops in Tientsin to help protect foreigners there.

NO-ONE'S LIFE IS EVER NOT DRIVEN PRIMARILY BY HAPPENSTANCE





STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

June 12, Tuesday: In the [German Reichstag](#), a 2d Naval Bill authorized construction of 38 battleships over the following two decades.

For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago [Tribune](#) made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Deyall's Bluffs, Louisiana, Seth Cobb, accused of making threats, was [lynched](#), and that on this day in Lee County, Arkansas, John Brodie, accused of an attempt to do murder, was [lynched](#).

June 17, Saturday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago [Tribune](#) made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Earl, Arkansas, Nat Mullins, accused of having committed murder, was [lynched](#), and that on this day in Searcy, Arkansas, S.A. Jenkins, suspected of robbery, was [lynched](#).

The Dowager Empress of [China](#) ordered the governors of the provinces to send troops to [Peking](#). She was preparing for war against the foreigners. About 1,000 troops from six countries seized the Taku forts on the [China](#) coast to restore access from Peking to Tientsin. [Chinese](#) artillery opened fire on foreigners in Tientsin.

June 19, Monday: Upon hearing that foreign fleets had demanded the Taku forts, the Dowager Empress ordered all foreign legations out of [Peking](#) by 4:00PM of the following day.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

June 20, Tuesday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Panasoffkee, Florida, James Barco, who had been accused of some offense now unknown to us, was lynched.

The German minister to China, Baron Klemens von Ketteler, was killed by a member of the Imperial army. All foreigners were besieged in the legations area. The number within the legations was about 4,000 from 18 countries, the great majority of them Chinese Christians. The relief force was still fighting its way back to Tientsin.

Isänmaalle (To My Country) for chorus by Jean Sibelius to words of Cajander was performed for the initial time, in Helsinki. Also performed, perhaps for the initial time, were Sibelius' Tiera, a tone poem for brass septet and percussion, and Preludio for winds.

THE FUTURE IS MOST READILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT



June 21, Wednesday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Mulberry, Florida, Robert Davis, accused of having committed murder, was lynched.

An edict from the Imperial Chinese government announced the opening of war against foreigners and the embracing of the Boxers.

Ernesto Rodolfo Hintze Ribeiro replaced José Luciano de Castro Pereira Corte-Real as prime minister of Portugal.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

June 22, Thursday: Believing their position imperiled, the military contingents from Italy, Austria, [France](#), Germany, [Japan](#), Russia and the US fell back in disorder into the British legation in [Peking](#). Order was restored and the soldiers were sent back to their posts, but not before the Italian legation was destroyed. The [Chinese](#) began an artillery assault on the Peitang Cathedral. The retreating foreign relief column captured a Chinese arsenal at Hsiku and there awaited rescue from Tientsin.

THE FUTURE CAN BE EASILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT



June 23, Friday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago [Tribune](#) made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Livingstone Parish, Louisiana, Frank Gilmore, accused of having committed rape, was [lynched](#).

[Chinese](#) attempted to destroy the foreign legations in [Peking](#) by setting fire to adjacent districts. The fire did not spread to the legations. A foreign (Russia/United Kingdom/United States/Italy) force moving from Taku to Tientsin fought their way through fierce Chinese resistance into the city. Imperial troops, aided by Boxers, counterattacked against the foreign army in Hsiku but were beaten back.

The dome of Sacre-Coeur was inaugurated in Paris, [France](#).

A sketch of the defenses of the legation compound at Peking was prepared by [US Marine](#) Captain John T. Myers.

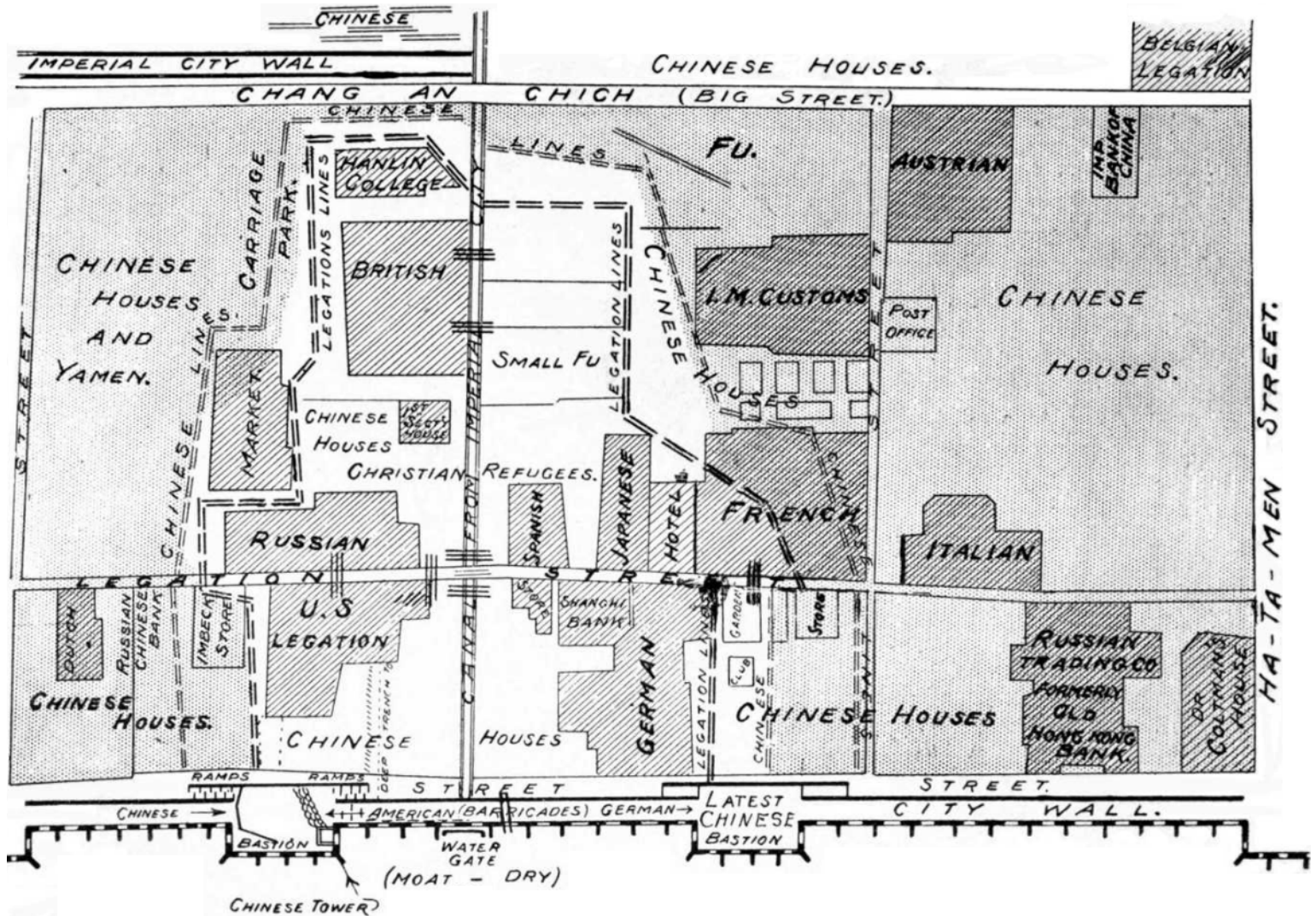
June 27, Tuesday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago [Tribune](#) made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Live Oak, Florida, Jock Thomas, accused of attempted assault, was [lynched](#), and that on this day in Molina, Georgia, Jordan Hines, who had been accused of some offense now unknown to us, was [lynched](#).

The Central [London](#) Electric Tube Railroad was opened between Bank and Shepard's Bush.

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER





STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

July 6, Friday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Columbia, Alabama, John Roe, accused of having attempted assault, was lynched.

Western forces retreated from Tientsin after a 6-hour battle with Chinese troops.

At the Headquarters Saloon in Willcox, Arizona, Warren Earp was shot and killed. He had reached the age of 45.

CHANGE IS ETERNITY, STASIS A FIGMENT

July 9, Monday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Greene's Bayou, Louisiana, Jefferson Henry, an unpopular black man, was lynched.

After being promised that they were being escorted to safety, the Christian missionary families of Taiyuan were brought before Governor Yu-Hsien of Shantung Province. Their minister, the Reverend George Farthing, was first to be beheaded, then the other men, then the minister's wife and three young children, and the remaining foreigners along with some Chinese converts (a total of 34 Protestants and 12 Catholics).

A constitution for the Commonwealth of Australia, having received the approval of the British Parliament and voters in each of Australia's colonies, was given royal assent by Queen Victoria.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

July 12, Thursday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Creswell, Georgia, John Jennings, accused of having committed murder, was lynched.

While vacationing at his home in Canton, Ohio, William McKinley was formally advised that the Republican Party had renominated him for President of the United States of America.

A. Goldenweiser's record of a story he had been told by Lev Nikolævich Tolstòy, while arguing that it would be a mistake to introduce expensive and complicated agricultural equipment to Russia:

You know, there was a famous American writer, Thoreau, who departed from urban life and began to earn his living with his own hands. When his friends began to tell him that he lived just a few hours away from a beautiful lake and never intended to go there, even if a trip by train would be only two dollars, Thoreau argued with them saying that he felt very well at home; but if he would ever have intended to go to the lake he would rather walk there since he would have to work four days in order to earn two dollars while a walk could take him only two days.

HENRY THOREAU

July 23, Monday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Huntsville, Alabama, Elijah Clark, accused of having committed rape, was lynched.

In Serbia, the king announced an intention to get married with one of the servants of his queen. The participants in this domestic drama were 1.) King Alexander I, 2.) Queen Natalie, and 3.) Dara Maschin. Dara would indeed become a bride, in August, but her bridegroom would be assassinated, in 1903.

A memorial service scheduled in London for today to honor the memory of the Peking legations was canceled at the last minute due to growing awareness that they might still be alive.

A few months after his father's death Alban Berg suffered his first asthma attack, a condition which would continue through his life — the number 23 would come to have for him a mystical significance.

**THE FALLACY OF MOMENTISM: THIS STARRY UNIVERSE DOES NOT
CONSIST OF A SEQUENCE OF MOMENTS. THAT IS A FIGMENT, ONE WE
HAVE RECOURSE TO IN ORDER TO PRIVILEGE TIME OVER CHANGE,
A PRIVILEGING THAT MAKES CHANGE SEEM UNREAL, DERIVATIVE, A
MERE APPEARANCE. IN FACT IT IS CHANGE AND ONLY CHANGE WHICH
WE EXPERIENCE AS REALITY, TIME BEING BY WAY OF RADICAL**



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

**CONTRAST UNEXPERIENCED — A MERE INTELLECTUAL CONSTRUCT.
THERE EXISTS NO SUCH THING AS A MOMENT. NO “INSTANT” HAS
EVER FOR AN INSTANT EXISTED.**

July 24, Tuesday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Knoxville, Georgia, Jack Hillsman, accused of having committed rape, was lynched.

In China, revolutionaries signed a document titled “Regulations for Peaceful Rule” authored by Kai Ho. The signatories included Sun Yat-sen, Yang Chu-yun, and Xie Zhantai (Tse Tsan Tai). This document would be presented to Hong Kong Governor Henry Arthur Blake as part of a request for British help in transforming the government of China into a parliamentary system (with an advisory group composed of foreign ambassadors).

**BETWEEN ANY TWO MOMENTS ARE AN INFINITE NUMBER OF MOMENTS,
AND BETWEEN THESE OTHER MOMENTS LIKEWISE AN INFINITE NUMBER,
THERE BEING NO ATOMIC MOMENT JUST AS THERE IS NO ATOMIC POINT
ALONG A LINE. MOMENTS ARE THEREFORE FIGMENTS. THE PRESENT
MOMENT IS A MOMENT AND AS SUCH IS A FIGMENT, A FLIGHT OF THE
IMAGINATION TO WHICH NOTHING REAL CORRESPONDS. SINCE PAST
MOMENTS HAVE PASSED OUT OF EXISTENCE AND FUTURE MOMENTS
HAVE YET TO ARRIVE, WE NOTE THAT THE PRESENT MOMENT IS ALL
THAT EVER EXISTS — AND YET THE PRESENT MOMENT BEING A
MOMENT IS A FIGMENT TO WHICH NOTHING IN REALITY CORRESPONDS.**



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

July 25, Wednesday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in New Orleans, Louisiana, a mob of enraged white citizens went on a rampage and indiscriminately lynched (among other black Americans) Baptiste Fileau, Silas Jackson, Louis Taylor, August Thomas, and Anna Mabry.

General Leonard Wood's order for the election of delegates to a Cuban Constitutional Convention restricted voting to males over 21 years of age who had become Cuban citizens under the terms of the peace treaty and who had fulfilled at least one of the following: ability to read and write; ownership of property; service in the Cuban rebel army (much of the citizenry was of course disfranchised).

July 26, Thursday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in New Orleans, Louisiana, Robert Charles, accused of having committed murder, was lynched.

The US Postal Service took action to increase the delivery of magazines and newspapers to rural addresses, by preventing additional charges from being made for delivery to such destinations.

August 13, Monday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Corinth, Mississippi, Jack Betts, accused of having committed rape, was lynched.

General Leonard Wood was on a campaign tour promoting the election of men of "science and experience" as delegates to the Constitutional Convention. The Cuban public should not select "the disturber and malcontent" and needed to "bear in mind that no Constitution which does not provide a stable government will be accepted by the US." Cisneros responded: "General Wood, on the eve of an election in the US, would not have dared to utter such words before a body of electors. Why should he, in Cuba, endeavor to restrict the free suffrage, insult the people, and wound their just sense of dignity and manhood by such a threat?"

August 19, Sunday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Arrington, Virginia, a black man of unknown name, accused of having committed rape, was lynched.

August 26, Sunday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Pittsburg, Tennessee, a black man of unknown name, accused of having committed rape, was lynched.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

September 7: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Tunica, Mississippi, Frank Brown, accused of murder, was [lynched](#).

September 8, day: A hurricane struck New Orleans, Galveston, and Houston. Some 6,000 [Texans](#) were killed.

For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Thomasville, Georgia, Grant Weley, accused of having attacked a white man, was [lynched](#).

On this day an indignant retort appeared in the New York Times Saturday Review, in response to an unsavory allegation that had been made in a letter to the editor on the previous Saturday against our memory of [Henry](#).



STATE MURDER

[Thoreau](#). A previous writer had alleged that actually Thoreau had had no discernible involvement or interest in the antislavery crusade of the pre-civil-war era: “From my recollection of Thoreau’s life and writings I do not think he ever took any active part or ever showed any special interest in the slavery question.”

This must have been a poor reader indeed, it was pointed out. So who was this poor reader, [Mr. George J. Manson](#) of Brooklyn? –We know him as the thoughtful author of a series of articles in the New York [Christian Union](#) under the title of “Work for Women,” and then in a published volume of the same title, in which he had attempted to “enlighten the would-be woman-worker as to the practical points of interest connected with each occupation” in which persons of “the gentler sex” were at that point being accepted.

STATE MURDER

Thoreau and Slavery.

To The New York Times Saturday Review:

In the issue of THE SATURDAY REVIEW for Sept. 1 I find Mr. George J. Manson of Brooklyn takes exception to a passage in Tolstol's "Ressurrection" regarding Thoreau's attitude toward injustice and slavery. In the life of Henry David Thoreau by H. E. Salt (Richard Bentley & Son, London; 1890,) may be found, on Page 100, the passage alluded to, quoted almost exactly by Tolstol. It reads as follows:

"One afternoon, when Thoreau chanced to have gone in from Walden to the village to get a shoe from the cobbler's, he was intercepted and lodged in the town jail. 'Henry, why are you here?' were the words of Emerson when he came to visit his friend in his new place of retirement. 'Why are you not here?' was the answer of the prisoner, who held that, under an unjust Government, a prison cell was the right abode for a just man."

Mr. Manson further says: "From my recollection of Thoreau's life and writings I do not think he ever took any active part or ever showed any special interest in the slavery question."

This looks very black for Mr. Manson's "recollections;" for it is quite impossible to read anything about Thoreau without knowing that, next to nature, slavery was uppermost in his thought. He lectured on the subject frequently, and it is broadly hinted by those who knew him best that many a fugitive slave was helped toward the "north star" by way of Walden. It is very easy to misunderstand; and Tolstol has such an uncomfortable way of telling the truth, anyway!

VIOLA DEY HALLIDAY.

Avondale, N. J., Sept. 1, 1900.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

September 10, Monday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Forest City, North Carolina, a black man of unknown name, accused of murder, was [lynched](#), and that on this day in Duplex, Tennessee, Logan Reoms, accused of attempted assault, was [lynched](#).

[Philip Van Doren Stern](#) was born in Wyalusing, Pennsylvania to Isidor Stern (1863-1944) and Annie Fisher Van Doren Stern (1869-1946). He would grow up in New Jersey.

September 11, Tuesday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Forest City, North Carolina, a black man of unknown name, accused of murder, was [lynched](#), and that on this day in Cheneyville, Louisiana, Thomas J. Amos, accused of murder, was [lynched](#).

September 14, Friday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Tunica, Mississippi, the town where another such lynching had already occurred on September 7th, David Moore and William Brown, accused of murder, were [lynched](#).

September 12, Wednesday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Forest City, [North Carolina](#), a black man of unknown name, accused of murder, was [lynched](#), and that on this day in Wetumpka, [Kansas](#), Zed Floyd, accused of attempted assault, was [lynched](#).

September 21, Friday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Ponchatoula, Louisiana, George Bickham, Charles Elliott, Nathaniel Bowman, Charles Elliot, and Isaiah Rollins, accused of burglary, were [lynched](#).

October 2, Tuesday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Eclectic, Alabama, Winfield Townsend or Thomas, accused of having attempted an assault, was [lynched](#) by being burned at the stake.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

October 8, Monday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Tiponville, Tennessee, a black man named Williams, accused of robbing, was [lynched](#).

October 9, Tuesday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Wiley Johnson, accused of murder, was [lynched](#).

LORD JIM by Joseph Conrad appeared in book form in [London](#).

October 18, Thursday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Elkton, Kentucky, Fratur Warfield, accused of attempted assault, was [lynched](#).

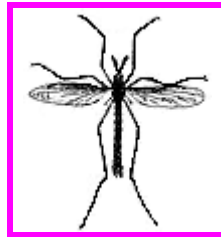
October 19, Friday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Wellaston, Georgia, Frank Hardeneman, accused of rape, was [lynched](#).

Marquis Hirobumi Ito replaced Prince Aritomo Yamagata as prime minister of [Japan](#).

October 23, Tuesday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day near Vicksburg, Mississippi, Gloster Barnes, accused of murder, was [lynched](#).

Marcelo de Azcárraga y Palmero replaced Francisco Silvela y Le Vielleuze as Prime Minister of Spain.

Dr. Walter Reed of the US Army informed a meeting of the American Public Health Association in Indianapolis, Indiana of his recent experiments in Cuba indicating that Dr. Carlos Juan Finlay had been correct in his 1879 hypothesis and that it was the *Aedes aegypti* mosquito that was transmitting [yellow fever](#).⁶²²



622. You need to bear carefully in mind the fact that, although we now fully grasp the mode of transmission of this disease and thus can more effectively take prior action to prevent epidemics, the treatment for this ailment once it has been contracted remains merely the keeping of the patient as comfortable as possible, and of course ensuring that dehydration does not set in. Although nowadays we no longer attempt to cure the disease by such harmful techniques of medical science as bloodletting, this viral ailment remains as untreatable today as ever it has been.



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October 24, Wednesday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Liberty Hill, Georgia, James Suer and James Calaway, men who had been selected on account of their race rather than for any other alleged offense, were lynched.

October 30, Tuesday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Duke, Alabama, a black man named Abernathy, accused of assault, was lynched.

Ragnar Granit was born, who as a Finnish/Swedish neurophysiologist would be awarded the Nobel prize in 1967 for work on the physiology of color vision. Granit would identify “dominator” and “modulator” cells in the retina, responsible respectively for brightness and color perception. He would also perform pioneering studies of how motion and form are coded in the retina and transmitted to the brain.

PSYCHOLOGY

November 15, Thursday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list has 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Jefferson, Texas, three black Americans of unknown names who had been accused of an attempt to murder were murdered spectacularly by a white mob.

November 16, Friday or 17, Saturday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Limon or Lymon, Colorado, Preston Porter, Jr., an American of color accused of murder, was lynched by being burned at the stake, while protesting his innocence, with some 5,000 white people in attendance. The account of this in the New-York Herald had it that while the flames were licking at his body Preston was heard to have been repeated the 23rd Psalm.

The frank opinion of the minister from China in Washington DC, Wu Ting-Fang, on this lynching in Colorado, was solicited by a reporter, and this ambassador's carefully considered response would be published in the Cleveland, Ohio Leader:

What do I think of lynching? Well, that is strictly an American institution. China has been accused of many barbarities, but lynching is not one of them. Burning that poor fellow at the stake, Ugh! The very idea makes me shudder. And he died protesting his innocence. Guilty men don't do that. But I don't understand it at all. You brought the black here against his will. You made him free, or the great Lincoln did. Then you declared him equal to the white man, but you denied him equality. He cannot hold office; that is, you seldom elect him to one. He can't serve on a jury, though he has the right, and he is still a slave socially. The difficulty seems to me to be that you regard him as a savage and treat him as such. He feels



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himself an outlaw and acts accordingly.
...the American officers -these sheriffs you call them- seem to help these mobs instead of protecting their prisoners. The law permits them to kill the mob, but they let the mob kill their prisoner, whom they have sworn to protect. In China an officer who did that would forfeit his life. He would kill himself rather than suffer such disgrace. In China prisoners are not guaranteed a trial, but they always get it. Then, if they are guilty, they suffer. Nations that permit lynching cannot call themselves Christian nations. This habit, and it is a habit here, is a blot upon the nation's good name.... You must face this problem sooner or later, and the sooner you face it the better for you and for the Negro. And I believe you will find the only solution of the problem is to assimilate the colored man by intermarriage.

The Chicago Tribune, in commenting on this, of course drew the line at the yellow ambassador's suggestion that white Americans assimilate black Americans by intermarriage, pointing out that assimilation through miscegenation was a solution that had already been attempted and that had already failed:

There was scarcely a plantation in the length and breadth of the South in the halcyon days of slavery, on which there was not a brood of bastards, the result of the pollution of black women by their masters and their masters' sons. And there courses through the veins of the Negroes of this country the blood of some of its proudest names which are held up to the emulation of American youth. The white man who morally demoralized the Negro race when it was in his power can hardly be expected at this late day to make reparation by legitimatizing the fruits of these unholy unions, or to marry the black women whose mothers and their relatives were the helpless victims of his lustful passions. The white men of the South understand better than Mr. Wu why the assimilation of the two races cannot be made to do duty in solving the problem of the centuries.

December 8, Saturday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Wythe County, Virginia, Daniel Long, accused of rape, was [lynched](#).

[Mother Mary Alphonsa Lathrop](#) ([Rose Hawthorne Lathrop](#)) made her vows as a Dominican nun, taking the name [Mother Mary Alphonsa](#). With her first companion, Sister M. Rose, she would found the Dominican Congregation of St. Rose of Lima, later called the Servants of Relief for Incurable Cancer.

[CATHOLICISM](#)

December 16, Sunday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Rockford, Indiana, Bud Rowland and Thomas Henderson, accused of murder, were [lynched](#).



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December 17, Monday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Booneville, Indiana, John Rolla, accused of complicity in murder, was [lynched](#).

December 19, Wednesday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Arcadia, Mississippi, a black American of unknown name, accused of murder, was [lynched](#).

December 20, Thursday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Gulf Port, Mississippi, a black American known as Lewis, accused of murder, was [lynched](#).

December 21, Friday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Arkadelphia, Arkansas, a black American of unknown name, accused of rape, was [lynched](#).

December 27, Thursday: L'hiver op.8/2 for voice and piano or orchestra to words of Banville was performed for the initial time, in Paris, with the composer Charles Koechlin himself at the keyboard.

Carrie Nation led a march on the Carey Hotel in Wichita, [Kansas](#), smashing all the liquor bottles she could find.

December 28, Friday: For most years we don't have any record, but early in 1901 someone at the Chicago Tribune made up a list of the lynchings which had occurred in America during the previous year. The list had 117 entries — a lynching, typically a white mob of some size hanging an adult black male, had been occurring every three days or so. Because of this list we know that on this day in Marion, Georgia, George Faller, accused of arson, was [lynched](#).



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1901

January 15, Tuesday: Fred Alexander, an American of color, was burned at the stake in Leavenworth, Kansas.

LYNCHING

October 29, Tuesday: Leon Czolgosz was [electrocuted](#) in Auburn, New York for having assassinated President William McKinley.

October 31, 1901 Piece for organ op.59/2 by Max Reger is performed for the first time, in Zwickau.

Come, gentle night, a song by Edward Elgar to words of Bingham, is performed for the first time, in Royal Albert Hall, [London](#).

1905

February 2, Thursday morning: At 7:30AM, Louis Crowie and Richard Crowie were [hanged](#) in the Customs back shed for having murdered signalman Robert Samuel Gunnell at [St. Helena](#)'s Prosperous Bay Signal Station during the previous November. Quicklime was placed in the coffins with these bodies (these would turn out to be the final executions on this island).

FINAL EXECUTIONS		
February 14, 1890	Wong Ah Hing (AKA Ah Tee)	last hanging in San Francisco, California (subsequently, hangings would be at San Quentin, a new state prison across the bay)
February 2, 1905	Louis Crowie and Richard Crowie	final hangings on the island of St. Helena
July 16/17, 1918	Tsar Nicholas II	gunned down along with Tsarina Alexandra and their children Olga, Tatiana, Maria, Anastasia, and Alexei, plus Eugene Botkin, Anna Demidova, Alexei Trupp, and Ivan Kharitonov

June 28, Wednesday: When the murderer Languille was decapitated at 5:30AM, Dr. Beurieux cried out his name. He would allege that the freshly severed head then opened its eyes and focused on him for a few seconds, then closed its eyes, so he cried out his name once more and the eyes again opened and closed, but the 3d time he cried out the man's name, nothing was observed. Can you believe that?

HEADCHOPPING



March 12, Saturday: Some men endeavor to live a constrained life, to subject their whole lives to their wills, as he who said he would give a sign if he were conscious after his head was cut off, — but he gave no sign.

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1906

February 13, Tuesday: With the [hanging](#) of William Williams at the county jail in St. Paul, [capital punishment](#) in [Minnesota](#) came officially to an end.⁶²³

COLDBLOODED MURDER

August 6, Monday: On East Council Street near the courthouse in Salisbury, [North Carolina](#), a photographer captured a gelatin silver-print image that Kluttz's Studio would be offering for sale as a 3 1/2 x 5 1/2 postcard. The postcard displays the bodies of Nease or Neuce Gillepsie, John Gillepsie, "Jack" Dillingham, Henry Lee, and George Irwin, along with some onlookers still lingering at the scene of a [lynching](#) that had occurred during the night of August 3d. The initial report in the [New York Times](#) was that these men had been [tortured](#) with knives prior to the lynching, and that their hanging bodies had afterward been used as gun targets by the mob of several thousand. There would also be reports that some fingers and other body parts were severed as souvenirs of the occasion.



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The men had been arrested on suspicion of participation three weeks earlier in the killing of members of the local Lyerly family. The mayor and sheriff had been able to hold back the local crowd only until the arrival of an additional 500 white men from nearby Whitney. George Hall would be sentenced to 15 years at hard labor in the North Carolina penitentiary for his activities as a leader of this lynch mob.



Here is how this region's experience after the civil war stacks up in comparison with other regions of the Old South:

	White Victims	Non-White Victims	Total
Mississippi	40	538	578
Georgia	39	491	530
Texas	141	352	493
Louisiana	56	335	391

623. "Came officially to an end" is a phrase of art. It does not imply that [capital punishment](#) came to an end, but only that it was supposed to not happen anymore. In fact, however, we know that one of the motivating factors for the lynching murders of three innocent black victims in Duluth in 1920 would be an awareness on the part of the general white public, that if these innocent men—who, they supposed, had raped a white girl—were allowed to go through the Minnesota legal system, they would not be put to death.



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Alabama	48	299	347
Arkansas	58	226	284
Florida	24	257	282
Tennessee	47	204	251
Kentucky	63	142	205
South Carolina	4	156	160
Missouri	53	69	122
Oklahoma	82	40	122
North Carolina	15	85	100
Virginia	17	83	100

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1908

It had been conventional, up to this point, for white people to send picture postcards through the US postal service, that commemorated a [lynching](#). In this year it was made illegal to post such picture postcards, although the posting of such cards would not cease. Here is one such postcard, that would be produced in the Year of Our Lord 1920:



From 1907 to 1917, six of our states would be completely outlawing even [capital punishment](#) imposed by the court system, and three would be limiting it to the rarely committed crimes of treason and first degree murder of a law enforcement official. (However, by 1920 five of the six abolitionist states would have reinstated their death penalty.)

COLDBLOODED MURDER



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During the hot summer of 1908, racial tension heightened in Springfield, Illinois. On the night of July 4th, Independence Day, Clergy Ballard, a respectable mining engineer, was awakened by a strange noise. Investigating, he found a stranger at the bedside of his young daughter. The intruder ran out of the house and the father gave chase and caught him. He had a straight razor. The father died the next morning from a slashed throat. The people of Springfield were led by the local press to infer that the crime was a thwarted attempt at sexual assault. Before the father died he identified his assailant as Joe James, a local black man with a long police record of minor criminal offenses, and James was beaten unconscious by a band of angry whites. The police rescued James and carted him off to jail charged with murder and attempted rape.

One month later, on August 14th, unsuspecting readers of the Illinois State Journal opened their eyes to a shocking headline screaming, “DRAGGED FROM HER BED AND OUTRAGED BY NEGRO.” The readers were again faced with the story of a “heinous crime” that had been committed the night before. Mabel Hallam, the 21-year-old wife of a city street car conductor, allegedly had been snatched from a peaceful sleep and sexually assaulted by a black fiend. The outraged Hallam identified her attacker as George Richardson, a caretaker who worked odd jobs in the her neighborhood. By Friday, August 14th, two blacks sat in jail, Joe James and George Richardson both accused and assumed to have raped white women.

Whites gathered at the southwest corner of 7th and Jefferson, where the Sangamon County Jail housed the hated individuals, James and Richardson. As the temperature soared into the high 90s, the crowd demanded that the two be released to them. Sheriff Charles Werner devised a plan to transport the two to safety. A false fire alarm diverted the crowd’s attention while the prisoners were being escorted out the back of the jail to a car owned by a local restaurateur, Harry Loper. By 5PM the two prisoners were on the train to safety in Bloomington, 60 miles to the north.

Kate Howard, a rooming-house owner notorious for her race hate, was at the center of this white mob. When they found out they had been tricked, they moved from the county jail down to Harry Loper’s restaurant when they learned that it had been his car that had been used in the escape. Harry Loper stood in the doorway of his restaurant with a rifle, but then left by the back door as the mob preceded to trash and destroy the restaurant. They consumed the liquor, broke the plate glassed windows, demolished the interior, and torched his \$5,000 automobile.

Springfield Mayor Roy Reece was in hiding but State Governor Charles Dedeene was in town and he called out the militia.

The crowd headed toward the black commercial section of the city called the Levee and broke into Fishman’s pawn shop, a Jewish-owned business, and stole weapons. The mob, now with guns, ammunition, and ropes, moved through the Levee, destroying black businesses. The crowd destroyed two or three blocks of the Levee and moved north heading toward the black residential section, the Badlands.

Scott Burton, a black man with a white wife, attempted to protect his barbershop with a shotgun. He fired once, ineffectively, and was killed by return fire. The barber shop was set on fire and the body was paraded to a saloon several blocks away. The corpse hung from a tree outside the saloon, riddled by bullets, until the militia could cut it down.

In the “Badlands” residential district, the rioters avoided the homes with white handkerchiefs tied outside, which signified that these were homes owned or inhabited by whites, and when firemen arrived, the crowd hindered their progress and cut the hoses. It was estimated that nearly 12,000 people had gathered to watch the Badlands burn. Some blacks found safety at the State Armory, while others fled the town. Those that went to surrounding towns were met by signs that read, “All Niggers are warned out of town by Monday, 12 Sharp!”. By midnight some national guard units arrived and dispersed the mob and the violence ended for Friday night. On Saturday there was a troubled sort of peace, but at the same time mass migrations of people out of and into of the city was taking place. Fleeing out of Springfield were an estimated 2,000-3,000 Negro residents.

