

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



[Aaron Dwight Stevens](#), [John Brown](#)'s drillmaster, was of old Puritan stock, his great-grandfather having served as a captain during the Revolution. He had run away from home at the age of 16 to serve with a Massachusetts volunteer regiment during the [Mexican War](#). Well over 6 feet, he made himself proficient with the sword. Enlisted in Company F of the 1st US Dragoons, he became their bugler, but at Taos, New Mexico during 1855 he received a sentence of death for "mutiny, engaging in a drunken riot, and assaulting [Major George \[Alexander Hamilton\] Blake](#)." This was commuted by President [Franklin Pierce](#) to 3 years hard labor but he escaped from Fort Leavenworth in 1856, 1st finding refuge with the Delaware tribe and then joining the Kansas Free State militia of James Lane under the name "Whipple." He became Colonel of the 2d Kansas Militia and met Brown on August 7th, 1856 at the Nebraska line when Lane's Army of the North marched into "[Bleeding Kansas](#)". He became a devoted follower. He was a spiritualist. At [Harpers Ferry](#), when Brown sent this middleaged man out along with his son [Watson Brown](#) to negotiate under a flag of truce, he received 4 bullets but was taken alive. The never-married Stevens had a relationship of sorts with [Rebecca B. Spring](#) of the [Eagleswood](#) social experiment near Perth Amboy, New Jersey, and after his execution on March 16th would be buried there alongside [Albert Hazlett](#). According to [George B. Gill](#), writing after his death, "Stevens — how gloriously he sang! His was the noblest soul I ever knew. Though owing to his rash, hasty way, I often found occasion to quarrel with him more so than with any of the others, and though I liked [[John Henry Kagi](#)] better than any man I ever knew, our temperaments being adapted to each other, yet I can truly say that Stevens was the most noble man that I ever knew." He was not a 2d time reprieved by the President, and was hanged on March 16th, 1860.



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR



THOSE INVOLVED, ARRANGED ALPHABETICALLY



SECRET "SIX"

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



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>The maternal grandfather of Jeremiah Goldsmith Anderson, Colonel Jacob Westfall of Tygert Valley, Virginia, had been a soldier in the revolution and a slaveholder. Jeremiah had gone to school at Galesburg, Illinois and Kossuth, Iowa and had worked as a peddler, farmer, and sawmill laborer before settling a mile from Fort Bain on the Little Osage in Bourbon County in "Bleeding Kansas" during August 1857. He had twice been arrested by proslavery activists, and had been held for 10 weeks at Fort Scott. He then became a lieutenant of Captain Montgomery and was with him in the attack on Captain Anderson's troop of the 1st US Cavalry. He witnessed a murder, of a Mr. Denton, on his own doorstep by border ruffians. He went with John Brown on the slave raid into Missouri and remained with him thereafter. He was "J. Anderson" among the signatories to "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States," from a document in Brown's handwriting that would be captured when he and his men were subdued at Harpers Ferry on October 18th, 1859. On July 5th, 1859 this 27-year-old had written of his determination to continue to fight for freedom: "Millions of fellow-beings require it of us; their cries for help go out to the universe daily and hourly. Whose duty is it to help them? Is it yours? Is it mine? It is every man's, but how few there are to help. But there are a few who dare to answer this call and dare to answer it in a manner that will make this land of liberty and equality shake to the centre." He was thrust through with a bayonet by one of the Marines, and pinned against the wall "vomiting gore." A white man, he was tortured because he was perceived by the attackers as a light mulatto: "One of the prisoners described Anderson as turning completely over against the wall [to which he was pinned by the bayonet] in his dying agony. He lived a short time, stretched on the brick walk without, where he was subjected to savage brutalities, being kicked in body and face, while one brute of an armed farmer spat a huge quid of tobacco from his vile jaws into the mouth of the dying man, which he first forced open." A local commented "Well, it takes you a hell of a long time to die." When opportunistic medical students would go to transport the remains to their college in Winchester, Virginia for dissection, their treatment of this corpse was so casual as to be recorded by a bystander: "In order to take him away handily they procured a barrel and tried to pack him into it. Head foremost, they rammed him in, but they could not bend his legs so as to get them into the barrel with the rest of the body. In their endeavor to accomplish this feat, they strained so hard that the man's bones or sinews fairly cracked." His remains were taken to the college along with the remains of Watson Brown (a corpse found on the banks of the Shenandoah River was more likely that of a local slave).</p>						
John Anderson	?	?		Private	< 30	of color
<p>John Anderson, a free black youth from Boston allegedly killed at Harpers Ferry. Nothing is known as to who he was, other than that he was young, or where he came from, other than from Boston — and it is even possible that actually there had been no such person as this in John Brown's company. (The John Anderson we do know about had an entirely different life trajectory, in Canada.)</p>						
Osborn Perry Anderson	Yes	No	No	Private	29	of color





RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>Osborn Perry Anderson, "O.P. Anderson, or as we used to call him Chatham Anderson," the only participant of color to survive Harpers Ferry and elude capture, had been born free on July 27, 1830 in West Fallowfield, 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>						
Charles Blair	No	No	No	Armament		white
<p>Charles Blair supplied the pikes.</p>						
Ann Brown	No	No	No	Supporter		white



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

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



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

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



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

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



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

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



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

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



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>Waldo Emerson urged Frederick Douglass early on, to make himself into the General Toussaint Louverture of the North American continent. When Captain John Brown made a speech offering himself as the leader for the forces of freedom in "Bleeding Kansas", Douglass stood in the audience and endorsed Brown and his mission despite the unpleasant fact that the plan of the abolitionists was to permanently exclude all persons of color, whether free or enslaved, from that new state. When the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry was raided, his role was intended to be the raising aloft of the sword of General George Washington and the generaling of the black forces. His involvement in this raid was acceptable to such personages as the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher only because his blood 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 18th, 1859. He alarmed other conspirators by conducting himself in such manner as to attract attention and arouse suspicion, for instance displaying weapons, bragging to lady friends that he had been in Kansas and had killed 5 men, informing other boarders at his lodgings that he was in town on a secret expedition with other fighters, who were under his command, etc. During the year before the raid, Captain Brown sent Gill to visit a black con artist named Mr. Reynolds who persuaded Gill that he had gone through the South organizing and had brought into existence in areas of the South a militant organization of black men and women. Pointing out to Gill that Southern newspapers carried numerous references to the death of a favorite slave, he alleged that these were leaders of servile insurrection plots who were being discovered and offed. According to this "mumper," Southern blacks were ready and needed only to be given a cue. There is evidence that several slaves from the vicinity of the arsenal did participate in the raid itself, but returned hastily to their plantations when it became obvious that the raid was a failure. Several fires were set in the vicinity of Harpers Ferry in the week after the raid, probably by slaves and free black Americans (Richard Hinton estimates that \$10,000,000 was lost in the sale of Virginia slaves in the year 1859; census figures show that between 1850 and 1860 there was almost a 10% decline in blacks in the three counties surrounding Harpers Ferry, a period during which the total number of blacks in Maryland and Virginia was increasing by about 4%).</p>						
The Rev. and Mrs. Gloucester	No			Financial support		of color



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

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



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

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





RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

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



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

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



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

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





RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

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



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

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



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>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
<p>Luke Fisher Parsons was a free-state fighter seasoned in “Bleeding Kansas.” He took part in the battle of Black Jack near Baldwin City on June 2d, 1856, the battle of Osawatimie on August 30th, 1856, and the raid on Iowa during Winter 1857/1858. His name “L.F. Parsons” was among the signatories to “Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States,” per a document in John Brown’s handwriting that would be captured when the raiders were subdued at Harpers Ferry. He had gone off toward a supposed Colorado gold rush and, summoned by letters from Brown and Kagi, did not manage to make it back to take part in the raid on the federal arsenal, or to attempt to rescue the prisoners once they were waiting to be hanged, at the jail in Charlestown, Virginia. He started a family and lived out a long life as a farmer in Salina, Kansas.</p>						



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

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



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

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



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>Franklin Benjamin Sanborn of Concord descended from the founder and 1st minister of the old New Hampshire plantation of Hampton. Another ancestor, the Reverend Stephen Bachiler, was the 1st minister of Lynn, and probably had among his parishioners there, in 1635-1636, Thomas Parker, the 1st American ancestor of Theodore Parker. He, as well as Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, the Reverend Theodore Parker, Gerrit Smith, and George Luther Stearns, fully grasped from the earliest moment the fact that the probable result of their attempt to incite a race war, of black Americans against white Americans, would be, at least initially, a defeat of their black forces. These 5 of the white Secret "Six" conspirators clearly had been willing to sacrifice the lives of their black allies for servile insurrection in order to foment sectional civil war between Northern and Southern white Americans. (John Brown, who had himself buried a wife and promptly recruited another one, once commented to Sanborn, in regard to the young man's grief over the prompt death of his young bride Ariana Walker, that he was too young to be married to a gravestone.)</p>						
Gerrit Smith	No					White
<p>The immensely wealthy "H. Ross Perot" political figure of that era was a former Millerite millennialist: Gerrit Smith. In this American's mansion outside Syracuse, New York, standing in the center of his study, was an ornate mahogany desk. Rumor had it that this had once been the desk of the emperor Napoleon Bonaparte himself. The millennium of William Miller not having arrived on schedule, Smith had become determined to, as he put it, "make himself a colored man" –he desired to explore his inner blackness– and thus he befriended Frederick Douglass (Smith would be Douglass's friend, that is, up to the point at which he would discover that black Americans were inherently racially inferior to white Americans and thus unworthy of consideration). He, as well as Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, the Reverend Theodore Parker, Franklin Benjamin Sanborn, and George Luther Stearns of the Secret "Six" fully grasped from the earliest moment that the probable result of their attempt to incite a servile insurrection of black Americans against white Americans, would be, at least initially, a defeat of the black forces. These 5 of the white conspirators clearly had been willing to sacrifice the lives of their black allies, in order to disrupt relations between Northern and Southern white Americans, toward the generation of a sectional civil war.</p>						
Stephen Smith						
<p>Stephen Smith, lumber dealer of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.</p>						
Lysander Spooner						
<p>The anarchist Boston attorney Lysander Spooner, who was well aware of John Brown's plans for the raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, wrote to Gerrit Smith in January 1859 warning that Brown had neither the men nor the resources to succeed. After the raid he would plot the kidnapping of Governor Henry A. Wise of Virginia, the idea being to take him at pistol point aboard a tug and hold him off the Atlantic coast, at threat of execution should Brown be executed.</p>						
George Luther Stearns						



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>George Luther Stearns, a Boston manufacturer of lead pipe and the secretary of the Boston Emancipation League, as well as Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, the Reverend Theodore Parker, Franklin Benjamin Sanborn, and Gerrit Smith of the Secret "Six," fully grasped from the earliest moment the fact that the probable result of their attempt to incite a race war, of black Americans against white Americans, would be, at least initially, a defeat of their black forces. These 5 of the white conspirators clearly had been willing to sacrifice the lives of their black allies in servile insurrection in order to forestall a sectional civil war between Northern and Southern white Americans.</p>						
Aaron Dwight Stevens	Yes	Badly wounded	Yes	Captain	28	white
<p>Aaron Dwight Stevens, John Brown's drillmaster, was of old Puritan stock, his great-grandfather having served as a captain during the Revolution. He had run away from home at the age of 16 to serve with a Massachusetts volunteer regiment during the Mexican War. Well over 6 feet, he made himself proficient with the sword. Enlisted in Company F of the 1st US Dragoons, he became their bugler, but at Taos, New Mexico during 1855 he received a sentence of death for "mutiny, engaging in a drunken riot, and assaulting Major George [Alexander Hamilton] Blake." This was commuted by President Franklin Pierce to 3 years hard labor but he escaped from Fort Leavenworth in 1856, 1st finding refuge with the Delaware tribe and then joining the Kansas Free State militia of James Lane under the name "Whipple." He became Colonel of the 2d Kansas Militia and met Brown on August 7th, 1856 at the Nebraska line when Lane's Army of the North marched into "Bleeding Kansas". He became a devoted follower. He was a spiritualist. At Harpers Ferry, when Brown sent this middleaged man out along with his son Watson Brown to negotiate under a flag of truce, he received 4 bullets but was taken alive. The never-married Stevens had a relationship of sorts with Rebecca B. Spring of the Eagleswood social experiment near Perth Amboy, New Jersey, and after his execution on March 16th would be buried there alongside Albert Hazlett. According to George B. Gill, writing after his death, "Stevens — how gloriously he sang! His was the noblest soul I ever knew. Though owing to his rash, hasty way, I often found occasion to quarrel with him more so than with any of the others, and though I liked [John Henry Kagi] better than any man I ever knew, our temperaments being adapted to each other, yet I can truly say that Stevens was the most noble man that I ever knew." He was not a 2d time reprieved by the President, and was hanged on March 16th, 1860.</p>						
Stewart Taylor	Yes	Yes		Private	23	white



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>Stewart Taylor was born on October 29th, 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 23d, 1860 that he had been "heart and soul in the anti-slavery cause." An excellent debater and very fond of studying history, he stayed at home in Canada during Winter 1858/1859 and then went to Chicago, thence to Bloomington, Illinois and thence to Harper's [sic] Ferry." While out of touch with the John Brown movement, the 23-year-old had feared being left behind: "I felt as though I was deprived of my chief object in life.... I believe that fate has decreed me for this undertaking.... It is my chief desire to add fuel to the fire." When mortally wounded in the engine house, begging to be put out of his misery, Brown instructed him "Die like a man." What remained of his corpse would be recovered in 1899 from a soggy group pit near the Shenandoah River above Harpers Ferry.</p>						
Eli Thayer	No					
<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



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<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
<p>When, in 1844, Waldo Emerson, acting as an <i>agent provocateur</i>, recommended to Frederick Douglass's face that, modeling himself upon the leader of the successful Haitian revolution of the turn of the century, Toussaint Louverture, he fashion himself into the liberator of his people and initiate on the North American continent a servile insurrection or race war, it was Henry Thoreau who after the lecture rushed this information right down to Boston, and had a pamphlet printed up, after which there was no way to dissimulate about the provocation that had been made — and so all Emerson was able to do was pretend that Douglass hadn't been present. (We, of course, have credited Emerson's cover story, not because there is any corroboration for it but because ... well, he's Mr. Emerson and wouldn't lie to us.)</p>						
Charles Plummer Tidd	Yes	No	No	Captain	25	white



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

Person's Name	On Raid?	Shot Dead?	Hanged?	His Function	Age	Race
<p>Charles Plummer Tidd was born in Palermo, Maine on January 1st, 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 18th, 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, Pennsylvania. He visited Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Canada and took part in the planning for the rescue of Aaron D. Stevens and Albert Hazlett while the Mason Commission of the Congress was presuming that he had been killed in the fighting at Harpers Ferry. According to Mrs. Annie Brown Adams, "Tidd had not much education, but good common sense. After the raid he began to study, and tried to repair his deficiencies. He was by no means handsome. He had a quick temper, but was kind-hearted. His rages soon passed and then he tried all he could to repair damages. He was a fine singer and of strong family affections." On July 19th, 1861 he was able to enlist under the name "Charles Plummer" and would become a 1st Sergeant of the 21st Massachusetts Volunteers. On February 8th, 1862 he died of fever aboard the transport <i>Northerner</i> during the battle of Roanoke Island. (This was a battle he had particularly wished to take part in because ex-Governor Henry A. Wise of Virginia, the nemesis of the Harpers Ferry raiders, was in command of the Confederates.) Tidd's, or Charles Plummer's, grave is #40 in the National Cemetery in New Berne, North Carolina.</p>						
THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY						
Harriet Tubman	No					of color
<p>Harriet Tubman was negotiated with by John Brown for participation in the raid on the federal arsenal. She mistrusted these men and had persistent dreams in which Brown and his sons appeared as serpents. The attack had been scheduled to occur on the 4th of July, symbolic of national birth. At the last moment she alleged she was ill, and for this reason as well as delays in the deliveries of supplies, the attack needed to be postponed for months. On the day of the actual attack at Harpers Ferry she had a premonition that it would fail.</p>						
Henry Watson	No					of color
<p>Henry Watson, barber of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania involved both with John Brown and with Frederick Douglass.</p>						
etc.						



