

GO TO LIST OF PEOPLE INVOLVED IN HARPERS FERRY

VARIOUS PERSONAGES INVOLVED



IN THE



FOMENTING OF RACE WAR (RATHER THAN CIVIL WAR)

IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

[Osborn Perry Anderson](#), “O.P. Anderson, or as we used to call him Chatham Anderson,” the only participant of color to survive [Harpers Ferry](#) and elude capture, had been born free in Pennsylvania. He met [John Brown](#) in Canada in 1858. He was a member of Congress of Brown’s Provisional Government in [Chatham](#), Ontario in May 1858 and was “Osborn Anderson” on the list of signatories of the “Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States”; a member of the Vigilance Committee in Chatham and Windsor in September 1858. He would write later of the fight at Harpers Ferry and his escape in A VOICE FROM HARPER’S FERRY: “We were together eight days before [[John Edwin 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 [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....” Anderson, Coppoc, and Meriam had journeyed separately to safe exile in the area of [St. Catharines](#), Canada. Anderson enlisted in the US Army in 1864, becoming a recruiter and/or noncommissioned officer for a unit as yet undetermined, and mustered out in [Washington DC](#) at the close of the [Civil War](#) (he would be identified by his father Vincent Anderson in 1872 as having been a recruiter for the “western regiments”).

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RACE WAR,

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THOSE INVOLVED, ARRANGED ALPHABETICALLY



SECRET "SIX"

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
Charles Francis Adams, Sr.	No	No	No	Finance		white
<p>Charles Francis Adams, Sr. subscribed to the racist agenda of Eli Thayer's and Amos Lawrence's New England Emigrant Aid Company, for the creation of an Aryan Nation in the territory then well known as "Bleeding Kansas." to the tune of \$25,000.</p>						
Jeremiah Goldsmith Anderson	Yes	Yes		Captain or Lt.	26	white



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>The maternal grandfather of Jeremiah Goldsmith Anderson, Colonel Jacob Westfall of Tygert Valley, Virginia, had been a soldier in the revolution and a slaveholder. Jeremiah had gone to school at Galesburg, Illinois and Kossuth, Iowa and had worked as a peddler, farmer, and sawmill laborer before settling a mile from Fort Bain on the Little Osage in Bourbon County in "Bleeding Kansas" during August 1857. He had twice been arrested by proslavery activists, and had been held for 10 weeks at Fort Scott. He then became a lieutenant of Captain Montgomery and was with him in the attack on Captain Anderson's troop of the 1st US Cavalry. He witnessed a murder, of a Mr. Denton, on his own doorstep by border ruffians. He went with John Brown on the slave raid into Missouri and remained with him thereafter. He was "J. Anderson" among the signatories to "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States," from a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued at Harpers Ferry on October 18th, 1859. On July 5th, 1859 this 27-year-old had written of his determination to continue to fight for freedom: "Millions of fellow-beings require it of us; their cries for help go out to the universe daily and hourly. Whose duty is it to help them? Is it yours? Is it mine? It is every man's, but how few there are to help. But there are a few who dare to answer this call and dare to answer it in a manner that will make this land of liberty and equality shake to the centre." He was thrust through with a bayonet by one of the Marines, and pinned against the wall "vomiting gore." A white man, he was tortured because he was perceived by the attackers as a light mulatto: "One of the prisoners described Anderson as turning completely over against the wall [to which he was pinned by the bayonet] 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." A local commented "Well, it takes you a hell of a long time to die." When opportunistic medical students would go to transport the remains to their college in Winchester, Virginia for dissection, their treatment of this 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." His remains were taken to the college along with the remains of Watson Brown (a corpse found on the banks of the Shenandoah River was more likely that of a local slave).</p>						
John Anderson	?	?		Private	< 30	of color
<p>John Anderson, a free black youth from Boston allegedly killed at Harpers Ferry. Nothing is known as to who he was, other than that he was young, or where he came from, other than from Boston — and it is even possible that actually there had been no such person as this in John Brown's company. (The John Anderson we do know about had an entirely different life trajectory, in Canada.)</p>						
Osborn Perry Anderson	Yes	No	No	Private	29	of color





RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

[illegible]



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
Frederick Brown	No	No	No	Supporter		white
<p>Frederick Brown was fanatically religious to the extent that he attempted to sever his sexual organs when he was attracted to a young lady. He would have been 28 at the time of the Harpers Ferry raid, but in 1856 had been killed in the fighting in "Bleeding Kansas."</p>						
Jason Brown	No	No	No	Supporter	38	white
<p>Jason Brown, one of the elder sons of Captain John Brown, was a gentle sort of person who actually was trying to become an inventor. He took part in the battle at Black Jack in "Bleeding Kansas," and in the killings on the Osawatomie Creek, but was not at Harpers Ferry. He and his brother Owen Brown would become grape growers in the mountains above Pasadena, California.</p>						
John Brown	Yes	Multiple wounds	Yes	Commander		white
<p>John Brown, "Captain" John "Nelson Hawkins" "Shubel Morgan" "Isaac Smith" Brown.</p>						
John Brown, Jr.	No	No	No	Supporter	38	white
<p>John Brown, Jr., 38 at the time of the Harpers Ferry raid and Captain John Brown's eldest son, had trained as a phrenologist. After the raid he would go into hiding in Ohio and, when summoned to appear before the investigatory committee of the US Senate, would refuse to appear. During the Civil War he served as Captain of Company K of the 7th Kansas Cavalry. He and his family would then find permanent safe haven on South Bass Island in Lake Erie.</p>						
Martha Brewster Brown	No	No	No	Supporter		white
<p>Martha Brewster Brown, wife of Oliver Brown and daughter-in-law of Captain John Brown, was with the conspirators at the Kennedy farm until shortly before the attack upon Harpers Ferry.</p>						
Oliver Brown	Yes	Yes		Captain	20	white



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>Oliver Brown, the youngest of John Brown's sons to reach adulthood, had been born in Franklin, Ohio on March 9, 1839. He was a bookish lad, considered by his mother Mary Ann Day Brown to be the most promising. He went to "Bleeding Kansas" in 1855 with his father and returned to North Elba during October 1856, where he got married with Martha E. Brewster in 1858. She was sent back north just before the raid on Harpers Ferry. "I think there is no good reason why any of us should be discouraged," he had written his family, "for if we have done but one good act, life is not a failure.... Keep a stiff lip, a sound pluck, and believe that all will come out right in the end." He had reached the age of 20 when he was shot while serving as a sentinel at the river bridge. His body was dumped into a shallow hole on the bank of the Shenandoah River, with the bodies of other fighters.</p>						
Owen Brown	Yes	No	No	Captain	35	white
<p>Owen Brown, 3d of John Brown's sons and his stalwart aid both in "Bleeding Kansas" and at Harper's Ferry, was born November 4, 1824 at Hudson, Ohio. With a withered arm, he had been attempting to make a career of writing humor articles for newspapers. His name was among the signatories to "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States," from a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued at Harpers Ferry on October 18, 1859. He 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 his endurance that the little group of survivors of which he was the leader managed to make it out. He and Charles Plummer Tidd found work and safety under assumed names on an oil-well crew in Crawford County, Pennsylvania. He was the only one of the 5 escaped raiders not to participate in the civil war. He would never marry. He would grow grapes for some time in Ohio in association with 2 of his brothers, and then migrate west, and would be the final survivor of the raiders when he would die on January 9, 1891 at his mountain home "Brown's Peak" near Pasadena, California. A marble monument marked the mountain grave, until during July 2002 it mysteriously disappeared — since the grave was not a registered historical landmark, and not in a cemetery, there would be no investigation.</p>						
Salmon Brown	No				23	white
<p>Salmon Brown, 23 at the time of the Harpers Ferry raid, was said to have been exactly like his father, Captain John Brown, in every particular. He would once comment to a newspaper reporter that "The tannery business, farming, wool buying and the raising of blooded stock were my father's life occupations, though all of them were subordinated to his one consuming passion — freeing the slaves." Salmon would die in Portland, Oregon in 1919.</p>						
Watson Brown	Yes	Yes		Captain	24	white



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>Watson Brown, born at Franklin, Ohio on October 7, 1835, got married with young Isabella M. Thompson during September 1856. "Dear Belle," he had written to his child-wife, "I would gladly come home and stay with you always but for the cause which brought me here — a desire to do something for others, and not live wholly for my own happiness.... I sometimes feel as if I could not make this sacrifice, but what would I not want others to do were I in their place?" Their son would live only to his 5th year but would nevertheless survive his father, because he was sent out with a white flag by his father John Brown to parley and was gut-shot by the citizens of Harpers Ferry. He managed to crawl back to the shelter of the engine house and live on, groaning, his head cradled in Edwin Coppoc's lap, for a longish period. When one of his captors asked "What brought you here?" he responded "Duty, sir." The corpse would be sent for the instruction of students at the medical college in Winchester, Virginia. Recovering the skeleton from this college during the Civil War, his mother Mary Ann Day Brown eventually would be able to rebury it in the Adirondacks, before heading off to her retirement in California.</p>						
John E. Cook	Yes	No	Yes	Captain	29	white
<p>John Edwin Cook, a well-connected 5'7" gentleman with blue eyes and long, curly blond hair, born during Summer 1830 to a well-to-do family in Haddam, Connecticut, had been a law clerk in Brooklyn and Manhattan after being expelled from Yale College on account of some student indiscretion, and had in 1855 become a member of the guerrilla force operated out of Lawrence in "Bleeding Kansas" by Charles Lenhart and had made himself an excellent shot. The name "John E. Cook" was among the signatories to "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States," from a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued at Harpers Ferry on October 18th, 1859. He had been dispatched by John Brown to Harpers Ferry more than a year before the raid to work out the details on the ground and had secured employment as a lock tender on the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal, as a schoolteacher, and as a bookseller. He had gotten married with a Chambersburg, Pennsylvania woman, Mary V. Kennedy, on April 18th, 1859. After being sent out by Captain Brown to collect weapons, and having escaped by climbing into a tree and watching the events transpire, and after having evaded capture for some months, against the advice of his comrades he became reckless in his search for food and was captured on October 25th, 8 miles from Chambersburg. As an incessant and compulsive communicator he had always been considered by the Brown operatives to be indiscreet. In a confession which would be published as a pamphlet at Charles Town in the middle of November 1859 for the benefit of Samuel C. Young, a man who had been crippled for life in the fighting, Cook would detail for his captors all his movements from the point of his 1st meeting with Brown after the battle of Black Jack in June 1856 until after his capture. At the last moment he would seek to save himself by representing that he had been deceived through false promises. For this revelation Cook would be severely censured at the time, being termed "Judas." Despite his confession, and despite his brother-in-law A.P. Willard being the governor of Indiana, he would in the end, one of the last, be also hanged for treason and murder at Harpers Ferry, on December 16th.</p>						
John Anderson Copeland, Jr.	Yes	No	Yes	Private	< 30	of color



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>John Anderson Copeland, Jr. was an Oberlin, Ohio carpenter and freeborn black American who was the son of a slave. He was active in the Oberlin Anti-Slavery Society. It was rumored that he escorted John Price to Canada after the Oberlin-Wellington Rescue. Copeland later participated in the raid on the Harpers Ferry armory with John Brown. He got trapped in "Hall's Rifle Works" along with his uncle Lewis Sheridan Leary and John Henry Kagi. When the 3 made a run for the Shenandoah River they got caught in a crossfire, but after Kagi had been killed and Leary had been shot several times and placed under arrest, Copeland was able to surrender without having been wounded. He refused to speak during his trial and was hanged with too short a drop and thus strangled slowly. On December 29, when a crowd of 3,000 would attend his funeral in his hometown of Oberlin, Ohio, there would be no body to bury, for after his cadaver had been temporarily interred in Charles Town it had been dug up and was in service in the instruction of students at the medical college in Winchester, Virginia. A monument was erected by the citizens of Oberlin in honor of their three fallen free citizens of color, Copeland, Leary, and Shields Green (the 8-foot marble monument would be moved to Vine Street Park in 1971). Judge Parker would assert in his story of the trials (St. Louis Globe Democrat, April 8, 1888) that Copeland had been "the prisoner who impressed me best. He was a free negro. He had been educated, and there was a dignity about him that I could not help liking. He was always manly." Andrew Hunter at the same time was quoted as saying—"Copeland was the cleverest of all the prisoners ... and behaved better than any of them. If I had had the power and could have concluded to pardon any man among them, he was the man I would have picked out." On the day that he died Copeland declared, "If I am dying for freedom, I could not die for a better cause — I had rather die than be a slave!" (Paul Finkelman avers on page 49 of HIS SOUL GOES MARCHING ON: RESPONSES TO JOHN BROWN AND THE HARPERS FERRY RAID that his middle name was "Anthony" rather than "Anderson.")</p>						
Barclay Coppoc	Yes	No	No	Private	< 21	white
<p>Barclay Coppoc, from the Quaker settlement of Springdale, Iowa, was born in Salem, Ohio on January 4, 1839, and had not attained his majority at the time of the raid on Harpers Ferry. This Quaker escaped, although his adopted brother Edwin Coppoc surrendered and was tried and hanged. "We were together eight days before [John Edwin 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 then went to his family home in Iowa, with Virginia agents in close pursuit. There a band of young men armed themselves to defend him, and the Religious Society of Friends disowned him for bearing arms. He was back in "Bleeding Kansas" in 1860, helping to run off some Missouri slaves, and nearly lost his life in a second undertaking of this kind. He became a 1st Lieutenant in Colonel Montgomery's regiment, the 3d Kansas Infantry. Soon he was killed by the fall of a train into the Platte river from a trestle 40 feet high, the supports of which had been burned away by Confederates.</p>						
Edwin Coppoc	Yes	Unwounded	Yes	Lieutenant	< 30	white



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>Edwin Coppoc, who had been born on June 30, 1835 and orphaned and adopted at the age of 6 into a nonresistant-abolitionist Quaker farm family first of Salem, Ohio and then of Springdale, Iowa. On March 6, 1857 he was disowned by the Religious Society of Friends and in the spring of 1858 went to "Bleeding Kansas" as a settler — but did not take part in the fighting. It was during a visit to Springdale in the fall of 1858 that he met John Brown. He would surrender with Captain Brown in the engine house at Harpers Ferry, and would be tried by a jury of his white male peers immediately after the conclusion of the trial of Captain Brown while his still-Quaker brother Barclay Coppoc was eluding capture. He was sentenced on November 2. From prison before his hanging, he wrote his adoptive mother that he was</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>"sorry to say that I was ever induced to raise a gun."</i></p> <p style="text-align: right;">THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY</p> <p>He was hung with John Edwin Cook on December 16th, 1859 and a day later his brother turned up at home in Iowa (he also would soon be disowned). The body of Edwin Coppoc was buried in Winona, Iowa after a funeral attended by the entire town (later the body would be reburied in Salem, Ohio).</p>						
Richard Henry Dana, Jr.	No	No	No	Enabler		white
<p>Treason being punished as what it is, why would the downtown Boston lawyer Richard Henry Dana, Jr. allow himself to become legal counsel to a "Secret Six" committee that was funding the activities of Captain John Brown, as that loose cannon prepared to raid the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia? He was going to be implicated as having obviously had guilty prior knowledge, and was obviously making himself of necessity a prime candidate for the noose. As the going got hot he would make himself unavailable for prosecution —by venturing on a luxury trip around the globe— but the issue is not how he might extricate himself from this, but why he would have so endangered himself.</p>						
Martin Robison Delany	No	No	No	Supporter		of color
<p>Dr. Martin Robison Delany, Pennsylvania, 1843; attended the Colored National Convention of 1848; attended the Emigration Convention of 1854; a member of the Niger Valley Exploring Party in 1858; a member of the Vigilance Committee in Chatham and Windsor in September 1858. At a meeting of the conspirators in Chatham in Canada West in May 1858, "M.R. Delany," the Reverend William Charles Munroe of Detroit, and several other leaders of the large black expatriate community approved something termed the "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the people of the United States," as the charter for the pike-wielding fugitive society of raiders which was to be created in the remote fastness of the Allegheny Mountains by Captain John Brown subsequent to his raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia. That document would be discovered on Brown's person when he was taken into custody. He would be a Major in the 104th Colored Infantry, and Sub-Assistant Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau in South Carolina, in 1865. He was a Freemason.</p>						
Frederick Douglass	No	No	No	Supporter	41	of color



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>Waldo Emerson urged Frederick Douglass early on, to make himself into the General Toussaint Louverture of the North American continent. When Captain John Brown made a speech offering himself as the leader for the forces of freedom in "Bleeding Kansas", Douglass stood in the audience and endorsed Brown and his mission despite the unpleasant fact that the plan of the abolitionists was to permanently exclude all persons of color, whether free or enslaved, from that new state. When the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry was raided, his role was intended to be the raising aloft of the sword of General George Washington and the generaling of the black forces. His involvement in this raid was acceptable to such personages as the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher only because his blood, having been mixed with white, was removed to a degree from its original "low animal condition" (the Reverend's category, the Reverend's words) of blackness. At the very last moment, just as Harriet Tubman declined to attend because she had dreams in which Brown and his sons appeared as serpents, Douglass perceived that the prospects of the raid were for either failure or betrayal, and he fled by way of Canada to England.</p>						
Ralph Waldo Emerson	No	No	No	Supporter		white
<p>Waldo Emerson, acting as an <i>agent provocateur</i> of race war, recommended to Frederick Douglass in 1844 that he become the liberator of his people on the North American continent, modeling himself upon the leader of the successful Haitian revolution of the turn of the century, Toussaint Louverture. "Let me hold your coat while some white man kills you," or something to that effect. We only know about this because Henry Thoreau rushed down to Boston right after the lecture, and had the lecture printed up as a pamphlet — after which there was no lying about the provocation that had been made and so all Emerson could do was pretend that Douglass hadn't been present.</p>						
John Buchanan Floyd	No	No	No	Supporter		white
<p>Secretary of War John Buchanan Floyd was one of those who had been warned, months in advance, that Captain John Brown was planning to attack a federal arsenal to seize weapons with which to arm black slaves, in the creation of a servile insurrection (he didn't know precisely when, and didn't know it would be at Harpers Ferry, Virginia). Such a prospect did not alarm him in the slightest. The official story, if the official story is what you want to believe, is that our Secretary of War would pass this warning along to no-one. I myself find it difficult to regard this as anything more than a cover. I think the truth was that these folks were aware that such a servile insurrection could lead to nothing but a race genocide, with white Americans exterminating the black ones, and what I fear is that such a race genocide would have been considered to be just fine, an improvement in our national condition. Let's not have ourselves a civil war of brother against brother, that would be so nasty — let's prevent that by having ourselves a nice little race war!</p>						
Hugh Forbes	No	No	No	Lieutenant		white



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>Captain John Brown's scheme, which he referred to as the "Subterranean Pass Way," was that the escaped, armed slaves were to "swarm" into and set up a center of resistance in the Alleghenies from which they could liberate Virginia and then invade Tennessee and northern Alabama. Such a scoping of the situation never met with much respect from other of the other schemers. In particular, the Scottish adventurer Hugh Forbes, Brown's onetime principal lieutenant, regarding blacks as inherently childlike, credulous, and cowardly, believed such a scheme to be doomed to failure from its inception. The scenario preferred by Forbes would have involved the herding of the slaves together by armed bands of white men and the driving of such herds of humans up the mountain chain toward Canada, neatly disposing of America's entire race problem — by simple relocation of it to another nation. Evidently the two planners parted company over issues such as this after Forbes had functioned in Tabor, Iowa as the leader of military training for the recruits (Forbes was a veteran of the Grenadier Guards, and had fought along with Garibaldi in defense of the Roman Republic of 1849), and then Forbes attempted blackmail. When not offered a payoff, he wrote long, detailed letters to congressmen and to others, and it is one of the unresolved issues, how anyone in high office in Washington DC could have avoided knowing in advance that Brown was plotting a strike of some sort against slavery (another of the unresolved issues is what happened to Forbes once his extortion had failed — he simply disappeared from the pages of history).</p>						
George B. Gill						
<p>George B. Gill had come to "Bleeding Kansas" in 1857 after whaling in the Pacific Ocean, and had there been recruited by John Brown. His name was among the signatories to "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States," from a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued at Harpers Ferry on October 18th, 1859. He alarmed other conspirators by conducting himself in such manner as to attract attention and arouse suspicion, for instance displaying weapons, bragging to lady friends that he had been in Kansas and had killed 5 men, informing other boarders at his lodgings that he was in town on a secret expedition with other fighters, who were under his command, etc. During the year before the raid, Captain Brown sent Gill to visit a black con artist named Mr. Reynolds who persuaded Gill that he had gone through the South organizing and had brought into existence in areas of the South a militant organization of black men and women. Pointing out to Gill that Southern newspapers carried numerous references to the death of a favorite slave, he alleged that these were leaders of servile insurrection plots who were being discovered and offed. According to this "mumper" Southern blacks were ready and needed only to be given a cue. There is evidence that several slaves from the vicinity of the arsenal did participate in the raid itself, but returned hastily to their plantations when it became obvious that the raid was a failure. Several fires were set in the vicinity of Harpers Ferry in the week after the raid, probably by slaves and free black Americans (Richard Hinton estimates that \$10,000,000 was lost in the sale of Virginia slaves in the year 1859; census figures show that between 1850 and 1860 there was almost a 10% decline in blacks in the three counties surrounding Harpers Ferry, a period during which the total number of blacks in Maryland and Virginia was increasing by about 4%).</p>						
The Rev. and Mrs. Gloucester	No			Financial support		of color



