## Go To List of People Involved in Harpers Ferry

#### Various Personages Involved



### IN THE



# FOMENTING OF RACE WAR (RATHER THAN CIVIL WAR)

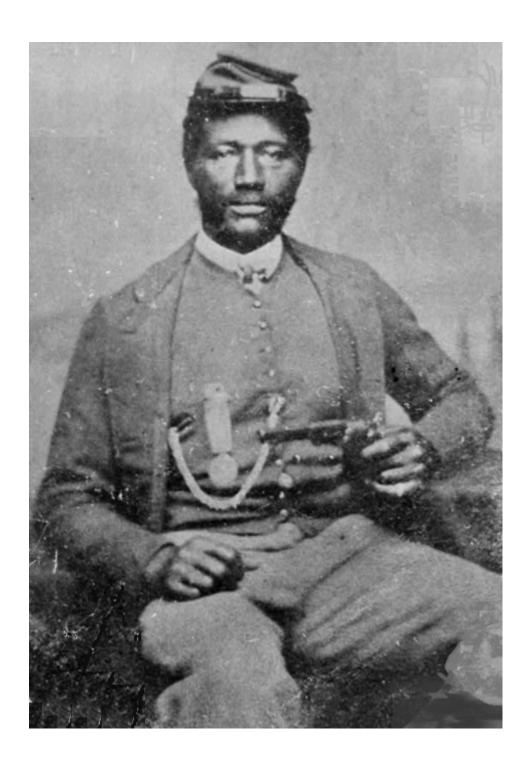
### IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No one associated with Captain John Brown, and no one associated with politics in North Carolina, has ever been awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor.

"J.H. Harris" signed, as a member of a Vigilance Committee, on May 8th, 1858, the "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States" in Chatham, Ontario West, Canada, a document which would be found on the person of John Brown when he was captured at Harpers Ferry on October 18th, 1859. Although another person of this name, James Henry Harris, had been born a slave in Granville County, North Carolina and had gained his freedom at the age of 18 in about 1848, he was not this "J.H. Harris." Educated at Oberlin College, he would hold a teaching certificate from the New England Freedman's Aid Society. He was of Cleveland in 1859, and a member of the 102d US Colored Infantry formed in Michigan by George DeBaptiste that included so many men from Chatham. He would attend the 1st Freedmen's Convention in the South, held in what would become the St. Paul A.M.E. Church on Edenton Street in Raleigh during September 1865 as a representative of Wake County. He would become the 1st black alderman from Raleigh, and a delegate from Raleigh to the North Carolina Constitutional Convention of 1868; he got married with Bettie Miller, a daughter of Addison J. Smith and Mary Anderson, a cousin of Osborn Perry Anderson; he died in 1891 in Washington DC and the remains are at Mount Hope Cemetery in Raleigh. There is yet a 3d James H. Harris, who was not this "J.H. Harris" signatory, who was belatedly awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor and is interred in the remote section of Arlington National Cemetery that was reserved for colored soldiers, and for contrabands.











### THOSE INVOLVED, ARRANGED ALPHABETICALLY







| S | EC | CR | ET | "S | IX" |
|---|----|----|----|----|-----|
|   |    |    |    |    |     |

| Person's Name              | On Raid? | Shot Dead? | Hanged? | His Function | Age | Race  |
|----------------------------|----------|------------|---------|--------------|-----|-------|
| Charles Francis Adams, Sr. | No       | No         | No      | Finance      |     | white |

<u>Charles Francis Adams, Sr.</u> subscribed to the racist agenda of <u>Eli Thayer</u>'s and <u>Amos Lawrence</u>'s New England Emigrant Aid Company, for the creation of an Aryan Nation in the territory then well known as <u>"Bleeding Kansas,"</u> to the tune of \$25,000.

| Jeremiah Goldsmith Anderson | Yes | Yes |  | Captain or Lt. | 26 | white |
|-----------------------------|-----|-----|--|----------------|----|-------|
|-----------------------------|-----|-----|--|----------------|----|-------|

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, Virginia, had been a soldier in the revolution and a slaveholder. He went to school at Galesburg, Illinois and Kossuth, Iowa 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 10 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 1st 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 "J. Anderson" among the signatories to "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States," from a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued at Harpers Ferry on October 18, 1859. He was thrust through with a bayonet by one of the Marines, and pinned against the wall. A white man, he was taken by the attackers to be a light mulatto and tortured: "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." The corpse would be sent for the instruction of students at the medical college in Winchester, Virginia along with that of Watson Brown (a corpse found on the banks of the Shenandoah River was more likely that of a local slave).

| John Anderson | ? | ? |  | Private | < 30 | of color |
|---------------|---|---|--|---------|------|----------|
|---------------|---|---|--|---------|------|----------|



## RACE WAR,

### NOT CIVIL WAR

| Person's Name Or | Raid? Shot Dead? | aid? Shot Dead? Hanged? His Function | Age | Race |  |
|------------------|------------------|--------------------------------------|-----|------|--|
|------------------|------------------|--------------------------------------|-----|------|--|



<u>John Anderson</u>, a free black youth from Boston allegedly killed at <u>Harpers Ferry</u>. Nothing is known as to who he was, other than that he was young, or where he came from, other than from <u>Boston</u> — and it is even possible that actually there had been no such person as this in <u>John Brown</u>'s company. (The <u>John Anderson</u> we do know about had an entirely different life trajectory, in Canada.)

| Osborn Perry Anderson | Yes | No | No | Private | 29 | of color |
|-----------------------|-----|----|----|---------|----|----------|
|-----------------------|-----|----|----|---------|----|----------|

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, Pennsylvania. He had learned the printing trade in Canada, where he had met John Brown in 1858. He was a member of Congress of John Brown's Provisional Government in Chatham, Ontario in May 1858 and was "Osborn Anderson" on the list of signatories of the "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States"; a member of the Vigilance Committee in Chatham and Windsor in September 1858. He would write later of the fight at Harpers Ferry and his escape in A VOICE FROM HARPER'S FERRY: "We were together eight days before [John Edwin Cook and Albert Hazlett were] captured, which was near Chambersburg, and the next night Meriam [Francis Jackson Meriam] left us and went to Shippensburg, and there took cars for Philadelphia. After that there were but three of us left [Brown's son Owen Brown, Barclay Coppoc, and Charles Plummer Tidd], and we kept together, until we got to Centre County, Pennsylvania, where we bought a box and packed up all heavy luggage, such as rifles, blankets, etc., and after being together three or four weeks we separated...." Anderson, Coppoc, and Meriam had journeyed separately to safe exile in the area of St. Catharines, Canada. Anderson enlisted in the US Army in 1864, becoming a recruiter and/or noncommissioned officer for a unit as yet undetermined, and mustered out in Washington DC at the close of the war (he would be identified by his father Vincent Anderson in 1872 as having been a recruiter for the "western regiments"). He was a member of the Equal Rights League in 1865, and represented Michigan at the National Convention of Colored Men in 1869. He died a pauper of TB and lack of care in Washington on December 13, 1872.

| John Albion Andrew | No |  |  |  |  | white |
|--------------------|----|--|--|--|--|-------|
|--------------------|----|--|--|--|--|-------|

Despite the fact that <u>John Albion Andrew</u> was a prominent Massachusetts politician, <u>Franklin Benjamin Sanborn</u> of the <u>Secret "Six"</u> would indicate long after the raid on <u>Harpers Ferry</u>, <u>John Brown</u>'s "general purpose of attacking slavery by force, in Missouri or elsewhere, was known in 1857-8-9" to Governor Andrew.

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.

| Charles Blair | No | No | No | Armament |  | white |
|---------------|----|----|----|----------|--|-------|
|---------------|----|----|----|----------|--|-------|



# RACE WAR,

# NOT CIVIL WAR

| Person's Name  | On Raid?  | Shot Dead?   | Hanged?   | His Function  | Age                                     | Race                                     |  |  |  |  |
|--|---|--|---|---|---|--|--|--|--|--|
| <u>Charles Blair</u> supplied the pikes.   |   |  |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |  |
| Ann Brown  | No  | No   | No  | Supporter   |   | white                                    |  |  |  |  |
| 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.  |   |  |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |  |
| Frederick Brown  | No  | No   | No  | Supporter   |   | white                                    |  |  |  |  |
| Frederick Brown was fanatical attracted to a young lady. He win the fighting in "Bleeding Ka"  Jason Brown   | ould have been  |  | -   | •   |   |  |  |  |  |  |
| OMPONI DIVINI  | 110   | 110  | 110   | Sapporter   | 30                                      | WHILE                                    |  |  |  |  |
| Jason Brown, one of the elder a become an inventor. He took p Osawatomie Creek, but was not in the property of | art in the battle<br>ot at <u>Harpers Fe</u>  | at Black Jack in   | "Bleeding Ka  | nsas," and in the kil   | lings on                                | the                                      |  |  |  |  |
| become an inventor. He took p  | art in the battle<br>ot at <u>Harpers Fe</u>  | at Black Jack in   | "Bleeding Ka  | nsas," and in the kil   | lings on                                | the                                      |  |  |  |  |
| become an inventor. He took posawatomie Creek, but was not in the mountains above Pasade   | art in the battle of at Harpers Fe na, California.  Yes   | at Black Jack in erry. He and his b  | "Bleeding Ka<br>rother Owen F   | nsas," and in the kil<br>Brown would becom  | lings on                                | the<br>growers                           |  |  |  |  |
| become an inventor. He took posawatomie Creek, but was not in the mountains above Pasade  John Brown   | art in the battle of at Harpers Fe na, California.  Yes   | at Black Jack in erry. He and his b  | "Bleeding Ka<br>rother Owen F   | nsas," and in the kil<br>Brown would becom  | lings on                                | the<br>growers                           |  |  |  |  |
| become an inventor. He took p Osawatomie Creek, but was no in the mountains above Pasade  John Brown  John Brown, "Captain" John "S  | art in the battle at Harpers Fe na, California.  Yes  No  of the Harpers would go into l US Senate, wo                | at Black Jack in arry. He and his be Multiple wounds  "Isaac Smith" B  No  Ferry raid and Conding in Ohio an ould refuse to app  | Yes  Yes  Yes  Town.  No  aptain John Brid, when sumn ear. During th                        | nsas," and in the kil Brown would becom  Commander  Supporter  rown's eldest son, hanned to appear before Civil War he serve                  | 38 ad traine ore the ed as Ca           | white  white  white                      |  |  |  |  |
| John Brown, "Captain" John "S  John Brown, Jr.  John Brow | art in the battle at Harpers Fe na, California.  Yes  No  of the Harpers would go into l US Senate, wo                | at Black Jack in arry. He and his be Multiple wounds  "Isaac Smith" B  No  Ferry raid and Conding in Ohio an ould refuse to app  | Yes  Yes  Yes  Town.  No  aptain John Brid, when sumn ear. During th                        | nsas," and in the kil Brown would becom  Commander  Supporter  rown's eldest son, hanned to appear before Civil War he serve                  | 38 ad traine ore the ed as Ca           | white  white  white                      |  |  |  |  |
| John Brown, "Captain" John "S  John Brown, "Captain" John "S  John Brown, Jr.  John Brown,  | art in the battle at Harpers Fe na, California.  Yes  No  of the Harpers would go into I US Senate, wo Cavalry. He an | at Black Jack in arry. He and his beauty. He and his beauty. He and his beauty. Wounds  "Isaac Smith" B  No  Ferry raid and Conding in Ohio and and refuse to apped his family wounds. | Yes  Yes  Town.  No  aptain John Bod, when summer. During the ld then find per law of Capta | commander  Supporter  Supporter  Commander  Supporter  Supporter  Supporter  Supporter  Supporter  Supporter  Supporter  Supporter  Supporter | 38 ad trained or the ed as Cap on South | white  white  white  white  white  white |  |  |  |  |



| Person's Name                    | On Raid?       | Shot Dead?         | Hanged?        | His Function          | Age     | Race     |
|----------------------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|-----------------------|---------|----------|
| Oliver Brown, the youngest of Jo | ohn Brown's so | ons to reach adult | hood, was born | n in Franklin, Ohio o | n 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.

| Owen Brown | Yes | No | No | Captain | 35 | white |
|------------|-----|----|----|---------|----|-------|
|------------|-----|----|----|---------|----|-------|

Owen Brown, 3d of John Brown's sons and his stalwart aid both in "Bleeding Kansas" and at Harper's Ferry, was born November 4, 1824 at Hudson, Ohio. With a withered arm, he had been attempting to make a career of writing humor articles for newspapers. His name was among the signatories to "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States," from a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued at Harpers Ferry on October 18, 1859. He was 35 at the time of the Harpers Ferry raid. He escaped on foot toward the northwestern part of Pennsylvania. It was due largely to his psychological grit and his endurance that the little group of survivors of which he was the leader managed to make it out. He and Charles Plummer Tidd found work and safety under assumed names on an oil-well crew in Crawford County, Pennsylvania. He was the only one of the 5 escaped raiders not to participate in the civil war. He would never marry. He would grow grapes for some time in Ohio in association with 2 of his brothers, and then migrate west, and would be the final survivor of the raiders when he would die on January 9, 1891 at his mountain home "Brown's Peak" near Pasadena, California. A marble monument marked the mountain grave, until during July 2002 it mysteriously disappeared — since the grave was not a registered historical landmark, and not in a cemetery, there would be no investigation.

| Salmon Brown | No |  |  |  | 23 | white |
|--------------|----|--|--|--|----|-------|
|--------------|----|--|--|--|----|-------|

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.

| Watson Brown | Yes | Yes |  | Captain | 24 | white |
|--------------|-----|-----|--|---------|----|-------|
|--------------|-----|-----|--|---------|----|-------|