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

1831

 March 15, Tuesday: The [Chinese](#) “Siamese Twins” Chang and Eng again opened their exhibit in [New-York](#). Philip Hone went to see them on that day.

[Aaron Dwight Stevens](#), who would become [John Brown](#)’s drillmaster, was born in Lisbon, Connecticut. His father was the church choirmaster. This family was of old Puritan stock, and Aaron’s great-grandfather had been a captain in the Revolutionary army. A man’s man, he would not marry although he would have pleasant relations with women.

**“NARRATIVE HISTORY” AMOUNTS TO FABULATION,
THE REAL STUFF BEING MERE CHRONOLOGY**



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

1847

[Aaron Dwight Stevens](#) ran away from home at the age of 16 to serve with a Massachusetts volunteer regiment in [Mexico](#).

WAR ON MEXICO



August 17, Sunday: ... [Mexico](#) was won with less exertion & less true valor than are required to do one season's haying in New England- The former work was done by those who played truant and ran away from the latter. Those Mexican's were mown down more easily than the summer's crop of grass in many a farmer's fields....

NOBODY COULD GUESS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT





RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

1851

April 1, Tuesday: [Aaron D. Stevens](#) visited a recruiting depot in New-York where he met [Major Charles Augustus May](#), who had been a dashing Dragoon hero in the war on [Mexico](#).



circa April 1: “It is only the squalid savages and degraded boschmen of creation that have their feeble teeth & tiny stings steeped in venom, and so made formidable.” ants –centipedes, and mosquitos –spiders, wasps, and scorpions– Hugh Miller.

To obtain to a true relation to one human creature is enough to make a year memorable.

The man for whom law exists –the man of forms, the conservative, is a tame man.

A recent English writer (De Quincey) endeavoring to account for the atrocities of [Caligula](#) and [Nero](#) –their monstrous & anomalous cruelties –and the general servility & corruption which they imply– Observes that it is difficult to believe that “the descendents of a people so severe in their habits” as the Romans, “could thus rapidly” have degenerated –that “in reality the citizens of Rome were at this time a new race brought together from every quarter of the world, but especially from Asia”

A vast “proportion of the ancient citizens had been cut off by the sword and such multitudes of emancipated slaves from Asia had been invested with the rights of citizens, “that, in a single generation, Rome became almost transmuted into a baser metal.” As [Juvenal](#) complained– “the Orontes had mingled its impure waters with those of the Tiber.” & “Probably, in the time of Nero, not one man in six was of pure Roman descent.” Instead of such says another “came Syrians, Cappadocians, Phrygians, and other enfranchised slaves” — “these in half a century had sunk so low, that [Tiberius](#) pronounced her (Rome’s) very senators to be *homines ad servitutem natos*, men born to be slaves.”

So one would say, in the absence of particular genealogical evidence, that the vast majority of the inhabitants of the City of Boston –even –those of senatorial dignity –the Curtises– Lunts –Woodbury’s and others –men not descendents of the men of the revolution the Hancocks –Adamses –Otises –but some “syrians Cappadocians & Phrygians,” merely, *homines ad servitutem natos* men born to be slaves

There is such an office if not such a man as the Governor of Massachusetts– What has he been about the last fortnight? He has probably had as much as he could do to keep on the fence during this moral earthquake. It seems to me that no such keen satire, no such cutting insult could be offered to that man, as the absence of all inquiry after him in this crisis. It appears to have been forgotten that there was such a man or such an office. Yet no doubt he has been filling the gubernatorial chair all the while– One Mr Boutwell –so named perchance because he goes about well to suit the prevailing wind

In ’75 2 or 300s of the inhabitants of Concord assembled at one of the bridges with arms in their hands to assert the right of 3 millions to tax themselves, & have a voice in governing themselves– About a week ago the authorities of Boston, having the sympathy of many of the inhabitants of Concord assembled in the grey of the dawn, assisted by a still larger armed force –to send back a perfectly innocent man –and one whom they knew to be innocent into a slavery as complete as the world ever knew Of course it makes not the least difference I wish you to consider this who the man was –whether he was Jesus christ or another– for in as much as ye did it unto the least of these his brethen ye did it unto him Do you think *he* would have stayed here in *liberty* and let the black man go into slavery in his stead? They sent him back I say to live in slavery with other 3 millions mark that –whom the same slave power or slavish power north & south –holds in that condition. 3 millions who do not, like the first mentioned, assert the right to govern themselvs but simply to run away & stay away from their prison-house.

Just a week afterward those inhabitants of this town who especially sympathize with the authorities of Boston in this their deed caused the bells to be rung & the cannons to be fired to celebrate the courage & the love of liberty of those men who assembled at the bridge. As if *those* 3 millions had fought for the right to be free themselves –but to hold in slavery 3 million others

1. Since this governor’s full name was George Sewall Boutwell, we need to ask whether [Henry Thoreau](#) knew this, and whether he was any relation –or whether Thoreau thought he was any relation– to Ellen Devereux Sewall to whom Thoreau had proposed marriage.



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

Why gentlemen even consistency though it is much abused is sometimes a virtue.

Every humane & intelligent inhabitant of Concord when he or she heard those bells & those cannon thought not so much of the events of the 19th of April 1775 as of the events of the 12 of April 1851

I wish my townsmen to consider that whatever the human law may be neither an individual nor a nation can ever deliberately commit the least act of injustice without having to pay the penalty for it A government which deliberately enacts injustice –& persists in it! –it will become the laughing stock of the world.

Much as has been said about American slavery, I think that commonly we do not yet realize what slavery is– If I were seriously to propose to congress to make mankind into sausages, I have no doubt that most would smile at my proposition and if any believed me to be in earnest they would think that I proposed something much worse than Congress had ever done. But gentlemen if any of you will tell me that to make a man into a sausage would be much worse (would be any worse), than to make him into a slave –than it was then to enact the fugitive-slave law –I shall here accuse him of foolishness –of intellectual incapacity –of making a distinction without a difference.

The one is just as sensible a proposition as the other.

When I read the account of the carrying back of the fugitive into slavery, which was read last sunday evening –and read also what was not read here that the man who made the prayer on the wharf was Daniel Foster of *Concord* I could not help feeling a slight degree of pride because of all the towns in the Commonwealth Concord was the only one distinctly named as being represented in that tea-party –and as she had a place in the first so would have a place in this the last & perhaps next most important chapter of the Hist of Mass. But my second feeling– when I reflected how short a time that gentleman has resided in this town –was one of doubt & shame –because the *men* of Concord in recent times have done nothing to entitle them to the honor of having their town named in such a connexion.

I hear a good deal said about trampling this law under foot– Why one need not go out of his way to do that– This law lies not at the level of the head or the reason– Its natural habitat is in the dirt. It was bred & has its life only in the dust & mire –on a level with the feet & he who walks with freedom unless with a sort of quibbling & Hindoo mercy he avoids treading on every venomous reptile –will inevitably tread on it & so trample it under foot.

It has come to this that the friends of liberty the friends of the slave have shuddered when they have understood, that his fate has been left to the legal tribunals so called of the country to be decided. The people have no faith that justice will be awarded in such a case –the judge may decide this way or that, it is a kind of accident at best– It is evident that he is not a competent authority in so important a case. I would not trust the life of my friend to the judges of all the supreme Courts in the world put together –to be sacrificed or saved by precedent– I would much rather trust to the sentiment of the people, which would itself be a precedent to posterity– In their vote you would get something worth having at any rate, but in the other case only the trammelled judgment of an individual –of no significance be it which way it will.

I think that recent events will be valuable as a criticism on the administration of justice in our midst –or rather as revealing what are the true sources of justice in any community. It is to some extent fatal to the Courts when the people are compelled to go behind the courts They learn that The courts are made for fair-weather & for very civil cases–

{*One leaf missing*}

let us entertain opinions of our own –let us be a town & not a suburb –as far from Boston in this sense as we were by the old Road which lead through Lexington –a place where tyranny may ever be met with firmness & driven back with defeat to its ships.

Concord has several more bridges left of the same sort which she is taxed to maintain – Can she not raise men to defend them?

As for measures to be adopted among others I would advise abolitionists to make as earnest and vigorous and persevering an assault on the Press, as they have already made and with effect too –on the Church– The Church has decidedly improved within a year or two.– aye even within a fortnight –but the press is almost without exception corrupt. I believe that in this country the press exerts a greater and a more pernicious influence than the Church We are not a religious people but we are a nation of politicians we do not much care for –we do not read the Bible –but we do care for & we do read the newspaper– It is a bible which we read every morning & every afternoon standing & sitting –riding & walking– It is a bible which lies on every table & counter which every man carries in his pocket which the mail & thousands of missionaries are continually dispersing– It is the only book which America has printed and is Capable of exerting an almost inconceivable influence for good or for bad. The editor is preacher whom you voluntarily support your tax is commonly one cent –& it costs nothing for pew-hire. But how many of these preachers preach the truth– I repeat the testimony of many an intelligent traveller as well as my own convictions when I say that probably no country was ever ruled by so mean a class



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

of tyrants as are the editors of the periodical press in *this* country.

Almost without exception the tone of the press is mercenary & servile— The Commonwealth & the Liberator are the only papers as far as I know which make themselves heard in condemnation of the cowardice & meanness of the authorities of Boston as lately exhibited. The other journals almost without exception—as the Advertiser the Transcript—the Journal—the Times—Bee—Herald—&c by their manner of referring to & speaking of the Fugitive-slave law or the carrying back of the slave—insult the common sense of the country And they do this for the most part because they think so to secure the approbation of their patrons & also one would think because they are not aware that a sounder sentiment prevails to any extent.

But thank fortune this preacher can be more easily reached by the weapons of the Reformer than could the recreant Priest—the *free* men of New England have only to—refrain from purchasing & reading these sheets have only to withhold their cents to kill a score of them at once.

Mahomet made his celestial journey in so short a time that “on his return he was able to prevent the complete overturn of a vase of water, which the angel Gabriel had struck with his wing on his departure.”

When he took refuge in a cave near Mecca being on his flight (Hegira) to Medina. “By the time that the Koreishites [who were close behind] reached the mouth of the cavern, an acacia tree had sprung up before it, in the spreading branches of which a pigeon had made its nest, and laid its eggs, and over the whole a spider had woven its web.”

He said of himself. “I am no king, but the son of a Koreishite woman, who ate flesh dried in the sun.”

He exacted—“a tithe of the productions of the earth, where it was fertilized by brooks & rain; and a twentieth part where its fertility was the result of irrigation.”²

2. The poet W.H. Auden has in 1962 brought forward a snippet from this day’s entry as:

THE VIKING BOOK OF APHORISMS, A PERSONAL SELECTION BY W.H. AUDEN...

Pg	Topic	Aphorism Selected by Auden out of Thoreau
309	Politics and Power	Whatever the human law may be, neither an individual nor a nation can ever deliberately commit the least act of injustice without having to pay the penalty for it.



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

1852

June: [Richard Henry Horne](#) and [William Howitt](#) migrated to Australia during the early gold rush era, as passengers aboard the same vessel.

Under the command of [Major George Alexander Hamilton Blake](#) the troopers of the [1st US Regiment of Dragoons](#) ventured north to build a new post, Fort Massachusetts, northwest of Taos, New Mexico in the remote San Luis Valley of present-day southern Colorado.

Winter: A coastal vessel again stopped by San Nicolàs Island off the coast of *Alta* [California](#), at the request of the padre of the mission on the mainland, to look for the native American isolate known as the "[Lone Woman](#)" left over from a massacre of the 1820s by the Inuit crew of a Russian whaling vessel. She hid from them but they did find evidence of her continued presence. During this period, and continuing into the spring, the contralto

[HERMITS](#)

Marietta Alboni would be appearing in nearly a dozen operas in various cities of America.



There was snow on the ground from October through March in the San Luis Valley of Colorado, while temperatures plunged to 12 below zero. "The men were overworked," wrote Post Surgeon Edmund Barry. "I have known [Major Blake](#) to refuse passes frequently to deserving men, which I conceived to be owing to partial spite and spleen.... The company in general hated Major Blake, and I suppose the reason was because he kept them all the time at work and allowed very few privileges." [Major George Alexander Hamilton Blake](#), who reportedly absented himself for frequent unofficial trips into Taos, New Mexico, rarely allowed any enlisted man of the [1st US Regiment of Dragoons](#) a pass without abusing him verbally.



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

1853

Fall: [Major George Alexander Hamilton Blake](#)'s demeanor, combined with the US Army's desire to create a new frontier fort during the previous harsh winter, had pushed the [1st US Regiment of Dragoons](#) to the breaking point. Company F was scheduled to move south to the slightly warmer climate of Cantonment Burgwin because it was anticipated that, due to a short growing season and the difficulty of shipping forage to Fort Massachusetts in the remote San Luis Valley of present-day southern Colorado northwest of Taos, New Mexico, there was going to be inadequate winter provender for the unit's mounts. "The prospect of abandoning the position soon after he has made it comparatively comfortable leaves [the soldier] without an adequate inducement for the sacrifice he is called on to make," Secretary of War [Jefferson Davis](#) would observe in 1856. "A laborer without pay or promise of improvement in his condition, a soldier without the forms and excitement of military life, it is hardly to be wondered that this state of things should lead to desertion." A few days before the unit was scheduled to move south, the smoldering fury of the enlisted men, fueled by whiskey, came to a head. They rioted on their parade ground while [Major Blake](#), discretion being the better part of valor, shut himself into his quarters and thus steered clear of their noise, drunkenness, and insubordination. —Did his troopers obtain a notion, from this, that they could get away with stuff?

[Moncure Daniel Conway](#) embarked on his final year at the [Harvard Divinity School](#), during which the students were allowed to fill pulpits for a fee:

I was getting fifteen or twenty dollars every Sunday, and was boarding at the best table in Cambridge.