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>The Reverend James Newton Gloucester and Elizabeth A. Parkhill Gloucester of Brooklyn, New York were wealthy financial supporters of the servile-insurrection plot of Captain John Brown, or "Shubel Morgan," or "Isaac Smith" (depending on what alias he was using at the time), and had put him up for a week at their home while he was enroute to Harpers Ferry. According to a report in a local newspaper:</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Brown said, "Goodbye, Sister Gloucester. I've only sixteen men, but I'm to conquer." Mrs. Gloucester said to him, "Perhaps you will lose your life." "Well, my life," he replied, "is not worth much. I'm an old man. In Kansas, the balls flew around my head as thick as hail. I'll never be killed by a ball. If I fall, I'll open a ball in this country that will never stop until every slave is free."</p>						
Shields Green	Yes	No	Yes	Private	< 30	of color
<p>Shields Green was an escapee from South Carolina who had served as clothes cleaner in Rochester, New York (his business card there declared "I make no promise that I am unable to perform") and acted as a bodyguard for Frederick Douglass. He was known as "Emperor," although how he obtained this nickname is not now known. He decided to go with John Brown when Douglass turned back at the stone quarry prior to the Harpers Ferry raid, saying to his boss "I believe I'll go with the old man." He took part in the raid and then refused to speak during his trial. At the time of his hanging he was about 23 years of age. His cadaver would be dug up and used for the instruction of students at the medical college in Winchester, Virginia. He, like John Anderson Copeland, Jr. and Lewis Sheridan Leary, had been a resident of Oberlin, Ohio. A monument was erected by the citizens of Oberlin in honor of their 3 fallen free citizens of color (the 8-foot marble monument would be moved to Vine Street Park in 1971).</p>						
James Henry Harris						



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>No one associated with Captain John Brown, and no one associated with politics in North Carolina, has ever been awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor.</p> <p>"J.H. Harris" signed, as a member of a Vigilance Committee, on May 8th, 1858, the "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States" in Chatham, Ontario West, Canada, a document which would be found on the person of John Brown when he was captured at Harpers Ferry on October 18th, 1859. Although another person of this name, James Henry Harris, had been born a slave in Granville County, North Carolina and had gained his freedom at the age of 18 in about 1848, he was not this "J.H. Harris." Educated at Oberlin College, he would hold a teaching certificate from the New England Freedman's Aid Society. He was of Cleveland in 1859, and a member of the 102d US Colored Infantry formed in Michigan by George DeBaptiste that included so many men from Chatham. He would attend the 1st Freedmen's Convention in the South, held in what would become the St. Paul A.M.E. Church on Edenton Street in Raleigh during September 1865 as a representative of Wake County. He would become the 1st black alderman from Raleigh, and a delegate from Raleigh to the North Carolina Constitutional Convention of 1868; he got married with Bettie Miller, a daughter of Addison J. Smith and Mary Anderson, a cousin of Osborn Perry Anderson; he died in 1891 in Washington DC and the remains are at Mount Hope Cemetery in Raleigh. There is yet a 3d James H. Harris, who was not this "J.H. Harris" signatory, who was belatedly awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor and is interred in the remote section of Arlington National Cemetery that was reserved for colored soldiers, and for contrabands.</p>						
Lewis Hayden						
<p>Lewis Hayden, a black leader in downtown Boston whose escape from Kentucky had been aided by Delia Webster in 1844. Eight years after escaping from slavery, he raised, as an act of gratitude and duty, a sum of \$650, in order to ransom the Reverend Calvin Fairbanks out of the Kentucky State Prison at Frankfort, where the Reverend had been languishing under the accusation that he had assisted 47 slaves in their escape, and had served 14 years, and had been whipped and beaten. Just before the raid on Harpers Ferry, Hayden helped recruit Francis Jackson Meriam to carry a message and cash money to the hideout of John Brown, and take part in that struggle.</p>						
Albert Hazlett	Yes	No	Yes	Capt. or Lt.	< 30	white



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>Albert Hazlett, born in Pennsylvania on September 21st, 1837, did not take part in the fight at Harpers Ferry but, with John Edwin Cook who had escaped from that fight by climbing a tree and who later identified him to the prosecutors, would be belatedly hanged. Before the raid he had worked on his brother's farm in western Pennsylvania, and he had joined the others at Kennedy Farm in the early part of September 1859. He was arrested on October 22d in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, near Chambersburg, where he was using the name "William Harrison," was extradited to Virginia, was tried and sentenced at the spring term of the Court, and was hanged on March 16th, 1860. George B. Gill wrote "I was acquainted with Hazlett well enough in Kansas, yet after all knew but little of him. He was with Montgomery considerably, and was with [Aaron D. Stevens] on the raid in which Cruise was killed. He was a good-sized, fine-looking fellow, overflowing with good nature and social feelings.... Brown got acquainted with him just before leaving Kansas." He wrote to Mrs. Rebecca B. Spring on March 15th, 1860, the eve of his hanging, "Your letter gave me great comfort to know that my body would be taken from this land of chains.... I am willing to die in the cause of liberty, if I had ten thousand lives I would willingly lay them all down for the same cause."</p>						
Reverend T. W. Higginson	No					White
<p>The Reverend Thomas Wentworth "Charles P. Carter" Higginson of the Secret "Six"'s earliest American ancestor was the 1st minister of Salem. He believed that "Never in history was there an oppressed people who were set free by others" (it was therefore up to American black people to demonstrate their courage, and their worthiness to be free — basically by getting themselves exterminated). After Harpers Ferry he would attempt to organize an expedition to raid the Charles Town lockup and rescue the accused — this was an expedition Henry Thoreau would oppose, asserting that to the contrary Captain Brown's highest and best purpose was to be hung.</p>						
Richard J. Hinton						
<p>Richard Josiah Hinton, abolitionist journalist whose opposition to slavery led him to transform himself into a gunslinger. Refer to: Richard J. Hinton, JOHN BROWN AND HIS MEN (NY: Funk & Wagnalls, 1894; Reprint NY: The Arno Press, 1968).</p> <div style="border: 1px solid green; padding: 10px; margin: 10px 0;"> <p>WHAT TO TAKE: Let your trunk, if you have to buy one, be of moderate size and of the strongest make. Test it by throwing it from the top of a three-storied house; if you pick it up uninjured, it will do to go to Kansas. Not otherwise.</p> <p>— James Redpath and Richard J. Hinton, HAND-BOOK TO KANSAS TERRITORY, 1859, as quoted on page 3 of William Least Heat-Moon's PrairyErth (a deep map) [Boston MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1991].</p> </div>						
Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe						



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe and others of the Massachusetts State Kansas Committee raised \$5,000 in one day, to buy enough Sharp's rifles to arm 200 men to the teeth in "Bleeding Kansas." He, as well as the Reverend Theodore Parker, Franklin Benjamin Sanborn, Gerrit Smith, and George Luther Stearns, fully grasped from the earliest moment the fact that the probable result of their attempt to incite a race war (black Americans against white), would be, at least initially, a defeat of the black forces of servile insurrection. These 5 of the white conspirators of the Secret "Six" finance committee clearly had been willing to sacrifice the lives of their black allies in order to foment sectional civil war between Northern and Southern white Americans.</p>						
Julia Ward Howe	No					White
<p>Julia Ward Howe was a racist and, because she carried out errands for her husband Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe who was on the Secret "Six" finance committee (such as having a surreptitious meeting in their home with Captain John Brown), must surely have been aware of and must surely have approved of that committee's agendas.</p>						
Thaddeus Hyatt	No					white
<p>Thaddeus Hyatt was a businessman and financier involved in the preparation of "Bleeding Kansas" as a "free soil" or "Aryan Nation" enclave. Summoned to give testimony before the congressional committee investigating the raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, he would refuse to appear and would be imprisoned for a period—but ultimately would get away with this refusal.</p>						
John Jones	No	No	No	Support		of color
<p>John Jones was a Chicago businessman of mixed race, an upscale tailor (John Brown visited his home). He and his wife Mary Jane Richardson Jones were active abolitionists whose home was a station on the Underground Railroad while they agitated for repeal of "Black Laws" (not only did these laws obligate black Americans to prove that they were free to enter the state of Illinois but, once there, these laws barred them from visiting the homes of whites, owning any property or merchandise, or entering into any contract).</p>						
John Henry Kagi	Yes	Yes		Secretary of War	24	white



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>Although John Henry Kagi, AKA Maurice Maitland, AKA John Henrie, was largely self-taught, his letters to the New-York Tribune, the New-York Evening Post, and the National Era reveal him as the best educated of the raiders. A debater, public speaker, stenographer, wannabee writer, and total abstainer from alcohol, he was cold in manner and rough in appearance. A nonparticipant in organized religion, he was an able man of business. He had been born on March 15, 1835, a son of the blacksmith for Bristolville, Ohio in a family of Swiss descent (the name originally having been Kagy). During 1854/1855 he had taught school at Hawkinstown, Virginia but had indicated an objection to the system of slavery there and been compelled to return to Ohio with a pledge never to return. He had gone to Nebraska City in 1856 and been admitted to the bar. He then entered Kansas with one of General James H. Lane's parties and enlisted in Aaron D. Stevens's ("Colonel Whipple's") 2d Kansas Militia. In fighting in the town of Tecumseh in "Bleeding Kansas" he proved himself by killing at least one man, who had been coming after him with a club. After being captured by US troops he had been imprisoned at Leecompton and at Tecumseh, but was finally released. On January 31, 1857 he had been struck on the head with a gold-headed cane by a slaveowning territorial judge, drew his revolver and shot the judge in the groin, but Judge Physis Rush Elmore got off 3 shots and one struck Kagi over the heart, the bullet being stopped by a memorandum-book. He was long with his family in Ohio recovering from these wounds, but then returned to Kansas and joined John Brown. He bore the title of Secretary of War in the provisional government and was next in command to John Brown; he was also the adjutant. His name was among the signatories to "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States," from a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued at Harpers Ferry on October 18, 1859. When in Chambersburg as agent for the raiders, he boarded with Mrs. Mary Rittner. "In a very few days we shall commence," he wrote on the eve of the raid, "things could not be more cheerful and more certain of success than they are. We have worked hard and suffered much, but the hardest is down now, and a glorious success is in sight.... Be cheerful. Don't imagine dangers. All will be well." At Harpers Ferry he was trapped along with John Anderson Copeland, Jr. and Lewis Sheridan Leary in the armory called Hall's Rifle Works. When the 3 made a run for it, heading down to the Shenandoah River, they got caught in crossfire and Kagi was the first killed, shot in the head, his body being left to float in the river.</p>						
Amos Lawrence	No					White
<p>Amos Lawrence and his son Amos Adams Lawrence provided the large bulk of the investment capital needed by Eli Thayer's New England Emigrant Aid Company for the purchase land in the new territory then well known as "Bleeding Kansas," needed in order to encourage the right sort of black-despising poor white Americans to settle there as "decent antislavery" homesteaders. The idea was to send entire communities in one fell swoop, increasing the value of the properties owned by this company. If political control over this territory could be achieved, they would be able to set up a real Aryan Nation, from which slaves would of course be excluded because they were enslaved, and from which free blacks Americans would of course be excluded because as human material they were indelibly inferior.</p>						
Lewis Sheridan Leary	Yes	Yes		Private	25	of color



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>Lewis Sheridan "Shad" Leary was a mulatto citizen of Oberlin, Ohio, a saddler and harness maker whose father had been a freeborn black harness maker as well. He was descended from an Irishman, Jeremiah O'Leary, who had fought in the Revolution under General Nathanael Greene of Rhode Island, who had married a woman of mixed blood, partly African, partly of that Croatan Indian stock of North Carolina, which is believed by some to be lineally descended from the "lost colonists" left by John White on Roanoke Island in 1587. Leary was born at Fayetteville, North Carolina on March 17th, 1835, and was therefore in his 25th year when killed during the raid upon the federal arsenal. In 1857 he had gone to Oberlin to live, marrying there and making the acquaintance of John Brown in Cleveland. To go to Harpers Ferry he left his wife with a 6-month-old child at Oberlin, his wife being in ignorance of the purpose of his trip. He was given funds to go from Oberlin to Chambersburg in the company of his nephew John Anderson Copeland, Jr. "Tell no man where I have gone," he commented, "you'll see me again, but I'll be marching at the top of the drum.... Men must suffer for a good cause." He was isolated along with his nephew and John Henry Kagi in the armory called Hall's Rifle Works. When the men made a run for it, heading down to the Shenandoah River, they got themselves caught in a crossfire, and after Kagi had been killed and Leary shot several times, he was taken, his wounds so severe that he would die the following morning. He was able to dictate messages to his family and is reported as having said "I am ready to die." The Leary child would subsequently be educated by James Redpath and Wendell Phillips. The corpse was dumped into the common pit beside the Shenandoah River, not to be exhumed until 1899. A monument was erected by the citizens of Oberlin in honor of their fallen free men of color, Leary, Copeland, and Shields Green (this 8-foot marble monument would be relocated to Vine Street Park in 1971).</p>						
William H. Leeman	Yes	Yes		Captain	< 21	white
<p>William H. Leeman was of a wild disposition. Educated in the public schools of Saco and Hallowell, Maine, by the age of 14 he was working in a shoe factory in Haverhill, Massachusetts. He went to "Bleeding Kansas" with the 2d batch of recruits from Massachusetts, and on September 9, 1856 became a member of Captain John Brown's "Volunteer Regulars." He fought well at Osawatimie when but 17 years of age. At Springdale, Iowa, Owen Brown found him full of swagger and bluster and difficult to control George B. Gill said of him that he had "a good intellect with great ingenuity." He signed "W.H. Leeman" to "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States," per a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when the raiders were subdued at Harpers Ferry. By the raid upon Harpers Ferry he had reached the age of 20, the youngest of the raiders. He wrote his mother, "I shall be in danger, but it is natural to me. I shall not get killed. I am in a good cause, and I am not afraid." He made a mad dash out of the relative safety of the armory to attempt to escape by swimming down the Potomac River, where two militiamen caught up with him and shot him down on an islet. For hours his corpse would be used for target practice by drunken citizens, until their hail of bullets pushed the riddled remains into a current that drew it along until only his black hair could be glimpsed in the ripples on the surface. Mrs. Annie Brown Adams would write of him: "He was only a boy. He smoked a good deal and drank sometimes; but perhaps people would not think that so very wicked now. He was very handsome and very attractive."</p>						
Francis Jackson Merriam	Yes	No	No	Private	< 30	white



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>Francis Jackson Meriam, grandson and namesake of the Garrisonian abolitionist and Boston historian Francis Jackson, was a young manic-depressive with one good eye. He helped James Redpath collect materials in Haiti and across the American South for use in a book dedicated to John Brown and Redpath arranged for him to join the Harpers Ferry guerrillas. He was not captured or killed because he had been left during the raid in one of his fits of despair at the Kennedy farmhouse. After escaping through Shippensburg, Philadelphia, Boston, Concord, and the area of St. Catharines, Canada he served as a captain in the 3d South Carolina Colored Infantry. Erratic and unbalanced, he urged wild schemes upon his superiors and sometimes attempted them. He created, for instance, a list of 5 secret-writing inks for confidential correspondence. In an engagement under General Ulysses S. Grant he received a serious leg wound. He died suddenly on November 28, 1865 in New-York.</p>						
Charles W. Moffett	Yes					white
<p>We believe that the name of Charles W. Moffett of Iowa was among the signatories to Chatham, Ontario's "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States" as "C.W. Moffit," per a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued at Harpers Ferry on October 18, 1859. Perhaps this "W" stood for "Wesley," if we can rely upon a tombstone in the Maple Hill cemetery in Montour, Iowa ("Charles Wesley Moffett / Jun. 20, 1827-Aug. 19, 1904"). We wonder if perhaps he did not attend the raid on the federal arsenal because he got cold feet, or perhaps because he was one of a number of people suspected by the others of having written to alert Secretary of War John Buchanan Floyd to the plan for a raid on a federal arsenal (the Cabinet member received these warnings while at Red Sweet Springs in Virginia and neglected to alert anyone to be on the lookout for such an attack — he would remind people later that as War Secretary he had been getting a whole lot of spurious warnings).</p>						
Edwin Morton	No					White
<p>The very tall Franklin Benjamin Sanborn's intimate college friend Edwin Morton of Plymouth, a descendant of one of the prominent Founding Fathers, and from a long line of violinists, was about as deeply involved in the Harpers Ferry raid as any member of the Secret "Six." He was Gerrit Smith's private secretary and resided with that family, tutoring the son. After the raid, with the heat on while Jefferson Davis was conducting a congressional investigation, he fled overseas as did Frederick Douglass, and for the duration chummed around at Shrewsbury and Hodnet with Henry Thoreau's very tall friend Thomas Cholmondeley before settling for health reasons in Switzerland.</p>						
Dangerfield Newby	Yes	Yes		bridge sentinel	39	light mulatto



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p><u>Dangerfield Newby</u>, a free light mulatto, son of a Scotsman, very tall and with a splendid physique, was written by his wife begged him to obtain funds to purchase her and their baby who that had just “commenced to crawl ... as soon as possible, for if you do not get me somebody else will.” She pleaded “Oh Dear Dangerfield, come this fall without fail, money or no money I want to see you so much; that is the one bright hope I have before me.” He was serving as a sentinel at the <u>Harpers Ferry</u> bridge and was shot to death as he and the two white men with him retreated before the charge of the Jefferson Guards of Charles Town, Virginia, coming across the Potomac from the Maryland side. He was not brought down by ball or bullet but by a 6-inch spike being used as a musket projectile, which caught him in the throat and ripped him severely. Since neither of the white men were shot, it appears that as a mulatto he was targeted. The body was beaten savagely, and its ears snipped off as trophies, and then a herd of hogs was driven up to root on it. His corpse was dumped into the shallow group pit beside the Shenandoah River, to be exhumed in 1899.</p>						
Reverend Theodore Parker	No					White
<p>The Reverend <u>Theodore Parker</u>, a stone racist, declared from his pulpit that while he ordinarily spent \$1,500 a year on books, the equivalent of 4 or 5 men’s annual wages, for the time being he was going to restrict himself to spending less than one man’s annual wage on books per year, and devote the remaining moneys to the purchase of guns and ammunition for the white people going to the Kansas Territory. Sharps rifles, the very latest in deadliness, cost \$25 apiece when had in sufficient quantity:</p> <p><i>“I make all my pecuniary arrangements with the expectation of <u>civil war</u>.”</i></p> <p>He would take to marking the boxes of new Sharps rifles he shipped illegally to “<u>Bleeding Kansas</u>” with the word BOOKS, and he would take to referring to these firearms as so many copies of RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE as in “The right of the people to keep and to bear arms shall not be infringed.” He, as well as <u>Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe</u>, <u>Franklin Benjamin Sanborn</u>, <u>Gerrit Smith</u>, and <u>George Luther Stearns</u> of the <u>Secret “Six”</u>, fully grasped from the earliest moment the fact that the probable result of their attempt to incite a race war, of black Americans against white Americans, would be, at least initially, a defeat of the black forces of <u>servile insurrection</u>. These 5 of the white conspirators clearly had been willing to sacrifice the lives of their allies among the Northern and Southern black Americans slave and free, in order to foment a rectification of the Southern white Americans.</p>						
Luke F. Parsons						White
<p><u>Luke Fisher Parsons</u> was a free-state fighter seasoned in “<u>Bleeding Kansas</u>.” He took part in the battle of Black Jack near Baldwin City on June 2d, 1856, the battle of Osawatimie on August 30th, 1856, and the raid on Iowa during Winter 1857/1858. His name “L.F. Parsons” was among the signatories to “Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States,” per a document in <u>John Brown</u>’s handwriting that would be captured when the raiders were subdued at <u>Harpers Ferry</u>. He had gone off toward a supposed Colorado gold rush and, summoned by letters from Brown and Kagi, did not manage to make it back to take part in the raid on the federal arsenal, or to attempt to rescue the prisoners once they were waiting to be hanged, at the jail in Charlestown, Virginia. He started a family and lived out a long life as a farmer in Salina, Kansas.</p>						