A number would never return.

However, the peace ended on Saturday evening, August 15th. A mob gathered once again at the Old Court House Building and then began to move in the direction of the State Arsenal Building. A small group attempted to enter the State Arsenal where displaced blacks were being housed. The group was stopped by a militia guard, but the mob merely changed direction and proceeded to march across the capitol grounds and headed for the home of William Donnegan. He was a cobbler, 84 years of age, and a long-time resident of Springfield, married to a white woman. He had cobbled the shoes of Abraham Lincoln. The mob approached Donnegan’s home. When he came out to find what they were up to, they grabbed him, cut his throat, dragged



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his body across the street, and [lynched](#) him in the Edwards School yard. He was still alive when the national guard cut him down, but died early the next morning. After this lynching the rioters dispersed.

By Sunday morning, much of Springfield laid in ruins. On Sunday more national guard troops arrived and in general the day was peaceful. The official death total was reported to be seven, two blacks and five accidental whites. There were rumors of many more deaths. Property damage was in excess of \$200,000. Forty homes were destroyed and others were damaged while twenty-four businesses were forced to close their doors either temporarily or permanently.

Immediately after the riot, city officials expressed deep regret for the mob's actions and called for swift justice. A special grand jury returned 107 indictments but these achieved only one conviction, of someone who had stolen a saber from one of guards. The murderers of Scott Burton and William Donnegan were left unpunished, as were the arsonists who had set fire to the homes in the Badlands. Kate Howard, one of the ringleaders of the mob, committed suicide rather than face charges. Mabel Hallam confessed that she had made up her story of being raped in order to cover up an affair she was having, and George Richardson was therefore released from jail, but Joe James was convicted of the murder of Clergy Ballard.

The Springfield Race Riot of Summer 1908 had been sparked by Mabel Hallam's false accusation and fueled by economic and racial tensions already brewing in the black and white communities. This riot also marked the last conflict between the races in which blacks did not form up as a group to defend themselves.

FAMOUS LASTS		
November 11, 1906	Catherine S. Damon	widow of US veteran of American Revolution, age 92
Summer 1909	Springfield race riot	final occasion on which black Americans did not form up as a group to resist a white race riot
April 25, 1911	Phoebe M. Palmeter	dependent of US veteran of American Revolution, age 90

This would prompt the creation, in New York City, of a National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.



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1909

January: Jules-Henri Desfourneaux made his debut as an aide at French beheadings, his introduction to this profession being by way of a grand uncle, Edouard Mathieu Desfourneaux, who had himself been an aide to Heidenreich. Another relative, Leopold Desfourneaux, would be an aide to Anatole Deibler.

HEADCHOPPING



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1910

July 30, Saturday: A mob of 200 whites in Palestine, [Texas](#) opened fire on a group of unarmed blacks outside a dancehall. There would be 18 black bodies.

NOT A LYNCHING



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1914

November 6, Friday: [Australian](#) forces occupied the [German](#) island of Nauru.

[Japanese](#) troops breached the final [German](#) defenses at Tsingtao.

France declared war on the Ottoman Empire.

Russian forces made advances toward Koprukeui, east of Erzurum. Meanwhile, Russian ships mined the entrance to the Bosphorus and bombard Zonguldak, Turkey.

WORLD WAR I

Austria-Hungary launched a major offensive across the Drina into Serbia.

Four of the songs for voice and piano op.137 by Max Reger were performed for the 1st time, in Meiningen: *Dein Wille, Herr, geschehe!*, *Am Abend*, *Klage vor Gottes Leiden* and *O Jesu Christ, wir warten dein*. The composer performed at the piano.

The Camp was Hushed...*Reposez vous, vous chevaliers!* for men's chorus by [Arthur William Foote](#) to words of Aldrich, was performed for the initial time, in Boston.

Carl Hans Lody was executed by [firing squad](#) in a wooden chair at the end of a 100-foot target practice shed at the [Tower of London](#), the 1st German spy to be shot during the war and, it has been said inaccurately, the 1st person executed on the grounds of the Tower of London itself as opposed to such venues as Tower Hill, since 1601, when Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex had been the 7th of 7 with royal connections (including Anne Boleyn, Catherine Howard, and Lady Jane Grey), to get the axe — inaccurately, because in fact during 1743 various Scottish deserters had been done in at the Tower by firing squad. In all, 11 German spies would be executed at the Tower during World War I: Carl Hans Lody, Haicke Janssen, Willem Roos, Francis Buschman, Carl Muller, Ernst Melin, Augusto Roggen, George Breeckow, Irving Ries, Albert Meyer, and Ludovico Hurowitz-y-Zender (the shed and its chair to which they were strapped for execution are of course no longer in existence):

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1915

July 30, day: A mass arrest of Armenians in the city of Angora was carried out. Those arrested would be slain the following day at a place six hours distance from the city.

ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

The withdrawal of the Russian Army from the city of Van began.

Haicke Janssen and Willem Roos, German spies, were executed by [firing squad](#) in the moat area of the [Tower of London](#). Janssen was strapped into the wooden chair at 6AM, and his corpse had been removed and replaced by the living body of Roos by 6:10AM.

WORLD WAR I

September 19, Sunday: [German](#) forces captured Lublin.

Francis Buschman, a German spy, was executed by [firing squad](#) in a wooden chair at the end of a 100-foot target practice shed at the [Tower of London](#). The shed, and its chair to which spies were strapped, are no longer in existence:





STATE MURDER

October 12, Tuesday: 6AM. In Belgium, [Germans](#) executed English nurse Edith Cavell by [firing squad](#), whose only crime had been tending to wounded British soldiers and helping them get back home. Executed next to her was Philippe Bauqc, an architect who had assisted her.⁶²⁴

[WORLD WAR I](#)

Orders were issued forbidding Turkish men to intermarry with Armenian women.

[ARMENIAN GENOCIDE](#)

October 13, Wednesday: In [Berlin](#) it was announced that a story going around, of “Armenian massacres,” was an Allied fabrication.

[ARMENIAN GENOCIDE](#)

London was bombarded by Zeppelins killing 55 and injuring 114.

[WORLD WAR I](#)

624. Some would consider helping wounded men get back home to be an unproblematic hobby. Some would consider shooting nurses and architects to be unsportsmanlike.



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1916

Spring: There was a [lynching](#), of four black men, at Rices Point in Duluth.⁶²⁵

MINNESOTA
COLDBLOODED MURDER

May: 72,000 Armenian deportees were reported in Der-el-Zor (Deir el-Zor) District.

ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

US naval forces began to maintain order in the Dominican Republic during a period of chronic and threatened insurrection (to September 1924).

US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS

At some point during the late spring or early summer of this year –according to a footnote in a sociological report at the Hay Library (not presently locatable)– in Duluth, [Minnesota](#) four blacks were [lynched](#).⁶²⁶

COLDBLOODED MURDER

625. Presumably what we have here are two reports of the same event, one saying “May” and the other saying “Spring,” although I don’t have the evidence on that.

626. Presumably what we have here are two reports of the same event, one saying “May” and the other saying “Spring,” although I don’t have the evidence on that.



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1917

June 6, Wednesday: Desirous of peace, sailors aboard the [German](#) warship Prince Regent Leopold staged a hunger strike. Similar actions followed on other [German](#) ships. On September 5th the leaders of the strike would be executed by [firing squad](#).

Georges Auric, Louis Durey, and Arthur Honegger organized an homage to Erik Satie in Salle Huyghens. This was the beginning of the group of young composers organizing itself around Satie, soon to be called Nouveaux Jeunes.

The US 5th [Marine](#) Regiment sailed for France.

WORLD WAR I

October 15, Monday: Margaretha Geetruida Zelle, also known as “H21” and as “Mata Hari” (which in Malay means “Eye of the Dawn”) was suspected of being a double agent spying both for the French and the [Germans](#). It is fakelore that she threw open her fur coat and flashed the 12-man French [firing squad](#) at Vincennes. Her body was taken to be dissected by University of Paris medical students and her head went to the Museum of Anatomy in [Paris](#) (where in the year 2000 it would be stolen).



WORLD WAR I

THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS

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1918

Conscientious objectors in [World War I](#) numbered more than 4,000.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

The US law of conscription was encapsulated during 1918 in Selective Draft Law Cases, 245 US 366. There was less tolerance of [conscientious objection](#) than even during the [US Civil War](#). At Alcatraz, 17 of these draft resisters would die of maltreatment.

MILITARY CONSCRIPTION



This is not a photograph of Alcatraz while it was being used to house the American [COs](#) who died of maltreatment, but of a British prison in use for the same purpose of the isolation and neutralization of attitudes

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of conscientious objection, in this same period (I do not know of any Brits who died of maltreatment):



“In the course of one year of conscription, 64,693 made application to be excused from combatant status, and of this number, 3,989 desired exemption also from non-combatant duty. Of this number, 99 consented to be sent to France and to engage in reconstruction activities, 1,200 worked on farms, and in other ways their number was reduced to 503, who were given prison sentences.”

“A total of 1,461 [were found to be sincere]. Those found to be insincere numbered 103. The remaining cases

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were disposed of by various means.” Here is a group of WWI conscientious objectors, photographed in prison:



In [Illinois](#) during this year, German-born American Robert Prager failed to stand during our national anthem. Stripped of most of his clothes, he was forced to kiss the American flag. He was bound with strips of cloth torn from an American flag and [lynched](#) before a cheering crowd of some 500 or more people. When those responsible were brought to trial, their defense was the “unwritten law” and the jury acquitted in less than an hour, characterizing what had happened as “patriotic murder.”

COLDBLOODED MURDER

FIGURING OUT WHAT AMOUNTS TO A “HISTORICAL CONTEXT” IS WHAT THE CRAFT OF HISTORICIZING AMOUNTS TO, AND THIS NECESSITATES DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN THE SET OF EVENTS THAT MUST HAVE TAKEN PLACE BEFORE EVENT E COULD BECOME POSSIBLE, AND MOST CAREFULLY DISTINGUISHING THEM FROM ANOTHER SET OF EVENTS THAT COULD NOT POSSIBLY OCCUR UNTIL SUBSEQUENT TO EVENT E.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

July 17, Monday: The Communists executed [Tsar Nicholas II](#), along with Tsarina Alexandra and their children Olga, Tatiana, Maria, Anastasia, and Alexei, plus Eugene Botkin, Anna Demidova, Alexei Trupp, and Ivan Kharitonov.

FINAL EXECUTIONS		
February 2, 1905	Louis Crowie and Richard Crowie	final hangings on the island of St. Helena
July 16/17, 1918	Tsar Nicholas II	gunned down along with Tsarina Alexandra and their children Olga, Tatiana, Maria, Anastasia, and Alexei, plus Eugene Botkin, Anna Demidova, Alexei Trupp, and Ivan Kharitonov
August 14, 1936	Rainey Bethea	22-year-old black American hanged in public in Owensboro, Kentucky before a crowd of 20,000 including more than 200 visiting sheriffs and deputies; last person publicly executed in the USA

September 5, Thursday: Due to world war the “World Series” started a month early.

The Massachusetts Department of Health alerted area newspapers that an [influenza](#) epidemic was underway. Dr. John S. Hitchcock of the state health department warned that “unless precautions are taken the disease in all probability will spread to the civilian population of the city.”

Rupert Blue, Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service, dispatched advice to the press on how to recognize the [influenza](#) symptoms. Blue prescribed bed rest, good food, salts of quinine, and aspirin.

Lieutenant Colonel Philip Doane, head of the Health and Sanitation Section of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, speaking in [Washington DC](#), provided fuel for rumor and speculation by suggesting that the enemy was responsible for the deadly [influenza](#) that was striking Americans. Said Doane: “It would be quite easy for one of these German agents to turn loose Spanish influenza germs in a theater or some other place where large numbers of persons are assembled. The Germans have started epidemics in Europe, and there is no reason why they should be particularly gentle with America.”

Sweeping powers were granted to the Cheka, beginning the “Red Terror” in areas controlled by the Bolsheviks. Mass executions began. As part of this Józef Lutoslawski, father of Witold, and his brother Marian, were executed by [firing squad](#) by the Bolsheviks outside Moscow (they had been arrested in Murmansk in April and charged with counter-revolutionary activities for trying to organize the transportation of Polish troops).

Sonata for violin and piano op.27 by Hans Pfitzner was performed for the initial time, in München at the 1st event of the newly founded Hans-Pfitzner-Vereins für deutsche Tonkunst.

The Massachusetts Department of Health announced that an Spanish [influenza](#) epidemic was occurring in the state.

Two songs by Charles T. Griffes were performed for the 1st time, in National Thurston Auditorium, Lockport, New York, with the composer himself at the piano: Come, Love, Across the Sunlit Land op.4/2 and La fuite de la lune op.3/1.

WORLD WAR I



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

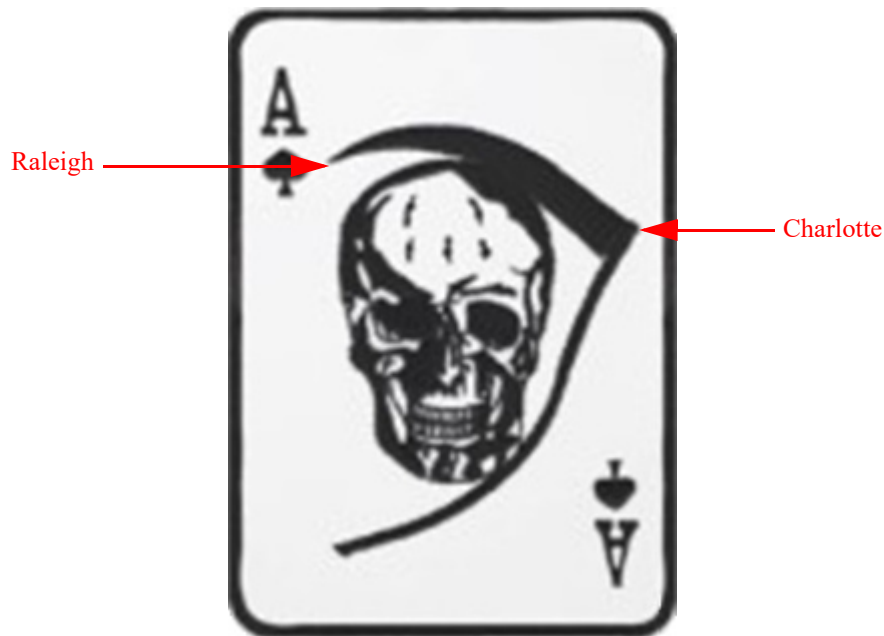
1920

The people of [South Carolina](#) didn't want to forget the way things used to be. Marking the formal beginning of organized historic preservation, Susan Pringle Frost and others therefore formed a Society for the Preservation of Old Dwellings, later to be renamed the Preservation Society of [Charleston](#).

65 people were [lynched](#) in the United States of America during the course of this year. 57 of them were black men. One was a black woman. 7 were not black. The Duluth Publishing Company put out a pictorial booklet, MOB VIOLENCE, that sold for 35¢.

[MINNESOTA](#)

By this point [tobacco](#) had become an important crop in [North Carolina](#) and yet the economy was being primarily driven by the state's cheap-labor manufacturing capacity. The three major labor-intensive industries, tobacco products, cotton textiles, and furniture, had come to be largely concentrated in an area roughly the shape of a scythe: Raleigh as the tip, with the blade curving west and then southwest along the route of the Southern Railway through [Durham](#), Greensboro, and Winston-Salem to Charlotte, and its handle stretching westward from Charlotte.






STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

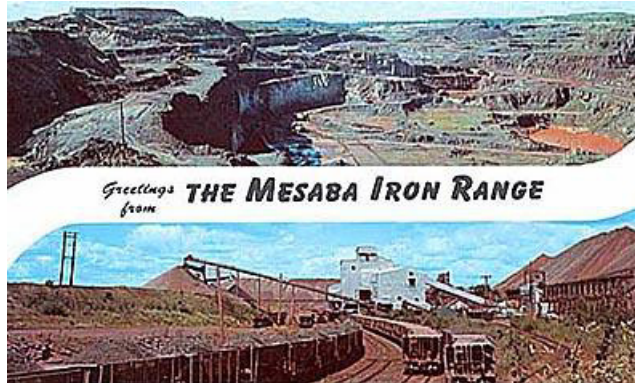
April 16, Friday: The [Minnesota](#) legislature created a statewide Commission for Public Safety⁶²⁷ so that the state could “protect itself against those at home whose behavior tends to weaken the war capacity” (such a group had already been in operation, at least locally in Duluth, for some years). This 7-man panel was formally granted the arbitrary power to take anticipatory, preventive action and was implicitly exempted from any obligation to make use of the legal system. This Commission would take steps to eliminate the teaching of the German language in the public schools, and when the elected mayor of the town of New Ulm would opinion that the US Army ought to be made up of volunteers rather than relying on draftees, they would dismiss him from his municipal office. The existence of this Commission would create, throughout the state, an atmosphere of righteous vigilante justice conducive to mob violence. Trainloads of men would travel from place to place, to invade towns and beat up on their alleged “draft dodgers.” The distinction between this sort of vigilantism and [lynch](#) mobs would be, of course, a matter of the degree of violence applied and a matter of the choice of targets for this violence. (Of course, eventually the statute would be discovered to be unconstitutional.)

⁶²⁷ Would this choice of name indicate a lack of familiarity with the French Revolution and the sad events of the year 1793,  or would it indicate great familiarity with that historical material?

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

June 14, Monday: By early afternoon the Big Top of the John Robinson Show circus in Duluth, [Minnesota](#) was 80% full. Outside the main tent, hundreds of Minnesotans were enjoying sideshow performances such as that of Madame X, the incredible snake handler, and the Nelson Family of bareback riders. Around 9PM, as the circus crew began to strike the animal tents, a crowd gathered to watch the loading of the animals and equipment into their special boxcars, on their way toward two performances scheduled for the Iron Range.⁶²⁸



Among this crowd were a 19-year-old white stenographer high-school dropout with an advanced case of gonorrhea and an 18-year-old white boy who after being a High School basketball hero had gone on to get a local night job.⁶²⁹ Apparently these two denizens of the low-rent district of West Duluth drifted off beyond the crowd behind the wagons and tents, across the railroad tracks and behind a cook tent where a number of the 120 black employees of the circus were eating or relaxing. The two proceeded beyond this tent about 50 yards into a nearby field, followed and observed it would seem by a few of these circus people. Whatever it was that the duo were up to in that dark field that night, whether it was consensual sex between themselves for fun or whether it was the girl having sex with the negroes for ready cash, would never be openly discussed in Duluth. The two parted, the girl going to her home and the boy to his job on the graveyard shift at the Duluth Mesabi and Northern Ore Docks.

LYNCHING

628. The forests of northeastern Minnesota had been virtually erased by the start of the 20th Century, but exploitation of the state's iron-ore deposits was beginning. Three linear formations of rich iron ore had been identified in northeastern Minnesota in the 1860s and 1870s. Mining on the Vermillion Range began in 1884, the Mesabi Range in 1892, and the Cuyuna Range in 1911. Production levels rose and fell in response to changing market conditions. When our white armies returned from France after WWI, the survivors of the war and of the flu epidemic that followed it discovered that the mining companies had largely replaced them with cheap black labor — and they were of course enraged. Extraction levels would peak during and right after World War I and World War II, but plunge in the early 1930s, and to a lesser extent in the 1960s as high-grade ores that were economical to extract finally became scarce. New technology, however, would then permit the processing of taconite, a lower-grade rock found in abundance along the Mesabi. By the turn of the 20th Century, the Iron Range had been transformed from a sparsely-populated wilderness into an industrialized landscape inhabited by immigrants from almost every nation of Europe. When iron-ore production increased dramatically in the early 20th Century, the population of the Iron Range also soared. The advent of collective bargaining agreements between labor and management during the late 1930s and early 1940s eventually made iron-ore miners among the highest paid blue-collar workers in the nation. Periods of economic decline and depression have now brought disproportionately great hardship to the Iron Range. The finite nature of the iron-ore resource ultimately led to depletion and the abandonment of mine sites, leaving the miners and their support communities substantially adrift in the ebb and flow of economic change.

629. Neither this male nor this female ever gave a convincing and consistent account of what they had been up to that night. They lived quietly in the city for the remainder of their lives, and despite the fact that both are now long deceased, the convention has been that in the telling of this story their names are never given. (If I knew their names, I'd tell you.)



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

June 15, Tuesday: The white boy who had during the previous evening been with the white girl behind the circus tent had worked nearly an hour of his graveyard shift before he told his father, who was the night superintendent, that a girl he had been with at the circus had gotten raped by a gang of blacks. The father immediately phoned Police Chief John Murphy at home to pass on his son's story. Chief Murphy drove to the police station and then to the ore docks, where he drew out the story in full detail from the son. The teenager told him that, as he and the girl had been leaving, six black men had blocked their way and one had slipped behind him and grabbed his arms, while another had placed a pistol in back of his ear. The story was that the four other men had taken the girl behind a clump of bushes by the railroad tracks — and that they had made him watch while they took turns sexually assaulting her. What a story!

Chief Murphy telephoned and had this circus train detained by the yardmaster of the DW&PRR. Chief Murphy, Captain Fiskett, and Lieutenant Schulte rousted the black circus employees from their sleeping cars at 4:30AM, so the two teenagers could make identifications. Thirteen black men were detained and the train was allowed to proceed. The blacks were put in cells at the downtown police headquarters.

After more questioning, seven of the thirteen were released. Of the remaining six, Chief Murphy suspected that Elias Clayton, Nate Green, Elmer Jackson, Loney Williams, and John Thomas had committed rape, with the sixth, Isaac McGhie, as a material witness. All suspects were between 19 and 21 and had worked for the circus for only a few months. Shortly after 7AM, the chief released all his policemen to go back to their homes. The white girl's mother phoned the family physician, Dr. David Graham, to make an immediate house call and examine her daughter. Although Dr. Graham found the teenager to be suffering from a slight case of nervous exhaustion, he saw nothing to indicate that she had just been sexually assaulted. Aware that the story of a rape had probably been concocted, he did not at this time communicate this to anyone.

There hadn't been any news reporter around during the night and the Duluth morning newspaper, the News-Tribune, had missed the entire story. By noon, however, word of mouth had spread the news widely through West Duluth of a gang rape, that it had been done by armed negroes, that the victim was a white teenage girl. Stories like this just don't lose anything in the retelling!⁶³⁰ A 38-year-old businessman from West Duluth, Louis Dondino, was outraged. He jumped in his truck and began to collect other white men who were outraged. Between noon and 6PM, rumors were spreading through town of a mob that was marching on the police headquarters. The police had hooked up fire hoses at their front and rear entrances, and had stationed a detail of police at each entrance. Around 8:30PM, about two dozen citizens tried to infiltrate by way of the garage in the rear of the building, and had to be chased off by six officers, including Sergeant Oscar Olson, waving billy clubs. Ten minutes later, the mob of somewhere between 5,000 and 10,000 white people (a large percentage of the population of the city!) was breaking out all of the windows on the first floor of the building

630. An example of how these stories build: The mother responded to a question about the girl by saying "She's in bed," and this was misheard and reported to the white mob as "She's dead." (A comparison situation has occurred more recently, in the 1970s in San Jose, California. A black man named John Smith had been a member of a Parents Without Partners club, and had been visiting white women. Two white police officers were also members of that Parents Without Partners club. They caught John Smith visiting a white woman in an apartment complex, and somehow Smith was beaten to death with a tire iron that matched the car of one of the two policemen, but did not match Smith's car, and then the policemen radioed to the police station that they had been confronted by "an angry NMA," meaning Negro Male Adult, wielding a tire iron, and that they had been forced to take the tire iron away from him and subdue him with it. A San Jose police reporter, listening to this, thought he had heard "an angry enemy," which added significantly to the confusion. The two white policemen would not be charged with the murder of John Smith. The police reporter would be further instructed in police operational terminology, and would apologize abjectly for having misunderstood.)

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STATE MURDER

with bricks and surging into the station.



STATE MURDER

LYNCING

The police called for help from the [Minnesota](#) National Guard. The mob was kept away from the black prisoners for almost an hour, but at around 9:30PM, it began to batter at the two heavy steel doors of the cellblock, and to saw at the steel bars. Isaac McGhie was dragged from his cell upstairs and beaten before being dragged downstairs. Thrown into a wall and pummeled, he lost a tooth. He was attempting to shield his broken nose with his hand. Downstairs, Loney Williams was sitting on a cot in a cell, cradling his head in his hands and whispering silent prayers and vomiting. The crowd was unable to get at him and moved to where Elias Clayton was being held. The mob eventually broke into all the cells and beat all six of the black prisoners. These black men were denying any knowledge of what they were being accused of, which was making the white men even more hostile. Finally, McGhie and Jackson were hustled outside and dragged up a block to the corner of 2nd Avenue East and 1st Street, where there was a light pole near the Shriners Auditorium.



Ropes obtained gratis from the hardware store across from the police department were heaved over the light fixture. The Reverend W.J. Powers climbed onto this light pole to beg the mob to stop, but someone grabbed him and pulled him down. The crowd began to chant and sing as the noose was put around the neck of Isaac McGhie, the material witness, and he was hoisted off the ground. Then it was the turn of 19-year-old Elmer Jackson.

The crowd was cheering as the two men choked. Back at the station, the other four were still being questioned, and the mob went back and grabbed Elias Clayton. Needing to see more clearly the blood dripped from the

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STATE MURDER

mouths of the three [hanging](#) men, a car with a searchlight was pulled up. Photographs were taken for keepsakes (at least two postcards would be created out of these).



In these photos you can notice a few white men with blank expressions, and others who are grinning — but we don't see anyone with an expression on his face that you would want to describe as shocked. By the time Major Beecher's militia arrived with its rifles and bayonets, and formed into a crowd-control line, the show was over. The mob of citizens simply evaporated.

Do you suppose anyone is going to be guilty of murder?

WEST DULUTH GIRL VICTIM OF NEGROES



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

June 16, Wednesday: Giovanni Giolitti replaced Francesco Saverio Nitti as prime minister of Italy.

Puerto Rican brothers Sosthenes and Hernand Behn incorporate International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation to hold Puerto Rico Telephone Company, the Cuban Telephone Company, and one-half of the [Cuban](#) American Telephone and Telegraph Company.

Near the Duluth police station, at 1AM, the three black bodies were finally cut down. Sheriff Magie asked the state governor to provide a battery of state militia and a machine gun detachment, and despite rumors that there were to be more [lynchings](#), an additional 14 black men would be brought to the county jail for questioning. There was never any hard evidence produced, that there had been an actual rape or inter-racial assault. All the actual evidence was consistent, rather, with a presumption that the two white teenagers had simply gone out into the dark of the field to hump each other as teenagers will, but had been noticed there by an idle group of young black men — who had found that situation rather amusing and had made some comments. Only 19 members of the lynch mob would ever be charged in the riot, and only 3 would ever be convicted, and not for murder but for mere rioting. After three or four others would be acquitted of all charges by the juries, charges against the remainder would have to be simply dropped. After the lynching, one of the surviving black



prisoners, Max Mason would be tried and convicted and sentenced to 30 years in the [Minnesota](#) state penitentiary at Stillwater. The evidence against him at his trial was that the alleged rape victim had an advanced case of gonorrhea, and allegedly he also had gonorrhea. It would appear that the legal system would not comment on the fact that if having gonorrhea were proof of a man's having raped someone, then a very significant percentage of the white population of the city were rapists. Mason continually demanded to be tested for gonorrhea —alleging that in fact he did not have it— but his demands for testing were ignored. However, after three years in the pen without any treatment for this alleged case for gonorrhea, an entirely unusual and totally unexplained event would occur — the state parole board would suddenly without preserving any records of their decision release him from the prison, on parole! “Go thou and sin no more.”

August 5, Thursday: Four black men accused of raping a white woman were taken from the local jail in McClenny, Florida and [lynched](#).⁶³¹

631. The film *Rosewood* would be based on this Florida history of the 1920s.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1921

February 12, Saturday: A black man in Wauchula, Florida was [lynched](#) for allegedly having attacked a white woman.⁶³²

May 30, Monday: The US Navy transferred the Teapot Dome oil reserves to the Department of the Interior.

GOVERNMENT SCANDALS

Meanwhile there was a distraction in Tulsa, Oklahoma, in the Drexel Building, in the elevator being operated by employee Sarah Page. Dick Rowland, a black man, got on the elevator in this day and, it would appear, may have stumbled over the white woman's foot. For whatever reason, this white woman screamed, and when she screamed, this black man of course fled. We're not sure of details: for instance, it is conceivable that the black man would have reached out to prevent the white woman from falling. However, the word that would circulate was of an interracial sexual assault. On the following day, Rowland was being held in the town's courthouse when a white lynch mob formed, and the black citizens of Tulsa, a significant number of whom had served under arms in WWI, began to dig defensive trenches around their section of town. A group of 75 armed black men mustered outside the courthouse to offer their services to prevent a [lynching](#), but the white Sheriff would of course refuse this offer. Instead, a white man tried to disarm one of the black men, and while they were wrestling, his gun discharged. A massive racial conflict broke out. The armed blacks were outnumbered by the armed whites, ten to one, and black homes and stores were throughout that night being looted and burned. Firefighters could not get at the blazes because they were prevented by the white mobs. The mayor, T.D. Evans, asked the state's governor for the National Guard. The last stand of this race conflict occurred on June 1st, in a cloud of smoke covering the northern districts of Tulsa, at the foot of Standpipe Hill. When the National Guard mounted two machine guns and fired into the area, the black men surrendered, were disarmed, and were marched in columns to confinement in Convention Hall, at a [baseball](#) field, at the fairgrounds, and at an airstrip. The official estimate was that 10 whites and 26 blacks had been killed but, in actuality, there may have been as many as 300 bodies. Many of Tulsa's black residents, their homes gone, their lives shattered, would abandon the city. No charge would ever be brought against Dick Rowland. The official report of the incident soon would disappear from the records.

COLDBLOODED MURDER

CHANGE IS ETERNITY, STASIS A FIGMENT

632. The film *Rosewood* would be based on this Florida history of the 1920s.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1922

Henri-Desiré Landru, a serial wife-killer, became yet another victim of a serial killer, the [guillotine](#).

HEADCHOPPING



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1923

Jefferson Monroe Levy, a nephew of [Uriah Phillips Levy](#), had repaired and restored [Monticello](#). In this year he transferred the property to a Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, that would present the property as a house museum honoring President Thomas Jefferson.⁶³³

By changing sides 3 times during [World War I](#) and managing to end up on the victorious side, Romania had greatly profited, and had come to include large areas from defeated Russian and Hungary and Austria which included great numbers of [Jews](#).

FAMOUS LASTS		
November 11, 1918	Private Henry Gunther of Baltimore, Maryland	killed as news arrived in his unit of the signing of the World War I armistice at 11:00AM
1923	Jews became citizens, in Romania	Romania made itself the final European nation to grant citizenship to its Jews
1924	California grizzly bear in the Sierra Nevada mountains	extinct

In this year Romania became the last European nation to grant citizenship to its [Jews](#) — but do not suppose for a moment that this meant that Romania would love or respect its Jewish “citizens.” Only about half of them would survive the pogroms of [World War II](#). For instance, in Bucharest in early 1941, a line of these Jewish citizens would be forced to strip and get down on all fours and crawl one by one into a slaughterhouse where they were being beheaded, and their skin stamped “fit for human consumption.”

HEADCHOPPING

January 1, Monday: In Rosewood, Florida in the early morning a white woman, Fannie Taylor, reported an attack by an unidentified black man. That afternoon a black man, Aaron Carrier, was apprehended by a white posse and Sheriff Walker spirited him out of the area to protect him from being [lynched](#). Later that afternoon a group of white vigilantes apprehended and killed a black man, Sam Carter.

January 2, Tuesday: Armed white men begin gathering in Sumner, Florida.

633. The foundation, which would adopt the same animus toward Jews and Judaism as had been in fact held by President Jefferson, would for many years choose to suppress facts about the manner in which Monticello had been preserved for our nation.