AUTOBIOGRAPHY

VOLUME II



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

1854

March 30, Thursday: 1st Lieutenant John Wynn Davidson, who was commanding a reinforced company under orders to locate a fugitive band of Jicarilla Apaches and keep them from fleeing westward across the Rio Grande, disobeyed orders and attacked the Jicarilla camp on a ridge near [Cieneguilla](#) (present-day Pilar, New Mexico). They soon found themselves surrounded in a basin below the village, and in the fight every member of the 15-man Company F detachment was killed or wounded. The hard campaigning of 1854 would leave the exhausted men of Company F with threadbare uniforms, played-out horses and damaged equipment. Nevertheless, [Colonel Thomas Turner Fauntleroy](#) would plan to send Company F of the [1st US Regiment of Dragoons](#) back into the field early in the following year.

[Henry Thoreau](#) went to the Island at 6 AM. Later in the day, he read an article on the zoologist Étienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire in the January issue of [Westminster Review](#), entitled “*Le Principe des Connexions.*”



March 30. 6 A.M.—To Island. First still hour since the afternoon of the 17th. March truly came in like a lamb and went out like a lion this year. Remarkably and continuously pleasant weather from the very first day till the lath. Apparently an early spring, —buds and birds well advanced,— then suddenly very severe cold and high winds cold enough to skim the river over in broad places at night, and commencing with the greatest and most destructive gale for many a year, felt far and wide; and it has never ceased to blow since till this morning. Vegetation is accordingly put back. The ground these last cold (thirteen) days has been about bare of snow, but frozen. Some had peas and potatoes in before it. First half of month very pleasant and mild spring weather, last half severe winter cold and high winds, The water at its highest, —not very high,— this month on the 17th. Ducks have been lurking in sheltered places not frozen. Robins feed along the edge of the river. At the Island I see and hear this morning the cackle of a pigeon woodpecker at the hollow poplar; had heard him tapping distinctly from my boat’s place 1/4+ of a mile. Great flocks of tree sparrows and some *F. hyemalis* on the ground and trees on the Island Neck, making the air and bushes ring with their jingling. The former —some of them— say somewhat like this: a eke eke, ter twee twee, tweer twee twa. It sounded like a new bird. The black ducks seem always to rise with that loud, hoarse croaking — quacking. The river early is partly filled with thin, floating, hardly cemented ice, occasionally turned on its edge by the wind and sparkling in the sun. If the sun had kept out of the way one day in the past fortnight, I think the river would have frozen to bear. Read an interesting article on Etienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, the friend and contemporary of Cuvier, though opposed to him in his philosophy. He believed species to be variable. In looking for anatomical resemblances he found that he could not safely be guided by function, form, structure, size, color, etc., but only by the relative position and mutual dependence of organs. Hence his *Le Principe des Connexions* and his maxim, “An organ is sooner destroyed than transposed,” — “tin organ eat plutot altere, atrophie, ancanti, que transpose.” A principal formula of his was, “Unity of Plan, Unity of Composition.”

Concord Mar. 30th '54

The undersigned, wishing to enjoy equal advantages with their fellow countrymen at a distance, earnestly request, that Mr Emerson will read to the Lyceum as many of the lectures which he has read abroad the past winter as may be convenient for him, including the one on Poetry; though they promise to repay him only with an eager attention.

*Henry D. Thoreau[]
Josephine Hosmer*

*N. A. Barrett
A. Merrick*



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

[L P.] <i>Cheney</i>	[J. M. Cheney]
[F M Mackay]	<i>N. Brooks</i>
<i>Samuel Hoar</i>	[] <i>Josiah Bartlett</i>
<i>Mary M. Brooks</i>	<i>Anne M. Whiting</i>
<i>Geo</i>	[] <i>M. Brooks</i>
[A. D. "Frye]	<i>Sophia E. Thoreau</i>
<i>John H Bent</i>	<i>John Thoreau</i>
<i>Cynthia D</i>	[.] <i>Thoreau</i>

[Page 2]	
<i>J W. Walcott</i>	<i>John [Brown] Jr</i>
[B. N. Holden]	<i>Alvan Pratt</i> —
<i>Cyrus Peirce</i>	<i>Albert Stacy</i>
<i>Rufus Hosmer</i>	<i>Jonas Hastings</i>
<i>James Giles</i>	[Da] ⁿ . <i>Shattuck</i>
<i>Charles Bowers</i>	<i>A [C] Collier</i>
<i>Moses Pritchard</i>	<i>Julius M. Smith</i>
[] <i>Cyrus Warren</i>	<i>N[.] Henry</i>
<i>Nancy Warren</i>	[] <i>Warren</i>
<i>O. [L.] Page</i>	<i>Elijah Wood Jr</i>
[F.] <i>A. Wheeler</i>	<i>Francis Monroe</i>
<i>F. E. Bigelow</i>	<i>Sam</i> ^l . <i>Staples</i>
<i>L [May]</i>	

WALDO EMERSON
ALBERT STACY

November: This month's issue of [Harper's New Monthly Magazine](#).

CONSULT THIS ISSUE



[Aaron Dwight Stevens](#), an Army bugler, son of a Connecticut church choirmaster, wrote a breathless letter home to his sister Lydia Stevens about riding out West with the horse soldiers of the [1st US Regiment of Dragoons](#) in New Mexico Territory. Their activities had prevented him from writing since April when the patrols began. Company F, his unit, had already experienced "two fights with the Patches [Apaches], this year and had 9 men killed & 10 wounded ... and as luck would have it, I have got off safe so far, but they may get me yet." Within a few months he and more than a dozen of his comrades would riot against their severe [Major George Alexander Hamilton Blake](#) in the dusty Taos Plaza. This bugler and 3 other soldiers would escape execution only because President [Franklin Pierce](#) and Secretary of War [Jefferson Davis](#), would commute their sentences by citing mitigating circumstances. In a unique turn of events, the US Army would cashier its company commander for chronic intoxication, order the demotion and transfer of his company's noncommissioned officers, and transfer all its enlisted men to other New Mexico units, subjecting the company's 1st lieutenant and the squadron's commanding officer to courtmartial and, for good measure, exiling [Major Blake](#) from New Mexico Territory.



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

1855

March 8, Thursday: [Major George Alexander Hamilton Blake](#), an officer with a reputation as a harsh disciplinarian, was assaulted by a number of his men (a court martial would sentence the unit's bugler, [Aaron Dwight Stevens](#), and 3 others to death).

The 1st train of the Rochester, Lockport & Suspension Bridge line crossed John Augustus Roebling's newly-constructed suspension bridge over the [Niagara River](#).



March 8. P.M. — To old Carlisle road. Another fair day with easterly wind. This morning I got my boat out of the cellar and turned it up in the yard to let the seams open before I calk it. The blue river, now almost completely open (*i.e.* excepting a little ice in the recesses of the shore and a good deal over the meadows), admonishes me to be swift. I see where many young trees and bushes have been broken down by the ice after the last freshet, many of Loring's young maples, for example. The cornel and other bushes along the walls are broken like young trees by snowdrifts, the ice, sinking with them in its embrace, weighing or dragging them down. In many places, where the water rose so high as to reach the ends of the lower branches of white maples and these were afterward frozen in, the ice, sinking with the ebb, breaks off or strips down the branch [*Vide* Mar. 14th.]. There appears to be a motion to the ice (even on meadows away from the current and at Walden shore) somewhat like that of a glacier, by which it tips over the trees, etc., standing in it without breaking up, — the result, one would say, of its swelling under the influence of the sun.³ Was surprised to see a cluster of those large leek buds on a rock in Clark's (?) meadow between the oak and my house that was. Daniel Clark tells me that on his part of the Great Meadows there is a hole just about the breadth and depth of a man, commonly full of water. He does not know what made it. I crossed through the swamp south of Boulder Field toward the old dam. Stopping in a sunny and sheltered place on a hillock in the woods, — for it was raw in the wind, — I heard the hasty, shuffling, as if frightened, note of a robin from a dense birch wood, — a sort of tche tche tche tche, — and then probably it dashed through the birches; and so they fetch the year about Just from the South Shore, perchance, it alighted not in the village street, but in this remote birch wood. This sound reminds me of rainy, misty April days in past years. Once or twice before, this afternoon, I thought I heard one and listened, but in vain. I still see the bluish bloom on thimble-berry vines quite fresh. I walk these days along the brooks, looking for tortoises and trout, etc. They are full of a rust-colored water, as if they flowed out of an iron mine. As the ice melts in the swamps I see the horn-shaped buds of the skunk-cabbage, green with a bluish bloom, standing uninjured, ready to feel the influence of the sun, — the most prepared for spring — to look at — of any plant. I see of late more than before of the fuzzy caterpillars, both black and reddish-brown.

3. This was the year in which the bookstore shelves of Boston would have been featuring [James David Forbes](#)'s new THE TOUR OF MONT BLANC AND OF MONTE ROSA, BEING A PERSONAL NARRATIVE, ABRIDGED FROM THE AUTHOR'S "TRAVELS IN THE ALPS OF SAVOY," &c. Edinburgh, (R. and R. Clark for) Adam and Charles Black. Abridged edition of TRAVELS THROUGH THE ALPS OF SAVOYE (1843) and NORWAY AND ITS GLACIERS VISITED IN 1851 (1853) illustrated with 24 woodcuts. Forbes's major contribution to the Mont Blanc range were his extensive surveyings of the "Mer de Glace" and other glaciers, resulting in his map of the Mer de Glace of Chamouni and the adjoining district from an actual survey in 1842, 1844, 1846, and 1850. Drawn by August Petermann, Lith. by C. Helfarth, Gotha. Glaciers colored in blue. Another map shows "The Penine chain of Alps."



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

March 8, Wednesday morning: Captain Philip Thompson led the 55 men of Company F of the [1st US Regiment of Dragoons](#) out of Cantonment Burgwin for a planned rendezvous with [Colonel Thomas Turner Fauntleroy's](#) column. Captain Thompson rode only a few miles before halting at Ceran St. Vrain's mill and distillery in Talpa, south of Taos, New Mexico, to procure cornmeal for the horses and Taos lightning (whiskey) for the men. Several Company F soldiers would be drunk when they entered Taos and, procuring alcohol in local saloons, would become even drunker. One trooper galloped his horse through a gathering of Mexicans and then attempted to ride up the steps of Peter Joseph's store. His horse stumbled, and he fell off as was mocked by the locals. [New Mexico Territory Supreme Court Associate Justice Perry E. Brocchus](#) rushed to the plaza, sensing "a suppressed spirit of mutiny in the majority of the soldiers." Entering Joseph's store, he found [Major George Alexander Hamilton Blake](#) seated at a desk, writing reports in apparent oblivion of the commotion outside. The Major then ordered Captain Thompson to get his detachment out of town as quickly as possible. The Captain instructed 1st Sergeant Thomas Fitzsimmons, a 26-year-old veteran from Westmeath, Ireland, to prepare the troop to depart. When Bugler [Aaron Dwight Stevens](#) sounded "To Horse," most of the troopers obeyed the call, forming an extended line across the plaza. Captain Thompson needed to round up drunken soldiers who had not responded to the bugle. Private Jeremiah Sullivan, a 3-year veteran who had been seriously wounded at Cieneguilla, was too intoxicated to rise from the dirt. The captain ordered his 1st Sergeant to tie that "damned rascal" into his saddle. However, when Fitzsimmons hefted Sullivan onto his horse, the intoxicated soldier rolled off and fell back to the ground. When the sergeant tried again, the soldier resisted: "You son of a bitch, you are always down upon me." Fitzsimmons struck Sullivan in the face. Major Blake, standing nearby, was not pleased. He protested the sergeant's rough treatment of the drunken trooper. Fitzsimmons claimed to have been defending himself. Blake answered that Sullivan had not struck the sergeant, and ordered Captain Thompson to arrest 1st Sergeant Fitzsimmons. When the captain did not do so, the Major walked over to the 1st Sergeant and went "Very well, you are placed under arrest." He then shouted to his Captain, "I order you to take your company out of town immediately, or if you do not, I will march the company out myself!" He walked to the front of the assembled troop and told the enlisted men that he was taking immediate command. It was these extreme and unexpected actions — arresting their sergeant and stripping their captain of his command — that would set off what was to follow. "I am well aware that there was such a feeling in the Company against Major Blake," Post Surgeon Edmund Barry would later aver, "It was like gunpowder — it required but a spark to explode it." An intoxicated private, John Cooper, rode up and proclaimed that they all were tired of being driven like slaves and needed to be allowed some slack. Major Blake, who had long detested Private Cooper, yanked him off his horse, grabbed him by the collar, and struck him several times. The private returned this, grabbing his major by the collar, yanked the officer's hair, bit him, and began to kick and punch him (we may note here that these well-armed men were making no resort to their weapons, when someone handed the major a pistol, he tossed the pistol aside, and when the major pulled Captain Thompson's saber out of its scabbard he merely used it to strike the private a number of times with the flat of its blade). When 1st Lieutenant Robert Johnston reached for his saber, Corporal Jim Vanderven caught his shoulder prevented this, and the lieutenant moved back to the left flank of the troop. Among the onlookers was [Christopher "Kit" Carson](#), a renown fighter, but during this fracas the fabled frontiersman merely peeked cautiously around a corner. The major's manservant Ramón Baca would attempt to intervene, rushing in and kicking the private in the neck. Private Cooper yelled "Kill the son of a bitch!" and 4 soldiers sprang into action — of them struck the manservant twice with the knuckle guard of his saber, while the others pounded him with the butts of their carbines. 1st Sergeant Fitzsimmons finally pulled out his pistol and he and Corporal Vanderven rushed to break up the fight. Someone yelled "Look out, sergeant, or you'll get hit or hurt!" as trooper Joseph Fox came up and used his saber to knock the pistol out of 1st Sergeant Fitzsimmons's hand. The sergeant fended off the saber with his forearm, receiving minor defensive cuts. Private Robert Johnson rode toward Major Blake with pistol drawn, but when 1st Sergeant Fitzsimmons shouted at the trooper to get back in ranks, the private obeyed. Private John Steele grabbed Major Blake's neckerchief, pulling him



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to the ground, and began to beat him. [Justice Perry E. Brocchus](#) would later recall seeing the major rolling on the ground, fighting off a “stout athletic soldier,” as Captain Thompson merely looked on in a “state of total inertness, manifestly paralyzed in his energies.” Justice Brocchus shoved aside Private Steele and dragged the major, dazed and bruised, his uniform dusty and bloody, to the door of Peter Joseph’s store. When the major slowly rose to his feet he pointed out the 3 troopers who had struck him. Taos County Deputy Sheriff Ezra Depew, who was himself a former dragoon, aided by the sergeant and corporal, disarmed the 3 troopers and took them to the town jail. [Justice Brocchus](#) would remember Major Blake as “in very high blood and laboring under a sense of outrage and wrong.” He berated Captain Thompson and 1st Lieutenant Johnston for failing to come to his aid, accusing them of wanting him to get killed. He turned to his men and shouted out: “I can whip or thrash any man in this company from right to left — either with gun, pistol or saber — and now if there is any one of you thinks yourself fit — step out here and I will show you whether you can call old Blake a coward or such.” During all this commotion, Company F’s bugler, Private [Aaron Dwight Stevens](#), had been standing calmly, holding Captain Thompson’s and 1st Lieutenant Johnston’s horses. When he heard Major Blake’s challenge, however, he threw down the reins, drew his Colt Dragoon revolver, and proclaimed: “You can’t back out the company that way! I’m one of the worst men in it, and I’ll accept your challenge either with gun, pistol or saber.” It seems likely that Major Blake didn’t hear this, as [Justice Brocchus](#) did not hear it. When he saw the bugler standing there he demanded that the man apologize on behalf of all the troop. [Stevens](#) was willing to do so, but the major was not ready to listen as Company F’s bugler tried to explain why he and the men had become so upset. When Major Blake repeated he was not afraid of [Stevens](#) or anyone else in the company, the bugler came back with “God damn you! I’m as good as you are and will blow your goddamned heart out!” He raised and cocked his Model 1851 Sharps carbine, pointing it at Blake’s chest. It was only then that [Kit Carson](#) came forward, and he and Justice Brocchus seized [Stevens](#)’s carbine and took him into custody. Then 1st Lieutenant Johnston ordered the remainder of the 55 men of Company F to mount their horses, and led them out of town.