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
Friend John Hunt Painter						White
<p>John Hunt Painter, a birthright Quaker who owned a farm near Springdale, Iowa, a farm that was used as a waystation on the Underground Railroad, forwarded stored firearms to Captain John Brown at his hideout near Harpers Ferry. After disownment by the Religious Society of Friends he would relocate his farm family to downtown Pasadena, California to there construct and be the proprietor of the toney <i>La Pintoresca</i> hotel.</p>						
Richard Realf						White
<p>Richard Realf, English poet, was the son of a blacksmith who had become a rural constable. In 1852 he had published <i>GUESSES AT THE BEAUTIFUL</i> and in 1854, after giving up being the lover of George Gordon, Lord Byron's aging widow Lady Noell Byron, he had been led to the United States of America by "instincts" he characterized as "democratic and republican, or, at least, anti-monarchical." At the end of November or beginning of December 1857 he had been introduced to John Brown in Mount Tabor, Iowa by John Edwin Cook, whom he had met in Lawrence in "Bleeding Kansas" while working as a correspondent for the Illinois State Gazette. He traveled through Chicago and Detroit to Chatham, Ontario West, Canada and signed the "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States," per a document in Brown's handwriting found when the survivors were subdued at Harpers Ferry on October 18th, 1859. By reading a book of ethical philosophy written by the President of Brown University, he determined that this violent agenda, and radical abolitionism in general, were a forbidden path, and so he returned to England to lecture, and visited France. He embarked at Le Havre on March 2d, 1859, arriving at New Orleans on April 17th, 1959 with the intention of becoming a Jesuit priest, then with an aim to join the Shakers, and made no further contact with Captain Brown. After the raid he would voluntarily testify before the US Senate Committee and then fight in the Civil War and then contemplate joining the Oneida Perfectionists and then attempt to become a Colonel of colored troops, before being laid low on account of his messy sexual life.</p>						
James Redpath						
<p>James Redpath, crusading journalist out to make a buck in the best way. –Panderer in the pornography of armchair violence, at first in regard to the horrors of Southern slavery, –then in regard to the horrors of "Bleeding Kansas" –then in regard to the horrors of starving Ireland. Finally, after the Civil War, without fresh horrors to proffer to his armchair audience, he would resort to publishing defamatory doggerel poetry — lines in which he age-shames and fat-shames various Boston society ladies. –Never a dull moment for this "tell it like it is" dude! The Charleston, Virginia hangman sent him a piece of the scaffold, for which he devised a label: "A Bit of the True Cross, a Chip from the Scaffold of John Brown."</p>						
George J. Reynolds						of color



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>George J. Reynolds was a light mulatto with native American as well as black African heritage, a blacksmith or coppersmith, from Virginia although claiming to be from Vermont, aged about 35 at the time of the raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, and active in the Underground Railroad. He attended the Convention of Colored Men in 1858, and signed the “Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States” in Chatham, Ontario West, Canada per a document in John Brown’s handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued on October 18th, 1859, as “J.G. Reynolds” (3 weeks after signing on to this conspiracy he was disclosing some of Captain Brown’s agenda to a black secret paramilitary group at the Masonic Lodge of his home town, Sandusky, Ohio).</p>						
Richard Richardson	No					of color
<p>Richard Richardson, a fugitive slave from Lexington, Missouri who had joined John Brown in southern Iowa, was going through that unfortunate but now-well-understood initial period of reaction to freedom in which a former slave, accustomed to servitude and unaccustomed to self-origination, attaches himself to some authoritative white man who is able with courtesy to make use of him. He had been in 1858 a member of the African Mysteries, a secret defense group in Michigan, and signed the “Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States” in Chatham, per a document in Brown’s handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued on October 18th, 1859, but evidently because of a religious conversion and a dedication to missionary work in Canada did not get from Ontario to Harpers Ferry (of the 34 black signatories to the Chatham document, only Osborn Perry Anderson would be at Harpers Ferry). He became a private in Company E of the 113th US Colored Infantry formed from the 13th US Colored Infantry, that was recruited in Arkansas and provided Civil War post and garrison duty in Little Rock, Arkansas, mustering out on April 9th, 1866.</p>						
Judge Thomas Russell	No					White
<p>Thomas Russell and Mary Ellen “Nellie” Taylor Russell visited John Brown in jail in Charleston, Virginia a few weeks before his execution. She said that although she had never approved of his violent methods, she admired him as a man of vision and idealism. Brown had been friends with the Russells for years and had stayed at their home on several occasions despite the husband being prominent in the Massachusetts judiciary. Franklin Benjamin Sanborn of the Secret “Six” would allege long after the raid on Harpers Ferry that “Brown’s general purpose of attacking slavery by force, in Missouri or elsewhere, was known in 1857-8-9” to Judge Russell.</p>						
Franklin Benjamin Sanborn	No					White



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>Franklin Benjamin Sanborn of Concord descended from the founder and 1st minister of the old New Hampshire plantation of Hampton. Another ancestor, the Reverend Stephen Bachiler, was the 1st minister of Lynn, and probably had among his parishioners there, in 1635-1636, Thomas Parker, the 1st American ancestor of Theodore Parker. He, as well as Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, the Reverend Theodore Parker, Gerrit Smith, and George Luther Stearns, fully grasped from the earliest moment the fact that the probable result of their attempt to incite a race war, of black Americans against white Americans, would be, at least initially, a defeat of their black forces. These 5 of the white Secret "Six" conspirators clearly had been willing to sacrifice the lives of their black allies for servile insurrection in order to foment sectional civil war between Northern and Southern white Americans. (John Brown, who had himself buried a wife and promptly recruited another one, once commented to Sanborn, in regard to the young man's grief over the prompt death of his young bride Ariana Walker, that he was too young to be married to a gravestone.)</p>						
Gerrit Smith	No					White
<p>The immensely wealthy "H. Ross Perot" political figure of that era was a former Millerite millennialist: Gerrit Smith. In this American's mansion outside Syracuse, New York, standing in the center of his study, was an ornate mahogany desk. Rumor had it that this had once been the desk of the emperor Napoleon Bonaparte himself. The millennium of William Miller not having arrived on schedule, Smith had become determined to, as he put it, "make himself a colored man"—he desired to explore his inner blackness—and thus he befriended Frederick Douglass (Smith would be Douglass's friend, that is, up to the point at which he would discover that black Americans were inherently racially inferior to white Americans and thus unworthy of consideration). He, as well as Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, the Reverend Theodore Parker, Franklin Benjamin Sanborn, and George Luther Stearns of the Secret "Six" fully grasped from the earliest moment that the probable result of their attempt to incite a servile insurrection of black Americans against white Americans, would be, at least initially, a defeat of the black forces. These 5 of the white conspirators clearly had been willing to sacrifice the lives of their black allies, in order to disrupt relations between Northern and Southern white Americans, toward the generation of a sectional civil war.</p>						
Stephen Smith	No			support		of color



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>Located just north of the Mason/Dixon line separating Pennsylvania from slaveholding states such as Maryland, the town of Columbia would be an important stop on the Underground Railroad. In 1818 its citizens had begun a Columbia Abolition Society. Stephen Smith had in 1831 led free blacks in Columbia in a public meeting in opposition to the agenda of the American Colonization Society. In 1834 he had joined with David Ruggles, John Peck, Abraham Shadd, and John B. Vashon, who were the initial black agents for Freedom's Journal and later for The Emancipator. In that year and the following one there were riots in Columbia, white riots that made a particular target of the lumberyard of the successful "Black Steve" and his mulatto partner William Whipper, and in 1835 the Columbia Spy would report that his success had so "excited the envy or hatred of those not so prosperous and of the ruling race" that his office was vandalized and papers, records, and books destroyed. Smith relocated to Philadelphia leaving the business in Columbia under Whipper's management, and would soon again be prospering. When abolitionists found it difficult to secure a building to hold their meetings, Smith made Pennsylvania Hall available for their use, but on July 17, 1838 a mob of white citizens torched that venue. Taking advantage of a little-known Pennsylvania statute by which a municipality could be held liable for mob damage, Smith sued Philadelphia, obtaining a judgment for damages in excess of what the building had cost: \$75,000. Dun and Company, a firm that evaluated local businesses, would in 1857 estimate Smith and Whipper's annual sales at \$100,000, characterizing Smith as "King of the Darkies." He was on his way to becoming one of the wealthiest black Americans in 19th-Century Pennsylvania. John Brown met with Stephen Smith and others while passing through Philadelphia.</p>						
Lysander Spooner	No					white
<p>The anarchist (or, to deploy a more recent term, libertarian) Boston attorney Lysander Spooner, who was well aware of John Brown's plans for the raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, wrote to Gerrit Smith during January 1859 warning that Brown had neither the men nor the resources to succeed. After the raid he would plot the kidnapping of Governor Henry A. Wise of Virginia, the idea being to take him at pistol point aboard a tug and hold him off the Atlantic coast at threat of execution should Brown be hanged. The motto he chose for himself, that might well be inscribed on his tombstone in Forest Hills Cemetery, was from the INSTITUTES of the Emperor Justinian I of the eastern Roman Empire: "To live honestly is to hurt no one, and give to every one his due."</p>						
George Luther Stearns	No			finance		white
<p>George Luther Stearns, a Boston manufacturer of lead pipe and the secretary of the Boston Emancipation League, as well as Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, the Reverend Theodore Parker, Franklin Benjamin Sanborn, and Gerrit Smith of the Secret "Six," fully grasped from the earliest moment the fact that the probable result of their attempt to incite a race war, of black Americans against white Americans, would be, at least initially, a defeat of their black forces. These 5 of the white conspirators clearly had been willing to sacrifice the lives of their black allies in servile insurrection in order to forestall a sectional civil war between Northern and Southern white Americans.</p>						
Aaron Dwight Stevens	Yes	Badly wounded	Yes	Captain	28	white



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>Aaron Dwight Stevens, John Brown's drillmaster, was of old Puritan stock, his great-grandfather having served as a captain during the Revolution. He had run away from home at the age of 16 to serve with a Massachusetts volunteer regiment during the Mexican War. Well over 6 feet, he made himself proficient with the sword. Enlisted in Company F of the 1st US Dragoons, he became their bugler, but at Taos, New Mexico during 1855 he received a sentence of death for "mutiny, engaging in a drunken riot, and assaulting Major George [Alexander Hamilton] Blake." This was commuted by President Franklin Pierce to 3 years hard labor but he escaped from Fort Leavenworth in 1856, 1st finding refuge with the Delaware tribe and then joining the Kansas Free State militia of James Lane under the name "Whipple." He became Colonel of the 2d Kansas Militia and met Brown on August 7th, 1856 at the Nebraska line when Lane's Army of the North marched into "Bleeding Kansas". He became a devoted follower. He was a spiritualist. At Harpers Ferry, when Brown sent this middleaged man out along with his son Watson Brown to negotiate under a flag of truce, he received 4 bullets but was taken alive. The never-married Stevens had a relationship of sorts with Rebecca B. Spring of the Eagleswood social experiment near Perth Amboy, New Jersey, and after his execution on March 16th would be buried there alongside Albert Hazlett. According to George B. Gill, writing after his death, "Stevens — how gloriously he sang! His was the noblest soul I ever knew. Though owing to his rash, hasty way, I often found occasion to quarrel with him more so than with any of the others, and though I liked [John Henry Kagi] better than any man I ever knew, our temperaments being adapted to each other, yet I can truly say that Stevens was the most noble man that I ever knew." He was not a 2d time reprieved by the President, and was hanged on March 16th, 1860.</p>						
Stewart Taylor	Yes	Yes		Private	23	white
<p>Stewart Taylor went in 1853 to Iowa, where in 1858 he became acquainted with Captain Brown through George B. Gill. He was a very good phonographer [stenographer], rapid and accurate. A spiritualist, he confidently predicted his own death. He signed the "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States" in Chatham, Ontario, Canada West per a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued at Harpers Ferry on October 18th, 1859. A relative, Jacob L. Taylor of Pine Orchard, Canada West, wrote to Richard J. Hinton on April 23d, 1860 that he had been "heart and soul in the anti-slavery cause." An excellent debater and very fond of studying history, he stayed at home in Canada during Winter 1858/1859 and then went to Chicago, thence to Bloomington, Illinois and thence to Harper's [sic] Ferry." While out of touch with the others, this 23-year-old had feared being left behind: "I felt as though I was deprived of my chief object in life.... I believe that fate has decreed me for this undertaking.... It is my chief desire to add fuel to the fire." Mortally wounded in the engine house, begging to be put out of his misery, Brown instructed him "Die like a man." What remained of his corpse would be recovered in 1899 from a soggy group pit near the Shenandoah River above Harpers Ferry.</p>						
Eli Thayer	No			politics		white



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NOT CIVIL WAR



Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>Representative Eli Thayer formed the New England Emigrant Aid Company to purchase sections of the new territory then known as "Bleeding Kansas" and encourage the right sort of black-despising poor white "decent antislavery" Americans to settle there, by providing information, cheapening transportation, and setting up saw mills and flour mills to give work and incomes to such homesteaders. The idea was to send entire communities in one fell swoop, thereby increasing the value of the real estate of this company. If political control could be achieved, they would be able to set up a real Aryan Nation from which American slaves would of course be excluded because they were enslaved, and from which free blacks Americans would of course be excluded because as human material they were indelibly inferior. This government officeholder would comment after the Civil War, in regard to the abolitionists with whom he had been aligned, that he had never observed "any diffidence or modesty in sounding their own praises. They formed a mutual admiration society possessed by an unusual malignity towards those who did not belong to it."</p>						
Dauphin Adolphus Thompson	Yes	Yes		Lieutenant	< 30	white
<p>Dauphin Adolphus Thompson and his brothers Henry Thompson and William Thompson were North Elba neighbors of the family of John Brown. He was "very quiet, with fair, thoughtful face, curly blonde hair, and baby-blue eyes," a "pippin-cheeked country boy." His sister Isabella M. Thompson got married with Watson Brown and his elder brother Henry Thompson got married with Captain Brown's daughter Ruth. "I suppose the folk think we are a set of fools," he wrote from someplace he described as "Parts Unknown," "but they will find out we know what we are about." The two brothers died at Harpers Ferry, Dauphin cowering beneath a fire engine until skewered by a Marine bayonet. Their bodies would be placed in the common pit beside the Shenandoah River above town, and exhumed in 1899.</p>						
William Thompson	Yes	Yes		Captain?	< 30	white
<p>William Thompson was born in New Hampshire in August 1833, the son of Roswell Thompson. During Fall 1858 he married a Mary Brown who was not related to the family of John Brown. His sister Isabella M. Thompson married Watson Brown; his elder brother Henry Thompson married Captain Brown's daughter Ruth. He "would have made a successful comic actor ... he was very lively and full of funny stories and jokes." He had started for "Bleeding Kansas" in 1856 but upon meeting the Brown sons returned with them to North Elba. Along with his brother Dauphin Adolphus Thompson, he took part in the raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, and the two of them were killed. When Captain Brown sent him out from the engine house to negotiate under flag of truce, 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 onto the rocks of the Potomac River. The corpse "could be seen lying at the bottom of the river, with his ghastly face still showing what a fearful death agony he had experienced." One of his captors commented that for such "villainous Abolitionists," he "felt justified in shooting any that I could find. I felt it my duty, and I have no regrets." His corpse and that of his brother were dumped into a common pit on the bank of the Shenandoah River above town and covered with about a foot of soil.</p>						
Henry David Thoreau	No					white



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Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>When, in 1844, Waldo Emerson, acting as an <i>agent provocateur</i>, recommended to Frederick Douglass's face that, modeling himself upon the leader of the successful Haitian revolution of the turn of the century, Toussaint Louverture, he fashion himself into the liberator of his people and initiate on the North American continent a servile insurrection or race war, it was Henry Thoreau who after the lecture rushed this information right down to Boston, and had a pamphlet printed up, after which there was no way to dissimulate about the provocation that had been made — and so all Emerson was able to do was pretend that Douglass hadn't been present. (We, of course, have credited Emerson's cover story, not because there is any corroboration for it but because ... well, he's Mr. Emerson and wouldn't lie to us.)</p>						
Charles Plummer Tidd	Yes	No	No	Captain	25	white
<p>Charles Plummer Tidd joined John Brown's party at Mount Tabor and Springdale, Iowa in 1857. He was one of the followers of "Shubel Morgan" who raided into Missouri in 1858. He signed, as "Charles P. Tidd," the "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States" in Chatham, Canada per a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued at Harpers Ferry on October 18th, 1859. He opposed the attack on Harpers Ferry but nevertheless took part in the raid on the planter Washington's home and on the federal arsenal, escaped, and made his way on foot toward the northwestern part of Pennsylvania. He and Owen Brown would find work and safety, under assumed names, on an oil well in the vicinity of Crawford County, Pennsylvania. He visited Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Canada and took 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 ferry. According to Mrs. Annie Brown Adams, "Tidd had not much education, but good common sense. After the raid he began to study, and tried to repair his deficiencies. He was by no means handsome. He had a quick temper, but was kind-hearted. His rages soon passed and then he tried all he could to repair damages. He was a fine singer and of strong family affections." On July 19th, 1861 he was able to enlist under the name "Charles Plummer" and would become a 1st Sergeant of the 21st Massachusetts Volunteers. On February 8th, 1862 he died of fever aboard the transport <i>Northerner</i> during the battle of Roanoke Island. (This was a battle he had particularly wished to take part in because ex-Governor Henry A. Wise of Virginia, the nemesis of the Harpers Ferry raiders, was in command of the Confederates.) Tidd's, or Charles Plummer's, grave is #40 in the National Cemetery in New Berne, North Carolina.</p>						
Harriet Tubman	No					of color
<p>John Brown negotiated with Harriet Tubman to obtain her participation in the raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry. She mistrusted these men and had persistent dreams in which Brown and his sons appeared as serpents. The attack had been scheduled to occur on the 4th of July, symbolic of national birth. At the last moment she alleged she was ill, and for this reason as well as delays in the deliveries of supplies, the attack needed to be postponed for months (Frederick Douglass would also back out). On the day of the actual attack she had a premonition that it was going to fail.</p>						
Henry Watson	No					of color



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Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>Henry Watson, black barber in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, had, in 1859, in his barbershop and home, about \$500 in property that was at risk due to his Underground Railroad activity. On August 19th, 1859 he led Frederick Douglass and his bodyguard Shields Green to the quarry where John Brown and his bodyguard John Henry Kagi were posing as fishermen. The barber and his wife had no children. After the failure of the raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Osborn Perry Anderson would find refuge in their home on Mt. Moriah Street in the “Little Africa” district of Green Township, near Chambersburg. On December 18th, 1863 the barber, at the age of 50, would be mustered into the 29th Regiment of the Connecticut Colored Infantry. On March 8th, 1864 that unit would be put into service with him as a private in Company E. On March 19th, 1864 they would travel from Fair Haven, Connecticut to Annapolis, Maryland. From there they would go to Beaufort, South Carolina, where they would remain from April 13th, 1864 to August 8th, 1864. From there they would journey into Virginia, where they would participate in the Siege of Petersburg from August 13th, 1864 to April 2d, 1865. From there they would journey to Point Lookout, Maryland, where they would guard prisoners until May 28th, 1865. During his absence from Chambersburg, Confederate troops would raid and torch the town, and his barbershop would be one of the structures consumed in that conflagration.</p>						
etc.						



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“...AND I ONLY AM ESCAPED ALONE TO TELL THEE.”¹

1830



July 27, Tuesday: [Osborn Perry Anderson](#), “O.P. Anderson, or as we used to call him Chatham Anderson” – the only participant of color to survive the raid on [Harpers Ferry](#) and elude capture and hanging– was born free in West Fallowfield, Pennsylvania.



To get ahead of our story: he would receive have public school education and then become a preparatory student at Oberlin College in Ohio. He would learn the printing trade in Canada, where obviously he would pick up his nickname “Chatham,” and where he would meet [John Brown](#) in 1858. He would write of the fight at Harpers Ferry and his escape alive from it in A VOICE FROM HARPER’S FERRY IN 1860: “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 [Brown’s son [Owen Brown](#), [Barclay Coppoc](#), and [Charles Plummer Tidd](#)], and we kept together, until we got to Centre County, Pa., 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....”