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. The corpse would be sent for the instruction of students at the medical college in Winchester, Virginia. Recovering the skeleton from this college during the Civil War, his mother Mary Ann Day Brown eventually would be able to rebury it in the Adirondacks, before heading off to her retirement in California.

| John E. Cook | Yes | No | Yes | Captain | 29 | white |
|--------------|-----|----|-----|---------|----|-------|
|--------------|-----|----|-----|---------|----|-------|



| Person's Name | On Raid? | Shot Dead? | Hanged? | His Function | Age | Race | ١ |
|---------------|----------|------------|---------|--------------|-----|------|---|
|---------------|----------|------------|---------|--------------|-----|------|---|

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. The name "John E. Cook" was among the signatories to "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States," from a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued at Harpers Ferry on October 18, 1859. He had been dispatched by John Brown to Harpers Ferry more than a year before the raid to work out the details on the ground and had secured employment as a lock tender on the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal, as a schoolteacher, and as a bookseller. He had gotten married with a Chambersburg, Pennsylvania woman, Mary V. Kennedy, on April 18th, 1859. After being sent out by Captain Brown to collect weapons, and having escaped by climbing into a tree and watching the events transpire, and after having evaded capture for some months, against the advice of his comrades he became reckless in his search for food and was captured on October 25th, 8 miles from Chambersburg. As an incessant and compulsive communicator he had always been considered by the Brown operatives to be indiscreet. In a confession which would be published as a pamphlet at Charles Town in the middle of November 1859 for the benefit of Samuel C. Young, a man who had been crippled for life in the fighting, Cook would detail for his captors all his movements from the point of his 1st meeting with Brown after the battle of Black Jack in June 1856 until after his capture. At the last moment he would seek to save himself by representing that he had been deceived through false promises. For this revelation Cook would be severely censured at the time, being termed "Judas." Despite his confession, and despite his brother-in-law A.P. Willard being the governor of Indiana, he would in the end, one of the last, be also hanged for the treason and murder at Harpers Ferry, on December 16th.

| John Anderson Copeland, Jr. | Yes | No | Yes | Private | < 30 | of color |
|-----------------------------|-----|----|-----|---------|------|----------|
|-----------------------------|-----|----|-----|---------|------|----------|

John Anderson Copeland, Jr. was an Oberlin, Ohio carpenter and freeborn black American who was the son of a slave. He was active in the Oberlin Anti-Slavery Society. It was rumored that he escorted John Price to Canada after the Oberlin-Wellington Rescue. Copeland later participated in the raid on the Harpers Ferry armory with John Brown. He got trapped in "Hall's Rifle Works" along with his uncle Lewis Sheridan Leary and John Henry Kagi. When the 3 made a run for the Shenandoah River they got caught in a crossfire, but after Kagi had been killed and Leary had been shot several times and placed under arrest, Copeland was able to surrender without having been wounded. He refused to speak during his trial and was hanged with too short a drop and thus strangled slowly. On December 29, when a crowd of 3,000 would attend his funeral in his hometown of Oberlin, Ohio, there would be no body to bury, for after his cadaver had been temporarily interred in Charles Town it had been dug up and was in service in the instruction of students at the medical college in Winchester, Virginia. A monument was erected by the citizens of Oberlin in honor of their three fallen free citizens of color, Copeland, Leary, and Shields Green (the 8-foot marble monument would be moved to Vine Street Park in 1971). Judge Parker would assert in his story of the trials (St. Louis Globe Democrat, April 8, 1888) that Copeland had been "the prisoner who impressed me best. He was a free negro. He had been educated, and there was a dignity about him that I could not help liking. He was always manly." Andrew Hunter at the same time was quoted as saying-"Copeland was the cleverest of all the prisoners ... and behaved better than any of them. If I had had the power and could have concluded to pardon any man among them, he was the man I would have picked out." On the day that he died Copeland declared, "If I am dying for freedom, I could not die for a better cause — I had rather die than be a slave!" (Paul Finkelman avers on page 49 of His Soul Goes Marching On: Responses to John Brown and the Harpers Ferry Raid that his middle name was "Anthony" rather than "Anderson.")



| Person's Name  | On Raid? | Shot Dead? | Hanged? | His Function | Age  | Race  |
|----------------|----------|------------|---------|--------------|------|-------|
| Barclay Coppoc | Yes      | No         | No      | Private      | < 21 | white |

Barclay Coppoc, from the Quaker settlement of Springdale, Jowa, was born in Salem, Ohio on January 4, 1839, and had not attained his majority at the time of the raid on Harpers Ferry. This Quaker escaped, although his adopted brother Edwin Coppoc surrendered and was tried and hanged. "We were together eight days before [John Edwin Cook and Albert Hazlett were] captured, which was near Chambersburg, and the next night Meriam [Francis Jackson Meriam] left us and went to Shippensburg, and there took cars for Philadelphia. After that there were but three of us left [John Brown's son Owen Brown, Barclay Coppoc, and Charles Plummer Tidd], and we kept together, until we got to Centre County, Pennsylvania, where we bought a box and packed up all heavy luggage, such as rifles, blankets, etc., and after being together three or four weeks we separated and I went on through with the box to Ohio on the cars." Osborn Perry Anderson, Barclay Coppoc, and Francis Jackson Meriam would travel separately to safe exile in the area of St. Catharines, Canada. Barclay then went to his family home in Iowa, with Virginia agents in close pursuit. There a band of young men armed themselves to defend him, and the Religious Society of Friends disowned him for bearing arms. He was back in "Bleeding Kansas" in 1860, helping to run off some Missouri slaves, and nearly lost his life in a second undertaking of this kind. He became a 1st Lieutenant in Colonel Montgomery's regiment, the 3d Kansas Infantry. Soon he was killed by the fall of a train into the Platte river from a trestle 40 feet high, the supports of which had been burned away by Confederates.

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

"sorry to say that I was ever induced to raise a gun."

He was hung with <u>John Edwin Cook</u> 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 <u>Edwin Coppoc</u> was buried in Winona, Iowa after a funeral attended by the entire town (later the body would be reburied in Salem, Ohio).

| Richard Henry Dana, Jr. | No | No | No | Enabler |  | white |
|-------------------------|----|----|----|---------|--|-------|
|-------------------------|----|----|----|---------|--|-------|

Treason being punished as what it is, why would the downtown Boston lawyer <u>Richard Henry Dana, Jr.</u> allow himself to become legal counsel to a "Secret Six" committee that was funding the activities of <u>Captain John Brown</u>, as that loose cannon prepared to raid the federal arsenal at <u>Harpers Ferry, Virginia</u>? 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.



### 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 |

Dr. Martin Robison Delany, Pennsylvania, 1843; attended the Colored National Convention of 1848; attended the Emigration Convention of 1854; a member of the Niger Valley Exploring Party in 1858; a member of the Vigilance Committee in Chatham and Windsor in September 1858. At a meeting of the conspirators in Chatham in Canada West in May 1858, "M.R. Delany," the Reverend William Charles Munroe of Detroit, and several other leaders of the large black expatriate community approved something termed the "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the people of the United States," as the charter for the pike-wielding fugitive society of raiders which was to be created in the remote fastness of the Allegheny Mountains by Captain John Brown subsequent to his raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia. That document would be discovered on Brown's person when he was taken into custody. He would be a Major in the 104th Colored Infantry, and Sub-Assistant Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau in South Carolina, in 1865. He was a Freemason.

| Frederick Douglass | No | No | No | Supporter | 41 | of color |
|--------------------|----|----|----|-----------|----|----------|
|--------------------|----|----|----|-----------|----|----------|

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.

| Ralph Waldo Emerson | No | No | No | Supporter |  | white |
|---------------------|----|----|----|-----------|--|-------|
|---------------------|----|----|----|-----------|--|-------|

Waldo Emerson, acting as an agent provocateur 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.

| John Buchanan Floyd No | No | No | Supporter |  | white |
|------------------------|----|----|-----------|--|-------|
|------------------------|----|----|-----------|--|-------|



| Person's Name On Raid? Shot Dead? Hanged? His Function Age |
|--|
|--|

Secretary of War John Buchanan Floyd was one of those who had been warned, months in advance, that Captain John Brown was planning to attack a federal arsenal to seize weapons with which to arm black slaves, in the creation of a servile insurrection (he didn't know precisely when, and didn't know it would be at Harpers Ferry, Virginia). Such a prospect did not alarm him in the slightest. The official story, if the official story is what you want to believe, is that our Secretary of War would pass this warning along to no-one.

I myself find it difficult to regard this as anything more than a cover. I think the truth was that these folks were aware that such a <u>servile insurrection</u> could lead to nothing but a race genocide, with white Americans exterminating the black ones, and what I fear is that such a race genocide would have been considered to be just fine, an improvement in our national condition. Let's not have ourselves a civil war of brother against brother, that would be so nasty — let's prevent that by having ourselves a nice little race war!

| Hugh Forbes | No | No | No | Lieutenant |  | white |
|-------------|----|----|----|------------|--|-------|
|-------------|----|----|----|------------|--|-------|

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).

| George B. Gill |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|----------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|
|----------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|



| Person's Name | On Raid? | Shot Dead? | Hanged? | His Function | Age | Race |
|---------------|----------|------------|---------|--------------|-----|------|
|---------------|----------|------------|---------|--------------|-----|------|

George B. Gill had come to "Bleeding Kansas" in 1857 after whaling in the Pacific Ocean, and had there been recruited by John Brown. His name was among the signatories to "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States," from a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued at Harpers Ferry on October 18, 1859. During the year before the raid, Captain Brown sent Gill to visit a black con artist named Mr. Reynolds who persuaded Gill that he had gone through the South organizing and had brought into existence in areas of the South a militant organization of black men and women. Pointing out to Gill that Southern newspapers carried numerous references to the death of a favorite slave, he alleged that these were leaders of servile insurrection plots who were being discovered and offed. According to this "mumper" Southern blacks were ready and needed only to be given a cue. There is evidence that several slaves from the vicinity of the arsenal did participate in the raid itself, but returned hastily to their plantations when it became obvious that the raid was a failure. Several fires were set in the vicinity of Harpers Ferry in the week after the raid, probably by slaves and free black Americans (Richard Hinton estimates that \$10,000,000 was lost in the sale of Virginia slaves in the year 1859; census figures show that between 1850 and 1860 there was almost a 10% decline in blacks in the three counties surrounding Harpers Ferry, a period during which the total number of blacks in Maryland and Virginia was increasing by about 4%).

| The Rev. and Mrs. Gloucester | No |  |  | Financial support |  | of color |
|------------------------------|----|--|--|-------------------|--|----------|
|------------------------------|----|--|--|-------------------|--|----------|

The <u>Reverend James Newton Gloucester</u> and <u>Elizabeth A. Parkhill Gloucester</u> of Brooklyn, New York were wealthy financial supporters of the <u>servile-insurrection</u> plot of Captain <u>John Brown</u>, 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 <u>Harpers Ferry</u>. 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."

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).



### RACE WAR,

### NOT CIVIL WAR

| Person's Name      | On Raid? | Shot Dead? | Hanged? | His Function | Age | Race |
|--------------------|----------|------------|---------|--------------|-----|------|
| James Henry Harris |          |            |         |              |     |      |

No one associated with Captain John Brown, and no one associated with politics in North Carolina, has ever been awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor.

"J.H. Harris" signed, as a member of a Vigilance Committee, on May 8th, 1858, the "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States" in Chatham, Ontario West, Canada, a document which would be found on the person of John Brown when he was captured at Harpers Ferry on October 18th, 1859. Although another person of this name, James Henry Harris, had been born a slave in Granville County, North Carolina and had gained his freedom at the age of 18 in about 1848, he was not this "J.H. Harris." Educated at Oberlin College, he would hold a teaching certificate from the New England Freedman's Aid Society. He was of Cleveland in 1859, and a member of the 102d US Colored Infantry formed in Michigan by George DeBaptiste that included so many men from Chatham. He would attend the 1st Freedmen's Convention in the South, held in what would become the St. Paul A.M.E. Church on Edenton Street in Raleigh during September 1865 as a representative of Wake County. He would become the 1st black alderman from Raleigh, and a delegate from Raleigh to the North Carolina Constitutional Convention of 1868; he got married with Bettie Miller, a daughter of Addison J. Smith and Mary Anderson, a cousin of Osborn Perry Anderson; he died in 1891 in Washington DC and the remains are at Mount Hope Cemetery in Raleigh. There is yet a 3d James H. Harris, who was not this "J.H. Harris" signatory, who was belatedly awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor and is interred in the remote section of Arlington National Cemetery that was reserved for colored soldiers, and for contrabands.

#### Lewis Hayden

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.

| Albert Hazlett  | Yes | No  | Yes | Capt. or Lt. | < 30 | white     |
|-----------------|-----|-----|-----|--------------|------|-----------|
| Allbert Haziett | 103 | 110 | 103 | Capt. of Lt. | 100  | ** 111100 |



| Person's Name | On Raid? | Shot Dead? | Hanged? | His Function | Age | Race |
|---------------|----------|------------|---------|--------------|-----|------|
|---------------|----------|------------|---------|--------------|-----|------|

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 16th, 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 15th, 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."

The Reverend <u>Thomas Wentworth "Charles P. Carter" Higginson</u> of the <u>Secret "Six"</u> 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 <u>Harpers Ferry</u> he would attempt to organize an expedition to raid the Charles Town lockup and rescue the accused — this was an expedition <u>Henry Thoreau</u> would oppose, asserting that to the contrary <u>Captain Brown</u>'s highest and best purpose was to be hung.

### Richard J. Hinton

Refer to: Richard J. Hinton, JOHN BROWN AND HIS MEN (NY: Funk & Wagnalls, 1894; Reprint NY: The Arno Press, 1968).

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.