Commodore [Matthew Calbraith Perry](#) was able to put ashore in [Japan](#) and begin to negotiate a trade agreement. [Henry Thoreau](#) made a journal entry that resulted in a portion of the following paragraph from

US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS

“Life without Principle”:

At a lyceum, not long since, I felt that the lecturer had chosen a theme too foreign to himself, and so failed to interest me as much as he might have done. He described things not in or near to his heart, but toward his extremities and superficialities. There was, in this sense, no truly central or centralizing thought in the lecture. I would have had him deal with his privatest experience, as the poet does. The greatest compliment that was ever paid me was when one asked me what I *thought*, and attended to my answer. I am surprised, as well as delighted, when this happens, it is such a rare use he would make of me, as if he were acquainted with the tool. Commonly, if men want anything of me, it is only to know how many acres I make of their land —since I am a surveyor,— or, at most, what trivial news I have burdened myself with. They never will go to law for my meat; they prefer the shell. A man once came a considerable distance to ask me to lecture on Slavery; but on conversing with him, I found that he and his clique expected seven-eighths of the lecture to be theirs, and only one-eighth mine; so I declined. I take it for granted, when I am invited to lecture anywhere, —for I have had a little experience in that business, —that there is a desire to hear what I *think* on some subject, though I may be the greatest fool in the country, —and not that I should say pleasant things merely, or such as the audience will assent to; and I resolve, accordingly, that I will give them a strong dose of myself. They have sent for me, and engaged to pay for me, and I am determined that they shall have me, though I bore them beyond all precedent.



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March 8: Steady rain on the roof in the night, suggesting April-like warmth. This will help melt the snow and ice and take the frost out of the ground. What pretty wreaths the mountain cranberry makes, curving upward at the extremity! The leaves are now a dark, glossy red, and wreath and all are of such a shape as might fitly be copied in wood or stone or architectural foliage. I wrote a letter for an Irishman night before last, sending for his wife in Ireland to come to this country. one sentence which he dictated was, "Don't mind the rocking of the vessel, but take care of the children that they be not lost overboard." Lightning this evening, after a day of successive rains.

MICHAEL FLANNERY

THOREAU ON THE IRISH

May 21, Monday: During the weeks after Company F of the [1st US Regiment of Dragoons](#) had rioted in Taos, New Mexico the mounted unit engaged in a series of skirmishes with native Americans in the southern Rocky Mountains before returning to their quarters at Cantonment Burgwin. At that point 8 of the privates were named as participants in the mutiny of March 8th, and brought before a general courtmartial (for lashing out while intoxicated at these proceedings, Captain Philip Thompson would be cashiered from the service). Farrier Edward O'Meara and troopers William Gray, Robert Johnson, Adam Williams, Daniel McFarland, Henry Jacobs, John White, and John Harper would be sentenced to confinement for their behavior in the mutiny. A few of the others would suffer garrison punishment amounting to a few weeks of hard labor and loss of a month's pay. On this day courtmartial hearings began in Taos for Privates [Aaron Dwight Stevens](#), John Cooper, Joseph Fox, and John Steele, charged with mutiny under Article 9 of the Articles of War, before [Colonel Thomas Turner Fauntleroy](#) plus a panel of 8 officers. Per the military code of justice, a guilty verdict required only a 2/3ds majority —6 out of these 9— nor would the judge advocate have any problem securing sentences of death for these soldiers unrepresented by counsel and charged with "mutiny, engaging in a drunken riot, and assaulting [Major George \[Alexander Hamilton\] Blake](#)" of the 1st US Dragoons. However, it was a requirement that the transcripts then be submitted to the Secretary of War, [Jefferson Davis](#), and receive the endorsement of the US President, [Franklin Pierce](#).



May 21. P.M. — To Island.
Salix nigra leaves. Is that plump blue-backed, *rufous-rumped* swallow, the cliff swallow, flying with barn swallows, etc., over the river? [Nuttall](#) apparently so describes it, — 5 1/2 by 12. It dashes within a foot of me. Lambkill leaf, a day or two. Choke-berry pollen; perhaps a day or more elsewhere. *Viola palmata* pretty common, apparently two or three days. Some buttonbush begins to leaf. Cranberry well started; shoots three quarters of an inch. Bluets whiten the fields, and violets are now perhaps in prime. Very cold to-day; cold weather, indeed, from the 20th to 23d inclusive. Sit by fires, and *sometimes* wear a greatcoat and expect frosts.



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August 9, Thursday: Review of [WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS](#) titled “The Battle of the Ants” in the Boston [Christian Watchman and Reflector](#), 125:2-4.

From a work entitled, Thoreau’s Life in the Woods, we select the following, which has a moral to it worthy of attention:

[Reprints “Brute Neighbors,” pages 228.25-231.26.]

[Mexican](#) liberals (Juaristas) defeated loyalist troops at Acapulco.

President [Franklin Pierce](#) commuted the death sentences of Privates [Aaron Dwight Stevens](#), John Cooper, Joseph Fox, and John Steele, guilty of mutiny in Taos, New Mexico, to 3 years hard labor, further ordering that [Major George Alexander Hamilton Blake](#) and 1st Lieutenant Robert Johnston be courtmartialled. The President concluded that the major had been “greatly responsible for that utter want of discipline which would have cost him his life in this mutiny, if he had not been rescued by civil authority,” to wit [New Mexico Territory Supreme Court Associate Justice Perry E. Brocchus](#). The President commanded that Company F of the [1st US Regiment of Dragoons](#) be broken up and its troopers dispersed to various other companies. 1st Sergeant Thomas Fitzsimmons lost his stripes and was assigned to Company K. [Major Blake](#), when brought up on charges, would have enough money to secure competent defense counsel, and his attorneys, Lieutenant Colonel John B. Grayson and Judge Joab Houghton, would so overwhelm the novice judge advocate as to obtain dismissal of a number of the charges on procedural grounds.



Aug. 9 Elecampane, apparently several days. River is risen and fuller, and the weeds at bathing-place washed away somewhat. Fall to them.
Dana says a sprit is the diagonal boom or gaff, and hence a spritsail. Host fore-and-aft sails have a gaff and boom.

RICHARD HENRY DANA, JR.



RACE WAR,

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October: [John Brown](#) joined his 5 sons in the [Kansas Territory](#).

[August Bondi](#) became acquainted with [John Brown](#). He opened a general store at Lawrence, one of the 1st places of business there (he would keep this store until 1856).



After its mutiny against [Major George Alexander Hamilton Blake](#) in Taos, New Mexico on March 8th, Company F had been broken up and its troopers dispersed to various other companies of the [1st US Regiment of Dragoons](#). 1st Sergeant Thomas Fitzsimmons, minus his stripes, had been assigned to Company K. On account of a reputation for bad behavior and dishonesty, the other troopers beat him so severely as to put him in the hospital at Fort Union. He would, however, reenlisted in the 1st Dragoons, and by the end of the Civil War would again be a sergeant, although the name of the 1st Dragoons had changed to Company A of the 1st Cavalry.



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1856

Troopers Thomas Fitzsimmons and William Gray (who had been disciplined along with Bugler [Aaron Dwight Stevens](#) after the mutiny of Company K in Taos, New Mexico on March 8th, 1855 in which the troopers had attacked their commanding officer, [Major George Alexander Hamilton Blake](#)), were again brought before a courtmartial, this time for attacking their Sergeant of the Guard. Trooper William Gray would remain in the service and at the outbreak of civil war would be serving in Company K of the [1st US Regiment of Dragoons](#) at Fort Tejon, California.

[Aaron Dwight Stevens](#) escaped from his sentence to hard labor at Fort Leavenworth, initially taking refuge with the Delaware tribe and then joining the [Kansas](#) Free State militia of James Lane under the name “Whipple.” He was made Colonel of the 2d Kansas Militia.

THE 2D GREAT AMERICAN DISUNION

Free soil leaders were indicted for treason by the [Kansas](#) Territorial Legislature. Pitched battles between free-soilers and pro-[slavery](#) proponents resulted.

THE FUTURE CAN BE EASILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT





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[Charles Plummer Tidd](#), in search of excitement, emigrated to [Kansas](#) with the party of Dr. Calvin Cutter of Worcester, Massachusetts.



THE 2D GREAT AMERICAN DISUNION

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

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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



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February 6, Wednesday: Le spectre de la rose for alto and orchestra by [Hector Berlioz](#) to words of Gautier was performed for the 1st time, in Gotha.

1st Lieutenant Robert Johnston was charged with a violation of the 8th Article of War by failing to suppress the 1855 Taos mutiny and for not having done his utmost to rescue [Major George Alexander Hamilton Blake](#).



February 6: Goodwin says that he has caught two crows [[American Crow](#)  *Corvus brachyrhynchos*] this winter in his traps set in water for mink, and baited with fish. The crows, probably put to it for food and looking along the very few open brooks, attracted by this bait, got their feet into the traps.

February 9, Saturday: To the consternation of [Brevet Brigadier-General John Garland](#), following a 3-day hearing the courtmartial acquitted 1st Lieutenant Robert Johnston. At the outset of Civil War, Johnston would resign his federal commission to become a Confederate colonel, serving in the 3d Virginia Cavalry.



Feb. 9. How much the northwest wind prevails in the winter! Almost all our storms come from that quarter, and the ridges of snow-drifts run that way. If the Indians placed their heaven in the southwest on account of the warmth of the Southwest wind, they might have made a stern winter god of the northwest wind.

P.M. — Up Assabet.

3.30 P.M., thermometer 30°. This and yesterday comparatively warm weather. Half an inch or snow fell this forenoon, but now it has cleared up. I see a few squirrel-tracks, but no mice-tracks, for no night has intervened since the snow. It is only where the river washes a wooded bank that I see mice or even squirrel tracks; elsewhere only where dogs and foxes have traversed it. For example, there are no tracks on the side of the river against Hosmer's and Emerson's land, though many alders, etc., there, but many tracks commonly on the opposite wooded side. In the swamp west of Pigeon Rock, I see where the rabbits have bitten off the swamp white oak sprouts, where they have sprung up tender, looking like poplar, from stocks broken by the ice last winter. I hear a phoebe note from a chickadee. Saw a pensile nest eighteen feet high, within a lichen-clad red maple on the edge of the Assabet Spring or Pink Azalea Swamp. It looked very much like a bunch of the lichens dangling, and I was not sure it was not till I climbed up to it. Without, it was chiefly the coarse greenish lichens of the maple, bound with coarse bits of bark and perhaps bleached milkweed bark (??) and brown cocoon silk, and within, a thin lining of pine needles, hemlock twigs, and the like. Was it a yellow-throat vireo's? It was not shaped like the red-eye's, but, sidewise, thus:



looking down upon it, thus:



On a side twig to one of the limbs and about a foot from the end of the twig.



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June 12, Thursday: [Henry Thoreau](#) was written to by [Sophia Elizabeth Thoreau](#), from Worcester.



[Major George Alexander Hamilton Blake](#) was found not guilty of all charges but one, that he had neglected to discipline Captain Philip Thompson for failing to suppress the mutiny of Company F at Taos, New Mexico, such as by not taking 1st Sergeant Thomas Fitzsimmons into custody. The panel of courtmartial officers sentenced him to suspension without pay, for a year.

[Abraham Lincoln](#)'s speech of June 10th was characterized on this day by his political opponents, in the pages of the [Illinois State Register](#), as "niggerism" of "as dark a hue" as that of [Frederick Douglass](#):

Mr. Lincoln opened his speech, and for more than an hour he bored his audience with one of the weakest speeches that he ever perpetrated. He was evidently laboring under much restraint, conscious that he was doling out new doctrine to the old whigs about him, and fearful that in keeping within moderate bounds, he would so filter his discourse that it would not in any degree reach the end he desired. He would occasionally launch out and lead his hearers to think that the most ultra abolitionism would follow, when, under the old whig eyes we have mentioned, he would soften his remarks to a supposed palatable texture. In this way, backing and filling, he frittered away anything of argument that he might have presented, convincing his audience, however, that his niggerism has as dark a hue as that of [Garrison](#) or [Douglass](#) but that his timidity before the peculiar audience he addressed prevented its earnest advocacy with the power and ability he is known to possess.

The gist of his remarks were intended to show that the democratic party favors the extension of slavery, that black [republicanism](#) aims to prevent it; by what process we did not learn from him, nor did he furnish any evidence of the truth of his allegation against the democracy. He was opposed to the extension of slavery. So are we. But we desire to see it done in a constitutional manner – by the act of the people interested. For leaving the decision of the question there, by the adjustment of '50, and by the Nebraska act, black [republicanism](#) has raised another furor in the country, and until very lately, they have claimed for congress the power to refuse the admission of any new state recognizing slavery by its constitution. Latterly, this plank of their platform has been suppressed. We heard



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nothing of it on Tuesday evening from Mr. [Lincoln](#). The same caving in as to the restoration of the Missouri restriction, marks the latter day policy of the sectional party, and he as cautiously avoided it. They seek power, Mr. Lincoln naively told us, by the agglomeration of all the discordant elements of faction, and if obtained, the now suppressed platform of ultra abolitionism will be avowed and acted upon. He boldly avowed, in one of his many escapings, that there could be no Union with slavery. That agitation would be ceaseless until it shall be swept away, but the mode of its eradication he left to inference from his own antecedents and those of the ruling spirits of black-[republicanism](#) – Garrison, Greeley, Seward, Sumner, and others of that genus.

