

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



[Dangerfield Newby](#), a free light mulatto, son of a Scotsman, very tall and with a splendid physique, was written by his wife begged him to obtain funds to purchase her and their baby who that had just “commenced to crawl ... as soon as possible, for if you do not get me somebody else will.” She pleaded “Oh Dear Dangerfield, come this fall without fail, money or no money I want to see you so much; that is the one bright hope I have before me.” He was serving as a sentinel at the [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, Virginia, coming across the Potomac from the Maryland side. He was not brought down by ball or bullet but by a 6-inch spike being used as a musket projectile, which caught him in the throat and ripped him severely. Since neither of the white men were shot, it appears that as a mulatto he was targeted. The body was beaten savagely, and its ears snipped off as trophies, and then a herd of hogs was driven up to root on it. His corpse was dumped into the shallow group pit beside the Shenandoah River, to be exhumed in 1899.



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR



RACE WAR

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Table of Altitudes

☰	Yoda	2' 0"
	Lavinia Warren	2' 8"
	Tom Thumb, Jr.	3' 4"
	Lucy (Australopithecus Afarensis)	3' 8"
	Hervé Villechaize ("Fantasy Island")	3' 11"
	Charles Proteus Steinmetz	4' 0"
	Mary Moody Emerson per FBS (1)	4' 3"
	Alexander Pope	4' 6"
	Benjamin Lay	4' 7"
	Dr. Ruth Westheimer	4' 7"
☰	Gary Coleman ("Arnold Jackson")	4' 8"
	Edith Piaf	4' 8"
	Queen Victoria with osteoporosis	4' 8"
	Linda Hunt	4' 9"
	Queen Victoria as adult	4' 10"
	Mother Teresa	4' 10"
	Margaret Mitchell	4' 10"
	length of newer military musket	4' 10"
	Charlotte Brontë	4' 10-11"
	Tammy Faye Bakker	4' 11"
	Soviet gymnast Olga Korbut	4' 11"
	jockey Willie Shoemaker	4' 11"
	Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec	4' 11"
	Joan of Arc	4' 11"
	Bonnie Parker of "Bonnie & Clyde"	4' 11"
	Harriet Beecher Stowe	4' 11"
	Laura Ingalls Wilder	4' 11"
☰	a rather tall adult Pygmy male	4' 11"
	Gloria Swanson	4' 11"1/2
	Clara Barton	5' 0"
	Isambard Kingdom Brunel	5' 0"
	Andrew Carnegie	5' 0"
	Thomas de Quincey	5' 0"
	Stephen A. Douglas	5' 0"
	Danny DeVito	5' 0"
	Immanuel Kant	5' 0"
	William Wilberforce	5' 0"



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Dollie Parton	5' 0"
Mae West	5' 0"
Pia Zadora	5' 0"
Deng Xiaoping	5' 0"
Dred Scott	5' 0" (±)
Captain William Bligh of HMS <i>Bounty</i>	5' 0" (±)
Harriet Tubman	5' 0" (±)
Mary Moody Emerson per FBS (2)	5' 0" (±)
John Brown of Providence, Rhode Island	5' 0" (+)
John Keats	5' 3/4"
Debbie Reynolds (Carrie Fisher's mother)	5' 1"
Princess Leia (Carrie Fisher)	5' 1"
Bette Midler	5' 1"
Dudley Moore	5' 2"
Paul Simon (of Simon & Garfunkel)	5' 2"
Honoré de Balzac	5' 2"
Sally Field	5' 2"
Jemmy Button	5' 2"
Margaret Mead	5' 2"
R. Buckminster "Bucky" Fuller	5' 2"
Yuri Gagarin the astronaut	5' 2"
William Walker	5' 2"
Horatio Alger, Jr.	5' 2"
length of older military musket	5' 2"
the artist formerly known as Prince	5' 2 1/2"
typical female of Thoreau's period	5' 2 1/2"
Francis of Assisi	5' 3"
Voltaire	5' 3"
Mohandas Gandhi	5' 3"
Kahlil Gibran	5' 3"
Friend Daniel Ricketson	5' 3"
The Reverend Gilbert White	5' 3"
Nikita Khrushchev	5' 3"
Sammy Davis, Jr.	5' 3"
Truman Capote	5' 3"
Kim Jong Il (North Korea)	5' 3"
Stephen A. "Little Giant" Douglas	5' 4"
Francisco Franco	5' 4"
President James Madison	5' 4"





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Iosef Vissarionovich Dzugashvili "Stalin"	5' 4"
Alan Ladd	5' 4"
Pablo Picasso	5' 4"
Truman Capote	5' 4"
Queen Elizabeth	5' 4"
Ludwig van Beethoven	5' 4"
Typical Homo Erectus	5' 4"
typical Neanderthal adult male	5' 4 ¹ / ₂ "
Alan Ladd	5' 4 ¹ / ₂ "
comte de Buffon	5' 5" (-)
Captain Nathaniel Gordon	5' 5"
Charles Manson	5' 5"
Audie Murphy	5' 5"
Harry Houdini	5' 5"
Hung Hsiu-ch'üan 洪秀全	5' 5"
Marilyn Monroe	5' 5 ¹ / ₂ "
T.E. Lawrence "of Arabia"	5' 5 ¹ / ₂ "
average runaway male American slave	5' 5-6"
Charles Dickens	5' 6?"
President Benjamin Harrison	5' 6"
President Martin Van Buren	5' 6"
James Smithson	5' 6"
Louisa May Alcott	5' 6"
Johann Wolfgang von Goethe	5' 6 ¹ / ₂ "
Napoleon Bonaparte	5' 6 ¹ / ₂ "
Emily Brontë	5' 6-7"
Henry Wadsworth Longfellow	5' ?"
average height, seaman of 1812	5' 6.85"
Oliver Reed Smoot, Jr.	5' 7"
minimum height, British soldier	5' 7"
President John Adams	5' 7"
President John Quincy Adams	5' 7"
President William McKinley	5' 7"
"Charley" Parkhurst (a female)	5' 7"
Ulysses S. Grant	5' 7"
Henry Thoreau	5' 7"
the average male of Thoreau's period	5' 7 ¹ / ₂ "
Edgar Allan Poe	5' 8"
President Ulysses S. Grant	5' 8"





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President William H. Harrison	5' 8"
President James Polk	5' 8"
President Zachary Taylor	5' 8"
average height, soldier of 1812	5' 8.35"
President Rutherford B. Hayes	5' 8 ¹ / ₂ "
President Millard Fillmore	5' 9"
President Harry S Truman	5' 9"
President Jimmy Carter	5' 9 ¹ / ₂ "
Herman Melville	5' 9 ³ / ₄ "
Calvin Coolidge	5' 10"
Andrew Johnson	5' 10"
Theodore Roosevelt	5' 10"
Thomas Paine	5' 10"
Franklin Pierce	5' 10"
Abby May Alcott	5' 10"
Reverend Henry C. Wright	5' 10"
Nathaniel Hawthorne	5' 10 ¹ / ₂ "
Louis "Deerfoot" Bennett	5' 10 ¹ / ₂ "
Friend John Greenleaf Whittier	5' 10 ¹ / ₂ "
President Dwight David "Ike" Eisenhower	5' 10 ¹ / ₂ "
Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots	5' 11"
Sojourner Truth	5' 11"
President Stephen Grover Cleveland	5' 11"
President Herbert Hoover	5' 11"
President Woodrow Wilson	5' 11"
President Jefferson Davis	5' 11"
President Richard Milhous Nixon	5' 11 ¹ / ₂ "
Robert Voorhis the hermit of Rhode Island	< 6'
Frederick Douglass	6' (-)
Anthony Burns	6' 0"
Waldo Emerson	6' 0"
Joseph Smith, Jr.	6' 0"
David Walker	6' 0"
Sarah F. Wakefield	6' 0"
Thomas Wentworth Higginson	6' 0"
President James Buchanan	6' 0"
President Gerald R. Ford	6' 0"
President James Garfield	6' 0"
President Warren Harding	6' 0"



