

GO TO LIST OF PEOPLE INVOLVED IN HARPERS FERRY

VARIOUS PERSONAGES INVOLVED

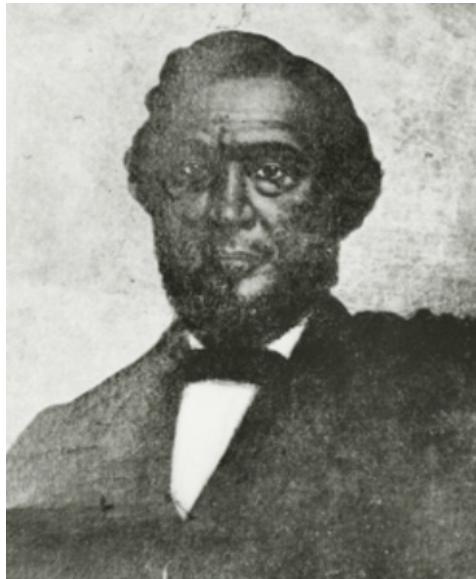


IN THE



FOMENTING OF RACE WAR (RATHER THAN CIVIL WAR)

IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



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:

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.”



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR



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
<p>Jeremiah Goldsmith Anderson, one of Captain Brown's lieutenants, was born April 17, 1833, in Indiana, the son of John Anderson. His maternal grandfather, Colonel Jacob Westfall of Tygert Valley VA, had been a soldier in the revolution and a slaveholder. He went to school at Galesburg IL and Kossuth IA and 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" in August 1857. He was twice arrested by the proslavery activists, and for ten weeks was held 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 First US Cavalry. He witnessed a murder on his own doorstep by border ruffians, of a Mr. Denton. He went with John Brown on the slave raid into Missouri and remained with him thereafter. On July 5, 1859 he wrote 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 killed by a bayonet-thrust of one of the Marines at Harpers Ferry. "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."</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

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>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 on July 27, 1830 in West Fallowfield PA. He had learned the printing trade in Canada, where he had met John Brown in 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 noncommissioned officer, and mustered out in Washington DC at the close of the war, to die a pauper of TB and lack of care in Washington on December 13, 1872.</p>						
John Albion Andrew	No					white
<p>Despite the fact that John Albion Andrew was a prominent Massachusetts politician, Franklin Benjamin Sanborn of the Secret “Six” would indicate long after the raid on Harpers Ferry, John Brown’s “general purpose of attacking slavery by force, in Missouri or elsewhere, was known in 1857-8-9” to Governor Andrew.</p>						
Henry Ward Beecher	No	No	No	Propaganda		white
<p>The Reverend Henry Ward Beecher induced the congregation of his Plymouth Church to procure a crate of 25 rifles to ship illegally to “Bleeding Kansas” and to stamp upon that crate the term of art BIBLES. The Reverend’s personal attitude toward American blacks was that although those like Frederick Douglass whose blood had become partly mingled with the blood of whites were worthy of consideration as human beings, those who yet remained of pure African stock were still in such a “low animal condition” (his category, his words) of pure blackness that such consideration as human beings would be inappropriate.</p>						
Charles Blair	No	No	No	Armament		white
<p>Charles Blair supplied the pikes.</p>						
Ann Brown	No	No	No	Supporter		white
<p>Ann Brown, a daughter of Captain John Brown, was with the conspirators at the Kennedy farm until shortly before the attack upon Harpers Ferry. In the aftermath she would move to the West Coast.</p>						
Frederick Brown	No	No	No	Supporter		white



RACE WAR

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Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<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 Osawatimie 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 "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
<p>Oliver Brown, the youngest of John Brown's sons to reach adulthood, was born in Franklin, Ohio on March 9, 1839. He was a bookish lad. He went to "Bleeding Kansas" in 1855, with his father, and returned to North Elba in October 1856, where he married Martha E. Brewster (Martha Brewster Brown) in 1858. She was sent back north just before the raid on Harpers Ferry and he was shot dead at the age of 20 while serving as a sentinel at the river bridge.</p>						
Owen Brown	Yes	No	No	Captain	35	white



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<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 and 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
<p>Watson Brown, born at Franklin, Ohio on October 7, 1835, got married with Isabella M. Thompson during September 1856. His son by this union would live only to his 5th year but would nevertheless survive him, because he was sent out by his father John Brown to negotiate at the federal arsenal and was shot down by the citizens of Harpers Ferry. He managed to crawl back to the shelter of the engine house and lived on, groaning, his head cradled in Edwin Coppoc's lap, for a considerable period, expiring on October 18th. Recovering the body, 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



RACE WAR

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Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>John Edwin Cook, a well-connected 5'7" gentleman with blue eyes and long, curly blond hair, born in 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. 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 the treason and murder at Harpers Ferry, on December 16th.</p>						
John Anderson Copeland, Jr.	Yes	No	Yes	Private	< 30	of color
<p>John Anderson Copeland, Jr. was an Oberlin, Ohio carpenter and freeborn Black 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 (<i>St. Louis Globe Democrat</i>, 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>						



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
Barclay Coppoc	Yes	No	No	Private	< 21	white
<p>Barclay Coppoc, from the Quaker settlement of Springdale, Iowa, was born in Salem OH 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
<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 IA. 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>He was hung with John Edwin Cook on December 16, 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>						



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
Martin Robison Delany	No	No	No	Supporter		of color
<p>Dr. Martin Robison Delany. At a meeting of the conspirators in Chatham in Canada West in May 1858, Doctor 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.</p>						
Frederick Douglass	No	No	No	Supporter	41	of color
<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 had been mixed with white it 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 Douglass perceived that the prospects of the raid were for either failure or betrayal, and 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>						
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. 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 Negroes. 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 while 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 H. Harris						
James H. Harris						
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 21, 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 16, 1860. George B. Gill said that "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 "Bleeding Kansas." To Mrs. Rebecca B. Spring he wrote on March 15, 1860, the eve of his execution, "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>						
The Reverend Thomas Wentworth Higginson	No					White
<p>The Reverend Thomas Wentworth "Charles P. Carter" Higginson of the Secret "Six" 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 J. 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</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			Support		white
<p>John Jones was a Chicago businessman of color (John Brown stayed at his home). He and his wife Mary Richardson Jones were active abolitionists, agitating for the repeal of the Illinois Black Laws. (Not only did these laws obligate black Americans to prove that they were free in order to enter the state, but once they were in state these laws barred them not only from visiting white homes, but from owning any property or merchandise, or entering into any contracts.)</p>						
John Henry Kagi	Yes	Yes		Secretary of War, adjutant	24	white