 James Redpath and Richard J. Hinton, HAND-BOOK TO KANSAS TERRITORY, 1859, as quoted on page 3

| D G 1G 1H 11            |  |  |   |  |
|-------------------------|--|--|---|--|
| Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe |  |  |   |  |
|                         |  |  | 1 |  |



| Person's Name   | On Raid?   | Shot Dead? | Hanged? | His Function                  | Age | Race  |  |  |
|---|--|------------|---------|-------------------------------|-----|-------|--|--|
| 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. |  |            |         |                               |     |       |  |  |
| Julia Ward Howe   | No   |            |         |                               |     | White |  |  |
| was on the Secret "Six" finance   | <u>Julia Ward Howe</u> was a racist and, because she carried out errands for her husband <u>Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe</u> who was on the <u>Secret "Six"</u> finance committee (such as having a surreptitious meeting in their home with Captain <u>John Brown</u> ), must surely have been aware of and must surely have approved of that committee's agendas.  Thaddeus Hyatt  No white |            |         |                               |     |       |  |  |
| 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.  John Jones No Support white  |  |            |         |                               |     |       |  |  |
| 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.)   |  |            |         |                               |     |       |  |  |
| John Henry Kagi   | Yes  | Yes        |         | Secretary of War,<br>adjutant | 24  | white |  |  |



Hanged?

**His Function** 

Age

Race

## RACE WAR, NOT CIVIL WAR

**Shot Dead?** 

On Raid?

Person's Name

| Although <u>John Henry Kagi</u> was l    | argely self-ta | ught, his letters to | the New-Yo      | rk <u>Tribune</u> , the New | -York E   | vening    |
|--|----------------|----------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| Post, and the National Era reveal        |                |                      |                 |                             |           | grapher,  |
| wannabee writer, and total abstai        | ner from alco  | ohol, he was cold    | in manner and   | l rough in appearance       | ce.       |           |
| A nonparticipant in organized rel        | igion, he was  | an able man of b     | usiness. He h   | ad been born on Ma          | rch 15,   | 1835, a   |
| son of the blacksmith for Bristoly       |                |                      |                 |                             |           |           |
| During 1854/1855 he had taught           | school at Hav  | wkinstown, Virgir    | nia but had ind | dicated an objection        | to the s  | ystem of  |
| slavery there and been compelled         |                | 1 0                  |                 | _                           |           | •         |
| 1856 and been admitted to the bar        | . He then ente | ered Kansas with o   | one of General  | James H. Lane's par         | rties and | lenlisted |
| in <u>Aaron D. Stevens</u> 's ("Colonel" | 11 /           |                      | ~ ~             |                             | · ·       |           |
| Kansas" he proved himself by kil         | _              |                      |                 |                             |           | _         |
| captured by US troops he had been        |                |                      |                 | •                           |           | •         |
| 31, 1857 he had been struck on th        |                | -                    | • •             |                             |           |           |
| the judge in the groin, but Judge I      | _              |                      | _               | · ·                         | _         |           |
| by a memorandum-book. He was             |                |                      |                 |                             |           |           |
| Kansas and joined John Brown. I          |                |                      |                 |                             |           |           |
| in command to John Brown; he v           |                |                      | _               | _                           |           |           |
| Constitution and Ordinances for          |                |                      |                 |                             |           | ing that  |
| would be captured when he and h          | nis men were   | subdued at Harpe     | ers Ferry on O  | october 18, 1859. W         | hen in    |           |

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.]

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

Amos Lawrence No White

Amos Lawrence provided the large bulk of the investment capital needed by <u>Eli Thayer</u>'s New England Emigrant Aid Company for the purchase land in the new territory then well known as <u>"Bleeding Kansas"</u>, 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.

| Lewis Sheridan Leary | Yes | Yes |  | Private | 25 | of color |  |
|----------------------|-----|-----|--|---------|----|----------|--|
|----------------------|-----|-----|--|---------|----|----------|--|



| Person's Name On Raid? | Shot Dead? | Hanged? | His Function | Age | Race | ١ |
|------------------------|------------|---------|--------------|-----|------|---|
|------------------------|------------|---------|--------------|-----|------|---|

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 <u>James Redpath</u> and <u>Wendell Phillips</u>.

| William H. Leeman | Yes | Yes |  | Captain | < 21 | white |
|-------------------|-----|-----|--|---------|------|-------|
|-------------------|-----|-----|--|---------|------|-------|

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." His name was among the signatories to "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States," as "W.H. Leeman," from a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued at Harpers Ferry on October 18, 1859. 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."

| Francis Jackson Merriam | Yes | No | No | Private | < 30 | white |
|-------------------------|-----|----|----|---------|------|-------|
|-------------------------|-----|----|----|---------|------|-------|



### RACE WAR,

### NOT CIVIL WAR

| Person's Name | On Raid? | Shot Dead? | Hanged? | His Function | Age | Race |
|---------------|----------|------------|---------|--------------|-----|------|
|               |          |            |         |              |     |      |

Francis Jackson Meriam, 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 Meriam 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.

Charles W. Moffett Yes white

Charles W. Moffett, a white drifter from Iowa about whom little is known. His name was among the signatories to "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States," as "C.W. Moffit," from a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued at Harpers Ferry on October 18, 1859. Perhaps his middle name was "Wesley" (according to an 1882 article in the Topeka Capital, "John Brown: A Reunion of His Surviving Associates," a meeting of raid survivors at the Kansas Historical Society was called by C.W. Moffett of Montour, and a tombstone in the Maple Hill cemetery in Montour, Iowa is for a Charles Wesley Moffett, Jun. 20, 1827-Aug. 19, 1904) and perhaps he did not attend the raid on the federal arsenal because he had cold feet, or because he was one of a number of people suspected by the others of having written (2 anonymous postings, one dated August 18th, 1859 from near Philadelphia and the other dated 2 days later from Cincinnati) to alert the federal government to the plan for a raid on some federal arsenal (Secretary of War John Buchanan Floyd received this while at Red Sweet Springs in Virginia and did not alert anyone in the federal government; he would offer later that as War Secretary he had been getting a whole lot of spurious warnings, and anyway there wasn't a federal arsenal in Maryland).

The very tall <u>Franklin Benjamin Sanborn</u>'s intimate college friend <u>Edwin Morton</u> of Plymouth, a descendant of one of the prominent Founding Fathers, was about as deeply involved in the <u>Harpers Ferry</u> raid as any member of the <u>Secret "Six"</u>. He was <u>Gerrit Smith</u>'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 <u>Henry Thoreau</u>'s very tall friend <u>Thomas Cholmondeley</u>.

| Dangerfield Newby | Yes | Yes | bridge sentinel | 39 | light   |
|-------------------|-----|-----|-----------------|----|---------|
|                   |     |     |                 |    | mulatto |



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.

| Reverend Theodore Parker | No |  |  |  |  | White |
|--------------------------|----|--|--|--|--|-------|
|--------------------------|----|--|--|--|--|-------|

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:

"I make all my pecuniary arrangements with the expectation of civil war."

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.

<u>Luke F. Parsons</u>, 22-year-old white man, already a mercenary fighter seasoned in <u>"Bleeding Kansas,"</u> a petty thief in need of a paycheck and a legitimating excuse. His name "L.F. Parsons" was among the signatories to "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States," per a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued at <u>Harpers Ferry</u> on October 18, 1859.

| Richard Realf |  |  |  |  |  | White |
|---------------|--|--|--|--|--|-------|
|---------------|--|--|--|--|--|-------|



# RACE WAR,

# NOT CIVIL WAR

| Person's Name   | On Raid?   | Shot Dead?  | Hanged?   | His Function  | Age                           | Race                           |  |  |
|---|--|---|---|---|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|--|
| Richard Realf was a 23-year-old Englishman, the son of a blacksmith who had become a rural constable. In 1852 he had put out a collection of poetry, GUESSES AT THE BEAUTIFUL, 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 by John Edwin Cook, whom he had met in Lawrence in "Bleeding Kansas" while working as a correspondent for the Illinois State Gazette, to John Brown in Mount Tabor, Iowa at the end of November or beginning of December 1857. He traveled through Chicago and Detroit to Chatham, Ontario West, Canada, and his name was among the signatories to "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States," per a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued at Harpers Ferry on October 18, 1859. He returned to England to lecture, and visited France, before traveling from Havre on March 2, 1859 to New Orleans, arriving April 17, 1959 with the objective of becoming a Jesuit priest. He would testify before the US Senate Committee. |  |   |   |   |                               |                                |  |  |
| James Redpath   |  |   |   |   |                               |                                |  |  |
| George J. Reynolds  George J. Reynolds, a light mul he was from Vermont, with natifederal arsenal at Harpers Ferry Colored Men in 1858, and signed in Chatham, Ontario West, Canahis men were subdued at Harper   | atto blacksmith<br>ve American as<br>, and active in<br>d the "Provision<br>ada per a docu | h or coppersmith<br>s well as black At<br>the Underground<br>onal Constitution a<br>ment in Brown's | of Sandusky,<br>Prican heritage<br>Railroad. He<br>and Ordinance<br>handwriting t | , age 35 at the time of<br>had attended the Co<br>s for the People of the<br>hat would be capture | of the ra<br>onventione Unite | id on the<br>n of<br>d States" |  |  |
| Richard Richardson  | No   |   |   |   |                               | of color                       |  |  |
| Richard Richardson No of color  Richard Richardson, a fugitive slave from Lexington, Missouri who had joined John Brown in southern Iowa, was going through that unfortunate but now-well-understood initial period of reaction to freedom in which a former slave, accustomed to servitude and unaccustomed to self-origination, attaches himself to some authoritative white man who is able with courtesy to make use of him. He was a member of the African Mysteries, a secret defense group in Michigan in 1858, and signed the "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States" in Chatham, per a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued at Harpers Ferry on October 18, 1859, but evidently did not get from Ontario to Virginia due to lack of travel money. He became a private in Company E of the 113th US Colored Infantry that was formed from the 13th US Colored Infantry that was recruited in and spent its entire service in Arkansas.   |  |   |   |   |                               |                                |  |  |
| Judge Thomas Russell  | No   |   |   |   |                               | White                          |  |  |



| Person's Name  | On Raid?  | Shot Dead?  | Hanged?   | His Function  | Age   | Race   |  |  |  |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|--|--|--|--|
| 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.   |   |   |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| Franklin Benjamin Sanborn  | No  |   |   |   |   | White  |  |  |  |
| Franklin Benjamin Sanborn No White  Franklin Benjamin Sanborn of Concord, as well as Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, the Reverend Theodore Parker, Gerrit Smith, and George Luther Steams, 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 allies for servile insurrection in order to foment sectional givil war between Northern and Southern white Americans.  (John Brown, who had himself buried a wife and promptly recruited another one, once commented to Sanborn, in regard to the young man's grief over the prompt death of his young bride Ariana Walker, that he was too young to be married to a gravestone.)  Gerrit Smith  No  White  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 Steams 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 |   |   |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| Gerrit Smith  The immensely wealthy "H. Rosmith. In this American's mans mahogany desk. Rumor had it to The millennium of William Mil "make himself a colored man" - Douglass (Smith would be Dou Americans were inherently raci as Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, the Stearns of the Secret "Six" fully a servile insurrection of black A   | ss Perot" polition outside Sy hat this had on ler not having he desired to glass's friend, ally inferior to be Reverend Tograsped from mericans again spirators clearly                 | ical figure of that racuse, New York ce been the desk arrived on sched explore his inner that is, up to the white Americans heodore Parker, I the earliest moment white Americally had been willing   | era was a for<br>c, standing in to<br>of the emperoule, Smith had<br>blackness— ar<br>point at which<br>and thus unw<br>ranklin Benja<br>ent that the pro-<br>ins, would be,<br>g to sacrifice to | mer Millerite miller the center of his stud or Napoleon Bonapa d become determine d thus he befriende he would discover worthy of considerat min Sanborn, and Cobable result of their at least initially, a de the lives of their blace | nnialist: dy, was a rte hims d to, as l d Freder that blackion). He deorge L attempt efeat of tek allies. | White  Gerrit  an ornate elf. the put it, rick ck , as well uther to incite the black , in order |  |  |  |
| Gerrit Smith  The immensely wealthy "H. Rosmith. In this American's mans mahogany desk. Rumor had it to the millennium of William Mil "make himself a colored man" - Douglass (Smith would be Dou Americans were inherently raci as Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, the Stearns of the Secret "Six" fully a servile insurrection of black A forces. These 5 of the white con  | ss Perot" polition outside Sy hat this had on ler not having he desired to glass's friend, ally inferior to be Reverend Tograsped from mericans again spirators clearly                 | ical figure of that racuse, New York ce been the desk arrived on sched explore his inner that is, up to the white Americans heodore Parker, I the earliest moment white Americally had been willing   | era was a for<br>c, standing in to<br>of the emperoule, Smith had<br>blackness— ar<br>point at which<br>and thus unw<br>ranklin Benja<br>ent that the pro-<br>ins, would be,<br>g to sacrifice to | mer Millerite miller the center of his stud or Napoleon Bonapa d become determine d thus he befriende he would discover worthy of considerat min Sanborn, and Cobable result of their at least initially, a de the lives of their blace | nnialist: dy, was a rte hims d to, as l d Freder that blackion). He deorge L attempt efeat of tek allies. | White  Gerrit  an ornate elf. the put it, rick ck , as well uther to incite the black , in order |  |  |  |
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| Person's Name | On Raid? | Shot Dead? | Hanged? | His Function | Age | Race | ١ |
|---------------|----------|------------|---------|--------------|-----|------|---|
|---------------|----------|------------|---------|--------------|-----|------|---|

The anarchist Boston attorney <u>Lysander Spooner</u>, who was well aware of <u>John Brown</u>'s plans for the raid on the federal arsenal at <u>Harpers Ferry</u>, wrote to <u>Gerrit Smith</u> 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 <u>Henry A. Wise</u> 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.