To attain power, by whatever means, was the burden of his song, and he pointed to the complexion of the Bloomington ticket as evidence of the desire of the factions to attain it by any process. Bissell [William H. Bissell, [Republican](#) running for governor], a renegade democrat, headed it. Hoffman, a German nondescript [Francis A. Hoffman, [Republican](#) running for lieutenant governor, who would as a native of Germany lacking the requisite 14 years of citizenship later be replaced by John Wood of Adams County], followed; Miller, ex-whig and probable know-nothing [James Miller, [Republican](#) for treasurer], followed next, while Hatch [Ozias M. Hatch, [Republican](#) for secretary of state], Dubois [Jesse K. Dubois, [Republican](#) for auditor] and Powell [William H. Powell, [Republican](#) for superintendent of public instruction], avowed know-nothings, brought up the rear. With such a medley – such a fusion of opposites, none can doubt that the end and aim of the Bloomington organization is “power” – and place, and that its managers would sink any principle, trample upon right, law and constitution to attain their object. Mr. Lincoln’s allusion to Bissell’s services as a warrior was singularly malapropos, in him, at least; Bissell’s laurels having been won in a war, the “identical spot” on which it commenced never could be learned by Mr. L., and consequently had his inveterate opposition during its entire progress, by his congressional action in hampering the democratic administration in its prosecution. In this connection, Bissell may well exclaim – “Save me from such backing!”

Except from the squad of claquers we have mentioned, Mr. Lincoln’s remarks were received with coldness. He convinced nobody of his own sincerity, of the justness of his cause, nor did he elicit any applause except from the drilled few who occupied the front benches.



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

July: The USS *Constellation* was dispatched to protect American lives and property at Malaga during a revolution in Spain.

[Major George Alexander Hamilton Blake](#) had served merely a month of his suspension without pay for a year, when [Brevet Brigadier-General John Garland](#), under authority of the 112th Article of War, restored the major to active duty. He would accompany the headquarters company and a couple of the companies of 1st Dragoons on their march from New Mexico Territory to garrison Fort Tejon in California (this Major would during the Civil War rise to the rank of Brevet Brigadier General).

A force of white vigilantes defeated the Wala Walas and the Cayuses in the valley of the Grande Ronde, and the native American tribes began to sue for an end to the Yakima War. Along with well-known abolitionists such as Andrew Reeder, [Gerrit Smith](#), and [Eli Thayer](#), [Thaddeus Hyatt](#) organized the [National Kansas Committee](#) and was elected president of the organization. Their committee purportedly collected around \$100,000 to sponsor 2,000 new settlers. Of this amount, around \$10,000 was disbursed for weaponry. Instead of leading the recruited 84 men toward [Lawrence](#) where they might be in immediate hot water, he sponsored the settlement of a “Hyattville” or “Hyatt” on the South fork of Pottawatomie Creek in Anderson County. Thaddeus Hyatt and William Arny, general agent of the National Kansas Committee, would persuade the Kansas State Central Committee to allow them to change how funds from the National Committee were dispersed by the State Central Committee, redirecting the funds and resources to their settlement venture, and because of this they would come to be suspected of attempting to turn a profit on this namesake settlement. Hyatt would insist that such claims were sponsored by a “slanderer.” William Hutchinson, reporting the incident to the National Kansas Committee, primarily derogated Arny. This settlement known as “Hyattville” or “Hyatt” no longer exists, its settlers moving on to establish another settlement, on Pike’s Peak.

[THE 2D GREAT AMERICAN DISUNION](#)

George Frisbie Hoar and [Eli Thayer](#) went off to a [Free Kansas Convention](#) in Buffalo, New York.

August 7, Thursday: Eva Evelina E. Vannevar Slack posted an account of her travel to Charles Wesley Slack.

When Lane’s Army of the North marched into “[Bleeding Kansas](#)”, [Aaron D. Stevens](#) met [John Brown](#) at the Nebraska line. He would become a devoted follower.

[THE 2D GREAT AMERICAN DISUNION](#)

THE FUTURE IS MOST READILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT





RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

1857

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

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



(He would marry there and make the acquaintance of [John Brown](#) in Cleveland. To go to [Harpers Ferry](#), he would leave behind his wife with a 6-month-old child at Oberlin, she being in ignorance of the purpose of his trip. He was given funds to go from Oberlin to Chambersburg in the company of his nephew [John Anderson Copeland, Jr.](#), a student at [Oberlin College](#). He would get isolated along with his nephew and [John Henry Kagi](#)



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

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

THE 2D GREAT AMERICAN DISUNION



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR



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

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

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



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

November: There was an [Underground Railroad](#) line, the “stations” of which were Salem in Southeastern Iowa, Tabor, Lewis, Des Moines, Grinnel, Iowa City, West Liberty, [Springdale](#) (a [Quaker](#) community outside Iowa City), Tipton, Dewitt, and Clinton. During the early winter [John Brown](#) hiked crosscountry from Tabor to Springdale with his group (Brown’s son [Owen Brown](#), [John Edwin Cook](#), [John Henry Kagi](#), [William H. Leeman](#), [Charles Moffett](#), [Luke F. Parsons](#), [Richard Realf](#), [Richard Richardson](#), [Aaron D. Stevens](#), and [Charles Plummer Tidd](#), plus some runaway slaves). The trip required 25 days. A [Quaker](#) elder is reported to have said to [Brown](#), “Thou art welcome to tarry among us but we have no use for thy guns.” [Friend John Hunt Painter](#), later the founder of Pasadena, California, was the only local [Quaker](#) we now know to have had knowledge of the violence of [Brown](#)’s plan. He said, “Friend, I can’t give thee money to buy powder and lead but here’s \$20 toward thy expenses.”

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

William and Delilah Maxson of North Liberty, a community about 3 miles to the northeast of Springdale, who were not Quakers, agreed to provide board for the group in their substantial home at the rate of \$1.50 per week per person, not including laundry or extra candles, and to take payment not in cash but in the wagons and teams the group had been using to transport rifles and pikes. William Maxson was aware of the violence of Brown’s plan, but not being a Quaker, he had no objection. The Maxsons and the escaped slaves slept in the large cellar, and John Brown had a room on the main floor for the short intervals during which he was in town that winter, and the white men with him slept in the garret. Maria Todd, who would become the wife of Elza Maxson, also slept in that cellar during that winter. The Maxsons and [Aaron D. Stevens](#) were spiritualists. A mock legislature was staged on Tuesdays and Thursdays in the big west room of the Maxson home until so many neighbors attended that they needed to convene at the community’s brick schoolhouse. Parliamentary rules were enforced and the topics engaged with included war, partisan politics, human enslavement, political and civil rights for American blacks, college education and civil rights for women, banking laws, prohibitory liquor laws, mechanics, theology, natural philosophy, and, of course, spiritualism. During the winter the forenoons were spent in military studies and [Stevens](#), known as Colonel Whipple, led drills in which the men carried wooden swords and pikes and maneuvered on the front lawn. The evenings were given over to reading in books such as PLUTARCH’S LIVES, writing letters, and debating. [John Henry Kagi](#) offered instruction in shorthand. That winter, [Stevens](#) was a frequent visitor at the home of Moses Varney. His daughter Anna Varney Phelps would tell of sitting on Stephens’ knee while, with tears rolling down his cheeks, he would sing in his beautiful tenor “Will they miss me at home, Mother? Will they miss me?”



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

November: During the winter encampment of [Captain John Brown](#)'s forces in the Iowa Territory, [Charles Plummer Tidd](#) "ruined" a [Quaker](#) girl (something about which the local Quakers do not like to speak) and the other members of the team needed to sneak him away from [Springdale, Iowa](#) during the night.



THE 2D GREAT AMERICAN DISUNION

Nevertheless, the group was able to obtain some recruits not overly impressed with the Peace Testimony of Friend [George Fox](#) from among the residents of this town, such as the brothers [Barclay Coppoc](#) and [Edwin](#)

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[Coppoc.](#)



THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



([Charles Plummer Tidd](#) would become one of the followers of “Shubel Morgan” who would return to the [Kansas Territory](#) in 1858 to raid into Missouri. He and [John Edwin Cook](#) would be particularly warm friends. He opposed the attack on [Harpers Ferry](#) but nevertheless would take part both in the raid on the planter Washington’s home and on the federal arsenal itself, escape, and make his way on foot toward the northwestern part of Pennsylvania. He and [Owen Brown](#) would find work and safety, under assumed names, on an oil well in the vicinity of Crawford County, Pennsylvania. He would visit Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and



RACE WAR,

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Canada and take part in the planning for the rescue of [Aaron D. Stevens](#) and [Albert Hazlett](#) while the Mason Commission of the Congress was presuming that he had been killed in the fighting at Harpers Ferry. On July 19, 1861 he would be able to enlist under the name “Charles Plummer” and would become a 1st Sergeant of the 21st Massachusetts Volunteers. On February 8, 1862 he would die of fever aboard the transport *Northerner* during the battle of Roanoke Island, a battle he had particularly wished to take part in because ex-Governor Henry A. Wise of Virginia, the nemesis of the Harpers Ferry raiders, was in command of the [Confederates](#). You may view [Charles Plummer Tidd](#)’s grave as #40 in the National Cemetery in New Berne, [North Carolina](#).)

CHANGE IS ETERNITY, STASIS A FIGMENT

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1858

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

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



THE 2D GREAT AMERICAN DISUNION

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



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

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



DO I HAVE YOUR ATTENTION? GOOD.

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NOT CIVIL WAR

1859

October 17, Monday: Plantation owner Lewis W. Washington met [John E. Cook](#) again, when he, accompanied by [Aaron D. Stevens](#), [Stewart Taylor](#), and [Charles Plummer Tidd](#), appeared heavily armed at night at the door to his bedroom. Outside the mansion, [Shields Green](#), who had been [Frederick Douglass](#)'s bodyguard, was standing watch.



It turned out to be [Stevens](#) who was in charge of this looting and kidnapping party: "You are our prisoner." After collecting the pistol which the Marquis de Lafayette had presented to General Washington and the sword which Frederick the Great of Prussia had presented to him, the raiders also displayed an unseemly interest in Lewis's watch, of no historical relevance, and in any ready cash he might happen to have lying around his home.

RACE WAR,

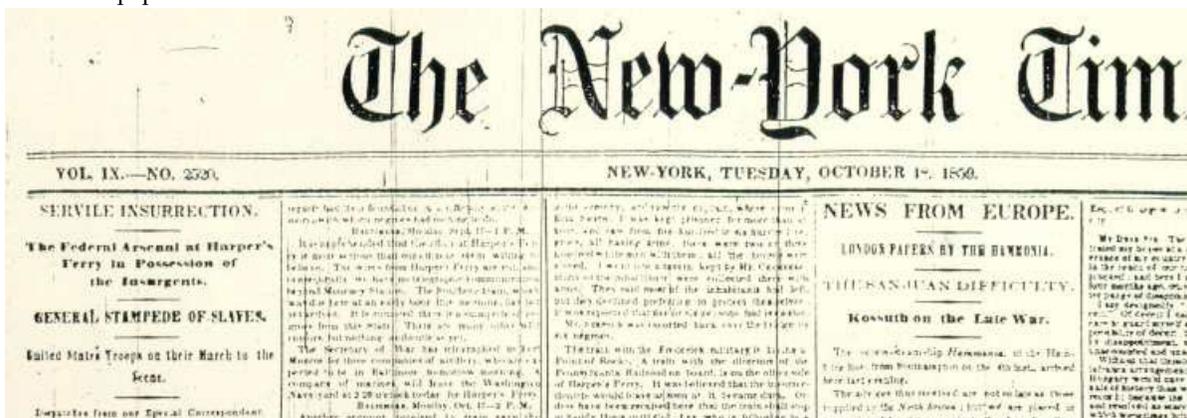
NOT CIVIL WAR



← George Washington's sword (in the famous Leutze painting).



The news of the raid on the federal arsenal at [Harpers Ferry](#) was beginning at this point to appear in some newspapers.



While [Frederick Douglass](#) was lecturing at Philadelphia on the topic of "Self-Made Men," his oration was interrupted by arrival of the news of an abolitionist raid upon the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia. Within a week he would be forced to hurry to Canada to evade arrest on the very accurate charge of his having

RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

been a [John Brown](#) accomplice with prior guilty knowledge of the treason.



A note from Governor [Henry A. Wise](#) in Richmond, Virginia to Colonel George W. Munford:



Richmond Va
 Oct[ober] 17th 1859
 To Col[onel]. Geo[rge]. W. Munford
 Dear Sir
 Called away by a sudden emergency, occasion may arise in reference to the service in and & other matters, for official signatures, & you are hereby authorized to act, by signing my name & doing all other acts necessary to be done in the office of Gov[ernor] in my absence.
 Y[ours] truly
 Henry A. Wise



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

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

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

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

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

Harpers Ferry residents George Mauzy and Mary Mauzy wrote to their daughter Eugenia Mauzy Burton and son-in-law James H. Burton, who were then living in England (Burton had been a machinist, foreman, and Acting Master Armorer at the Harpers Ferry Armory between 1844-1854):

To Eugenia Burton, Enfield, England



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NOT CIVIL WAR

October 17, 1859

Monday afternoon

4 o'clock

Oh my dear friend such a day as this. Heaven forbid that I should ever witness such another.

Last night a band of ruffians took possession of the town, took the keys of the armory and made Captive a great many of our Citizens. I cannot write the particulars for I am too Nervous. For such a sight as I have just beheld. Our men chased them in the river just below here and I saw them shot down like dogs. I saw one poor wretch [sic] rise above the water and some one strike him with a club he sank again and in a moment they dragged him out a Corpse. I do not know yet how many are shot but I shall never forget the sight. They just marched two wretches [sic] their Arms bound fast up to the jail. My dear husband shouldered his rifle and went to join our men May god protect him. Even while I write I hear the guns in the distance I heard they were fighting down the street.

I cannot write any more I must wait and see what the end will be. -M.E. Mauzy

Page 494 of Henry Mayer's ALL ON FIRE: On Monday evening, October 17, 1859, Wendell Phillips called at Dix Place and spent an entertaining hour with [William Lloyd Garrison](#) and his son Willie merrily going over the poor showing Henry Ward Beecher had made in his Tremont Temple lecture on "bargain-making" a few days previously. The mood changed abruptly, however, when someone came in with a bulletin about a slave uprising in Virginia. One question sprang into their minds simultaneously -"Osawatomie Brown?"- and they looked at each other with "foreboding," Willie remembered, as the answer came, "Very like." (Willie kept to himself his own worst suspicion that Francis Meriam was involved, but wrote in his diary that his friend was "just reckless enough" to have become mixed up in such a business.)



October 17: A smart frost this morning. Ground stiffened. Hear of ice in a tub.

P. M.-To Gowing's Swamp.

The water standing over the road at Moore's Swamp, I see the sand spotted black with many thousands of little snails with a shell, and two feelers out, slowly dragging themselves over the bottom. They reminded me by their color, number, and form of the young tadpoles.