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>Although John Henry Kagi was largely self-taught, his letters to the New-York <u>Tribune</u>, the New-York <u>Evening Post</u>, and the <u>National Era</u> 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 proslavery judge, drew his revolver and shot the judge in the groin, but Judge 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. When in Chambersburg as agent for the raiders, he boarded with Mrs. Mary Rittner. 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 ca in crossfire and Kagi was the first killed, his body being left to float in the river. [Eyal J. Naveh in CROWN OF THORNS: POLITICAL MARTYRDOM IN AMERICA FROM ABRAHAM LINCOLN TO MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. (NY: New York UP, 1990) described Kagi as black (Page 31: "Even though black followers of Brown, such as John Henry Kagi, were also executed in Virginia, for blacks, John Brown became the most famous martyr for their freedom."), but this was just another of the long series of tendentious but uncontested errors which make such literature so unreliable.]</p>						
Amos Lawrence	No					White
<p>Amos 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 17, 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. He was isolated along with his nephew and John Henry Kagi in the armory called Hall's Rifle Works. When the 3 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 saying "I am ready to die." A monument was erected by the citizens of Oberlin in honor of their three fallen free men of color, Leary, Copeland, and Shields Green (the 8-foot marble monument would be moved to Vine Street Park in 1971). The Leary child would subsequently be educated by James Redpath and Wendell Phillips.</p>						
William H. Leeman	Yes	Yes		Captain	< 21	white
<p>William H. Leeman was born on March 20, 1839 and was recruited in Maine as a 17-year-old very impressed with John Brown. Being of a rather wild disposition, he had early left his home in Maine. Educated in the public schools of Saco and Hallowell ME, he was working in a shoe factory in Haverhill MA at the age of 14. In 1856 he entered "Bleeding Kansas" with the second Massachusetts colony of that year, and became a member of Captain Brown's "Volunteer Regulars" on September 9, 1856. He fought well at Osawatomie when but 17 years old. Owen Brown found him hard to control at Springdale, Iowa. George B. Gill said of him that he had "a good intellect with great ingenuity." By the raid upon Harpers Ferry he had reached the age of 20. On October 17, 1859, the youngest of the raiders, he made a mad dash out of the relative safety of the armory to swim down the Potomac River but two militiamen caught up with him and shot him down on an islet in the river. His body would be used for target practice for hours by the drunken citizenry, until the hail of bullets pushed it into the current and it was carried downstream. 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
<p>Francis Jackson Merriam, grandson and namesake of the Garrisonian abolitionist and Boston historian Francis Jackson, was a young manic-depressive with but 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 Merriam to join Brown's guerrillas. He was not captured or killed at Harpers Ferry because he had been left in one of his fits of despair at the Kennedy farmhouse during the raid. After escaping through Shippensburg, Philadelphia, Boston, Concord, and the area of St. Catharines, Canada he served as a captain in the 3rd South Carolina Colored Infantry. Erratic and unbalanced, he urged wild schemes upon his superiors and sometimes attempt them. In an engagement under General Grant he received a serious leg wound. He died suddenly on November 28, 1865 in New-York.</p>						



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
Charles Moffett	Yes					
<p>Charles Moffett, a drifter from Iowa about whom little is known.</p>						
Edwin Morton	No					
<p>The very tall Franklin Benjamin Sanborn's intimate college friend Edwin Morton of Plymouth, a descendant of one of the prominent Founding Fathers, 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 his family, and after the raid, while the congressional investigation was going on, he fled overseas and chummed around at Shrewsbury and Hodnet with Henry Thoreau's very tall friend Thomas Cholmondeley.</p>						
Dangerfield Newby	Yes	Yes		bridge sentinel	39	light mulatto
<p>Dangerfield Newby, a free light mulatto, very tall and with a splendid physique, was serving as a sentinel at the Harpers Ferry 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 VA, 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 two 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.</p>						
The Reverend Theodore Parker	No					White
<p>The Reverend Theodore Parker, 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 style="text-align: center;"><i>"I make all my pecuniary arrangements with the expectation of civil war."</i></p> <p>He would take to marking the boxes of new Sharps rifles he shipped illegally to "Bleeding Kansas" 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 Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, Franklin Benjamin Sanborn, Gerrit Smith, and George Luther Stearns 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 the black forces of servile insurrection. 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>						



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
Luke F. Parsons						
<p>Luke F. Parsons, 22 years old and already a mercenary fighter seasoned in "Bleeding Kansas", a petty thief in need of a paycheck and a legitimating excuse.</p>						
Richard Realf						
<p>Richard Realf was a 23-year-old Englishman, the son of a rural constable. In 1852 he had put out a collection of poetry, <i>GUESSES AT THE BEAUTIFUL</i>, and in 1854, after giving up being the lover of Lady Noell Byron, widow of George Gordon, Lord Byron, he was led to the United States of America by "instincts" which he characterized as "democratic and republican, or, at least, anti-monarchical." He had been introduced to John Brown at the end of November 1857 in Lawrence in "Bleeding Kansas" while working as a correspondent for the Illinois State Gazette. It has been John Edwin Cook who had persuaded him to sign up with Brown's god-squad.</p>						
James Redpath						
<p>James Redpath, crusading journalist out to make a buck in the best way.</p>						
G.J. Reynolds						
<p>George J. Reynolds, a light mulatto blacksmith or coppersmith of Sandusky, Ohio, from Virginia although saying he was from Vermont, with native American as well as black African heritage, age 35 at the time of the raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, and active in the Underground Railroad.</p>						
Richard Richardson						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.</p>						
Judge Thomas Russell	No					White
<p>Mary Ellen Russell visited John Brown in jail 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 fact that Thomas Russell was a prominent member of 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, 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.</p> <p>(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						
<p>Stephen Smith, lumber dealer of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.</p>						
Lysander Spooner						
<p>The anarchist 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 in 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 executed.</p>						
George Luther Stearns						



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<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 foment a sectional civil war between Northern and Southern white Americans.</p>						
Aaron Dwight Stevens	Yes	Badly wounded	Yes	Captain	28	white
<p>Aaron Dwight Stevens, John Brown's drillmaster, born in Lisbon, Connecticut on March 15, 1831, had run away from home in 1847 at the age of 16 to serve with a Massachusetts volunteer regiment in Mexico. He made himself proficient with the sword. At Taos in May 1855, he received a sentence of death for "mutiny, engaging in a drunken riot, and assaulting Major George A.H. Blake" of the 1st US Dragoons. 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 7, 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 four bullets and was taken alive. The never-married Stevens was of old Puritan stock, and his great-grandfather had been a captain in the Revolutionary army. Because of a relationship with Rebecca B. Spring of the Eagleswood social experiment near Perth Amboy, New Jersey, after his execution on March 16th he 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."</p>						
Stewart Taylor	Yes	Yes		Private	23	white
<p>Stewart Taylor, the only raider not of American birth, had been born on October 29, 1836 at Uxbridge in Canada. He became a wagonmaker and in 1853 he went to Iowa, where in 1858 he became acquainted with John Brown through George B. Gill. He was a spiritualist. A relative, Jacob L. Taylor of Pine Orchard, Canada West, wrote to Richard J. Hinton on April 23, 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, for the winter of 1858-1859, and then went to Chicago, thence to Bloomington IL, and thence to Harper's Ferry. He was a very good phonographer [stenographer], rapid and accurate. He was overcome with distress when, getting out of communication with the John Brown movement, he thought for a time that he was to be left out."</p>						
Eli Thayer	No					