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President John F. Kennedy	6' 0"
President James Monroe	6' 0"
President William H. Taft	6' 0"
President John Tyler	6' 0"
Captain John Brown	6' 0 (+)"
President Andrew Jackson	6' 1"
Alfred Russel Wallace	6' 1"
President Ronald Reagan	6' 1"
Venture Smith	6' 1 1/2"
John Camel Heenan	6' 2"
Crispus Attucks	6' 2"
President Chester A. Arthur	6' 2"
President George Bush, Senior	6' 2"
President Franklin D. Roosevelt	6' 2"
President George Washington	6' 2"
Gabriel Prosser	6' 2"
Dangerfield Newby	6' 2"
Charles Augustus Lindbergh	6' 2"
President Bill Clinton	6' 2 1/2"
President Thomas Jefferson	6' 2 1/2"
President Lyndon B. Johnson	6' 3"
Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.	6' 3"
Richard "King Dick" Seaver	6' 3 1/4"
President Abraham Lincoln	6' 4"
Marion Morrison (AKA John Wayne)	6' 4"
Elisha Reynolds Potter, Senior	6' 4"
Thomas Cholmondeley	6' 4" (?)
William Buckley	6' 4-7"
Franklin Benjamin Sanborn	6' 5"
Peter the Great of Russia	6' 7"
William "Dwarf Billy" Burley	6' 7"
Giovanni Battista Belzoni	6' 7"
Thomas Jefferson (the statue)	7' 6"
Jefferson Davis (the statue)	7' 7"
Martin Van Buren Bates	7' 11 1/2"
M. Bihin, a Belgian exhibited in Boston in 1840	8'
Anna Haining Swan	8' 1"





RACE WAR

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THOSE INVOLVED, ARRANGED ALPHABETICALLY



SECRET "SIX"

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

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

Jeremiah Goldsmith Anderson	Yes	Yes		Captain or Lt.	26	white
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The maternal grandfather of [Jeremiah Goldsmith Anderson](#), Colonel Jacob Westfall of Tygert Valley, Virginia, had been a soldier in the revolution and a slaveholder. Jeremiah had gone to school at Galesburg, Illinois and Kossuth, Iowa and had worked as a peddler, farmer, and sawmill laborer before settling a mile from Fort Bain on the Little Osage in Bourbon County in "[Bleeding Kansas](#)" during August 1857. He had twice been arrested by proslavery activists, and had been held for 10 weeks at Fort Scott. He then became a lieutenant of Captain Montgomery and was with him in the attack on Captain Anderson's troop of the 1st US Cavalry. He witnessed a murder, of a Mr. Denton, on his own doorstep by border ruffians. He went with [John Brown](#) on the slave raid into Missouri and remained with him thereafter. He was "J. Anderson" among the signatories to "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States," from a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued at [Harpers Ferry](#) on October 18, 1859. On July 5, 1859 he had written of his determination to continue to fight for freedom: "Millions of fellow-beings require it of us; their cries for help go out to the universe daily and hourly. Whose duty is it to help them? Is it yours? Is it mine? It is every man's, but how few there are to help. But there are a few who dare to answer this call and dare to answer it in a manner that will make this land of liberty and equality shake to the centre." He was thrust through with a bayonet by one of the Marines, and pinned against the wall "vomiting gore." A white man, he was tortured because he was perceived by the attackers as a light mulatto: "One of the prisoners described Anderson as turning completely over against the wall [to which he was pinned by the bayonet] in his dying agony. He lived a short time, stretched on the brick walk without, where he was subjected to savage brutalities, being kicked in body and face, while one brute of an armed farmer spat a huge quid of tobacco from his vile jaws into the mouth of the dying man, which he first forced open." A local commented "Well, it takes you a hell of a long time to die." When opportunistic medical students would go to transport the remains to their college in Winchester, Virginia for dissection, their treatment of this corpse was so casual as to be recorded by a bystander: "In order to take him away handily they procured a barrel and tried to pack him into it. Head foremost, they rammed him in, but they could not bend his legs so as to get them into the barrel with the rest of the body. In their endeavor to accomplish this feat, they strained so hard that the man's bones or sinews fairly cracked." His remains were taken to the college along with the remains of [Watson Brown](#) (a corpse found on the banks of the Shenandoah River was more likely that of a local slave).



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Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
John Anderson	?	?		Private	< 30	of color
<p>John Anderson, a free black youth from Boston allegedly killed at Harpers Ferry. Nothing is known as to who he was, other than that he was young, or where he came from, other than from Boston — and it is even possible that actually there had been no such person as this in John Brown's company. (The John Anderson we do know about had an entirely different life trajectory, in Canada.)</p>						
Osborn Perry Anderson	Yes	No	No	Private	29	of color
<p>Osborn Perry Anderson, “O.P. Anderson, or as we used to call him Chatham Anderson,” the only participant of color to survive Harpers Ferry and elude capture, had been born free on July 27, 1830 in West Fallowfield, 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.</p>						
John Albion Andrew	No					white
<p>Despite the fact that John Albion Andrew was a prominent Massachusetts politician, Franklin Benjamin Sanborn of the Secret “Six” would indicate long after the raid on Harpers Ferry, John Brown's “general purpose of attacking slavery by force, in Missouri or elsewhere, was known in 1857-8-9” to Governor Andrew.</p>						
Henry Ward Beecher	No	No	No	Propaganda		white
<p>The Reverend Henry Ward Beecher induced the congregation of his Plymouth Church to procure a crate of 25 rifles to ship illegally to “Bleeding Kansas” and to stamp upon that crate the term of art BIBLES. The Reverend's personal attitude toward American blacks was that although those like Frederick Douglass whose blood had become partly mingled with the blood of whites were worthy of consideration as human beings, those who yet remained of pure African stock were still in such a “low animal condition” (his category, his words) of pure blackness that such consideration as human beings would be inappropriate.</p>						



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



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



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Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>Watson Brown, born at Franklin, Ohio on October 7, 1835, got married with young Isabella M. Thompson during September 1856. "Dear Belle," he had written to his child-wife, "I would gladly come home and stay with you always but for the cause which brought me here — a desire to do something for others, and not live wholly for my own happiness.... I sometimes feel as if I could not make this sacrifice, but what would I not want others to do were I in their place?" Their son would live only to his 5th year but would nevertheless survive his father, because he was sent out with a white flag by his father John Brown to parley and was gut-shot by the citizens of Harpers Ferry. He managed to crawl back to the shelter of the engine house and live on, groaning, his head cradled in Edwin Coppoc's lap, for a longish period. When one of his captors asked "What brought you here?" he responded "Duty, sir." The corpse would be sent for the instruction of students at the medical college in Winchester, Virginia. Recovering the skeleton from this college during the Civil War, his mother Mary Ann Day Brown eventually would be able to rebury it in the Adirondacks, before heading off to her retirement in California.</p>						
John E. Cook	Yes	No	Yes	Captain	29	white
<p>John Edwin Cook, a well-connected 5'7" gentleman with blue eyes and long, curly blond hair, born 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.</p>						
John Anderson Copeland, Jr.	Yes	No	Yes	Private	< 30	of color



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

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



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

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



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

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



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>Captain John Brown's scheme, which he referred to as the "Subterranean Pass Way," was that the escaped, armed slaves were to "swarm" into and set up a center of resistance in the Alleghenies from which they could liberate Virginia and then invade Tennessee and northern Alabama. Such a scoping of the situation never met with much respect from other of the other schemers. In particular, the Scottish adventurer Hugh Forbes, Brown's onetime principal lieutenant, regarding blacks as inherently childlike, credulous, and cowardly, believed such a scheme to be doomed to failure from its inception. The scenario preferred by Forbes would have involved the herding of the slaves together by armed bands of white men and the driving of such herds of humans up the mountain chain toward Canada, neatly disposing of America's entire race problem — by simple relocation of it to another nation. Evidently the two planners parted company over issues such as this after Forbes had functioned in Tabor, Iowa as the leader of military training for the recruits (Forbes was a veteran of the Grenadier Guards, and had fought along with Garibaldi in defense of the Roman Republic of 1849), and then Forbes attempted blackmail. When not offered a payoff, he wrote long, detailed letters to congressmen and to others, and it is one of the unresolved issues, how anyone in high office in Washington DC could have avoided knowing in advance that Brown was plotting a strike of some sort against slavery (another of the unresolved issues is what happened to Forbes once his extortion had failed — he simply disappeared from the pages of history).</p>						
George B. Gill						
<p>George B. Gill had come to "Bleeding Kansas" in 1857 after whaling in the Pacific Ocean, and had there been recruited by John Brown. His name was among the signatories to "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States," from a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued at Harpers Ferry on October 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%).</p>						
The Rev. and Mrs. Gloucester	No			Financial support		of color