ANTISEMITISM



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

January 4, Thursday: In the late evening in Rosewood, Florida, white vigilantes attacked the home of Aaron Carrier and it was defended. Two of the white attackers were killed and several were wounded. A black woman, Sarah Carrier, was killed and others inside the house were either killed or wounded. Rosewood's black residents fled into the swamps. A black church and several unprotected homes were also burned. Lexie Gordon was murdered.⁶³⁴

January 5, Friday: Approximately 200-300 armed whites from surrounding areas in Florida converged on Rosewood. They murdered Mingo Williams. When Governor Cary Hardee was notified, Sheriff Walker reported to him that he anticipated "no further disorder." The Sheriff of Alachua County arrived in Rosewood to assist Sheriff Walker. The vigilantes murdered James Carrier.

January 6, Saturday: A train evacuated refugees from Rosewood, Florida to Gainesville, Florida.

January 17, Wednesday: A black man in Newberry, Florida, convicted of stealing cattle, was taken from his cell by local white Americans and [lynched](#).

January 19, Friday: [Germany](#) proclaimed a policy of passive resistance to occupation.

February 11, Sunday: A Grand Jury was convened in Bronson, Florida to investigate the Rosewood riot.⁶³⁵

February 15, Thursday: The Grand Jury in Bronson, Florida found "insufficient evidence" to prosecute anyone for riots and [lynchings](#) and property destruction in Rosewood.

May 27, Sunday: In the Ruhr, Albert Leo Schlageter, a German freebooter and saboteur, was executed by a French [firing squad](#). [Adolf Hitler](#) would be proclaiming that Schlageter had been a hero and that the [German](#) volk had proven unworthy of him.

[NAZISM](#)

634. The film *Rosewood* would be based on this Florida history of the 1920s.

635. The film *Rosewood* would be based on this Florida history of the 1920s.

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1924

February 7, Thursday: The use of cyanide gas was introduced with the execution of Gee Jon, a 29-year-old member of the Hop Sing Tong, born in [China](#), who had in an outbreak of tong warfare killed Tom Quong Kee in Mina, Nevada. First the government of the state of Nevada in its compassion attempted to pump cyanide gas into this prisoner's cell while he slept, but this didn't work so they needed to construct a gas chamber.



During this decade and the following one in the United States of America, there would be a resurgence in [capital punishment](#). (There would be an average of 167 executions per year here during the 1930s, adding up to more than in any other decade in American history.)

May 23: The USSR renounced most treaties made by the Tsarist government with [China](#).

May 31: [China](#) recognized the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Lauri Johannes Ingman replaced Aimo Kaarlo Cajander as prime minister of Finland.

Kaleidoscopic Changes on an Original Theme for piano by Ruth Crawford was performed for the initial time, in Kimball Hall, Chicago, by the composer.

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1927

August 22, Monday: 15,000 people gathered in [New York City](#)'s Union Square in a death vigil for Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti as the shoemaker and the fish peddler were being prepared for the [electric chair](#) in [Charlestown, Massachusetts](#).



ANARCHISM

August 23, Tuesday: Six years after their conviction for bank robbery and murder, despite international protests and substantial evidence that they were elsewhere at the time of the crime (including a confession by one of the true perpetrators), a few minutes after midnight Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were [electrocuted](#) in [Charlestown, Massachusetts](#).

ANARCHISM

Public outrage over the crime had been, it might seem exacerbated by prejudice against Italian immigrants in general.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

November 23, Wednesday: [Guy Davenport](#) was born in Anderson, South Carolina. There in the foothills of Appalachia, his father was an agent for the Railway Express Agency.

Otis Chandler was born in Los Angeles. He would straighten out the Los Angeles Times, that had been a rabid right-wing newspaper, transforming it into one of the nation's finest.

Eric Rotheim obtained a Norwegian patent for an aerosol spray can.

Vocalist Flora McCrea Eaton recorded "By the waters of Minnetonka" on the Victor label.

In Berlin, Vom Tod im Wald, a ballad for bass and ten winds by Kurt Weill to words of Brecht, was performed for the initial time, in the Philharmonic Hall.

In [Mexico](#), execution by [firing squad](#) of [Padre Miguel Augustin Pro, S.J.](#) as he shouted "Viva Christo Rey!" (he has since been beatified).

An US Army pilot, Rusty Rowell, located the Nicaragua mountain base being used by the Sandinista rebels for raids against National Guard troops and American troops occupying Nicaragua.

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1930

ELECTRIC
WALDEN

H.G. Wells lamented that, while the world was becoming smaller and moving at increasing speed, the way information was distributed remained old-fashioned and ineffective, and prescribed a “world brain,” a collaborative, decentralized repository of knowledge that would be subject to continual revision. More radically –with “alma-matricidal impiety,” as he put it– Wells indicted academia; the university was itself medieval. “We want a Henry Ford today to modernize the distribution of knowledge, make good knowledge cheap and easy in this still very ignorant, ill-educated, ill-served English-speaking world of ours.”

There would be more executions in the USA during the 1930s than in any other decade in American history, an average of 167 per year.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT
COLDBLOODED MURDER

August 7, Thursday: In Marion, Indiana, two black men, [Thomas Shipp and Abram Smith](#), were suspected of robbing a white couple, Claude Deeter and Mary Ball, and raping the woman:



The crowd of white people attending the lynching was estimated at 10,000. Since the incident would not in any serious manner be investigated, we do not know whether there was any [Ku Klux Klan](#) organizational connection with this populist race retribution.

Was the federal Bureau of Investigation in any way concerned about this? –No, of course not, for this was merely a matter of local custom and local law enforcement. The robbery of the white people would be recorded as a robbery, among the robbery crime statistics, and the rape of the white woman would be recorded as a rape, among the rape crime statistics, but there would be no entry in the murder crime statistics and **of course there would be no such thing at all** as race [lynching](#) crime statistics.

FBI

On one framed copy of this photograph, a lock of the curly hair of one of these men has been preserved.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1932

Collier Cobb's [NICHOLAS MARCELLUS HENTZ](#) (Chapel Hill: U of [North Carolina](#)).

[Lynching](#) a man named Rick Read for allegedly raping and murdering an 8-year-old had not helped the good people of Oberlin, Kansas manage their anger issues. They remained so angry that at his burial there was no local man of the cloth willing to deliver a sermon. "But at the last minute a preacher showed up who believed that every man was entitled to a Christian burial," one of these good Kansans would remark in after years. "He preached the most beautiful sermon I ever heard. He said, 'If you had a man in your community as crippled in body as this man was in spirit you would all have so much pity on him you'd take him into your homes and care for him.' Our source for this would go on to describe how "All the women started to weep and I cried myself and some men cried, too, and you could feel all the hatred and violence just dissolve up into the air." Finally the good Christians were able to forgive him for having obliged them to lynch him.

(Please notice that there's an important difference, in these files, for the period of the 1930s and 1940s. The important difference is that, during the lengthy regime of President [Franklin Delano Roosevelt](#), there's absolutely no mention at the national level of the Southern Democrat practice of the [lynching](#) of black Americans. During the FDR regime, these lynchings would be going on entirely uninterrupted, and the federal executive branch would be sponsoring zero zip nada niente anti-lynching legislation. Roosevelt was a Democrat, and it was an uneasy alliance between "liberal" Northern Democrats and "conservative" Southern Democrats that, election after election, was keeping him in power. For him to have supported anti-lynching legislation would have been for him to have split his support base, which was made up in roughly equal parts of white Northerners who did not much care what was happening to black Americans down south, and white Southerners who cared not at all that bad things would occasionally happen to the "uppity" among their black neighbors. —How do we know this? —We know this because FDR himself clearly explained his situation to the NAACP's Walter White: saving the lives of these black men would cost him more, in terms of support, than their lives were worth to him.)

May 7, Saturday: At the Santé prison, André Baillard was granted clemency as the assistants of Anatole Deibler were in the process of strapping him to the bascule — now there's something that'd raise the hairs on the nape of your neck!

[HEADCHOPPING](#)

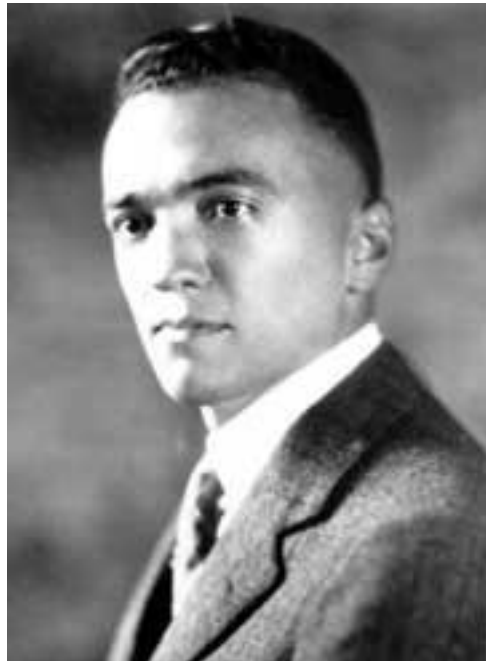
STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1933

During this year 42 black Americans would be offed by white [lynch](#) mobs. The federal government, including the [FBI](#), would do absolutely nothing about this because our president, [Franklin Delano Roosevelt](#), was a Democrat. It was an uneasy alliance between “liberal” Northern Democrats and “conservative” Southern Democrats that, election after election, would be keeping him in power. For him to support anti-lynching legislation would be for him to split his support base, which was made up in roughly equal parts of white Northerners who did not much care what was happening to black Americans down south, and white Southerners who cared not at all that bad things would occasionally happen to the “uppity” among their black neighbors. (How do we know this? –We know this because FDR himself clearly explained his situation to the NAACP’s Walter White: saving the lives of these black men would cost him more, in terms of support, than their lives were worth to him.)

[John R. Kellam](#) attended a long lecture by the new Director of the federal Bureau of Investigation, later to become known as the [FBI](#), named [J. Edgar Hoover](#), and was for the time being suitably impressed:



He was full of what a wonderful organization that was and he was seeing to it that it was increasing in efficiency and effectiveness, catching only the bad guys, only doing that when their evidence was straight and true and sufficient for convictions. If you were innocent, you’d welcome the FBI coming to ask about anything. If you were guilty, you’d better not see



STATE MURDER

the FBI.

STATE MURDER

OURS...to fight for



FREEDOM FROM FEAR

John would have occasion, later in life, to adjust this favorable first impression:

All that good first impression was blown away in January 1945, during my own trial in Toledo federal district court without benefit of in-court counsel and representation, when two of J. Edgar Hoover's FBI operatives would easily resort to entirely unnecessary lies in order to "prove" all but one of my character witnesses wrong about my reasons for claiming to be a conscientious objector.

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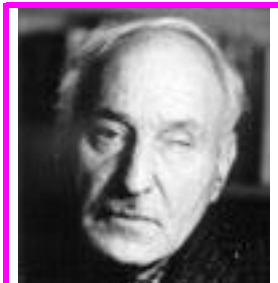
February 27, Monday: A young Dutch socialist, Marinus van der Lubbe, a member of a tiny Communist splinter group opposed both to [Stalin](#) and to the [German](#) Communist Party, was found wandering dazed near the burning [German](#) *Reichstag* building. He would be accused of having committed this arson as a protest against [Nazism](#), despite the greatest difficulties in putting together a crime scenario in which one person acting alone could conceivably have started, without any accelerants, all those simultaneous blazes in various parts of the building. On January 10, 1934 in Leipzig his head would be chopped off with an ax but that would do nothing to resolve the controversy — which has persisted ever since.

[HEADCHOPPING](#)

Having become involved in the Communist Party of the United States, Edward Dahlberg would be going to [Germany](#) at the point at which [Adolf Hitler](#) was coming to power after this torching of the *Reichstag* (this event being for Hitler in Germany what the Twin Towers attack would become for George W. Bush in America — the golden moment that begged to be seized).



After establishing his credentials by being beaten by a [Nazi](#) officer who had either had too much to drink or disliked Communists or perhaps both, Dahlberg would return to Greenwich Village and be offered a commission to write a book on some anti-[Nazi](#) theme. This would be published under the title *THOSE WHO PERISH* and would be the 1st book of its kind to reach the public eye in the United States.

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November 26, Sunday: In San Jose, California, two low-level mob figures had kidnapped the son of a local businessman, and had been caught. The mob was afraid they would sing, implicating others in an attempt to get off, and so they got in contact with the governor of the state, in Sacramento, and organized a group ostensibly made up of outraged citizens. The two accused men were taken from the San Jose jail with only minimal police resistance, and hanged and burned in St. James Park across the street. It was made to look as if they had been [lynched](#) for the crime they had committed, rather than out of a desire to shut their mouths. The event was commemorated by items for sale, such as the following which includes a prior snapshot of Thomas Thurmond:



When this image of the lynched John Holmes appeared on the front page of the local newspaper, the entire issue was confiscated from the newstands by the police — because it featured male nudity:





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1934

January 10, Wednesday: On February 27, 1933 a young Dutch socialist, Marinus van der Lubbe, had been found wandering dazed near the burning German Reichstag building. He had been accused of having committed this arson as a protest against Nazism. On this day in Leipzig, his head was chopped off with an ax.

HEADCHOPPING



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1936

April 3, Friday: Bruno Richard Hauptmann was [electrocuted](#) as the kidnapper and murderer of [Charles Lindbergh III](#).

July 12, Sunday: 13 army officers and 4 civilians, leaders of the February 26th insurrection in [Japan](#), were executed by [firing squad](#).

Falangists murdered Lt. José Castillo, a member of the Spanish Republican Guard.

August 14, Friday: A 22-year-old black American, [Rainey Bethea](#), was [hanged](#) in public in Owensboro, Kentucky before a crowd of 20,000 including more than 200 visiting sheriffs and deputies.

FINAL EXECUTIONS		
1918	Tsar Nicholas II	executed with his family
August 14, 1936	Rainey Bethea	22-year-old black American hanged in public in Owensboro, Kentucky before a crowd of 20,000 including more than 200 visiting sheriffs and deputies; last person publicly executed in the USA
June 17, 1939	Eugen Weidman	public execution by guillotine , at Versailles



STATE MURDER

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1939

February: In this month God, who has a sense of humor, struck the executioner of the French, Anatole Deibler, with a heart attack, in the métro station, as he was setting off for Rennes, to truncate a man named Pilorges, and his life was cut off.

HEADCHOPPING

In this month our poet [Robinson Jeffers](#) composed for us a poem:

Nerves

You have noticed the curious increasing exasperation
Of human nerves these late years? Not only in Europe,
Where reasons exist, but universal; a rope or a net
Is being hauled in, a tension screwed tighter;
Few minds now are quite sane: nearly every person
Seems to be listening for a crash, listening...
And *wishing* for it, with a kind of enraged
Sensibility.

Or is it that we really feel
A gathering in the air of something that hates
Humanity; and in that storm-light see
Ourselves with too much pity and the others too clearly?

Well: this is February, nineteen-three-nine.
We count the months now; we shall count the days.
It seems time that we find something outside our
Own nerves to lean on.

The poet was already beginning to arrive at his concept “inhuman” — which eventually he would use to name his peculiar philosophical attitude as that of Inhumanism. (He had not read Thoreau and thus had no idea that he was merely echoing the life philosophy of another poet. During his life, no-one would ever alert him to this fact.)



“It appears to me that to one standing on the heights of philosophy mankind & the works of man will have sunk out of sight altogether. Man is altogether too much insisted on. The poet says the proper study of mankind is man— I say study to forget all that —take wider views of the universe— That is the egotism of the race. What is this our childish gossiping social literature — mainly in the hands of the publishers? When the poet says the world is too much with us —he means of course that man is too much with us— In the promulgated views of man —in institutions —in the common sense there is narrowness & delusion. It is our weakness that so exaggerates the virtues of philanthropy & charity & makes it the highest human attribute— The world will sooner or later tire of philanthropy —and all religions based on it mainly. They cannot long sustain my spirit.

In order to avoid delusions I would fain let man go by & behold a universe in which man is but as a grain of sand— I am sure that my thoughts which consist or are contemporaneous with social personal connections — however humane are not the wisest & widest —most universal— What is the village —city state —nation —aye the civilized world — that it should so concern a man? It is a comfortable place to nestle no doubt & we have friends — some sympathizing ones it may be, & a



ROBINSON JEFFERS



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hearth, there – but I have only to get up at midnight – aye to soar – or wander a little in my thought by day – to find them all slumbering– Look at our literature what a poor puny social thing seeking sympathy– The author troubles himself about his readers – would fain have one before he dies.– not satisfied with defiling one another in this world, we would all go to heaven together.– To be a good man (that is a good neighbor in the widest sense) is but little more than to be a good citizen. Mankind is a gigantic institution – it is a community to which most men belong. It is a test I would apply to my companion – can he forget man? Can he see this world slumbering?

I do not value any view of the universe into which man & the institutions of man enter very largely & absorb much of the attention– Man is but the place where I stand & the prospect (thence) hence is infinite. it is not a chamber of mirrors which reflect me –when I reflect myself –I find that there is other than me. man is a past phenomenon to philosophy – the universe is larger than enough for man's abode. Some rarely go outdoors – most are always at home at night – very few indeed have stayed out all night once in their lives – fewer still have gone behind the world of humanity –seen his institutions like toad-stools by the way-side. Now the author stands too near his printer. He corrects the proofs.”

–Thoreau's JOURNAL, April 2, 1852

June 17, Saturday: In the final head-chopping to take place in public in France, [Eugen Weidman](#), who had murdered 6 times, became a victim of the [guillotine](#) outside the prison at Versailles.

FINAL EXECUTIONS		
August 14, 1936	Rainey Bethea	22-year-old black American hanged in public in Owensboro, Kentucky before a crowd of 20,000 including more than 200 visiting sheriffs and deputies; last person publicly executed in the USA
June 17, 1939	Eugen Weidman	public execution by guillotine , at Versailles
August 15, 1941	Corporal Josef Jakobs	German spy executed by firing squad at the Tower of London

June 24, Saturday: [George Verhaghen](#) committed [suicide](#) by jumping off the Golden Gate Bridge.

According to a new law state head-choppings were no longer to be conducted in public, but were to take place in Paris within the yard of the Santé prison.

HEADCHOPPING

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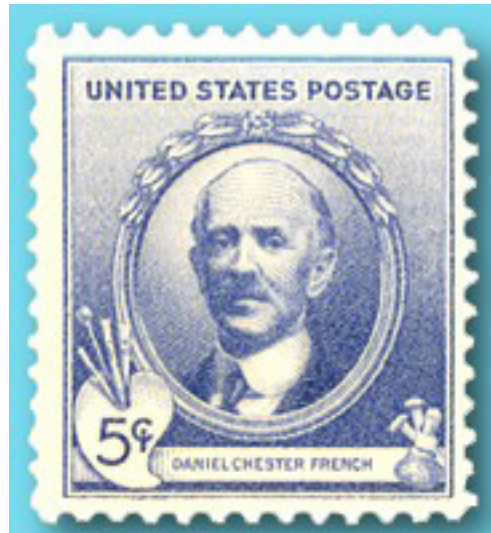
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1940

September 16, Monday: British carrier planes attacked Benghazi, Libya.

WORLD WAR II

The [Daniel Chester French](#) postage stamp was issued.



The United States military conscription bill, the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, was signed by [President Franklin Delano Roosevelt](#), creating this country's initial peacetime draft and formally establishing a Selective Service System as an independent Federal agency.⁶³⁶

WORLD WAR II



All males 21-36 were required to register for the draft. The [FBI](#) became responsible for locating draft evaders

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and deserters. Conscientious objectors were allegedly to be exempted on the basis of training and belief.



For the first time they would be required to serve their country doing “work of national importance under civilian direction.” This was to be the case regardless of whether the person in question was a citizen of the state of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations and as such protected from all such conscription ever since the 17th Century by [Rhode Island](#)’s charter of religious liberty of conscience, a charter that had never before been gainsaid.

636. Don’t you feel so much safer? What if they gave a war and nobody came?

Please notice that there’s an important difference, in these files, for the period of the 1930s and 1940s. The important difference is that, during the lengthy regime of President FDR, there’s absolutely no mention at the national level of the Southern Democrat practice of the [lynching](#) of black Americans. During the FDR regime, these lynchings would be going on entirely uninterrupted, and the federal executive branch would be sponsoring zero zip nada niente anti-lynching legislation. Roosevelt was a Democrat, and it was an uneasy alliance between “liberal” Northern Democrats and “conservative” Southern Democrats that, election after election, was keeping him in power. For him to have supported anti-lynching legislation would have been for him to have split his support base, which was made up in roughly equal parts of white Northerners who did not much care what was happening to black Americans down south, and white Southerners who cared not at all that bad things would occasionally happen to the “uppity” among their black neighbors. (How do we know this? –We know this because FDR himself clearly explained his situation to the NAACP’s Walter White: saving the lives of these black men would cost him more, in terms of support, than their lives were worth to him.)

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MILITARY CONSCRIPTION



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1941

March 13, Thursday: The Boston Bruins defeated the New York Americans, 8-3, becoming the 1st [hockey](#) team to win the divisional championship four times in a row.

15 members of the Dutch resistance were executed by [firing squad](#).

WORLD WAR II

August 4, Monday: Royal Fleet Auxiliary ship HMS *Darkdale*, a new oil tanker, arrived at [St. Helena Island](#) to be Fleet Oiler there, loaded with 3,000 tons of fuel oil, 850 tons of aviation spirit, 500 tons of diesel oil, and some lubricating oil. Prior to coming to anchor it caused slight damage to a Norwegian tanker M.V. Nyholm.

[Japan](#) ended all steamship traffic with the United States.

Josef Jakobs, a [German](#) who had been found injured in the English countryside wearing civilian clothing underneath a flying suit, was taken before a court-martial at the Duke of York Headquarters in Chelsea, charged with “Committing treachery in that you at Ramsay in Huntingdonshire on the night of 31 January 1941/1 February 1941 descended by parachute with intent to help the enemy.” The inquiry took two days. He asked whether he would be shot or hanged if found guilty, and was informed that since this was a military rather than a civilian court, he would be shot. He admitted to being an officer in the Intelligence Section of the German General Staff. He was found guilty and sentenced to execution by [firing squad](#). He would petition the King, alleging that he was a friend of England who had come to this county to help her in her fight against Germany. He asked to be held until the end of the war, when he would be able to prove his innocence of the charge. This would get him exactly nowhere, of course.

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August 15, Friday: 600 Jews were shot in Stawiski, northeast of Warsaw.

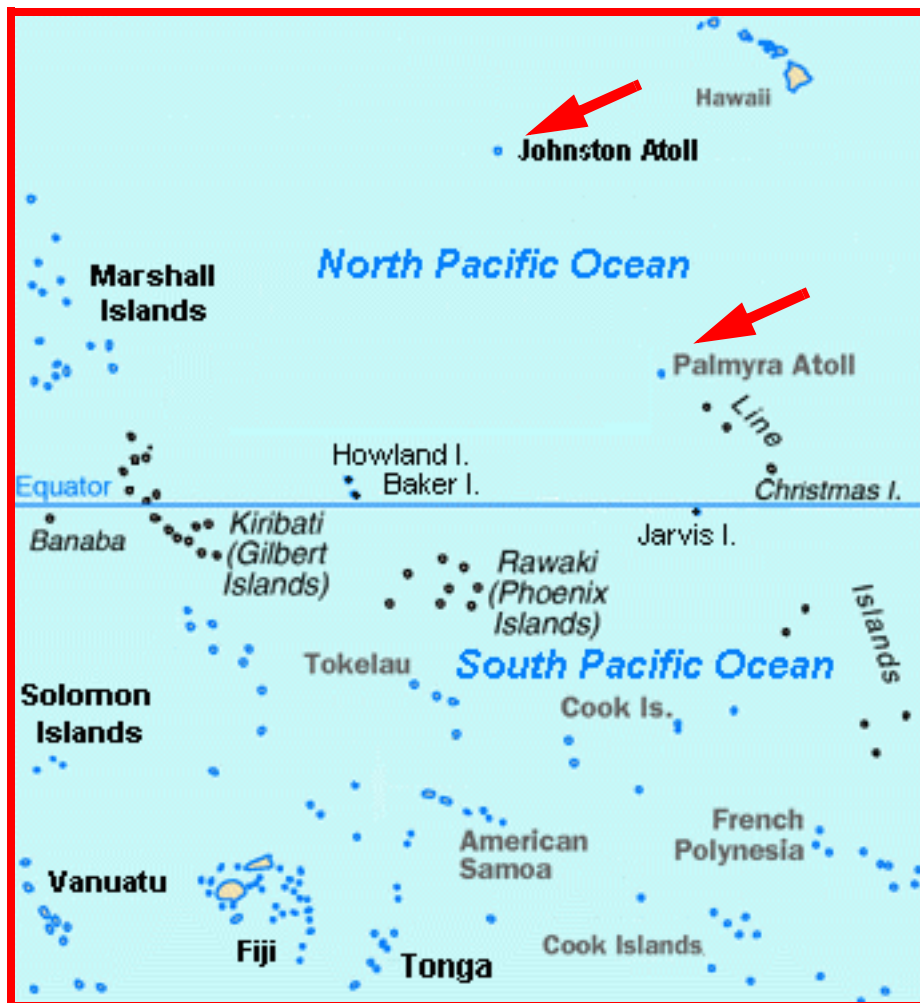
ANTISEMITISM

Germans decree that all Jews in occupied Russia would wear two yellow badges, they would receive only food surplus to the needs of gentiles and they must join public works crews.

WORLD WAR II

The United States reduces by 10% the amount of gasoline that can be delivered to filling stations in 17 states.

In the Pacific, the US Marine Corps established a Naval Air Station on Palmyra Island and a Naval Air Facility on Johnston Island.



Early in the morning, Corporal Josef Jakobs was taken to an old miniature .22 rifle range within the grounds of the Tower of London (where spies had also been executed during the 1st World War), placed in a brown Windsor chair (not the same one used during World War I) because with his broken leg he could not stand, and at 7:12AM executed by firing squad. One of the eight men in the squad shot him in the head rather than the heart. (All other persons convicted and executed under the Treachery Act of 1940 and the High Treason Act of 1351 were hanged, at either Wandsworth or Pentonville Prisons. His unmarked civilian grave at St. Mary's Roman Catholic Cemetery in northwest London has since been re-used. This would be the sole spy to be executed at the Tower during this war. It now appears rather likely that his will be the last execution ever to



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take place at the Tower.)

FINAL EXECUTIONS		
June 17, 1939	Eugen Weidman	public execution by guillotine , at Versailles
August 15, 1941	Corporal Josef Jakobs	German spy executed by firing squad at the Tower of London
January 31, 1945	Private Edward Donald "Eddie" Slovik	General Dwight David "Ike" Eisenhower ordered his execution by firing squad for desertion during World War II by his own unit, the 28th Infantry Division, in a small town in northeast France

December 8, Monday: Croatia declared war on the United States and the United Kingdom. Soviet forces retook Tikhvin, 180 kilometers southeast of Leningrad. *Führer* [Adolf Hitler](#) announced the suspension of military operations against the Soviet Union due to severe weather conditions.

A [German](#) policy of killing Jews by gas was put into effect. 700 Jews from Kulmhof (Chelmo), 60 kilometers northeast of Lodz, were taken by van (with the exhaust system hooked into the van) to a nearby wood. By the time they arrived, they were dead. From this day on, Jews from the surrounding district were daily transported to Kulmhof for the same purpose. This was the first death camp to begin operations. The region would be emptied of its 360,000 Jews.

ANTISEMITISM

This was the day on which the US Pacific fleet had been ordered to steam out of Pearl Harbor to seek battle engagement with the Japanese fleet, but the hulls of many capital vessels of this US fleet were resting on a bed of mud in the warm shallow waters of Pearl Harbor, awaiting recovery and salvage efforts, and oil slicks were glistening upon the surfaces of these waters. On the California seacoast, the 4th Interceptor Command spotted two formations of enemy planes near San Francisco, heading toward Los Angeles.

After [Japanese](#) soldiers made a quick lunch of the defenses of the British crown colony of [Hong Kong](#), Governor Mark Young was restricted to his quarters in the Peninsula Hotel. British civilians were rounded up and some 20,000 Chinese per month would be deported to the mainland.

[US Marines](#) and other Allied nationals were interned at [Shanghai](#), Beijing, and Tientsin.

Striking Force, Asiatic Fleet (Rear Admiral W.A. Glassford) departed Iloilo, Philippine Islands for Makassar Strait, Netherlands East Indies.

The river gunboat *Wake* (PR-3) was surrendered to [Japanese](#) at [Shanghai](#) after an attempt to scuttle it failed (The *Wake* would be the sole United States ship to surrender during this war).

The Potomac River Naval Command, with its headquarters at [Washington DC](#), and the Severn River Naval Command, with its headquarters at Annapolis, Maryland, were established.



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The SS *President Harrison*, en route to evacuate [US Marines](#) from Chingwangtao, China, ran aground at Sha Wai Shan, China, and was captured by the [Japanese](#).

[Japanese](#) aircraft bombed Guam, Wake, [Hong Kong](#), Singapore, and the Philippine Islands. Extensive damage was inflicted on United States Army aircraft at Clark Field, Luzon, Philippine Islands.

[Japan](#) interned [US Marines](#) and nationals at [Shanghai](#) and Tientsin, [China](#).

A United States naval vessel was sunk by a horizontal bomber: the minesweeper *Penguin* (AM-33), near Guam in the Marianas Islands.

[Japan](#) invaded Thailand, which capitulated.

[Japanese](#) troops landed unopposed at Victoria Point, the southern tip of Burma.

[Japanese](#) landed on Bataan Island north of Luzon, Philippine Islands, and on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula. (At some point during their occupation of the Philippines, on Luzon, 14 Filipino resistance fighters would be forced to surrender because they ran out of ammunition. Other POWs were required to dig 14 foxholes for them and were then executed. These resistance fighters were forced into the foxholes and earth shovelled around them and stamped down, until only their heads and necks were above ground, so that the Japanese officer could use them for his sword practice. Some of the soldiers having defecated onto banana leaves, shit was stuffed into their mouths with considerable hilarity before the officer drew his sword.

HEADCHOPPING

The Chelmno death camp near Lodz, Poland opened for business.

In a conversation with Rosenman, one of his speechwriters, [President Franklin Delano Roosevelt](#) spoke of *Führer* [Adolf Hitler](#) as his first target, and “feared that a great many Americans would insist that we make the war in the Pacific at least equally important with the war against Hitler.” He was, however, saying nothing of the sort to the American people.



Instead we were receiving, on this day that will live in infamy, a lie that would send more than 16 million US citizens to war:

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

Yesterday, December 7, 1941 -a date which will live in infamy- the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan.

The United States was at peace with that Nation and, at the solicitation of Japan, was still in conversation with its Government and its Emperor looking toward the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. Indeed, one hour after Japanese air squadrons had commenced bombing in Oahu, the Japanese Ambassador



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to the United States and his colleague delivered to the Secretary of State a form reply to a recent American message. While this reply stated that it seemed useless to continue the existing diplomatic negotiations, it contained no threat or hint of war or armed attack.

It will be recorded that the distance of Hawaii from Japan makes it obvious that the attack was deliberately planned many days or even weeks ago. During the intervening time the Japanese Government had deliberately sought to deceive the United States by false statements and expressions of hope for continued peace. The attack yesterday on the Hawaiian Islands has caused severe damage to American naval and military forces. Very many American lives have been lost. In addition American ships have been reported torpedoed on the high seas between San Francisco and Honolulu.

Yesterday the Japanese Government also launched an attack against Malaya. Last night Japanese forces attacked Hong Kong. Last night Japanese forces attacked Guam. Last night Japanese forces attacked the Philippine Islands. Last night the Japanese attacked Midway Island. Japan has, therefore, undertaken a surprise offensive extending throughout the Pacific area. The facts of yesterday speak for themselves. The people of the United States have already formed their opinions and well understand the implications to the very life and safety of our Nation.

As Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy I have directed that all measures be taken for our defense.

Always will we remember the character of the onslaught against us. No matter how long it may take us to overcome this premeditated invasion, the American people in their righteous might will win through to absolute victory.