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>Eli Thayer, an entrepreneur who believed in “doing well by doing good,” formed the New England Emigrant Aid Company, to purchase land in the new territory then well known as “Bleeding Kansas” and encourage the right sort of black-despising poor white Americans to settle there by providing information, cheapening transportation, and setting up saw mills and flour mills to give work and incomes to such “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. Thayer would comment in retrospect, about the antebellum abolitionists with whom he had been affiliated, that they had constituted “a mutual admiration society possessed by an unusual malignity towards those who did not belong to it.” He would instance that there was never “any diffidence or modesty in sounding their own praises.”</p>						
Dauphin Adolphus Thompson	Yes	Yes		Lieutenant	< 30	white
<p>Dauphin Adolphus Thompson, brother of William Thompson and a North Elba neighbor of the family of John Brown, was born April 17, 1838. He was “very quiet, with fair, thoughtful face, curly blonde hair, and baby-blue eyes.” His sister Isabella M. Thompson married Watson Brown and his elder brother Henry Thompson married Captain Brown’s daughter Ruth. The two brothers were shot dead at Harpers Ferry.</p>						
William Thompson	Yes	Yes		Captain?	< 30	white
<p>William Thompson was born in New Hampshire in August 1833, the son of Roswell Thompson. In 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 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 shot dead. 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 into the Potomac River.</p>						
Henry David Thoreau	No					white
<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



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR


Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>Charles Plummer Tidd was born in Palermo ME in 1834 and had emigrated to Kansas in 1856 with the party of Dr. Calvin Cutter of Worcester in search of excitement. After joining John Brown's party at Tabor in 1857 he became one of the followers of "Shubel Morgan" who returned to "Bleeding Kansas" in 1858 to raid into Missouri. During the Winter 1857-1858 encampment of the Brown forces in the Iowa Territory, he "ruined" a Quaker girl and the other members of the team had to sneak him away from Springdale, Iowa during the night. Nevertheless, the group obtained some recruits not overly impressed with the Peace Testimony of George Fox from among the residents of this town, such as the brothers Barclay Coppoc and Edwin Coppoc. He and John E. Cook were particularly warm friends. He opposed the attack on Harpers Ferry but nevertheless took part both in the raid on the planter Washington's home and on the federal arsenal itself, escaped, and made his way on foot toward the northwestern part of Pennsylvania. He and John Brown's son Owen Brown would find work and safety, under assumed names, on an oil well in the vicinity of Crawford County PA. 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 Harpers Ferry. On July 19, 1861 he was able to enlist under the name "Charles Plummer" and would become a 1st Sergeant of the 21st Massachusetts Volunteers. On February 8, 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.) Charles Plummer Tidd's grave is #40 in the National Cemetery in New Berne NC.</p>						
THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY						
Harriet Tubman	No					of color
<p>Harriet Tubman was negotiated with by John Brown for participation in the raid on the federal arsenal. 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. On the day of the actual attack at Harpers Ferry she had a premonition that it would fail.</p>						
Henry Watson	No					of color
<p>Henry Watson, barber of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania involved both with John Brown and with Frederick Douglass.</p>						
etc.						



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

1811

 [James Newton Gloucester](#) was in all probability born in Pennsylvania, a son of John Gloucester (1776-1822), founder of the 1st Black Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia (some censuses report that he was not born until 1818, and in Virginia, which may account for the fact that the Siloam Presbyterian Church in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn that he would found in 1849 now asserts on its website that its founder had been born **enslaved**).


The pumps of the Central Square Waterworks in Philadelphia were replaced with larger pumps. The drinking water would be pumped by power from steam engines to a reservoir atop Fairmount rise, from whence it would provision the city by gravity flow.



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

1817

 [Elizabeth A. Parkhill](#) was born to a free black woman in Virginia. At her mother's death she would be sent to Philadelphia to grow up there in the Gloucester family. She would become a domestic servant in the Cook household and be educated in financial affairs by Mrs. Cook, who for instance would encourage her to open a personal savings account. She would become a member of St. Mary's Street Presbyterian Church, an affiliation never to be given up (she continued to support them financially all her life).

A couple of vegetarian followers of the Reverend Cowherd, the Reverend William Metcalfe and the Reverend James Clark, and 39 lay members of their Bible Christian Church, set sail from England for the United States of America. Some of them would remain vegetarian and would provide a nucleus for an American vegetarian movement. Here is an extract from Janet Barkas's 1975 THE VEGETABLE PASSION:

Reverend William Metcalfe, a Manchester clergyman and homeopathic doctor, was inspired by Reverend Cowherd and the Bible Christian Church movement in England. Metcalfe, who interpreted the Bible in terms of vegetarianism vehemently denounced meat-eating and alcohol. He immigrated to America in 18[17] and settled in Philadelphia, where he used the schoolroom and articles in newspapers as means to disseminate his liberal ideas. An essay, ABSTINENCE FROM THE FLESH OF ANIMALS, was published in 1821 although his major achievement was the conversion in 1830 of Sylvester Graham and [Dr. William Alcott](#). Metcalfe continued to serve without pay at the Bible Christian Church. When the British Vegetarian Society was founded in 1847, Metcalfe corresponded with Sylvester Graham, Alcott, and others to begin a similar organization in America. The result was the first American Vegetarian Convention in New York on May 15, 1850. The following November, The American Vegetarian and Health Journal began under the editorship of Metcalfe, a position he held until his death in 1862.



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

1837



In [Oberlin, Ohio](#), 2 volunteer fire companies were set up. Also, Julia Finney (Monroe) was born.


Emma J. Gloucester was born to [Elizabeth A. Parkhill Gloucester](#) and [James Newton Gloucester](#) (she would marry 1st with a man named White and 2d with a man named Blanchard; she would graduate from [Oberlin College](#) in Ohio in 1856 as a black graduate, and die during 1885).



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

1838

 28-year-old [James Newton Gloucester](#) got married with 21-year-old [Elizabeth A. Parkhill](#), who had been raised with him as a foster sister in a family of 10 children. At this point they owned a 2d-hand clothing store in Philadelphia. She would make a fortune in real estate and help raise funds for New-York's Colored Orphan Asylum in Weeksville (at the time of the wedding this couple already had an infant daughter, Emma J. Gloucester; she would graduate from [Oberlin College](#) in Ohio in 1856 as a black student).

Trial fields of [sugar beets](#) were being grown in [Northampton](#) and in [Oberlin, Ohio](#). (No attempts to grow either beets or sorghum for sugar in the US would be profitable on any scale until after our [Civil War](#) had removed the competition of the slave plantations.)

SWEETS
WITHOUT
SLAVERY

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



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

1841

Jeremiah Gloucester was born to [Elizabeth A. Parkhill Gloucester](#) and [James Newton Gloucester](#) (this infant would die at 10 months).



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

1842

Stephen H. Gloucester was born to [Elizabeth A. Parkhill Gloucester](#) and [James Newton Gloucester](#) (he would die during 1856).



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

1843

August 15, Tuesday-19, Saturday: The 7th National Convention of Colored Men took place in Buffalo, [New York](#) with [James Newton Gloucester](#) as a delegate, and with Charles Lenox Remond and [Frederick Douglass](#) participating.



(Then Douglass would continue in that city, attending the convention of the Liberty Party.)



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

1845

Elizabeth Amelia Gloucester was born to [Elizabeth A. Parkhill Gloucester](#) and [James Newton Gloucester](#) (she would marry 1st with a man named Melendez and 2d with a man named Johnston, and die during 1915).