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

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



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR



Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>No one associated with Captain John Brown, and no one associated with politics in North Carolina, has ever been awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor.</p> <p>“J.H. Harris” signed, as a member of a Vigilance Committee, on May 8th, 1858, the “Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States” in Chatham, Ontario West, Canada, a document which would be found on the person of John Brown when he was captured at Harpers Ferry on October 18th, 1859. Although another person of this name, James Henry Harris, had been born a slave in Granville County, North Carolina and had gained his freedom at the age of 18 in about 1848, he was not this “J.H. Harris.” Educated at Oberlin College, he would hold a teaching certificate from the New England Freedman’s Aid Society. He was of Cleveland in 1859, and a member of the 102d US Colored Infantry formed in Michigan by George DeBaptiste that included so many men from Chatham. He would attend the 1st Freedmen’s Convention in the South, held in what would become the St. Paul A.M.E. Church on Edenton Street in Raleigh during September 1865 as a representative of Wake County. He would become the 1st black alderman from Raleigh, and a delegate from Raleigh to the North Carolina Constitutional Convention of 1868; he got married with Bettie Miller, a daughter of Addison J. Smith and Mary Anderson, a cousin of Osborn Perry Anderson; he died in 1891 in Washington DC and the remains are at Mount Hope Cemetery in Raleigh. There is yet a 3d James H. Harris, who was not this “J.H. Harris” signatory, who was belatedly awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor and is interred in the remote section of Arlington National Cemetery that was reserved for colored soldiers, and for contrabands.</p>						
Lewis Hayden						
<p>Lewis Hayden, a black leader in downtown Boston whose escape from Kentucky had been aided by Delia Webster in 1844. Eight years after escaping from slavery, he raised, as an act of gratitude and duty, a sum of \$650, in order to ransom the Reverend Calvin Fairbanks out of the Kentucky State Prison at Frankfort, where the Reverend had been languishing under the accusation that he had assisted 47 slaves in their escape, and had served 14 years, and had been whipped and beaten. Just before the raid on Harpers Ferry, Hayden helped recruit Francis Jackson Meriam to carry a message and cash money to the hideout of John Brown, and take part in that struggle.</p>						
Albert Hazlett	Yes	No	Yes	Capt. or Lt.	< 30	white
<p>Albert Hazlett, born in Pennsylvania on September 21, 1837, did not take part in the fight at Harpers Ferry but, with John Edwin Cook who had escaped from that fight by climbing a tree and who later identified him to the prosecutors, would be belatedly hanged. Before the raid he had worked on his brother’s farm in western Pennsylvania, and he had joined the others at Kennedy Farm in the early part of September 1859. He was arrested on October 22d in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, near Chambersburg, where he was using the name “William Harrison,” was extradited to Virginia, was tried and sentenced at the spring term of the Court, and was hanged on March 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.”</p>						



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
Reverend T. W. Higginson	No					White
<p>The Reverend Thomas Wentworth "Charles P. Carter" Higginson of the Secret "Six"'s earliest American ancestor was the 1st minister of Salem. He believed that "Never in history was there an oppressed people who were set free by others" (it was therefore up to American black people to demonstrate their courage, and their worthiness to be free — basically by getting themselves exterminated). After Harpers Ferry he would attempt to organize an expedition to raid the Charles Town lockup and rescue the accused — this was an expedition Henry Thoreau would oppose, asserting that to the contrary Captain Brown's highest and best purpose was to be hung.</p>						
Richard J. Hinton						
<p>Richard J. Hinton, abolitionist journalist whose opposition to slavery led him to transform himself into a gunslinger. Refer to: Richard J. Hinton, JOHN BROWN AND HIS MEN (NY: Funk & Wagnalls, 1894; Reprint NY: The Arno Press, 1968).</p> <div style="border: 1px solid green; padding: 10px; margin: 10px 0;"> <p>WHAT TO TAKE: Let your trunk, if you have to buy one, be of moderate size and of the strongest make. Test it by throwing it from the top of a three-storied house; if you pick it up uninjured, it will do to go to Kansas. Not otherwise.</p> <p>— James Redpath and Richard J. Hinton, HAND-BOOK TO KANSAS TERRITORY, 1859, as quoted on page 3 of William Least Heat-Moon's PrairyErth (a deep map) [Boston MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1991].</p> </div>						
Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe						
<p>Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe and others of the Massachusetts State Kansas Committee raised \$5,000 in one day, to buy enough Sharp's rifles to arm 200 men to the teeth in "Bleeding Kansas." He, as well as the Reverend Theodore Parker, Franklin Benjamin Sanborn, Gerrit Smith, and George Luther Stearns, fully grasped from the earliest moment the fact that the probable result of their attempt to incite a race war (black Americans against white), would be, at least initially, a defeat of the black forces of servile insurrection. These 5 of the white conspirators of the Secret "Six" finance committee clearly had been willing to sacrifice the lives of their black allies in order to foment sectional civil war between Northern and Southern white Americans.</p>						
Julia Ward Howe	No					White
<p>Julia Ward Howe was a racist and, because she carried out errands for her husband Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe who was on the Secret "Six" finance committee (such as having a surreptitious meeting in their home with Captain John Brown), must surely have been aware of and must surely have approved of that committee's agendas.</p>						
Thaddeus Hyatt	No					white



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>Thaddeus Hyatt was a businessman and financier involved in the preparation of "Bleeding Kansas" as a "free soil" or "Aryan Nation" enclave. Summoned to give testimony before the congressional committee investigating the raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, he would refuse to appear and would be imprisoned for a period—but ultimately would get away with this refusal.</p>						
John Jones	No	No	No	Support		of color
<p>John Jones was a Chicago businessman of mixed race, an upscale tailor (John Brown visited his home). He and his wife Mary Jane Richardson Jones were active abolitionists whose home was a station on the Underground Railroad while they agitated for repeal of "Black Laws" (not only did these laws obligate black Americans to prove that they were free to enter the state of Illinois but, once there, these laws barred them from visiting the homes of whites, owning any property or merchandise, or entering into any contract).</p>						
John Henry Kagi	Yes	Yes		Secretary of War	24	white
<p>Although John Henry Kagi, alias Maurice Maitland, alias John Henrie, was largely self-taught, his letters to the New-York Tribune, the New-York Evening Post, and the National Era reveal him as the best educated of the raiders. A debater, public speaker, stenographer, wannabee writer, and total abstainer from alcohol, he was cold in manner and rough in appearance. A nonparticipant in organized religion, he was an able man of business. He had been born on March 15, 1835, a son of the blacksmith for Bristolville, Ohio in a family of Swiss descent (the name originally having been Kagy). During 1854/1855 he had taught school at Hawkinstown, Virginia but had indicated an objection to the system of slavery there and been compelled to return to Ohio with a pledge never to return. He had gone to Nebraska City in 1856 and been admitted to the bar. He then entered Kansas with one of General James H. Lane's parties and enlisted in Aaron D. Stevens's ("Colonel Whipple's") 2d Kansas Militia. In fighting in the town of Tecumseh in "Bleeding Kansas" he proved himself by killing at least one man, who had been coming after him with a club. After being captured by US troops he had been imprisoned at 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 Harpers Ferry on October 18, 1859. When in Chambersburg as agent for the raiders, he boarded with Mrs. Mary Rittner. "In a very few days we shall commence," he wrote on the eve of the raid, "things could not be more cheerful and more certain of success than they are. We have worked hard and suffered much, but the hardest is down now, and a glorious success is in sight.... Be cheerful. Don't imagine dangers. All will be well." At Harpers Ferry he was trapped along with John Anderson Copeland, Jr. and Lewis Sheridan Leary in the armory called Hall's Rifle Works. When the 3 made a run for it, heading down to the Shenandoah River, they got caught in crossfire and Kagi was the first killed, shot in the head, his body being left to float in the river.</p>						
Amos Lawrence	No					White





RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>Amos Lawrence and his son Amos Adams Lawrence provided the large bulk of the investment capital needed by Eli Thayer's New England Emigrant Aid Company for the purchase land in the new territory then well known as "Bleeding Kansas," needed in order to encourage the right sort of black-despising poor white Americans to settle there as "decent antislavery" homesteaders. The idea was to send entire communities in one fell swoop, increasing the value of the properties owned by this company. If political control over this territory could be achieved, they would be able to set up a real Aryan Nation, from which slaves would of course be excluded because they were enslaved, and from which free blacks Americans would of course be excluded because as human material they were indelibly inferior.</p>						
Lewis Sheridan Leary	Yes	Yes		Private	25	of color
<p>Lewis Sheridan "Shad" Leary was a mulatto citizen of Oberlin, Ohio, a saddler and harness maker whose father had been a freeborn black harness maker as well. He was descended from an Irishman, Jeremiah O'Leary, who had fought in the Revolution under General Nathanael Greene of Rhode Island, who had married a woman of mixed blood, partly African, partly of that Croatan Indian stock of North Carolina, which is believed by some to be lineally descended from the "lost colonists" left by John White on Roanoke Island in 1587. Leary was born at Fayetteville, North Carolina on March 17, 1835, and was therefore in his 25th year when killed during the raid upon the federal arsenal. In 1857 he had gone to Oberlin to live, marrying there and making the acquaintance of John Brown in Cleveland. To go to Harpers Ferry, he left his wife with a 6-month-old child at Oberlin, his wife being in ignorance of the purpose of his trip. He was given funds to go from Oberlin to Chambersburg in the company of his nephew John Anderson Copeland, Jr. "Tell no man where I have gone," he commented, "you'll see me again, but I'll be marching at the top of the drum.... Men must suffer for a good cause." He was isolated along with his nephew and John Henry Kagi in the armory called Hall's Rifle Works. When the 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." The Leary child would subsequently be educated by James Redpath and Wendell Phillips. The corpse was dumped into the common pit beside the Shenandoah River, not to be exhumed until 1899. A monument was erected by the citizens of Oberlin in honor of their 3 fallen free men of color, Leary, Copeland, and Shields Green (the 8-foot marble monument would be moved to Vine Street Park in 1971).</p>						
William H. Leeman	Yes	Yes		Captain	< 21	white





RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>William H. Leeman was of a wild disposition. Educated in the public schools of Saco and Hallowell, Maine, by the age of 14 he was working in a shoe factory in Haverhill, Massachusetts. He went to "Bleeding Kansas" with the 2d batch of recruits from Massachusetts, and on September 9, 1856 became a member of Captain John Brown's "Volunteer Regulars." He fought well at Osawatomie when but 17 years of age. At Springdale, Iowa, Owen Brown found him full of swagger and bluster and difficult to control George B. Gill said of him that he had "a good intellect with great ingenuity." He signed "W.H. Leeman" to "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States," per a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when the raiders were subdued at Harpers Ferry. By the raid upon Harpers Ferry he had reached the age of 20, the youngest of the raiders. He wrote his mother, "I shall be in danger, but it is natural to me. I shall not get killed. I am in a good cause, and I am not afraid." He made a mad dash out of the relative safety of the armory to attempt to escape by swimming down the Potomac River, where two militiamen caught up with him and shot him down on an islet. For hours his corpse would be used for target practice by drunken citizens, until their hail of bullets pushed the riddled remains into a current that drew it along until only his black hair could be glimpsed in the ripples on the surface. Mrs. Annie Brown Adams would write of him: "He was only a boy. He smoked a good deal and drank sometimes; but perhaps people would not think that so very wicked now. He was very handsome and very attractive."</p>						
Francis Jackson Merriam	Yes	No	No	Private	< 30	white
<p>Francis Jackson Merriam, grandson and namesake of the Garrisonian abolitionist and Boston historian Francis Jackson, was a young manic-depressive with one good eye. He helped James Redpath collect materials in Haiti and across the American South for use in a book dedicated to John Brown and Redpath arranged for him to join the Harpers Ferry guerrillas. He was not captured or killed because he had been left during the raid in one of his fits of despair at the Kennedy farmhouse. After escaping through Shippensburg, Philadelphia, Boston, Concord, and the area of St. Catharines, Canada he served as a captain in the 3d South Carolina Colored Infantry. Erratic and unbalanced, he urged wild schemes upon his superiors and sometimes attempted them. In an engagement under General Ulysses S. Grant he received a serious leg wound. He died suddenly on November 28, 1865 in New-York.</p>						
Charles W. Moffett	Yes					white
<p>We believe that the name of Charles W. Moffett of Iowa was among the signatories to Chatham, Ontario's "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States" as "C.W. Moffit," per a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued at Harpers Ferry on October 18, 1859. Perhaps this "W" stood for "Wesley," if we can rely upon a tombstone in the Maple Hill cemetery in Montour, Iowa ("Charles Wesley Moffett / Jun. 20, 1827-Aug. 19, 1904"). We wonder if perhaps he did not attend the raid on the federal arsenal because he got cold feet, or perhaps because he was one of a number of people suspected by the others of having written to alert Secretary of War John Buchanan Floyd to the plan for a raid on a federal arsenal (the Cabinet member received these warnings while at Red Sweet Springs in Virginia and neglected to alert anyone to be on the lookout for such an attack — he would remind people later that as War Secretary he had been getting a whole lot of spurious warnings).</p>						
Edwin Morton	No					White



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>The very tall Franklin Benjamin Sanborn's intimate college friend Edwin Morton of Plymouth, a descendant of one of the prominent Founding Fathers, and from a long line of violinists, was about as deeply involved in the Harpers Ferry raid as any member of the Secret "Six." He was Gerrit Smith's private secretary and resided with that family, tutoring the son. After the raid, with the heat on while Jefferson Davis was conducting a congressional investigation, he fled overseas as did Frederick Douglass, and for the duration chummed around at Shrewsbury and Hodnet with Henry Thoreau's very tall friend Thomas Cholmondeley before settling for health reasons in Switzerland.</p>						
Dangerfield Newby	Yes	Yes		bridge sentinel	39	light mulatto
<p>Dangerfield Newby, a free light mulatto, son of a Scotsman, very tall and with a splendid physique, was written by his wife begged him to obtain funds to purchase her and their baby who that had just "commenced to crawl ... as soon as possible, for if you do not get me somebody else will." She pleaded "Oh Dear Dangerfield, come this fall without fail, money or no money I want to see you so much; that is the one bright hope I have before me." He was serving as a sentinel at the 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, Virginia, coming across the Potomac from the Maryland side. He was not brought down by ball or bullet but by a 6-inch spike being used as a musket projectile, which caught him in the throat and ripped him severely. Since neither of the white men were shot, it appears that as a mulatto he was targeted. The body was beaten savagely, and its ears snipped off as trophies, and then a herd of hogs was driven up to root on it. His corpse was dumped into the shallow group pit beside the Shenandoah River, to be exhumed in 1899.</p>						
Reverend Theodore Parker	No					White
<p>The Reverend Theodore Parker, a stone racist, declared from his pulpit that while he ordinarily spent \$1,500 a year on books, the equivalent of 4 or 5 men's annual wages, for the time being he was going to restrict himself to spending less than one man's annual wage on books per year, and devote the remaining moneys to the purchase of guns and ammunition for the white people going to the Kansas Territory. Sharps rifles, the very latest in deadliness, cost \$25 apiece when had in sufficient quantity:</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>"I make all my pecuniary arrangements with the expectation of civil war."</i></p> <p>He would take to marking the boxes of new Sharps rifles he shipped illegally to "Bleeding Kansas" with the word BOOKS, and he would take to referring to these firearms as so many copies of RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE as in "The right of the people to keep and to bear arms shall not be infringed." He, as well as Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, Franklin Benjamin Sanborn, Gerrit Smith, and George Luther Stearns of the Secret "Six", fully grasped from the earliest moment the fact that the probable result of their attempt to incite a race war, of black Americans against white Americans, would be, at least initially, a defeat of the black forces of servile insurrection. These 5 of the white conspirators clearly had been willing to sacrifice the lives of their allies among the Northern and Southern black Americans slave and free, in order to foment a rectification of the Southern white Americans.</p>						
Luke F. Parsons						White