I look for *Vaccinium Oxycoccus* in the swamp. The uneven surface of the sphagnum in which the slender vine grows comes up to my idea of a mountainous country better than many actual mountains that I have seen. Labrador mountains these are at least. The higher patches of sphagnum are changed to a dark purple, which shows a crude green where you crack it by your weight. The lower parts are yet yellowish-green merely. These interesting little cranberries are quite scarce, the vine bearing (this year, at least) only amid the higher and drier sphagnous mountains amid the lowest bushes about the edge of the open swamp. There the dark-red berries (quite ripe) now rest, on the shelves and in the recesses of the red sphagnum. There is only enough of these



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

THANKSGIVING

berries for sauce to a botanist's Thanksgiving dinner.

What I put into my pocket, whether berry or apple, generally has to keep company with an arrowhead or two. I hear the latter chinking against a key as I walk. These are the perennial crop of Concord fields. If they were sure it would pay, we should see farmers raking the fields for them.

The rain drives me from my berrying and we take shelter under a tree. It is worth the while to sit under the lee of an apple tree trunk in the rain, if only to study the bark and its inhabitants. I do not disturb the father-long-legs which to avoid the storm has merely got round to the lee side, or under the shelter of an excrescence. Thus easily insects find their roof ready for them. Man's very size compels him to build a house. Caves and recesses big enough are too rare.

Why should we not stay at home? This is the land and we are the inhabitants so many travellers come to see. Why should we suffer ourselves to drift outside and lose all our advantages? They were bold navigators once who merely sighted these shores. We were born and bred further in the land than Captain John Smith got.

I hear that ten geese went over New Bedford some days ago.

When La Mountain and Haddock dropped down in the Canada wilderness the other day, they came near starving, or dying of cold and wet and fatigue, not knowing where to look for food nor how to shelter themselves. Thus far we have wandered from a simple and independent life. I think that a wise and independent, self-reliant man will have a complete list of the edibles to be found in a primitive country or wilderness, a bill of fare, in his waistcoat pocket at least, to say nothing of matches and warm clothing, so that he can commence a systematic search for them without loss of time. They might have had several frogs apiece if they had known how to find them. Talk about tariffs and protection of home industry, so as to be prepared for wars and hard times!! Here we are, deriving our breadstuffs from the West, our butter stuffs from Vermont, and our tea and coffee and sugar stuffs, and much more with which we stuff ourselves, from the other side of the globe. Why, a truly prudent man will carry such a list as the above, in his mind at least, even though he walk through Broadway or Quincy Market. He will know what are the permanent resources of the land and be prepared for the hardest of times. He will go behind cities and their police; he will see through them. Is not the wilderness of mould and dry-rot forever invading and threatening them? They are but a camp abundantly supplied today, but gnawing their old shoes to-morrow. [Why, a philosopher who soars higher than usual in his thoughts from time to time drops down into what is just such a wilderness to him as that was to La Mountain and Haddock, where he finds hardly one little frog gone into winter quarters to sustain him and runs screaming toward the climes of the sun.] I see all the farmers' old coats spread over the few squashes and pumpkins still left out in a pile. The arbor-vitae sheds seeds; how long?



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

October 25, Tuesday: An elaborate funeral in memory of Ludwig (Louis) Spohr took place in Kassel, at public expense.

New-York Herald headline: THE EXPOSURE OF THE NIGGER-WORSHIPING INSURRECTIONISTS.

John N. Merriman to Governor [Henry A. Wise](#):



Collectors Office

Georgetown So.Ca. Oct[o]b[e]r. 25. 1859

Sir,

The desire to see specemins of those Weapons captured in the late insurrection at Harpers Ferry, has been manifested by several of our largest Planters and most prominent Citizens of this Town, and requested me, to petition your Excellency for a sample of the different Weapons;

I therefore, in complying with the wishes of my fellow Citizens, would respectfully beg you, to send me Per Adams Express Co. in care of Messrs. Z & H. Ravenel & Co. in Charleston So.Ca. One of the captured Pikes, one do. Rifle, and one do. revolving Pistol— and to inform me of the time you require me to return same to you.

In conclusion Sir, permit me to convey to you the high Esteem of the Citizens of this District for your Excellency, in quelling so promptly and efficiently a Movement, which treated to desolate our Homes.

I am Sir with the greatest Respect

Your Obdt. Servant

John N. Merriman

Collector

His Excellency

Henry A. Wise

Governor of Virginia

In Virginia, [John Brown](#), [John Anderson Copeland, Jr.](#), [Edwin Coppoc](#), [Shields Green](#), and [Aaron D. Stevens](#) (who was nearly dead anyway, needing to be propped up by the bailiffs of the court) were indicted for treason. The decision was arrived at, that each of the accused ought to be tried separately.

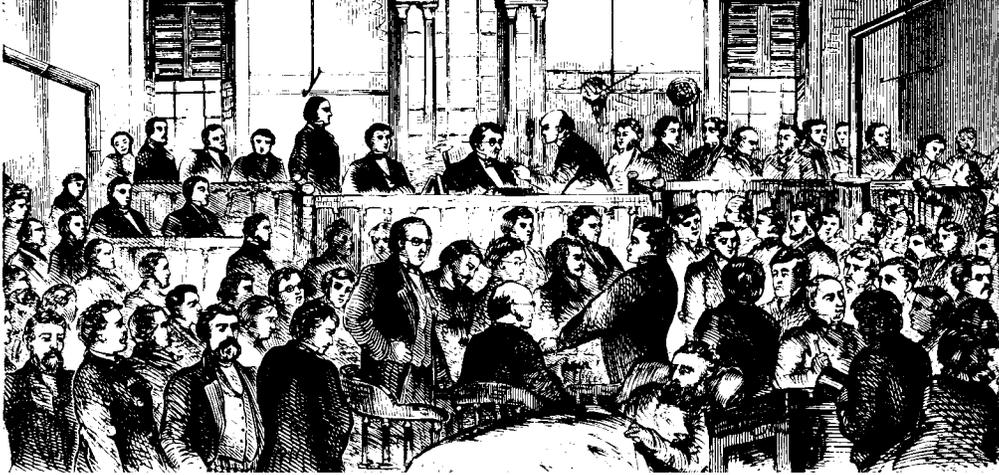
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RACE WAR,

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RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

During his portion of the trial [Copeland](#) would stand silent, refusing to participate in any manner.



Green

Copeland

Hazlett

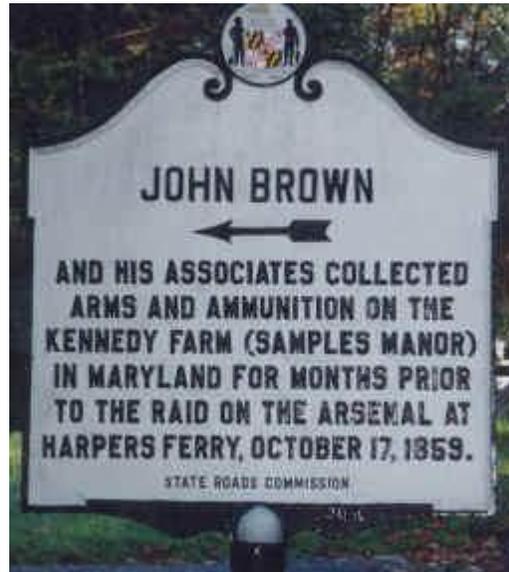
After evading capture for some months, against the advice of his comrades [John E. Cook](#) became reckless in his search for food and was captured by some local citizens (Claggett Fitzhugh and Dan Logan of Quincy) in



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

Carlisle eight miles from Chambersburg PA, where Cook's wife Mary V. Kennedy Cook resided.



As an incessant and compulsive communicator he had always been considered by the Brown operatives to be indiscreet, and 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 at Harper's Ferry, 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 Cook would seek to save his neck by representing that he had been deceived through false promises. For this revelation Cook would be severely censured at the time, being termed "Judas" by the friends of Brown. Despite his confession and despite his brother-in-law A.P. Willard being the governor of Indiana, he would in the end hang for the treason and murder at [Harpers Ferry](#), one of the last to be taken to the gallows, on December 16th.



[THOREAU MADE NO ENTRY IN HIS JOURNAL FOR OCTOBER 25th]

RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

October 30, Sunday: Franz Liszt was admitted to the Austrian nobility as “Franz, Ritter von Liszt.” On the same day, in Weimar, his setting of the 137th Psalm for alto, violin, and keyboard was performed for the initial time.

The trial of [John Brown](#) concluded, with a finding of guilt. The separate trials of the others indicted, [John Anderson Copeland, Jr.](#), [Edwin Coppoc](#), [Shields Green](#), and [Aaron D. Stevens](#), would begin, and would come to their conclusions, shortly.



Green

Copeland

Haslitt

[Henry Thoreau](#) notified [Concord](#) town officials that he would speak that evening on “The character of [John Brown](#), now in the clutches of the slaveholder.”



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

KILLED OR WOUNDED BY THE INSURGENTS AT HARPERS FERRY

Heywood Shepherd	black railroad porter	Killed
Fontaine Beckham	white railroad agent and mayor of Harpers Ferry	Killed
G.W. Turner	white resident of Jefferson County VA	Killed
Thomas Boerly	white resident of Harpers Ferry	Killed
Quinn	white Marine Corps private	Killed
Rupert	white Marine Corps private	Wounded
Murphy	white resident in vicinity of Harpers Ferry	Wounded
Young	white resident in vicinity of Harpers Ferry	Wounded
Richardson	white resident in vicinity of Harpers Ferry	Wounded
Hammond	white resident in vicinity of Harpers Ferry	Wounded
McCabe	white resident in vicinity of Harpers Ferry	Wounded
Dorsey	white resident in vicinity of Harpers Ferry	Wounded
Hooper	white resident in vicinity of Harpers Ferry	Wounded
Woollet	white resident in vicinity of Harpers Ferry	Wounded



That evening, [Thoreau](#) delivered “A PLEA FOR CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN” in the vestry of the First Parish Meetinghouse in Concord. Emerson was present, and would report to Charles Wesley Slack in Boston that “He read it with great force & effect, & though the audience was of widely different parties, it was heard without a murmur of dissent.” In regard to Thoreau’s impassioned oration, this is what I have to offer. Take it for granite, Thoreau always knows what he is saying. Speaking not only of [John Brown](#)’s sharp tongue

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but also of his carbine bought and paid for, one of the things Henry said on the evening of October 30, 1859 was



The tools were in the hands of one who could use them.



This is now on page 133 of REFORM PAPERS. **But what I need to get you to understand is that it means exactly what it means, not what you maybe thought it would mean were it you who had said it.** The thing I need you to notice is that Thoreau's remark is an implicit reference to [Miguel de Cervantes's](#)



En manos eftâ el pandero que le fabra bien tañer, refpondio Sancho Pança.



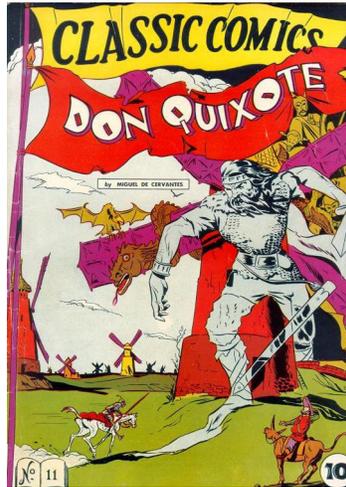
This is an aphorism from Part II, Chapter 22 of *EL INGENIOSO HIDALGO DON QUIJOTE DE LA MANCHA*.



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In current Spanish: *En manos está el pandero que le sabrán bien tañer*, or “In hands is the drum that it they know well to beat” or, rather, “The drum is in the hands of one who well knows how to thump it.” Thus Thoreau’s remark about the *rat-a-tat-tat* of Brown’s sharp tongue and Christian carbine is also an implicit reference to the most-quoted passage in WALDEN by far, the passage in which an obscure metaphor is drawn apparently on the basis of the drummer-boy *rat-a-tat-tatting* away on [Concord](#) common during the annual militia training!



What is happening in that passage of Cervantes’s book is that Sancho Panza was lowering Don Quijote into the Montecinos cave by a rope. And he was using this old Spanish proverb to say don’t worry, I know how to handle this rope, I won’t let you fall. He was practicality incarnate, all means and no end, while Don Quijote was impracticality ensouled, on his way to make his central attempt to define the relationship between reality and illusion, all end and no means.

We may well ask ourselves in what way a reference to Don Quijote might be seen as appropriate in this context of Thoreau’s defense of Brown. I can think of several right off.

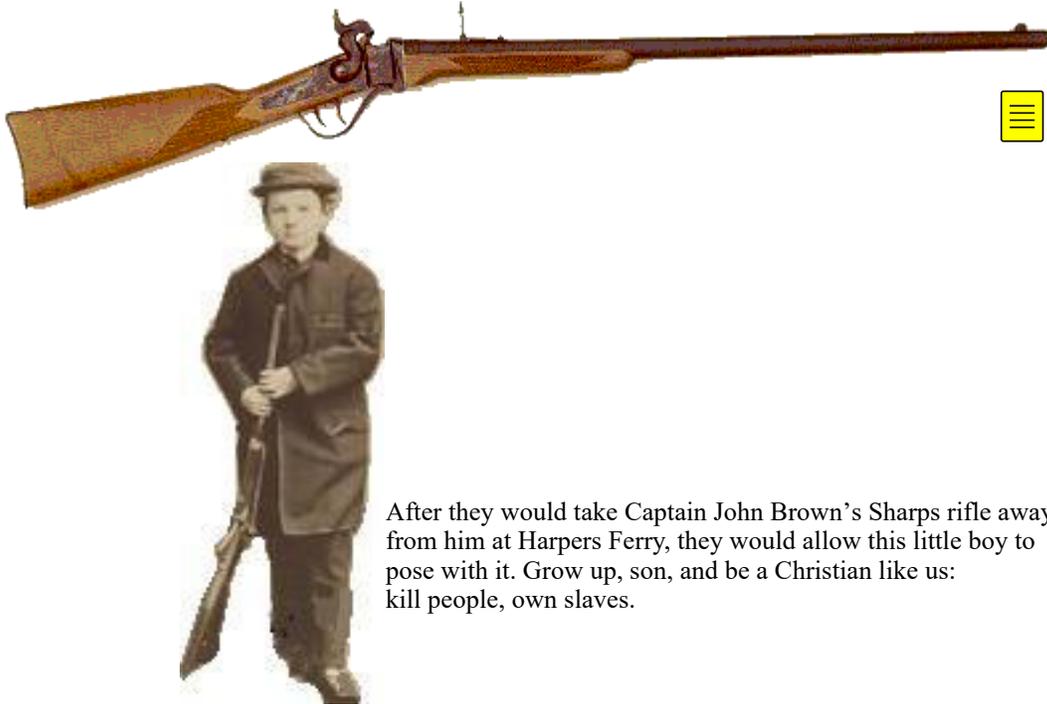
1st, many scholars would insist to us that a study of the work of Cervantes is central to any consideration of the manner in which our representations of the world can, and cannot, modify the contexts in which our lives are embedded. That Sharps rifle was supposed to be the lever by which Brown was rearranging reality, but in actuality in that world of men at arms such a stick was of influence primarily as a symbol, while Brown’s primary lever for rearranging the reality of American race relations was –as Thoreau was emphasizing– his sharp tongue. Holding that Sharps rifle in his hand only served to draw attention to that tongue of his, attention that his sharp tongue deserved. We can say Thoreau’s problem essentially was, in the case of Brown, that he had decided he could not be satisfied with reality. Refusing to repeat the gestures that custom, tradition, and

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instinct make so easy, Thoreau was insisting on the coming into being of our myth of equality and fraternity.