Even by the day of his returning to [Paris](#) from Nîmes, the fate of the [French](#) monarch Charles X had already been determined. A French court ruled that the monarch’s decree of July 25th was in direct contradiction to

1. JOB 1:15, 16, 17, 19.



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the 1814 Charter of Suffrage. [Professor François Pierre Guillaume Guizot](#) was called upon by his friends Casimir Perier, Jacques Laffitte, Villemain, and Dupin to draw up the protest of the liberal deputies against the royal ordinances of July, while he applied himself with them to control the revolutionary character of the late contest. Royal troops and Swiss guards circled the city. Barricades were set up and shots were fired. Revolutionaries reached the Hotel de Ville. In Monmartre, Franz Liszt rushed out of his rooms to see the fighting in the streets. He began composing a “Revolutionary Symphony” (of which he would complete only one movement). He would scribble in the margin, “27, 28, 29 July-Paris.” “Indignation, vengeance, terror, liberty! disorder, confused cries (Wave, strangeness) fury...refusal, march of the royal guard, doubt, uncertainty, parties at cross-purposes...attack, battle...march of the national guard — enthusiasm, enthusiasm, enthusiasm...”



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1850

[William Cooper Nell](#) stood for the Legislature of Massachusetts on the Free Soil Party ticket, but was unsuccessful.



[Osborn Perry Anderson](#) went to Canada, where he would learn the trade of printing.



Born enslaved, [James Henry Harris](#) had gained his freedom at the age of 18 by virtue of a certificate from the Granville County, Clerk's office. In this year, evidently after completing an apprenticeship as a carpenter, that certificate was endorsed by [North Carolina](#) Governor [Charles Manly](#).



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1858

Spring: [Edwin Coppoc](#) migrated to the [Kansas Territory](#) as a settler, but, since he had been raised as an adopted child in a nonresistant-abolitionist [Quaker](#) farm family, would take no part in the fighting there.



[Luke Fisher Parsons](#) went with [John Brown](#) to [Chatham, Ontario, Canada](#), where Brown met [Osborn Perry Anderson](#). (after creating what they termed a “Provincial Constitution,” Brown and Parsons would cross Lake Erie to Cleveland, where Brown trusted he would get financial help to carry on his plans to put down slavery; he would be disappointed in this and the project would be abandoned for a time. Parsons would visit his family home in Byron, Illinois and spend several months working in Gorton’s Carriage Shop at Kinsman, Ohio, then go gold adventuring during a Pikes Peak rush).

“Colonel” [Hugh Forbes](#), who after receiving \$600 as his initial 6-month salary had cooled his heels in Mount Tabor, Iowa for 3 months for the arrival of troops to train for [Captain John Brown](#), had begun writing letters to various influential people such as [Franklin Benjamin Sanborn](#) and [Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe](#) and members of the Massachusetts State Kansas Committee (whom he was referring to sarcastically as “humanitarians”), demanding to know why they were starving his wife and son and daughter in France. This loose cannon had definitely rolled from the asset category into the liability category.



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(It would be during a visit to [Springdale, Iowa](#) in Fall 1858 that he would meet [John Brown](#). He would surrender with Captain Brown in the engine house at [Harpers Ferry](#), and would be tried by a jury of his white male peers immediately after the conclusion of the trial of Captain Brown while his brother [Barclay Coppoc](#) was eluding capture. He would be sentenced to death on November 2, 1859. From prison before his hanging, he would write to his adoptive mother that he was

“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, Ohio.)

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1859

October 16, Sunday, night: Senator [James Murray Mason](#) was enjoying the federal Congress being out of session, at home with his family in Winchester, Virginia. This town was 20 easy miles away from [Harpers Ferry](#) along the Baltimore & Ohio RR tracks. Senator Mason would arrive in Harpers Ferry soon after Captain [John Brown](#)'s surrender, and interrogate the wounded old man in the presence of his mortally wounded son and in the presence of officer-in-charge [Robert E. Lee](#).



His idea of an investigation procedure was “Follow the money.” Mason would immediately begin to spread the necessary lie, that “**not a man, black or white, joined them** [emphasis his] after they came into Virginia, or gave them aid or assistance in any form.” The totality of the evidence he would be able to summon for the truth of this emphatic and utterly necessary assertion was that “The fact is undoubted.”²

Subsequent historians have of course dutifully followed his lead in copying from one textbook into the next textbook the assertion that no Virginia slaves had joined this sudden, unannounced, unexpected attempt at the creation of a [servile insurrection](#). The thought has been just too utterly dangerous to contemplate — therefore the fact has had to correspond to the thought.

How to explain this? It is easily understood once one comes to recognize that the thing that really frosted sensible guys like Mason was not the prospect of race war, of a servile insurrection led by charismatics of the



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likes of [Frederick Douglass](#) and [Harriet Tubman](#), but the prospect of class war.³ This guy had read [Hinton Rowan Helper](#)'s book THE IMPENDING CRISIS OF THE SOUTH: HOW TO MEET IT, and he knew very well who the real enemy was. The real enemy would be anyone who would use the race hatred of the poor whites of the South to set these poor whites against those rich whites of the South who were enjoying "ownership" over black Americans. Therefore the first question in the mind of a guy like Senator Mason would have been, not "Was Brown trying to key off a servile insurrection?" but a somewhat more complicated one, a question on the order of: "Was Brown's servile insurrection intended to key off a genocide in which all these armed poor

2. Jean Libby <jlibby@dvc.edu> of the Department of African American Studies at City College of San Francisco has had the following to offer in regard to the participation of local African Americans in the vicinity of Harpers Ferry during John Brown's raid. She uses [Osborn Perry Anderson](#)'s A VOICE FROM HARPER'S FERRY, written in 1860, as the basis of her research. The only specific deaths (the ultimate test of joining) of local slaves and free blacks are those in at least two primary sources. She published these in 1979 in BLACK VOICES FROM HARPERS FERRY. There is also "Mean To Be Free: John Brown's Black Nation Campaign," a videotape. These are referenced in FROM SLAVERY TO SALVATION: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF REV. THOMAS W. HENRY OF THE A.M.E. CHURCH," UP of Mississippi:

The local slaves –and the substantial free black population in the area– really did fight with and for Brown as asserted by Osborne Anderson and by Frederick Douglass, that was researched and published with new information in 1974 by Benjamin Quarles in ALLIES FOR FREEDOM. He cited the request for reparations from the slaveholder, William Fuller, who had hired Jim as a coachman to Lewis Washington (the famous sword of George Washington was surrendered to Osborne Anderson). He cited the denial of indemnity from the Commonwealth of Virginia because "he had joined the rebels with a good will" (page 100). He was armed, as was the free man of color who died with him, mentioned by Washington in his US Senate deposition as "a free man, visiting his wife," but otherwise unnamed – and described by him, of course, as an unwilling prisoner of Brown.

After the raid, the slaveholders of the area portrayed the local population as contented and fearful in order to contain further insurrection. The population distribution in the county, according to Stephen Oates in TO PURGE THIS LAND WITH BLOOD, was 9 whites to 1 black. To have fifty people participate, some die, some captured, some escape, and some melt back into the slave society was a strong indication of local support that would have grown had Brown not been surrounded.

When I began researching these fifty, inspired by Osborne Anderson's primary source account, the cover was cracked when I charted each local slave named in the indictment against Brown, who was convicted of conspiring with them to commit insurrection. Jim, Sam, Mason, and Catesby [the slaves of Lewis Washington]; Henry, Levi, Ben, Jerry, Phil, George, and Bill [the slaves of John Allstadt], and others unknown. These unknown I believe to have shown to be the slaves of George Turner, killed by Brown's army. Men of fighting age appear on the 1860 census as fugitive from his farm. He had probably come into Harpers Ferry to look for them. Their added numbers humanize the reported but unidentified dead on Brown's side, all in one area, in the Shenandoah River in a direct line to Turner's farm.

When names are placed with an historically anonymous group they can be found. Professor Quarles told me, when I asked him for advice in 1977, that there is always something new to be found.



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whites who had been so carefully taught to hate the nigger, by the simple expedient of forming into mobs and suddenly slaughtering all the black property of the rich whites of the South, would be able at last to drag our proud and righteous slavemasters down into the gutter with them?"

November: At some point after the failure of the raid on the federal arsenal at [Harpers Ferry](#), [Osborn Perry Anderson](#) sought refuge in the home of [Henry Watson](#) and his wife on Mt. Moriah Street in the "Little Africa" district of Green Township, near Chambersburg, Pennsylvania.

Early in the month [Edwin Morton](#) sailed from Boston for England as a means of protecting [Gerrit Smith](#) from exposure before the investigative committee (while Smith, as a way to provide cover for himself, was spending some time in an insane asylum). While in England he would be chumming around at Shrewsbury and Hodnet with Thomas Cholmondeley (whom he had recently met while Cholmondeley was visiting [Henry Thoreau](#) in Concord). He would remain through the winter and then briefly visit France before returning across the Atlantic when the coast had become clear in 1860.

Although he characterized himself as a "pretty rigid Episcopalian," [Amos Adams Lawrence](#) claimed to harbor no prejudice against "any body of men who love the Lord Jesus Christ," and agreed that the Congregationalists did love the Lord Jesus Christ. He therefore assented to the use of his \$10,000 for a Congregational college in the [Kansas Territory](#).

[Franklin Benjamin Sanborn](#) was publishing his long poem "America."

[Mrs. Mary Ann Day Brown](#) wrote to Governor of Virginia [Henry A. Wise](#), petitioning for the "mortal remains of my husband and sons." With his response the Governor enclosed a copy of an order to Major General William Taliaferro to "deliver to your order the mortal remains ... [and] to guard you sacredly in your solemn mission." On the Governor's orders, a party of men under Alfred Barbour, Superintendent of the United States Armory, gathered at the site of the mass burial upstream from [Harpers Ferry](#) on the bank of the Shenandoah River and found "two large mounds of earth, freshly thrown up." One foot down they came upon "a body which had been buried with the face down, and was then in so advanced a state of decomposition as apparently to render identification impossible."

These words by [Sanborn](#) were appearing in [Douglass' Monthly](#): "It is an effeminate and cowardly age which calls a man a lunatic because he rises to such self-forgetful heroism, as to count his own life worth nothing in comparison with the freedom of millions of his fellows.... The Christian blood of Old [John Brown](#) will not cease to cry from the ground long after the clamors of alarm and consternation of the dealers in the bodies and souls of men will have ceased to arrest attention."⁴

An editorial bearing the title "Captain John Brown Not Insane" argued that "His entire procedure in this matter

3. 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 his slaves, and then gone on to purge the nation of the white plantation owners themselves, with their privileged-class endowments.

4. Philip S. Foner. LIFE AND WRITINGS OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS, Volume II, page 458.



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disproves the charge that he was prompted by an impulse of mad revenge, and shows that he was moved by the highest principles of philanthropy. His carefulness of the lives of unarmed persons —his humane and courteous treatment of his prisoners —his cool self-possession all through his trial —and especially his calm, dignified speech on receiving his sentence, all conspire to show that he was neither insane nor actuated by vengeful passion; and we hope the country has heard the last of John Brown's madness." [Bob Pepperman Taylor](#) would point up, in 1996, the similarities between this and [Henry Thoreau](#)'s "A Plea for Captain John Brown," delivered as a lecture in Boston at a meeting in which Thoreau had been asked to stand in for Douglass: "Like Thoreau, Douglass insists that [slavery](#) is a system of brute force that must be 'met with its own weapons.' Like Thoreau, Douglass's primary concern is to defend [John Brown](#)'s acts from those who discredit them as insane or irrational or desperate. Like Thoreau, Douglass holds that our lack of sympathy for Brown's moral principles is evidence of our own moral sloth and deterioration. And, like Thoreau, Douglass holds that what is compelling about Brown is that he is an example of a just man who found the strength to resist injustice, a rare case of a man acknowledging and living up to the moral obligations facing every citizen: 'Posterity will owe everlasting thanks to John Brown for lifting up once more to the gaze of a nation grown fat and flabby on the garbage of lust and oppression, a true standard of heroic philanthropy, and each coming generation will play its installment of the debt.'"

WHAT I WONDER IS, IN WHICH DIRECTION THE INFLUENCE WAS FLOWING. WHAT IS THE TIME SEQUENCE HERE? DID THIS NEWSPAPER ARTICLE APPEAR FIRST? DID THOREAU READ IT? MIGHT THOREAU HAVE BEEN SAYING SOME THINGS, AS DOUGLASS'S REPRESENTATIVE, THAT WERE MORE TYPICAL OF DOUGLASS'S ATTITUDES THAN OF HIS OWN?

Meanwhile the body of Douglass was sailing away on the *Nova Scotian*, for the safety of English soil.



The Reverend Edwin M. Wheelock declared, in the Boston Music Hall renowned for its comfortable seating of huge audiences, that “The gallows from which he ascends into heaven will be in our politics what the cross is to our religion.”⁵

5. Actually, that gallows, after it had served its purpose a number of times, would be reworked and would become the front portico of a home in Charlestown, Virginia. —Sorta makes one wonder what became of the True Cross, doesn’t it?



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“Brutus” to Governor [Henry A. Wise](#), undated, presumably November:



Sir

You are very Eloquent in denouncing old Brown, as a Vile traitor

Because he wished to free the Poor Black Slaves;

But how different you are in speaking of George Washington; the Chief of the White Rebels, "Consistency thou are a jewel"

Oh how gloriously, and God-like to oppose British Slavery,

To shoot, murder, hang confiscate, axe any thing to gain Freedom; Boston then was the Cradle of Liberty, now the nursery of treason;

"How very strange that wrong and right;

"Should all depend on Black and white"

If it was right for the whites, Pray inform us how it is wrong for the

Blacks, "Sauce for the goose ought to be sauce for the gander"

George Washington could hang Major Andre, and help to Rob

England of her Property; and he Elevated to the Presidency

But, old Brown must be Elevated to a gibbet,

"honest Iago"

Now Sir we wish to inform you, that this is not the last attempt that will be made to aid the Poor Slaves; you may tremble

For fear, for come it will like a thunderbolt; though one

Two, or ten may fail and suffer, others will arise untill

The "Black star is erased from america's flag

Yours until

Death

Brutus

There as many a wise been a wisecare



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An anonymous missive to Governor [Henry A. Wise](#), undated, presumably November:



Mr Wise Sir, By a Virginia jury John Brown has been convicted as a criminal. And for what? For daring to obey that divine Command "If ye would that men should do too you do ye even so too them," If Mr. Brown committed an error it was an error of the head- not of the heart. But Sir, "Too err is human. to forgive divine." You have it in your power to prove you can be magnanimous to a noble foe. do it- and the blessings of millions shall be yours- Fail to do it- and you shall have touched a chord that shall not cease to vibrate till "The bonds of the oppressor shall be broken and the oppressed go free" Yea, though this Union of ours should be dissolved in blood

Give me Liberty, Or give me death



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1860

Publication of [Osborn Perry Anderson](#)'s 1859 manuscript, A VOICE FROM HARPER'S FERRY: A NARRATIVE OF EVENTS AT HARPER'S FERRY; WITH INCIDENTS PRIOR AND SUBSEQUENT TO ITS CAPTURE BY CAPTAIN BROWN AND HIS MEN, BY [OSBORN P. ANDERSON](#):



With the white population of Iowa having surged from 192,214 in 1850 to 674,913, local [Quakers](#) contemplated the creation of a state Yearly Meeting.



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A VOICE FROM HARPERS FERRY, 1859

BY OSBORNE P. ANDERSON

Preface

My sole purpose in publishing the following Narrative is to save from oblivion the facts connected with one of the most important movements of this age, with reference to the overthrow of American slavery. My own personal experience in it, under the orders of Capt. Brown, on the 16th and 17th of October, 1859, as the only man alive who was at Harpers Ferry during the entire time the unsuccessful groping after these facts, by individuals, impossible to be obtained, except from an actor in the scene and the conviction that the cause of impartial liberty requires this duty at my hands alone have been the motives for writing and circulating the little book herewith presented.

I will not, under such circumstances, insult or burden the intelligent with excuses for defects in composition, nor for the attempt to give the facts. A plain, unadorned, truthful story is wanted, and that by one who knows what he says, who is known to have been at the great encounter, and to have labored in shaping the same. My identity as a member of Capt. Brown's company cannot be questioned, successfully, by any in Canada or the United States familiar with John Brown and his plans; as those know his men personally, or by reputation, who enjoyed his confidence sufficiently to know thoroughly his plans.

The readers of this narrative will therefore keep steadily in view the main point that they are perusing a story of events which have happened under the eye of the great Captain, or are incidental thereto, and not a compendium of the "plans" of Capt. Brown; for as his plans were not consummated, and as their fulfillment is committed to the future, no one to whom they are known will recklessly expose all of them to the public gaze. Much has been given as true that never happened; much has been omitted that should have been made known; many things have been left unsaid, because up to within a short time, but two could say them; one of them has been offered up, a sacrifice to the Moloch, Slavery; being that other one, I propose to perform the duty, trusting to that portion of the public who love the right for an appreciation of my endeavor.

O.P.A.



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CHAPTER I

The Idea and Its Exponents John Brown Another Moses

The idea underlying the outbreak at Harpers Ferry is not peculiar to that movement, but dates back to a period very far beyond the memory of the "oldest inhabitant," and emanated from a source much superior to the Wises and Hunters, the Buchanans and Masons of to-day. It was the appointed work for life of an ancient patriarch spoken of in Exodus, chap. ii., and who, true to his great commission, failed not to trouble the conscience and to disturb the repose of the Pharaohs of Egypt with that inexorable, "Thus saith the Lord: Let my people go!" until even they were urgent upon the people in its behalf. Coming down through the nations, and regardless of national boundaries or peculiarities, it has been proclaimed and enforced by the patriarch and the warrior of the Old World, by the enfranchised freeman and the humble slave of the New. Its nationality is universal; its language every where understood by the haters of tyranny; and those that accept its mission, every where understand each other. There is an unbroken chain of sentiment and purpose from Moses of the Jews to John Brown of America; from Kossuth, and the liberators of France and Italy, to the untutored Gabriel, and the Denmark Vesseys, Nat Turners and Madison Washingtons of the Southern American States. The shaping and expressing of a thought for freedom takes the same conscience with the colored American whether he be an independent citizen of the Haytian nation, proscribed but humble nominally free colored man, a patient, toiling, but hopeful slave as with the proudest or noblest representative of European or American civilization and Christianity. Lafayette, the exponent of French honor and political integrity, and John Brown, foremost among the men of the New World in high moral and religious principle and magnanimous bravery, embrace as brothers of the same mother, in harmony upon the grand mission of liberty; but, while the Frenchman entered the lists in obedience to a desire to aid, and by invitation from the Adamses and the Hamiltons, and thus pushed on the political fortunes of those able to help themselves, John Brown, the liberator of Kansas, the projector and commander of the Harpers Ferry expedition, saw in the most degraded slave a man and a brother, whose appeal for his God-ordained rights no one should disregard; in the toddling slave child, a captive whose release is as imperative, and whose prerogative is as weighty, as the most famous in the land. When the Egyptian pressed hard upon the Hebrew, Moses slew him; and when the spirit of slavery invaded the far Territory of Kansas, causing the Free-State settlers to cry out because of



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persecution, old John Brown, famous among the men of God for ever, though then but little known to his fellow-men, called together his sons and went over, as did Abraham, to the unequal contest, but on the side of the oppressed white men of Kansas that were, and the black men that were to be. To-day Kansas is free, and the verdict of impartial men is, that to John Brown, more than any other man, Kansas owes her present position. I am not the biographer of John Brown, but I can be indulged in giving here the opinion common among my people of one so eminently worthy of the highest veneration. Close observation of him, during many weeks, and under his orders at his Kennedy-Farm fireside, also, satisfies me that in comparing the noble old man to Moses, and other men of piety and renown, who were chosen by God to his great work, none have been more faithful, none have given a brighter record.



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CHAPTER II

Preliminaries to Insurrection What May Be Told and What Not John Brown's First Visit Some of the Secrets

To go into particulars, and to detail reports current more than a year before the outbreak, among the many on the United States and Canada who has an inkling of some "practical work" to be done by "Osawatomie Brown," when there should be nothing to do in Kansas, — to give facts in that connection, would only forestall future action, without really benefiting the slave, or winning over to that sort of work the anti-slavery men who do not favor physical resistance to slavery. Slaveholders alone might reap benefits; and for one, I shall throw none in their way, by any indiscreet avowals; they already enjoy more than their share; but to a clear understanding of all the facts to be here published, it may be well to say, that preliminary arrangements were made in a number of places plans proposed, discussed and decided upon, numbers invited to participate in the movement, and the list of adherent increased. Nine insurrections is the number given by some as the true list of outbreaks since slavery was planted in America; whether correct or not, it is certain that preliminaries to each are unquestionable. Gabriel, Vesey, Nat Turner, all had conference meetings; all had their plans; but they differed from Harpers Ferry insurrection in the fact that neither leader nor men, in the latter, divulged ours, when in the most trying of situations. Hark and another met Nat Turner in secret places, after the fatigues of a toilsome day were ended; Gabriel promulgated his treason in the silence of the dense forest; but John Brown reasoned of liberty and equality in broad daylight of a modernized building, in conventions with closed doors, in meetings governed by the elaborate regulations laid down by Jefferson, and used as their guides by Congresses and Legislatures; or he made known the weighty theme, and his comprehensive plans resulting from it, by the cosy fireside, at familiar social gatherings of chosen ones, or better, in the carefully arranged junto of earnest, practical men. Vague hints, careful blinds, are Nat Turner's entire make-up to save detection; the telegraph, the post-office, the railway, all were made to aid the new outbreak. By this, it will be seen that Insurrection has its progressive side, and has been elevated by John Brown from the skulking, fearing cabal, when in the hands of a brave but despairing few, to the highly organized, formidable, and to very many, indispensable institution for the



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security of freedom, when guided by intelligence.