### George Luther Stearns

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 service insurrection in order to foment a sectional civil war between Northern and Southern white Americans.

| Aaron Dwight Stevens | Yes | Badly   | Yes | Captain | 28 | white |
|----------------------|-----|---------|-----|---------|----|-------|
|                      |     | wounded |     |         |    |       |

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 greatgrandfather 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."

| Stewart Taylor | Yes | Yes |  | Private | 23 | white |
|----------------|-----|-----|--|---------|----|-------|
|----------------|-----|-----|--|---------|----|-------|



| Person's Name On Raid? Shot Dead? H | anged? His Function Age Race |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|

Stewart Taylor was born on October 29, 1836 at Uxbridge in Canada. He became a wagonmaker and in 1853 went to Iowa, where in 1858 he became acquainted with Captain Brown through George B. Gill. He was a spiritualist. He signed the "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States" in Chatham, Ontario, Canada West per a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued at Harpers Ferry on October 18, 1859. 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, Illinois, and thence to Harper's [sic] 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."

| Eli Thayer | No |  |  |  |  |  |
|------------|----|--|--|--|--|--|
|------------|----|--|--|--|--|--|

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."

| Dauphin Adolphus Thompson | Yes | Yes |  | Lieutenant | < 30 | white |
|---------------------------|-----|-----|--|------------|------|-------|
|---------------------------|-----|-----|--|------------|------|-------|

<u>Dauphin Adolphus Thompson</u>, brother of <u>William Thompson</u> and a North Elba neighbor of the family of <u>John Brown</u>, 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 <u>Watson Brown</u> and his elder brother Henry Thompson married Captain Brown's daughter Ruth. The two brothers were shot dead at <u>Harpers Ferry</u>.

| Villiam Thompson Yes | Yes |  | Captain? | < 30 | white |
|----------------------|-----|--|----------|------|-------|
|----------------------|-----|--|----------|------|-------|

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.



| Person's Name       | On Raid? | Shot Dead? | Hanged? | His Function | Age | Race  |
|---------------------|----------|------------|---------|--------------|-----|-------|
| Henry David Thoreau | No       |            |         |              |     | white |

When, in 1844, <u>Waldo Emerson</u>, acting as an *agent provocateur*, recommended to <u>Frederick Douglass</u>'s face that, modeling himself upon the leader of the successful Haitian revolution of the turn of the century, <u>Toussaint Louverture</u>, he fashion himself into the liberator of his people and initiate on the North American continent a <u>servile insurrection</u> or race war, it was <u>Henry Thoreau</u> 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.)

| Charles Plummer Tidd | Yes | No | No | Captain | 25 | white |
|----------------------|-----|----|----|---------|----|-------|
|----------------------|-----|----|----|---------|----|-------|

Charles Plummer Tidd was born in Palermo, Maine in 1834 and had emigrated to "Bleeding Kansas" in 1856 with the party of Dr. Calvin Cutter of Worcester in search of excitement. After joining John Brown's party at Mount Tabor, Iowa in 1857 he became one of the followers of "Shubel Morgan" who returned in 1858 to raid into Missouri. During the Winter 1857/1858 encampment of the Brown forces in Springdale, Iowa, he "ruined" a Quaker girl and the other members of the team had to sneak him away 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 <u>Barclay Coppoc</u> and <u>Edwin Coppoc</u>. He and <u>John E. Cook</u> were particularly warm friends. He signed, as "Charles P. Tidd," the "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States" in Chatham, Canada per a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued at <u>Harpers Ferry</u> on October 18, 1859. He opposed the attack on <u>Harpers Ferry</u> 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 Northerner 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, North Carolina.

#### THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

| Harriet Tubman | No |  |  |  |  | of color |
|----------------|----|--|--|--|--|----------|
|----------------|----|--|--|--|--|----------|

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.

| Henry Watson | No |  |  |  |  | of color |
|--------------|----|--|--|--|--|----------|
|--------------|----|--|--|--|--|----------|



| Person's Name                         | On Raid?       | Shot Dead?       | Hanged?               | His Function      | Age      | Race       |
|---------------------------------------|----------------|------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|----------|------------|
| Henry Watson, barber of Chambouglass. | bersburg, Penn | sylvania involve | d both with <u>Jo</u> | hn Brown and with | Frederic | e <u>k</u> |
| etc.                                  |                |                  |                       |                   |          |            |







Philip Thomas of Maryland became the founding president of the B&O Railroad, the nation's first.

<u>James H. Harris</u> was born in Saint Mary's County, <u>Maryland</u>. Nothing is said about his having been born to an enslaved mother, and nothing is said about his gaining manumission or running away, so evidently, although he was black and born in a border state, the inference would be that he was born free. For the initial 36-year period of his life, until his enlistment in the Army of the Union during the <u>Civil War</u>, he would farm in that vicinity. \_\_\_\_



The negreto Blue-eyed Mary, of Baltimore, had been sold to Spaniards. It was captured with a cargo of 405 slaves by a British cruiser (Niles's Register, XXXIV. 346).

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

There was a great parade down Broadway Avenue in New-York, celebrating the New York Emancipation Act. As black women cheered from the sidewalks, the black men were led by the New York African Society for Mutual Relief, by the Clarkson Benevolent Society, and the Wilberforce Benevolent Society (named of course in honor of the famed English reformers Thomas Clarkson and William Wilberforce). The manumittees were marching along under banners on which was painted the word **AFRICAN**.

This was, in a sense, a veterans' march — for hundreds of people were in attendance who had personally

experienced the Middle Passage.

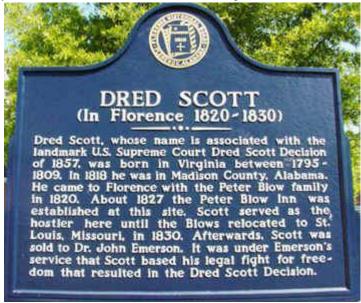
MANUMISSION

In this year the white city fathers, fearing "civil discord," would shut down the African Grove Theater which had been entertaining the black community since 1821, where they had been segregating white visitors into the rear since they had not seemed in general to understand "how to conduct themselves at entertainments of ladies and gentlemen of color." The slaves of New York State having been emancipated, it had apparently become illegal to accumulate people into coffles, or nightclubs. (Or, it being pointless in the State of New York to protest that one was being held in the condition known as slavery, the official reason why this was pointless was changed: whereas previously it had been pointless to point out that one was enslaved because the authorities would respond "Yes, and you're a slave," as of this year this had become pointless because the authorities had come to be able to respond "No, you are quite mistaken, in fact slavery is illegal here. Now get back to work.") At an unknown date within this time period, Sojourner Truth's husband Thomas died free. Beginning roughly at this point and definitely continuing in the following year, Isabella Van Wagenen (Truth) was working as a free domestic servant in Kingston in Ulster County. Slightly to the south of this, however, living with the Auld family in a rented house on Philpot Street in Fells Point in Maryland near the facilities of the slave trader Austin Woolfolk, Frederick Douglass was lying at night, listening as slave coffles shuffled along from the pens to the port for transportation. He was learning about the enduring, obdurate nature of the world.1

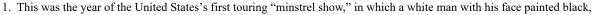


1830

The slavemaster Peter Blow, with his slave Dred Scott in tow, arrived in St. Louis, Missouri where Blow would for a few years, until his death in 1832, run a boardinghouse.



It would have been in about this year that <u>James Henry Harris</u> was born a black <u>slave</u> in Granville County, <u>North Carolina</u>. Also in this year, the State of <u>North Carolina</u> was outlawing the teaching of reading or writing to any <u>slave</u> — but to appearances was being rather moderate in that it refrained from racially extending the





Thomas D. Rice, presented himself as a character named "Jim Crow." By the time of the Civil War this would amount to a national industry of sorts, with more than 30 full-time white touring companies going from city to city putting on professional imitations of black comedians. (During the <u>US Civil War</u> a shortage of white comics would cause some of these troups to employ some black performers — who of course would perform, as did the whites, in blackface.)





prohibition as in the state of Georgia, beyond any slave to any person not white:

Whereas the teaching of slaves to read and write has a tendency to excite dissatisfaction in their minds, and to produce insurrection and rebellion, to the manifest injury of the citizens of this State: Therefore,

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, that any free person, who shall hereafter teach or attempt to teach, any slave within this State to read or write, the use of figures, excepted, or shall give or sell to such slave or slaves any books or pamphlets, shall be liable to indictment in any court of record in this State having jurisdiction thereof; and upon conviction, shall, at the discretion of the court, if a white man or woman, be fined not less than one hundred dollars, nor more than two hundred dollars, or imprisoned; and if a free person of color, shall be fined, imprisoned, or whipped, at the discretion of the court, not exceeding thirtynine lashes, nor less than twenty lashes.





The last of Connecticut's <u>slaves</u>, Onesimus Brown, who had refused <u>manumission</u>, died. (Although this state had passed a law abolishing slavery in 1788, and although that law had specified that newborns would be free and all others were to be freed when they reached the age of 25 — in fact Connecticut's gradualism had been so utterly gradualistic that it had never emancipated any females who had been over 21 years of age at the time of its passage, or males who had been over 25.)

The city of Savannah, Georgia, to discourage freed rural black Americans from moving into the urban center, was attempting to impose a \$100-per-person-per-year tax upon any such relocations.



<u>James Henry Harris</u> gained his freedom at the age of 18 by virtue of a certificate from the Granville County, <u>North Carolina</u> Clerk's office. He would be apprenticed to a carpenter and later open his own business in Raleigh.

The Reverend Dr. William Henry Brisbane took his wife Glorianna Lawton Brisbane back to South Carolina for a visit and engaged not to conduct any abolitionist activities while there, or even speak of slavery. He would, however, be coaxed into such discussions, and after she retired for the night, would sit up for hours arguing with friends about the ethics of slavery. In the middle of one night a relative would wake the family to warn that an angry mob was on its way to tar-and-feather this traitor — the Brisbanes would be forced into hastily flight.

The Reverend Dr. Brisbane was asked to fill a Baptist pulpit in Camden, New Jersey.

<u>James Henry Harris</u> is said to have attended school at <u>Oberlin College</u> for a couple of years (since the college does not have a record of this, perhaps he had been in their early school).







<u>William Cooper Nell</u> stood for the Legislature of Massachusetts on the Free Soil Party ticket, but was unsuccessful.

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





1858

May 8, Saturday-10, Monday: In <u>Chatham</u>, in the district now known as Ontario but then known as <u>Canada</u> West, where there was a large population of former American slaves, <u>John Brown</u> announced to a secret "convention" of Negroes and whites he had organized, at the home of <u>Mary Ann Shadd Cary</u>'s brother Issac



Shadd, that he intended to establish a stronghold in the Maryland and Virginia mountains for the shelter of escaping slaves. This was referred to as the Subterranean Pass Way scheme. A provisional constitution was adopted for the new government of the United States of America. The Reverend William Charles Munroe of Detroit, Dr. Martin Robison Delany, and several other influential black leaders were among those who voted their approval of this "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the people of the United States," the charter formal of the fugitive society to be created in the remote fastnesses of the Alleghenies. (Delany would in 1868 allege that he had known nothing of the plan for the raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, but others who had also been present at these meetings would mock such claims of ignorance.) Then it was decided that the flag for this new society would be the original flag used during the American Revolution, Captain Brown was voted to be commander in chief of this scheme, John Henry Kagi became his secretary of war,



George B. Gill became his secretary of the treasury, and Richard Realf became his secretary of state. They had



trouble finding a black leader willing to assume the dicey role of President of this new society, so it was decided to replace the function of a president, temporarily, with a 15-person council headed by Commander-in-Chief Brown.



What follows is a list of the signatories to <u>Captain Brown</u>'s "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States," from a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued at Harpers Ferry on October 18, 1859. We do not know what subsequently happened to the original document in Brown's handwriting, but the list was transcribed and published as Record Group 46 among the documents of the Senate investigating committee in 1860. Also, a list of signatories and the Minutes of the Convention would be published in 1861 in Osborne Anderson's A VOICE FROM HARPERS FERRY:



| CHATHAM SIGNATORIES   |          |            |                |                     |          |          |  |  |
|---|----------|------------|----------------|---------------------|----------|----------|--|--|
| Person's Name   | On Raid? | Shot Dead? | Hanged?        | His Function        | Age      | Race     |  |  |
| George Akin (Aikens)  | No       | No         | No             | recruit             |          | of color |  |  |
| George Akin (Aikens), eventual and included many men from C   | •        |            | try that forme | d in Michigan by Ge | eorge De | Baptiste |  |  |
| Robinson Alexander (possibly)   | No       | No         | No             | recruit             |          | of color |  |  |
| Robinson Alexander (possibly), eventually of the 102d US Colored Infantry that formed in Michigan by George DeBaptiste and included many men from <a href="Chatham">Chatham</a> (name transposed) |          |            |                |                     |          |          |  |  |
| Jeremiah Goldsmith Anderson   | Yes      | Yes        |                | Captain or Lt.      | 26       | white    |  |  |

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, Virginia, had been a soldier in the revolution and a slaveholder. He went to school at Galesburg, Illinois and Kossuth, Iowa 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 10 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 1st 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 "J. Anderson" among the signatories to "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States," from a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued at Harpers Ferry on October 18, 1859. He was thrust through with a bayonet by one of the Marines, and pinned against the wall. A white man, he was taken by the attackers to be a light mulatto and tortured: "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." The corpse would be sent for the instruction of students at the medical college in Winchester, Virginia along with that of Watson Brown (a corpse found on the banks of the Shenandoah River was more likely that of a local slave).