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>Luke F. Parsons, 22-year-old white man, already a mercenary fighter seasoned in "Bleeding Kansas," 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 Harpers Ferry on October 18, 1859.</p>						
Friend John Hunt Painter						White
<p>John Hunt Painter, a birthright Quaker who owned a farm near Springdale, Iowa, a farm that was used as a waystation on the Underground Railroad, forwarded stored firearms to Captain John Brown at his hideout near Harpers Ferry. After disownment by the Religious Society of Friends he would relocate his farm family to downtown Pasadena, California to there construct and be the proprietor of the toney <i>La Pintoresca</i> hotel.</p>						
Richard Realf						White
<p>Richard Realf 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, 1859 with the objective of becoming a Jesuit priest. He would testify before the US Senate Committee.</p>						
James Redpath						
<p>James Redpath, crusading journalist out to make a buck in the best way.</p>						
George J. Reynolds						of color
<p>George J. Reynolds, a light mulatto blacksmith or coppersmith of Sandusky, Ohio, from Virginia although saying he was from Vermont, with native American as well as black African heritage, age 35 at the time of the raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, and active in the Underground Railroad. 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" (3 weeks after this convention, he would disclose some of John Brown's agenda to a black secret paramilitary group in Sandusky, Ohio).</p>						
Richard Richardson	No					of color



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>Richard Richardson, a fugitive slave from Lexington, Missouri who had joined John Brown in southern Iowa, was going through that unfortunate but now-well-understood initial period of reaction to freedom in which a former slave, accustomed to servitude and unaccustomed to self-origination, attaches himself to some authoritative white man who is able with courtesy to make use of him. He 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.</p>						
Judge Thomas Russell	No					White
<p>Mary Ellen Russell visited John Brown in jail a few weeks before his execution. She said that although she had never approved of his violent methods, she admired him as a man of vision and idealism. Brown had been friends with the Russells for years, and had stayed at their home on several occasions despite the fact that Thomas Russell was a prominent member of the Massachusetts judiciary. Franklin Benjamin Sanborn of the Secret "Six" would allege long after the raid on Harpers Ferry that "Brown's general purpose of attacking slavery by force, in Missouri or elsewhere, was known in 1857-8-9" to Judge Russell.</p>						
Franklin Benjamin Sanborn	No					White
<p>Franklin Benjamin Sanborn of Concord descended from the founder and 1st minister of the old New Hampshire plantation of Hampton. Another ancestor, the Reverend Stephen Bachiler, was the 1st minister of Lynn, and probably had among his parishioners there, in 1635-1636, Thomas Parker, the 1st American ancestor of Theodore Parker. He, as well as Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, the Reverend Theodore Parker, Gerrit Smith, and George Luther Stearns, fully grasped from the earliest moment the fact that the probable result of their attempt to incite a race war, of black Americans against white Americans, would be, at least initially, a defeat of their black forces. These 5 of the white Secret "Six" conspirators clearly had been willing to sacrifice the lives of their black allies for servile insurrection in order to foment sectional civil war between Northern and Southern white Americans. (John Brown, who had himself buried a wife and promptly recruited another one, once commented to Sanborn, in regard to the young man's grief over the prompt death of his young bride Ariana Walker, that he was too young to be married to a gravestone.)</p>						
Gerrit Smith	No					White



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>The immensely wealthy “H. Ross Perot” political figure of that era was a former Millerite millennialist: Gerrit Smith. In this American’s mansion outside Syracuse, New York, standing in the center of his study, was an ornate mahogany desk. Rumor had it that this had once been the desk of the emperor Napoleon Bonaparte himself. The millennium of William Miller not having arrived on schedule, Smith had become determined to, as he put it, “make himself a colored man” –he desired to explore his inner blackness– and thus he befriended Frederick Douglass (Smith would be Douglass’s friend, that is, up to the point at which he would discover that black Americans were inherently racially inferior to white Americans and thus unworthy of consideration). He, as well as Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, the Reverend Theodore Parker, Franklin Benjamin Sanborn, and George Luther Stearns of the Secret “Six” fully grasped from the earliest moment that the probable result of their attempt to incite a servile insurrection of black Americans against white Americans, would be, at least initially, a defeat of the black forces. These 5 of the white conspirators clearly had been willing to sacrifice the lives of their black allies, in order to disrupt relations between Northern and Southern white Americans, toward the generation of a sectional civil war.</p>						
Stephen Smith						
<p>Stephen Smith, lumber dealer of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.</p>						
Lysander Spooner						
<p>The anarchist Boston attorney Lysander Spooner, who was well aware of John Brown’s plans for the raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, wrote to Gerrit Smith in January 1859 warning that Brown had neither the men nor the resources to succeed. After the raid he would plot the kidnapping of Governor Henry A. Wise of Virginia, the idea being to take him at pistol point aboard a tug and hold him off the Atlantic coast, at threat of execution should Brown be executed.</p>						
George Luther Stearns						
<p>George Luther Stearns, a Boston manufacturer of lead pipe and the secretary of the Boston Emancipation League, as well as Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, the Reverend Theodore Parker, Franklin Benjamin Sanborn, and Gerrit Smith of the Secret “Six,” fully grasped from the earliest moment the fact that the probable result of their attempt to incite a race war, of black Americans against white Americans, would be, at least initially, a defeat of their black forces. These 5 of the white conspirators clearly had been willing to sacrifice the lives of their black allies in servile insurrection in order to forestall a sectional civil war between Northern and Southern white Americans.</p>						
Aaron Dwight Stevens	Yes	Badly wounded	Yes	Captain	28	white



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>Aaron Dwight Stevens, John Brown's drillmaster, born in Lisbon, Connecticut on March 15, 1831, had run away from home in 1847 at the age of 16 to serve with a Massachusetts volunteer regiment in Mexico. He made himself proficient with the sword. At Taos in May 1855, he received a sentence of death for "mutiny, engaging in a drunken riot, and assaulting Major George A.H. Blake" of the 1st US Dragoons. This was commuted by President Franklin Pierce to 3 years hard labor but he escaped from Fort Leavenworth in 1856, 1st finding refuge with the Delaware tribe and then joining the Kansas Free State militia of James Lane under the name "Whipple." He became Colonel of the 2d Kansas Militia and met Brown on August 7, 1856 at the Nebraska line when Lane's Army of the North marched into "Bleeding Kansas". He became a devoted follower. He was a spiritualist. At Harpers Ferry, when Brown sent this middleaged man out along with his son Watson Brown to negotiate under a flag of truce, he received four bullets and was taken alive. The never-married Stevens was of old Puritan stock, and his great-grandfather had been a captain in the Revolutionary army. Because of a relationship with Rebecca B. Spring of the Eagleswood social experiment near Perth Amboy, New Jersey, after his execution on March 16th he would be buried there alongside Albert Hazlett. According to George B. Gill, writing after his death, "Stevens — how gloriously he sang! His was the noblest soul I ever knew. Though owing to his rash, hasty way, I often found occasion to quarrel with him more so than with any of the others, and though I liked [John Henry Kagi] better than any man I ever knew, our temperaments being adapted to each other, yet I can truly say that Stevens was the most noble man that I ever knew."</p>						
Stewart Taylor	Yes	Yes		Private	23	white
<p>Stewart Taylor 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 very good phonographer [stenographer], rapid and accurate. A spiritualist, he confidently predicted his own death. He signed the "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States" in Chatham, Ontario, Canada West per a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued at Harpers Ferry on October 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." While out of touch with the John Brown movement, he had feared being left behind: "I felt as though I was deprived of my chief object in life.... I believe that fate has decreed me for this undertaking.... It is my chief desire to add fuel to the fire." When mortally wounded in the engine house, begging to be put out of his misery, Brown told him to "die like a man." What remained of his corpse would be recovered in 1899 from a soggy group pit near the Shenandoah River above Harpers Ferry.</p>						
Eli Thayer	No					