So much as relates to prior movements may safely be said above; but who met when they met how many yet await the propitious moment upon whom the mantle of John Brown has fallen to lead on the future army the certain, terribly certain, many who must follow up the work, forgetting not to gather up the blood of the hero and his slain, to the humble bondman there offered these may not, must not be told! Of the many meetings in various places, before the work commenced, I shall speak here of one, the minutes of which were dragged forth by marauding Virginians from the "archives" at Kennedy Farm; not forgetting, however, for their comfort, that the Convention was one of a series at [Chatham](#), some of which were of equally great, if not greater, importance.

The first visit of John Brown to Chatham was in April, 1858. Wherever he went around, although an entire stranger, he made a profound impression upon those who saw or became acquainted with him. Some supposed him to be a staid but modernized Quaker; others, a solid business man, from "somewhere," and without question a philanthropist. His long white beard, thoughtful and reverent brow and physiognomy, his sturdy, measured tread, as he circulated about with hands, as portrayed in the best lithograph, under the pendant coat-skirt of plain brown Tweed, with other garments to match, revived to those honored with his acquaintance and knowing his history the memory of a Puritan of the most exalted type.

After some important business, preparatory to the Convention, was finished, Mr. Brown went West, and returned with his men, who had been spending the winter in Iowa. The party, including the old gentleman, numbered twelve as brave, intelligent and earnest a company as could have been associated in one party. There were John H. Kagi, Aaron D. Stevens, Owen Brown, Richard Realf, George B. Gill, C.W. Moffitt, Wm. H. Leeman, John E. Cook, Stewart Taylor, Richard Richardson, Charles P. Tidd and J.S. Parsons all white except Richard Richardson, who was a slave in Missouri until helped to his liberty by Captain Brown. At a meeting held to prepare for the Convention and to examine the Constitution, Dr. M.R. Delany was Chairman, and John H. Kagi and myself were the Secretaries.

When the Convention assembled, the minutes of which were seized by the slaveholding "cravens" at the Farm, and which, as they have been identified, I shall append to this chapter, Mr. Brown unfolded his plans and his purpose. He regarded slavery as a state of perpetual war against the slave, and was fully impressed with the idea that himself and his friends had the right to take liberty, and to use arms in defending the same. Being a devout Bible Christian, he sustained his views and shaped his plans in conformity to the Bible; and when setting them forth, he quoted freely from the Scripture to sustain his position. He realized and enforced the doctrine of destroying the tree that bringeth forth corrupt fruit. Slavery was to him



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the corrupt tree, and the duty of every Christian man was to strike down slavery, and to commit its fragments to the flames. He was listened to with profound attention, his views were adopted, and the men whose names form, a part of the minutes of that in many respects extraordinary meeting, aided yet further in completing the work.

Minutes of the Convention [omitted]



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CHAPTER III

The Work Going Bravely on Those Commissions John H. Kagi A Little Cloud “Judas” Forbes Etc.

Many affect to despise the Chatham Convention, and the persons who there abetted the “treason.” Governor Wise would like nothing better than to engage the Canadas, with but ten men under his command. By that it is clear that the men acquainted with Brown’s plans would not be a “breakfast spell” for the chivalrous Virginian. In one respect, they were not formidable, and their Constitution would seem to be a harmless paper. Some of them were outlaws against Buchanan Democratic rule in the Territories; some were colored men who had felt severely the proscriptive spirit of American caste; others were escaped slaves, who had left dear kindred behind, writhing in the bloody grasp of the vile man-stealer, never, never to be released, until some practical, daring, determined step should be taken by their friends or their escaped brethren. What use could such men make of a Constitution? Destitute of political or social power, as respects the American States and people, what ghost of an echo could they invoke, by declamation or action, against the peculiar institution? In the light of slaveholding logic and its conclusions, they were but renegade whites and insolent blacks; but, aggregating their grievances, summing up their deep-seated hostility to a system to which every precept of morality, every tie of relationship, is a perpetual protest, the men in Convention, and the many who could not conveniently attend at the time, were not a handful to be despised. The braggadocio of the Virginia Governor might be eager to engage them with ten slaveholders, but John Brown was satisfied with them, and that is honor enough for a generation.

After the Convention adjourned, other business was despatched with utmost speed, and every one seemed in good spirits. The “boys” of the party of “Surveyors,” as they were called. Were the admired of those who knew them, and the subject of curious remark and inquiry by strangers. So many intellectual looking men are seldom seen in one party, and at the same time, such utter disregard of prevailing custom, or style, in dress and other conventionalities. Hour after hour they would sit in council, thoughtful, ready; some of them eloquent, all fearless, patient of the fatigues of business; anon, here and there over the “track,” and again in assembly; when the time for relaxation came, sallying forth arm in arm, unshaven, unshorn, and



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altogether indifferent about it; or one, it may be, impressed with the coming responsibility, sauntering alone, in earnest thought, apparently indifferent to all outward objects, but ready at a word or sign from the chief to undertake any task. During the sojourn at Chatham, the commissions to the men were discussed, &c. It has been a matter of inquiry, even among friends, why colored men were not commissioned by John Brown to act as captains, lieutenants, &c. I reply, with the knowledge that men in the movement now living will confirm it, that John Brown did offer the captaincy, and other military positions, to colored men equally with others, but a want of acquaintance with military tactics was the invariable excuse. Holding a civil position, as we termed it, I declined a captain's commission tendered by the brave old man, as better suited to those more experienced; and as I was willing to give my life to the cause, trusting to experience and fidelity to make me more worthy, my excuse was accepted. The same must be said of other colored men to be spoken of hereafter, and who proved their worthiness by their able defence of freedom at the Ferry.

John H. Kagi

Of the constellation of noble men who came to Chatham with Capt. Brown, no one was greater in the essentials of true nobility of character and executive skill than John H. Kagi, the confidential friend and adviser of the old man, and second in position in the expedition; no one was held in more deserved respect. Kagi was, singularly enough, a Virginian by birth, and had relatives in the region of the Ferry. He left home when a youth, an enemy to slavery, and brought as his gift offering to freedom three slaves, whom he piloted to the North. His innate hatred of the institution made him a willing exile from the State of his birth, and his great abilities, natural and acquired, entitled him to the position he held in Capt. Brown's confidence.

Kagi was indifferent to personal appearance; he often went about with slouched hat, one leg of his pantaloons properly adjusted, and the other partly tucked into his high boot-top; unbrushed, unshaven, and in utter disregard of "the latest style"; but to his companions and acquaintances, a verification of Burns' man in the clothes; for John Henry Kagi had improved his time; he discoursed elegantly and fluently, wrote ably, and could occupy the platform with greater ability than many a man known to the American people as famous in these respects. John Brown appreciated him, and to his men, his estimate of John Brown was a familiar theme.

Kagi's bravery, his devotion to the cause, his deference to the commands of his leader, were most nobly illustrated in his conduct at Harpers Ferry.

Scarcely had the Convention and other meetings and business at Chatham been concluded, and most necessary work been done, both at St. Catherine's and at this point, when the startling



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intelligence that the plans were exposed came to hand, and that "Judas" Forbes, after having disclosed some of our important arrangements in the Middle States, was on his way to Washington on a similar errand. This news caused an entire change in the programme for a time. The old gentleman went one way, the young men another, but ultimately to meet in Kansas, in part, where the summer was spent. In the winter of that year, Capt. Brown, went into Missouri, and released a company of slaves, whom they eventually escorted to Canada, where they are now living and taking care of themselves. An incident of that slave rescue may serve to illustrate more fully the spirit pervading the old man and his "boys." After leaving Missouri with the fugitives, and while yet pursuing the perilous hegira, birth was given to a male child by one of the slave mothers. Dr. Doy, of Kansas, aided in the accouchment, and walked five miles afterwards to get new milk for the boy, while the old Captain named him John Brown, after himself, which name he now bears. At that time, a reward from the United States government was upon the head of Brown; United States Marshals were whisking about, pretendedly eager to arrest them; the weather was very cold, and dangers were upon every hand; but not one jot of comfort or attention for the tender babe and its invalid mother was abated. No thought for their valuable selves, but only how best might the poor and despised charge in their keeping be prudently but really nursed and guarded in their trial journey for liberty. Noble leader of a noble company of men! Yes, reader, whether at Harpers Ferry, or paving the way thither with such deeds as the one here told, and well known West, the old hero and that company were philanthropists to the core. I do not know if the wicked scheme of Forbes may not be excused a little, solely because it afforded the occasion for the great enterprise, growing out of this last visit to Kansas; but Forbes himself must nevertheless be held guilty for its inception, as only ambition to usurp power, and his great love of self (peculiar to him, of all connected with Capt. Brown) made him dissatisfied, and determined to add falsehood to his other sins against John Brown.



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CHAPTER IV

The Way Clear Active Preparations Kennedy Farm Emigrants for the South Correspondence The Agent

Throughout the summer of 1859, when everything wore the appearance of perfect quiet, when suspicions were all lulled, when those not fully initiated thought the whole scheme was abandoned, arrangements were in active preparation for the work. Mr. Brown, Kagi, and a part of the Harpers Ferry company, who had previously spent some time in Ohio, went into Pennsylvania in the month of June, and up to the early part of July, having made necessary observations, they penetrated the Keystone yet further, and laid plans to receive freight and men as they should arrive. Under the assumed name of Smith, Captain Brown pushed his explorations further south, and selected: Kennedy Farm Kennedy Farm, in every respect an excellent location for business as "head-quarters," was rented at a cheap rate, and men and freight were sent thither. Capt. Brown returned to —, and sent freight, while Kagi was stationed at —, to correspond with persons elsewhere, and to receive and dispatch freight as it came. Owen, Watson, and Oliver Brown took their position at head-quarters, to receive whatever was sent. These completed the arrangements. The Captain labored and travelled night and day, sometimes on old Dolly, his brown mule, and sometimes in the wagon. He would start directly after night, and travel the fifty miles between the Farm and Chambersburg by daylight next morning; and he otherwise kept open communication between head-quarters and the latter place, in order that matters might be arranged in due season. John H. Kagi wrote for freight, and the following letter, before published in relation to it, was written by a co-laborer:

WEST ANDOVER, Ohio, July 30th, 1859 JOHN HENRIE, Esq.:
DEAR SIR, — I yesterday received yours of the 25th inst., together with letter of instructions from our mutual friend Isaac, enclosing draft for \$100. Have written you as many as three letters, I think, before this, and have received all you have sent, probably.
The heavy freight of fifteen boxes I sent off some days ago. The household stuff, consisting of six boxes and one chest, I have put in good shape, and shall, I think, be able to get them on their way on Monday next, and shall myself be on my way northward



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within a day or two after.

Enclosed please find list of contents of boxes, which it may be well to preserve.

The freight having arrived in good condition, John Henrie replies.

As the Kennedy Farm is a part of history, a slight allusion to its location may not be out of place, although it has been so frequently spoken of as to be almost universally known. The Farm is located in Washington County, Maryland, in a mountainous region, on the road from Chambersburg; it is in a comparatively non-slaveholding population, four miles from Harpers Ferry. Yet, among the few traders in the souls of men located around, several circumstances peculiar to the institution happened while the party sojourned there, which serve to show up its hideous character. During three weeks of my residence at the Farm, no less than four deaths took place among the slaves; one, Jerry, living three miles away, hung himself in the late Dr. Kennedy's orchard, because he was to be sold South, his master having become insolvent. The other three cases were homicides; they were punished so that death ensued immediately, or in a short time. It was the knowledge of these atrocities, and the melancholy suicide named, that caused Oliver Brown, when writing to his young wife, to refer directly to the deplorable aspect of slavery in that neighborhood. Once fairly established, and freight having arrived safely, the published correspondence becomes significant to an actor in the scene. Emigrants began to drop down, from this quarter and the other. Smith writes to Kagi:

WEST ANDOVER, Ashtabula Co., Wednesday, 1859.

FRIEND HENRIE, — Yours of the 14th inst. I received last night glad to learn that the "Wire" has arrived in good condition, and that our "R" friend was pleased with a view of those "pre-eventful shadows."

Shall write Leary at once, also our friends at the North and East. Am highly pleased with the prospect I have of doing something to the purpose now, right away, here and in contiguous sections, in the way of getting stock taken. I am devoting my whole time to our work. Write often, and keep me posted up close. (Here follow some phonographic characters, which may read: "I have learned phonography, but not enough to correspond to any advantage, Can probably read anything you may write, if written in corresponding style.")

Faithfully yours, _____ JOHN SMITH.

Please say to father to address (phonographic characters which might read "John Luther") when he writes me. I wish you to see what I have written him.

J.S.

The Agent

In the month of August, 1859, John Brown's Agent spent some time



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in Canada. He visited Chatham, Buxton, and other places, and formed Liberty Leagues, and arranged matters so that operations could be carried on with excellent success, through the efficiency of Messers. C., S., B., and L., the Chairman, Corresponding Secretary, Secretary O., and Treasurer of the Society. He then proceeded to Detroit, where another Society is established. So well satisfied was Captain Brown with the work done, that he wrote in different directions: "The fields whiten unto harvest;" and again, "Your friends at head-quarters want you at their elbow." This was an invitation by the good old man to be as brave and efficient a laborer in the cause of human rights as the friend of freedom have ever known; and to one who must bear the beacon-light of liberty before the self-emancipated bondsmen of the South.



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CHAPTER V

More Correspondence My Journey to the Ferry A Glance at the Family

Preparations had so far progressed, up to the time when incidents mentioned in the preceding chapter had taken place, that Kagi wrote to Chatham and other places, urging parties favorable to come on without loss of time. In reply to the letter written to Chatham, soliciting volunteers, the appended, from an office-bearer, referred to my own journey to the South:

DEAR SIR, — Yours came to hand last night. One hand (Anderson) left here last night, and will be found an efficient hand. Richardson is anxious to be at work as a missionary to bring sinners to repentance. He will start in a few days. Another will follow immediately after, if not with him. More laborers may be looked for shortly. "Slow but sure."

Alexander has received yours, so you will see all communications have come to hand, so far. Alexander is not coming up to the work as he agreed. I fear he will be found unreliable in the end. Dull times affect missionary matters here more than anything else; however, a few active laborers may be looked for as certain.

I would like to hear of your congregation numbering more than "15 and 2" to commence a good revival; still, our few will be adding strength to the good work.

Yours, &C., ————— J.M.B.

To J.B. Jr.

As set forth in this letter, I left Canada September 13th, and reached —, in Pennsylvania, three days after. On my arrival, I was surprised to learn that the freight was all moved to headquarters, but a few boxes, the arrival of which, the evening of the same day, called forth from Kagi the following brief note: —

CHAMBERSBURG, —, —,

J. SMITH & SONS, — A quantity of freight has to-day arrived for you in care of Oaks and Kaufman. The amount is somewhere between 2,600 and 3,000 lbs. Charges in full, \$25.98. The character is, according to manifest, 33 bundles and 4 boxes.

I yesterday received a letter from John Smith, containing nothing of any particular importance, however, so I will keep it until you come up.



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Respectfully, _____ J. HENRIE.

CHAMBERSBURG, Pa., Sept 16, 1859,
11 o'clock, A.M.

J. SMITH AND SONS, - I have just time to say that Mr. Anderson arrived in the train five minutes ago.

Respectfully, _____ J. HENRIE.

P.S. I have not had time to talk with him yet.

J.H.

A little while prior to this, * * went down to —, to accompany Shields Green, whereupon a meeting of Capt. Brown, Kagi, and other distinguished persons, convened for consultation.

On the 20th, four days after I reached this outpost, Capt. Brown, Watson Brown, Kagi, myself, and several friends, held another meeting, after which, on the 24th, I left Chambersburg for Kennedy Farm. I walked alone as far as Middletown, a town on the line between Maryland and Pennsylvania, and it being dark, I found Captain Brown awaiting with his wagon. We set out directly, and drove until nearly day-break the next morning, when we reached the Farm in safety. As a very necessary precaution against surprise, all the colored men at the Ferry who went from the North, made the journey from the Pennsylvania line in the night. I found all the men concerned in the undertaking on hand when I arrived, excepting Copeland, Leary, and Merriam; and when all had collected, a more earnest, fearless, determined company of men it would be difficult to get together. There, as at Chatham, I saw the same evidence of strong and commanding intellect, high-toned morality, and inflexibility of purpose in the men, and a profound and holy reverence for God, united to the most comprehensive, practical, systematic philanthropy, and undoubted bravery in the patriarch leader, brought out to view in lofty grandeur by the associations and surrounding of the place and the occasion. There was no milk and water sentimentality no offensive contempt for the negro, while working in his cause; the pulsations of each and every heart beat in harmony for the suffering and pleading slave. I thank God that I have been permitted to realize to its fullest extent, the moral, mental, physical, social harmony of an Anti-Slavery family, carrying out to the letter the principles of its antetype, the Anti-Slavery cause. In John Brown's house, and in John Brown's presence, men from widely different parts of the continent met and united into one company, wherein no hateful prejudice dared intrude its ugly self no ghost of a distinction found space to enter.



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CHAPTER VI

Life at Kennedy Farm

To a passer-by, the house and its surroundings presented but indifferent attractions. Any log tenement of equal dimensions would be as likely to arrest a stray glance. Rough, unsightly, and aged, and to penetrate the mysteries of the two rooms it contained kitchen, parlor, dining-room below, and the spacious chamber, attic, store-room, prison, drilling room, comprised in the loft above who could tell how we lived at Kennedy Farm.

Every morning, when the noble old man was at home, he called the family around, read from his Bible, and offered to God most fervent and touching supplications for all flesh; and especially pathetic were his petitions in behalf of the oppressed. I never heard John Brown pray, that he did not make strong appeals to God for the deliverance of the slave. This duty over, the men went to the loft, there to remain all the day long; few only could be seen about, as the neighbors were watchful and suspicious. It was also important to talk but little amongst ourselves, as visitors to the house might be curious. Besides the daughter and the daughter-in-law, who superintended the work, some or other of the men was regularly detailed to assist in the cooking, washing, and other domestic work. After the ladies left, we did all the work, no one being exempt, because of age or official grade in the organization.

The principal employment of the prisoners, as we severally were when compelled to stay in the loft, was to study Forbes' Manual, and to go through a quiet, though rigid drill, under the training of Capt. Stevens, at some times. At others, we applied a preparation for bronzing our gun barrels discussed subjects of reform related our personal history; but when our resources became pretty well exhausted, the ennui from confinement, imposed silence, etc., would make the men almost desperate. At such times, neither slavery nor slaveholders were discussed mincingly. We were, while the ladies remained, often relieved of the dullness growing out of restraint by their kindness. As we could not circulate freely, they would bring in wild fruit and flowers from the woods and fields. We were well supplied with grapes, paw-paws, chestnuts, and other small fruit, besides bouquets of fall flowers, through their thoughtful consideration.

During the last several weeks I remained at the encampment, we were under the restraint I write of through the day; but at night, we sallied out for a ramble, or to breathe the fresh air and enjoy the beautiful solitude of the mountain scenery around, by moonlight. Captain Brown loved the fullest expression of opinion from his men, and not seldom, when a subject was being



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severely scrutinized by Kagi, Oliver, or others of the party, the old gentleman would be one of the most interested and earnest hearers. Frequently his views were severely criticised, when no one would be in better spirits than himself. He often remarked that it was gratifying to see young men grapple with moral and other important questions, and express themselves independently; it was evidence of self-sustaining power.