| orn Perry Anderson | Yes | No | No | Private | 29 | of color |  |
|--------------------|-----|----|----|---------|----|----------|--|
|--------------------|-----|----|----|---------|----|----------|--|



|  | Person's Name On Raid? Shot Dead? Hanged? His Function Age Race  |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|--|--|---|---|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| Person's Name  | On Raid?   | Shot Dead?  | Hanged?   | His Function  | Age  | Race   |  |  |  |  |
| color to survive Harpers Ferry and elude capture, had been born free on July 27, 1830 in West Fallowfield, Pennsylvania. He had learned the printing trade in Canada, where he had met John Brown in 1858. He was a member of Congress of John Brown's Provisional Government in Chatham, Ontario in May 1858 and was "Osborn Anderson" on the list of signatories of the "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States"; a member of the Vigilance Committee in Chatham and Windsor in September 1858. He would write later of the fight at Harpers Ferry and his escape in A VOICE FROM HARPER'S FERRY: "We were together eight days before [John Edwin Cook and Albert Hazlett were] captured, which was near Chambersburg, and the next night Meriam [Francis Jackson Meriam] left us and went to Shippensburg, and there took cars for Philadelphia. After that there were but three of us left [Brown's son Owen Brown, Barclay Coppoc, and Charles Plummer Tidd], and we kept together, until we got to Centre County, Pennsylvania, where we bought a box and packed up all heavy luggage, such as rifles, blankets, etc., and after being together three or four weeks we separated" Anderson, Coppoc, and Meriam had journeyed separately to safe exile in the area of St. Catharines, Canada. Anderson enlisted in the US Army in 1864, becoming a recruiter and/or noncommissioned officer for a unit as yet undetermined, and mustered out in Washington DC at the close of the war (he would be identified by his father Vincent Anderson in 1872 as having been a recruiter for the "western regiments"). He was a member of the Equal Rights League in 1865, and represented Michigan at the National Convention of Colored Men in 1869. He died a pauper of TB and lack of   |  |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| we kept together, until we got the luggage, such as rifles, blanket Coppoc, and Meriam had journed in the US Army in 1864, becommustered out in Washington December 1872 as having been a recruiter and represented Michigan at the  | o Centre Count<br>s, etc., and afte<br>eyed separately<br>ting a recruiter<br>at the close of<br>for the "western<br>e National Conv   | ty, Pennsylvania, r being together t to safe exile in th and/or noncomm f the war (he woun regiments"). He  | where we both<br>hree or four we area of St. Consissioned office<br>ald be identified<br>was a membe  | nght a box and packer<br>weeks we separated<br>atharines, Canada. A<br>er for a unit as yet ur<br>ed by his father Vinc<br>er of the Equal Rights                         | ed up all" And Inderson Indetermit Cent And S League                 | heavy<br>erson,<br>enlisted<br>ned, and<br>lerson in<br>in 1865,                               |  |  |  |  |
| we kept together, until we got the luggage, such as rifles, blanket Coppoc, and Meriam had journed in the US Army in 1864, become mustered out in Washington December 1872 as having been a recruiter and represented Michigan at the care in Washington on December 1885.   | o Centre Counts, etc., and after eyed separately ing a recruiter at the close of for the "westerne National Conter 13, 1872.   | ty, Pennsylvania, r being together to safe exile in the and/or noncomm f the war (he won regiments"). He vention of Colore  | where we both hree or four we area of St. Consissioned office ald be identified was a member d Men in 1869  | ight a box and pack-<br>yeeks we separated<br>atharines, Canada. A<br>er for a unit as yet ur<br>ed by his father Vino<br>r of the Equal Rights<br>D. He died a pauper of | ed up all" And Inderson Indetermit Cent And S League                 | heavy<br>erson,<br>enlisted<br>ned, and<br>lerson in<br>in 1865,<br>d lack of                  |  |  |  |  |
| we kept together, until we got the luggage, such as rifles, blanket Coppoc, and Meriam had journed in the US Army in 1864, becommustered out in Washington December 1872 as having been a recruiter and represented Michigan at the  | o Centre Count<br>s, etc., and afte<br>eyed separately<br>ting a recruiter<br>at the close of<br>for the "western<br>e National Conv   | ty, Pennsylvania, r being together t to safe exile in th and/or noncomm f the war (he woun regiments"). He  | where we both<br>hree or four we area of St. Consissioned office<br>ald be identified<br>was a membe  | nght a box and packer<br>weeks we separated<br>atharines, Canada. A<br>er for a unit as yet ur<br>ed by his father Vinc<br>er of the Equal Rights                         | ed up all" And Inderson Indetermit Cent And S League                 | heavy<br>erson,<br>enlisted<br>ned, and<br>lerson in<br>in 1865,                               |  |  |  |  |
| we kept together, until we got to luggage, such as rifles, blanket Coppoc, and Meriam had journed in the US Army in 1864, becommustered out in Washington Double 1872 as having been a recruiter and represented Michigan at the care in Washington on December 1872 and Machigan at the care in Washington on December 1872 and Park 1872 and Par | o Centre Counts, etc., and after eyed separately sing a recruiter at the close of for the "western e National Conver 13, 1872.  No  y, a member of                           | ty, Pennsylvania, r being together to safe exile in the and/or noncomm f the war (he won regiments"). He wention of Colore  | where we both hree or four we area of St. Consissioned office ald be identified was a member d Men in 1869  | recruit  ght a box and packereeks we separated atharines, Canada. A er for a unit as yet ur ed by his father Vince r of the Equal Rights b. He died a pauper of           | ed up all" Andderson determi cent And s League of TB an              | heavy<br>erson,<br>enlisted<br>ned, and<br>lerson in<br>in 1865,<br>d lack of                  |  |  |  |  |
| we kept together, until we got the luggage, such as rifles, blanket Coppoc, and Meriam had journed in the US Army in 1864, become mustered out in Washington December 1872 as having been a recruiter and represented Michigan at the care in Washington on December 1885.   | o Centre Counts, etc., and after eyed separately sing a recruiter at the close of for the "western e National Conver 13, 1872.  No  y, a member of                           | ty, Pennsylvania, r being together to safe exile in the and/or noncomm f the war (he won regiments"). He wention of Colore  | where we both hree or four we area of St. Consissioned office ald be identified was a member d Men in 1869  | recruit  ght a box and packereeks we separated atharines, Canada. A er for a unit as yet ur ed by his father Vince r of the Equal Rights b. He died a pauper of           | ed up all" Andderson determi cent And s League of TB an              | heavy<br>erson,<br>enlisted<br>ned, and<br>lerson in<br>in 1865,<br>d lack of<br>of color      |  |  |  |  |
| we kept together, until we got to luggage, such as rifles, blanket Coppoc, and Meriam had journed in the US Army in 1864, become mustered out in Washington Double 1872 as having been a recruiter and represented Michigan at the care in Washington on December M(atisen, or Madison) F. Bailey M(atisen, or Madison) F. Bailey continent, based on Martin M.  | o Centre Counts, etc., and after eyed separately sing a recruiter of at the close of for the "westerne National Convert 13, 1872.  No  No  No  Profite Africar the making of | ty, Pennsylvania, r being together to safe exile in the and/or noncomm of the war (he worn regiments"). He wention of Colore  No  The African Common "the making of No  Commission of a colored national acolored national colored | where we both hree or four we area of St. Consissioned office ald be identified was a member of Men in 1869.  No mission of 18 a colored nation No 1858 for emigen. | recruit  recruit  recruit  recruit  recruit  recruit  recruit  recruit  recruit   | ed up all" And anderson determi cent And s League of TB and the Afri | heavy erson, enlisted ned, and lerson in in 1865, d lack of  of color ican  of color nt, based |  |  |  |  |

No

Yes

Owen Brown

No

Captain

35

white



| CHATHAM SIGNATORIES   |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| Person's Name   | On Raid?  | Shot Dead?  | Hanged?   | His Function   | Age  | Race   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Owen Brown, 3d of John Brown born November 4, 1824 at Hudshumor articles for newspapers. for the People of the United Stathis men were subdued at Harpe escaped on foot toward the nortendurance that the little group of Plummer Tidd found work and serious He was the only one of the 5 escapew grapes for some time in Offinal survivor of the raiders when Pasadena, California. A marble disappeared — since the grave investigation. | on, Ohio. With His name was es," from a doors Ferry on Ochwestern part of survivors of afety under asscaped raiders thio in associate the would dimonument ma | a withered arm, among the signate cument in Brown tober 18, 1859. Hof Pennsylvania, which he was the sumed names on a not to participate tion with 2 of his e on January 9, 1 rked the mountain | he had been at ories to "Prov 's handwriting to was 35 at the to was due large leader managen oil-well crevin the civil was brothers, and 1891 at his moun grave, until | tempting to make a isional Constitution that would be capture time of the Harpe gely to his psychologed to make it out. He win Crawford Country. He would never not then migrate west, a untain home "Brownduring July 2002 it | career of and Ordered when the second gridle and Coty, Penns and Toty, Penns and Would would be second would be second would be second would be second to the second second to the second secon | f writing dinances on he and raid. He t and his harles sylvania. e would lid be the "near busly  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Thomas F. Cary  | No  | No  | No  | recruit  |  | of color   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Thomas F. Cary, a member of the Vigilance Committee in <u>Chatham</u> and Windsor in September 1858, husband of Mary Ann Shadd, died in 1860  |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| John Connel (Caunel)  | No  | No  | No  | recruit  |  | of color   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|   |   |   |   |  | rom the  | John Connel (Caunel), private in Company A of the 113th US Colored Infantry that was formed from the 13th US Colored Infantry that was recruited in and spent its entire service in Arkansas |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

John E. Cook

Yes

No

Yes

Captain

white



Person's Name

| Снат     | HAM SIGN   | ATORIES | 3            |     |      |
|----------|------------|---------|--------------|-----|------|
| On Raid? | Shot Dead? | Hanged? | His Function | Age | Race |

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. The name "John E. Cook" was among the signatories to "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States," from a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued at Harpers Ferry on October 18, 1859. He had been dispatched by John Brown to Harpers Ferry more than a year before the raid to work out the details on the ground and had secured employment as a lock tender on the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal, as a schoolteacher, and as a bookseller. He had gotten married with a Chambersburg, Pennsylvania woman, Mary V. Kennedy, on April 18th, 1859. After being sent out by Captain Brown to collect weapons, and having escaped by climbing into a tree and watching the events transpire, and after having evaded capture for some months, against the advice of his comrades he became reckless in his search for food and was captured on October 25th, 8 miles from Chambersburg. As an incessant and compulsive communicator he had always been considered by the Brown operatives to be indiscreet. In a confession which would be published as a pamphlet at Charles Town in the middle of November 1859 for the benefit of Samuel C. Young, a man who had been crippled for life in the fighting, Cook would detail for his captors all his movements from the point of his 1st meeting with Brown after the battle of Black Jack in June 1856 until after his capture. At the last moment he would seek to save himself by representing that he had been deceived through false promises. For this revelation Cook would be severely censured at the time, being termed "Judas." Despite his confession, and despite his brother-in-law A.P. Willard being the governor of Indiana, he would in the end, one of the last, be also hanged for the treason and murder at Harpers Ferry, on December 16th.

| Martin Robison Delany | No | No | No | Supporter |  | of color |
|-----------------------|----|----|----|-----------|--|----------|
|-----------------------|----|----|----|-----------|--|----------|

Dr. Martin Robison Delany, Pennsylvania, 1843; attended the Colored National Convention of 1848; attended the Emigration Convention of 1854; a member of the Niger Valley Exploring Party in 1858; a member of the Vigilance Committee in Chatham and Windsor in September 1858. At a meeting of the conspirators in Chatham in Canada West in May 1858, "M.R. Delany," the Reverend William Charles Munroe of Detroit, and several other leaders of the large black expatriate community approved something termed the "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the people of the United States," as the charter for the pike-wielding fugitive society of raiders which was to be created in the remote fastness of the Allegheny Mountains by Captain John Brown subsequent to his raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia. That document would be discovered on Brown's person when he was taken into custody. He would be a Major in the 104th Colored Infantry, and Sub-Assistant Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau in South Carolina, in 1865. He was a Freemason.

| Stephen Ditten (Dutton), alias<br>Chitman                         | No | No | No | recruit             |          | of color |
|---|----|----|----|---------------------|----------|----------|
| Stephen Ditten (Dutton), alias C<br>in Michigan by George DeBapti | -  |    |    | JS Colored Infantry | that was | formed   |
| Alfred M. Ellsworth   | No | No | No | recruit             |          | of color |



| CHATHAM SIGNATORIES  |                 |                    |         |              |     |          |  |
|--|-----------------|--------------------|---------|--------------|-----|----------|--|
| Person's Name  | On Raid?        | Shot Dead?         | Hanged? | His Function | Age | Race     |  |
| Alfred M. Ellsworth, Member of   | of Congress fro | om Illinois in 185 | 3       |              |     |          |  |
| Simon Fisher (Fislin)  | No              | No                 | No      | recruit      |     | of color |  |
| Simon Fisher (Fislin), member of the 1st Regiment of US Colored Infantry |                 |                    |         |              |     |          |  |
| George B. Gill   |                 |                    |         |              |     |          |  |

George B. Gill had come to "Bleeding Kansas" in 1857 after whaling in the Pacific Ocean, and had there been recruited by John Brown. His name was among the signatories to "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States," from a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued at Harpers Ferry on October 18, 1859. During the year before the raid, Captain Brown sent Gill to visit a black con artist named Mr. Reynolds who persuaded Gill that he had gone through the South organizing and had brought into existence in areas of the South a militant organization of black men and women. Pointing out to Gill that Southern newspapers carried numerous references to the death of a favorite slave, he alleged that these were leaders of servile insurrection plots who were being discovered and offed. According to this "mumper" Southern blacks were ready and needed only to be given a cue. There is evidence that several slaves from the vicinity of the arsenal did participate in the raid itself, but returned hastily to their plantations when it became obvious that the raid was a failure. Several fires were set in the vicinity of Harpers Ferry in the week after the raid, probably by slaves and free black Americans (Richard Hinton estimates that \$10,000,000 was lost in the sale of Virginia slaves in the year 1859; census figures show that between 1850 and 1860 there was almost a 10% decline in blacks in the three counties surrounding Harpers Ferry, a period during which the total number of blacks in Maryland and Virginia was increasing by about 4%).

| Henry Harris                    | No                                 | No | No | recruit |  | of color |  |  |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|----|----|---------|--|----------|--|--|
| Henry Harris, of Cleveland in 1 | Henry Harris, of Cleveland in 1859 |    |    |         |  |          |  |  |
| James Henry Harris              |                                    |    |    |         |  |          |  |  |



|               | CHATHAM SIGNATORIES |            |         |              |     |      |  |  |
|---------------|---------------------|------------|---------|--------------|-----|------|--|--|
| Person's Name | On Raid?            | Shot Dead? | Hanged? | His Function | Age | Race |  |  |
|               |                     |            |         |              |     |      |  |  |

No one associated with Captain John Brown, and no one associated with politics in North Carolina, has ever been awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor.