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

1847

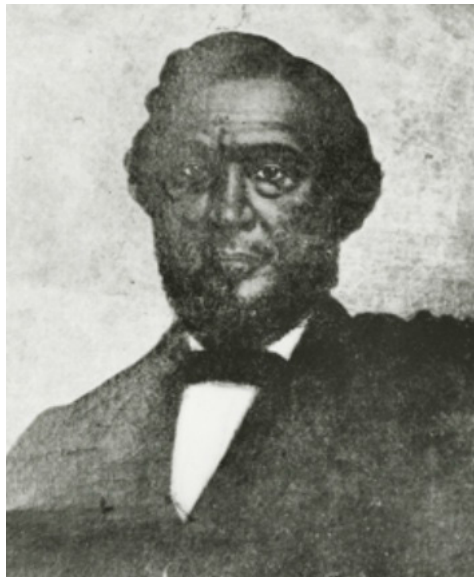
In [Oberlin, Ohio](#), [James Monroe](#) got married with Elizabeth Maxwell.

[Lucy Stone](#) graduated from [Oberlin College](#), after 4 years during which she had taught school and done housework in order to pay her own way. Asked to write a commencement speech for her class, which because she was a female would need to be read for her by one or another graduating male, she refused. And so, shortly after Stone returned to Massachusetts, the 1st woman in that state to receive a college degree, she gave her first public speech, a speech of course on women's rights. She delivered the speech from the pulpit of the Evangelical Congregational Church of her brother the Reverend William Bowman Stone at 55 Green Street in Gardner, Massachusetts.

FEMINISM



[James Newton Gloucester](#) became the founding pastor of Siloam Presbyterian Church in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, New York (he would also serve as principal of the African School in Carsville, and would support Lewis Tappan's American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society). The family resided at 265 Bridge Street in Brooklyn and ran a 2d-hand clothing store on 7th Avenue. Louisa "Eloise" R. Gloucester was born to [Elizabeth A. Parkhill Gloucester](#) and [the Reverend Gloucester](#) (she would graduate from [Oberlin College](#) in Ohio in 1870 as a black student, and would die during 1918).





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(For the initial more than 6 decades this church would be located on Prince Street between Myrtle and Willoughby. The property for the church cost more than \$4,000, mostly donated by Mrs. Gloucester, and its title was held in the name of a committee made up of white men. [Frederick Douglass](#) would speak frequently in this edifice.)

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1849

Adelaide “Ella” Gloucester was born to [Elizabeth A. Parkhill Gloucester](#) and [the Reverend James Newton Gloucester](#) (she would marry George Rice; she would graduate from [Oberlin College](#) in Ohio in 1870 as a black student, and die during 1918).

When [John Mercer Langston](#) graduated from [Oberlin College](#) in this year, his Daguerreotype was made.



Frederick DeBourg Richards of Philadelphia persuaded [Daniel Webster](#) to pose in his top hat, after a speech, for a Daguerreotype. By this point the process had proceeded to the point that Webster, who had expected that he would need to hold exceedingly still for perhaps half an hour, was pleasantly surprised to be informed by Richards that the exposure was already completed. Later the result would be the basis for an engraving by T. Johnson, with the product shown on a following screen.

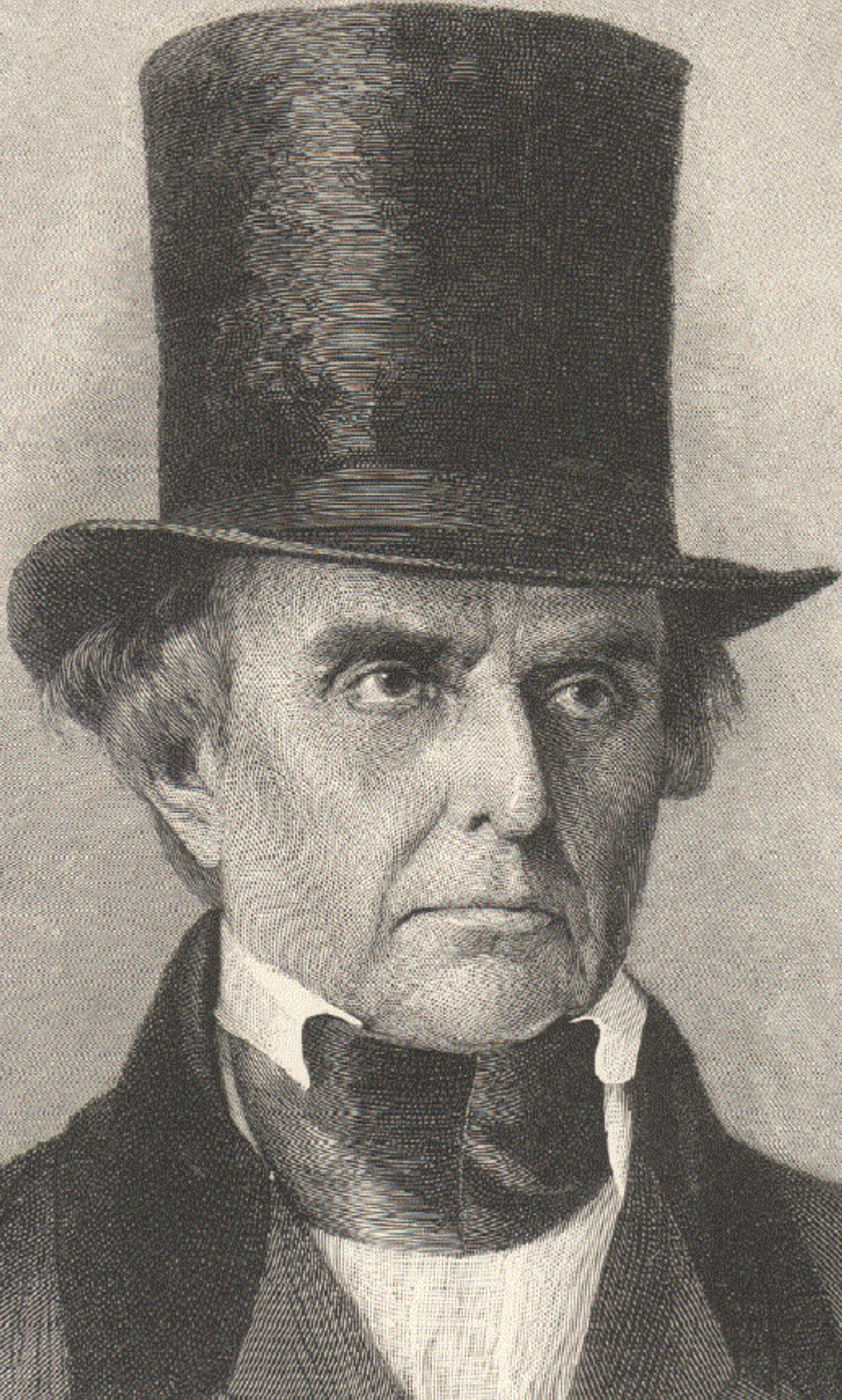
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1851

James Newton Gloucester was born to [Elizabeth A. Parkhill Gloucester](#) and [the Reverend James Newton Gloucester](#) (he would die during 1930).

A revolution in railroad construction was accomplished, the Bollman Bridge at [Harpers Ferry](#) — an all-metal

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HISTORY OF RR

truss that should have been capable of supporting more than one ton of self-manumitting slaves per linear foot.



Harpers Ferry VA from Captain John Brown's overlook in Maryland

JOHN BROWN
BRIDGE DESIGN



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

1854

[Elizabeth A. Parkhill Gloucester](#) and [the Reverend James Newton Gloucester](#) gave up their 2d-hand clothing store on 7th Avenue in [New-York](#).

Victor Hugo, in exile on the island of Guernsey, assisted in the campaign against the hanging by the English government of a local man guilty of murder. After the execution he attempted to transform this agitation into a general campaign for the abolition of [capital punishment](#) by the British.