After they would take Captain John Brown's Sharps rifle away from him at Harpers Ferry, they would allow this little boy to pose with it. Grow up, son, and be a Christian like us: kill people, own slaves.

2d, Don Quijote was *un hombre exageradamente grave y serio o puntilloso*, and this is a fine and accurate description not only of Concord's own knight of the woebegone countenance, [Bronson Alcott](#), but also of [John Brown](#). If Alcott could be said to have been a Quijote whose favorite reading was the New Testament, Brown was a Quijote whose favorite reading was the Old. Don Quijote said

These saints and knights were of the same profession as myself, which is the calling of arms. Only there is this difference between them and me, that they were saints, and fought with divine weapons, and I am a sinner and fight with human ones.

3d, there is the problem of the ridiculous mismatch of means and objectives about which Brown commented in his note on the morning of his [hanging](#). Brown wanted a world of justice and peace and dignity so he set about enthusiastically to kill us until we got his idea, which is a fine way to get someone's attention but is inherently self-defeating.

4th, in associating Brown with Don Quijote, [Thoreau](#) was making an implicit reference to the freeing of slaves as a knightly suspension of the ethical — for Don Quijote's pity, compassion, and love came to outweigh the rigor of justice in that knight's liberating of the galley slaves, and in the declaration he made to the guards of



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the slaves, and in his comments to Sancho and the priest. He said

It is not right that honorable men should be executioners of others.

Finally, this “tool” aphorism extracted from the episode in which Don Quijote descended on a rope into the cave of Montecinos is central to the story’s process of *sanchificación* of the knight’s spirituality and *quijotización* of the squire’s carnality. By virtue of their shared adventures, the righteously indignant northern white American and the desperately indignant southern white American needed to figure out a way to rid themselves of a society based on shackles: they needed to sanchify and quijotize each other. That’d be preferred to our northern Quijotes and southern Panzas using their efficient tools to kill each other standing in rows, which was otherwise the obvious prospect. When Don Quijote emerged from the cave of Montecinos he said to Sancho Panza

Everything that offers some difficulty seems impossible to you.

But he added

Time will pass.

In this writing I will not only attempt to salvage Thoreau’s talk about Christian carbines and sharp tongues by linking it (via its implicit referent in Cervantes’s *rub-a-dub-dub* text about the foolishness of desperate acts of chivalry) to its implicit referent in Thoreau’s *rat-a-tat-tat* text about the foolishness of a life of quiet desperation.

I will also demonstrate that this sound metaphor of Thoreau’s –the distant different drummer– is, itself, an implicit reference to a [Quaker](#) non-violent metaphor of the inner light in common usage among members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), particularly those of the liberal faction including Friend [Elias Hicks](#) and his student Friend [Lucretia Mott](#), and that such a metaphor cannot be bent –as it is commonly now bent by the unspirited– to sponsor the path of violence. Thoreau left himself an escape hatch and, in his appeal for sympathy for Captain Brown after that man’s desperate attempt to set free the despairing slaves of America, neither explicitly nor implicitly sanctioned any of [John Brown](#)’s violent means. I would maintain that Thoreau’s deportment and his words subsequent to the ill-advised [Harpers Ferry](#) raid in 1859 were precisely



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parallel to Friend Lucretia's deputation and her words after the ill-advised "Christiana Riot" in 1851.



Thoreau said in public, in regard to American slavery, that he did not wish to kill nor to be killed, but could foresee circumstances in which both these things would be by him unavoidable (REFORM PAPERS 133). Playing to his audience, our author elided the vast difference between killing and dying precisely as Richardson elided Charles Baudelaire. It was only in Thoreau's private notes during his lifetime—to his Journal that is, and although as he says there was no lock on the door of his cabin there was in fact a lock on the desk in which he kept his Journal—that he was able to say plainly that **when he said “both these things” he meant precisely “both these things,”** not one and, if he turned out to be a lucky and competent killer, not the other, that if it came to the sacrificing of others to his own principles, this would necessarily involve his own simultaneous self-sacrifice for his principles, that he meant he might decide to not be alive rather than continue to be alive in a world that also included slavery.⁴ Now, Søren Aabye Kierkegaard pointed out in a writing that,

4. There is a phrase “noble army of Martyrs” in the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER that came into use in 1549 that may explain [Thoreau](#)'s remark about becoming willing to kill, or to die, to end enslavement. The phrase may have come into the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER from the *TE DEUM*, quite a bit older.



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although it dates to the same year of 1859, was unavailable to [Thoreau](#),⁵ that



Assuming then that a person is the victim of an illusion, and that in order to communicate the truth to him the first task, rightly understood, is to remove the illusion – if I do not begin by deceiving him, I must begin with direct communication. But direct communication presupposes that the receiver's ability to receive is undisturbed. But here such is not the case; an illusion stands in the way. That is to say, one must first of all use the caustic fluid. But this caustic means is negativity, and negativity understood in relation to the communication of the truth is precisely the same as deception. What then does it mean "to deceive"? It means that one does not begin **directly** with the matter one wants to communicate, but begins by accepting the other man's illusion as good money.



I am not saying Thoreau was wrong to elide in this way in that place at that time, for he was doing his level best to communicate with a bunch of people who were getting ready to line up and shoot each other down in windows, and also I was not there and also I have great respect for his judgment, but I am saying that if there was a time for this sort of elision, it is now past. If not then, at least now, we should face the issue squarely. But unfortunately, as I said, the issue is not being faced squarely. For instance, on the night of July 10th in the Center Galleria of Worcester, an actor employed by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, David Barto, sponsored in part by the Massachusetts Department of Environmental Management, re-enacted Thoreau's lecture "A Plea for Capt. John Brown."

Worcester's Mechanics Hall where the lecture was originally delivered was under restoration, but every effort was made for verisimilitude and Barto was able to lean on the wooden lectern that Thoreau had used on November 3, 1859 at Mechanics Hall. My impression is that Barto makes a Thoreau who is entirely too belligerent, for instance humorously threatening to beat children with his walking stick should they ask questions at the wrong times, humorously inviting one fellow to join him outside for a fight after the talk should he fail to follow Thoreau's rules, etc. Therefore, in the question and answer period, I raised my hand

5. Soren Aabye Kierkegaard. THE POINT OF VIEW FOR MY WORK AS AN AUTHOR. NY: Harper & Row, 1962, pages 25-6.



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and posed the following question to Barto in his rôle as [Thoreau](#):

I have heard you, and am troubled, troubled by what would seem to be a studied ambiguity on an issue of the greatest relevance. Tell me, in the dark of the night when you could not sleep, and you scratched these lines frantically across scraps of paper with your pencil - can you recollect that frame of mind?- what was your intention? If it came to kill or be killed, for those are two very different things, if it came to the taking of the life of another for liberty, or giving your own for liberty -for these are two very different things- if it came to continuing your life but as a murderer- if it came to the point of doing evil so that good will come- what, sir, was your secret intention as you scratched out your draft of this speech? Is it your intention to teach us, by your life, how and when to **die** or how and when to **kill**?

In response Barto feigned anger and told me I had no right to inquire as to his private musings. He was unable or unwilling to address the question as posed. Need I mention that this might have got him in trouble with his employer, an agency which also employs a number of armed men in blue and a number of armed men in green, and instructs these armed employees in the fine art of when and how to kill in the name of their employer?

“A PLEA FOR CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN”

This topic of elision is an interesting topic for those of us who find this sort of topic interesting. While [Thoreau](#) was delivering his “A PLEA FOR CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN” at the Concord Town Hall, the Reverend [Henry Ward Beecher](#) was delivering a sermon in his Plymouth Church in Brooklyn. Later on he would revise this sermon for publication, so we can credit it with some seriousness of preparation, and yet in the sermon he was portraying the raid on [Harpers Ferry](#) as having been perpetrated by 17 white men who had gone South without any black sponsorship or involvement and, in their whiteness, had created a race panic: “Seventeen white men surrounded two thousand, and held them in duress.”

A black newspaper would need to comment upon this elision, as of course it had been the noticing of men of mixed race among the members of that invading party which had set off the pronounced race panic: “Mr. Beecher must have read the papers, must have read that there were twenty-two invaders, seventeen white and five black. Why does he omit all mention of the latter? Were they not men?”⁶

6. It is very clear from several other things that the Reverend [Henry Ward Beecher](#) had written, that had he been forced to respond to this “Were they not men?” rhetorical question, he would easily have responded that indeed they were men — inasmuch as they were all of mixed race rather than being in that “low animal condition” (his category, his words) of pure blackness.



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October 31, Monday: George H. Hoyt, [John Brown](#)'s counsel, wrote to J.W. Le Barnes, offering his initial impression of [Aaron Dwight Stevens](#): "Stevens is in the same cell with Brown. I have frequent talks with him. He's in a most pitiable condition physically, his wounds being of the most painful and dangerous character. He has now four balls in his body, two of these being about the head and neck. He bears his sufferings with grim and silent fortitude, never complaining and absolutely without hope. He is a splendid looking young fellow. Such black and penetrating eyes! Such an expansive brow! Such a grand chest and limbs! He was the best, and in fact the only man Brown had who was a good soldier besides being reliable otherwise."

In this timeframe [Brown](#) received a visit in his cell in Charlestown, Virginia from a Winchester, Massachusetts sculptor, [Edward Augustus Brackett](#). The sculptor had been paid \$130 in gold coins to prepare a marble bust for display in the foyer of [George Luther Stearns](#) in Medford, Massachusetts, and needed to carefully measure the prisoner's face.



[Henry Thoreau](#) wrote to [H.G.O. Blake](#):

Concord Oct 31st

Mr Blake.

I spoke to my townsmen last evening on "the Character of Capt. Brown, now in the clutches of the slaveholder". I should like to speak to any company in Worcester who may wish to hear me, & will come, if only my expenses are paid.

I think that we should express ourselves at once, while Brown is alive. The sooner the better. Perhaps Higginson may like to have a meeting.

Wednesday evening would be a good time.

The people here are deeply interested in the matter.

Let me have an answer as soon as may be.

Henry D. Thoreau

P.S. I may be engaged toward the end of the week.

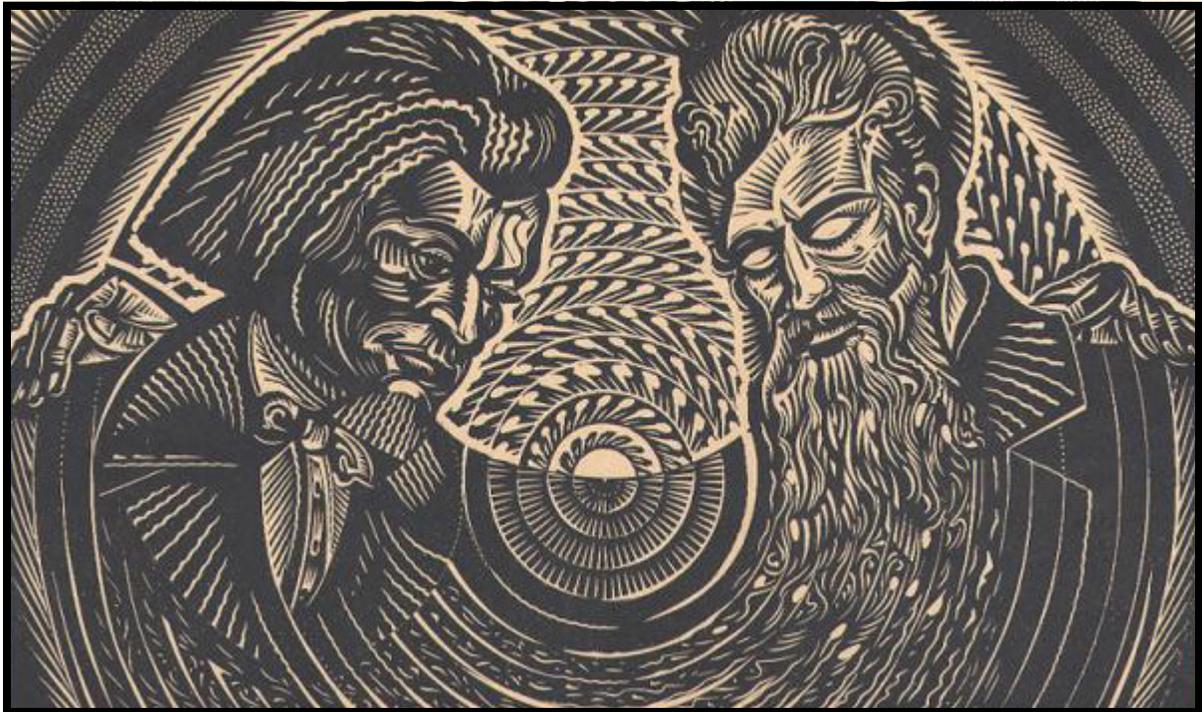
THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON

Waldo Emerson wrote to Charles Wesley Slack in Boston, "I understand that there is some doubt about Mr. Douglass's keeping his engagement for Tuesday next. If there is a vacancy, I think you cannot do a greater public good than to send for Mr. Thoreau, who has read last night here a discourse on the history & character of Captain John Brown, which ought to be heard or read by every man in the Republic." Henry Thoreau was sent a telegram by Slack,⁷ addressed

TO HENRY D. THOREAU OR RALPH WALDO EMERSON. CONCORD.

informing that

THOREAU MUST LECTURE ... TUESDAY EVENING-- DOUGLASS FAILS--



One thing we need to consider, in dealing with the heavy emotion and heavy oratory of this address, is that Thoreau knew he was standing in for a most impassioned and implicated black orator, and knew that his audience had been hoping to hear this most impassioned and implicated orator. While he could not darken his skin — he should certainly attempt to darken his tones.

To: HDT
From: Charles Slack
Date: 10/31/59

7. Stimpert, James. A GUIDE TO THE CORRESPONDENCE IN THE CHARLES WESLEY SLACK MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION: 1848-1885. Kent State University, Library, Special Collections



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[Advertisement for the American Telegraph Company]

Boston [O]ct 31 1859

SEND THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE, SUBJECT TO THE ABOVE CONDITIONS:

To Henry D. Thoreau or

Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Concord.

Thoreau must lecture for [F]raternity

Tuesday Evening-- Douglass fails--

Letter mailed

Charles W. Slack

11 Bs 28--

[Frederick Douglass](#), [Waldo Emerson](#), and [Henry Thoreau](#) wrote separately to Charles Wesley Slack of Boston in regard to Douglass's lecture engagement there which was scheduled for November 1st, which Douglass could not complete. These three letters are at the American Antiquarian Society.