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CHAPTER VII

Captain Brown and J. H. Kagi Go to Philadelphia F. J. Merriam, J. Copeland and S. Leary Arrive Matters Precipitated by Indiscretion

Being obliged, from the space I propose to give to this narrative, to omit many incidents of my sojourn at the Farm, which from association are among my most pleasant recollections, the events now to be recorded are to me invested with the most intense interest. About ten days before the capture of the Ferry, Captain John Brown and Kagi went to Philadelphia, on business of great importance. How important, men there and elsewhere now know. How affected by, and affecting the main features of the enterprise, we at the Farm knew full well after their return, as the old Captain, in the fullness of his overflowing, saddened heart, detailed point after point of interest. God bless the old veteran, who could and did chase a thousand in life, and defied more than ten thousand by the moral sublimity of his death!

On their way home. At Chambersburg, they met young F.J. Merriam of Boston. Several days were spent at C., when Merriam left for Baltimore, to purchase some necessary articles for the undertaking. John Copeland and Sherrard Lewis Leary reached Chambersburg on the 12th of October, and on Saturday, the 15th, at daylight, they arrived, in company with Kagi and Watson Brown. In the evening of the same day, F.J. Merriam came to the Farm. Saturday, the 15th, was a busy day for all hands. The chief and very man worked busily, packing up, and getting ready to remove the means of defence to the school-house, and for further security, as the people living around were in a state of excitement, from having seen a number of men about the premises a few days previously. Not being fully satisfied as to the real business of "J. Smith & Sons" after that, and learning that several thousand stand of arms were to be removed by the Government from the Armory to some other point, threats to search the premises were made against the encampment. A tried friend having given information of the state of public feeling without, and of the intended process, Captain Brown and party concluded to strike a blow immediately, and not, as at first intended, to await certain reinforcements from the North and East, which would have been in Maryland within one and three weeks. Could other parties, waiting for the word, have reached head-quarters in time for the outbreak when it took place, the taking of the armory, engine house, and rifle factory, would have been quite different. But the men at the Farm had been so closely confined, that they went out about the house and farm



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in the daytime during that week, and so indiscreetly exposed their numbers to the prying neighbors, who thereupon took steps to have a search instituted in the early part of the coming week. Capt. Brown was not seconded in another quarter as he expected at the time of the action, but could the fears of the neighbors have been allayed for a few days, the disappointment in the former respect would not have had much weight.

The indiscretion alluded to has been greatly lamented by all of us, as Maryland, Virginia, and other slave States, had, as they now have, a direct interest in the successful issue of the first step. Few ultimately successful movements were predicated on the issue of the first bold stroke, and so it is with the institution of slavery. It will yet come down by the run, but it will not be because huzzas of victory were shouted over the first attempt, any more than at Bunker Hill or Hastings.



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CHAPTER VIII

Council Meeting Orders Given The Charge Etc.

On Sunday morning, October 16th, Captain Brown arose earlier than usual, and called his men down to worship. He read a chapter from the Bible, applicable to the condition of the slaves, and our duty as their brethren, and then offered up a fervent prayer to God to assist in the liberation of the bondmen in that slaveholding land. The services were impressive beyond expression. Every man there assembled seemed to respond from the depths of his soul, and throughout the entire day, a deep solemnity pervaded the place. The old man's usually weighty words were invested with more than ordinary importance,. And the countenance of every man reflected the momentous thought that absorbed his attention within.

After breakfast had been despatched, and the roll called by the Captain, a sentinel was posted outside the door, to warn by signal if any one should approach, and we listened to preparatory remarks to a council meeting to be held that day. At 10 o'clock, the council was assembled. I was appointed to the Chair, when matters of importance were considered at length. After the council adjourned, the Constitution was read for the benefit of the few who had not before heard it, and the necessary oaths taken. Men who were to hold military positions in the organization, and who had not received commissions before then, had their commissions filled out by J.H. Kagi, and gave the required obligations.

In the afternoon, the eleven orders presented in the next chapter were given by the Captain, and were afterwards carried out in every particular by the officers and men.

In the evening, before the setting out to the Ferry, he gave his final charge, in which he said, among other things: - "And now, gentlemen, let me impress this one thing upon your minds. You all know how dear life is to you, and how dear your life is to your friends. And in remembering that, consider that the lives of others are as dear to them as yours are to you. Do not, therefore, take the life of anyone, if you can possibly avoid it; but if it is necessary to take life in order to save your own, then make sure work of it."



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CHAPTER IX

The Eleven Orders Given by Captain Brown to His Men before Setting out for the Ferry

The orders given by Captain Brown, before departing from the Farm for the Ferry, were: —

1. Captain Owen Brown, F.J. Merriam, and Barclay Coppic to remain at the old house as sentinels, to guard the arms and effects till morning, when they would be joined by some of the men from the Ferry with teams to move all arms and other things to the old school-house before referred to, located about three-quarters of a mile from Harpers Ferry a place selected a day or two beforehand by the Captain.
2. All hands to make as little noise as possible going to the Ferry, so as not to attract attention till we could get to the bridge; and to keep all arms secreted, so as not to be detected if met by any one.
3. The men were to walk in couples, at some distance apart; and should any one overtake us, stop him and detain him until the rest of our comrades were out of the road. The same course to be pursued if we were met by any one.
4. That Captains Charles P. Tidd and John E. Cook walk ahead of the wagon in which Captain Brown rode to the Ferry, to tear down the telegraph wires on the Maryland side along the railroad; and to do the same on the Virginia side, after the town should be captured.
5. Captains John H. Kagi and A.D. Stevens were to take the watchman at the Ferry bridge prisoner when the party got there, and to detain him here until the engine house upon the Government grounds should be taken.
6. Captain Watson Brown and Stewart Taylor were to take positions at the Potomac bridge and hold it till morning. They were to stand on opposite sides, a rod apart, and if any one entered the bridge, they were to let him get in between them. In that case, pikes were to be used, not Sharp's rifles, unless they offered much resistance, and refused to surrender.
7. Captains Oliver Brown and William Thompson were to execute a similar order at Shenandoah bridge, until morning.
8. Lieutenant Jeremiah Anderson and Adolphus Thompson were to occupy the engine house at first, with the prisoner watchman from the bridge and the watchman belonging to the engine-house yard, until the one on the opposite side of the street and the rifle factory were taken, after which they would be reinforced, to hold that place with the prisoners.



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9. Lieutenant Albert Hazlett and Private Edwin Coppic were to hold the Armory opposite the engine house after it had been taken, through the night and until morning, when arrangements would be different.

10. That John H. Kagi, Adjutant General, and John A. Copeland, (colored,) take positions at the rifle factory through the night, and hold it until further orders.

11. That Colonel A.D. Stevens (the same Captain Stevens who held military position next to Captain Brown) proceed to the country with his men, and after taking certain parties prisoners bring them to the Ferry. In the case of Colonel Lewis Washington, who had arms in his hands, he must, before being secured as a prisoner, deliver them into the hands of Osborne P. Anderson. Anderson being a colored man, and colored men being only things in the South, it is proper that the South be taught a lesson upon this point.

John H. Kagi being Adjutant General, was near adviser of Captain John Brown, and second in position; and had the old gentleman been slain at the Ferry, and Kagi been spared, the command would have devolved upon the latter. But Col. Stevens holding the active military position in the organization second to Captain Brown, when order eleven was given him, had the privilege of choosing his own men to execute it. The selection was made after the capture of the Ferry, and then my duty to receive Colonel Washington's famous arms was assigned me by Captain Brown. The men selected by Col. Stevens to act under his orders during the night were Charles P. Tidd, Osborne P. Anderson, Shields Green, John E. Cook, and Sherrard Lewis Leary. We were to take prisoners, and any slaves who would come, and bring them to the Ferry.

A few days before, Capt. Cook had travelled along the Charlestown turnpike, and collected statistics of the population of slaves and the masters' names. Among the masters whose acquaintance Cook had made, Colonel Washington had received him politely, and had shown him a sword formerly owned by Frederic the Great of Prussia, and presented by him to Genl. Washington, and a pair of horse pistols, formerly owned by General Lafayette, and bequeathed by the old General to Lewis Washington. These were the arms specially referred to in the charge.

At eight o'clock on Sunday evening, Captain Brown said: "Men, get on your arms; we will proceed to the Ferry." His horse and wagon were brought out before the door, and some pikes, a sledge-hammer and crowbar were placed in it. The Captain then put on his old Kansas cap, and said: "Come, boys!" when we marched out of the camp behind him, into the lane leading down the hill to the main road. As we formed the procession line, Owen Brown, Barclay Coppic, and Francis J. Merriam, sentinels left behind to protect the place as before stated, came forward and took leave of us; after which, agreeably to previous orders, and as they were better acquainted with the topography of the Ferry,



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and to effect the tearing down of the telegraph wires, C.P. Tidd and John E. Cook led the procession. While going to the Ferry, the company marched along as solemnly as a funeral procession, till we got to the bridge. When we entered, we halted, and carried out an order to fasten our cartridge boxes outside our clothes, when every thing was ready for taking the town.



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CHAPTER X

The Capture of Harpers Ferry — Col. A.D. Stevens and Party Sally out to the Plantations What We Saw, Heard, Did, Etc.

As John H. Kagi and A.D. Stevens entered the bridge, as ordered in the fifth charge, the watchman, being at the other end, came toward them with a lantern in his hand. When up to them, they told him he was their prisoner, and detained him a few minutes, when he asked them to spare his life. They replied, they did not intend to harm him; the object was to free the slaves, and he would have to submit to them for a time, in order that the purpose might be carried out.

Captain Brown now entered the bridge in his wagon, followed by the rest of us, until we reached that part where Kagi and Stevens held their prisoner, when he ordered Watson Brown and Stewart Taylor to take the positions assigned them in order sixth, and the rest of us to proceed to the engine house. We started for the engine house, taking the prisoner along with us. When we neared the gates of the engine-house yard, we found them locked, and the watchman on the inside. He was told to open the gates, but refused, and commenced to cry. The men were then ordered by Captain Brown to open the gates forcibly, which was done, and the watchman taken prisoner. The two prisoners were left in the custody of Jerry Anderson and Adolphus Thompson, and A.D. Stevens arranged the men to take possession of the Armory and rifle factory. About this time, there was apparently much excitement. People were passing back and forth in the town, and before we could do much, we had to take several prisoners. After the prisoners were secured, we passed to the opposite side of the street and took the Armory, and Albert Hazlett and Edwin Coppic were ordered to hold it for the time being.

The capture of the rifle factory was the next work to be done. When we went there, we told the watchman who was outside of the building our business, and asked him to go along with us, as we had come to take possession of the town, and make use of the Armory in carrying out our object. He obeyed the command without hesitation. John H. Kagi and John Copeland were replaced in the Armory, and the prisoners taken to the engine house. Following the capture of the Armory, Oliver Brown and William Thompson were ordered to take possession of the bridge leading out of town, across the Shenandoah river, which they immediately did. These places were all taken, and the prisoners secured, without the snap of a gun, or any violence whatever.

The town being taken, Brown, Stevens, and the men who had no post in charge, returned to the engine house, where council was held, after which Captain Stevens, Tidd, Cook, Shields Green, Leary and myself went to the country. On the road we met some



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colored men, to whom we made known our purpose, when they immediately agreed to join us. They said they had been waiting for an opportunity of the kind. Stevens then asked the, to go round among the colored people and circulate the news, when each started off in a different direction. The result was that many colored men gathered to the scene of action. the first prisoner taken by us was Colonel Lewis Washington. When we neared his house, Capt. Stevens placed Leary and Shields Green to guard the approaches to the house, the one at the side, the other in front. We then knocked, but no one answering, although females were looking from the upper windows, we entered the building and commenced a search for the proprietor. Col. Washington opened his room door, and begged us not to kill him. Capt. Stevens replied, "You are our prisoner," when he stood as if speechless or petrified. Stevens further told him to get ready to go to the Ferry; that he had come to abolish slavery, not to take life but in self-defence, but that he must go along. The Colonel replied: "You can have my slaves, if you will let me remain." "No," said the Captain, "You must go along too; so get ready." After saying this, Stevens left the house for a time, and with Green, Leary and Tidd, proceeded to the "Quarters," giving the prisoner in charge of Cook and myself. The male slaves were gathered together in a short time, then horses were tackled to the Colonel's two-horse carriage and four-horse wagon, and both vehicles brought to the front of the house.

During this time, Washington was walking the floor, apparently much excited. When the Captain came in, he went to the sideboard, took out his whiskey, and offered us something to drink, but he was refused. His fire-arms were next demanded, when he brought forth one double-barrelled gun, one small rifle, two horse-pistols and a sword. Nothing else was asked of him. the Colonel cried heartily when he found he must submit, and appeared taken aback when, on delivering up the famous sword formerly presented by Frederic to his illustrious kinsman, George Washington, Capt. Stevens told me to step forward and take it. Washington was secured and placed in his wagon, the women of the family making great outcries when the party drove forward to Mr. Allstadt's house. After making known our business to him, he went into as great a fever of excitement as Washington had done. We could have his slaves, also, if we would only leave him. This, of course, was contrary to our plants an instructions. He hesitated, putter ed around, fumbled and meditated for along time. At last, seeing no alternative, he got ready, when the slaves were gathered up from about the quarters by their own consent, and all placed in Washington's big wagon and returned to the Ferry.

One colored lady, at whose house we stopped, a little way from the town, had a good time over the message we took her. This liberating the slaves was the very thing she had hoped for, prayed form and dreamed about, time and again; and her heart was full of rejoicing over the fulfillment of a prophecy which had



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been her faith for long years. While we were absent from the Ferry, the train of cars for Baltimore arrived, and was detained. A colored man named Haywood, employed upon it, went from the Wager House up to the entrance to the bridge, where the train stood, to assist with the baggage. He was ordered to stop by the sentinels stationed at the bridge, which he refused to do, but turned to go in the opposite direction, when he was fired upon, and received a mortal wound. Had he stood when ordered, he would not have been harmed. No one knew at the time whether he was white or colored but his movements were such as to justify the sentinels in shooting him, as he would not stop when commanded. The first firing happened at that time, and the only firing, until after daylight on Monday morning.



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CHAPTER XI

**The Events of Monday, Oct. 17
Arming the Slaves
Terror in the Slaveholding Camp
Important Losses to Our Party
The Fate of Kagi
Prisoners Accumulate
Workmen at the Kennedy Farm Etc.**

Monday, the 17th of October, was a time of stirring and exciting events. In consequence of the movements of the night before, we were prepared for commotion and tumult, but certainly not for more than we beheld around us. Gray dawn and yet brighter daylight revealed great confusion, and as the sun arose, the panic spread like wild-fire. Men, women and children could be seen leaving their homes in every direction; some seeking refuge among residents, and in quarters further away, others climbing up the hill-sides, and hurrying off in various directions, evidently impelled by a sudden fear, which was plainly visible in their countenances or in their movements.

Capt. Brown was all activity, though I could not help thinking that at times he appeared somewhat puzzled. He ordered Sherrard Lewis Leary, and four slaves, and a free man belonging in the neighborhood, to join John Henry Kagi and John Copeland at the rifle factory, which they immediately did. Kagi, and all except Copeland, were subsequently killed, but not before having communicated with Capt. Brown, as will be set forth further along.

As fast as the workmen came to the building, or persons appeared in the street near the engine-house, they were taken prisoners, and directly after sunrise, the detained train was permitted to start for the eastward. After the departure of the train, quietness prevailed for a short time; a number of prisoners were already in the engine house, and of the many colored men living in the neighborhood, who had assembled in the town, a number were armed for the work.

Capt. Brown ordered Capts. Charles P. Tidd, Wm. H. Leeman, John E. Cook, and some fourteen slaves, to take Washington's four-horse wagon, and to join the company under Capt. Owen Brown, consisting of F.J. Merriam and Barclay Coppic, who had been left at the Farm the night previous, to guard the place and the arms. The company, thus reinforced, proceeded, under Owen Brown, to move the arms and goods from the Farm down to the school-house in the mountains, three-fourths of a mile from the Ferry.

Capt. Brown next ordered me to take the pikes out of the wagon



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in which he rode to the Ferry, and to place them in the hands of the colored men who had come with us from the plantations. And others who had come forward without having had communication with any of our party. It was out of the circumstances connected with the fulfillment of this order, that the false charge against "Anderson" as leader, or "ringleader," of the negroes, grew.

The spectators, about this time, became apparently wild with fright and excitement. The number of prisoners was magnified to hundreds, and the judgment-day could not have presented more terrors, in its awful and certain prospective punishment to the justly condemned for the wicked deeds of a life-time, the chief of which would no doubt be slaveholding, than did Capt. Brown's operations.

The prisoners were also terror-stricken. Some wanted to go home to see their families, as if for the last time. The privilege was granted them, under escort, and they were brought back again. Edwin Coppic, one of the sentinels at the Armory gate, was fired at by one of the citizens, but the ball did not reach him. When one of the insurgents close by put up his rifle, and made the enemy bite the dust.

Among the arms taken from Col. Washington was one double-barrel gun. This weapon was loaded by Leeman with buckshot, and placed in the hands of an elderly slave man, early in the morning. After the cowardly charge upon Coppic, this old man was ordered by Capt. Stevens to arrest the citizen. The old man ordered him to halt, which he refused to do, when instantly the terrible load was discharged into him, and he fell, and expired without a struggle.

After these incidents, time passed away till the arrival of the United States troops, without any further attack upon us. The cowardly Virginians submitted like sheep, without resistance, from that time until the marines came down. Meanwhile, Capt. Brown, who was considering a proposition for release from his prisoners, passed back and forth from the Armory to the bridge, speaking words of comfort and encouragement to his men. "Hold on a little longer, boys," said he, "until I get matters arranged with the prisoners." This tardiness on the part of our brave leader was sensibly felt to be an omen of evil by some of us, and was eventually the cause of our defeat. It was no part of the original plan to hold on to the Ferry, or to parley with the prisoners; but by so doing, time was afforded to carry the news of its capture to several points, and forces were thrown into the place, which surrounded us.

At eleven o'clock, Capt. Brown despatched William Thompson from the Ferry up to Kennedy Farm, with the news that we had peaceful possession of the town, and with directions to the men to continue on moving the things. He went; but before he could get back, troops had begun to pour in, and the general encounter commenced.



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CHAPTER XII

**Reception to the Troops
They retreat to the Bridge
A Prisoner
Death of Dangerfield Newby
William Thompson
The Mountains Alive
Flag of Truce
The Engine House Taken**

It was about twelve o'clock in the day when we were first attacked by the troops. Prior to that, Capt. Brown, in anticipation of further trouble, had girded to his side the famous sword taken from Col. Lewis Washington the night before, and with that memorable weapon, he commanded his men against General Washington's own State.

When the Captain received the news that the troops had entered the bridge from the Maryland side, he, with some of his men, went into the street, and sent a message to the Arsenal for us to come forth also. We hastened to the street as ordered, when he said, — "The troops are on the bridge, coming into town; we will give them a warm reception." He then walked around amongst us, giving us words of encouragement, in this wise: — "Men! Be cool! Don't waste your powder and shot! Take aim and make every shot count!" "The troops will look for us to retreat on their first appearance; be careful to shoot first." Our men were well supplied with firearms, but Capt. Brown had no rifle at that time; his only weapon was the sword before mentioned.

The troops soon came out of the bridge, and up the street facing us, we occupying an irregular position. When they got within sixty or seventy yards, Capt. Brown said, "Let go upon them!" which we did, when several of them fell. Again and again the dose was repeated.

There was now consternation among the troops. From marching in solid martial columns, they became scattered. Some hastened to seize upon and bear up the wounded and dying, — several lay dead upon the ground. They seemed not to realize, at first, that we would fire upon them, but evidently expected we would be driven out by them without firing. Capt. Brown seemed fully to understand the matter, and hence, very properly and in our defence, undertook to forestall their movements. The consequence of their unexpected reception was, after leaving several of their dead in the field, they beat a confused retreat into the bridge, and there stayed under cover until reinforcements came



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to the Ferry.

On the retreat of the troops, we were ordered back to our former post. While going, Dangerfield Newby, one of our colored men, was shot through the head by a person who took aim at him from a brick store window, on the opposite side of the street, and who was there for the purpose of firing upon us. Newby was a brave fellow. He was one of my comrades at the Arsenal. He fell at my side, and his death was promptly avenged by Shields Green, the Zouave of the band, who afterwards met his fate calmly on the gallows, with John Copeland. Newby was shot twice; at the first fire, he fell on his side and returned it; as he lay, a second shot was fired, and the ball entered his head. Green raised his rifle in an instant, and brought down the cowardly murderer, before the latter could get his gun back through the sash.

There was comparative quiet for a time, except that the citizens seemed to be wild with terror. Men, women and children forsook the place in great haste, climbing up hill-sides and scaling the mountains. The latter seemed to be alive with white fugitives, fleeing from their doomed city. During this time, Wm. Thompson, who was returning from his errand to the Kennedy Farm, was surrounded on the bridge by the railroad men, who next came up, taken a prisoner to the Wager House, tied hand and foot, and, at a late hour of the afternoon, cruelly murdered by being riddled with balls, and thrown headlong on the rocks.