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>Eli Thayer, an entrepreneur who believed in “doing well by doing good,” formed the New England Emigrant Aid Company, to purchase land in the new territory then well known as “Bleeding Kansas” and encourage the right sort of black-despising poor white Americans to settle there by providing information, cheapening transportation, and setting up saw mills and flour mills to give work and incomes to such “decent antislavery” homesteaders. The idea was to send entire communities in one fell swoop, increasing the value of the properties owned by this company. If political control over this territory could be achieved, they would be able to set up a real Aryan Nation, from which slaves would of course be excluded because they were enslaved, and from which free blacks Americans would of course be excluded because as human material they were indelibly inferior. Thayer would comment in retrospect, about the antebellum abolitionists with whom he had been affiliated, that they had constituted “a mutual admiration society possessed by an unusual malignity towards those who did not belong to it.” He would instance that there was never “any diffidence or modesty in sounding their own praises.”</p>						
Dauphin Adolphus Thompson	Yes	Yes		Lieutenant	< 30	white
<p>Dauphin Adolphus Thompson, brother of William Thompson and a North Elba neighbor of the family of John Brown, was born April 17, 1838. He was “very quiet, with fair, thoughtful face, curly blonde hair, and baby-blue eyes,” a “pippin-cheeked country boy.” His sister Isabella M. Thompson got married with Watson Brown and his elder brother Henry Thompson got married with Captain Brown’s daughter Ruth. “I suppose the folk think we are a set of fools,” he wrote from someplace he described as “Parts Unknown,” “but they will find out we know what we are about.” The two brothers died at Harpers Ferry, Dauphin cowering beneath a fire engine until skewered by a Marine bayonet. Their bodies were placed in the common pit beside the Shenandoah River above town, and exhumed in 1899.</p>						
William Thompson	Yes	Yes		Captain?	< 30	white
<p>William Thompson was born in New Hampshire in August 1833, the son of Roswell Thompson. During Fall 1858 he married a Mary Brown who was not related to the family of John Brown. His sister Isabella M. Thompson married Watson Brown; his elder brother Henry Thompson married Captain Brown’s daughter Ruth. He “would have made a successful comic actor ... he was very lively and full of funny stories and jokes.” He had started for “Bleeding Kansas” in 1856 but upon meeting the Brown sons returned with them to North Elba. Along with his brother Dauphin Adolphus Thompson, he took part in the raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, and the two of them were 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 onto the rocks of the Potomac River. The corpse “could be seen lying at the bottom of the river, with his ghastly face still showing what a fearful death agony he had experienced.” One of his captors commented that for such “villainous Abolitionists,” he “felt justified in shooting any that I could find. I felt it my duty, and I have no regrets.” The corpse was dumped into a common pit on the bank of the Shenandoah River above town, and buried about a foot deep.</p>						
Henry David Thoreau	No					white



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NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>When, in 1844, Waldo Emerson, acting as an <i>agent provocateur</i>, recommended to Frederick Douglass's face that, modeling himself upon the leader of the successful Haitian revolution of the turn of the century, Toussaint Louverture, he fashion himself into the liberator of his people and initiate on the North American continent a servile insurrection or race war, it was Henry Thoreau who after the lecture rushed this information right down to Boston, and had a pamphlet printed up, after which there was no way to dissimulate about the provocation that had been made — and so all Emerson was able to do was pretend that Douglass hadn't been present. (We, of course, have credited Emerson's cover story, not because there is any corroboration for it but because ... well, he's Mr. Emerson and wouldn't lie to us.)</p>						
Charles Plummer Tidd	Yes	No	No	Captain	25	white
<p>Charles Plummer Tidd 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 Barclay Coppoc and Edwin Coppoc. He and John E. Cook 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 Harpers Ferry on October 18, 1859. He opposed the attack on Harpers Ferry but nevertheless took part both in the raid on the planter Washington's home and on the federal arsenal itself, escaped, and made his way on foot toward the northwestern part of Pennsylvania. He and John Brown's son Owen Brown would find work and safety, under assumed names, on an oil well in the vicinity of Crawford County PA. He visited Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Canada and took part in the planning for the rescue of Aaron D. Stevens and Albert Hazlett while the Mason Commission of the Congress was presuming that he had been killed in the fighting at Harpers Ferry. On July 19, 1861 he was able to enlist under the name "Charles Plummer" and would become a 1st Sergeant of the 21st Massachusetts Volunteers. On February 8, 1862 he died of fever aboard the transport <i>Northerner</i> during the battle of Roanoke Island. (This was a battle he had particularly wished to take part in because ex-Governor Henry A. Wise of Virginia, the nemesis of the Harpers Ferry raiders, was in command of the Confederates.) Charles Plummer Tidd's grave is #40 in the National Cemetery in New Berne, North Carolina.</p>						
THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY						
Harriet Tubman	No					of color
<p>Harriet Tubman was negotiated with by John Brown for participation in the raid on the federal arsenal. She mistrusted these men and had persistent dreams in which Brown and his sons appeared as serpents. The attack had been scheduled to occur on the 4th of July, symbolic of national birth. At the last moment she alleged she was ill, and for this reason as well as delays in the deliveries of supplies, the attack needed to be postponed for months. On the day of the actual attack at Harpers Ferry she had a premonition that it would fail.</p>						
Henry Watson	No					of color



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Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
Henry Watson , barber of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania involved both with John Brown and with Frederick Douglass .						
etc.						



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1820

 [Dangerfield Newby](#) was born in Fauquier County, Virginia in about this year, a light mulatto product of a union between the [slavemaster](#) Henry Newby, a Scotsman, and his [slave](#) woman Elsey. He would grow up in the district around Culpeper, which was rolling, grazing terrain, mostly devoted to the raising of sheep.



The African Methodist Episcopal Zion communion of the Methodist Episcopal Church adopted its first “Discipline,” part of which was a declaration against [slavery](#).



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1858

October: With the Newby family moving to Bridgeport, Ohio, where its slaves who went with it (including his mulatto children) would automatically become free, Henry Newby in his old age filed [manumission](#) papers for five who wanted to remain in Virginia near their relatives. Although his slave son [Dangerfield Newby](#) was married to Harriet Roberts Newby, the property of another white Culpeper County family, the Jenningses, and had children by her, nevertheless he went with the Newby family to freedom in Ohio.



Life is full of hard choices.



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1859

The slave Harriet Roberts Newby wrote 3 letters to her free mulatto husband [Dangerfield Newby](#) begging him to come and buy her and his children. The Virginia family that owned them was said to be in need of money, so the husband was traveling around Ohio asking for donations. The family of Dr. Jesse Jennings back in Warington [Warrenton?], Virginia, however, would reject Dangerfield Newby's offer, so when he was killed while serving as a bridge sentinel at [Harpers Ferry](#), Dangerfield left an account amounting to \$742 (approximately \$13,000-\$19,000 in our turn-of-the-millennium dollars).



[James Redpath](#)'s THE ROVING EDITOR; OR, TALKS WITH SLAVES IN THE SOUTHERN STATES, an [abolitionist](#) book dedicated to [John Brown](#), was suggesting that slavery could be ended by inciting "a few scores of rattling insurrections ... and by a little wholesome slaughter to arouse the conscience of the people." Redpath was giving no indication whether the aforesaid red path of slaughter ought to consist of the blood of white Americans killed by black, the blood of black Americans killed by white, or the blood of black and white

HDT

WHAT?