I believe I interpret the will of the Congress and of the people when I assert that we will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost but will make very certain that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again. Hostilities exist. There is no blinking at the fact that our people, our territory, and our interests are in grave danger. With confidence in our armed forces - with the unbounded determination of our people - we will gain the inevitable triumph - so help us God.

I ask that the Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday, December seventh, a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese Empire.

— Franklin D. Roosevelt

DECLARATION OF WAR

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The British declared war upon [Japan](#). Declarations of war upon [Japan](#) were issued by Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala, [Haiti](#), the Dominican Republic, the Netherlands, the Free French, and Panama. [Mexico](#), Colombia, Belgium, and [Egypt](#) did not declare war, but did sever diplomatic relations with [Japan](#). (The USSR would neither declare war upon Japan nor sever diplomatic relations, until that nation lay prostrate and devastated in the very last moments of the hostilities.)

[WORLD WAR II](#)



STATE MURDER

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Pearl Harbor

I

Here are the fireworks. The men who conspired and labored
To embroil this republic in the wreck of Europe have got their bargain, —
And a bushel more. As for me, what can I do but fly the national flag from the top of the tower, —
America has neither race nor religion nor its own language: nation or nothing.

Stare, little tower,
Confidently across the Pacific, the flag on your head. I built you at the other war's end,
And the sick peace; I based you on living rock, granite on granite; I said,
"Look, you gray stones:
Civilization is sick: stand awhile and be quiet and drink the sea-wind, you
will survive
Civilization."

But now I am old, and O stones be modest. Look, little tower:
This dust blowing is only the British Empire; these torn leaves flying
Are only Europe; the wind is the plane-propellers; the smoke is Tokyo.
The child with the butchered throat
Was too young to be named. Look no farther ahead.

II

The war that we have carefully for years provoked
Catches us unprepared, amazed and indignant. Our warships are shot
Like sitting ducks and our planes like nest-birds, both our coasts ridiculously panicked,
And our leaders make orations. This is the people
That hopes to impose on the whole planetary world
An American peace.

(Oh, we'll not lose our war: my money on amazed Gulliver
And his horse-pistols.)

Meanwhile our prudent officers
Have cleared the coast-long ocean of ships and fishing-craft, the sky of
planes, the windows of light: these clearings
Make a great beauty. Watch the wide sea; there is nothing human; its gulls
have it. Watch the wide sky
All day clean of machines; only at dawn and dusk one military hawk passes
High on patrol. Walk at night in the black-out,
The firefly lights that used to line the long shore
Are all struck dumb; shut are the shops, mouse-dark the houses. Here the
prehuman dignity of night
Stands, as it was before and will be again. Oh beautiful
Darkness and silence, the two eyes that see God; great staring eyes.

— [Robinson Jeffers](#)

At the home of Helen Clarke Grimes, in Spragueville near [Smithfield](#) northwest of [Providence, Rhode Island](#),
as in many homes in America, the radio was being kept constantly on, not for the soap operas that filled the
daytime airwaves, but for the sporadic news flashes about the war situation. Helen made notes for her diary:

Dec. 8 — This Monday morning we face a turquoise and coral
sunrise with the sick realization that we are at war, and that
the radio bulletins are not something by Orson Welles.
We had turned the radio off at eleven o'clock last night, worn
dull by hours of incessant listening, and were about to go to
bed when Charlie and Harriett who had spent the day at his
mother's, came home with two copies of the War Extra.
We talked until twelve, soberly with no fine frenzy to fire us.
Constance and Oliver phoned, but there was nothing to say.
It is 8AM and the news is pouring in over the radio.
Hongkong has been bombed, and there is a report of 200 casualties
suffered at Singapore. Ford Wilkins in Manila says there has
been no violence in that city as yet. He tells of Japanese



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landing on some parts of the Phillipines, of the round-up and internment of Japanese in Manila; of the evacuation of Manila, and of a naval battle reported in the Pacific.

A Washington commentator says our losses are far more serious (in Hawaii) than given out. Hangers have been flattened, planes destroyed, there has been torpedo damage – altogether a heavy naval defeat.

At night the lights burned in embassy windows along Massachusetts Avenue [in [Washington DC](#)].

In Providence, the State Guard has been mobilized, and roving guards placed at industrial plants, at the airport, and along the waterfront.

On the West Coast few went to bed last night, excitement running high the thoroughfares crowded.

Charles Collingwood in a report from London, speaks of grey parliament buildings, and of Churchill in his black Homburg hat. Arthur Crock, in writing of the American reaction in the "N.Y. Times," says one can almost hear national unity clicking into place.

This is a grim day. Here, in one of the smallest communities in the smallest state in the union, the stark branches of the apple trees are bleak and cold against a lowering sky.

Mother is having an asthma attack.

Twelve o'clock noon – The sun is out, the sky a thin wash of blue.

Japanese planes are only forty miles from Manila.

12:30 – President Roosevelt spoke to the joint session of House and Senate, a short address of five hundred words, at the end of which he asked "that Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday Dec. 7th, a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese Empire."

The "President Pierce" reported to have been torpedoed, was the first dollar liner on which Oliver sailed to the Orient.

A news flash breaks into a concert of chamber music to tell of an air raid now in progress over Manila.

2:30 – The Phillipines direct. At 1:30 a terrific air attack had begun over Manila. It is thought that twenty-five American bombers have been destroyed. As the announcer broadcasts there is the sound of Japanese planes overhead.

An N.B.C. announcer on the roof of an eight story building reports a great fire which is destroying the gasoline supply dump on Nichols Field, a base airfield in the heart of Manila. He is panting from his run up eight flights of stairs, the elevator boy having deserted his post.

The stars were shining over the city and a bright moon rides directly over head. Galvanized iron rooftops stand out like mirrors, the black-out rendered futile by the moon.

3:30 PM – Prime Minister Churchill has delivered a solemn speech in a tired, husky voice.

4:30 PM – The tires of the news boy's bicycle grit on the gravel as he wheels up to the door. There is a thud as the "Providence Bulletin" hits the door. Its headlines have no power to shock those already benumbed by the radio.

9:35 PM – There is a report from the "San Francisco News



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Chronicle" that fifty unidentified planes have been sighted flying from the south west toward San Francisco. The city is blacked-out to a depth of ten miles.

10:00 PM — An air raid siren is blowing in San Francisco. All radio stations but one are off the air. Planes are said to have been seen off the Golden Gate. The man in the street is wondering if this is an air raid test or the real thing.

A copy of the November "Atlantic Monthly" lies on the table, the back page given over to a vacation ad: "Hawaii. Standing two thousand miles out in the gentle latitudes of the South Pacific ..."

San Francisco motorists are driving without headlights.

The all-clear signal has been given. False alarm or practice work-out?

11:00 PM — A summary of to-day's events — and so ends the first day of this war. We go to bed wondering why, when for months there has been a strong possibility of war with Japan, our forces were caught napping.

Will close this with two lines from Shakespeare. King John, I think.

"For when you should be told they do prepare
The tidings come that they are all arrived."

It goes on: "O where hath our intelligence been drunk? Where hath it slept?" Oh, where indeed!



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1942

January 15, Thursday: [Senator Harry S Truman](#)'s Truman Committee presented its 1st Annual Report to the Senate. This would help induce [President Franklin Delano Roosevelt](#) to replace his Office of Production Management with a new, more powerful War Production Board.

American-British-Dutch-Australian Supreme Command was established. Field Marshall Sir Archibald Wavell, British Army assumed supreme command of all forces in area, while Admiral T.C. Hart, United States Navy had command of the naval forces under Field Marshall Wavell.

[Japanese](#) forces attacked a new Allied (Britain-[India](#)-Australia) defense line along the River Muar, Malaya, eventually forcing further retreat.

Jawaharlal Nehru succeeded [Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi](#) as head of the All-[India](#) Congress Party.

The initial batch of United States servicemen arrived in Britain ("overfed, oversexed and over here").

Singapore surrendered to the [Japanese](#). The 130,000 British and [Indian](#) prisoners of war would be sent to labor on the Burma-Siam railway.

Singapore's Princess Alexandra Hospital was being guarded by a detachment of Gurkha troops. When commanded by a Japanese officer to lay down their arms, their NCO replied that this was a civilian hospital, not a military target. The Japanese gave an order and his men killed 24 of the Gurkhas. They then entered the hospital and began to slaughter its patients, which included a number of survivors from the *Prince of Wales* and the *Repulse*. The doctors and medical orderlies were killed, and the nurses were raped and then killed.

The Japanese made a determined effort to exterminate the entire Chinese population of Singapore, and managed to kill 9,000-12,000. After interrogation by the Kempetai the ethnic Chinese were obliged to hand over all their personal possessions, rings, watches, jewelry, money, etc., before being forced onto captured British lorries and driven to the Tanjong Pagar Wharf and beheaded.



HEADCHOPPING

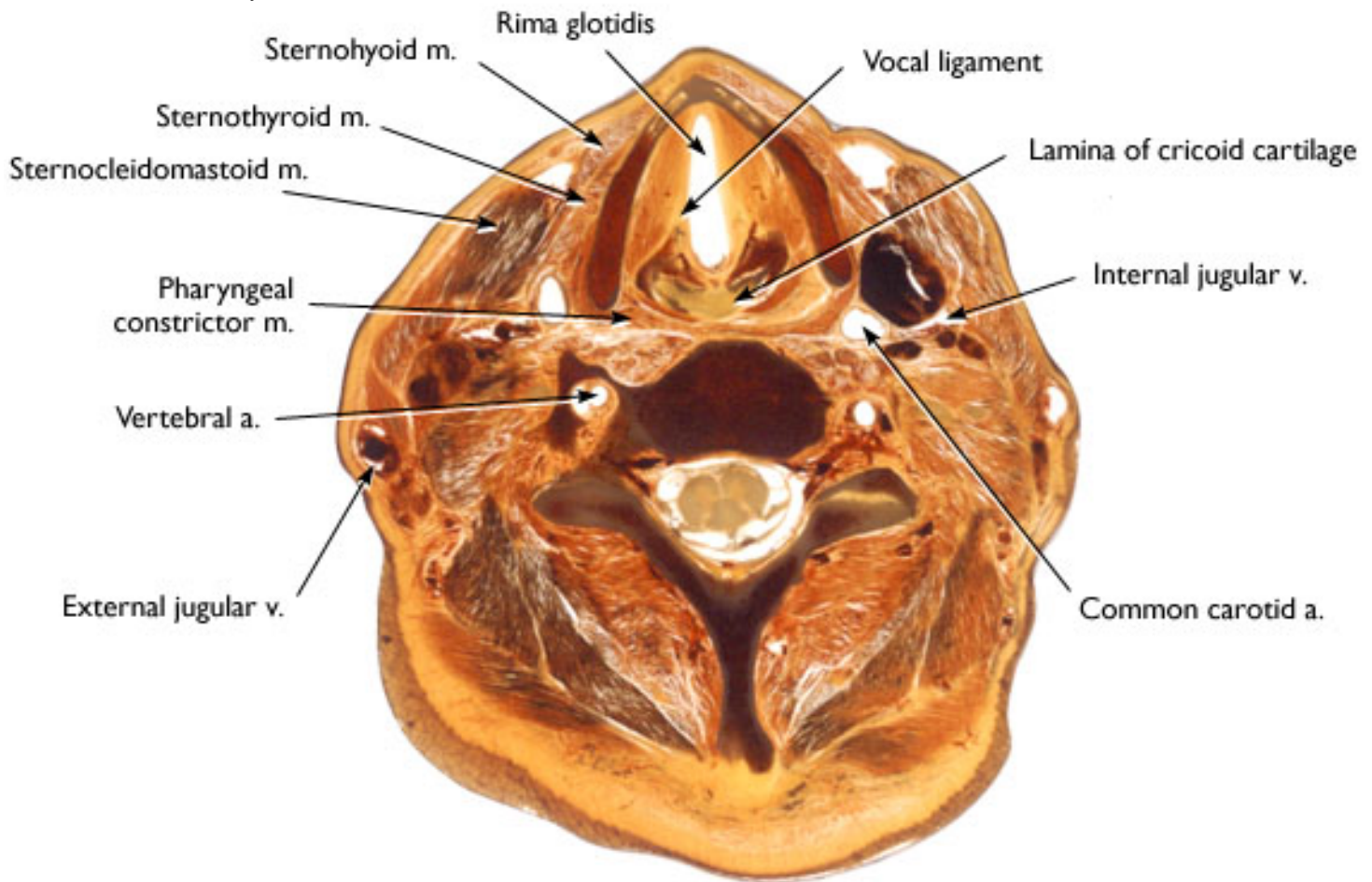
This went on for 12 days while boats from Singapore Harbour brought more and more Chinese civilians to that execution site. In the Geylang district, 3,600 Chinese were herded into the grounds of the Teluk Kurau English

STATE MURDER

School and interrogated by the Kempetai. At the completion of interrogation, in groups of 200, they were taken by truck to the crest of a hill off Siglap Road and shot, beheaded, or bayoneted. One person present within the Teluk Kurau English School grounds that day would survive to tell the tale. In another such action, 700 Chinese were taken to an area just east of Changi where mass graves had already been dug, and the heads of these victims were piled up in a waiting lorry and during that night would be installed on bamboo stakes around and about Singapore. (A British military court would sentence Lieutenant-General Takuma Nishimura, commander of the Japanese troops in Singapore, to life imprisonment, but an Australian Military Court would then try him for other crimes and he would be hanged on June 11, 1951.)

WORLD WAR II

In case you wondered, this is what the cross-section of the human neck, revealed by this interesting practice, actually looks like:



October 16, Friday: Coastal Command, a film with music by Ralph Vaughan Williams, was shown for the initial time, in the Plaza Cinema, Piccadilly Circus, London.

Rodeo, a ballet by Aaron Copland to a scenario by De Mille, was performed for the initial time, at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York. This was a glittering sold out event and a great success. In the audience, Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein II decide to hire Agnes de Mille to choreograph their next project, Oklahoma!

The second of 18 patriotic fanfares for brass and percussion commissioned by Eugene Goossens and the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra, A Fanfare for Russia by Deems Taylor, was performed for the initial time, in

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Cincinnati.

A two-day cyclone over the state of Bengal, [India](#) killed 40,000 people.

British troops captured Ambositra, Madagascar, 225 kilometers south of Tananarive (Antananarivo).

50 Polish communists were publicly [hanged](#) in Warsaw and their bodies displayed as a warning.

Carrier task force (Rear Admiral G.D. Murray) struck [Japanese](#) troops on Guadalcanal, Solomon Islands, and enemy seaplanes at Rekata Bay, Santa Isabel, Solomon Islands.

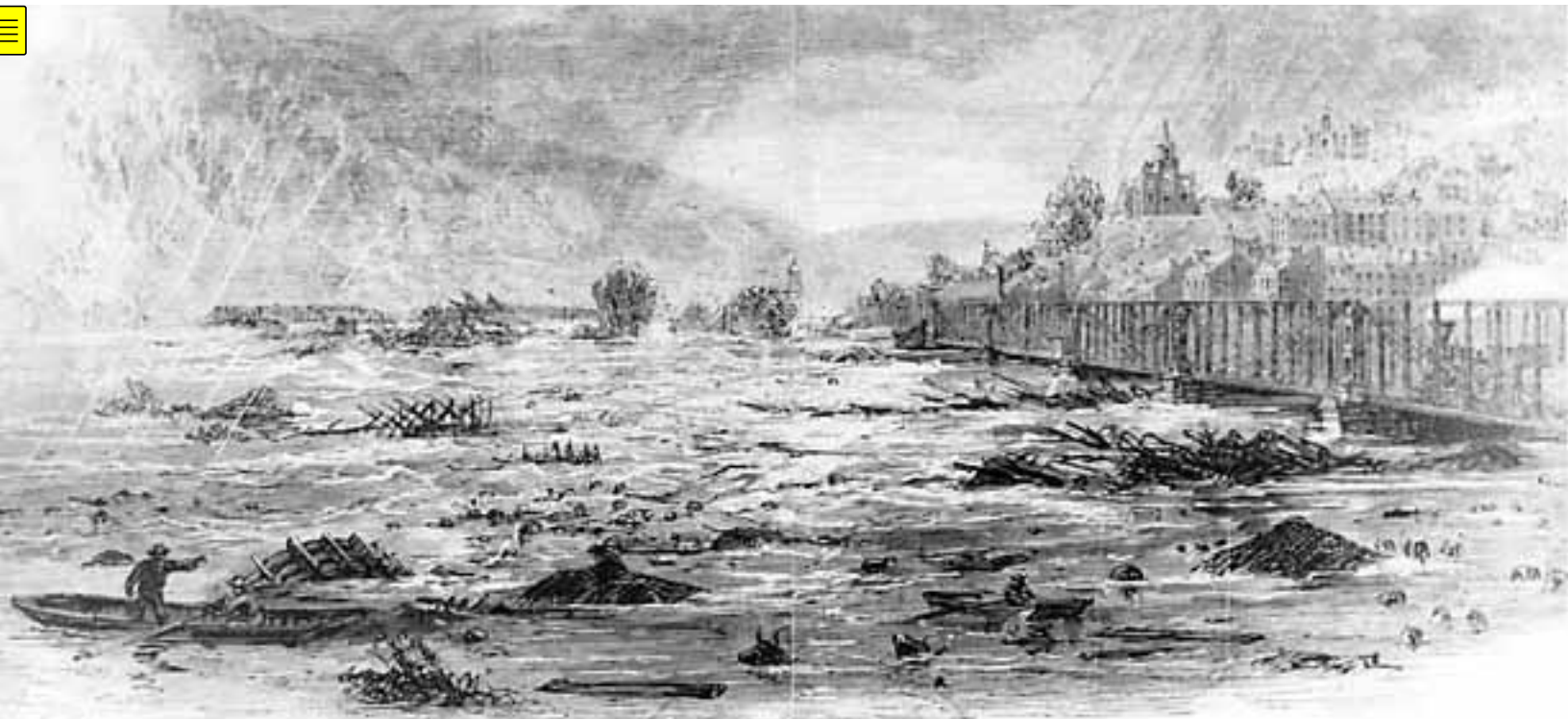
The US Submarine *Thresher* (SS-200) laid mines in northern Gulf of Siam.

United States Seaplane Tender *McFarland* (AVD-14) was damaged by dive bombers in the Solomon Islands, 9 degrees 24 minutes South, 160 degrees 2 minutes East.

[Japanese](#) Destroyer *Oboro* was sunk by US Army aircraft in the vicinity of the Aleutian Islands.

WORLD WAR II

An all-time record river crest for the Shenandoah Valley. In the Lower Town of [Harpers Ferry](#), floodwaters reached 33.8 feet.





STATE MURDER

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December 22, Tuesday: Soviet troops captured Morozovsk, west of Stalingrad.

In Krakow, six members of the Jewish Fighting Organization blew up two cafes frequented by members of the S.S. and Gestapo. At least 20 and perhaps 50 people were killed. The leader, Adolf Liebesand, who died in the attack, was reported to have said, "We were fighting for three lines in the history books."

ANTISEMITISM

[Japanese](#) Patrol Boat #35 was sunk by US Submarine *Greenling* (SS-213) in the vicinity of the Solomon Islands, at 5 degrees 5 minutes South, 156 degrees 4 minutes East.

WORLD WAR II

December 23, Wednesday: [German](#) relief forces came within 50 kilometers of the Sixth Army besieged in Stalingrad.

WORLD WAR II

December 24, Thursday: Admiral Jean François Darlan, commander-in-chief of French forces in North Africa, was murdered in Algiers by Donnier de la Chapelle, a radical royalist.

The [Germans](#) successfully launched a flying bomb from Peenemünde.

[Germans](#) entered Bialowieza, Poland and murdered 300 Poles as a reprisal for partisan activity.

[Japanese](#) troop-laden barges were attacked heavily by aircraft from Henderson Field, Guadalcanal, Solomon Islands.

United States Transports *Florence Nightingale* (AP-70) and *Thurston* (AP-77) collided and went under on the North African coast, at 34 degrees 41 minutes North, 7 degrees 25 minutes West.

WORLD WAR II

December 25, Friday: Allied forces occupied Sirte (Surt), Libya.

WORLD WAR II

December 26, Saturday: Convicted in a court-martial of murdering Admiral Darlan, 20-year-old Bonnier de la Chapelle was executed by a French [firing squad](#).

[Japanese](#) transports at Wickham Anchorage, New Georgia, Solomon Islands were attacked by US naval aircraft (the strike would be repeated on December 29th).

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1943

February 9, Tuesday: Organized [Japanese](#) resistance on Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands ended when General Patch's Cape Esperance envelopment force joined with the force making the western advance. XIV Corps headquarters announced that the Allies had secured the island of Guadalcanal.⁶³⁷

The [Japanese](#) had captured Ambon Island from the Australians. Two circular pits were dug, about five meters apart, six meters in diameter and three meters in depth, in a wooded area near the Laha airstrip. Soon after 6PM a group of [Australian](#) and Dutch prisoners of war were brought to the site with their arms tied securely behind them. The first prisoner was pushed to his knees at the edge of a pits and Warrant Officer Kakutaro Sasaki enacted the initial Samurai-sword beheading. The eager crew-members of a Japanese minesweeper that had been blown up by a mine in Ambon Bay a few days earlier were allowed to perform the next four beheadings.

[HEADCHOPPING](#)

As dusk descended, the Japanese needed to point their battery torches at the necks of their victims so they could see where to strike. Meanwhile, at the other pit, the men of a Dutch mortar unit were being similarly processed. In all on this evening, 55 Australian and 30 Dutch soldiers were beheaded. (The details of this would be revealed by a civilian interpreter, Suburo Yoshizaki, who had been attached to the Kure No.1 Special Navy

637. The American boys who had died in the long battle for Guadalcanal had not, of course, died in vain. By sacrificing their lives they had enabled the US to portray the struggle in the Pacific Ocean region as one long resistance to Japanese aggression, rather than allowing it to be portrayed as one war of aggression initiated by Japan followed by a period of peace followed by another war of aggression initiated this time by the United States of America. They had given their lives to seize and hold for us the moral high ground.

(If you suppose I couldn't possibly have meant what I wrote above, please read the paragraph again — and this time allow the thought to sink home. The island of Guadalcanal was a mere token serving for us no easily determined military or logistic purpose.)

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Landing Party, at that time stationed on Ambon.) A few days later, on February 24th, in the same wooded area, another such group execution/sword practice event would be taking place. The SS *Henry R. Mallory*, a 6,063-

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ton American ex-passenger liner built in 1916, was part of a 69-ship North Atlantic convoy, SC-118, bound for the British Isles, when it was torpedoed by U-boats U609 and U625.



Of the 494 passengers and crew on board the *Mallory*, including 381 US troops, 34 armed guards, 2 civilians and 77 crewmen, 270 died. 224 floaters were collected 4 hours later, some by the Coast Guard cutter *Bibb*, 3 of whom soon died, and others by the destroyer *Ingham*, 2 of whom soon died. (U609 would later be sunk by the French escort corvette *Lobelia*, and the 46 inside it would die. Kapitän-Leutnant Hans Benker's U625 would be destroyed on March 10, 1944 by depth charges from a Canadian Sunderland flying boat, and the 53 inside it would die.)⁶³⁸

638. That those who live by the sword will die by the sword is of course a mere rule of thumb, so there have been some notable exceptions — but as rules of thumb go this one seems fairly accurate.

STATE MURDER

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February 16, Tuesday, 6.57PM: Professor Mildred Elizabeth Fish-Harnack was beheaded at the Plötzensee Prison in Berlin on personal order of *Führer* [Adolf Hitler](#) (her [German](#) husband had already been strangled and hung from a meat hook). This would be the only time an American woman would be executed for treason during [World War II](#). (The couple had been part of a resistance organization that had passed information to the United States and the USSR, and had painted "Down with Hitler" on walls. Her final words, allegedly, were "*Und ich hatte Deutschland so geliebt.*" By September all 51 members of the [German](#) "Red Orchestra" group would be dead, 2 by suicide, 8 by hanging, and 41 by [guillotine](#).)



February 22, Monday: Immortality for chorus by John Ireland to words of Crompton was performed for the initial time, over the airwaves of the BBC originating in Bedford.

The Red Army took Sumy, 300 kilometers east of Kiev.

Saudi Arabia broke relations with [Italy](#).

The [German](#) offensive in Tunisia was halted by British and American forces north of Qasserine.

Vidkun Quisling ordered the mobilization of the entire civil population of Norway for public works projects in support of the military.

Bulgaria agreed to deport 11,000 Jews from Bulgaria, occupied Greece, and Yugoslavia to Treblinka.

ANTISEMITISM



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Hans Scholl and his sister Sophie Scholl, 22 years of age, who like Professor Mildred Elizabeth Fish-Harnack had been implicated in the “White Rose” student movement at München University, were likewise [guillotined](#). Sophie’s crime had been the sentence “Every word that comes from [Hitler’s](#) mouth is a lie.” The bodies of the Scholls would be buried outside München, in the Perlach Forest Cemetery.



The Battleship *Iowa* (BB-61) was commissioned at New York, New York.

[German](#) Submarine U-606 was sunk by US Coast Guard cutter *Campbell* (PG-32) and Polish destroyer *Burza* in the North Atlantic, at 47 degrees 44 minutes North, 33 degrees 43 minutes West.

[WORLD WAR II](#)



STATE MURDER

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1944

January 27, Thursday: The [Germans](#) had a point to make, and [hanged](#) 102 Poles publicly in Warsaw.

The British had a point to make, and Royal Air Force bombers struck again at Berlin, killing 656 more Berliners. Point made.

Argentina severed relations with [Germany](#).

The Moscow-Leningrad Railroad was cleared. Soviet troops occupied Tosno to the south of Leningrad and Shpola to the north of Kirovgrad in the Ukraine. The city of Leningrad (or what was left of it) had been relieved after a 900-day siege that had produced the deaths of 750,000.

WORLD WAR II

July 20, Thursday: A [German](#) assassination attempt against *Führer* [Adolf Hitler](#) failed — although it did cripple one of his arms.



(He would have the people who did this [hanged](#) on meathooks and view their dying struggles on film.)

Soviet troops liberated the Majdanek concentration camp.

WORLD WAR II

September 21, Thursday: The transport *Toyofuku Maru* was carrying British and Dutch POWs from Singapore to Japan, and had stopped at Manila to offload the sick and dying, and had come out of the port of Manila in a convoy which had been at sea for three days. At this point it was engaged by US torpedo bombers. It took only a few minutes for the ship to go down and for approximately 1,000 POWs trapped in the prisoner holds to drown. There were fewer than 200 floaters.

Aircraft from 12 carriers (Vice Admiral M. A. Mitscher) commenced a 2-day attack against [Japanese](#) shipping and airfields on Luzon, Philippine Islands.

American planes bombed the Manila area destroying 200 [Japanese](#) planes and much shipping in Manila Bay, at the cost of 15 planes.

Urho Jonas Castren replaced Antti Verner Hackzell as prime minister of Finland.

The new government of Bulgaria proclaimed equality of women, religious freedom, civil marriage, and separation of church and state.



STATE MURDER

Josip Broz Tito flew in a Soviet airplane to Romania and thence to Moscow. He would sign an agreement allowing Soviet entry into Yugoslavia with the proviso that they needed to depart as soon as their task was completed and the proviso that they would have no control over the partisans.

Roman Chief of Police Pietro Caruso, found guilty of providing execution lists to the [Germans](#), was shot to death by a [firing squad](#).

Canadian and Greek forces captured Rimini on the Adriatic coast, 11 west of Florence.

[Japanese](#) naval vessels sunk, Philippine Islands area:

- Destroyer *Satsuki*, by carrier-based aircraft, Manila Bay Oiler *Sunosaki*, by carrier-based aircraft, Manila Bay
- Surveying ship *Katsuriki*, by submarine *Haddo* (SS-255) west of Manila, 13 degrees 35 minutes North, 119 degrees 6 minutes East
- Coast defense vessel #5, by carrier-based aircraft, north of Masinloc, 15 degrees 25 minutes North, 119 degrees 50 minutes East
- Auxiliary submarine chaser #39, by carrier-based aircraft, 12 degrees 18 minutes North, 122 degrees 46 minutes East
- Minesweeper #7, carrier-based aircraft, 12 degrees 18 minutes North, 122 degrees 46 minutes East

WORLD WAR II

November 30, Thursday: The Gloeden family, a husband and wife and the wife's mother, had helped shelter in their flat some people who were being sought by the Nazis, and had been arrested by the [German](#) Gestapo and of course [tortured](#). On this day, at the Plotzensee Prison in Berlin, the 3 were [guillotined](#) at 2-minute intervals (we don't know who got to go 1st and who had to wait until last).

HEADCHOPPING

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1945

January 31, Wednesday: By order of [General Dwight David "Ike" Eisenhower](#), [Private Edward Donald "Eddie" Slovik](#), having been hidden away by a French girlfriend, was [put before a firing squad](#) at Ste. Marie-aux-Mines. He was the 1st American so executed since the Civil War and the only one in [World War II](#).



FINAL EXECUTIONS		
August 15, 1941	Corporal Josef Jakobs	German spy executed by firing squad at the Tower of London
January 31, 1945	Private Edward Donald "Eddie" Slovik	General Dwight David "Ike" Eisenhower ordered his execution by firing squad for desertion during World War II by his own unit, the 28th Infantry Division, in a small town in northeast France
May 9, 1947	Edward Gertson and Philip Bellino	last to be electrocuted in Massachusetts

Soviet tanks crossed the River Oder, the last natural barrier to [Berlin](#).

US Army troops were landed at Masugbu, southwest of the entrance to Manila Bay, Luzon, Philippine Islands by naval attack group (Rear Admiral W.M. Fechteler) with support by carrier-based aircraft (Rear Admiral W.D. Sample). A United States naval vessel was sunk by a [Japanese](#) suicide boat in the vicinity of the Philippine Islands: Submarine chaser PC-1119, at 14 degrees 5 minutes North, 120 degrees 30 minutes East. Meanwhile, a [Japanese](#) destroyer was sunk by US Army aircraft off Formosa: Destroyer *Ume*, at 22 degrees 30 minutes North, 120 degrees 0 minute East.

Friend [Agnes Carol Zens Kellam](#) wrote from Washington DC to her husband, Friend [John R. Kellam](#), who was being held in a federal penitentiary for refusing to kill:

Dearest:

I've received two swell letters from thee, but have been so busy and consequently so tired, this is the first chance I've had to write thee. I didn't know what the rules were, anyway. Thee says thee is permitted to write two letters each week. I think thee can write three. At least, it says in item 13, "Instructions to be followed in corresponding with prisoners." "13.7. Inmates are permitted to send 3 letters per week, and to receive a total of 7. Letters in excess of 7 in any week will be returned to the writer." Let me know how many I should write to thee each week. And when thee needs more money....

Gee, Johnny, the Calverts have been so swell. I don't know how to thank them. Money would be an insult, although I thought of sending \$5 to the Toledo Friends Group. Should I? The Calverts took me in, and fed me, helped me pack, and took me to the station. They're wonderful Friends. How does thee suggest I thank them?....

I received the box from the prison.... Thy shoes and coat are being repaired. The suit is being cleaned and pressed, and I think I shall give it to the Friends. It's not worth keeping for thee, especially when less fortunate people can make good use



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of it. I gave a good many of thy old clothes to the Friends group in Toledo. Mrs. Calvert said they could cut up the old pants and make little skirts and pants from them.

I miss thee terribly, my dearest. All my love to thee. I feel fine except a little bit sickish now and then.

Carol Z. Kellam

NEVER READ AHEAD! TO APPRECIATE JANUARY 31ST, 1945 AT ALL ONE MUST APPRECIATE IT AS A TODAY (THE FOLLOWING DAY, TOMORROW, IS BUT A PORTION OF THE UNREALIZED FUTURE AND IFFY AT BEST).

February 3, Saturday: Fighting moved into Manila.

Soviet troops captured Landsberg (Wielkopolski), east of Berlin.

American and French forces took Colmar, France, south of Strasbourg.

The Allies announced that all [Germans](#) had been expelled from Belgium.

Peace talks began between the warring Greek factions.