Late in the morning, some of his prisoners told Capt. Brown that they would like to have breakfast, when he sent word forthwith to the Wager House to that effect, and they were supplied. He did not order breakfast for himself and men, as was currently but falsely stated at the time, as he suspected foul play; on the contrary, when solicited to have breakfast provided for him, he refused.

Between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, armed men could be seen coming from every direction; soldiers were marching and counter-marching; and on the mountains, a host of blood-thirsty ruffians swarmed, waiting for their opportunity to pounce upon the little band. The fighting commenced in earnest after the arrival of fresh troops. Volley upon volley was discharged, and the echoes from the hills, the shrieks of the townspeople, and the groans of their wounded and dying, all of which filled the air, were truly frightful. The Virginians may well conceal their losses, and Southern chivalry may hide its brazen head, for their boasted bravery as well tested that day, and in no way to their advantaged. It is remarkable, that except that one fool-hardy colored man was reported buried, no other funeral is mentioned, although the Mayor and other citizens are known to have fallen. Had they reported the true number, their disgrace would have been more apparent; so they wisely (?) concluded to be silent.

The fight at Harpers Ferry also disproved the current idea that slaveholders will lay down their lives for their property. Col.



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Washington, the representative of the old hero, stood "blubbering" like a great calf at supposed danger; while the laboring white classes and non-slaveholders, with the marines, (mostly gentlemen from "furrin" parts,) were the men who faced the bullets of John Brown and his men. Hardly the skin of a slaveholder could be scratched in open fight; the cowards kept out of the way until danger was passed, sending the poor whites into the pitfalls while they were reserved for the bragging, and to do the safe but cowardly judicial murdering afterwards.

As strangers poured in, the enemy took positions round about, so as to prevent any escape, within shooting distance of the engine house and Arsenal. Capt. Brown, seeing their maneuvers, said: "We will hold on to out three positions, if they are unwilling to come to terms, and die like men."

All this time, the fight was progressing; no powder and ball were wasted. We shot from under cover, and took deadly aim. For an hour before the flag of truce was sent out, the firing was uninterrupted, and one and another of the enemy were constantly dropping to the earth.

One of the Captain's plans was to keep up communication between his three points. In carrying out this idea, Jerry Anderson went to the rifle factory, to see Kagi and his men. Kagi, fearing that we would be overpowered by numbers if the Captain delay ed leaving, sent word by Anderson to advise him to leave the town at once. This word Anderson communicated to the Captain, and told us also at the Arsenal. The message sent back to Kagi was, to hold out for a few minutes longer, when we would all evacuate the place. Those few minutes proved disastrous, for then it was that the troops before spoken of came pouring in, increased by the crowds of men from the surrounding country. After an hour's fighting, and when the enemy were blocking up the avenues of escape, Capt. Brown sent out his son Watson with a flag of truce, but no respect was paid to it; he was fired upon, and wounded severely. He returned to the engine house, and fought bravely after that for fully and hour and a half, when he received a mortal wound, which he struggled under until the next day. The contemptible and savage manner in which the flag of truce had been received, induced severe measures in our defence, in the hour and a half before the next one was sent out. The effect of our work was, that the troops ceased to fire at the buildings, as we clearly had the advantage of position.

Capt. A.D. Stevens was next sent out with a flag, with what success I will presently show. Meantime, Jeremiah Anderson, who had brought the message from Kagi previously, was sent by Capt. Brown with another message to John Henrie, but before he got far on the street, he was fired upon and wounded. He returned at once to the engine house, where he survived but a short time. The ball, it was found, had entered the right side in such a manner that death necessarily ensued speedily.

Capt. Stevens was fired upon several times while carrying his flag of truce, and received severe wounds, and I was informed



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that day, not being myself in a position to see him after. He was captured, and taken to the Wager House, where he was kept until the close of the struggle in the evening, when he was placed with the rest of our party who had been captured. After the capture of Stevens, desperate fighting was done by both sides. The marines forced their way inside the engine-house yard, and commanded Capt. Brown to surrender, which he refused to do, but said in reply, that he was willing to fight them if they would allow him first to withdraw his men to the second lock on the Maryland side. As might be expected, the cowardly hordes refused to entertain such a proposition, but continued their assault, to cut off communication between our several parties. The men at the Kennedy Farm having received such a favorable message in the early part of the day, through Thompson, were ignorant of the disastrous state of affairs later in the day. Could they have known the truth, and come down in time, the result would have been very different; we should not have been captured that day. A handful of determined men, as they were, by taking a position on the Maryland side, when the troops made their attack and retreated to the bridge for shelter, would have placed the enemy between two fires. Thompson's news prevented them from hurrying down, as they otherwise would have done, and thus deprived us of able assistance from Owen Brown, a host in himself, and Tidd, Merriam and Coppic, the brave fellows composing the band. The climax of murderous assaults on that memorable day was the final capture of the engine-house, with the old Captain and his handful of associates. This outrageous burlesque upon civilized warfare must have a special chapter to itself, as it concentrates more of Southern illnesses and cowardice than is often believed to be true.



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CHAPTER XIII

The Capture of John Brown at the Engine House

One great difference between savages and civilized nations is, the improved mode of warfare adopted by the latter. Flags of truce are always entitled to consideration, and an attacking party would make a wide departure from military usage, were they not to give opportunity for the besieged to capitulate, or to surrender at discretion. Looking at Harpers Ferry combat in the light of civilized usage, even where one side might be regarded as insurrectionary, the brutal treatment of Captain Brown and his men in the charge by the marines on the engine house is deserving of severest condemnation, and is one of those blood-thirsty occurrences, dark enough on depravity to disgrace a century.

Captain Hazlett and myself being in the Arsenal opposite, saw the charge upon the engine house with the ladder, which resulted in opening the doors to the marines, and finally in Brown's capture. The old hero and his men were hacked and wounded with indecent rage, and at last brought out of the house and laid prostrate upon the ground, mangled and bleeding as they were. A formal surrender was required of Captain Brown, which he refused, knowing how little favor he would receive, if unarmed, at the hands of that infuriated mob. All of our party who went from the Farm, save the Captain, Shields Green, Edwin Coppic and Watson Brown, (who had received a mortal wound some time before,) the men at the Farm, and Hazlett and I, were either dead or captured before this time; the particulars of whose fate we learned still later in the day, as I shall presently show. Of the four prisoners taken at the engine house, Shields Green, the most inexorable of all our party, a very Turco in his hatred against the stealers of men, was under Captain Hazlett, and consequently of our little band at the Arsenal; but when we were ordered by Captain Brown to return to our positions, after having driven the troops into the bridge, he mistook the order, and went to the engine house instead of with his own party. Had he remained with us, he might have eluded the vigilant Virginians. As it was, he was doomed, as is well-known, and became a free-will offering for freedom, with his comrade, John Copeland. Wiser and better men no doubt there were, but a braver man never lived than Shields Green.



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

CHAPTER XIV

**Setting Forth Reasons
Why O.P. Anderson and A. Hazlett
Escaped from the Arsenal, Instead of Remaining,
When They Had Nothing to Do
Took a Prisoner, and What Resulted to Them,
and to This Narrative Therefrom A Pursuit,
When Somebody Got Killed,
and Other Bodies Wounded**

Of the six men assigned a position in the Arsenal by Captain Brown, four were either slain or captured; and Hazlett and myself, the only ones remaining, never left our position until we saw with feeling of intense sadness, that we could be of no further avail to our commander, he being a prisoner in the hands of the Virginians. We therefore, upon consultation, concluded it was better to retreat while it was possible, as our work for the day was clearly finished, and, gain a position where in the future we could work with better success, than to recklessly invited capture and brutality at the hands of our enemies. The charge of deserting our brave old leader and of fleeing from danger has been circulated to our detriment, but I have the consolation of knowing that, reckless as were the half-civilized hordes against whom we contended the entire day, and much as they might wish to disparage his men, they would never have thus charged us. They know better. John Brown's men at Harpers Ferry were and are a unit in their devotion to John Brown and the cause he espoused. To have deserted him would have been to belie every manly characteristic for which Albert Hazlett, at least, was known by the party to be distinguished, at the same time that it would have endangered the safety of such deserter or deserters. John Brown gave orders; those orders must be obeyed, so long as Captain Brown was in a position to enforce them; once unable to command, from death, being a prisoner, or otherwise, the command devolved upon John Henry Kagi. Before Captain Brown was made prisoner, Captain Kagi ceased to live; though had he been living, all communication between our post and him had been long cut off. We could not aid Captain Brown by remaining. We might, by joining the men at the Farm, devise plans for his succor; or our experience might become available on some future occasion.

The charge of running away from danger could only find form in the mind of some one unwilling to encounter the difficulties of a Harpers Ferry campaign, as no one acquainted with the out-of-door and in-door encounters of that day will charge any one with wishing to escape danger, merely. It is well enough for men out



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of danger, and who could not be induced to run the risk of a scratching, to talk flippantly about cowardice, and to sit in judgment upon the men who went with John Brown, and who did not fall into the hands of the Virginians; but to have been there, fought there, and to understand what did transpire there, are quite different. As Capt. Brown had all of the prisoners with him, the whole force of the enemy was concentrated there, for a time, after the capture of the rifle factory. Having captured out commander, we knew that it was but little two of us could do against so many, and that our turn to be taken must come; so Hazlett and I went out at the back part of the building, climbed up the wall, and went upon the railway. Behind us, in the Arsenal, were thousands of dollars, we knew full well, but that wealth had no charms for us, and we hastened to communicate with the men sent to Kennedy Farm. We travelled up the Shenandoah along the railroad, and overtook one of the citizens. He was armed, and had been in the fight in the afternoon. We took him prisoner, in order to facilitate our escape. He submitted without resistance, and quietly gave up his gun. From him, we learned substantially of the final struggle at the rifle factory, where the noble Kagi commanded. The number of citizens was, according to his opinion, much larger than either Hazlett or I had supposed, although we knew there were a great many killed and wounded together. He said there must be at least seventy killed, besides wounded. Hazlett has said there must be fifty, taken into account the defence of the three strong positions. I do not know positively, but would not put the figure below thirty killed, seeing many fall as I did, and knowing the "dead aim" principle upon which we defended ourselves. One of the Southern published accounts, it will be remembered, said twenty citizens were killed, another said fifteen. At last it got narrowed down to five, which was simply absurd, after so long an engagement. We had forty rounds apiece when we went to the Ferry, and when Hazlett and I left, we had not more than twenty rounds between us. The rest of the party were as free with their ammunition as we were, if not more so. We had further evidence that the number of dead was larger than published from the many that we saw lying dead around.

When we had gone as far as the foot of the mountains, our prisoner begged us not to take his life, but to let him go at liberty. He said we might keep his gun; he would not inform on us. Feeling compassion for him, and trusting to his honor, we suffered him to go, when he went directly into town, and finding every thing there in the hands of our enemies, he informed on us, and we were pursued. After he had left us, we crawled or climbed up among the rocks in the mountains, some hundred yards or more from the spot where we left him, and hid ourselves, as we feared treachery, on second thought. A few minutes before dark, the troops came in search of us. They came to the foot of the mountains, marched and counter-marched, but never attempted to search the mountains; we supposed from their movements that



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they feared a host of armed enemies in concealment. Their air was so defiant, and their errand so distasteful to us, that we concluded to apply a little ammunition to their case, and having a few cartridges on hand, we poured from our excellent position in the rocky wilds, some well-directed shots, It was not so dark but that we could see one bite the dust now and then, when others would run to aid them instantly, particularly the wounded. Some lay where they fell, undisturbed, which satisfied us that they were dead. The troops returned our fire, but it was random shooting, as we were concealed from their sight by the rocks and bushes. Interchanging of shots continued for some minutes, with much spirit, when it became dark, and they went down into the town. After their return to the Ferry, we could hear the drum beating for a long time; and indication of their triumph, we supposed. Hazlett and I remained in our position three hours, before we dared venture down.



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CHAPTER XV

The Encounter at the Rifle Factory

As stated in a previous chapter, the command of the rifle factory was given to Kagi. Under him were John Copeland, Sherrard Lewis Leary, and three colored men from the neighborhood. At an early hour, Kagi saw from his position the danger in remaining, with our small company, until assistance could come to the inhabitants. Hence his suggestion to Captain Brown, through Jeremiah Anderson, to leave. His position being more isolated than the others, was the first to invite an organized attack with success; the Virginians first investing the factory with their hordes, before the final success at the engine-house. From the prisoner taken by us who had participated in the assault upon Kagi's position, we received the sad details of the slaughter of our brave companions. Seven different times during the day they were fired upon, while they occupied the interior part of the building, the insurgents defending themselves with great courage, killing and wounding with fatal precision. At last, overwhelming numbers, as many as five hundred, our informant told us, blocked up the front of the building, battered the doors down, and forced their way into the interior. The insurgents were then forced to retreat the back way, fighting, however, all the time. They were pursued, when they took to the river, and it being so shallow, they waded out to a rock, mid-way, and there made a stand, being completely hemmed in, front and rear. Some four or five hundred shots, said our prisoner, were fired at them before they were conquered. They would not surrender into the hands of the enemy, but kept on fighting until every one was killed, except John Copeland. Seeing he could do no more, and that all his associates were murdered, he suffered himself to be captured. The party at the rifle factory fought desperately till the last, from their perch on the rock. Slave and free, black and white, carried out the special injunction of the brave old Captain, to make sure work of it. The unfortunate targets for so many bullets from the enemy, some of them received two or three balls. There fell poor Kagi, the friend and adviser of Captain Brown in his most trying positions, and the cleverest man in the party; and there also fell Sherrard Lewis Leary, generous-hearted and companionable as he was, and in that and other difficult positions, brave to desperation. There fought John Copeland, who met his fate like a man. But they were all "honorable men," noble, noble fellows who fought and died for the most holy principles. John Copeland was taken to the guardhouse, where the other prisoners afterwards were, and thence to Charlestown jail. His subsequent mockery of a trial, sentence and execution, with his companion



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Shields Green, on the 16th of December are they not part of the dark deeds of this era, which will assign their perpetrators to infamy, and cause after generations to blush at the remembrance?



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CHAPTER XVI

Our escape from Virginia Hazlett Breaks down from Fatigue and Hunger Narrow Escape in Pennsylvania

I have said elsewhere, that Hazlett and I crossed over to the Maryland side, after the skirmish with the troops about nightfall. To be more circumstantial: When we descended from the rocks, we passed through the back part of the Ferry on the hill, down to the railroad, proceeding as far as the saw-mill on the Virginia side, where we came upon an old boat tied up to the shore, which we cast off, and crossed the Potomac. The Maryland shore once gained, we passed along the tow-path of the canal for some distance when we came to an arch, which led through under the canal, and thence to the Kennedy Farm, hoping to find something to eat, and to meet the men who had been stationed on that side. When we reached the farm-house, all our expectations were disappointed. The old house had been ransacked and deserted, the provisions taken away, with everything of value to the insurgents. Thinking that we should fare better at the school-house, we bent our steps in that direction. The night was dark and rainy, and after tramping for an hour and a half, at least, we came up to the school-house. This was about two o'clock in the morning. The school-house was packed with things moved there by the party the previous day, but we searched in vain, after lighting a match, for food, our greatest necessity, or for our young companions in the struggle. Thinking it unsafe to remain in the school-house from fear of oversleeping ourselves, we climbed up the mountain in the rear of it, to down till daylight.

It was after sunrise some time when we awoke in the morning. The first sound we heard was shooting at the Ferry. Hazlett thought it must be Owen Brown and his men trying to force their way into the town, as they had been informed that a number of us had been taken prisoners, and we started down along the ridge to join them. When we got in sight of the Ferry, we saw the troops firing across the river to the Maryland side with considerable spirit. Looking closely, we saw, to our surprise, that they were firing upon a few of the colored men, who had been armed the day before by our men, at the Kennedy Farm, and stationed down at the school-house by C.P. Tidd. They were in the bushes on the edge of the mountains, dodging out about, occasionally exposing themselves to the enemy. The troops crossed the bridge in pursuit of them, but they retreated in different directions. Being further in the mountains, and more secure, we could see without personal harm befalling us. One of the colored men came



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towards where we were, when we hailed him, and inquired the particulars. He said that one of his comrades had been shot, and was lying in the side of the mountains; that they thought the men who had armed them the day before must be in the Ferry. That opinion, we told him, was not correct. We asked him to join with us in hunting up the rest of the party, but he declined, and went his way.

While we were in this part of the mountains, some of the troops went to the school-house, and took possession of it. On our return along up the ridge, from our position, screened by the bushes, we could see them as they invested it,. Our last hope of shelter, or of meeting our companions, now being destroyed, we concluded to make our escape North. We started at once, and wended our way along until dark, without being fortunate enough to overtake our friends, or to get any thing to eat. As may be supposed, from such incessant activity, and not having tasted a morsel for forty-eight hours, our appetites were exceedingly keen. So hungry were we, that we sought out a cornfield, under cover of the night, and gathered some of the ears, — which, by the way, were pretty well hardened, — carried them into the mountains, — our fortunate resource, — and, having matches, struck fire, and roasted and feasted.

During our perilous and fatiguing journey to Pennsylvania, and for some time after crossing the line, our only food was corn roasted in the ear, often difficult to get without risk, and seldom eaten but at long intervals. As a result of this poor diet and the hard journey, we became nearly famished, and very much reduced in bodily strength. Poor Hazlett could not bear the privations as I could; he was less inured to physical exertion, and was of rather slight form, though inclined to be tall. With his feet blistered and sore, he held out as long as he could, but at last gave out, completely broke down, ten miles below Chambersburg. He declared it was impossible for him to go further, and begged me to go on, as we should be more in danger if seen together in the vicinity of the towns. He said, after resting that night, he would throw away his rifle, and go to Chambersburg in the stage next morning, where we agreed to meet again. The poor young man's face was wet with tears when we parted. I was loth to leave him, as we both knew that danger was more imminent than when in the mountains around Harpers Ferry. At the latter place, the ignorant slaveholding aristocracy were unacquainted with the topography of their own grand hills; — in Pennsylvania, the cupidity of the pro-slavery classes would induce them to seize a stranger on suspicion, or to go hunting for our party, so tempting to them is the bribe offered by the Slave Power. Their debasement in that respect was another reason why we felt the importance of travelling at night, as much as possible. After leaving young Hazlett, I travelled on as fast as my disable condition would admit of, and got into Chambersburg about two hours after midnight. I went cautiously, as I thought, to the house of an acquaintance, who arose and let



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me in. before knocking, however, I hid my rifle a little distance from the house. My appearance caused my friend to become greatly agitated. Having been suspected of complicity in the outbreak, although he was in ignorance of it until it happened, he was afraid that, should my whereabouts become known to the United States Marshall, he would get into serious difficulty. From him I learned that the Marshal was looking for Cook, and that it was not only unsafe for me to remain and hour, but that nay one they chose to suspect would be arrested. I represented to him my famished condition, and told him I would leave as soon as I should be able to eat a morsel. After having despatched my hasty meal, and while I was busy filling my pockets with bread and meat, in the back part of the house, the United States Marshall knocked at the front door. I stepped out at the back door to be ready for flight, and while standing there, I heard the officer say to my friend, "You are suspected of harboring persons who were engaged in the Harpers Ferry outbreak." A warrant was then produced, and they said they must search the house. These Federal hounds were watching the house, and supposing that whoever had entered was lying down, they expected to pounce upon their prey easily. Hearing what I did, I started quietly away to the place where I left my arms, gathered them up, and concluded to travel as far as I could before daylight. When morning came, I went off the road some distance to where there was a straw stack, where I remained throughout the day. At night, I set out and reached York, where a good Samaritan gave me oil, wine and raiment. From York, I wended my way to the Pennsylvania railroad. I took the train at night, at a convenient station, and went to Philadelphia, where great kindness was extended to me; and from there I came to Canada, without mishap or incident of importance. To avoid detection when making my escape, I was obliged to change my apparel three times, and my journey over the railway was at first in the night-time, I lying in concealment in the day-time.