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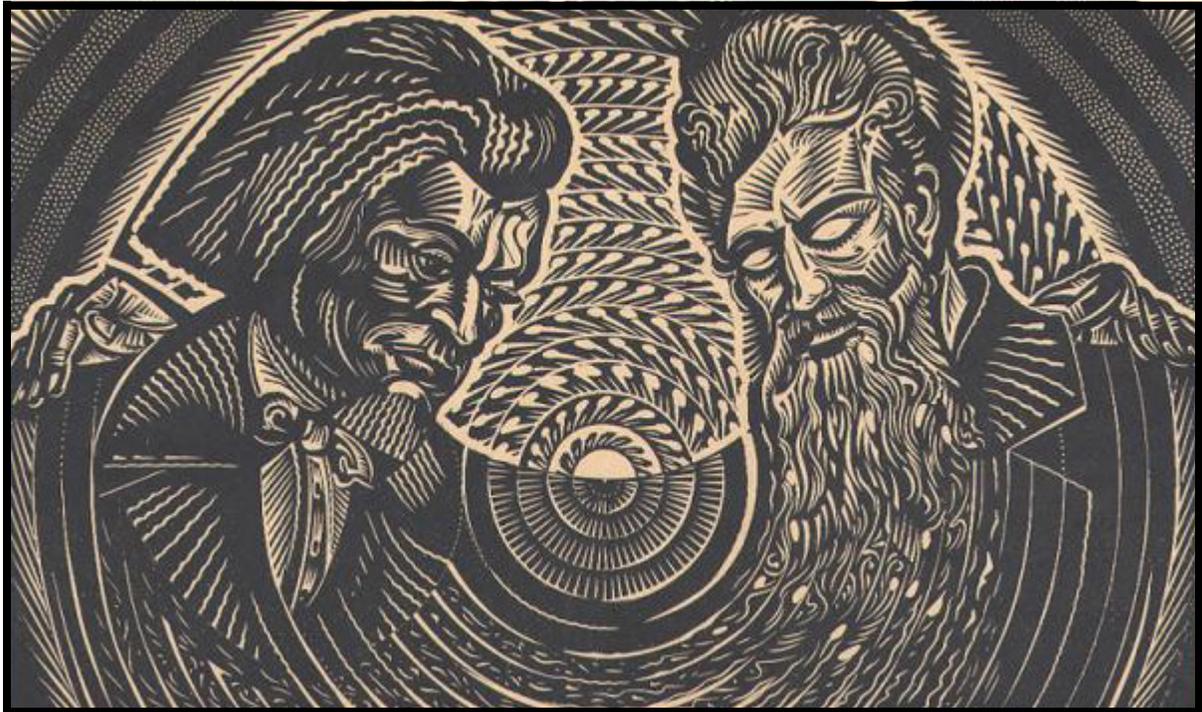
Americans indiscriminately intermingled.¹



At some point during this year [Frederick Douglass](#) would meet secretly with Captain [John Brown](#) in an abandoned rock quarry near Chambersburg, Pennsylvania and be briefed on the progress of the plan to attack

1. [Francis Jackson Meriam](#) had helped [James Redpath](#) collect his materials for this book, in [Haiti](#) and across the American South.

the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia.



Douglass would opt out of the plot, which he considered too risky, and flee via [Canada](#) to England rather than himself personally participate. He would then remark humorously:

"I've always been more distinguished for running than for fighting."

(Note that in abandoning the struggle in this manner, Douglass was not doing anything that other folks were not doing. For instance, praising Brown's actions at Harpers Ferry but declaring that she could foresee a "crisis" which was going to be inevitable, the little lady [Harriet Beecher Stowe](#) who did more than anyone else to start America's biggest war would be withdrawing from all anti-slavery agitation and embarking in her swishy silk dress upon her 3d genteel tour of the grand hotels of the European subcontinent, paid for of course with the enormous extent of the ongoing royalties she was receiving from her writings — which had touched the pulse of the nation she was abandoning to its fate. Meanwhile another little lady, [Harriet Tubman](#), would be pleading to [John Brown](#) that she could not participate in his raid on the federal arsenal as she had become



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ill — although I know of no historian who has ever attempted to check the trustworthiness of that excuse.)²

In [Harriet Beecher Stowe](#)'s new novel THE MINISTER'S WOOING set at the turn of the 18th Century, one of the characters, Candace the fat wife of Cato and slave of the Merwyns, was according to Nell Painter, "probably inspired in part by [Truth](#)" — despite the blunt reality that in Litchfield, Massachusetts the Beecher family's laundry had been done by a black woman, named Candace. When Mr. Merwyn tried to find out whether his slaves didn't really prefer the freedom from life's cares which sprang from their being so many pieces of property:

When General Washington was here, I hearn 'em read de Declaration ob Independence and Bill o' Rights; an' I tole Cato den, says I, "Ef dat ar' true, you an' I are as free as anybody." It stands to reason. Why, look at me — I a'n't a critter. ... I's a reasonable bein' —a woman, —as much a woman as anybody.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

This character modeled upon Truth had ideas not only about racism but also about [feminism](#):

"I de weaker vessel?" said Candace, looking down from the tower of her ample corpulence ... "I de weaker vessel? Umph!"

And she had ideas about Calvinism and man's natural depravity as products of the Adam who fell into sin:

... nebber did eat dat ar' apple ... Don't tell me!

August 16, Tuesday to August 21, Sunday: The Hanover Minister for Internal Affairs placed Heinrich August Marschner on its list of retired civil servants (this was Marschner's 64th birthday).

Exiled Grand Duke of Tuscany Ferdinando IV was formally removed from power.

In Africa, [Martin Robison Delany](#) was returning to Cape Palmas to explore the Cavalla River.



The [emancipation](#) paper of Elias Watkins Napier, in Connecticut:

The said Elias Watkins Napier is ten years of age. A light

2. A practical woman, she mistrusted these white men to the point at which she had recurrent nightmares in which [John Brown](#) and his sons figured as serpents. On the day of the raid, [Harriet Tubman](#) had a premonition that this was a lost cause.



RACE WAR

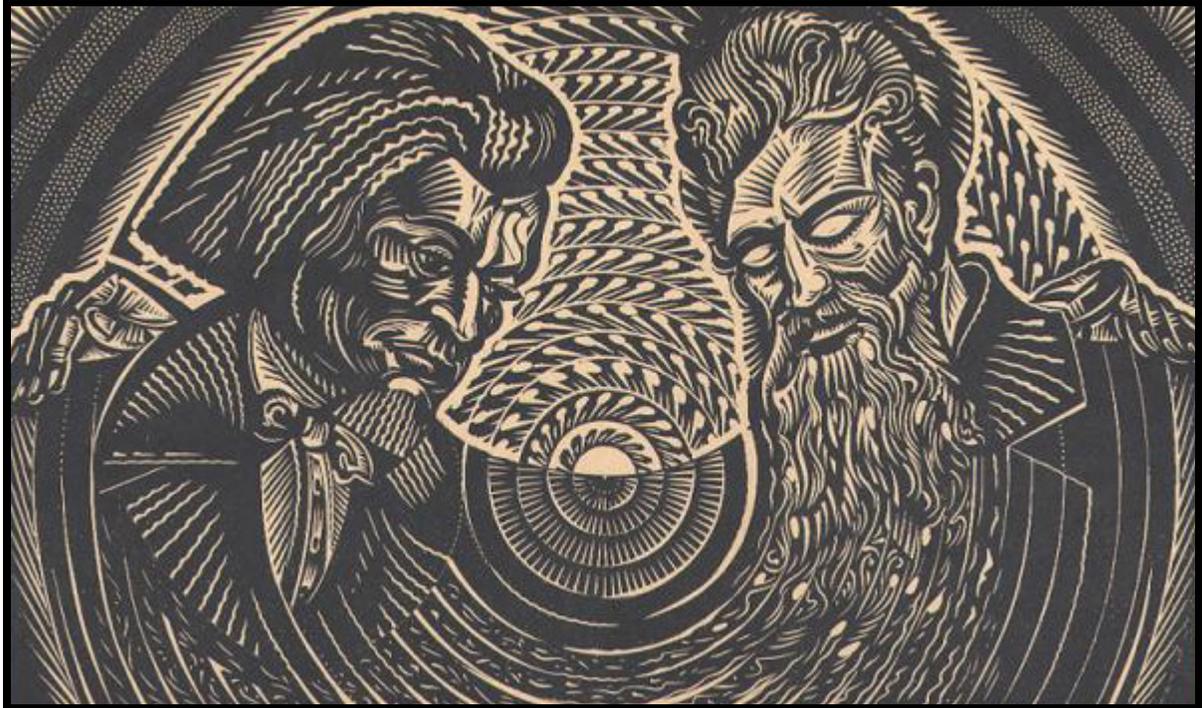
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colored mulatto, with straight dark brown hair. Has a slight scar just over, and partly in his left eye brow, and a small dark mole under his left jaw, and has had the end of his middle finger and the end of his fourth finger on his left hand crushed, so that the nail has come off. He has no other special marks at this time. The said Elias Watkins Napier has heretofore owed service or labor to me, under the laws of the State of Tennessee, as a slave....