An American bomb hit a Berlin courthouse, killing [Roland Freisler](#), president of the *Volksgerichtshof* court that sentenced any [German](#) suspected of any resistance to the authority of the Nazi state to be immediately taken out and [hanged](#). (You may well have seen one of the various attempts to do artistic justice to Judge Freisler's courtroom antics: in 1984 Rainer Steffen portrayed him in the television film "Wannseekonferenz," in 1989 Roland Schäfer portrayed him in the film "Reunion," in 1996 Brian Cox portrayed him in the television film "Witness Against Hitler," in 2001 Owen Teale portrayed him in the television film "Conspiracy," in 2005 André Hennicke portrayed him in the film "Sophie Scholl – The Final Days," and in 2008 Helmut Stauss portrayed him in the film "Valkyrie." It seems really difficult for an actor to make his actual recorded behaviors come across to a contemporary audience as other than merely ridiculous.)

The Lindenoper in Berlin was destroyed by bombs.

Marshall Chiang Kai-Shek demanded the immediate departure from Burma of all Chinese forces in order that they could be used against the Communist Army in [China](#).

WORLD WAR II



STATE MURDER

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March 19, Monday: [Caroline Hazard](#) died in Santa Barbara, California.

Aircraft from the fast carrier task force of Vice Admiral M. A. Mitscher bombed airfields on Kyushu, and shipping at Kure and Kobe, Honshu, Japan.

American troops captured Bauang, Luzon south of San Fernando on Lingayen Gulf.

British troops captured Mogok, 115 kilometers northeast of Mandalay.

Chaim Hirszman, one of only two survivors of Belzec death camp, gives testimony to a war crimes investigation in Lublin. On his way home he was murdered by Poles because he was a Jew.

ANTISEMITISM

General Friedrich Fromm, former Commander of the Reserve Army, was shot by [firing squad](#) for his dubious connection to the plot to kill *Führer* [Adolf Hitler](#) the previous July.

American forces captured Saarlouis, 20 kilometers northwest of Saarbrücken.

The house in Zwickau where Robert Schumann spent his childhood years from age seven to 17, was totally destroyed. It would not be rebuilt.

Captain Gehres's aircraft carrier USS *Franklin* (CVE-13) was engaged by Japanese planes off Samar Island off Kyushu, Japan, 32 degrees 1 minute North, 133 degrees 57 minutes East, and took a couple of direct hits by 550-pound bombs from a horizontal bomber. Of the 3,450 on board, 725 died and 265 were injured. There were fires and there were internal explosions and the ship was a real mess but they would manage to make their way back to Ulithi Atoll in the Caroline Islands and finally to the US. After the war 393 bravery decorations would be handed out, including a [Congressional Medal of Honor](#) for the heroism of Lieutenant-Commander Joseph O'Callahan, its chaplain.



Other United States naval vessels damaged off Shikoku, [Japan](#):

- Carrier USS *Essex* (CV-9), accidentally by United States naval gunfire, 32 degrees 10 minutes North, 134 degrees 20 minutes East
- Carrier USS *Wasp* (CV-18), by dive bomber, 32 degrees 16 minutes North, 134 degrees 5 minutes East

A [Japanese](#) naval vessel was sunk by a US Army mine: River gunboat *Suma*, off [Shanghai](#), 32 degrees 0 minute North, 120 degrees 0 minute East.

WORLD WAR II

STATE MURDER

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August 11, Saturday: Speaking for the Allies, United States President [Harry S Truman](#) responded to the [Japanese](#) message of the previous day. They would allow the Emperor to remain on the throne only if he ensured the surrender of all [Japanese](#) military forces and then subjected himself to the supreme Allied military commander. The form of the government for [Japan](#) would be one that would be chosen by the people themselves. The President ordered a halt to [atomic bomb](#) production until further notice.

At a crematorium on Kyushu in Fukuoka, eight US airmen were [beheaded](#).



United States Destroyer *Mcdermut* (DD-677) was damaged by naval gunfire in the vicinity of the Kurile Islands, at 49 degrees 30 minutes North, 155 degrees 1 minute East. Soviet naval forces bombarded southern Sakhalin Island.

Friend [Agnes Carol Zens Kellam](#) wrote from Washington DC to her husband, Friend [John R. Kellam](#), who was being held in a federal penitentiary for having refused to participate in the killing:

My Dearest:

Still no signs of Junior's debut. I think he's waiting till the war's over and people stop officially murdering each other. I hope that news comes any minute now, although I shan't celebrate "victory" - It's been too horribly costly. I don't know what it will mean to the two of us personally and the others in our positions - that depends, I guess, on how vindictive our government is. Yesterday, the boy next door had his radio on listening to the "man in the street" program, from various large cities all over the U.S., on the Japanese surrender offer. I surely was surprised at the many bloodthirsty people who said we should continue fighting until the "Japs" surrendered unconditionally, or until all were killed, and the emperor bagged for a war criminal. I heard only one lady (I didn't listen to the whole program) who had a son fighting in the Pacific, say that we should accept the surrender terms, and as for the emperor, why, in the words of Jesus, "What is that to thee? Follow thou me."

... As I look out of my window and see the beauties of God all around I am made to wonder why is there so much sin in this beautiful land. The tall stately hollyhocks are lovely in all their different colors and the roses have been lovely with their pink, red and yellow clusters and this morning I can see the gladiolus begin to throw out their long spirals in all colors....

Well, darling, I guess thy eyes are getting tired, not to mention the poor censor's. [This letter amounted to six pages, typed single-space.] If this comes back, I'll send it to thee piece-meal, unless I'm in the hospital. But I haven't had any letter-writing instructions from Lewisburg.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

All my love to thee, Thy Cary

WORLD WAR II

CHANGE IS ETERNITY, STASIS A FIGMENT

August 19, Sunday: A [Japanese](#) delegation in Manila was informed of the terms of their surrender as dictated by [General Douglas MacArthur](#).

Near Hankow in northeast [China](#), a civilian group of Chinese managed to capture 26 [Japanese](#) soldiers. They beheaded the initial 4, then tied 4 to posts and shot them in the back of the head, then broke and crudely amputated the arms and legs of the next 4, and cut off the hands and feet of 4 and stuffed their genitals into their mouths.



Then with the remaining 10, they gouged their eyes and used them for bayonet practice. (Were these dudes trying to prove that Chinese can be as inventive as Japanese?)

HEADCHOPPING



1932

1934

1941

The war being over, the American newspapers revealed that there had been in January 1945, while [John R. Kellam](#) was in the Toledo jail awaiting his big day in court, a possibility that Japan might surrender before the [A-bomb](#), a possibility upon which then-President [Franklin Delano Roosevelt](#) had simply refused to follow up. The following appeared in the Chicago [Tribune](#) and the Washington DC [Times Herald](#), on page 1:

WORLD WAR II

BARE PEACE BID
U.S. REBUFFED
7 MONTHS AGO



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

BY WALTER TROHAN

Chicago Tribune Press Service

Washington, D.C. Aug. 19 - [1945]

Release of censorship restrictions in the United States makes it possible to announce that Japan's first peace bid was relayed to the White House seven months ago.

Two days before the late President Roosevelt left for the Yalta conference with Prime Minister Churchill and Dictator Stalin, he received a Japanese offer identical with the terms subsequently concluded by his successor, President Truman.

The Jap offer, based on five separate peace overtures was relayed to the White House by Gen. MacArthur in a 40-page communication. The American commander, who had just returned triumphantly to Bataan, urged negotiations on the basis of the Jap overtures.

All Acting for the Emperor

Two of the five Jap overtures were made thru American channels and three thru British channels. All came from responsible Japanese, acting for Emperor Hirohito.

President Roosevelt dismissed the general's communication, which was studied with solemn references to Deity, after a casual reading with the remark, "MacArthur is our greatest general and our poorest politician."

The MacArthur report was not taken to Yalta. It was preserved in the files of the high command, however, and subsequently became the basis of the Truman-Attlee Potsdam declaration calling for surrender of Japan.

News Kept Secret

This Jap peace bid was known to THE TRIBUNE soon after the MacArthur communication reached here. It was not published, however, because of THE TRIBUNE'S established policy of complete cooperation with the voluntary censorship code.

Now that peace has been concluded on the basis of the terms MacArthur reported, high administration officials prepared to meet expected congressional demands for explanation of the delay. It was considered certain that charges would be hurled from various quarters of congress that the delay cost thousands of American lives and casualties, particularly in such costly offensives as Iwo Jima and Okinawa.

It was explained in high official circles that the bid relayed by MacArthur did not constitute an official offer in the same sense as the final offer, which was presented thru Japanese diplomatic channels in Bern and Stockholm for relay to the four major allied powers.

War Lords Feared

No negotiations were begun on the basis of this bid, it was said, because it was feared that if any were undertaken the Jap war lords, who were presumed to be ignorant of the feelers, would visit swift punishment on those making the offer.

It was held possible that the war lords might assassinate the emperor. Officials said Mr. Roosevelt felt that the Japs were not ripe for peace, except for a small group, who were powerless



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to cope with the war lords, and that peace could not come until the Japs had suffered more.

The offer, as relayed by MacArthur, contemplated surrender of everything but the person of the emperor. Japanese quarters making the offer suggested that the emperor become a puppet in the hands of American forces.

Full Surrender Offered

Jap proposals in the MacArthur communication contemplated:

1. Full surrender of Jap forces on sea, in the air, at home, on island possessions, and in occupied countries.
2. Surrender of all arms and munitions.
3. Occupation of the Jap homeland and island possessions by allied troops under American direction.
4. Jap relinquishment of [Manchuria](#), [Korea](#) and [Formosa](#), as well as all territory seized during the war.
5. Regulation of Jap industry to halt present and future production of implements of war.
6. Turning over of [Japanese](#) the United States might designate war criminals.
7. Release of all prisoners of war and internees in Japan proper and in areas under Japanese control.

In fact the idea that the [Japanese](#) would never surrender had been little more than an American wartime myth, and rather than being a piece of useful realism had constituted the primary obstacle to negotiation toward a Japanese surrender. How do we know this? Well, we can trust the attitude of the Sinologist George Edward Taylor of the University of Washington on this one, because he was a cold warrior on the inside and anything but a bleeding-heart liberal — he would become a Nixonian reactionary and support the Vietnam War on the campus of the University of Washington. Questioning the wisdom of using atomic weapons against Japanese civilians to end the war in the Pacific, it appears, had not been a position reserved for the softhearted: before the dropping of the atom bombs there had been embedded conservative members of the military-intelligence community, international men of intrigue, hawks, who had viewed this as an unnecessary atrocity. During WWII Taylor worked with Rand Corporation, with the Department of State, and with other articulations of the revolving door of American intelligence institutions private and public. As the Deputy Director for the Far East of the Office of War Information, he supervised a small army of anthropologists who were, basically, weaponizing anthropology against the Japanese. It was Taylor's team that crafted the leaflets dropped from airplanes on Japanese soldiers and civilians. His team of government anthropologists had access to 5,000 diaries seized from captured and killed Japanese soldiers and studied such documents carefully for clues as to Japanese behavior tendencies. At the beginning of the war Taylor had viewed his psychological warfare programs as a means of ending the war by helping the Japanese overcome all the cultural obstacles preventing their surrender, but as the war progressed and it became abundantly clear that the American side would triumph he began to see his job as being one that needed to be done at home: he needed to convince US civilian and military leaders that they did not in order to end the war need to engage in any acts of genocidal annihilation. He came to perceive the War Department and the White House as in the grip of racist stereotypes of maniacal Japanese soldiers and citizens fighting to the death, and he and his staff began to struggle against this domestic attitude as a prime obstacle to peace. In the typescript of a speech that he probably delivered in 1944, we find him arguing that "If we accept, as we must, the view that Japanese soldiers, in spite of their indoctrination, are as human as other troops, we shall be the less surprised at the mounting evidence of their very human reactions to defeat. We are taking more and more prisoners. Two years ago it would have been very unusual for 60 men to allow themselves to be picked up out of the water when their transport had been sunk. In New Guinea and Burma stragglers are coming in out of the jungles to surrender without a struggle. We have known for a long time that many Japanese officers have been evacuated from indefensible positions and that their reaction on places such as Attu, where escape was impossible, was not to fight to the last man." Such thinking would be ignored by the War Department and White House. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt insisted on including



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the demise of the Japanese Emperor as part of America's demand for unconditional surrender, and it was not until after this man had collapsed and died that the government was able to communicate a more relaxed position on this point to the Japanese. A May 11, 1945 communication intercept being studied inside the US government had supported the attitude of Taylor and others at the Office of War Information that the Japanese military were ripe for surrender: "Report of peace sentiment in Japanese armed forces: On 5 May the German Naval Attaché in Tokyo dispatched the following message to Admiral Doenitz: 'An influential member of the Admiralty Staff has given me to understand that, since the situation is clearly recognized to be hopeless, large sections of the Japanese armed forces would not regard with disfavor an American request for capitulation even if the terms were hard, provided they were halfway honorable.'" To this communication intercept, someone in US military intelligence had appended the following: "Previously noted diplomatic reports have commented on signs of war weariness in official Japanese Navy circles, but have not mentioned such an attitude in Army quarters." A July 20, 1945 communication intercept had revealed that Japanese Ambassador Sato was advocating a Japanese surrender providing that the United States would assure the Japanese that the "Imperial House" would remain in existence. Like many others, regardless of how hawkish they were, Taylor would come to consider that what President [Harry S Truman](#)'s decision to use of nuclear weapons probably had to do with was "scaring the hell out of the Soviet Union," and that the idea of saving American lives during an invasion of the [Japanese](#) homeland islands was a mere cover story that of course the American public would readily buy into in order to avoid the thought that we had committed a war atrocity.

STATE MURDER

"MAGISTERIAL HISTORY" IS FANTASIZING: HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

STATE MURDER

October 15, Monday: Pierre Laval, prime minister in the Vichy government, was executed by [firing squad](#) at the prison of Fresnes, Paris. Shortly before the execution, Laval attempted suicide by ingesting poison.

The Allies eliminate Hessen-Pfalz. Its constituent parts go to create Rheinland-Hessen-Nassau and Pfalz.

Peru and Poland ratify the Charter of the United Nations.

This woman (her name we do not know — she was not [Mrs. Enola Gay Tibbets](#)), who had been burned by the heat flash at [Hiroshima](#) at 8:16AM local time but had for 71 days been a survivor, died:

[WORLD WAR II](#)



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

April 9, Monday: American troops land on Jolo Island in the Sulu Archipelago, Philippines.

After four days of heavy fighting, Soviet forces captured Königsberg (Kaliningrad).

The Allies renewed their attacks on the Gothic Line across the River Senio in northern [Italy](#). Taking part were soldiers from Great Britain, the United States, Poland, [India](#), New Zealand, South Africa, and Brazil, as well as Jewish volunteers.

Soviet troops reach the center of Vienna.

American forces took Essen.

Pastor Dietrich Bonhoeffer and five others were [hanged](#) by the Nazis at Flossenburg.

The Mauthausen concentration camp was evacuated.

GERMANY

A US shipload of bombs exploded at [Bari](#), [Italy](#) and not fewer than 360 died.

TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS



Army troops supported by destroyer gunfire and air strikes land on Jolo in the Sulu Archipelago, Philippine Islands.

United States naval vessels damaged, Okinawa area:

- Escort carrier *Chenango* (CVE-28), by crash of friendly aircraft.
- Destroyer *Sterett* (DD-407), by Kamikaze suicide plane, 26 degrees 47 minutes North, 128 degrees 42 minutes East
- Destroyer *Porterfield* (DD-682), accidentally by United States naval gunfire, 26 degrees 34 minutes North, 128 degrees 28 minutes East
- High-speed transport *Hopping* (APD-51), by coastal defense gun, 26 degrees 15 minutes North, 127 degrees 55 minutes East
- LST557, by coastal defense gun, 26 degrees 14 minutes North, 127 degrees 57 minutes East

[Japanese](#) naval vessels sunk:



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- Submarine RO-46, by destroyers *Mertz* (DD-691) and *Monssen* (DD-798), Okinawa area, 26 degrees 9 minutes North, 130 degrees 21 minutes East
- Minesweeper #3, by submarine *Parche* (SS-384), off Japan, 39 degrees 6 minutes North, 141 degrees 57 minutes East

WORLD WAR II

April 20, Friday: American forces completed the conquest of the Motobu Peninsula and most of the northern part of Okinawa.

11AM. On *Führer* [Adolf Hitler](#) 56th birthday, Soviet artillery began pounding Berlin.

Soviet troops took Prötzel, east of Berlin.

On approximately this day, as Soviet troops set the town of Neubrandenburg aflame, approximately 600 German civilians committed [suicide](#).

American forces occupied Nürnberg, taking 17,000 prisoners.

Allied bombers did a final carpet bombing of Berlin.

French forces cleared Bordeaux of [German](#) resistance.

With British troops only a few kilometers away, 20 Russian POWs and 20 Jewish children were [hanged](#) by the [Germans](#) at Bullenhuser Damm, near Neuengamme, Netherlands.

ANTISEMITISM

French troops captured Royan, northwest of Bordeaux.

Sonatina for piano by Karel Husa was performed for the initial time, in Prague.

Two works by Vincent Persichetti were performed for the initial time, in Philadelphia: Pastoral op.21 for woodwind quintet, and Fables op.23 for speaker and orchestra by Vincent Persichetti was performed for the initial time, in Philadelphia.

Army troops supported by naval vessels and Army aircraft landed on Catanduanes Island, Philippine Islands.

Submarine *Guitarro* (SS-363) laid mines off northeast coast of Sumatra, Netherlands East Indies.

United States naval vessels damaged in operations against [Japanese](#) forces:

- Battleship *Colorado* (BB-45), by explosion, Okinawa area 26 degrees 10 minutes North, 127 degrees 20 minutes East
- Destroyer *Ammen* (DD-527), by horizontal bomber, Okinawa area, 27 degrees 13 minutes North, 128 degrees 16 E.
- Submarine chaser SC-737, by grounding, Sulu Sea, 9 degrees 45 minutes North, 118 degrees 44 minutes East

WORLD WAR II



STATE MURDER

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October 25, Thursday: The Philharmonia Orchestra gave its 1st concert in Kingsway Hall, London, conducted by Sir Thomas Beecham.

Serenade for flute, harp and strings op.35 by Howard Hanson was performed for the initial time, in Boston.

Taiwan was returned to [China](#) after 50 years of [Japanese](#) rule.

[General Douglas MacArthur](#) ordered [Japan](#) to break all diplomatic relations with other countries, recall their diplomats and turn over all diplomatic property to Allied control.

The Inner Mongolian Peoples Republic was annexed to [China](#).

[Japanese](#) troops at Thaton, Burma, 135 kilometers east of Rangoon, surrendered to the British.

Dr. Robert Ley, head of the [German](#) Labor Front, [hanged](#) himself in his Nürnberg cell.

The Soviet Union demanded \$79,000,000 in reparations from Finland, rather than the \$50,000,000 previously agreed to in the armistice between the two countries.

Greece ratified the United Nations Charter.

December 20, Thursday: 7 [Germans](#) were [hanged](#) in Smolensk before 50,000 people of the murder of 135,000 people.

Karl Renner becomes the first president of a reconstituted Austria. He names Leopold Figl to replace him as prime minister.

Nordwürttemberg-Nordbaden was renamed Württemberg-Baden.

Charles Ives was notified that he has been elected to the National Institute of Arts and Letters, even though most of the music he wrote during his most fertile period, 1896-1918, has never been performed.

Musicians Wrestle Everywhere for chorus and strings by Elliott Carter to words of Dickinson, was performed for the initial time, over the airwaves of WNBC radio.

United Nations Participation Act. At an early point, there was some speculation that it might be appropriate to situate this international organization in Concord, Massachusetts.

WORLD WAR II



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1946

January 3, Thursday: [William Brooke "Lord Haw-Haw" Joyce](#) was [hanged](#) for treason on the gallows in Wing "E" of Wandsworth Prison in London.

[WORLD WAR II](#)

The Polish government nationalizes all industries with over 50 workers and all businesses formerly owned by [Germans](#).

Evelyn Waugh's BRIDESHEAD REVISITED.

At the [US Marine](#) Barracks in Washington DC, Concerto for clarinet and orchestra op.230 by Darius Milhaud was performed for the initial time. The work had been commissioned by Benny Goodman.

January 10, Thursday: Former Hungarian Prime Minister Laszlo de Bardossy was [hanged](#) in Budapest for treason.

The initial human contact with the moon took place when a US Army team at Evans Signal Laboratory in Belmar, New Jersey led by Lieutenant Colonel John H. Dewitt bounced a radar signal off of it.

[ASTRONOMY](#)

In the Central Hall of Westminster, London, the General Assembly of the United Nations met for the initial time, electing Paul-Henri Spaak of Belgium as its 1st president.

At William Schuman's request, Aaron Copland returned an invitation to teach at the Juilliard School.

January 17, Saturday: [President Harry S Truman](#) proposed that the dispute between U.S. Steel and the United Steel Workers union be settled by an 18.2¢-per-hour wage increase. A walkout was not prevented but it and most major strikes in 1946 would be settled somehow on the basis of residual patriotism and this 18.2¢.

Ba Maw, who headed the government of Burma during the [Japanese](#) occupation, surrendered to the Allies in Rangoon.

Lieutenant General Hermann Winkler and 6 other [Germans](#) were [hanged](#) for their war crimes before 65,000 people in Nikolaev, USSR.

[WORLD WAR II](#)

Nadia Boulanger disembarked in La Pallice after 5 years of exile in the United States. She had recently been appointed to the faculty of the Paris Conservatoire.

Off Haifa, 900 Jewish immigrants were captured by British vessels.

[ANTISEMITISM](#)



STATE MURDER

January 30, Wednesday: 14 [Germans](#), including 3 generals, were [hanged](#) in Minsk for their part in the murder of millions of Soviet civilians and prisoners of war.

WORLD WAR II

Clarinet Concerto by Darius Milhaud was performed for the initial time, at the [US Marine](#) Barracks in Washington DC.

February 23, Saturday: Lieutenant General Tomoyuki Yamashita and two other [Japanese](#) were [hanged](#) as war criminals in Los Baños, south of Manila.

WORLD WAR II

Indonesian leader Sutan Sjahrir rejected proposal made by the Dutch on February 10th.

A mutiny in the [Indian](#) Navy ended when the British commander promised amnesty. Rioting continued in Bombay. In the fighting 266 people had been killed and 677 injured.

May 7, Tuesday: Masaru Ibuka and Akio Morita founded the Tokyo Telecommunications Engineering Corporation with 20 employees (in 1958 the name would be changed to Sony Corporation).

Anton Mussert, founder of the Dutch [Nazis](#) Party, was [hanged](#) in The Hague.

WORLD WAR II

Six of Les chants de Nectaire for flute op.199 by Charles Koechlin were performed for the initial time, at the Ecole Normale de Musique, Paris.

May 22, Wednesday: Shigeru Yoshida replaced Baron Kijuro Shidehara as prime minister of [Japan](#).

In Prague, Karl Hermann Frank, former chief of police in Bohemia and Moravia who had ordered the liquidation of the town of Lidice, was [hanged](#) before a crowd of 5,000 people.

The British Trade Disputes And Trade Unions Act 1946 received royal assent (this repealed a 1927 act that had outlawed general and sympathetic strikes).

El duende azul, an operetta by Joaquín Rodrigo to words of Castell and Villaseca, was performed for the initial time, in Teatro Calderón, Madrid.

WORLD WAR II

May 29, Wednesday: [Chinese](#) Nationalist forces captured Kirin.

For their activities at the Dachau Concentration Camp, 14 more [Nazis](#) were [hanged](#) in Landsberg.

WORLD WAR II

One week after President [Harry S Truman](#) seized the coal mines, and two months after the strike began, US coal miners reach a settlement with the government. Workers would receive pay increases and retirement benefits. (On this day he was attending the graduation exercises of his daughter Margaret at George Washington University, and there being awarded the honorary degree of LL.D.)

Haj Amin al-Husseini, Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, leaves his villa near Versailles and, with a fake passport, flies from Paris to Damascus.



STATE MURDER

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June 3, Monday: In Suzhou in Jiangsu, [China](#), Ch'en Kung-po, collaborationist president of the pro-[Japanese](#) Nanjing Nationalist Government during [World War II](#), was put before a [firing squad](#) as a traitor.

STATE MURDER

The United States Supreme Court, in *Morgan v. Virginia*, outlawed segregation by race on interstate bus lines.

September 30, Monday: During the afternoon, Lieutenant General Takashi Sakai, who commanded the [Japanese](#) troops that had captured [Hong Kong](#), was put in front of a [firing squad](#) in [Nanking](#).

WORLD WAR II

October 15, Tuesday: [President Harry S Truman](#) ended price controls on meat.

In the course of that night the swordsman [Hermann Göring](#), former *Reichsmarshall* and head of the *Luftwaffe*, offed himself with a capsule of cyanide a couple of hours before they were to come get him out of his cell for [hanging](#).

GERMANY
WORLD WAR II

War-Guilt Trials⁶³⁹

The mumble-jumble drones on, the hangman waits; the shabby surviving
Leaders of Germany are to learn that *Vae Victis*
Means *Weh den Gesiegten*. This kind of thing may console the distresses
Of Europeans, but for *us*! — Also we've caught
A poet, a small shrill man like a twilight bat,
Accused of being a traitor to his country. I have a bat in my tower
That knows more about treason, and about her country.

— [Robinson Jeffers](#)

EZRA POUND

October 16, Wednesday: [Wilhelm Frick](#), [Hans Frank](#), [Walther Funk](#), [Fritz Saukel](#), [Alfred Rosenberg](#), [Julius Streicher](#), [Ernst Kaltenbrunner](#), [Alfred Jodl](#), [Wilhelm Keitel](#), [Arthur Seyss-Inquart](#), and [Joachim von Ribbentrop](#) were [hanged](#).

WORLD WAR II

Famous Last Words:



"What school is more profitably instructive than the death-bed of the righteous, impressing the understanding with a convincing evidence, that they have not followed cunningly devised fables, but solid substantial truth."

— A COLLECTION OF MEMORIALS CONCERNING DIVERS DECEASED MINISTERS, Philadelphia, 1787



639. This poem was entirely suppressed by the publisher, Random House — even after the war was in the history books.

STATE MURDER

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“The death bed scenes & observations even of the best & wisest afford but a sorry picture of our humanity. Some men endeavor to live a constrained life — to subject their whole lives to their will as he who said he might give a sign if he were conscious after his head was cut off — but he gave no sign Dwell as near as possible to the channel in which your life flows.”

—Thoreau’s JOURNAL, March 12, 1853

1932	George Eastman	Suicide note — he shot himself.	<i>“My work is done. Why wait?”</i>
1936	George V, King of England	It was suggested that he might recuperate at Bogner Regis	<i>“Bugger Bogner.”</i>
1945	Franklin Delano Roosevelt	having a massive cerebral hemorrhage	<i>“I have a terrific headache.”</i>
1945	Adolf Hitler	as hypothesized by Kurt Vonnegut	<i>“I never asked to be born in the first place.”</i>
1946	Alfred Rosenberg	hangman asked if he had last words	<i>“No.”</i>
1977	Gary Gilmore	being inventively executed	<i>“Let’s do it.”</i>
1997	Diana, Princess of Wales	per French police records	<i>“My God. What’s happened?”</i>
1998	Richard Feynman	unsolicited comment	<i>“I’d hate to die twice, It’s so boring.”</i>
1998	Karla Fay Tucker	Governor George W. Bush refused requests from Christian organizations based upon her alleged conversion	<i>“I am going to be face to face with Jesus now.... I will see you all when you get there. I will wait for you.”</i>
... other famous last words ...			





STATE MURDER

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1947

April 2, Wednesday: In Singapore, a British military court sentenced 2 [Japanese](#) to death and 5 to life in prison for their parts in the deaths of 5,300 [Chinese](#) on that island in 1942.

The Supreme National Tribunal in Poland sentenced *Obersturmbannführer* Rudolf Franz Ferdinand Höss, commander of the Auschwitz concentration camp, to be [hanged](#).

The British government referred the Palestine question to the United Nations.

The United Nations appointed the United States as trustee of the northern Pacific Islands formerly held by [Japan](#).

April 26, Saturday: Tani Hisao, who had commanded many of the [Japanese](#) troops who had committed hundreds of thousands of killings and rapes in [Nanking](#) in 1937, was led through the streets of the city past thousands of survivors of the horrors and then, south of the city, was put before a [firing squad](#).

WORLD WAR II
STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

May 9, Friday: The final men to be executed through [electrocution](#) in Massachusetts were Edward Gertson and Philip Bellino. Their electric chair is not on display (tastes about this sort of think have obviously changed somewhat since the gallows used to turn off house burglar [Samuel Smith](#) had been placed on display in the [Concord](#) courthouse in 1800), but a photo would be taken of it in a storage room at the state prison in Walpole in 1974:



FINAL EXECUTIONS		
January 31, 1945	Private Edward Donald “Eddie” Slovik	General Dwight David “Ike” Eisenhower ordered his execution by firing squad for desertion during World War II by his own unit, the 28th Infantry Division, in a small town in northeast France
May 9, 1947	Edward Gertson and Philip Bellino	last to be electrocuted in Massachusetts
June 7, 1951	7 leaders of the Nazi SS such as Oswald Pohl, Otto Ohlendorf ...	hanged in Landsberg Prison, München as the final batch of German war criminals executed by the United States

Since 1820, in the British Isles nobody had been being drawn and quartered for treason. At this point such a punishment was removed from the legal code.

December 18, Thursday: Two [Japanese](#) lieutenants were found guilty of killing more than 150 people, each, during the Rape of [Nanking](#) in 1937. They would be [executed](#).



STATE MURDER

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1948

June 2, Wednesday: Israeli troops attacked an [Egyptian](#) column north of Ashdod but were repulsed with heavy losses.

In Landsberg Prison, München, 7 former [SS](#) and death camp staff were [hanged](#).

[WORLD WAR II](#)

November 12, Friday: On the final day of the [Japanese](#) War Crimes trials former prime minister Hideki Tojo, General Iwane Matsui (who had overseen the “Rape of [Nanking](#)”), Lieutenant General Akira Muto (commander in the Philippines), General Kenji Doihara (commander in Malaya and Indonesia), Koki Hirota (former prime minister), General Heitaro Kimura (vice-minister of war) and General Seishiro Itagaki (responsible for having starved prisoners in Indonesia) were sentenced to death, 16 defendants receive life sentences, and 2 others received lesser sentences. The court pronounced that [Japan](#) bore a “national guilt” for its aggressions since 1928.

15 former guards at Mauthausen were [hanged](#) in Landsberg Prison, München.

[WORLD WAR II](#)

Umberto Menotti Maria Giordano died in Milan at the age of 81.

All 45,000 longshoremen on the east coast of the United States went on strike.

December 23, Thursday: At the Sugamo prison in [Tokyo](#) those convicted of war crimes, such as General [Tojo Hideki](#), General Iwane Matsui, Lieutenant-General Akira Muto, General Kenji Doihara, Koki Hirota, General Heitaro Kimura, and General Seishiro Itagaki, were escorted one by one from their cells to an in-prison [gallows](#).

[WORLD WAR II](#)

After three [Egyptian](#) counterattacks, the Israelis were driven from Hill 86 south of Gaza.

The House of Representatives’s [Un-American Activities Committee](#) termed 20 US unions “communist-controlled” and described 13 high union officials as communists.



STATE MURDER

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1949

February 12, Saturday: Major-General Yoshitaka Kawane and Colonel Kurataro Hirano were hanged at Bugamo prison in Tokyo for having been associated with the Bataan death march, in addition to a [Japanese](#) lieutenant and five enlisted men who had been responsible for the [torture](#) of prisoners in French Indo-China.

WORLD WAR II



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1950

In the United States during this decade, public sentiment would begin to turn away from “[capital punishment](#).” Many allied nations had either abolished or limited the death penalty, and here the number of executions would drop dramatically. Whereas there had been 1,289 executions during the 1940s and 715 in the 1950s, the number would plunge even lower, and add up to only 191 between 1960 and 1976. Support for capital punishment would reach an all-time low in 1966 with a Gallup poll showing support for the death penalty at but 42%.

COLDBLOODED MURDER



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1951

January 1, Monday: In France, beheader Jules-Henri Desfourneaux died. With the post of beheader at Bourreau vacant, there would be more than 400 applicants for the job of beheader at Bourreau — nice work if you can get it. André Obrecht would be chosen to be the new beheader of the French at Bourreau.