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CHAPTER XVII

A Word or Two More about Albert Hazlett

I left Lieut. Hazlett prostrate with fatigue and hunger, the night on which I went to Chambersburg. The next day, he went into the town, carrying his blanket, rifle and revolver, and proceeded to the house where Kagi had boarded. The reward was then out for John Cook's arrest, and suspecting him to be Cook, Hazlett was pursued. He was chased from the house where he was by the officers, dropping his rifle in his flight. When he got to Carlisle, so far from receiving kindness from the citizens of his native State, — he was from Northern Pennsylvania, — he was arrested and lodged in jail, given up to the authorities of Virginia, and shamefully executed by them, — his identity, however, never having been proven before the Court. A report of his arrest at the time reads as follows: — "The man arrested on suspicion of being concerned in the insurrection was brought before Judge Graham on a writ of habeas corpus to-day. Judge Watts presented a warrant from Governor Packer, of Pennsylvania, upon a requisition from the Governor of Virginia for the delivery of the fugitive named Albert Hazlett. There was no positive evidence to identify the prisoner." Hazlett was remanded to the custody of the Sheriff. The Judge appointed a further hearing, and issued subpoenas for witnesses from Virginia, &c. No positive evidence in that last hearing was adduced, and yet governor Packer ordered him to be delivered up; and the pro-slavery authorities made haste to carry out the mandate.



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CHAPTER XVIII

**Capt. Owen Brown,
Charles P. Tidd,
Barclay Coppic,
F. J. Merriam,
John E. Cook**

In order to have a proper understanding of the work done at Harpers Ferry, I will repeat, in a measure, separately, information concerning the movements of Capt. O. Brown and company, given in connection with other matter.

This portion of John Brown's men was sent to the Maryland side previous to the battle, except Charles P. Tidd and John E. Cook, who went with our party to the Ferry on Sunday evening. These two were of the company who took Col. Washington prisoner, but on Monday morning, they were ordered to the Kennedy Farm, to assist in moving and guarding arms. Having heard, through some means, that the conflict was against the insurgents, they provided themselves with food, blankets, and other necessaries, and then took to the mountains. They were fourteen days making the journey to Chambersburg. The weather was extremely bad the whole time; it rained, snowed, blew, and was freezing cold; but there was no shelter for the fugitive travellers, one of whom, F.J. Merriam, was in poor health, lame, and physically slightly formed. He was, however, greatly relieved by his companions, who did every thing possible to lessen the fatigue of the journey for him. The bad weather, and their destitution, made it one of the most trying journeys it is possible for men to perform. Sometimes they would have to lie over a day or two for the sick, and when fording streams, as they had to do, they carried the sick over their shoulders.

They were a brave band, and any attempt to arrest them in a body would have been a most serious undertaking, as all were well armed, could have fired some forty rounds apiece, and would have done it, without doubt whatever. The success of the Federal officers consisted in arresting those unfortunate enough to fall into their clutches singly, In this manner did poor Hazlett and John Cook fall into their power.

Starvation several times stared Owen Brown's party in the face. They would search their pockets over and over for some stray crumb that might have been overlooked in the general search, for something to appease their gnawing hunger, and pick out carefully, from among the accumulated dirt and medley, even the smallest crumb, and give it to the comrade least able to endure the long and biting fast.

John E. Cook became completely overcome by this hungry feeling.



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A strong desire to get salt pork took possession of him,. and against the remonstrances of his comrades, he ventured down from the mountains to Montaldo, a settlement fourteen miles from Chambersburg, in quest of it. He was arrested by Daniel Logan and Clegget Fitzhugh, and taken before Justice Reisher. Upon examination, a commission signed by Captain Brown, marked No. 4, being found upon his person, he was committed to await a requisition from Governor Wise, and finally, as is well-known, was surrendered to Virginia, where he was tried, after a fashion, condemned, and executed. It is not my intention to dwell upon the failings of John E. Cook. That he departed from the record, as familiar to John Brown and his men, every one of them "posted" in the details of their obligations and duties, well-knows; but his very weakness should excite our compassion. He was brave none could doubt that, and life was invested with charms for him, which his new relation as a man of family tended to intensify; and charity suggests that the hope of escaping his merciless persecutors, and of being spared to his friends and associates in reform, rather than treachery to the cause he had espoused, furnishes the explanation of his peculiar sayings. Owen Brown, and the other members of the party, becoming impatient at Cook's prolonged absence, began to suspect something was wrong, and moved at once to a more retired and safer position. Afterwards, they went to Chambersburg, and stopped in the outskirts of the town for some days, communicating with but one person, directly, while there. Through revelations made by Cook, it became unsafe in the neighborhood, and they left, and went some miles from town, when Merriam took the cars for Philadelphia; thence to Boston, and subsequently to Canada. The other three travelled on foot to Centre County, Pennsylvania, when Barclay Coppic separated from them, to take the cars, with the rifles of the company boxed up in his possession. He stopped at Salem, Ohio, a few days and then went to Cleveland, from Cleveland to Detroit, and over into Canada, where, after remaining for a time, he proceeded westward. Owen Brown and C.P. Tidd went to Ohio, where the former spent the winter. The latter, after a sojourn, proceeded to Massachusetts.



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CHAPTER XIX

The Behavior of the Slaves John Brown's Opinion

Of the various contradictory reports made by slaveholders and their satellites about the time of the Harpers Ferry conflict, none were more untruthful than those relating to the slaves. There was seemingly a studied attempt to enforce the belief that the slaves were cowardly, and that they were really more in favor of Virginia masters and slavery, than of their freedom. As a party who had an intimate knowledge of the conduct of the colored men engaged, I am prepared to make an emphatic denial of the gross imputation against them. They were charged specially with being unreliable, with deserting Captain Brown the first opportunity, and going back to their masters; and with being so indifferent to the work of their salvation from the yoke, as to have to be forced into service by the Captain, contrary to their will.

On the Sunday evening of the outbreak, when we visited the plantations and acquainted the slaves with our purpose to effect their liberation, the greatest enthusiasm was manifested by them joy and hilarity beamed from every countenance. One old mother, white-haired from age, and borne down with the labors of many years in bonds, when told of the work in hand, replied: "God bless you! God bless you!" She then kissed the party at her house, and requested all to kneel, which we did, and she offered prayer to God for His blessing on the enterprise, and our success. At the slaves' quarters, there was apparently a general jubilee, and they stepped forward manfully, without impressing or coaxing. In one case, only, was there any hesitation. A dark-complexioned free-born man refused to take up arms. He showed the only want of confidence in the movement, and far less courage than any slave consulted about the plan. In fact, so far as I could learn, the free blacks South are less reliable than the slaves, and infinitely more fearful. In Washington City, a party of free colored persons offered their services to the Mayor, to aid in suppressing our movement. Of the slaves who followed us to the Ferry, some were sent to help remove stores, and the others were drawn up in a circle around the engine-house, at one time, where they were, by Captain Brown's order, furnished by me with pikes, mostly, and acted as a guard to the prisoners to prevent their escape, which they did.

As in the war of the American Revolution, the first blood shed was a black man's, Crispus Attuck's, so at Harpers Ferry, the first blood shed by our party, after the arrival of the United States troops, was that of a slave. In the beginning of the encounter, and before the troops had fairly emerged from the



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bridge, a slave was shot. I saw him fall. Phil, the slave who dies in prison, with fear, as it was reported, was wounded at the Ferry, and died from the effects of it. Of the men shot on the rocks, when Kagi's party were compelled to take to the river, some were slaves, and they suffered death before they would desert their companions, and their bodies fell into the waves beneath. Captain Brown, who was surprised and pleased by the promptitude with which they volunteered, and with their manly bearing at the scene of violence, remarked to me, on that Monday morning, that he was agreeably disappointed in the behavior of the slaves; for he did not expect one out of ten to be willing to fight. The truth of the Harpers Ferry "raid," as it has been called, in regard to the part taken by the slaves, and the aid given by colored men generally, demonstrates clearly: first, that the conduct of the slaves is a strong guarantee of the weakness of the institution, should a favorable opportunity occur; and, secondly, that the colored people, as a body, were well represented by numbers, both in the fight, and in the number who suffered martyrdom afterward.

The first report of the number of "insurrectionists" killed was seventeen, which showed that several slaves were killed; for there were only ten of the men that belonged to the Kennedy Farm who lost their lives at the Ferry, namely: John Henri Kagi, Jerry Anderson, Watson Brown, Oliver Brown, Stewart Taylor, Adolphus Thompson, William Thompson, William Leeman, all eight whites, and Dangerfield Newby and Sherrard Lewis Leary, both colored. The rest reported dead, according to their own showing, were colored. Captain Brown had but seventeen with him, belonging to the Farm, and when all was over, there were four besides himself taken to Charlestown, prisoners, viz: A.D. Stevens, Edwin Coppic, white; John A. Copeland and Shields Green, colored. It is plain to be seen from this, that there was a proper percentage of colored men killed at the Ferry, and executed at Charlestown. Of those that escaped from the fangs of the human bloodhounds of slavery, there were four whites, and one colored man, myself being the sole colored man of those at the Farm.

That hundreds of slaves were ready, and would have joined in the work, had Captain Brown's sympathies not been aroused in favor of the families of his prisoners, and that a very different result would have been seen, in consequence, there is no question. There was abundant opportunity for him and the party to leave a place in which they held entire sway and possession, before the arrival of the troops. And so cowardly were the slaveholders, proper, that from Colonel Lewis Washington, the descendant of the Father of his Country, General George Washington, they were easily taken prisoners. They had not pluck enough to fight, nor to use the well-loaded arms in their possession, but were concerned rather in keeping a whole skin by parleying, or in spilling cowardly tears, to excite pity, as did Colonel Washington, and that way escape merited punishment. No, the conduct of the slaves was beyond all praise; and could



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our brave old Captain have steeled his heart against the entreaties of his captives, or shut up the fountain of his sympathies against their families could he, for the moment, have forgotten them, in the selfish thought of his own friends and kindred, or, by adhering to the original plan, have left the place, and thus looked forward to the prospective freedom of the slave- hundreds ready and waiting would have been armed before twenty-four hours had elapsed. As it was, even the noble old man's mistakes were productive of great good, the fact of which the future historian will record, without the embarrassment attending its present narration. John Brown did not only capture and hold Harpers Ferry for twenty hours, but he held the whole South. He captured President Buchanan and his Cabinet, convulsed the whole country, killed Governor Wise, and dug the mine and laid the train which will eventually dissolve the union between Freedom and Slavery. The rebound reveals the truth. So let it be!

January 13, Friday: Breitkopf and Härtel completed publication of [Richard Wagner's](#) *Tristan und Isolde*.

LISTEN TO IT NOW

[Barclay Coppoc](#), having unlike his brother [Edwin Coppoc](#) escaped from [Harpers Ferry](#), and then having eluded capture, wrote to [Franklin Benjamin Sanborn](#) of the [Secret "Six"](#) conspiracy to bring him up to date on developments: "but five of our little band now away and safe, namely Owen [[Owen Brown](#)], Tidd [[Charles Plummer Tidd](#)], Meriam [[Francis Jackson Meriam](#)], O.P. Anderson [[Osborn Perry Anderson](#)], or as we used to call him Chatham Anderson, and myself.... We were together eight days before [[John E. Cook](#) and [Albert Hazlett](#) were] captured, which was near Chambersburg, and the next night Meriam left us and went to Shippensburg, and there took cars for Philadelphia. After that there were but three of us left, and we kept together, until we got to Centre County, Pa., 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. Owen [[Owen Brown](#)] and Tidd [[Charles Plummer Tidd](#)] went on foot towards the north-western part of Penn." [Osborn Perry Anderson](#), [Barclay Coppoc](#), and [Francis Jackson Meriam](#), traveling separately, would eventually find safe exile in the area of [St. Catharines](#), Canada. [Owen Brown](#) and [Charles Plummer Tidd](#) would find work and safety, under assumed names, on an oil well in the vicinity of Crawford County, Pennsylvania.

During this month, in [Iowa](#), at his monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), [Friend Barclay Coppoc](#) was being [disowned](#) on account of his failure to adhere to the Peace Testimony.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



January 13. Tuttle was saying to-day that he did remember a certain man's living with him once, from something that occurred. It was this: The man was about starting for Boston market for Tuttle, and Mrs. Tuttle had been telling him what to get for her. The man inquired if that was all, and Mrs. Tuttle said no, she wanted some [nutmegs](#). "How many," he asked. Tuttle, coming along just then, said, "Get a bushel." When the man came home he said that he had had a good deal of trouble about the nutmegs. He could not find so many as were wanted, and, besides, they told him that they did not sell them by the bushel. But he said that he would take a bushel by the weight. Finally he made out to get a peck of them, which he brought home. It chanced that nutmegs were very high just then, so Tuttle, after selecting a few for his own use, brought the remainder up to




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town and succeeded in disposing of them at the stores for just what he gave for them.

One man at the post-office said that a crow would drive a fox. He had seen three crows pursue a fox that was crossing the Great Meadows, and he fairly ran from [them] and took refuge in the woods.

Farmer says that he remembers his father's saying that as he stood in a field once, he saw a hawk  soaring above and eying something on the ground. Looking round, he saw a weasel there eying the hawk. Just then the hawk stooped, and the weasel at the same instant sprang upon him, and up went the hawk with the weasel; but by and by the hawk began to come down as fast as he went up, rolling over and over, till he struck the ground. His father, going up, raised him up, when out hopped the weasel from under his wing and ran off none the worse for his fall.

The surface of the snow, now that the sun has shone on it so long, is not so light and downy, almost impalpable, as it was yesterday, but is somewhat flattened down and looks even as if [IT] had had a skim-coat of some whitewash. I can see sparkles on it, but they are finer than at first and therefore less dazzling.

The thin ice of the Mill Brook sides at the Turnpike bridge is sprinkled over with large crystals which look like asbestos or a coarse grain. This is no doubt the vapor of last evening crystallized. I see vapor rising from and curling along the open brook and also rising from the end of a plank in the sun, which is net with melted snow, though the thermometer was 16° only when I left the house.

I see in low grounds numerous heads of bidens, with their seeds still.

I see under some sizable white pines in E. Hubbard's wood, where red squirrels have run about much since this snow. They have run chiefly, perhaps, under the surface of the snow, so that it is very much undermined by their paths under these trees, and every now and then they have come to the surface, or the surface has fallen into their gallery. They seem to burrow under the snow about as readily as a meadow mouse. There are also paths raying out on every side from the base of the trees. And you see many holes through the snow into the ground where they now are, and other holes where they have probed for cones and nuts. The scales of the white pine cones are scattered about here and there. They seek a dry place to open them, — a fallen limb that rises above the snow, or often a lower dead stub projecting from the trunk of the tree.



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1861

In Boston, [Mary Ann Shadd Cary](#) published A VOICE FROM HARPER'S FERRY: A NARRATIVE OF EVENTS AT HARPER'S FERRY; WITH INCIDENTS PRIOR AND SUBSEQUENT TO ITS CAPTURE BY CAPTAIN BROWN AND HIS MEN, BY [OSBORN P. ANDERSON](#).



There is evidence that she began a “fancy goods” store in Boston in about this period, a store that would be in existence at least until 1871.

By this point, or at this point, [Thaddeus Hyatt](#) remarried, with Elizabeth Adelaide Lake (1836-1928). The couple would produce 5 children.

[Francis Jackson Meriam](#) got married with a homeopathic physician, Minerva Caldwell, born in about 1840 at Galena, Illinois.



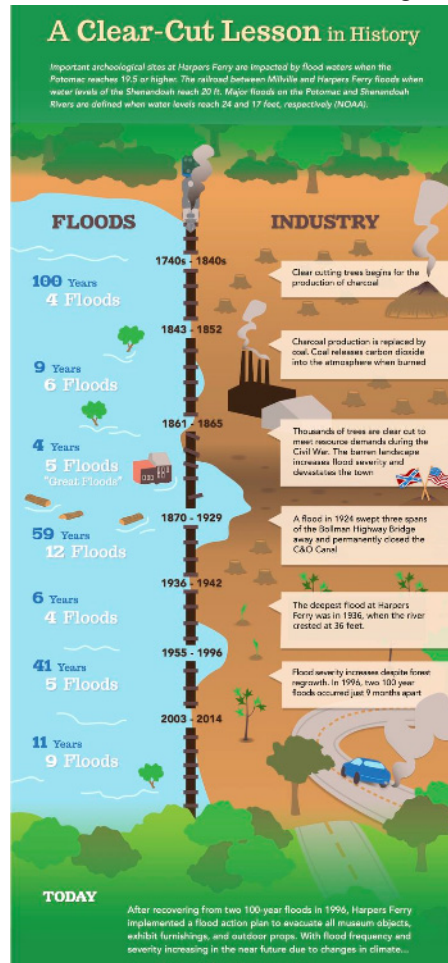
The problem of flooding at [Harpers Ferry](#) was becoming more and more chronic, but of course no one as yet



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had any notion that the problem was human-caused, or that it was going to become more and more persistent:



HDT

WHAT?

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To destroy an invasion route between South and North, the bridge at [Harpers Ferry](#) was blown up and burned:





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1864

The free black printer [Osborn Perry Anderson](#), “O.P. Anderson, or as we used to call him Chatham Anderson,” the only participant of color who had survived the raid on [Harpers Ferry](#) and eluded capture and hanging, who had written of the fight at the federal arsenal and his escape in A VOICE FROM HARPER’S FERRY IN 1860, at this point enlisted in the US Army.



(He would become a recruiter and a noncommissioned officer for the “western regiments.”)



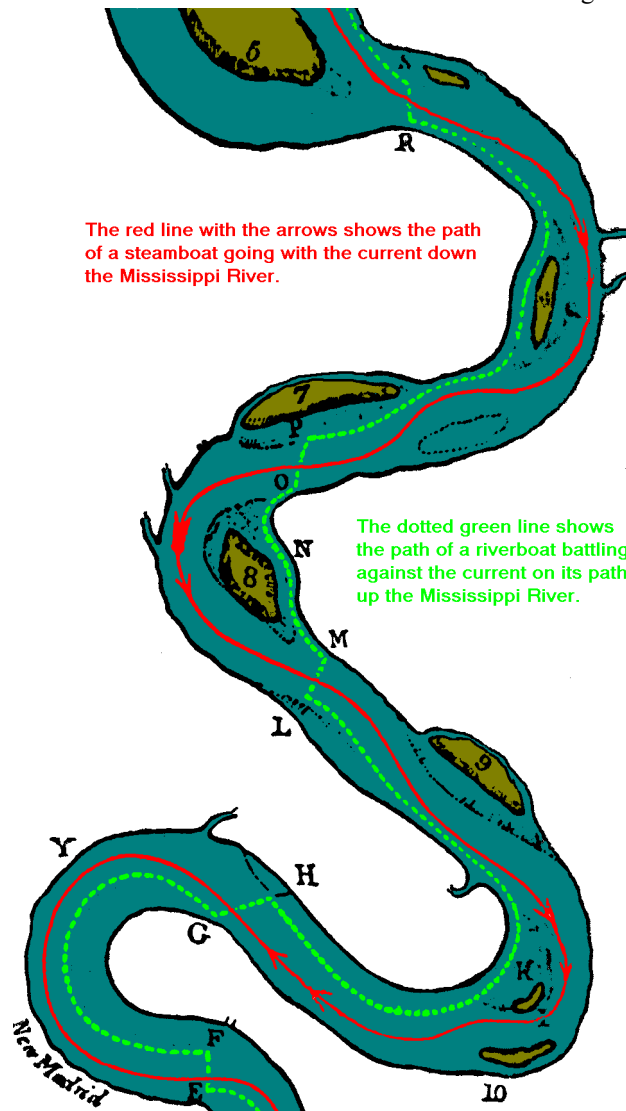
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1865

[Osborn Perry Anderson](#) mustered out of the US Army in [Washington DC](#) at the close of the [Civil War](#). He became a member of the [National Equal Rights League](#) founded by the Reverend Henry Highland Garnet, [Frederick Douglass](#), and [John Mercer Langston](#) among others, an organization that eventually would be superseded by the “NAACP.”

[Caleb G. Forshey](#) removed to New Orleans and resumed work as a civil engineer and surveyor.





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1869

January 13, Wednesday-16, Sunday: [Osborn Perry Anderson](#) represented Michigan at the [National Convention of Colored Men](#) held in [Washington DC](#). Although various studies have indicated that [James Henry Harris](#) served as president of this convention, I can discover no record of his filling any function or even making an appearance (all I have found on record is that at some point during the year he did visit the capitol).



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1872

December 13, Friday: In [Washington DC](#), the free black American [Osborn Perry Anderson](#), “O.P. Anderson, or as we used to call him Chatham Anderson,” the sole participant of color at the fight at [Harpers Ferry](#) to elude capture and hanging, who had written of the fight and his escape in A VOICE FROM HARPER’S FERRY and then served during the civil war as a NCO in the army of the Union, died a pauper at the age of 41, of [tuberculosis](#) and lack of care.



“In those parts of the Union in which the negroes are no longer slaves, they have in no wise drawn nearer to the whites. On the contrary, the prejudice of the race appears to be stronger in the States which have abolished slavery ... and nowhere is it so intolerant as in those States where servitude has never been known.”



— Alexis de Tocqueville



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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: December 10, 2016



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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



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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 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.