"J.H. Harris" signed, as a member of a Vigilance Committee, on May 8th, 1858, the "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States" in Chatham, Ontario West, Canada, a document which would be found on the person of John Brown when he was captured at Harpers Ferry on October 18th, 1859. Although another person of this name, James Henry Harris, had been born a slave in Granville County, North Carolina and had gained his freedom at the age of 18 in about 1848, he was not this "J.H. Harris." Educated at Oberlin College, he would hold a teaching certificate from the New England Freedman's Aid Society. He was of Cleveland in 1859, and a member of the 102d US Colored Infantry formed in Michigan by George DeBaptiste that included so many men from Chatham. He would attend the 1st Freedmen's Convention in the South, held in what would become the St. Paul A.M.E. Church on Edenton Street in Raleigh during September 1865 as a representative of Wake County. He would become the 1st black alderman from Raleigh, and a delegate from Raleigh to the North Carolina Constitutional Convention of 1868; he got married with Bettie Miller, a daughter of Addison J. Smith and Mary Anderson, a cousin of Osborn Perry Anderson; he died in 1891 in Washington DC and the remains are at Mount Hope Cemetery in Raleigh. There is yet a 3d James H. Harris, who was not this "J.H. Harris" signatory, who was belatedly awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor and is interred in the remote section of Arlington National Cemetery that was reserved for colored soldiers, and for contrabands.

NI.

NI.

| Thomas Hickerson  | No            | No                | No            | recruit                    |           | of color |  |  |  |
|---|---------------|-------------------|---------------|----------------------------|-----------|----------|--|--|--|
| Thomas Hickerson, corporal in Company D of the 13th US Colored Infantry   |               |                   |               |                            |           |          |  |  |  |
| Isaac Hobbar (Holler; Isaac<br>Holden)  | No            | No                | No            | recruit                    |           | of color |  |  |  |
| Isaac Hobbar (Holler; Isaac Holden), probably a member of the 102d US Colored Infantry under the name Isaac Horden, that formed in Michigan by George DeBaptiste and included many men from <a href="#">Chatham</a> |               |                   |               |                            |           |          |  |  |  |
| S(quire) Hunton AKA Esquire<br>Hunter   | No            | No                | No            | recruit                    |           | of color |  |  |  |
| S(quire) Hunton AKA Esquire I   | Hunter, commi | ssary sergeant of | Company H i   | n the 109th US Colo        | ored Infa | antry    |  |  |  |
| Job (or John) T. Jackson  | No            | No                | No            | recruit                    |           | of color |  |  |  |
| Job (or John) T. Jackson, Corpo   | ral in Compan | y F of the 13th U | S Colored Inf | antry                      |           |          |  |  |  |
| James Monroe Jones  | No            | No                | No            | recruit                    |           | of color |  |  |  |
| James Monroe Jones, <u>Chatham</u> resident, owned a gun shop   |               |                   |               |                            |           |          |  |  |  |
| John Henry Kagi   | Yes           | Yes               |               | Secretary of War, adjutant | 24        | white    |  |  |  |





| CHATHAM SIGNATORIES |          |            |         |              |     |      |  |
|---------------------|----------|------------|---------|--------------|-----|------|--|
| Person's Name       | On Raid? | Shot Dead? | Hanged? | His Function | Age | Race |  |

Although John Henry Kagi was largely self-taught, his letters to the New-York Tribune, the New-York Evening <u>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 Lecompton 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. His name was among the signatories to "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States," from a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued at <u>Harpers Ferry</u> on October 18, 1859. 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.

| Thomas M. Kinnard  | No   | No                 | No            | recruit             |          | of color |  |  |  |
|--|--|--------------------|---------------|---------------------|----------|----------|--|--|--|
| Thomas M. Kinnard, attended the Colored National Convention in Syracuse, New York of June 1855, organized by Gerrit Smith, James McCune Smith, and Frederick Douglass; member of the 19th US Colored Infantry; a Freemason |  |                    |               |                     |          |          |  |  |  |
| William Lambert No No No recruit of color  |  |                    |               |                     |          |          |  |  |  |
|  | William Lambert, of Detroit, Michigan in 1843; member of the African Mysteries, a secret defense group in Michigan in 1858; Equal Rights League 1865; a Freemason; Convention delegate closely associated with George DeBaptiste |                    |               |                     |          |          |  |  |  |
| John Lawrence No No No recruit of color  |  |                    |               |                     |          |          |  |  |  |
| John Lawrence, an officer of the   | e Provisional (  | Constitution; a me | ember of Cong | gress of John Brown | 's Provi | sional   |  |  |  |

Government



| CHATHAM SIGNATORIES   |     |     |  |         |      |       |  |
|---|-----|-----|--|---------|------|-------|--|
| Person's Name On Raid? Shot Dead? Hanged? His Function Age Race |     |     |  |         |      |       |  |
| William H. Leeman   | Yes | Yes |  | Captain | < 21 | white |  |

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 Osawatomic 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." His name was among the signatories to "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States," as "W.H. Leeman," from a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued at Harpers Ferry on October 18, 1859. 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."

Charles W. Moffett, a white drifter from Iowa about whom little is known. His name was among the signatories to "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States," as "C.W. Moffit," from a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued at Harpers Ferry on October 18, 1859. Perhaps his middle name was "Wesley" (according to an 1882 article in the Topeka Capital, "John Brown: A Reunion of His Surviving Associates," a meeting of raid survivors at the Kansas Historical Society was called by C.W. Moffett of Montour, and a tombstone in the Maple Hill cemetery in Montour, Iowa is for a Charles Wesley Moffett, Jun. 20, 1827-Aug. 19, 1904) and perhaps he did not attend the raid on the federal arsenal because he had cold feet, or because he was one of a number of people suspected by the others of having written (2 anonymous postings, one dated August 18th, 1859 from near Philadelphia and the other dated 2 days later from Cincinnati) to alert the federal government to the plan for a raid on some federal arsenal (Secretary of War John Buchanan Floyd received this while at Red Sweet Springs in Virginia and did not alert anyone in the federal government; he would offer later that as War Secretary he had been getting a whole lot of spurious warnings, and anyway there wasn't a federal arsenal in Maryland).

| William Charles Munroe<br>(Munro)  | No            | No | No | recruit |  | of color |  |  |
|--|---------------|----|----|---------|--|----------|--|--|
| William Charles Munroe (Munro), Michigan, 1843, President of the <u>Chatham</u> Convention, active underground railroad leader in Detroit; minister; a Freemason |               |    |    |         |  |          |  |  |
| Robert Newman No No No recruit of color  |               |    |    |         |  |          |  |  |
| Rohert Newman  | Robert Newman |    |    |         |  |          |  |  |



| CHATHAM SIGNATORIES   |   |  |   |  |  |   |  |  |
|---|---|--|---|--|--|---|--|--|
| Person's Name   | On Raid?  | Shot Dead?   | Hanged?   | His Function   | Age  | Race  |  |  |
| Luke F. Parsons   |   |  |   |  |  | White   |  |  |
| <u>Luke F. Parsons</u> , 22-year-old white man, already a mercenary fighter seasoned in <u>"Bleeding Kansas,"</u> a petty thief in need of a paycheck and a legitimating excuse. His name "L.F. Parsons" was among the signatories to "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States," per a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued at <u>Harpers Ferry</u> on October 18, 1859.   |   |  |   |  |  |   |  |  |
| James Purnell   | No  | No   | No  | recruit  |  | of color  |  |  |
| James Purnell, Ohio, 1850, 185 continent, based on Martin M. Dof William Whipper of the under Richard Realf   | Pelany's notion                                       | "the making of a   |   | _  |  | nephew  |  |  |
| Richard Realf  White  Richard Realf was a 23-year-old Englishman, the son of a blacksmith who had become a rural constable. In 1852 he had put out a collection of poetry, GUESSES AT THE BEAUTIFUL, 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 by John Edwin Cook, whom he had met in Lawrence in "Bleeding Kansas" while working as a correspondent for the Illinois State Gazette, to John Brown in Mount Tabor, Iowa at the end of November or beginning of December 1857. He traveled through Chicago and Detroit to Chatham, Ontario West, Canada, and his name was among the signatories to "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States," per a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued at Harpers Ferry on October 18, 1859. He returned to England to lecture, and visited France, before traveling from Havre on March 2, 1859 to New Orleans, arriving April 17, 1959 with the objective of becoming a Jesuit priest. He would testify before the US Senate Committee. |   |  |   |  |  |   |  |  |
| signatories to "Provisional Cons<br>Brown's handwriting that would<br>1859. He returned to England to<br>Orleans, arriving April 17, 1959<br>Senate Committee.  | stitution and O<br>d be captured v<br>lecture, and vi | it to Chatham, On ordinances for the when he and his n isited France, before | ntario West, Control People of the nen were subdore traveling for | anada, and his name<br>United States," per<br>ued at <u>Harpers Ferr</u><br>rom Havre on Marcl | was am<br>a docun<br>y on Oct<br>n 2, 1859 | at for the ember along the ment in ober 18,0 to New |  |  |
| signatories to "Provisional Cons<br>Brown's handwriting that would<br>1859. He returned to England to<br>Orleans, arriving April 17, 1959   | stitution and O<br>d be captured v<br>lecture, and vi | it to Chatham, On ordinances for the when he and his n isited France, before | ntario West, Control People of the nen were subdore traveling for | anada, and his name<br>United States," per<br>ued at <u>Harpers Ferr</u><br>rom Havre on Marcl | was am<br>a docun<br>y on Oct<br>n 2, 1859 | at for the ember along the ment in ober 18,0 to New |  |  |

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. He had attended the Convention of Colored Men in 1858, and signed the "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States" in Chatham, Ontario West, Canada per a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued at Harpers Ferry on October 18, 1859. as "J.G. Reynolds."

of color

George J. Reynolds



| CHATHAM SIGNATORIES   |   |  |  |  |                                     |                             |  |  |
|---|---|--|--|--|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|--|
| Person's Name   | On Raid?  | Shot Dead?   | Hanged?  | His Function   | Age                                 | Race                        |  |  |
| Richard Richardson  | No  |  |  |  |                                     | of color                    |  |  |
| Richard Richardson, a fugitive slave from Lexington, Missouri who had joined John Brown in southern Iowa, was going through that unfortunate but now-well-understood initial period of reaction to freedom in which a former slave, accustomed to servitude and unaccustomed to self-origination, attaches himself to some authoritative white man who is able with courtesy to make use of him. He was a member of the African Mysteries, a secret defense group in Michigan in 1858, and signed the "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States" in Chatham, per a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued at Harpers Ferry on October 18, 1859, but evidently did not get from Ontario to Virginia due to lack of travel money. He became a private in Company E of the 113th US Colored Infantry that was formed from the 13th US Colored Infantry that was recruited in and spent its entire service in Arkansas. |   |  |  |  |                                     |                             |  |  |
| I(saac) D. Shadd  | No  | No   | No   | recruit  |                                     | of color                    |  |  |
| I(saac) D. Shadd, a member of the Martin M. Delany's notion "the Chatham and Windsor in Septen  | making of a c   | olored nationality   | y"; a member   | of the Vigilance Co  | mmittee                             | in                          |  |  |
| A(ddison) J. Smith  | No  | No   | No   | recruit  |                                     | of color                    |  |  |
| A(ddison) J. Smith, husband of<br>Infantry formed in Indiana that<br>cousin of Lewis Leary), whose<br>fact that more than half the mer<br>Brown's farmhouse headquarte<br>Infantry that was recruited in ar   | was recruited chaplain was (a were recruited rs), or the 113t | by Mary Ann Sha<br>Garland White of<br>d in Ellicott Mills<br>h US Colored Int | ndd, James He<br>Chatham (the<br>s, Maryland, n<br>fantry that was | nry Harris, and Will<br>28th is of special in<br>ear the location of C | is Revel<br>iterest de<br>Captain J | s (1st<br>ue to the<br>John |  |  |
| Charles Smith   | No  | No   | No   | recruit  |                                     | of color                    |  |  |
| Charles Smith, a member of the 28th US Colored Infantry formed in Indiana that was recruited by Mary Ann Shadd, James Henry Harris, and Willis Revels (1st cousin of Lewis Leary), whose chaplain was Garland White of Chatham, or 109th, or 127th US Colored Infantry (all these included friends of John Brown and Osborne P. Anderson)   |   |  |  |  |                                     |                             |  |  |
| James Smith   | No  | No   | No   | recruit  |                                     | of color                    |  |  |
| James Smith, a member of the 1 was recruited in and spent its er  |   | •  | vas formed fro   | om the 13th US Colo  | red Infa                            | ntry that                   |  |  |
| Aaron Dwight Stevens  | Yes   | Badly<br>wounded   | Yes  | Captain  | 28                                  | white                       |  |  |



| CHATHAM SIGNATORIES |          |            |         |              |     |      |
|---------------------|----------|------------|---------|--------------|-----|------|
| Person's Name       | On Raid? | Shot Dead? | Hanged? | His Function | Age | Race |