COLDBLOODED MURDER

He produced at this time what would later be repurposed and would be transformed by its new context into the single most famous and graphic European image to appear in the wake of the raid by American abolitionists upon the US arsenal at [Harpers Ferry](#). In this engraving, in an indistinct scene of gloom, a human figure hangs from a gallows. Shafts of light are, however, falling on the figure on the gallows, from one side of the heavens.

It would be in late 1859 or early 1860 that Hugo would be moved to repurpose this bleak illustration to indicate the figure as being [John Brown](#) on his American gallows, and he would be able to do so simply by inscribing beneath it the words:

*Pro Christo-Sicut Christus, John Brown, - Charleston.
Designed by Victor Hugo.*



RACE WAR

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1856

October: [Sojourner Truth](#) addressed the Michigan Progressive Friends at their annual meeting in Battle Creek, Michigan.

[William Cooper Nell](#) attended graduation ceremonies at [Oberlin, Ohio](#). Emma J. Gloucester was also graduating from [Oberlin College](#) in this year. At some point this student's black parents [James Newton Gloucester](#) and [Elizabeth A. Parkhill Gloucester](#) were purchasing for \$110 (which would amount to about \$11,000 in today's dollars), a 300-square-foot lot, #9817, at Green-Wood Cemetery in Brooklyn, New York.



RACE WAR

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1857

[Elizabeth A. Parkhill Gloucester](#) and [the Reverend James Newton Gloucester](#) opened a furniture store at 881 W. Broadway in [New-York](#). Alfred P. Gloucester was born (this toddler would die during 1859).

The mulatto [Lewis Sheridan Leary](#) went to [Oberlin, Ohio](#) to live.



(He would marry there and make the acquaintance of [John Brown](#) in Cleveland. To go to [Harpers Ferry](#), he would leave behind his wife with a 6-month-old child at Oberlin, she 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.](#), a student at [Oberlin College](#). He would get isolated along with his nephew and [John Henry Kagi](#)



in the armory called Hall's Rifle Works. When the three men would make a run for it, heading down to the Shenandoah River, they would get themselves caught in a crossfire, and after Kagi had been killed and Leary shot several times, he would be taken, his wounds so severe that he would die the following morning. He would be able to dictate messages to his family and is reported as saying "I am ready to die." The Leary child would subsequently be educated by [James Redpath](#) and [Wendell Phillips](#).)

[Charles Plummer Tidd](#) joined [John Brown](#)'s party at Tabor, Kansas.

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(He would become one of the followers of “Shubel Morgan” who would return to Kansas in 1858 to raid into Missouri. During the Winter 1857-1858 encampment of the Brown forces in the Iowa Territory, he would “ruin” a [Quaker](#) girl and the other members of the team would need to sneak him away from Springdale, Iowa during the night. Nevertheless, the group would obtain some recruits not overly impressed with the Peace Testimony of George Fox from among the residents of this town, such as the brothers [Barclay Coppoc](#) and [Edwin Coppoc](#).

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

Tidd and [John E. Cook](#) would be particularly warm friends. He opposed the attack on [Harpers Ferry](#) but nevertheless took part both in the raid on the planter Washington’s home and on the federal arsenal itself, escaped, and made his way on foot toward the northwestern part of Pennsylvania. He and [John Brown](#)’s son [Owen Brown](#) would find work and safety, under assumed names, on an oil well in the vicinity of Crawford County, Pennsylvania. He would visit Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Canada and take part in the planning for the rescue of [Aaron D. Stevens](#) and [Albert Hazlett](#) while the Mason Commission of the Congress was presuming that he had been killed in the fighting at Harpers Ferry. On July 19, 1861 he would be able to enlist under the name “Charles Plummer” and would become a 1st Sergeant of the 21st Massachusetts Volunteers. On February 8, 1862 he would die of fever aboard the transport *Northerner* during the battle of Roanoke Island, 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. [Charles Plummer Tidd](#)’s grave is #40 in the National Cemetery in New Berne, [North Carolina](#).)



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

1858

Charles M. Gloucester was born to [Elizabeth A. Parkhill Gloucester](#) and [the Reverend James Newton Gloucester](#) (he would die during 1908).

[Charles Plummer Tidd](#) was one of the followers of “Shubel Morgan” who returned to the [Kansas Territory](#) to raid into Missouri. He and [John E. Cook](#) became particularly warm friends.



(He would oppose the attack on [Harpers Ferry](#) but nevertheless would take part both in the raid on the planter Washington’s home and on the federal arsenal itself, escape, and make his way on foot toward the northwestern part of Pennsylvania. He and [John Brown](#)’s son [Owen Brown](#) would find work and safety, under assumed names, on an oil well in the vicinity of Crawford County PA. He would visit Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Canada and take part in the planning for the rescue of [Aaron D. Stevens](#) and [Albert Hazlett](#) while the Mason Commission of the Congress was presuming that he had been killed in the fighting at Harpers Ferry. On July 19, 1861 he would be able to enlist under the name “Charles Plummer” and would become a 1st Sergeant of the 21st Massachusetts Volunteers. On February 8, 1862 he would die of fever aboard the transport *Northerner* during the battle of Roanoke Island, 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. [Charles Plummer Tidd](#)’s grave is #40 in the National Cemetery in New Berne, North Carolina.)



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During this year, in Beyer's ALBUM OF VIRGINIA: ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE OLD DOMINION, an illustration of [Harpers Ferry](#) as it appeared from Thomas Jefferson's rock was published:



February 19, Friday: Charlotte L. Forten wrote "Had a letter and some papers from Mr. N [[William Cooper Nell](#)]."

[The Reverend James Newton Gloucester](#) wrote to [Captain John Brown](#): "I wish you Godspeed in Your Glorious work."

When Bernadette Soubirous went to the grotto she was accompanied by 6 or 7 women including her aunt. When three Hail Mary's had been said, the vision of The Lady reappeared, and remained for about half an hour. This time Bernadette had brought a blessed candle, and she would continue to do this.

March 9, Tuesday: With 8 inches of snow on the ground in Concord, Massachusetts, the top 3 inches fresh, it was pretty good sleighing.

[Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) viewed a painting in the Doria-Pamphili Palace, which was at that time being attributed to Leonardo da Vinci. This painting of Joanna of Aragon would appear in THE MARBLE FAUN. We now consider this painting to have been a copy of one at the Louvre in Paris, by Giulio Romano.

When unable to attend a meeting in Philadelphia with Captain [John Brown](#) and other abolitionist leaders, [the Reverend James Newton Gloucester](#) pledged "\$25 more" in lieu of his absence. The money was sent with an instruction to "do battle with that ugly foe, slavery."



March 9. About three inches more of snow fell last night, which, added to about five of the old, makes eight, or more than before since last spring. Pretty good sleighing. The State commonly grants a tract of forest to make an academy out of [this would be placed in MAINE WOODS], for such is the material of which our institutions are made, though only the crudest part of it is used, but the groves of the academy are straightway cut down, and that institution is built of its lumber, its coarsest and least valuable part. Down go the groves of the academy and up goes its frame, — on some bare common far away. And as for the public domains, if



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anybody neglected his civil duties during the last war, he is privileged to cut and slash there, — he is let loose against one hundred and sixty acres of well-behaved trees, as if the liberty he had defended was derived from *liber*, bark, and meant the liberty to bark the trees.