HEADCHOPPING

Communist [Chinese](#) Forces and North [Korean](#) Forces began a major offensive along the 38th Parallel.

KOREAN WAR

The announcement came from Buckingham Palace that William Walton was to be made Knight Bachelor. Later, Walton would write to his father-in-law: “I should never have accepted the knighthood, only I wanted to make Sue a lady.”

June 7, Thursday: A group of 7 leaders of the SS were [hanged](#) by the United States in Landsberg Prison, München. Among them were Oswald Pohl, who oversaw the goods taken from those killed in the death camps (including gold teeth), and Otto Ohlendorf, who oversaw death squads in the occupied Soviet Union which accounted for 90,000 deaths, mostly Jews. This would be the final batch of [Nazi](#) war criminals executed by the United States. 600,000 [Germans](#) had petitioned that they be spared.

WORLD WAR II

ANTISEMITISM

FINAL EXECUTIONS

May 9, 1947	Edward Gertson and Philip Bellino	last to be electrocuted in Massachusetts
June 7, 1951	7 leaders of the Nazi SS such as Oswald Pohl, Otto Ohlendorf ...	hanged in Landsberg Prison, München as the final batch of German war criminals executed by the United States
July 13, 1955	Ruth Ellis	hanged in a thick pair of calico knickers at Holloway prison in London



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

September 8, Saturday: Jürgen Stroop, who commanded the SS troops that had suppressed the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, was [executed](#) on the site of the ghetto.

[WORLD WAR II](#)

In San Francisco, [Japan](#) signed a peace treaty with 48 nations at war with it. The USSR, Czechoslovakia, and Poland refused to sign while India and Burma did not attend. In the treaty [Japan](#) regained sovereignty by formally renouncing war. It was reduced to the 4 home islands and agreed to negotiate reparations agreements with the various allied powers. Then, 5 hours after this Peace Treaty had been signed, representatives of [Japan](#) and the United States of America signed a defense treaty calling for the stationing of US forces on these islands.

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)



STATE MURDER

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1953

February 15, Sunday: Faced with the issue of what to do about policies with clauses freeing the life insurance company from payout if the insured was killed in war, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court decided that the insurance needed to pay — because the present conflict in Korea was officially a peace action of the United Nations and not a declared war of the United States of America.

KOREAN WAR

It was pointed out in the US Senate that it would be cheaper to put federal maximum security prisoners up at the Waldorf Astoria in New York City, than it was costing us to house them at Alcatraz in San Francisco Bay.

President Dwight David “Ike” Eisenhower warned the American people that the current arms race with the USSR, including nuclear weapons, was going to be expensive and long-term.

Condemned prisoners Julius Rosenberg and Ethel Rosenberg, awaiting electrocution at Sing Sing in Ossining, New York, were allowed to spend two hours with their sons Michael, age nine, and Robert, age five.

Friend Susan Gower Smith, Clerk of the Durham, North Carolina monthly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, wrote to Friend Kenneth L. Carroll mentioning the new meetinghouse on the grounds of the Moses Brown School in Providence, Rhode Island, and experiments on the impact of intercessory prayer on the sprouting of seeds by Professor Joseph Banks Rhine of the Parapsychology Laboratory at Duke University (it was being suggested that 3 years of experiments had been inconclusive and positive results unrepeatable simply because the lima beans, sweet peas, and corn kernels being prayed over had been planted too close to the seeds not being prayed over, so that some of the control seeds not being prayed over had sprouted due to their beneficial closeness to prayer activity for the sprouting of the test seeds):

Your letter about your wonderful meeting should have been answered immediately. It was greatly appreciated and read to the meeting. I'm sure we felt almost as happy over it as you did. Now I want to tell you about our meeting last Sunday. We've been dragging along with seldom more than 10 present, more often just six or eight. Last Sunday afternoon Prof. Bennington (Eng. Dept.) called to say that a very dear friend of theirs was visiting them. He is a Quaker and has expressed a desire to attend our meeting. He was a wonderful person John Alford (an artist I think) from the Providence R.I. meeting. He brought greetings and special sympathy. They have recently either bought or built a new Meeting House and they had heard via the grape vine that we were up to the same thing. All told we had 22 present at the meeting and about six spoke. It was one of the most meaningful meetings we've ever had. It gave us great hope after going through a period of great discouragement. One member who has come recently is most interesting viz — Laurel Glass who is doing some work on Prayer with Glenn Clark. He was in Durham last Tues and she invited me along with all who stayed to our Business Meeting to attend an informal gathering at her house that evening. People came from Chapel Hill, Raleigh and Greensboro. He sat in a comfortable chair and talked for at least an hour and a half without stopping. I thot he was quite interesting and a rare personality of unusual spiritual depth. Apparently she (Laurel Glass) is working in Dr. Rhine's Dept. and they are actually experimenting with intercessory prayer. I feel that she is going to be a great addition to our meeting.



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

Have you hears the bad news that Helen and Ed Kraybill have removed their membership completely to the Trinity Ave Pres. church. We miss them and it looked for a while as if we could not replace Helen as treas. Finally we asked Stanley Guise, a graduate student and an exceedingly fine person to take it and he accepted with graciousness and enthusiasm. He is young but a rock of Gibraltar!

Ever good wishes,

Susan Gower Smith



STATE MURDER

STATE MURDER

1954

December 7, Tuesday: 6 members of the Muslim Brotherhood were [hanged](#) for plotting to overthrow the government of [Egyptian](#) Prime Minister Gamal Abdel Nasser.



December 28, Tuesday: 5 members of the Muslim Brotherhood were sentenced to [hang](#) for conspiring to kill Prime Minister Gamal Abdel Nasser of [Egypt](#) and take over the government.

A Wreath for Waits for chorus by Ulysses Kay to anonymous words was performed for the initial time, in Ann Arbor, Michigan.



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1955

July 13, Wednesday: [Ruth Ellis](#) was [hanged](#) in a thick pair of calico knickers at Holloway prison in London. She would be the last woman executed in the United Kingdom.

FINAL EXECUTIONS		
June 7, 1951	7 leaders of the Nazi SS such as Oswald Pohl, Otto Ohlendorf ...	hanged in Landsberg Prison, München as the final batch of German war criminals executed by the United States
July 13, 1955	Ruth Ellis	hanged in a thick pair of calico knickers at Holloway prison in London
January 8, 1960	David Cooper Nelson	initial and final person to die in New Mexico's gas chamber (because that state was in transition from the electric chair to lethal injection)



STATE MURDER

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1956

June 19, Tuesday: President Gamal Abdel Nasser ended press censorship and martial law in [Egypt](#) (this had been the rule ever since the revolution of 1952).

President Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia spoke to an audience in Dynamo Stadium, Moscow, saying the split with the USSR was over and a mutual understanding had been reached.

Two Algerian terrorists were [guillotined](#) by French authorities in Algiers.

HEADCHOPPING

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August 2, Thursday: The French National Assembly denounced Gamal Abdel Nasser as “a permanent menace to peace.” British and French nationals began to exit [Egypt](#). The governments of Great Britain, France, and the United States of America called for a conference, to create an international body to control the [Suez Canal](#).

Albert Woolson, the final surviving member of the Union Army, died in Duluth at the alleged age of 109. This was the former drummer boy who had claimed to have witnessed the 38 hangings by the US Government which occurred in Mankato, [Minnesota](#) in 1862 (there’s no substantiation for this!) and yet had drawn no moral whatever from this mass racial [hanging](#) — but who had eventually delivered the old-age piece of wisdom about our [Civil War](#), that it had been peculiarly wrong because **instead of this struggle pitting race against race as would be proper or folkish, this struggle had pitted “brother” against “brother”**:

We were fighting our brothers. In that there was no glory.



This memorial to the Grand Army of the Republic, denominated “The Last Survivor,” is located near the end of the Gettysburg Battlefield auto tour. It depicts Albert Woolson, the last Union Army Veteran. Upon hearing of his death [President Dwight David “Ike” Eisenhower](#) said, “the death of Mr. Woolson brings sorrow to the hearts of Americans. The American people have lost the last personal link with the Union Army.” The body, however, would be interred not at the site of this bronze statue but in the Park Hill Cemetery of Duluth, Minnesota.

FAMOUS LASTS		
1955	Ruth Ellis	hanged in England
August 2, 1956	Albert Henry Woolson	claimed to have been a veteran of the US Civil War , claimed age 109
March 16, 1959	John B. Salling	falsely claimed last Confederate veteran of the US Civil War, falsely claimed to be age 112

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An oil portrait of Woolson, paid for with the pennies of schoolchildren, hangs in the city council chamber of Duluth.

Albert Woolson



Last Union Army Veteran Dies; Drummer at 17, He Lived to 109

Albert Woolson of Duluth Also Was Sole Survivor of Grand Army of Republic

DULUTH, Minn., Aug. 2 — Albert Woolson, the last member of the Civil War's Union Army, died today at the age of 109.

Mr. Woolson, who answered President Lincoln's call to arms and marched off to war as a drummer boy when he was 17, had been hospitalized for nine weeks with a recurring lung congestion condition. He lapsed into a coma early Saturday and did not regain consciousness. Since then, he had been fed intravenously and received oxygen through a nasal tube.

Members of his family were at his bedside when he died in St. Luke's Hospital.

Full-scale military funeral services will be conducted at the National Guard Armory here Monday at 2 P.M. Burial will be in the family lot at Park Hill Cemetery here.

Only three veterans of the Civil War, all members of the Confederate forces, survive. They are Walter W. Williams, 113, of Franklin, Tex.; John Salling, 110, of Slant, Va.; and William A. Lundy, 108, of Laurel Hill,



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Fla. Informed of Mr. Woolson's death, Mr. Lundy said "I regret very much the passing of Mr. Woolson."

Mr. Woolson's last comrade of the Union Army, James A. Hard of Rochester, N.Y., died in 1953 at the age of 111.

In Washington, President Eisenhower said today the death of Mr. Woolson "brings sorrow to the hearts" of Americans. The President said:

"The American people have lost the last personal link with the Union Army.

"His passing brings sorrow to the hearts of all of us who cherished the memory of the brave men on both sides of the War Between the States."

With Mr. Woolson's death, only the Confederate veterans will get a medal being prepared for the last survivors of the Civil War unless the law is changed or broadly interpreted. Last month Congress passed a law directing the Secretary of the Treasury to prepare gold medals with suitable inscriptions honoring the remaining veterans of the North and South.

Representative John A. Blatnik, Democrat of Minnesota, pushed for a quick award of the decoration to Mr. Woolson when the old soldier became critically ill. But Mr. Blatnik's office said today the Treasury would be unable to get the medal finished before Oct. 1. There is no definite provision in the law for a posthumous award.

Mr. Woolson married Sarah Jane Sloper in 1868. She died in 1901. Three years later he married Anna Haugen, who died in 1948. Survivors include six daughters, Mrs. John Kobus, Mrs. Arthur Johnson and Mrs. Robert Campbell, all of Duluth; Mrs. Adelaid Wellcome, Mrs. F.W. Rye and Mrs. J.C. Barrett, all of Seattle, and two sons, Dr. A.H. Woolson of Spokane, Wash., and R.C. Woolson of Dayton, Wash.

The Kobus family had lived with Mr. Woolson for several years. Mrs. Kobus said late today that instead of floral memorials the family preferred contributions to the Albert Woolson Scholarship Fund at the Duluth Branch of the University of Minnesota.

Outlasted 2,200,000

Mr. Woolson was the sole officially listed survivor of the more than 2,200,000 men of the Union armed forces. He also was the last survivor of the Grand Army of the Republic, an organization of Union veterans that exerted wide influence in American politics for many years after the Civil War.

Mr. Woolson's great age carried him into what was virtually another world of warfare as well as of politics. As a boy, he could have spoken with venerable men who had fought in the Revolutionary War. Veterans of the War of 1812 were numerous in his youth. When the



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war in which he served began in 1861, the commanding general of the Army was Winfield Scott, a hero of the War of 1812.

The War with Mexico started in 1846, the year before Mr. Woolson was born. Last year, when he was 108, several dependents of veterans of that conflict still were receiving Government benefits.

This year, Mr. Woolson could include himself among the more than 19,000,000 living persons who had served in the United States armed forces. Of these, as of May 2, 2,715,896 were receiving cash compensation or pension payments from the Government. This included some but not all of the 826,657 former members of the armed forces receiving education benefits.

Mr. Woolson, who had been a bugler-drummer rather than a rifleman, might have been excused if, in his later years, he had only a passing interest in the progress made in the art of war between the period of his Civil War service and the middle of the twentieth century. In 1865 the most expert rifleman could kill no more than two or three persons in a minute. In 1945, when Mr. Woolson was in his nineties, an estimated total of 100,000 persons were killed by atomic bombs.

Civil War Still a Live Topic

In 1956, ninety-one years after Appomattox, popular interest in the war in which Mr. Woolson had fought showed few signs of diminishing. Biographical studies of Civil War figures from Lincoln down to generals such as "Fighting Joe" Hooker were in bookstores, and a dramatic reading of Stephen Vincent Benet's "John Brown's Body" had been presented successfully on Broadway within a year or two.

Mr. Woolson fought in no Civil War battles, although he drummed to their graves many who had. When he was 106 he remembered it all pretty well. He recalled himself as a drummer boy of 17 in a rakish blue forage cap in the precise line of drummers who beat out the resonant slow step on muffled drums or, again, thudded the quick step — most likely "The Girl I Left Behind Me."

"We went along with a burying detail," he said. "Going out we played proper sad music, but coming back we kinda hit it up. Once a woman came onto the road and asked what kind of music that was to bury somebody, I told her that we had taken care of the dead and that now we were cheering up the living."

Mr. Woolson was born in the New York farm hamlet of Antwerp, twenty-two miles northeast of Watertown, on Feb. 11, 1847, the same day Thomas Alva Edison, the inventor, was born. James K. Polk, the dark horse Democrat, was in the White House and the issues that were to bring about the Civil War were being drawn into focus.

Willard Woolson, his father, was a carpenter in Watertown and apprenticed his son to this trade. The senior Woolson had, however, a second vocation. He was



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a musician in the band of a traveling circus. When President Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers in 1861, the father and his fellow musicians enlisted as a body.

Traced Father to Minnesota

When his family did not hear from him for more than a year they traced him through Army records to a hospital in Minnesota. The younger Woolson and his mother undertook the difficult journey by Great Lakes boat and stage coach to Windom, where they found the father suffering from a leg wound received at the battle of Shiloh. Shortly after the family was reunited his leg had to be amputated and he died.

Mr. Woolson and his mother remained in Windom and the boy went to work as a carpenter. But it was wartime. The sound of drum and bugle was in the air and it was agony for a spirited boy —mostly especially one in the drummer-bugler tradition— not to be in uniform.

Minnesota's manpower was stretched thin to furnish its quota for the Union forces and at the same time to hold back the Sioux Indians, who went off the reservation in 1863. Mr. Woolson recalled the day he left for the Army he had seen thirty-eight Sioux hanged in Mankato.

In the South, the war was dragging out its course. It had been a war of maneuver and field entrenchment, but by 1864 the Confederates were beginning to dig in to save manpower and the Union needed heavy artillery. Col. William Colville organized a Minnesota heavy artillery regiment of 1,800 men. Mr. Woolson got his mother's consent and was accepted into Company C, First Minnesota Volunteer Heavy Artillery. His military service dated from Oct. 10, 1864.

Enlisted as a rifleman, he wanted to be assigned as drummer and bugler, but Company C already had its quota of one field musician.

"I got the job by knocking his block off," Mr. Woolson recalled many years later.

Late in 1864, the regiment joined the Army of the Cumberland in Tennessee. It was commanded by Maj. Gen. George H. Thomas, known to history as "The Rock of Chickamauga," but more familiarly to his men as "Pap."

Recalled Firing Cannon

Minnesota's ponderous cannon and their north-country cannoneers waited hopefully at Fort Oglethorpe to be called into action, but the call never came. Mr. Woolson got to fire a cannon, though. It was the outstanding recollection of his Civil War service.

The bored gunners of the First Minnesota Heavy Artillery prepared to fire one of their pieces just to hear the noise. Mr. Woolson recalled it thus:

"The colonel handed me the end of a rope and said:



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'When I yell you stand on your toes, open your mouth wide, give a yell yourself and pull the rope.' I yanked the lanyard and the cannon went off and scared me half to death."

The First Minnesota sat out the spring and early summer of 1865 in the shadow of Lookout Mountain, near Chattanooga, and in August the regiment was ordered home. Mr. Woolson received his discharge on Sept. 7, 1865. He again practiced carpentry.

Veterans of both the Union and Confederate armies were returning to their homes or perhaps seeking new homes in the West. He was but one of thousands returning to civilian life and, in the case of Union veterans, an organization was soon formed that was to make the former wearers of the blue the most potent force in their country's politics for the next twenty years.

This organization was the Grand Army of the Republic, of which Mr. Woolson became the last member in 1953. He had been named senior vice commander in chief in 1950. The first G.A.R. post was formed at Decatur, Ill., in April, 1866.

Mr. Woolson was still in his 'teens when the G.A.R. was founded, and it is probable that, in common with most of the younger veterans, he did not join it for many years. The G.A.R. had a tinge of the secret society popular in the day. There was an oath and a ritual, and the organization was ostensibly free from politics and dedicated to good works. In a few years, however, it became one of the principal instruments for keeping the Republican party in power and for obtaining pensions and Government job preferences for Union veterans.

The G.A.R., as Mr. Woolson first knew it, was dominated by such figures as Maj. Gen. John A. Logan, a swarthy Illinois politician nicknamed "Black Jack." A gallant and successful general and a thundering orator with a black mane, he never failed to remind his hearers that while "not all Democrats were rebels, all rebels had been Democrats."

Mr. Woolson was a member of the G.A.R. in 1890, when it reached its peak of membership of 408,489. Its political influence had declined in the Eighties, although it was a force to be reckoned with until the turn of the century.

Mr. Woolson did not receive a pension until 1900. Immediately after the Civil War, pensions were limited to men who had suffered physical disability, but in time they were extended to all with recognized Civil War service with the Union forces. Unsuccessful attempts were made from time to time to obtain Federal payments for Confederate veterans. In the South the states paid small pensions to their Civil War veterans.

At his death, Mr. Woolson was receiving a pension of \$135 a month. He was then getting no other benefits, but was entitled to hospitalization and out-patient care.

In May, records showed that 5,784 widows and children of Union veterans were receiving pensions or payments under special acts of Congress.



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Formed Drum Corps

Mr. Woolson and Robert Rhodes, an old friend who had been bandmaster of the Second Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, formed a drum and bugle corps in 1867. Mr. Woolson beat his old Civil War drum. "We played fine lively music," he said. "Nothing sad."

With the passing of years, the G.A.R.'s, as they came to be called, became older men and finally old men. Their fellow countrymen seemed to recall them only on Memorial Day, which their organization had helped to establish. The National Encampments of the G.A.R., lively and often more or less rowdy affairs in the early days, became quiet get-togethers.

Mr. Woolson and his comrades wore the blue uniform coat and slouch hat of the G.A.R. and marched in the Memorial Day parades as long as they could. Finally they became very old men sitting quietly in the sun. There were other veterans of later wars to tell of the deeds they had done.

Mr. Woolson was one of six Union veterans attending the last National Encampment of the G.A.R. in Indianapolis in August, 1949. Here these last survivors of the organization voted to disband it.

With Mr. Woolson's death the Grand Army of the Republic passed out of existence. Its records will be turned over to the Congressional Library in Washington, and its flags, badges and official seal to the Smithsonian Institution.

In the Nineties, Mr. Woolson moved to Duluth and it was there that he discovered he had a knack for storytelling to supplement his brisk bugle and drum. He would drop into a nearby school, tell a couple of fanciful tales, give a little lecture on thrift and pass out a few bright, new pennies.

In 1952 the children of Duluth's schools turned the tables on him. They collected 27,652 pennies and commissioned an oil portrait of Mr. Woolson that was hung in the City Council chamber.

The aged veteran liked to say that he was born a Republican. He voted for President Lincoln when he was 17 under a special dispensation that gave the ballot to soldiers. He admitted he voted for the Democratic ticket once. That was for Franklin D. Roosevelt in his first bid for the Presidency. Mr. Woolson did not retire until 1930.

In his later years, Mr. Woolson liked to recite poetry and his favorite poem was "After the Battle, Mother." And it is unlikely that his school children friends for several generations let him forget that great sentimental poem of the post-Civil War period, "The Blue and the Gray," by Frances Niles Finch. It ends:

 "Under the sod and dew,
 waiting the judgment day,
 Love and tears for the Blue,



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Tears and love for the Gray."

December 15, Saturday: Budapest Radio announced that the rebel Janos Soltesz had been [hanged](#).

Zeitmasze no.5 for woodwind quintet by Karlheinz Stockhausen was performed for the initial time, in Paris, conducted by Pierre Boulez.

Over this night, December 15th/16th, [Egyptian](#) troops would attack the withdrawing British and French forces at Port Said (27 Egyptians would be reported killed).



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1957

[Albert Camus](#) participated with Arthur Koestler in a symposium *RÉFLEXIONS SUR LA PEINE CAPITALE* and wrote *REFLECTIONS ON THE GUILLOTINE* (*RÉFLEXIONS SUR LA GUILLOTINE*).

A punishment that penalizes without forestalling is indeed called revenge. It is a quasi-arithmetical reply made by society to whoever breaks its primordial law. That reply is as old as man; it is called the law of retaliation. Whoever has done me harm must suffer harm; whoever has put out my eye must lose an eye; and whoever has killed must die. This is an emotion, and a particularly violent one, not a principle. Retaliation is related to nature and instinct, not to law. Law, by definition, cannot obey the same rules as nature. If murder is in the nature of man, the law is not intended to imitate or reproduce that nature. It is intended to correct it. Now, retaliation does no more than ratify and confer the status of a law on a pure impulse of nature. We have all known that impulse, often to our shame, and we know its power, for It comes down to us from the primitive forests.

COLDBLOODED MURDER

HEADCHOPPING

July 25, Thursday: A policeman had been murdered, and a man who we suppose was probably innocent of this crime, Jacques Fesch, on this day got his [head chopped](#).⁶⁴⁰

HEADCHOPPING

640. It's something known in the legal profession as "irreversible error."



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1960

January 8, Friday: [David Cooper Nelson](#) had the honor of being the initial and final person to die in New Mexico's [gas chamber](#) (because that state was in transition from the [electric chair](#) to [lethal injection](#)).

FINAL EXECUTIONS		
July 13, 1955	Ruth Ellis	hanged in a thick pair of calico knickers at Holloway prison in London
January 8, 1960	David Cooper Nelson	initial and final person to die in New Mexico's gas chamber (because that state was in transition from the electric chair to lethal injection)
September 10, 1977	Hamida Djandoubi	nonpublic execution by guillotine at Baumettes Prison in Marseilles

October 11, Tuesday: Peace negotiations chaired by Prince Souvanna Phouma began in Vientianne between the right-wing leader Phoumi Nosavan and the communist [Pathet Lao](#).

The UN command in Léopoldville refused Congolese demands for the arrest of Patrice Lumumba.

5 anti-[Castro](#) rebel leaders were executed by [firing squad](#) in Santa Clara, [Cuba](#).

The British government's Monckton Commission recommended that power in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland be devolved to more local levels and that each part of the federation be given the right to secede. They also recommended increased African representation in the Assembly.

October 14, Friday: The [Cuban](#) government nationalized about 400 private companies, including foreign banks.

Walter Piston's Violin Concerto no.2 was performed for the initial time, in Pittsburgh.

October 16, Sunday: 2 US citizens were executed by [firing squad](#) for their part in an invasion by anti-[Castro](#) forces of Oriente Province in [Cuba](#).

Two new works were performed for the 1st time, in Donaueschingen: Anaklasis for strings and percussion by Krzysztof Penderecki and Chronochromie for orchestra by Olivier Messiaen. The audience required that Anaklasis provide an encore.

Concerto for violin, cello, ten winds, and percussion by Leon Kirchner was performed for the initial time, in Baltimore.



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October 13, Thursday: Cambridge [Friends](#) Monthly Meeting minutes: “A request was received from the Acton Meeting that they be recognized as a Preparative Meeting under our care.”

[General Secretary Nikita Khrushchev](#) of the Soviet Union departed [New York](#) for home.

In [Cuba](#), 382 locally owned firms, including the sugar mills, banks, and large industries, were nationalized.

Seven [Cubans](#) and a US citizen were executed by [firing squad](#) in Santiago de Cuba after being convicted of invading Oriente Province. 18 others received jail terms.

Il pigmalione, a scena drammatica was performed for the initial time, in the Teatro Donizetti, Bergamo (this had been Gaetano Donizetti’s 1st stage work, written during his student days in 1816).

December 31, Saturday: The Massachusetts legislature had enacted S.708 reorganizing the Steamship Authority and dropping [New Bedford](#) from the line. On this day the last sailing of an Authority ferry from New Bedford took place, with the departure of the *Nobska*. The special relationship between the islands and “The City,” as it had been affectionately known, was no more.

4 of the 11 who had been sentenced to death in Amman on December 29th for the killing of Prime Minister Hazza al-Majali on August 29th were publicly [hanged](#) in Amman.



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1961

March 11, Saturday: On his 85th birthday, today was declared Carl Ruggles Day in [Vermont](#).

An American, [William Alexander Morgan](#), who had fought in the mountains alongside the [Cuban](#) revolutionaries and become one of their *comandantes*, had fallen under suspicion of counter-revolutionary attitudes and in consequence needed to face a firing squad at La Cabana prison.

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1962

May 31, Thursday: [Adolf Eichmann](#) and his high Kantian principles were [hanged](#) on account of his conduct during [World War II](#), using a short rope.

ANTISEMITISM
GERMANY

This litterateur had left behind 1,300 pages of elucidation as to why he felt no guilt for his wartime conduct: "I reject as arrogant duress your attempted pressure on me to admit guilt on my part ... where none exists."

Two people were killed in Algiers by terrorists.

Great Britain dissolved the Federation of the West Indies with the constituent entities resuming their former colonial status: Antigua, Barbados, Cayman Islands, Dominica, Grenada, Jamaica, Montserrat, St. Christopher-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Trinidad and Tobago, and the Turks and Caicos Islands.

Invocation à l'ange Raphaël op.395 for women's chorus and orchestra by Darius Milhaud to words of Claudel was performed for the initial time, in Paris.

A concert of "symphonic jazz" took places in Constitution Hall, Washington when Duke Ellington and his Orchestra joined the National Symphony Orchestra conducted by Howard Mitchell and Gunther Schuller.

July 6, Friday: The "Operation Plowshare" agenda had become to use a series of 5S [thermonuclear explosions](#) to dig an artificial harbor at Cape Thompson, Alaska. On this date there was a "Sedan" proof-of-concept earthmoving blast at the north end of Yucca Flats in Nevada, that managed to loft more than 12,000,000 tons of earth into the skies (after the expenditure of more than \$770,000,000, it would be concluded that radiation issues would prevent this sort of earthmoving from ever becoming practical).

Talduwe Somarama Thero was [hanged](#) for the murder of Prime Minister SWRD Bandaranaike of Ceylon in 1959.

A 3d conservative terrorist was [put before a firing squad](#) near Paris for complicity in the May 31st, 1961 murder of Roger Gavoury, police commissioner for Algiers.

William Faulkner died in Oxford, Mississippi at the age of 64.

A conference of 17 nations on disarmament resumed in Geneva after a month-long recess.



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September 5, Wednesday: Sputnik 4 launched on May 15th, 1960, a Soviet mockup of a manned spaceship, fell out of orbit after 843 days. Along the orbital path in which the craft disintegrated, what was believed to have been a fragment weighing approximately 20 pounds hit the ground at the intersection of North 8th Street and Park Street in Manitowoc, Wisconsin.

“Cedar Hill,” that had been the home of [Frederick Douglass](#) at 1411 W Street S.E. in Washington DC, and “Glenmont,” that had been the home and laboratory of Thomas Edison in West Orange, New Jersey, were put under the jurisdiction of the US National Park Service.

The composition of new American pennies became 95% copper and 5% zinc (this would be the case until 1982, when they would begin to be 97.5% zinc and 2.5% copper).

An Indonesian Islamic mystic and rebel leader, Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosuwirjo, was [executed by firing squad](#) at the age of 57.

A couple of East German workers successfully rammed a truck through a barrier, climbed a fence, and swam a canal to West Berlin — all under a hail of bullets.

October 3, Wednesday: About 20 telephone workers were killed by a boiler explosion beneath the cafeteria at 5030 Broadway in [New York City](#).

8:15AM Walter Schirra blasted off from Cape Canaveral, Florida inside a Mercury capsule that would orbit the Earth almost 6 times and return him to the surly bonds of Earth 9 hours and 13 minutes later, 530 clicks northeast of Midway Island.

About 50 white University of Mississippi students, protesting near the residence of [James Meredith](#), burned him in effigy. Wow, a pretend [lynching](#), what fun! —Then federal troops persuaded them to call it a day.

Orchesterstück 2 by Gottfried Michael Koenig was performed for the initial time, in Palermo.

December 11, Tuesday: The 3-week-old West German cabinet crisis ended when the CDU and FDP factions agreed on a lineup for a new government.

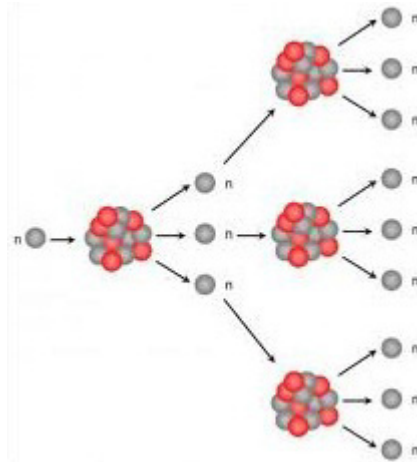
Chorale Prelude: So Pure the Star op.91 for band by Vincent Persichetti was performed for the initial time, in Durham, North Carolina, with the composer conducting.

At the Don Jail in Toronto two convicted murderers, Ronald Turpin, 29, and Arthur Lucas, 54, were [hanged](#). Lucas had murdered two people in 1961 and Turpin had during February 1962 murdered a Toronto constable. The noose almost yanked off Turpin’s head, it remaining attached to the body by but a few tendons.

For the 15th time in the history of our nuclear program, this time at the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory, some fissile material unexpectedly went beyond [criticality](#) into [prompt-criticality](#), the final stage before an

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[atomic explosion.](#)



TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS

Not to worry, however, for in the more than half century of our nuclear era there have been only a couple of dozen such incidents that we know of. We are told that a full A-bomb nuclear-weapon-like blast is a real engineering success story and very difficult to create, and therefore it is really really unlikely that any such prompt-criticality incident will ever produce a full A-bomb nuclear weapon-like blast without our really having intended for that to happen (even at Chernobyl the molten “corium” stuff in the “Elephant’s Foot” formation in the basement failed to go off like a bomb). Just about the worst thing that might happen in a prompt-criticality situation is that the nuclear material in question goes off like what one might term a big “dirty” bomb –which is not at all in the same ballpark in terms of blast-effect although it is in the same ballpark in terms of contamination-effect– except that we must bear in mind that at the Fukushima Daiichi site, unfortunately, there are some 2,000 **tons** of such materials available within a few thousands of yards, in the six reactor cores and seven cooling pools.

WALDEN: If we read of one man robbed, or murdered, or killed by accident, or one house burned, or one vessel wrecked, or one steamboat blown up, or one cow run over on the Western Railroad, or one mad dog killed, or one lot of grasshoppers in the winter, –we never need read of another. One is enough.



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1963

By this point [capital punishment](#) was still mandatory in the USA only in a few jurisdictions, and only for a small number of rarely committed crimes.



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1965

July 14, Wednesday: Radio Lhasa reported that 5,000 [Chinese](#) troops had been dispatched to Tibet to quell widespread revolts.

The British House of Commons voted 200-98 to abolish the [death penalty](#).

The United States space probe Mariner 4 passed behind [Mars](#) after coming as close as 10,000 kilometers to the red planet. Mars became the initial planet, other than Earth of course, to be photographed close up.