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 greatgrandfather 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."

| Thomas Stringer   | No  | No  | No | recruit             |        | of color |
|---|-----|-----|----|---------------------|--------|----------|
| Thomas Stringer, represented N would organize "Negro Masonr | 1.1 |     |    | ored Men in 1869; a | Freema | son (he  |
| Stewart Taylor  | Yes | Yes |    | Private             | 23     | white    |

Stewart Taylor was born on October 29, 1836 at Uxbridge in Canada. He became a wagonmaker and in 1853 went to Iowa, where in 1858 he became acquainted with Captain Brown through George B. Gill. He was a spiritualist. He signed the "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States" in Chatham, Ontario, Canada West per a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued at Harpers Ferry on October 18, 1859. 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, Illinois, and thence to Harper's [sic] 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."

| John A. Thomas       | No  | No | No | recruit |    | of color |
|----------------------|-----|----|----|---------|----|----------|
| John A. Thomas       |     |    |    |         |    |          |
| Charles Plummer Tidd | Yes | No | No | Captain | 25 | white    |



# CHATHAM SIGNATORIES

Person's Name On Raid? Shot Dead? Hanged? His Function Age Race

Charles Plummer Tidd was born in Palermo, Maine in 1834 and had emigrated to "Bleeding Kansas" in 1856 with the party of Dr. Calvin Cutter of Worcester in search of excitement. After joining John Brown's party at Mount Tabor, Iowa in 1857 he became one of the followers of "Shubel Morgan" who returned in 1858 to raid into Missouri. During the Winter 1857/1858 encampment of the Brown forces in Springdale, Iowa, he "ruined" a Quaker girl and the other members of the team had to sneak him away 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 <u>Barclay Coppoc</u> and <u>Edwin Coppoc</u>. He and <u>John E. Cook</u> were particularly warm friends. He signed, as "Charles P. Tidd," the "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States" in Chatham, Canada per a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued at <u>Harpers Ferry</u> on October 18, 1859. He opposed the attack on <u>Harpers Ferry</u> 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 <u>Aaron D. Stevens</u> and <u>Albert Hazlett</u> 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 Northerner 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, North Carolina.

#### THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

| Robert Van Vruken   | No | No | No | recruit |  | of color |
|---|----|----|----|---------|--|----------|
| Robert Van Vruken (Van Ranken), a black community leader in Buxton, Ontario; interviewed by US Senate Committee (although of course they could not include the testimony of a black man in their official report) |    |    |    |         |  |          |
| Alfred Whipper  | No | No | No | recruit |  | of color |
| Alfred Whipper (often written "Whipple"), a member of the African Commission of 1858 for emigration to the African continent, based on Martin M. Delany's notion "the making of a colored nationality"            |    |    |    |         |  |          |
| C. (Aaron Stevens) Whipple  | No | No | No | recruit |  | white    |
| C. (Aaron Stevens) Whipple  |    |    |    |         |  |          |





When abolitionists went to the Ohio Republican convention, they managed to add repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 to the party platform.

During this year or the following one <u>George William Curtis</u> would become chairman of the Richmond County Republican Party Committee (a post he would retain until 1879).

James Henry Harris was in Cleveland, Ohio. He would travel to Canada.



Feelings had run high in Ohio in the aftermath of John Price's rescue. When the federal jury issued its indictments, state authorities arrested the federal marshal, his deputies, and other men involved in Price's detention. After negotiations, state officials agreed to release the arresting officials, while federal officials agreed to release 35 of the men indicted. Simeon M. Bushnell, a white man, and Charles H. Langston, a mulatto, were the only two men to be put on trial, in the federal court. Four prominent local attorneys -Franklin Thomas Backus, Rufus P. Spalding, Albert G. Riddle, and Seneca O. Griswold- made up their defense team. The jurors were all known Democrats. After convicting the white defendant, the same jury heard the case against the free black defendant despite protests that using the same jurors was illicit. Langston gave a speech in court that was a rousing statement of the case for abolition and for justice for people of color (following this, the court needed to make sustained efforts to suppress applause from onlookers). After the jury also convicted the black defendant, Judge Philemon Bliss assigned light sentences, 60 days in jail for the white defendant and 20 days in jail for the free mulatto one. Bushnell and Langston would file a writ of habeas corpus with the Ohio Supreme Court, asserting that the federal court did not have the authority to arrest and try them because the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 was unconstitutional. The Ohio Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the law by a 3-over-2 ruling. Although Chief Justice Joseph Rockwell Swan was personally opposed to slavery, he wrote that his judicial duty left him no choice but to acknowledge that under the Supremacy Clause of the federal constitution an Act of the United States Congress was the supreme law of the land, and must be upheld. More than 10,000 citizens of Ohio then participated in a Cleveland rally to oppose the federal and state courts' decisions. Appearing with Republican leaders such as Governor Salmon Portland Chase and Joshua Giddings. John Mercer Langston was the sole black speaker. Chief Justice Joseph Rockwell Swan would fail to win reelection and would be driven from politics.



1862

July 12, Sunday: There was fighting at Kock's Plantation / Cox's Plantation, continuing into the following day.

US CIVIL WAR

Edvard Grieg petitioned the king for a stipend to travel and study (this would be denied).

10,000 British troops invaded the Maori region south of Auckland. This number constituted 1/4th of the entire British army world-wide.

On what would have been <u>Henry Thoreau</u>'s 45th birthday, the US federal Congress authorized the <u>Congressional Medal of Honor</u>.



We notice of course that Henry had never done a single thing in his entire life to make America proud of him, let alone make himself worthy of being considered for this sort of honoring. Let us consider then a seldom-printed comment he made about the nature of prayer which you may review in the Haskell House Publishers version of A YANKEE IN CANADA: WITH ANTI-SLAVERY AND REFORM PAPERS:

"Let us not have the prayers of one sect, nor of the Christian Church, but of men in all ages and religions, who have prayed well.

The prayer of Jesus is, as it deserves, become a form for the human race."<sup>2</sup>

And let us not overlook his infamous comment about the content of our prayers:

"Why do all your prayers begin 'Now I lay me down to sleep'?"

And his enigmatic comment about the context of our prayers:

"Tell the tailors to remember to make a knot in their thread before they take the first stitch"
— although his companion's prayer is forgotten."



1864

<u>Chatham</u> in <u>Canada West</u> had 4,600 residents and was about a third black, some of these blacks being escaped American slaves.





Mary Ann Shadd Cary returned to the US to recruit black soldiers for the Union armies.





At this point it was made illegal for the first 1st, for American infantry units to make use of drummer-boys under the age of 16. —What, did someone get embarrassed? —Like, is war not for children?



Drummer Taylor of 78th Regiment

In Detroit, Michigan George DeBaptiste worked to form the 102d US Colored Infantry and was appointed as the regiment's sutler. James Henry Harris was one of the many men from Chatham who enlisted. DeBaptiste went with the formation to South Carolina but returned to Detroit in about 6 months to become again a caterer at the corner of Jefferson Avenue and Beaubien Street.

February 14, Sunday: Federal troops captured Gainesville, Florida.

In Great Mills, <u>Maryland</u>, 36-year-old <u>James H. Harris</u> enlisted in the Army of the Union as a private, with Company B of the 38th United States Colored Infantry regiment (the 28th is of special interest due to the fact that more than half the men were recruited in Ellicott Mills, Maryland, which happens to be some 60 miles from the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry and the Kennedy farm at which the raiders had hidden out before their attack).



<u>Federal forces</u> captured Meridian, Mississippi and would proceed to destroy the town, until the 20th.

US CIVIL WAR

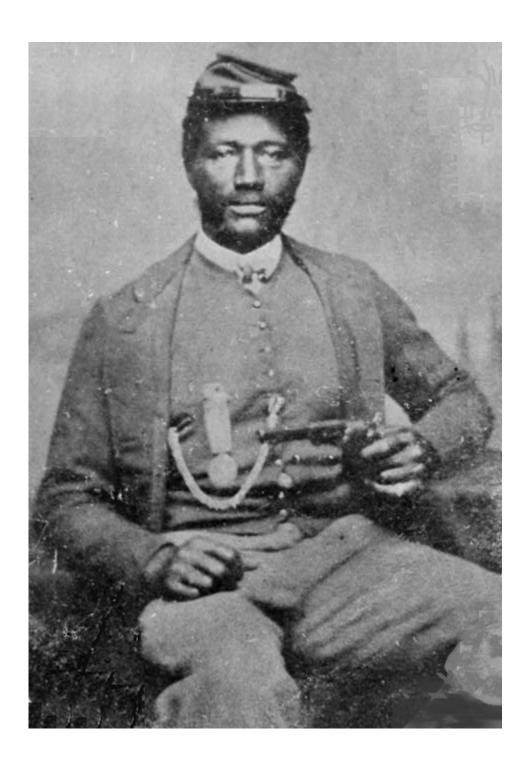
July 25, Monday: In Company B of the 38th United States Colored Infantry, Private <u>James H. Harris</u> was promoted to corporal.



In hope of coaxing <u>General Robert E. Lee</u> to dispatch some troops out of Petersburg (which was under lengthy siege), General Ulysses S. Grant sent his Second Corps with two divisions of cavalry to wreak as much damage as they could along the northern bank of the James River, by tearing up railroads and whatnot.

US CIVIL WAR







September 10, Saturday: In Company B of the 38th United States Colored Troops, Corporal <u>James H. Harris</u> was promoted to sergeant.

On this day and the following one there would be fighting at Davis' Cross Roads / Dug Gap.

US CIVIL WAR







September 29, Thursday: On this day and the following day there would be fighting near New Market Heights, Virginia.



The 38th United States Colored Infantry was part of a division of black troops sent into the attack in what would come to be known as the Battle of Chaffin's Farm. The central Confederate defenses they were sent against consisted of 2 lines of abatis and a line of palisades defended by the Texas Brigade under Brigadier General John Gregg, and in the approach they were stalled at the abatis having taken more than 50% casualties. When a renewed attack was ordered Sergeant <u>James Henry Harris</u> and 2 others of the 38th, Private William H. Barnes and 1st Sergeant Edward Ratcliff, led the assault and made themselves the 1st to breach the defenses, engaging Confederates in hand-to-hand combat. When they were joined by the remainder of their division, the enemy was driven back.

US CIVIL WAR







September: <u>James Henry Harris</u> attended the 1st Freedmen's Convention in the South, held in what would become the St. Paul A.M.E. Church on Edenton Street in Raleigh, <u>North Carolina</u>, as a representative of Wake County.



August 31, Thursday: The shop on Concord's Milldam that was considered to be the oldest structure pertaining to the Milldam Company, was purchased by Frank Pierce, who would come to be described locally as "Dean of the Milldam." From Frank Pierce we learn such details as that the shoes of the Alcott girls had toe inserts fashioned of copper.

<u>James Henry Harris</u> obtained a teaching certificate, from the Reverend John Parkman of the Committee on Teachers of the New England Freedmen's Aid Society in Boston:

[Left side of folded paper, printed] New England Freedmen's Aid Society 8, Studio Building. Organized in Boston, Dec. 7, 1862. Officers.

President his Excellency John A. Andrew.

Vice presidents.

Rev. Jacob M Manning; Rev. Edward E Hale; Rev. J.W. Parker, DD; Rev. J.S. Clark, DD; Hon. Jacob Sleeper; Dr. Robert W. Hopper; Prof. William B. Rogers; Rev. William Hague, DD; Rev. Andrew L. Stone, DD; Edward L. Pierce; Rev. R.C. Waterston; Edward Atkinson; Dr. LeBaron Russell; William Lloyd Garrison; Rev. H. M. Dexter; Rev. A. Eight. Miner; Rev. E.S. Gannett, DD; Hon. Thomas Russell; Rev. Geo. H. Hepworth.

Treasurer, William Endicott, Jr., 33 Summer Street.; Rec. Sec'y J.B. Thayer, 4 Court Street; Cor. Sec'y Marshall G. Kemball, 8 Studio Building.

Committee on Teachers, Rev. John Parkman, 8 Studio Building; Loring Lothrop, 43 Pinckney Street; Miss H.E. Stevenson, 8 Studio Building; Mrs. Ednah D. Cheney, Jamaica Plain; Rev. Chas. Lowe, Somerville; Mrs. J.A. Lane, 623 Tremont Street; Rev. W. Hague, DD, 42 Charles St.; Miss M.J. Ellis, Roxbury.

Committee on Clothing and Supplies, Mr. Jona. A. Lane, 43 Franklin St.; Mrs. Samuel Cabot, 11 Park Square; Mrs. Wm. B. Rogers, 1 Temple Place; Geo. Atkinson, 60 State Street; Mrs. A. Merrill, 154 Newton Street; Frederick W.G. May, 2 Broad St.

Committee on Correspondence, Dr. H.I. Bowditch, 113 Boylston St.; Francis J. Child, Cambridge; Dr. Samuel Cabot, 11 Park Square; Chase. A. Cummings, 9 Studio Building.

Committee on Finance, Edward Atkinson, 40 State St.; Martin Brimmer, 48 Beacon St.; Mrs. Geo. R. Russell, 1 Louisburg Square; Chas. R. Codman, 7 Park Square; E.W. Kinsley, 37 Franklin St.; Cadwallader Curry, 50 Milk St.; Edward Cunningham, Milton.