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1859

June 4, Saturday: [John Brown](#) reached [New-York](#). He would linger for a week in the Brooklyn home of [Elizabeth A. Parkhill Gloucester](#) and [the Reverend James Newton Gloucester](#).

During the slavery era our church participated vigorously in the Underground Railroad and escaped slaves were provided food, clothing, and refuge. John Brown stopped by the Siloam Presbyterian Church enroute to Harpers Ferry and an offering of approximately \$25 was raised for him to continue his work.



[Henry Thoreau](#) was being written to by [Simon Brown](#), [David Heard](#), Samuel H. Rhodes [Rhoades??], and John W. Simonds [Simmons??], about a proposed survey of the Concord River and its bridges and water levels.



June 4, Saturday: P.M.—To Flint's Pond.

Cornus alternifolia well out, apparently three or four days. Yellow-eyed grass, how long? *Poa compressa* not quite out.

June 24, 1859 To Billerica dam, surveying the bridges.

Another foggy [sic], amounting from time to time to a fine rain, and more, even to a shower, though the grass was thickly covered with cobwebs in the morning. Yet it was a condensed fog, I should say. Its value appeared to be as a veil to protect the tender vegetation after the long rainy and cloudy weather.

The 22d, 23d, and 24th, I have been surveying the bridges and river from Heard's Bridge to the Billerica dam. I hear of two places in Wayland where there was formerly what was called a hay bridge, but no causeway, at some narrow and shallow place, a hundred years ago or more. Have looked after all the swift and shallow places also.

The testimony of the farmers, etc., is that the river thirty to fifty years ago was much lower in the summer than now. Deacon Richard Heard spoke of playing when a boy on the river side of the bushes where the pads are, and of wading with great ease at Heard's Bridge, and I hear that one Rice (of Wayland or Sudbury), an old man, remembers galloping his horse through the meadows to the edge of the river. The meadow just above the causeway on the Wayland side was spoken of as particularly valuable. Colonel David Heard, who accompanied me and is best acquainted of any with the details of the controversy, — has worked at clearing out the river (I think about 1820), — said that he did not know of a rock in the river from the falls near the Framingham line to perhaps the rear of Hubbard's in Concord.

THE MEADOW LANDS OF THE CONCORD RIVER VALLEY. MEETING OF THE PROPRIETORS AT CONCORD.

It is not generally known throughout the State that thousands of acres of meadow land on the Concord River, from Billerica to Framingham, have been flooded by means of a dam at the former place, so as to seriously damage those lands. The law granting the right of the water power at Billerica was such that the proprietors have ever been unable to obtain redress through the courts. Several cases, growing out of this state of things, have been in litigation for years. The amount of land damaged by these overflows is from ten to fifteen thousand acres, all the way up the river as far as Framingham. The mill proprietors brought a suit against the city of Boston for diverting a part of the Concord river from its natural course, and reservoirs were built above from which water was sent down when needed. This usually happens in the haying season, and is another great source of damage to the owners of the meadows.

Recently an attempt to unite all the interests upon some plan for redress has been made. A preliminary meeting was held some weeks ago, and a committee was then appointed to consider the matter and report something definite.



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A meeting was held December 27th, at the Town Hall, in Concord. About two hundred farmers were present, though this is but a small part of the number interested in the lands. The mill privilege at Billerica is now owned by Mr. Talbot, and he was present, accompanied by his counsel, but took no part in the meeting.

The meeting was called to order at one o'clock by Simon Brown, Esq., of Concord, and, on motion of Samuel H. Rhoades, Esq., of Concord, a committee was appointed to report a list of officers for permanent organization. Simon Brown was chosen President, Col. David Heard, of Wayland, and seven others, Vice-Presidents, and Mr. R.F. Fuller, of Wayland, and Dr. Joseph Reynolds, of Concord, Secretaries.

Mr. Brown opened the question with a clear statement of the position of the proprietors of those meadow lands. He said the first settlers in this town and vicinity had been attracted by its beautiful river and the fine meadows skirting it, which were a yearly source of wealth to the inhabitants. He said they came here to devise some means of obtaining redress. All they wanted was justice, and they came together with the kindest feelings towards every man. He urged those who had an interest in this matter to organize — to take a stand, and raise their colors and nail them to the mast. (Applause.)

Col. David Heard, of Wayland, said he was glad to see so many interested in a question in which he had been working for forty years. Some young men, he said, had run into the idea that these meadow lands were never valuable, but he knew better. He found in an old Assessors' book of the town of Wayland that that town assessed taxes on 1200 acres of meadow. Some of these lands had come into his possession at the rate of \$75 an acre. These lands, he said, had been stolen inch by inch, under the law, if it could be called law, which had kept them out of their just dues. He said he had been entrusted with much responsibility in the law suits that had been carried on, and he had no doubt but he might have raised a company at any time to have torn down the dam, and allowed the owner to sue for damages. But the people had forborne continually through their defeat. He said he was determined to continue the suit as long as he had the means. Besides this, the Cochituate reservoirs were let loose in haying time, when the water was low, and this did serious damage. In fact, he said, they had a dam at both ends, and a curse between them.

Mr. Brown, the chairman, added a few remarks, in regard to the damage done to lands owned by him. Rich and fertile bottom lands were rendered nearly valueless.

The committee, appointed at a previous meeting, reported the following series of resolutions, upon which remarks were invited:

Whereas, it is believed by many owners of land upon the Concord River and its tributaries, that their lands have been of late much more injured than formerly by inundations caused by obstructions, by dams or otherwise, and by retaining the waters in reservoirs and suddenly releasing them in the warm season;

And, whereas, in various other parts of the Commonwealth, as well as in this country, great destruction of crops, and great injury to health, is produced by interference with the natural flow of our streams and rivers, whereby the drainage and cultivation of vast tracts of most valuable lands are prevented;

And, whereas, it is believed that the peace of the community, and the security of land and mill owners, and the interests of agriculture, would be promoted by carefully ascertaining and defining, and by publishing by record or otherwise, the legal height of all dams, or other obstructions, on all our streams and rivers, and of all privileges, limitations and restrictions incident thereto; therefore,

Resolved, That a Committee be raised to investigate and report at a future meeting what dams or other obstructions are maintained on the Concord River or its tributaries, and whether any of said obstructions are illegal, giving such information as may be obtained of the claims, legal and illegal, of mill owners and others who maintain them.

2. That it is expedient that an act of the Legislature be passed, to provide for defining and recording the height of all dams and other obstructions on all streams and rivers in the Commonwealth, and of all privileges, limitations and restrictions incident thereto.

3. That the interests of agriculture require that provision be made by law, so that in proper cases dams and other obstructions to the natural flow of the water may be removed or lowered, or restricted in their use as to the season of the year or otherwise, upon just compensation to be paid by the parties benefited to those injured by such proceedings.

4. That this meeting are determined fully to investigate the complaints of land-owners on the Concord River and its tributaries, and to persevere by all lawful means to protect the rights of land owners, the health of the community, and the interests of agriculture, against all illegal encroachments of those who control the dams and other obstructions thereon; and further, to procure such legislation as may be necessary to relieve our most valuable lands of the curse of a second deluge, whether caused by legal or illegal obstructions.