[ASTRONOMY](#)

Adlai Stevenson experienced a heart attack while walking on a London street and died at St. George's Hospital.

July 20, Tuesday: After 16 years of residence in the United States, former President of the Republic of [China](#) Li Tsungjen arrived in Peking, having defected to the People's Republic of China.

The British House of Lords voted 204-104 to abolish the [death penalty](#).

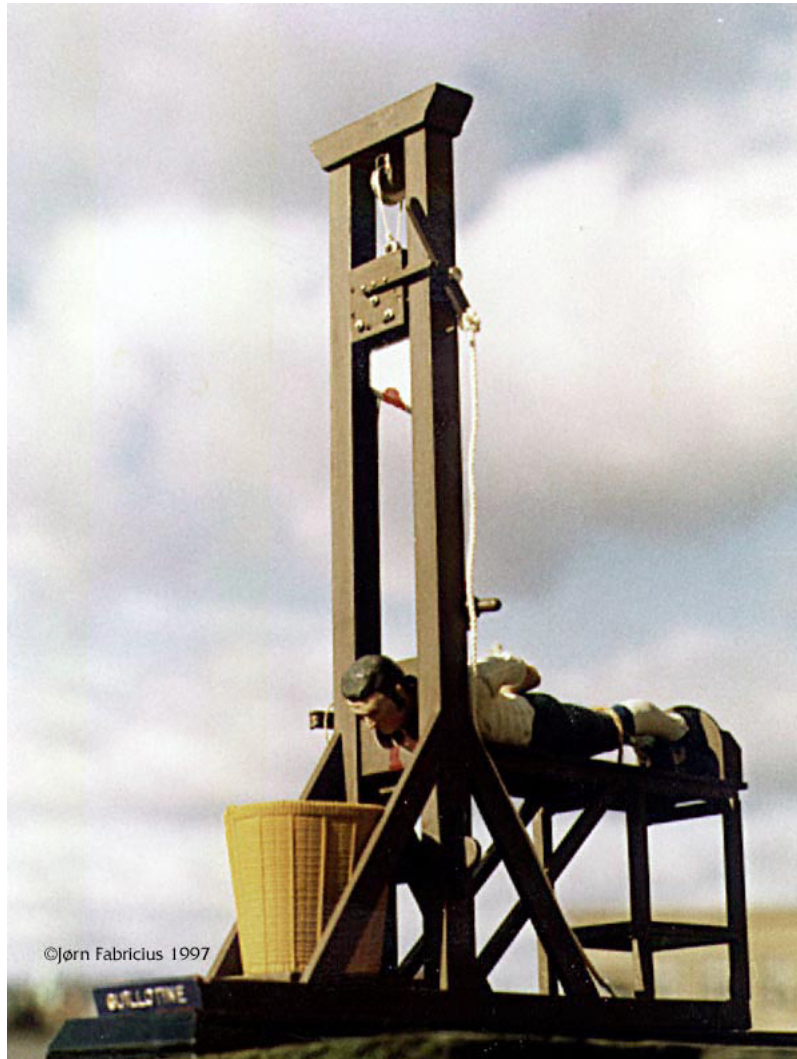
Returning from his 6th visit to [South Vietnam](#), [Secretary of Defense Robert Strange McNamara](#) reported that in spite of massive intervention by US troops, the [Viet Cong](#) were stronger than ever and their operations had become wider and more successful — therefore the United States of America would take whatever steps were necessary to dig its hole deeper and deeper until eventual victory (as they say, we will overcome some day).

STATE MURDER

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1970

At Madame Tussaud's in London, a plastic toy "Aurora" [guillotine](#) was made available for sale to interested children:



HEADCHOPPING

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

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In this year Pogo, a possum's possum, declared "We have met the enemy, and he is us."





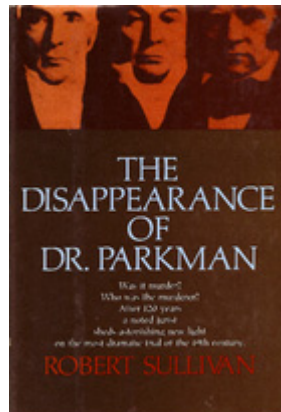
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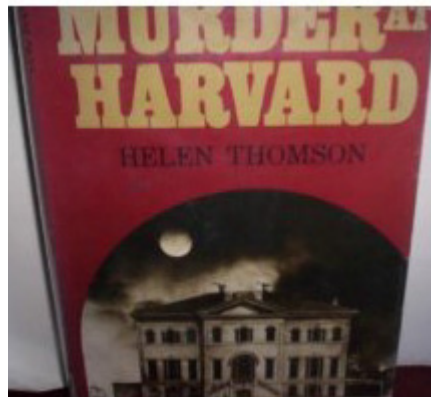
1971

The brick multistory structures of [The Riverside Press](#) on Blackstone Street in Cambridge, Massachusetts had become inadequate for the volume of production. The Press increasingly had to find storage facilities off premises. The firm merged with Rand McNally and moved its operation to Taunton, Massachusetts. The 500 employees (80% were unionized) were offered new jobs in that non-union shop. With the closing of this, and other local manufacturing plants (Lever Brothers, Boston Woven Hose, Blake and Knowles Steam Pump, Simplex Wire and J.W. Squire, etc.) the dominate proportion of the workforce in Cambridge and in the Riverside community changed from blue-collar to white-collar.

When Robert Sullivan's [THE DISAPPEARANCE OF DR. PARKMAN](#) about the [Professor John White Webster/Doctor George Parkman](#) case was published in Boston in this year, it was published by Little, Brown & Company.



When Helen Thomson's [MURDER AT HARVARD](#) about that famous case was published in Boston in this year, it was published by Houghton Mifflin.





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1972

November 28, Tuesday: Martial law was lessened in [South Korea](#), enough to allow schools and universities to reopen.

The Irish Republican Army began a new offensive with rocket attacks in Belfast, Londonderry, and at the border with the [Irish](#) Republic.

In the Santé prison in France at 4:45AM, Roger Bontemps and Claude Buffet, who had during a mutiny at the Clairvaux prison slain guard Guy Girardot and nurse Nicole Comte, were walked toward the [guillotine](#).



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1973

June 26, Tuesday: The Rhode Island General Assembly enacted Public Law Chapter 280 (RI General Laws 11-23-2), making [capital punishment](#) by lethal gas mandatory for murders committed by persons while under confinement in the state correctional institutions. (Such an [execution](#) would however be determined, in 1979, to be in violation of the US Constitution.)

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1976

Marcel Chevalier, the last [beheader](#) of Frenchmen, succeeded André Obrecht. He would serve until the 1981 abolition of the death penalty.

HEADCHOPPING

In the Year of Our Lord 1676, three hundred years earlier, there had been a plot among certain white men of Lynn MA, about 30 or 40 in number, to attack the starving unarmed internees of the Deer Island racial concentration camp a few yards off their shore. The idea seemed to be that they were fighting the red men, and, well, here were some red people ready to hand, defenseless, –so let’s kill ’em. The proposition, current in



Europe at that time, that belligerents ought to make a “separation between the guilty and the innocent,” was an innovation which needed in New England to be supported by argument and reasoning. Fortunately, one Thomas Sheppard of [Charlestown, Massachusetts](#) had gotten wind of this proposed slaughter expedition and had informed the Legislative Council in Boston in time to forestall it. So the following is what a popular current paperback tour book of Boston Harbor⁶⁴¹ had to say on this tricentennial about that island racial concentration camp. The tour book included no references or authentication, but it did most bluntly make the

641. Kales, Emily and David. ALL ABOUT THE BOSTON HARBOR ISLANDS. THEIR GEOGRAPHY, ECOLOGY, HISTORY AND FUTURE, THEIR LORE AND ROMANCE. WITH UPDATED INFORMATION ON HOW TO GET TO THEM, WHAT TO WEAR, WHERE TO PICNIC ... WHERE TO MOOR, RENT, OR CHARTER A BOAT; WHERE, WHEN, HOW AND WHAT FISH TO CATCH; HARBOR CRUISES, SWIMMING. 4th and Revised Edition, 1983 [1st edition 1976]. Maps and sketches by Deborah Warren. Hingham MA: Hewitts Cove Publishing Company, Ltd., Hingham Shipyard, 349 Lincoln Street. Page 28.



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following assertions, which in subsequent editions have not been muted:

NATICK

The island's resources were not adequate to feed them, and no assistance was rendered from the mainland. At least two hundred perished from starvation and disease during the first two months of internment. Prisoners of war were also brought to Deer Island and later sold into slavery. The memory of these Native Americans is honored each year through a re-enactment of the trip from the old Natick village site to Deer Island. The group, which includes descendants of Deer Island internees, gathers on the South Natick common on October 30 and traces the route taken more than three hundred years ago. Members of the Native American community have expressed concern that their ancestral gravesites on Deer Island have been disrupted by the construction of the Massachusetts Water Resources Authority wastewater treatment plant. With the construction of a quarantine hospital in 1847, Deer Island again provided a holding area for the displaced. Almost 5,000 Irish immigrants were admitted to Deer Island between 1847 and 1849. Many were taken ill during their long voyage from Ireland. 750 died and were buried on the island.

We can well understand what is meant by the remark from the tour book quoted above, "Prisoners of war were also brought to Deer Island and later sold into slavery," since in fact in the Year of Our Lord 1676 all captured warriors were being immediately executed upon the Common.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT
COLDBLOODED MURDER

What was meant by this 1976 guidebook to the harbor islands, obviously, by this guilty expression "prisoners of war," is that any persons with any degree of native American ancestry who had been so entirely inoffensive that they could not be executed upon the Boston Common, such as the women and the children and the aged men and the infirm, had been being driven down to this exposed and barren island and incarcerated temporarily with the "Eliot's Indians" already being held captive there, until whatever survivors there might be could be sold into the foreign slavery of field labor in the plantations of the Azore Islands of the far Atlantic. But there is an additional implication to this material from today's guidebook to the harbor, an implication for which I know of no available supporting evidence. That additional implication would be that (Hypothesis A) the distinction between the survivors of the Deer Island concentration camp who were later sold into foreign enslavement, and those survivors of the concentration camp who would not be sold into foreign enslavement, had been a distinction between, on the one hand, the inhabitants of the Christian villages, the "Eliot's Indians" with their prayer books who had early in the race war been herded down onto the exposed island tied together at the neck with rope, and, on the other hand, the various anonymous persons of color who were being swept up by the white armies later on in the race war. Although the latter would be sold into slavery, reading between the lines in today's guidebook to the harbor would imply, the former would not. And here's the rub: I know of no evidence that that was the way things went down on the ground at the time, that that was the *Selektion* that was in fact made. Even if someone "in charge," sitting in a comfortable room in Boston, had intended such a benevolent *Selektion*, had ordered such a benevolent *Selektion* — it is unlikely to have been something which mere good intentions could obtain. I would offer as a contrary hypothesis, that (Hypothesis B) the actual white

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“underlords” actually out there on that island making that *Selektion* after the race war would not have been particularly scrupulous or careful later as to how they make the *Selektion* between those whom they could then enslave and those whom they needed to put on their own recognizance — that in fact what they probably did with their helpless hostages after their won race war was claim for service in their white households whatever red children seemed comely and alert and undiseased (unprotected children make marvelous household sex objects), then sell anyone among the residue for whom they could get a halfway decent price, and then set loose on their own recognizance **only** those redskins who for reason of age or illness could not be turned to the satisfaction of any white victor’s greed. How might the actual process have been otherwise? –Do people engage in a successful genocide and then come out on the other side of this successful genocide being decent and caring people?

“The Whites, by law of conquest, by justice of civilization, are masters of the American continent, and the best safety of the frontier settlers will be secured by the total annihilation of the few remaining Indians.”

– Lyman Frank Baum, author of the Oz books

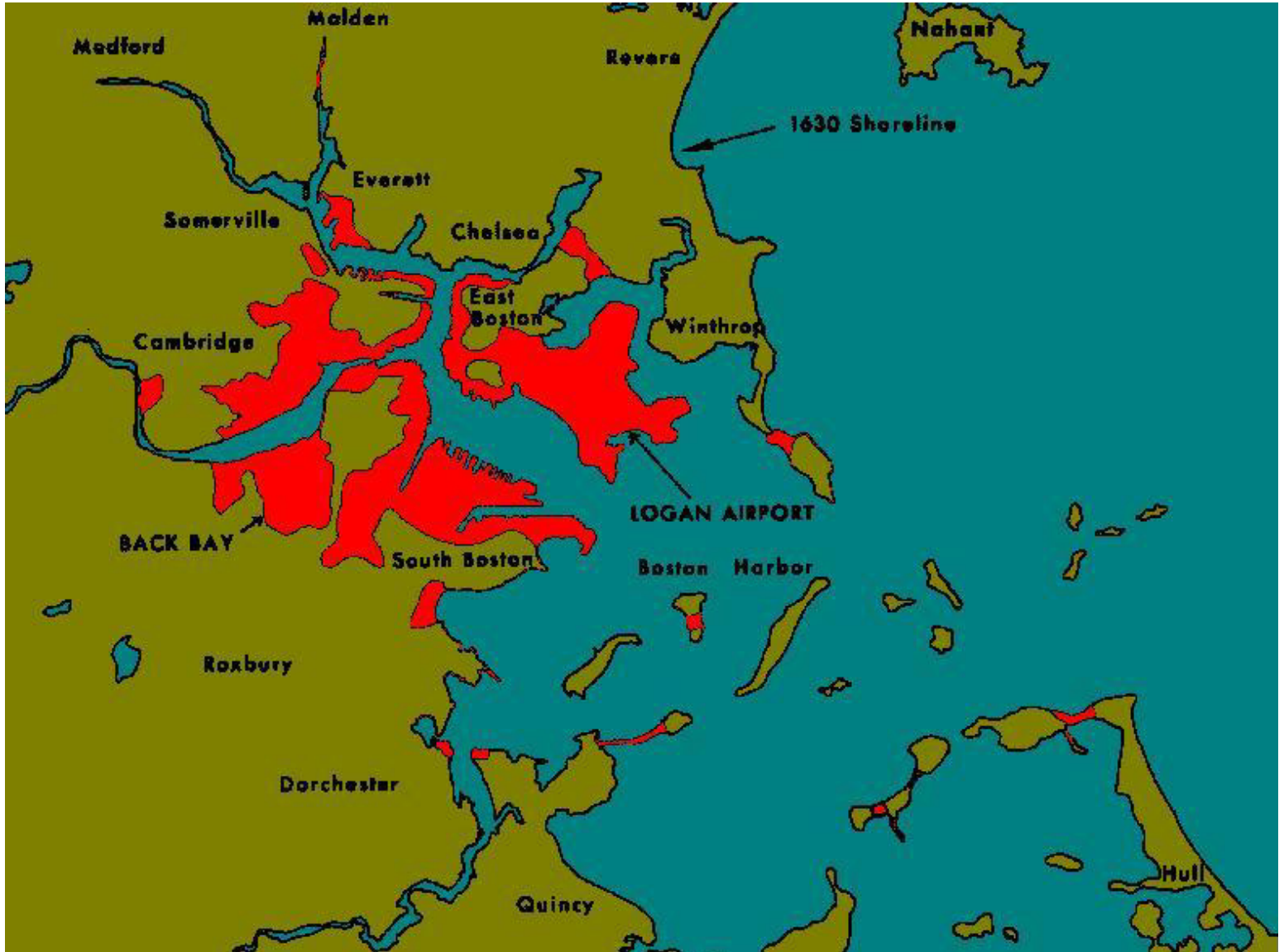


[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

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Now the question becomes: who is going to provide some **evidence**, amounting to something more than simple self-serving opinion, as to whether Hypothesis A, the guidebook's implicit hypothesis, or Hypothesis B, my own somewhat more likely story, is a more accurate description of what actually went down, there in secrecy and silence in Boston Harbor so long ago?



Is it not curious, that the most sustained treatment of this human disaster which we have presently available to us is this two-paragraph “retreating admission” mention which any police interrogator would disbelieve, and that this two-paragraph “retreating admission” which we are supposed to accept is to be found buried in a popular guidebook of no substantial authority? Is it not curious, that even this two-paragraph “most sustained treatment presently available” amounts to an implicit claim that what happened hadn’t been all that bad, because 1.) although “hundreds of friendly Christian Indians” had died of starvation and exposure, this seems to have happened through mere neglect rather than through white maliciousness, and then because 2.) the only people who were subsequently enslaved had been “prisoners of war,” which is to say, implicitly, by supposition, captured male warriors? Is it not curious, that in such a tourist treatment we find anonymous writing about the disturbing of sacred graves of victims by “wastewater treatment,” when the fluid actually indicated by this innocent term “wastewater” would be made up not only of Boston’s gray dishwater but also



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of its shit and piss and cigarette butts and condoms and dead babies? Is it not curious that a mass grave would be being referred to as “their ancestral gravesites” (plural rather than singular) as if to suggest falsely that these hundreds of people who died at once of starvation and exposure would have received decent individual and singular, respectful, separate burials? Is it not curious that the guidebook prepared for our general public refers to “their ancestral gravesites” (the collective third person possessive “their” in distinction from the collective first person possessive “our”) as if to suggest falsely that any and all readers of this guidebook would of course be the descendants of the white intrusives, and as if to suggest falsely that descendants of the surviving red indigenes have no use for this book, perhaps do not yet know how to read or at least are not likely to go on holiday tours of the islands in the Boston harbor, have nothing to do but march on the indicated annual protest days and “express concern”?

March 11, Thursday: In written testimony by unconditionally pardoned former President [Richard Milhous Nixon](#) to a committee of the United States Senate, he acknowledged that while President he had ordered efforts to undermine the presidency of [Salvador Allende](#) of Chile.

Brigadier General Abdel Aziz al-Ahdab proclaimed himself the military governor of Lebanon and sided with the Muslim dissidents. Broadcasting to the nation, he demanded that the president and prime minister resign.



29 army officers and a civilian were publicly executed by [firing squad](#) in Lagos, Nigeria. They had been found guilty of being involved in the attempted coup and the murder of the head of state during the previous month.

Mikka “S” for violin by Iannis Xenakis was performed for the initial time, in Orléans.



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1977

January 17, Monday: The decade-long moratorium on criminal [executions](#) that had begun with the Jackson and Witherspoon decisions of the United States Supreme Court ended with the execution by firing squad in Utah of Gary Gilmore, who had not challenged his death sentence. That same year, Oklahoma would make itself the first state to adopt lethal injection as a means of execution (though it would be five more years before Charles Brooks would become the first prisoner executed in such a manner, in [Texas](#) on December 7, 1982).

STATE MURDER

September 10, Saturday: [Hamida Djandoubi](#) had the honor of going down in our history books as the last victim of the [guillotine](#), in a nonpublic execution at Baumettes Prison in Marseilles. Way to go, Hamida!

HEADCHOPPING

FINAL EXECUTIONS		
July 13, 1955	Ruth Ellis	hanged in a thick pair of calico knickers at Holloway prison in London
January 8, 1960	David Cooper Nelson	initial and final person to die in New Mexico's gas chamber (because that state was in transition from the electric chair to lethal injection)
September 10, 1977	Hamida Djandoubi	nonpublic execution by guillotine at Baumettes Prison in Marseilles



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1979

Michael W. Fedo's "THEY WAS JUST NIGGERS" (Ontario CA: Brasch and Brasch).

This would be reprinted as MOB VIOLENCE, and then reissued in 2000 as THE [LYNCHINGS](#) IN DULUTH.

[MINNESOTA](#)

In 1973 the Rhode Island General Assembly had made [capital punishment](#) by lethal gas mandatory for murders committed by persons while under confinement in the state correctional institutions. In this year, however, the Rhode Island Supreme Court determined that such a mandatory death sentence provision violated the cruel and unusual punishment prohibitions of the 8th amendment to the US Constitution (State v. Anthony, 398 A.2d 1157 and State v. Cline, 397 A.2d 1309).



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1981

September 2, Wednesday: Philippe Maurice, who had been sentenced to be separated neatly into two pieces of meat at the [guillotine](#), was granted the privilege of living the remainder of his life as one piece of meat, in prison, by President François Mitterrand — in France, which had decided that it owed it to itself to become a civilized nation, the death penalty was being abolished.

HEADCHOPPING



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1982

January: Sister Helen Prejean became a pen pal to a prisoner on [death row](#); she later would compose a powerful memoir of her experience, DEAD MAN WALKING, which would be made into an award-winning movie.

[CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE](#)

December 7, Tuesday: Huntsville, [Texas](#) led us on our journey toward human decency: Charles Brooks became the first prisoner in the United States of America to be [executed](#) in the compassionate manner known as lethal injection (before they stuck in the needles, to make sure he didn't get an infection, he watched as his elbow pit was scrubbed with a disinfectant pad).

The Danish parliament froze payments toward the deployment of US [nuclear missiles](#) in Europe.

The US House of Representatives cut funding for deployment of [the MX missile](#).

Aaron Copland made his final appearance as a conductor, with the New Haven Symphony Orchestra. He directed two of his early works: An Outdoor Overture, and Symphony for Organ and Orchestra.



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1984

May 9, Wednesday: The [Rhode Island](#) General Assembly removed the mandatory [capital punishment](#) language from its General Law section 11-23-2. No crime in Rhode Island would make possible a coldblooded [execution](#).



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1987

July 25, Saturday: A Cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church alleged that [Jacques Fesch](#), who had had his body divided neatly into two pieces thirty years before on this day, had probably been innocent of the murder of a policeman, the crime for which he had been condemned. He did not plead for President François Mitterand to put the pieces of this man back together — but he did plead for the President of France to give this man back his honor.


HEADCHOPPING



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1991

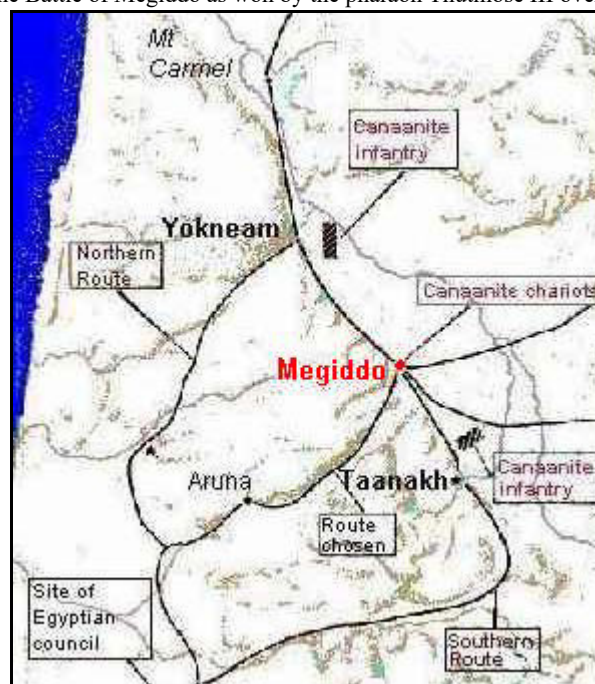
The city officials of Duluth, [Minnesota](#) had never publicly acknowledged the graves of the three young men they had allowed to be [lynched](#) by a white-citizens' mob in 1920.  In this year, however, some markers were placed above these previously anonymous gravesites at the Park Hill Cemetery. The engraving placed on the stones was:

DETERRED BUT NOT DEFEATED

Louis Farrakhan declared that the Gulf War was going to turn out to be the “War of [Armageddon](#) which is the final war” (Abanes, Richard. END-TIME VISIONS. NY: Four Walls Eight Windows, 1998, page 307).⁶⁴² Just prior to Operation Desert Storm, a [US Marine](#) attorney provided the following decency-for-idiots description of the law of war: “All the laws of war boil down to these 3 fundamentals. 1. If it needs to be killed, kill it. 2. If it doesn’t need to be killed, don’t kill it. 3. If you see somebody killing something that doesn’t need to be killed, try to stop them. Any questions?”

Exemplifying a more “Rashomon-like” what-is-truth frame of mind, Alfred A. Knopf of New York, a subsidiary of Random House, published Simon Schama’s DEAD CERTAINTIES (UNWARRANTED SPECULATIONS) in regard to the famous [Professor John White Webster/Doctor George Parkman](#) case.

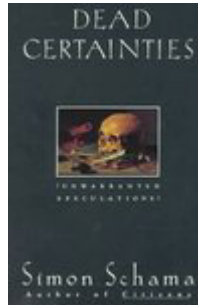
642. Armageddon = the place (possibly to be identified with Har Megiddo, the Mount of Megiddo, near Tel Aviv, near which many battles were fought) designated in REVELATION 16:16 as the scene of the final battle between the kings of the earth at the end of the world. Here is the layout of the Battle of Megiddo as won by the pharaoh Thutmose III over the Canaanites in 1482 BCE:





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There are no facts, only interpretations — so maybe the butler did it.



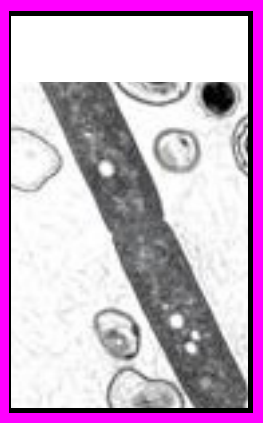
The bulk of the reviews of this book characterize Simon Schama's speculations as unwarranted.

By the time of the Gulf War cease-fire, Iraq had weaponized [anthrax](#) (using strains of the microorganism that had been collected in [Texas](#) and supplied to Saddam Hossein by the United States federal government), botulinum toxin, and aflatoxin and had several other lethal agents in development. Inspectors from the UN Special Commission (UNSCOM) would spend frustrating years chasing down evidence of the scope of this program, the very existence of which Iraq would indignantly deny. The UNSCOM team would find that Iraq's stockpile included Scud missiles that had been pre-loaded with disease organisms.

GERM WARFARE



On January 18th, [President George Herbert Walker Bush](#) reported that he had directed US armed forces to commence combat operations on January 16th against Iraqi forces and military targets in Iraq and Kuwait, in





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conjunction with a coalition of allies and UN Security Council resolutions. On January 12th Congress had passed the Authorization for Use of Military Force against Iraq Resolution (P.L. 102-1). Combat operations would be suspended on February 28th.



On May 17th, President Bush stated in a status report to Congress that the Iraqi repression of the Kurdish people had necessitated a limited introduction of US forces into northern Iraq for emergency relief purposes.

On September 25-27th, after widespread looting and rioting broke out in Kinshasa, US Air Force C-141s transported 100 Belgian troops and equipment into Mnshasa. US planes also carried 300 French troops into the Central African Republic and hauled back American citizens and third country nationals from locations outside Zaire.

US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS



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1993

Michael W. Fedo's play *Trial by mob* (Duluth MN: Theatre in the State, Inc.)⁶⁴³

In Duluth, [Minnesota](#) during this year, Elmer Glenn died. He had been the last surviving member of the generation of black people who had lived through the 1920 [lynchings](#) there. He had been 14 years of age at the time. He recollected for us before his death, how his white neighbors had vowed to his family that they were going to protect them, should the angry mob begin to seek general targets of opportunity among the black population.

There was so much hate that nobody could have stopped those nuts. We were scared. There was a lot of talk that the whites were going to wipe out all the blacks.

643. After I saw this play I urged the fellow members of my monthly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends to also see it. To the best of my information, not one of these Minnesota Quakers would accept this advice.



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1998

Chancellor John R. Silber and his wife Kathryn Underwood Silber donated \$1,000,000 toward full-tuition scholarships for graduates of [Texas](#) public schools who would attend Boston University's College of Arts and Sciences.

[Texas](#), a district known for its chivalry, has not since the [execution](#) of Chipita Rodriguez in the Year of Our Lord 1863 (for the murder of a horse trader) executed any woman — until, in this Year of Our Lord 1998, Governor George W. Bush sent the repentant Karla Faye Tucker to Heaven.

The Department of [Botany](#) at The University of [Texas](#) at Austin was dismantled, following the 3-decade trend in major research universities to redistribute biological sciences based on descriptive and organismic studies versus molecular, biotechnological, and microbiological.

John S.D. Eisenhower's AGENT OF DESTINY: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT (NY and London: The Free Press, reviewed for H-SHEAR by James M. McCaffrey <McCaffreyJ@zeus.dt.uh.edu> of the University of Houston-Downtown):

Winfield Scott entered the U.S. Army in 1808 as a captain of artillery and spent most of the next fifty-three years on active duty. Scott's long and notable career, as John Eisenhower relates in this book, encompassed the War of 1812, the Seminole Wars, the Mexican War, and the early phases of the Civil War. It is difficult to imagine another American soldier, with the possible exception of Douglas MacArthur, who had such a long and colorful career.

Scott's career was almost stillborn, however. He was dissatisfied with his first assignment, under General James Wilkinson near New Orleans, and submitted his resignation from the army in 1809. When war with England began to appear more and more likely, Scott had second thoughts and asked for reinstatement. Secretary of War William Eustis complied with his request, but then sent him right back to his original unit where his outspoken criticism of General Wilkinson earned him a court-martial. Finding him guilty of unofficer-like conduct, the court ordered Captain Scott suspended for twelve months.

Captain Scott was reinstated in 1811, in time for our second war with England beginning the following year. The major theater of operations for most of the war was along the border with Canada, and American land forces there had a spotty record at best.

Scott's conduct, however, was one of the bright spots in an otherwise disappointing series of campaigns. His personal bravery under fire was an inspiration to his men, and his dedication to the benefits of training soon bore fruit at Chippewa and at Lundy's Lane. By the end of the war, Winfield Scott wore the star of a brigadier general.

During the 1820s, Scott completed work on a set of general regulations for administering the army and also compiled a drill manual for the troops which, with periodic updating, remained in use until the eve of the Civil War. He also continued feuding with other high-ranking military leaders, including Andrew Jackson and Edmund Gaines.

The early 1830s saw an outbreak of Indian troubles on the northwestern frontier. Scott led a contingent of troops against



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Black Hawk and his band, but cholera struck the soldiers before they reached the seat of war. By the time the disease had subsided enough for Scott to continue, the short war was over. With the onset of the Second Seminole War in late 1835, however, Scott again faced armed combat. American troops were not very successful against Osceola's warriors, and this lack of success gave General Scott an opportunity to lash out at fellow officers. His intemperate language led to a court of inquiry in which his old nemesis General Edmund Gaines placed General Scott on the same level as Benedict Arnold.

Upon the death the general-in-chief of the army, in 1841, General Scott unabashedly put himself forward to fill the void. "I take it for granted," he wrote to the secretary of war, "that my name will be sent, in a day or two, to fill the vacancy [resulting from] the death of Major-General Macomb" (p. 208). His assumption proved correct, and for the next twenty years Winfield Scott would be the nation's highest ranking soldier. War with Mexico saw Scott take active command of one of the major armies that the United States put into the field. Following the steps of Hernando Cortez several centuries earlier, Scott put his force ashore near Veracruz and led it in a successful march on the enemy capital, bringing the war to an end within six months. Americans seem to like to reward military leaders with high political office, and Winfield Scott was more than ready to accept such rewards. Unfortunately, it was General Zachary Taylor who rode his own military reputation into the White House immediately following the Mexican War. Scott willingly ran for that office in 1852 as the dying Whig Party's last such candidate, but was defeated by Franklin Pierce who had led volunteer troops in the late war.

The secession of some of the Southern slave states from the Union in early 1861 found General Scott almost seventy-five years old. He was bothered by various health problems and was no longer in any shape to take to the field. After contributing some thoughts on the Union's potential grand strategy, Winfield Scott left the actual military leadership to younger men. The old general left active service in November 1861 and died almost five years later. He had been a major player in much of the development of the nation in the first half of the nineteenth century, and Mr. Eisenhower's characterization of him as an "Agent of Destiny" seems fitting. In fact, a more appropriate title might be AGENT OF MANIFEST DESTINY.

In reading this life of an American general, I was struck by what, to me, were the striking similarities between this soldier's life and that of one who came along a century later — Douglas MacArthur. Each reached flag rank at a relatively young age and maintained a strong influence on American military affairs for a long time. Each was foiled in his attempt to secure the presidency. Each left the army in the midst of a war. Each had a monumental ego.