Executive Committee, Rev. John Parkman, 8 Studio Building; Prof. F.J. Child, Cambridge; Wm. Endicott, Jr., 33 Summer St.; Mrs. Ednah D. Cheney, 8 Studio Building



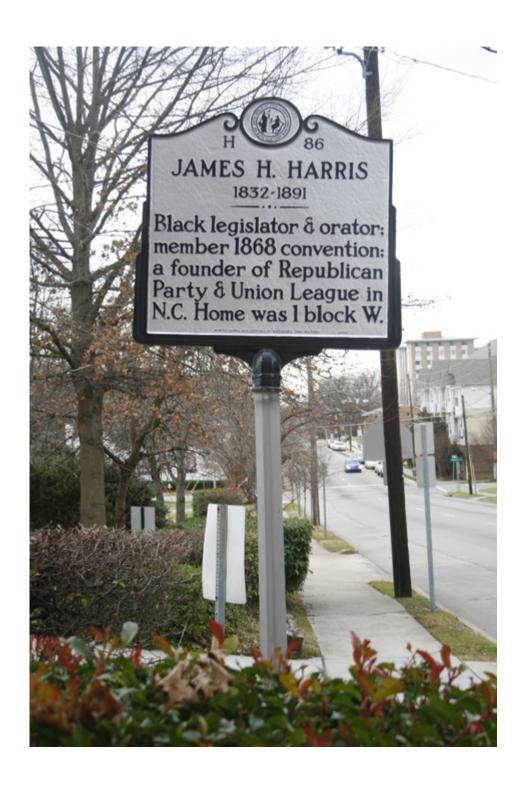
Clothing and Supplies received at Wellington Bros. & Co., 103 Devonshire Street.
Office No. 8 Studio Building, Tremont Street.
Boston, March 28, 1865.

[Right half of folded paper]
New England Freedmen's Aid Society,
8, Studio Building, Tremont Street,
[In script] Boston, Aug 31 1865
Mr. James Henry Harris
is hereby appointed by the
New England Freedman's Aid Society,
a Teacher of Freed People in
North Carolina
For the Committee on Teachers.
John Parkman chairman.
Hannah (?) E. Stevenson Sec'y.

October 19, Thursday: There was an annular eclipse of the sun (#7325) from Washington state to Florida.

<u>James Henry Harris</u> was appointed to serve as one of the 9 vice-presidents of the <u>National Equal Rights</u> <u>Convention</u>, held over a 3-day period in <u>Cleveland</u>, <u>Ohio</u>.







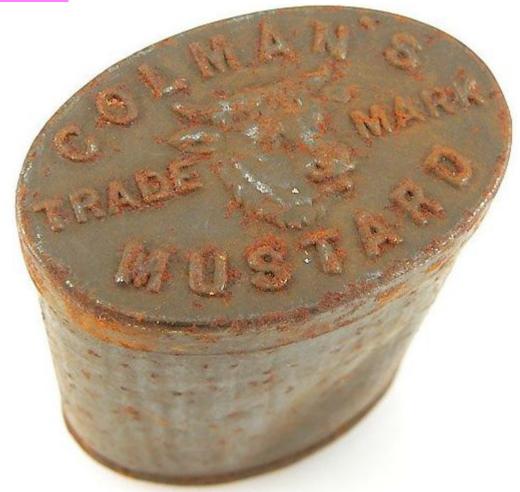
1866



In between petty crimes a Tuscarora tribesman, Henry Berry Lowrie, led a "Robin Hood" revolt in <u>Robeson County, North Carolina</u>.

Near <u>Raleigh, North Carolina</u>, Lewis Peck, a prosperous white grocer, divided his farm on a ridge a mile and a half northwest of downtown into lots and began to offer them to black Americans at about \$50 an acre (which was nearly 9 times more than such an acre house lot would have cost a white man in Wake County in that year). This began as "Peck's Place" and eventually would be known as "Oberlin Village."

By this point, through the efforts of <u>John R. Green</u>, the bull had come to be the eponymous animal of <u>Durham</u>, <u>North Carolina</u>.<sup>3</sup>



(Green had surmised, incorrectly, that the Colman's brand of strong mustard was being manufactured in Durham, England.)

<sup>3.</sup> Aphorism: "You get the eponymous animals you deserve."





<u>James Henry Harris</u> got married with Bettie Miller, a daughter of Addison J. Smith and Mary Anderson, a cousin of <u>Osborn Perry Anderson</u>.



1867

James Henry Harris became a council member of the Union League of America.

Mary Ann Shadd Cary relocated to Detroit, Michigan, where she obtained work as a teacher.



<u>Lucy Stone</u>, Henry Blackwell, Clarina Nichols, and others traveled to <u>Kansas</u> to agitate for women's suffrage. After months of campaigning, the suffragists were defeated on the fall ballot.

FEMINISM



The "cattletown" era opened in  $\underline{Kansas}$  with the arrival of the 1st Texas cattle at Abilene.

The Treaty of Medicine Lodge was signed between the US federal government and 5 Southern Plains Indian tribes.

At the American Equal Rights Association annual meeting, opinions divided sharply on supporting the enfranchisement of black men before women.





<u>James Henry Harris</u> became an agent with Albion W. Tourgee to solicit northern contributions for the destitute in <u>North</u>
<u>Carolina</u>. He became a Raleigh city commissioner, and a Republican legislator serving in the state House of Representatives and in the state Senate.

He would make himself the director of the local branch of the <u>Freedman's Savings and Trust Company</u> (corner of Hargett and Fayetteville Streets) and the <u>Raleigh</u> Cooperative Land and Building Association (this cooperative offered mortgages that gave early Oberlin Village residents the opportunity to build pioneer-style homes, and eventually Colonial Revival-style and Queen Anne-style homes; the black village on the outskirts of town stretched for about 12 blocks from present-day Hillsborough Street to beyond what is now Wade Avenue).

The US Adjutant General reported the desertion rate among white troops serving in the American West to be almost 57% and their suicide rate nearly 8%, while the desertion and suicide rates among black troops ("Buffalo Soldiers") were merely 2-3%. The difference between the white and the black experience of this military experience on the Great Plains may have been due to the fact that many of the black soldiers were recently freed slaves, and thus accustomed to doing what they were told and being sober while they did it, whereas such was not the case for the German and Irish recent immigrants who made up the bulk of these white soldiers.

January 14, Tuesday: <u>James Henry Harris</u> became the 1st black alderman from Raleigh, and a delegate from Raleigh to the <u>North Carolina</u> Constitutional Convention.

May 20, Friday-21, Saturday: <u>James Henry Harris</u> attended the <u>Republican National Convention</u> at Crosby's Opera House in Chicago, Illinois.





A note on Thoreau's "When you have got my ornaments ready I will wear them":

WALDEN: Much it concerns a man, forsooth, how a few sticks are slanted over him or under him, and what colors are daubed upon his box. It would signify somewhat, if, in any earnest sense, he slanted them and daubed it; but the spirit having departed out of the tenant, it is of a piece with constructing his own coffin, -the architecture of the grave, and "carpenter" is but another name for "coffin-maker." One man says, in his despair or indifference to life, take up a handful of the earth at your feet, and paint your house that color. Is he thinking of his last and narrow house? Toss up a copper for it as well. What an abundance of leisure he must have! Why do you take up a handful of dirt? Better paint your house your own complexion; let it turn pale or blush for you. An enterprise to improve the style of cottage architecture! When you have got my ornaments ready I will wear them.

In Cassell's Household Guide: Being a Complete Encyclopaedia of Domestic and Social Economy, and Forming a Guide to Every Department of Practical Life (London and NY: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin, 1869?) we find: "After death the eyes should be gently closed, the eyelids being, if necessary, kept in position by a coin." Since Thoreau is referring to corpses and coffins and has just used the phrase "toss up a copper," which of course refers to a small coin, the "ornaments" of which he speaks might well be these small coins which would be utilized by the preparer of a corpse, to hold shut the eyelids.

Which brings us to the topic of <u>Dr. Bartlett Leonidas Snipes Durham</u>, who had been buried in an unmarked <u>North Carolina</u> grave with his "gold-rimmed" eyeglasses on. In this year the state's General Assembly voted to incorporate a city to be known as <u>Durham</u> on the site of the railroad station Dr. Durham had created at the edge of his plantation "Pandora's Box" between Prattsburg and Pinhook — the sole municipality ever, whose founding father had been a bachelor.

<u>James Henry Harris</u> led a delegation that urged President Ulysses S. Grant to use his influence with Congress to pass supplemental legislation securing equal rights for blacks.

January 13, Wednesday-16, Sunday: Although it has been recorded in various studies that <u>James Henry Harris</u> served as president of the <u>National Convention of Colored Men</u> held in Washington DC, I can discover no record that he was an officer at that convention or even that he had made an appearance there. All I have been able to recover is that he did visit Washington DC at some point during this year.





<u>James Henry Harris</u> was re-elected as a Republican legislator. He served as a presidential elector.

Henry Berry Lowrie, Tuscarora tribesman of Robeson County, North Carolina, obtaining more than \$28,000 from the local sheriff's safe, disappeared from the pages of history.

June 6, Thursday: <u>James Henry Harris</u> was attending the <u>Republican National Convention</u> in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

To test the constitutionality of the ban on women's suffrage, <u>Susan B. Anthony</u> and other suffragists registered on this day in Rochester, <u>New York</u> to vote in the American presidential election of November 4th. When she would cast this ballot she would be placed under arrest.



FEMINISM

July: Louis Austin was helping to celebrate an election defeat of the Republicans, party of blacks and carpetbaggers, by Democratic candidate Carr, in <u>Durham</u>, <u>North Carolina</u>, repeatedly discharging an antique bronze cannon located at the Old Bull Factory. After the cannon got too hot and blew up he was without both his arms, and greatly blackened. This mutilated corpse would be the initial one (Grave #1) placed in the new Maplewood Cemetery that has come to be bounded by Kent Street, Chapel Hill Road, and University Drive and has by now, radically expanded, come to include more than 22,000 burials.









1874

February 18, Wednesday: <u>James H. Harris</u> was belatedly issued the Congressional Medal of Honor on account of his "Gallantry in the assault" at Chaffin's Farm (Private William H. Barnes and 1st Sergeant Edward Ratcliff also received this award).



US CIVIL WAR





1876

June 14, Wednesday: In San Francisco, the <u>California</u> Street Cable Car Railroad Co. received its franchise (service would begin on April 10, 1878).

<u>James Henry Harris</u> was attending the <u>Republican National Convention</u> at Exposition Hall in Cincinnati, Ohio.





The last of the federal occupation troops departed from North Carolina.

<u>James Henry Harris</u> of <u>Raleigh</u> served as one of the vice-presidents of the National Black Convention.





William Still organized one of the first YMCAs for black youth.

By this point Oberlin Village on the on the outskirts of <u>Raleigh</u> had about 750 residents, some of whom had been the slaves of prominent antebellum landowners such as the Camerons and Mordecais, working as carpenters, brick masons, and seamstresses.

During this decade <u>James Henry Harris</u> would be editing the <u>North Carolina Republican</u>.





"Colonel" W.T. "Buck" Blackwell's horse track in <u>Durham</u>, <u>North Carolina</u> (this track still exists, as the oval in the quad of Duke University's East Campus).

James Henry Harris was again re-elected as a Republican legislator.

<sup>4.</sup> The "Colonel" in the name of this "Father of Durham" was an honorary appellation — actually during the civil war he'd hired a surrogate to perform military service for him.





May 31, Sunday: Work began on the Trans-Siberian Railway.

<u>James Henry Harris</u> died in <u>Washington DC</u>. The remains would be placed in Mount Hope Cemetery in <u>Raleigh, North Carolina</u>.



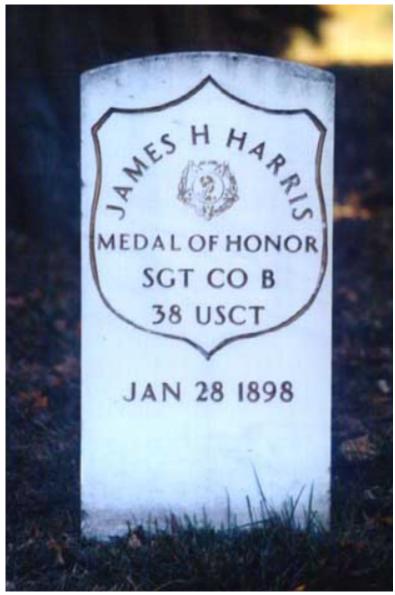
1898

January 28, Friday: James H. Harris died at the approximate age of 69. The body would be placed in Section 27, Site 985-H at Arlington National Cemetery in Virginia (no white soldiers are buried in Section 27, which was a secluded section reserved for soldiers of color, plus contrabands who died while under the protection of the US military).



US CIVIL WAR

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2012

June 16, Saturday: Medal of Honor winner <u>James H. Harris</u> was specifically honored and memorialized in the dedication of a United States Colored Troops Memorial Statue in Lexington Park, Maryland.



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"It's all now you see. Yesterday won't be over until tomorrow and tomorrow began ten thousand years ago."

- Remark by character "Garin Stevens" in William Faulkner's INTRUDER IN THE DUST



Prepared: September 14, 2016



# ARRGH AUTOMATED RESEARCH REPORT

# GENERATION HOTLINE



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



Commonly, the first output of the algorithm has obvious deficiencies and we need to go back into the modules stored in the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and recompile the chronology—but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary "writerly" process you know and love. As the contents of this originating contexture improve, and as the programming improves, and as funding becomes available (to date no funding whatever has been needed in the creation of this facility, the entire operation being run out of pocket change) we expect a diminished need to do such tweaking and recompiling, and we fully expect to achieve a simulation of a generous and untiring robotic research librarian. Onward and upward in this brave new world.

First come first serve. There is no charge. Place requests with <Kouroo@kouroo.info>. Arrgh.