The following resolution was afterwards added, on motion of Mr. R.F. Fuller, of Wayland:



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Whereas, The special remedy prescribed by the statute for the flowage of lands on the Concord River by the proprietors of the Middlesex Canal has been in such a form and so limited in point of time, under the construction which has been given to it by the Supreme Judicial Court, as practically to furnish no remedy whatever; therefore,

Resolved, That adequate remedies should be provided by the Legislature for injuries to land-owner on the Concord River and its tributaries for the damage annually done by the flowage of their lands, and furnishing, as the general mill acts do, compensation year by year for the annual injury to the land and the crops.

Mr. R.F. Fuller, of Wayland, said he was one of the meadow proprietors, and he sympathized entirely in the spirit of the resolutions, as he presumed every man who owned any of the meadow land would. He believed that the only redress to be had was from the General Court. The courts could not award justice unless the law allowed it, and in this case the law-makers had been at fault. The act giving leave to build the canal provided that any one receiving damage thereby should sue within one year and in the Court of Sessions. That court was abolished about the time the act was passed, and the Supreme Court had held that in the above provision the damage referred to the "source of the damage," which in this case was the building of the dam. Under the present laws no redress could be had.

Dr. Joseph Reynolds, of Concord, read from a work descriptive of Middlesex county, as it was when first settled, and for years afterwards, showing the wealth of meadow land then existing. He presumed that the meadows on the river now were not worth more than half as much as they were forty years ago, or possibly twenty-five years ago. He said thousands were suffering from this evil, which was continually increasing, and it was only to favor a very few.

Col. Heard said there was one consideration not yet touched upon. The stagnant waters had already shown their pernicious effects upon the atmosphere; and farms finely situated in Wayland had been sold at one-third their former price, on this account. These, he declared, were by no means rare cases.

Mr. Barker, of Weston, corroborated the remarks of previous speakers. He owned a meadow which was uncommonly high, and he had thought that it could never be damaged by water. But for the last few years his meadow had been worse than worthless. He had paid taxes and received no income.

Mr. Heard, of Wayland, said he did not own an acre of meadow land, but he was interested, and so was every person who lived on the banks of the Concord river. If the evil should be allowed to continue, the inhabitants would be driven back from the river banks. The stench from the river was sometimes very bad. He looked upon it as a nuisance; and he hoped it would be removed one way or another. He would advocate the matter sanctioned by Judge Shaw of removing a nuisance. (Applause.)

The Chairman said if this was anything but a meeting of farmers, there would be fifty present charged full to bursting with speeches. Here were men who had suffered damages for half a century, and they would not be heard from. He would introduce a gentleman and a lawyer, from another State, who, he said, had probably tried more cases of flowage than any other man in New England. He introduced Judge French, of New Hampshire. Judge French said he was not present to take any part in this local question, but he stated some valuable facts from his experience. He said he believed, and he had said so many times before, that the amount of meadow land overflowed by the dams of manufacturing companies would raise wood enough ten times over to carry those mills by steam. He advised the proprietors of these meadow lands to ask the Legislature to give them a law, if they had none adequate, under which this dam may be lowered, or, if necessary, entirely removed, and a compensation made to the proprietors of the dam. He had no doubt that the Massachusetts General Court would give such a law, when the circumstances were known. Massachusetts had, in 1855, passed the best drainage law in the world; by which a man was given power to drain through any adjacent lands. He believed this was, in spirit, fully up to such an act as was wanted. In England, where a large territory had been overflowed, the evil had been removed by an act of Parliament, by which the proprietors had been compensated in a degree sufficient to support a steam power equal to the water power taken from them, and the streams were allowed to go free as God had intended they should.

Mr. Abel Gleason, of Wayland, made some remarks, mostly corroborative of the other speakers. He spoke of the inconvenience and damage from the waters sent down from the Cochituate reservoirs above, during the haying season.

Col. Heard said he knew that the whole fall of the river from Wayland to Billerica, twenty-two miles, was only two feet; but he believed, in common with several other speakers, that the water in the river at this point was several feet higher than it was at the dam in Billerica.

Deacon Heard, from Wayland, made some remarks upon the effects of the dam.

Judge French, being requested, explained that, by the law that made water run down hill, the surface of the water must be somewhat descending; and that it was very natural that the water should be piled up higher twenty miles back than at the dam.



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The resolutions were then passed without any opposition.

Mr. Samuel H. Rhoades moved that the officers of this meeting, and such persons as the meeting might add, be appointed an Executive Committee to strengthen, perfect and continue this organization, and to raise such funds as may be necessary to secure its objects. The committee was raised as follows:

Simon Brown, of Concord, President; Col. David Heard, of Wayland, Elijah Wood, Jr., of Concord, John Eaton, of Sudbury, Jonas Smith, of Lincoln, Jonathan Hill, of Billerica, Nathan O. Reed, of Bedford, Thomas Page, of Carlisle, Charles Fisk, of Framingham, Vice Presidents; R.F. Fuller, of Wayland, Dr. Joseph Reynolds, of Concord, Secretaries, and Samuel H. Rhoades, of Concord, Treasurer. To whom were added Nathan Barker, of Weston, and Thomas J. Damon, of Wayland.

After some further remarks, in which no new facts were elicited, the meeting dissolved.

It was estimated by several of the speakers that the amount of property damaged — much of it rendered valueless — was as much as a million dollars. — Boston Journal.

June 7, Tuesday: [Captain John Brown](#) had departed from [New-York](#) and arrived at Troy, [New York](#). The Brooklyn [Eagle](#) would report the final conversation with [Elizabeth A. Parkhill Gloucester](#) before he departed from the Gloucester home in Brooklyn for his agenda at [Harpers Ferry](#):

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." John Brown left New York, went to Harper's [sic] Ferry, and on into the history books.



[THOREAU MADE NO ENTRY IN HIS JOURNAL FOR JUNE 7th]

December 4, Sunday: Following [John Brown](#)'s hanging, [the Reverend James Newton Gloucester](#) held memorial services at Siloam Presbyterian Church in Brooklyn, [New York](#).



December 4: Awake to winter, and snow two or three inches deep, the first of any consequence.

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RACE WAR

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1861

During the [Civil War Elizabeth A. Parkhill Gloucester](#) would lead efforts to raise funds for freedmen and Union soldiers.

A company of 100 college students was formed, called the “Monroe Rifles” after their Professor James Monroe. They were led by Captain Giles Shurtleff, a theology student and tutor in Latin at [Oberlin College](#). They would become Company C of the 7th [Ohio](#) Volunteer Infantry that was being formed up with the assistance of [John Mercer Langston](#) and Shurtleff would become the Colonel in charge of the regiment (in this



formation, this being America, neither a professional man such as Langston nor any of the other men of color would ever have any chance whatever of becoming officers). Besides the college students, 4 of [Oberlin, Ohio](#)'s black men were in the regiment. In all, eventually, close to a thousand men of the town (including 50 black men) would enlist during the Civil War.