It has been a long time since a full-blown biography of Winfield Scott has been published, and John Eisenhower does a fine job of bringing him alive. Eisenhower, as fits his pattern, consulted a vast array of published sources in preparing this book but virtually no unpublished works. I cannot help but wonder what information there might be in untapped manuscript sources that would have enhanced the story told here. Surely there are diaries or collections of letters left behind by



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Scott's contemporaries that might shine new light on the character of the man himself. Perhaps there are unpublished letters between Scott and his wife that would yield interesting insights.

This book also contains a fair number of factual errors of varying degrees of importance. For example, Eisenhower tells us that the British government rescinded the despised Orders in Council on the very day in 1812 that the United States declared war on England, when in fact the British decision was announced two days earlier (p. 25). Several other dates, such as the fall of the Alamo, are incorrectly given (p. 154). Lake of the Woods, Minnesota appears in Michigan (p. 214). General Scott, rather than Navy Lieutenant George M. Totten, receives credit for having designed the surfboats used to get the troops ashore at Veracruz in 1847 (pages. 234, 239). Gideon Pillow appears, incorrectly, as President James K. Polk's former law partner (pages. 254, 316). Henry Clay, rather than Stephen Douglas, was credited with breaking the Compromise of 1850 up into its component parts to win passage in the Congress (p. 323).

In spite of these, and other lapses, I would still commend this book to college history professors looking for something to bolster their textbooks in courses such as U.S. Military History, Representative Military Leaders, or the U.S. to 1865/1877.

April 3, Friday: The UN Commission on Human Rights condemned the United States of America for arbitrary and racist application of the [death penalty](#).

Concerto for Six for bass clarinet, electric guitar, prepared piano, percussion, cello, and double bass by Tan Dun was performed for the initial time, in Durham, North Carolina.

Hallelujah Junction for piano duo by John Adams was performed for the initial time, in Los Angeles.

April 4, Saturday: Drei Gedichte von Monique Thoné for voice and piano by Wolfgang Rihm was performed for the initial time, in Borgerbout.

April 5, Sunday: The Akashi Kaikyo bridge over the Akashi Strait opened to traffic. It connected Kobe with Awaji Island. At 1,991 meters this had the longest central span of any suspension bridge.

April 6, Monday: Pakistan successfully tested its Ghauri medium-range missile at the Kahuta [nuclear facility](#) northeast of Islamabad. With a range of 1,500 kilometers this could easily descend upon targets well inside [India](#).

France and Great Britain became the initial [nuclear powers](#) to ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. Be of good cheer as you view the impact of this on the following video animation:

TIMELINE OF EXPLOSIONS

Travelers Group Inc. and Citicorp merged to form the holding company "Citigroup Inc.," valued at \$83,000,000,000. At the time this amounted to the largest merger in history, creating the largest financial services company. "Do you suppose we're too big to fail yet?"



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1999

Although at least 2,400 racist [lynchings](#) have been documented in the United States of America, as yet in point of fact there are precious few roadside markers commemorating such events of torture and murder, the very 1st such roadside marker being dedicated in this year (many years after the indicated lynching, which is still unsolved) on US Highway 78 near Monroe, Georgia — and this sign happens to be entirely undecipherable and unalarming unless you actually get out of your car and walk right up to it and put on your reading glasses! We are such selective people.)



Douglas R. Egerton's *HE SHALL GO OUT FREE: THE LIVES OF [DENMARK VESSEY](#)* (American Profiles Series. Madison: Madison House, 1999)

H-NET BOOK REVIEW

Reviewed for H-Net by Jeffrey Robert Young <jryoung@gasou.edu>, Department of History, Georgia Southern University

Mythology and Heroism in the Slave South

Once upon a time, white historians of Southern slavery argued that African Americans accepted and even appreciated being held in bondage. U.B. Phillips, the eminent authority on such matters for the first half of the twentieth century, pointed to the "natural amenability of the blacks" as a "decisive factor in their initial enslavement" and suggested that the institution reflected "gentleness, kind-hearted friendship and mutual loyalty" between the races.⁶⁴⁴ This flawed white scholarship was built upon the proslavery myths manufactured by the slaveowners themselves and was echoed by twentieth-century novelists such as Margaret Mitchell. In the white reading of slavery, slaves seldom seemed to plot insurrection because they were viewed, by whites, as having been largely content in their subordinate social station.

Not until the publication (in 1979) of Eugene Genovese's

644. Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, *AMERICAN NEGRO SLAVERY: A SURVEY OF THE SUPPLY, EMPLOYMENT AND CONTROL OF NEGRO LABOR AS DETERMINED BY THE PLANTATION REGIME* (New York, 1918), 454 and 514. Phillips does offer a chapter on "slave crime" which surveys the evidence from a number of slave insurrection plots; however, he ultimately argues that slaveowners were correct to express "confidence that no great disasters were to be feared" (page 488).

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masterful comparative work, *FROM REBELLION TO REVOLUTION*, did scholars appreciate the extent to which demography and geography limited Southern slaves' ability to employ widescale violence against their masters.⁶⁴⁵ Outnumbered by white Southerners and without widespread access to a hinterland conducive to the construction of autonomous maroon societies, African-American slaves adopted alternative strategies of resistance. The uncovering of this slave culture of resistance surely constitutes one of the magnificent achievements of professional scholars in post-World-War-II America.⁶⁴⁶

But what of the small number of black revolutionaries who disregarded the impossibly long odds and plotted warfare against their white oppressors? Their willingness to employ violence against white women and children as well as white men has rendered them controversial figures. Since the colonial era, the idea of blacks plotting to slit the throats of their owners has generated tremendous discomfort in white America. Even in 1976, efforts to memorialize Denmark Vesey with a portrait in Charleston's Galliard Municipal Auditorium sparked bitter complaints from the local press.⁶⁴⁷ White Charlestonians likened Vesey to [Adolf Hitler](#) and [Attila the Hun](#), and some residents disliked the memorial enough to steal it.



More recently, popular filmmaker [Mel Gibson](#) refused to incorporate images of African Americans turning on the white master class during the Revolution, despite a wealth of evidence suggesting that slaves flocked to the Tory cause in the hopes of gaining their freedom. Gibson's film *The Patriot* countenanced the white American revolutionaries' use of violence against the

645. Eugene D. Genovese, *FROM REBELLION TO REVOLUTION: AFRO-AMERICAN SLAVE REVOLTS IN THE MAKING OF THE MODERN WORLD* (Baton Rouge, 1979).

646. For an overview of this historical literature, see Charles B. Dew, "The Slavery Experience," in *INTERPRETING SOUTHERN HISTORY: HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ESSAYS IN HONOR OF SANFORD W. HIGGINBOTHAM*, eds. John B. Boles and Evelyn Thomas Nolen (Baton Rouge, 1987), 120-161.

647. Edward A. Pearson, *DESIGNS AGAINST CHARLESTON: THE TRIAL RECORD OF THE DENMARK VESEY SLAVE CONSPIRACY OF 1822* (Chapel Hill, 1999).



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British, even fetishizing it through scenes in which the film's hero –a figure loosely based on "the Swamp Fox" Francis Marion– shoots, slices, and skewers a series of fantastically evil British soldiers. Yet the filmmakers rejected the possibility that such tactics might be employed by African American slaves against their white oppressors.⁶⁴⁸

And how could this mainstream Hollywood film have done otherwise when imagery of black slaves smiting their masters would have rankled white America's mythology of the Revolution as a justifiable struggle between moral and aggrieved colonists and tyrannical British imperialists? To admit that slaves were eager to fight their white oppressors is to acknowledge that many white revolutionaries were themselves tyrants who deserved to die gruesome deaths. Simply put, the myth of the American nation's heroic origins is contradicted by the thought of black violence directed toward white men and women of substance.

Of course, the legacy of black revolutionaries poses problems for contemporary African Americans as well as whites. When the white novelist William Styron attempted to portray Nat Turner's life in a work of historical fiction, black intellectuals responded with outrage at his presumption. Leaving aside the merits of their various complaints about Styron's depiction of Turner's emotional state, one discerns in their responses a common sense of outrage over a white author's efforts to address the human foibles of a black hero. The life of Turner offered these thinkers the promise of unbridled black heroism in the face of bondage. In the context of the ongoing struggle for black civil rights, Turner's potential political uses as a black icon mattered far more than any historical or artistic imperative to reconstruct the man, warts and all.⁶⁴⁹

For these reasons, revolutionaries such as Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey, and Nat Turner are difficult figures to address with any measure of scholarly detachment. Any historian seeking to recapture the life of such figures cannot help but think of the reception awaiting Styron who, we should keep in mind, was not even claiming to be writing an accurate history of his subject. Certainly Douglas Egerton's biography reflects a tension between the historian's responsibility to dissect mythologies and the socially-conscious individual's desire to respect African American heroes who challenged slavery at its core.

Egerton begins his work with an event that transpired more than four decades after Denmark Vesey's death by execution in 1822. Upon the defeat of the Confederacy in April 1865, black Charlestonians set about constructing a new African Methodist Episcopal Church – an institution that had been decimated when whites learned of Vesey's conspiracy to rebel against slavery. The building project illustrated the extent to which African Americans could unite behind a project and see it to fruition relying only upon members of their own race. The architect of the new building, moreover, was Denmark Vesey's son, Robert Vesey (xxiii–xxiv).

Egerton's use of this episode as the launching point for his narrative provides an early hint as to how he chooses to situate Vesey against the swirling claims of white and black mythologies about slavery. Although Vesey's plot was revealed before a

648. Kenneth Turan, "Give Him Liberty or Give Him Death – Lots of it," Los Angeles Times, June 28, 2000, Section F, page 1.

649. John Henrik Clarke, ed., THE SECOND CRUCIFIXION OF NAT TURNER (Baltimore, 1997 ed.).



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single master could be attacked and although Vesey was put to death along with thirty-four fellow conspirators, Egerton begins his book on a positive note. Between the horrors of the slave experience and the bitter disappointments of Reconstruction, African Americans emerged from the Civil War with pride and optimism. Vesey's life, we are led to expect, somehow contributed to and reflected a vibrant sense of African American racial solidarity.

Chapter One pieces together the first fifteen years of Vesey's life. Here, Egerton displays his considerable talents as a researcher and a writer. From shards of evidence most likely provided by Vesey's former master and from diligent inquiry into recent scholarship on slavery in the Caribbean, Egerton presents his readers with a very plausible chronology of events in Vesey's childhood. Most likely born on the small island of St. Thomas, the young slave apparently encountered a broad array of cultural influences. Controlled by the Danish, the island population included "Jewish Tradesmen," "French shopkeepers," "Spanish adventurers," "Scots-Irish overseers," and "German landowners" (page 6).

Slaves raised in this diverse cultural environment managed to create a Creole culture in which elements of traditional African spiritual practices were combined with New World strategies for resisting the most dehumanizing aspects of chattel slavery. Past scholars have suggested that Vesey was of mixed racial origins – perhaps even the progeny of his owner. Egerton persuasively undermines this assumption, replacing it with a more significant point about the young boy's Creole background. As a member of the island's Creole slave community, Vesey was no doubt well-prepared to master new languages and to acclimate himself to new environments.

Upon reaching the age of fourteen, Vesey found himself sold to slave traders who intended to ship him to Saint Domingue, an island with a far more robust and far deadlier plantation economy than St. Thomas. The ship's captain, Joseph Vesey hailed from Bermuda and had recently contributed skills as a pilot to the cause of the American revolutionaries. In 1781, he renewed his participation in the slave trade and encountered the boy who would one day take his name. Struck by the slave boy's "beauty, alertness, and intelligence," Joseph Vesey and his sailors turned him into the "ship's pet and plaything." Although Egerton points to the literature on homosexual activity on English sailing vessels, he shies away from the obvious conclusion that the boy was spared imprisonment below decks in order to service the crew's sexual needs. Egerton instead claims that "the child's later attachment to the tall mariner suggests that he was not raped or otherwise ill-used, at least by the captain." (page 16)

Yet this later "attachment" was the slave's best and only chance to advance his position in life and he most likely would have cultivated it even had their relationship begun through coerced sex. Moreover, a longstanding grievance against the captain might help to explain why the slave might one day become one of the few free Blacks in [Charleston](#) who was willing to risk his status in an unlikely bid to overturn slavery by force. I cannot help but wonder if Egerton, on some level, shied away from this conclusion because he was wary of sullyng the heroic stature of his subject.⁶⁵⁰

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Whatever the nature of this initial relationship between the captain and the slave boy, the boy was sold along with the rest of the human cargo when the ship arrived at Saint Domingue. There, he acquired fluency in French and discerned that a short, miserable life was in store for him if he remained a plantation laborer. Accordingly, he suddenly manifested symptoms of epilepsy – symptoms that disappeared after his tenure on the sugar plantation ended. Returned to Vesey as unfit merchandise, the boy became a permanent member of Vesey's crew. As such, the captain deigned to name him Telemaque, a classical reference to the son of the wandering Greek hero Odysseus.⁶⁵¹ Vesey's allusion to an ancient Greek poem underscored the multi-cultural dynamic to the Atlantic plantation system. Telemaque already spoke Creole Dutch, Dutch and French. He quickly mastered English as well and no doubt employed his linguistic skills to communicate with his fellow sailors and with the slaves whom the ship proceeded to transport over the next year.

During this point in the young slave's life, the future revolutionary witnessed the horrors of the Middle Passage from the relatively favorable vantage point of crew member instead of human cargo. Still a slave, he lacked the resources to do more than empathize with the Africans below decks; but this experience likely fixed itself in Telemaque's memory and might have contributed to his future decision to challenge slavery at its very core. By 1783, Joseph Vesey had resettled in Charleston with his teenaged slave who had survived his brush with bondage in Saint Domingue by his own cleverness and his new master's attraction to him. Whether he maintained an "abiding faith in the gods of Africa" (as Egerton claims) does not seem clear from the evidence presented by the author (page 26).

Over the next decade, Telemaque adjusted to an urban life that afforded him an unprecedented degree of autonomy in his daily work routine. As Captain Vesey continued his involvement in the slave trade, Telemaque traveled through the city, collecting shipments (including slaves) and paying duties at the Charleston custom house. Such involvement in his master's distasteful business ventures has led some historians to speculate whether Vesey would one day be filled with "self-disgust for his former status as the eager henchman of a [slave] trader" (page 37). Egerton wisely notes that "there is no evidence, of course, that Telemaque was at any time an 'eager' participant in the captain's business" (page 37).

Yet Egerton himself is reluctant to frame Telemaque's relationship with Captain Vesey in starkly adversarial terms (page 16), suggesting that their exchanges contained "equal parts love and loathing" (page 36). This reading, however, appears to be equally unsupported by the evidence presented by the author, and my own sense is that Telemaque was biting his tongue on any occasion when he seemed to interact affectionately

650. To establish the place of homosexual relations in seafaring culture, Egerton cites B. R. Burg, *SODOMY AND THE PIRATE TRADITION: ENGLISH SEA ROVERS IN THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CARIBBEAN* (New York, 1995 ed.). For a revisionist approach to this issue, see Hans Turley, *RUM, SODOMY, AND THE LASH: PIRACY, SEXUALITY, AND MASCULINE IDENTITY* (New York, 1999).

651. This is the stuff that biographer's metaphors are made of, but Egerton seems to get the plot of the Odyssey wrong when he mines it for literary parallels to Telemaque's life. For example, Egerton claims that Telemachus "was shipwrecked on the perilous island of Ogyia, from whence he was rescued by Calypso" (page 21) when, in fact, it was his father Odysseus who experienced that fate. He then refers to Calypso as "a savior who treated him kindly," thereby overlooking her subsequent decision to keep him imprisoned for years as her sexual slave. On this level, Egerton's use of Calypso as a metaphor for Captain Vesey strikes me as more apt than he knows on several counts. See *THE ODYSSEY*, Book 5.



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with the man who quite possibly used him for sexual sport and most certainly deposited him on a sugar plantation to meet his death.

Relative to slaves laboring in the fields, Denmark -as Telemaque came to be called in Charleston- certainly led a life of considerable autonomy. But that autonomy came with the price of doing his master's bidding in the slave trade. Beyond that, Denmark's autonomy was severely constrained by the standards of the free, white men with whom he interacted constantly. As Egerton suggests, the slave could not even share a household with his wife, a slave named Beck who lived a few blocks from the Veseys (pages 47-52). Still, a slave in Denmark's position could take some comfort in the possibility that this oppressive racial hierarchy might disappear in a flash of revolutionary violence. Charleston in the 1790s was a city wracked with fears of slave insurrection. The bloody and successful slave uprising in [Haiti](#) led to an influx of slaveowning refugees into Charleston. Native white Southerners saw, in this migrant population, their worst fears coming to pass. And as Denmark witnessed the master class's nervousness and interacted with witnesses to racial warfare, he likely began to imagine a better future for himself and his family.

In chapter three, Egerton fleshes out the work routines of urban slaves such as Denmark. Skilled slave workers hired out to jobs around Charleston could earn significant income for their owners. But they also created an underground economy in goods that they sold for their own profit, and this economy could potentially serve as "an illicit network of communication available to shrewd slaves" (page 68). Here, Egerton introduces us to some of the slaves who would serve as Denmark's co-conspirators. Slaves such as Polydore Faber enjoyed numerous opportunities for illicit interaction as they wandered from tavern to tavern, drinking, gambling, and conniving with a motley assortment of fellow slaves, free blacks, foreign sailors, and local white businessmen, artisans, and criminals. Large plantation owners struggled, with good reason, to isolate their bondservants from the potentially incendiary influences of this urban environment. Like so many successful merchants before him, Captain Vesey did purchase a plantation on the Ashley River, but he did not seek entry into the regional aristocracy. Rather than attempting to marry into the ranks of the slaveholding elite, the captain openly initiated a sexual relationship with "a free East Indian," eventually marrying her in 1796 (page 72).

It would be tempting to read into this interracial union the possibility that Captain Vesey oversaw a household in which people of color could be treated with fairness and respect. I see evidence, however, of no such thing. Over the years, Vesey was deepening his involvement with plantation slavery. Despite his wealth and his legal ability to do so, he demonstrated no inclination to liberate Denmark from bondage. More disturbing, Vesey's interracial marriage confirms that his sexual tastes were oriented toward people of color thereby increasing the probability that his early relationship with Denmark had involved coerced sex. Egerton presents no persuasive reason why Denmark might have been kindly disposed to his master. Indeed, when fate intervened and Denmark won a lottery prize of fifteen hundred dollars, his owner forced him to pay full market value



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for his freedom in 1799 (page 73). At the age of thirty-three, Denmark Vesey had managed to enter the ranks of Charleston's free black population.

He now faced a choice. He could distance himself from the slave population to better secure his standing as a free man, or he could use the privileges of his free existence to struggle for the slave population's liberation. To be sure, Vesey took steps to solidify his economic prospects in white society. His adoption of his former owner's surname no doubt assisted his transition into the free economy of Charleston (page 90). As a carpenter, he distinguished himself through his "great strength and activity," although Egerton points out that rumors of his wealth were apparently exaggerated.

Whatever his success as a black artisan in a white-dominated economy, Vesey remained emotionally vested in the slave community. Whereas the "Brown Society" of Charleston mulattoes struggled to ingratiate itself with the white elite, Vesey developed friendships with slaves such as Rolla Bennett, Peter Poyas, and Monday Gell (page 97). Far from avoiding the slaves who filled Charleston's busy streets, Vesey preached to them a message of equality and defiance toward white authority. His enormous physical presence and powerful intellect emboldened him to denounce slavery in public.

Egerton demonstrates the complicated ways in which Christianity factored into Vesey's defiance of the slaveholders' regime. Rejecting the slaveholding white ministry's message of obedience and humility, Vesey and his circle of friends filled the pews of the African Methodist Episcopal church on Cow Alley (pages 110-111). Assuming the responsibilities of a class leader, Vesey invoked the Old Testament, likening African Americans to the Hebrews marked by God for liberation. In his analysis of this theological development, Egerton makes a fascinating case for the convergence between the Hebrew Bible and traditional African cosmology — an affinity personified by Vesey's close relationship with the East African priest Jack Pritchard (pages 118-21).

White authorities, for obvious reasons, disapproved of the AME congregations. Their predictions that autonomous black worship would lead to insurrection became self-fulfilling in 1818, when white authorities burst into the African church and arrested a number of influential African American worshippers. Embittered and driven underground, spiritual leaders such as Vesey were now in a position to push an ever more radical message of rebellion to the city's slave population.

After spending some three and a half decades in Charleston, Vesey plotted the destruction of the city. Eyeing the barely guarded arsenal, Vesey planned for bold and decisive action against white authority. The black revolutionaries intended to arm themselves and flee for the republic of Haiti, taking with them as many slaves as they could liberate. Befitting his Caribbean background, his experience at sea, and his awareness of contemporary political developments, the scheme reflected Vesey's knowledge of the broader Atlantic world. Egerton contends that Vesey read of the Missouri Controversy and sought to convince Charleston slaves that the U.S. Congress had already liberated them from bondage (page 130).

Seeking to frame his own revolution in the broader context of global democratic sentiment, Vesey scheduled the day of uprising



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to take place on July 14th. Although slaves' efforts to violently gain their freedom fared poorly both before and after the Vesey scheme was uncovered, Egerton takes pains to emphasize that this was one plot that might well have worked. He notes the black majority residing in Charleston (page 128); he accepts as plausible the white authorities' estimate that nine thousand slave conspirators were privy to the plot (page 140); and he maintains that Vesey and his men could well have departed the United States before white forces could retake the city (page 136). Egerton unflinchingly portrays Vesey's willingness to employ violence against white women and children as well as men (pages 146-47). In sum, Vesey springs to life in this biography as a race-conscious radical who was clever enough to succeed in striking a blow against slavery.

White authorities in Charleston, however, learned of the conspiracy in May 1822. Peter, a trusted slave of John C. Prioleau, informed his master that he had been invited to join in racial warfare against lowcountry whites. The slaveowners' responses to the Vesey conspiracy, suggests Egerton, conveyed the conflicted psychology of the planter elite. On the one hand, white planters needed to take seriously the threat of insurrection, lest they lose control over their slaves. On the other hand, to maintain their collective sanity in the face of the lowcountry's black majority, white planters invested in the proslavery fiction of an obedient and happy slave workforce.

Hence, when Governor Thomas Bennett received news that his trusted slave Rolla had joined the conspiracy, Bennett's mind reeled. Despite the magnitude of the accusation, the governor believed his slave when he, not surprisingly, denied any knowledge of the Vesey plot (page 162). Even as the white elite became progressively more convinced that their slaves meant them harm, Bennett had a difficult time grasping that slaves wanted to be free. Notwithstanding the governor's inaction, the white elite roused itself to prevent the plot's enactment. The leading conspirators were rounded up, tortured, tried, and in thirty-five cases, executed – but not before their owners' paternalistic pretensions were decimated by the slaves' bloody intentions (page 183).

And yet, once they removed the threat posed by Vesey and the would-be revolutionaries, the slaveowners reconstructed their proslavery fantasies about plantation life. They had no choice unless they wanted to acknowledge their fear of the people whom they had enslaved. Prominent Baptist minister Richard Furman had been rebuffed by Vesey when he attempted to offer spiritual counsel in Vesey's cell. But after Vesey's execution, Furman campaigned among white politicians such as Bennett, urging them not to blame the plot on slave exposure to Christian doctrine. In the end, whites believed that the plot sprang from black distortion of biblical teachings. As such, white authorities further restricted African Americans' abilities to worship autonomously. The AME church was knocked to the ground, but the slaves' desire for freedom remained intact.

Throughout the work, Egerton emphasizes the heroic undercurrent to the waves of tragedy that washed through Vesey's life. Fittingly, the biography of Vesey ends not on the scaffolds but with the demise of the slaveowners' quest to protect their institution of unfree labor. When the American flag was once again raised at Fort Sumter, one of Vesey's children was on hand



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to witness the historic moment. Although Vesey's plot had failed in its short term goal of armed assault against the planters, his spirit of resistance lived on in the troops who struggled successfully against the Confederacy. Notwithstanding the personal tragedies and unhappy ending to Vesey's life, Egerton presents his biography as a story of hope.

I do not wish to quibble with this approach since I too see tremendous heroism in Vesey's life story. Still, there are moments in Egerton's book that leave me wondering if the author does not try too hard to emphasize Vesey's positive attributes. Responding to the charge that Vesey was a domineering polygamist, for example, Egerton suggests that he did not have more than one wife at the same time and that he loved and looked after his children. The evidence for any such reading is sketchy at best. I do not necessarily disagree with his speculations about Vesey playing the part of loving father; yet I wonder if Egerton is not searching for ways in which to build up his subject as a role model worthy of admiration in modern America. Certainly, a polygamist who beat his wives makes for a less sympathetic figure around which to build a story of black courage and hope.

In similar fashion, Egerton discounts the slave confessional testimony suggesting that some of the revolutionaries intended to gain sexual access to white female prisoners (page 168). To be sure, Egerton offers logical reasons for concluding that the black revolutionaries had more important strategic goals to pursue than the enjoyment of forbidden sexual pleasures. Yet, his analysis on this point leaves me wondering if Egerton is willing to accept the slave confessional testimony as sound except in places where it cast the conspirators in a less than favorable light according to contemporary standards for heroism. Egerton, for example, rejects out of hand the possibility that all of the slave testimony was tainted because it was extracted through torture and the threat of imminent death. To reason otherwise is to open the door to the revisionist argument that the plot itself was more the product of white hysteria than black subterfuge – a possibility that Egerton forcefully discounts. Having raised these concerns, let me make clear that Egerton has tackled a difficult scholarly task with aplomb. It is no mean feat to reconstruct Vesey's life in a manner that is intelligible to undergraduate and lay readers while at the same time engaging the rich historiography of slavery. With masterful prose and a command of the vast recent literature on slavery in the Atlantic world, Egerton succeeds at his task. In the near future, I look forward to assigning this book in my courses. I imagine that I will be dealing with the book's larger issues for many years to come.

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February 25, Thursday: In retaliation for Macedonia's recognition of Taiwan, [China](#) vetoed the extension of the UN peacekeeping mission in Macedonia.

When a jury in Jasper County, [Texas](#) sentenced John King to be [sexecuted](#) for having murdered James Byrd, by dragging him some 5 kilometers attached by a chain to the back of a pickup truck, this was almost but actually not quite a precedent — for in fact in the course of Texas history 1-count-'em-1 other white man had already been condemned for having murdered an African-American.

Quintet for trumpet and strings by Peter Maxwell Davies was performed for the initial time, in Mitchell Hall of the University of Aberdeen.

[Glenn Theodore Seaborg](#), discoverer in 1940 of [plutonium](#), died.

ATOM BOMB



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2000

The cat having been well out of the bag for more than two decades, the [Minnesota Historical Society](#) Press decided to reprint Michael W. Fedo's 1979 work on THE LYNCHINGS IN DULUTH.

DULUTH

COLDBLOODED MURDER



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2003

July 14, Monday: Robert Novak's column "Mission to Niger" in the Washington Post and elsewhere disparaged former Ambassador Joseph Wilson and destroyed the CIA career of his wife, Valerie Plame. What had happened was that the CIA had delegated this former ambassador, as well as the deputy commander of the United States European Command, General Carlton Fulford, Jr., to figure out whether Iraq had actually been seeking supplies of uranium "yellowcake" there, and they had returned to described this report as a fabrication. Nevertheless, the report fitted the convenience of President George W. Bush and so he relied on it in his State of the Union Address of January 28, 2003, in making a case for attacking Iraq. Former ambassador Wilson had then gone public in the New York Times, pointing out that the report so touted by the President was considered by the intelligence community to have been a fabrication. Vice-President Dick Cheney was using his chief of staff, I. Lewis "Scooter" Libby, to sic the journalistic hounds, such as Novak, on Joseph Wilson and his wife Valerie Plame. Truth-tellers, whistle-blowers, beware, the Bush Administration has no principles, the Bush Administration has no restraint, the Bush Administration has no regard for the truth, the Bush Administration will destroy its enemies (such as you)!

(In a related piece of news, on this day the US federal government acknowledged the existence of [Area 51](#).)



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Season 15, Episode 13 of “The American Experience” was on TV, entitled “Murder at Harvard,” written by Melissa Banta and Simon Schama and directed by Eric Stange.



[Doctor Parkman](#) was played by the actor Sean McGuirk and [Professor Webster](#) by Timothy Sawyer. The TV dramatization emphasized a “Plan B” scenario according to which the swamp-yankee janitor Ephraim Littlefield –who had originally alerted investigators into Dr. Parkman’s disappearance on the basis of his and his wife’s suspicions about Professor Webster’s conduct, and for this had received a \$3,000 reward that allowed him to retire– had for some unknown motive himself perpetrated the murder — and had then succeeded in foisting his own guilt onto the high-status Harvard prof.⁶⁵²



Failing to stick to the facts of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts v. [John White Webster](#) case, in addition the acting has been reviewed as “unsufferable.”

652. While such a “Plan B” defense of “somebody else did the deed” might have been appropriate during the trial, the possibility of an injustice would subsequently be problematized by a “retreating confession” made to the Unitarian minister, the Reverend George Putnam, a confession recorded in the jail cell after [Professor Webster](#) had been condemned to death by hanging, we learn that another account of what happened that Friday afternoon at the [Harvard Medical College](#) was that Doctor Parkman had been waving a copy of the letter of recommendation which he had originally prepared to help Doctor Webster obtain an appointment on the Harvard faculty many years before, and had been taunting Professor Webster with such remarks as “I got you into your position and now I will get you out of it.” –Whereupon Doctor Webster became enraged and fearful and, grabbing up a stump of grapevine from the stovewood, had whacked [Doctor Parkman](#) once solidly along the side of the head, which blow had killed him instantly.



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October 9, Friday: In downtown Duluth, a block from the famous lamp post at which three innocent young black men, Elias Clayton, Elmer Jackson and Isaac McGhie, had been [lynched](#) in 1920 by a mob of between 5,000 and 10,000 white people, a mingled crowd of only 2,500 turned out to dedicate a memorial. The images on the memorial are not those of the three victims but of three black stand-in volunteers from today's Duluth — since we have no record of what the victims looked like before they were hanged by the neck until they were dead dead very dead. “Today, Duluth is a light in the world,” Catherine Ostos orated, “Today, as a community, we tell the truth.... Today, we make history right.”



Let us trust that the white racists of Minnesota will be able to restrain themselves from defacing this memorial.

[The statistics inform us that the states of the lower 48 states of the USA that now sentence the most criminals to death tend to be those that in the past had the most lynchings. The number of death sentences for all criminals, black and white, tends to be higher in states with a history of lynchings. Significantly, confining the statistic to death sentences for black criminals made this correlation even more emphatic. Up to a certain point, the number of death sentences in states with the most lynchings increases as a state's population of African Americans grows larger. Then, when a state's population reaches a threshold of about 20-22% and blacks acquire enough votes to achieve local political influence, the number of black executions tends to decrease. There is more of a correlation here, than there is with such parameters as the overall crime and murder rates, unemployment rates, and even fundamentalist church memberships. Clearly, the death penalty has been functioning sociologically for us as a legal continuation of the tradition of lynchings from the past. Our violent past is still with us in a way we have difficulty in appreciating: it is still linked to current legal decisions about who will live and who will die. There is nothing here to suggest that the manner in which we administer the death penalty, in states that still have the death penalty, is color-blind.]



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"It's all now you see. Yesterday won't be over until tomorrow and tomorrow began ten thousand years ago."

- Remark by character "Garin Stevens"
in William Faulkner's INTRUDER IN THE DUST



Prepared: September 26, 2017



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ARRGH AUTOMATED RESearch REPORT

GENERATION HOTLINE



This stuff presumably looks to you as if it were generated by a human. Such is not the case. Instead, someone has requested that we pull it out of the hat of a pirate who has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (as above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture (this is data mining). To respond to such a request for information we merely push a button.

Commonly, the first output of the algorithm has obvious deficiencies and we need to go back into the modules stored in



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the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and recompile the chronology – but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary “writerly” process you know and love. As the contents of this originating contexture improve, and as the programming improves, and as funding becomes available (to date no funding whatever has been needed in the creation of this facility, the entire operation being run out of pocket change) we expect a diminished need to do such tweaking and recompiling, and we fully expect to achieve a simulation of a generous and untiring robotic research librarian. Onward and upward in this brave new world.

First come first serve. There is no charge.
Place requests with <Kouroo@kouroo.info>. Arrgh.