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While in Chambersburg near [Harpers Ferry](#) as agent for the raiders, [John Brown](#)'s 2d-in-command, [John Henry Kagi](#), had been boarding with a Mrs. Mary Rittner. In this period Captain Brown met secretly at Chambersburg, Pennsylvania with [Frederick Douglass](#). The meeting was staged in an abandoned stone quarry.



One of these persons at that quarry was the head of a general conspiracy, and the other was acting as one of its





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agents: how can we now establish which was which?

Two weeks prior to the mediated attack, Capt. Brown summoned me to meet him in an old stone quarry on the Conocochequi river, near the town of Chambersburgh, Penn. His arms and ammunition were stored in that town and were to be moved on to Harpers Ferry. In company with Shields Green I obeyed the summons, and prompt to the hour we met the dear old man, with Kagi, his secretary, at the appointed place. Our meeting was in some sense a council of war. We spent the Saturday and succeeding Sunday in conference on the question, whether the desperate step should then taken, or the old plan as already described should be carried out. He was for boldly striking Harpers Ferry at once and running the risk of getting into the mountains afterwards. I was for avoiding Harpers Ferry altogether. Shields Green and Mr. Kagi remained silent listeners throughout. It is needless to repeat here what was said, after what has happened. Suffice it, that after all I could say, I saw that my old friend had resolved on his course and that it was idle to parley. I told him finally that it was impossible for me to join him. I could see Harpers Ferry only as a trap of steel, and ourselves in the wrong side of it. He regretted my decision and we parted.

Thus far, I have spoken exclusively of Capt. Brown. Let me say a word or two of his brave and devoted men, and first of Shields Green. He was a fugitive slave from Charleston, South Carolina, and had attested his love of liberty by escaping from slavery and making his way through many dangers to Rochester, where he had lived in my family, and where he met the man with whom he went to the scaffold. I said to him, as I was about to leave, "Now Shields, you have heard our discussion. If in view of it, you do not wish to stay, you have but to say so, and you can go back with me." He answered, "I b'l'ëve I'll go wid de old man;" and go with him he did, into the fight, and to the gallows, and bore himself as grandly as any of the number. At the moment when Capt. Brown was surrounded, and all chance of escape was cut off, Green was in the mountains and could have made his escape as Osborne Anderson did, but when asked to do so, he made the same answer he did at Chambersburg, "I b'l'ëve I'll go down wid de ole man." When in prison at Charlestown, and he was not allowed to see his old friend, his fidelity to him was in no wise weakened, and no complaint against Brown could be extorted from him by those who talked with him.

SHIELDS GREEN
JOHN HENRY KAGI

The wife of [Dangerfield Newby](#) wrote to him (a letter that would be found on his corpse at [Harpers Ferry](#)):

Dear Husband:

Your kind letter came duly to hand, and it gave me much pleasure to here from you, and especely to here you are better off [with] your rhumatism, and hope when I here from you again, you may be entirely well. I want you to buy me as soon as possible, for if



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you do not get me some body else will.... Dear Husband you [know], not the trouble I see; the last two years has ben like a trouble dream to me.

It is said Master is in want of monney. If so, I know not what time he may sell me, an then all my bright hops of the futer are blasted, for their has ben one bright hope to cheer me in all my troubles, that is to be with you, for if I thought I should never see you this earth would have no charms for me....

It is positively known only that Harriet Newby and her children were sold to the “deep south.” All that has been found out about the Newby family is inferred from the three surviving letters found on Dangerfield’s corpse. The story of this husband’s desperate attempts to raise enough money to buy his wife and children is one that is difficult to read — when he managed to raise the specified amount, the slavemaster simply demanded more.



[THOREAU MADE NO ENTRY IN HIS JOURNAL FOR AUGUST 16th]



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

1861

The Scotsman Henry Newby, acknowledged father of [Dangerfield Newby](#), died of old age. (A brother, William Newby, would be killed in the fighting at Petersburg. Harriet Roberts Newby's owner, Dr. Jennings, would die of cancer at the age of 32. Mrs. Jennings would move to Missouri. One story is that Harriet Roberts Newby and her children went to Louisiana. Another story is that two of the children were taken to Georgia, and there are people there who claim to be descendants. After it became clear that Dangerfield Newby's wife and children were unlocatable, what remained of the \$742 in his account would go to the part of the Newby family that was in Ohio.)





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1884

Else, [Dangerfield Newby](#)'s formerly enslaved mother, died. She had been living free in Bridgeport, Ohio since moving there with her master and lover in 1858. (In the 1890s, Dangerfield's brother Gabriel would correspond with an amateur historian.)





RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

1899

July 28, Friday, evening: [Orin Grant Libby](#) arrived at the [Harpers Ferry](#) railroad station bringing in the baggage car a large empty trunk — one intended for the remainders of the soldiers of [Captain John Brown](#)'s Provisional Army of the United States.

July 29, Saturday, before dawn: At [Harpers Ferry](#), Virginia, [Orin Grant Libby](#) crossed the bridge over the Shenandoah River and headed upstream along its bank. He reconnoitered before returning to town for breakfast. He met Dr. Thomas Featherstonhaugh of Washington DC, accompanied by Captain E.P. Hall. The Doctor had hired 3 local men to perform the actual excavation. The two burial crates were again dug up. "The ... great boxes ... from being constantly wet, were remarkably preserved. Most of the smaller bones had crumbled away, but the long bones ... were recovered.... There were portions of coats and vests with the buttons still in position upon them, and from one of the vest pockets dropped two short lead pencils, all sharpened for use." Recovered were 8 corpses of the soldiers of [Captain John Brown](#)'s Provisional Army of the United States: [Oliver Brown](#), [William Thompson](#) and [Dauphin Adolphus Thompson](#), younger brothers of Henry Thompson of North Elba who got married with Captain Brown's eldest daughter Ruth Brown in 1850, [Stewart Taylor](#), [John Henry Kagi](#), [William H. Leeman](#), [Dangerfield Newby](#), and [Lewis Sheridan Leary](#).

"There was little remaining intact of the bodies, but not a little of the clothing was still recognizable. The rusted brass buttons (and) buckles...told the story plainly. On account of the peculiar coat worn by John Brown's son, Oliver, we were able to identify his resting place ... in the easternmost of the two graves. From the account of those who saw the burial, they were thrown in carelessly.... And the arrangement of the bones when they were disinterred confirms this report fully."

These remains were to be re-interred at the [John Brown](#) homestead in upstate [New York](#).

The [New Bedford Evening Standard](#) noted that although "once in a while, a party of some sort was arranged on August 1, the animated scenes which were once the custom return now only as memories."



RACE WAR

NOT CIVIL WAR

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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: October 15, 2016



RACE WAR

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ARRGH AUTOMATED RESearch REPORT

GENERATION HOTLINE



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



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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.