In New Orleans, also, many able-bodied free black men were seeking to enlist, to fight on the side of the Confederacy! Louisiana would decline their services, but would proudly hold bragging rights about the fact that these black citizens had sought to volunteer. Most of these black volunteers were merely property-owners seeking, like white local householders, to protect the city from a destructive foreign invasion. They may also have held false hopes that such patriotic service could reduce the levels of white persecution, or, they may have



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had a presentiment that if the North freed the slaves, the general impact of this would be seen not so much in the leveling upward of the condition of the former slaves to match the current condition of the Southern free black population, as in the leveling downward of the condition of the former freemen, under the “Jim Crow” —As we will see, the general impact of the Emancipation Proclamation and the XIIIth Amendment to the US Constitution would be not so much in the leveling upward of the condition of the “liberated” black slaves to match the previous condition of the small Southern free black population, as in the leveling downward of the condition of these former freemen, under the “Jim Crow” Black Code of segregation, to the condition of “sharecropper” — someone who would always be, as depicted in the movie “The Color Purple,” merely a disposable slave of the white society as a while, toward whom no particular white person needed to display any affect other than hostility or any behavior other than persecution.

US CIVIL WAR



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

1870

In [Oberlin, Ohio](#), Professor [James Monroe](#) purchased the grand “Monroe House” from General Giles Shurtleff.

[Elizabeth A. Parkhill Gloucester](#) and [the Reverend James Newton Gloucester](#)’s black daughters Adelaide “Ella” Gloucester and Louisa “Eloise” R. Gloucester graduated from [Oberlin College](#) in Ohio.



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1878

At some point in the 1870s, [Susan B. Anthony](#), along with Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Matilda Joslyn Gage, had begun to undertake the difficult task of writing their massive HISTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE. Anthony did not consider this the most pleasant task she ever faced –she said she would rather make history than write it– but nevertheless the first three volumes had been published by 1886, and the HISTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE eventually would be six volumes long).



Mrs. William Choate founded the [New-York](#) Exchange for Woman’s Work, to enable women (especially [Civil War](#) widows) to sell homemade goods and earn money.

[Elizabeth A. Parkhill Gloucester](#)’s main occupation and source of income became the boarding house the family had opened at 144 Remsen Street in Brooklyn, [New-York](#).

A federal amendment to provide to adult women citizens the franchise to vote was introduced for the 1st time, by Senator A.A. Sargeant of California.

The 1st International Woman’s Rights Congress, in Paris, France.

FEMINISM



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

1883

August: [Elizabeth A. Parkhill Gloucester](#) died of pneumonia in her 70s, and the funeral was held at Remsen House, which was the family residence and also an upscale boarding house. In accordance with her wealth and community standing, the Brooklyn [Eagle](#) sent a reporter to the funeral, who recorded that “the flowers filled the room with an abundance of fragrance, and the heavy odor of the day lily was mixed with the delicate perfume of the tea rose. In the handsome silver mounted casket rested all that remained of the late Mrs. Elizabeth A. Gloucester, the calm, dark face of the deceased coming in strong contrast to the white satin cushion around it. Gathered in the elegant apartment was a congregation of people as has seldom before come together in Brooklyn. It was made up of richly dressed white ladies, fashionably attired gentlemen, and a number of well-known colored people of this city and New York.” The casket was deposited in the family plot #9817 at Green-Wood Cemetery in Brooklyn, [New York](#), that the couple had purchased in 1856. At the time of her death she was one of the wealthiest women in America and widely believed to be the nation’s very richest woman of color. Her widower [the Reverend Doctor James Newton Gloucester](#) had become a physician with a large office on the corner of Willoughby Street and Duffield Street, with a large glass sign announcing his name and office hours. Her will was elaborate, and left her properties in the control of two executors, Manhattan attorney Francis T. Garrestson and Dr. John McClune Smith. Their instruction was to divide the estate into 7 equal parts invested for each of the 6 children plus the widower. The widower was to receive during his lifetime the income derived from investment of his 7th portion, with at his death both the principal and the interest from this 7th portion to be divided among the surviving children.

In a codicil to the will the 1stborn daughter Mrs. Emma J. Gloucester White had been disinherited for “undutiful conduct,” with her share to be divided among the others. She would contest the will separately from her father. The remaining sisters would run the boarding house “Remsen House” as their mother had until eventually they would sell the building back to the toney Hamilton Club.

September 22, Saturday: According to a headline in the [New-York Globe](#), “Mrs. Gloucester’s Will to be Contested.” ([Elizabeth A. Parkhill Gloucester](#), skilled as a real-estate investor, had also held in her name a furniture store in Brooklyn. Her prize property had been an edifice that had formerly housed the Hamilton Club, at the corner of Remsen and Clinton streets in Brooklyn Heights. This old established white-men’s club for Brooklyn bluebloods, named for Alexander Hamilton, had relocated to a new location and she was able to transform it into a home for her family and also into an upscale boarding establishment that she denominated “Remsen House.” In her will she had left most of her estate to her children. The will was contested by the widower, [the Reverend Doctor James Newton Gloucester](#), who had engaged the services of [New-York](#)’s one black attorney, John F. Quarles, who was maintaining that any transactions made in her name had actually been not with her money but with his money. The court would decide that as the co-owner of her businesses he deserved a substantial portion of her estate. He would proceed to make his own real-estate investments but these investments would go sour.)



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

1886

[The Reverend Doctor James Newton Gloucester](#), in his 60s, purchased a couple of farms on Long Island (these investments would not do well).



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

1887

1st use of electric streetcars in [New-York](#).

The National Institute of Health was created (as the Hygienic Laboratory) on Staten Island.

Austrian immigrant Antone Stander arrived in [New-York](#) (he would soon be off for the Klondike).

Twin daughters Julia and Comfort Tiffany were born to designer Louis Comfort Tiffany and his wife.

Charles Gloucester, who had inherited the magnificent sum of \$20,000 from his mother [Elizabeth A. Parkhill Gloucester](#)'s estate at the age of 20, had squandered this inheritance in but 5 years. He disappeared while the main suspect in a series of burglaries at his father [the Reverend Doctor James Newton Gloucester](#)'s house on Duffield Street. The police investigation would also implicate Charles in a series of burglaries at the Brooklyn, [New-York](#) boarding house run by his sisters, Remsen House.



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

1890

March 21, Friday: [James Newton Gloucester](#) died of pneumonia at Remsen House in Brooklyn, [New-York](#) at the age of 79, attended by his daughters. For some time he had been not a minister but a practicing physician, although he treated his patients with herbal remedies and with water and cider concoctions. He trusted in the power of certain waters to heal, specifically the water from one of his Long Island farms with the addition of specific salts. Despite a number of failed real-estate investments, the estate he had received after contesting the will of his wife in 1883 still contained more than \$100,000 (some \$10,000,000 in today's money). His will, like the will of his deceased wife, was complex, and specified that his 2 sons were to receive but \$50 each, the balance going to his daughters.

March 23, Sunday: The body of [James Newton Gloucester](#) was placed next to the body of his wife [Elizabeth A. Parkhill Gloucester](#) (who had died in 1883), in family plot #9817 at Green-Wood Cemetery in Brooklyn, [New-York](#). The son Charles Gloucester, who had disappeared in 1887 while under suspicion of having burglarized his family's homes, surfaced on this day with a demand that the circumstances of his father's death be investigated. Dr. Gloucester's will had specified that his 2 sons receive but \$50 each and Charles was furious.

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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



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

Prepared: September 1, 2016



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

ARRGH AUTOMATED RESearch REPORT

GENERATION HOTLINE



This stuff presumably looks to you as if it were generated by a human. Such is not the case. Instead, someone has requested that we pull it out of the hat of a pirate who has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (as above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture (this is data mining). To respond to such a request for information we merely push a button.



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

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@brown.edu>. Arrgh.