Thoreau would speak before a crowd of 2,500.

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

November 2, Wednesday: [Thomas Russell](#) and [Mary Ellen "Nellie" Taylor Russell](#) visited [John Brown](#) in his cell in Charlestown, Virginia. Mr. Russell had intended to counsel with Brown as a lawyer in his defense, but arrived too late, after the conviction had been declared. According to Stephen Oates's *TO PURGE THIS LAND WITH BLOOD* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), Brown expressed to these friends and abolitionists from Boston some bitter feelings toward [Frederick Douglass](#) for not having been willing to participate. Mrs. Russell had brought a needle with her and set about mending his torn and cut coat. When she sent the guard in search of a clothes-brush, she had an opportunity for a few private words with the prisoner, and her husband had an opportunity to inspect the chimney, noticing it to be large enough for a man to be pulled up to the roof through (he would later add, that although it might have been possible to get out of the jailhouse, it would have been most difficult to evade immediate recapture). At the end, when Mrs. Russell kissed Brown goodbye, he said "Now, go," his mouth trembling. Judge Russell would write of this encounter:

I was just in time to hear the sentence of death pronounced on Brown, and to hear that magnificent speech in which, instead of assuming that his hearers were Christians, and arguing on that basis, he said: "I see a book kissed here which I suppose to be the Bible, or at least the New Testament," from which he inferred that Christianity was not quite unknown. I then went with Mrs. Russell to see him in the jail, and found him in the best of spirits. He said: "I have no fault to find with the manner of my death; the disgrace of hanging does not trouble me in the



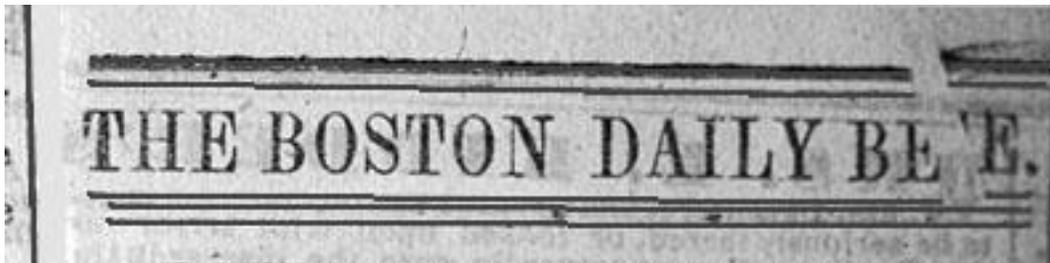
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least. Indeed, I know that the very errors by which my scheme was marred were decreed before the world was made. I had no more to do with the course I pursued than a shot leaving a cannon has to do with the spot where it shall fall." He was satisfied with what he had done.

On the very day that [John Brown](#), having been found guilty of treason and murder, was being condemned to be hanged, a printed circular was being posted in Boston, asking for help in covering his legal expenses. The circular was signed by the Reverend [Thomas Wentworth Higginson](#) of the Secret "Six" conspiracy, [Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe](#), [Samuel Eliot Sewall](#), and [Waldo Emerson](#). Not only would the attorneys Samuel Chilton and Hiram Griswold need to be satisfied, but soon the others accused, [John Anderson Copeland, Jr.](#), [Edwin Coppoc](#), [Shields Green](#), and [Aaron D. Stevens](#), who were still being represented by attorneys George Sennott and George H. Hoyt, were inevitably going to be condemned to be hanged.

The Boston [Atlas and Daily Bee](#) carried a report of [Henry Thoreau](#)'s lecture on [John Brown](#).



This would be the courthouse in what would become Charles Town, West Virginia at which [John Brown](#) was tried, as of the Year Of Our Lord 1900:



The wounded [John Brown](#) lay on his cot and addressed this court in this building on this day in Charles Town, Virginia:

I have, may it please the court, a few words to say. In the first place, I deny everything but what I have all along admitted, — the design on my part to free slaves. I intended certainly to have made a clean thing of that matter, as I did last winter, when I went into Missouri and took slaves without the snapping of a gun on either side, moved them through the country, and finally left them in Canada. I designed to do the same thing again, on a larger scale. That was all I intended. I never did intend murder, or treason, or the destruction of property, or to excite or incite slaves to rebellion, or to make insurrection. I have another objection; and that is, it is unjust that I should suffer such a penalty. Had I interferred in the manner which



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I admit, and which I admit has been fairly proved (for I admire the truthfulness and candor of the greater portion of the witnesses who have testified in this case), -had I so interfered in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great, or in behalf of any of their friends -either father, mother, sister, wife, or children, or any of that class -and suffered and sacrificed what I have in this interference, it would have been all right; and every man in this court would have deemed it an act worthy of reward rather than punishment. The court acknowledges, as I suppose, the validity of the law of God. I see a book kissed here which I suppose to be the **BIBLE**, or at least the New Testament. That teaches me that all things whatsoever I would that men should do to me, I should do even so to them. It teaches me further to "remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them." I endeavored to act up to that instruction. I say, I am too young to understand that God is any respecter of persons. I believe that to have interfered as I have done -as I have always freely admitted I have done- in behalf of His despised poor, was not wrong, but right. Now if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments. -I submit; so let it be done!

Let me say one word further.

I feel entirely satisfied with the treatment I have received on my trial. Considering all the circumstances, it has been more generous than I expected. I feel no consciousness of my guilt. I have stated from the first what was my intention, and what was not. I never had any design against the life of any person, nor any disposition to commit treason, or excite slaves to rebel, or make any general insurrection. I never encouraged any man to do so, but always discouraged any idea of any kind.

Let me say also, a word in regard to the statements made by some to those connected with me. I hear it has been said by some of them that I have induced them to join me. But the contrary is true. I do not say this to injure them, but as regretting their weakness. There is not one of them but joined me of his own accord, and the greater part of them at their own expense. A number of them I never saw, and never had a word of conversation with, till the day they came to me; and that was for the purpose I have stated.

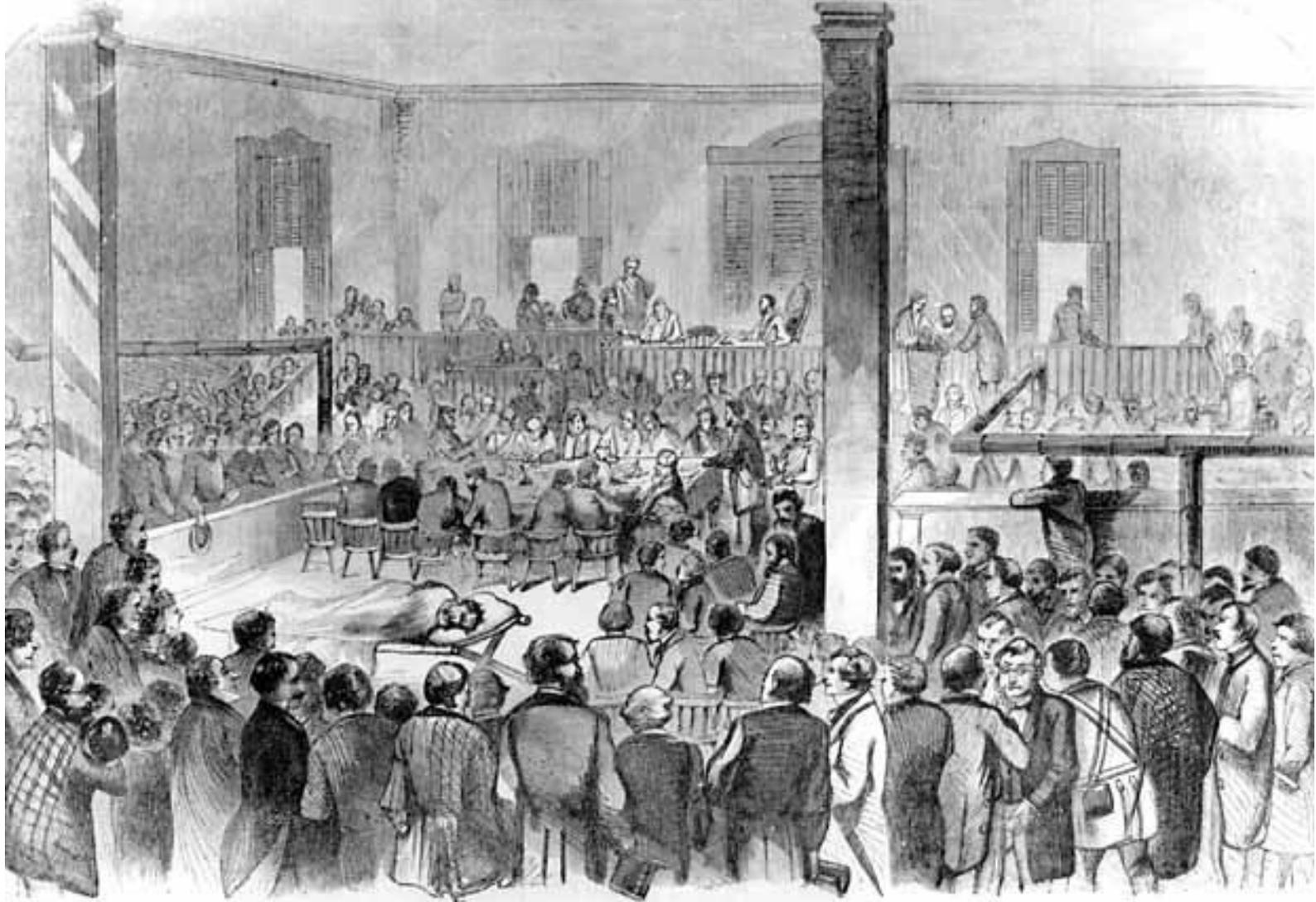
Now I have done.

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“Porte Crayon,” which is to say, the illustrator David Strother, was depicting the scene inside the courthouse for the benefit of a news-eager nation. This is what we might have seen had one entire wall of the building been cut away as is done routinely now for interior scenes on the sound stages of Hollywood:

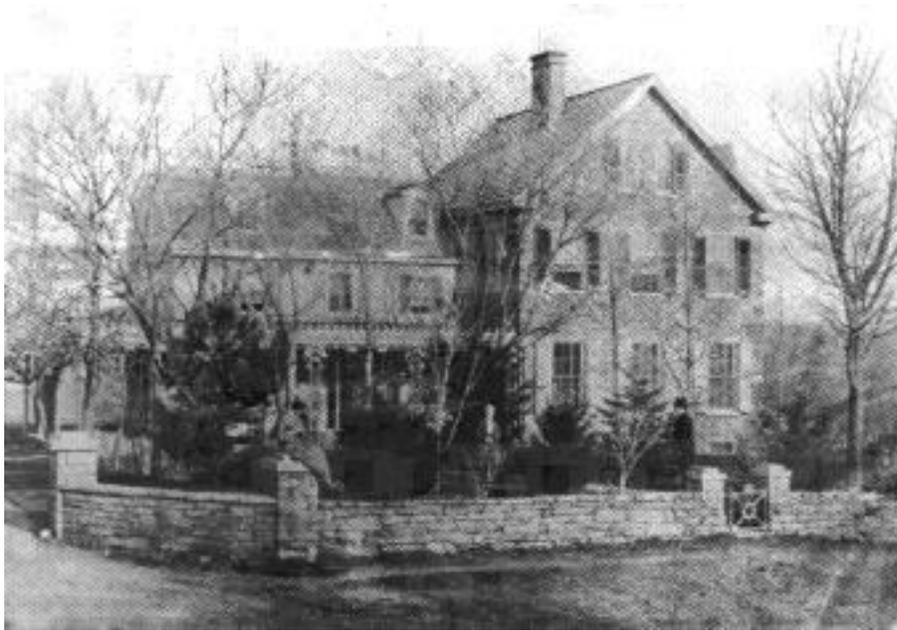


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After the week-long trial it took 45 minutes of deliberation for the Virginia jury to find this unrepentant Captain [John Brown](#) guilty of murder, treason, and inciting a [slave](#) insurrection and to sentence him to be hanged by the neck until he be dead. Later, from his cell, the condemned man wrote his wife Mrs. [Mary Ann Day Brown](#) at "Roadside" near Philadelphia:



I was sentenced to be hanged on Dec. 2nd next. Do not grieve on my account. I am still quite cheerful. God bless you all.



His speech was promptly printed as a broadside by C.C. Mead in Boston: ADDRESS OF JOHN BROWN ...



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SENTENCE OF DEATH; FOR HIS HEROIC ATTEMPT AT HARPERS FERRY...:



[Edwin Coppoc](#) was tried by a jury of his white male peers immediately after the sentence was handed down in the case of Captain [John Brown](#).



He was sentenced to be hanged. (His brother [Barclay Coppoc](#) was still eluding capture. From prison before his hanging, he would write to his adoptive mother, of a nonresistant-abolitionist [Quaker](#) farm family, that he was

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

He would be hung with [John E. Cook](#) on December 16, 1859. The body would be buried in Winona after a funeral attended by the entire town. Later the body would be reburied in Salem, Ohio.)

The weekly [Valley Spirit](#) contained a number of articles linking the [Harpers Ferry](#) raid with Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. One article described [John E. Cook](#) and [Albert Hazlett](#)'s capture, detailing the papers found on

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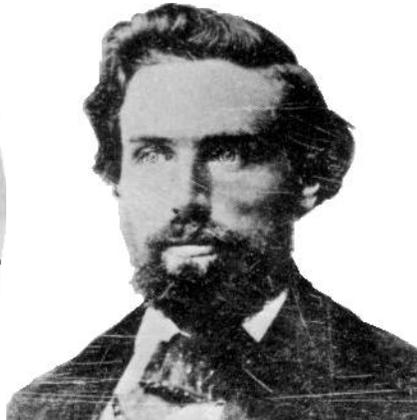
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Cook's person, while another reported on the transfer of the prisoners to Charlestown.



In "Capt. Kagi," the editors express doubt that [John Henry Kagi](#), a former Chambersburg resident, and [Charles Plummer Tidd](#) had actually been killed during the raid. Local fears were not assuaged by the discovery of rifles, ammunition, books and bandages in Beatty's Woods.



[THOREAU MADE NO ENTRY IN HIS JOURNAL FOR NOVEMBER 2d]



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December: An anonymous missive to Governor [Henry A. Wise](#) of Virginia, undated, presumably sometime during December:



Gov. Wise

Hon Sir

As Virginia has received from her Sister State Pennsylvania a peace offering flag, it is no more than fair that another sister should be presented in her peculiar way, please therefore accept the accompanying appropriate design.

The flag pictured here is the "New England Black Republican, Abolition Rule or Ruin, Disunion Flag" destined to take the place of the present Glorious Eagle, Stars & Stripes Flag of this Great Republic and that no mistake may occur as to the Emblems a description is added.

In lieu of the usual spear on the head of the flag & staff (which is in form of a cross) a Gallows with a John Brown embellishment is substituted. A wooden Ham & 32 wooden Nutmegs on a Blood red field take the place of the Eagle and stars. The ballance of the flag being black is quite suggestive of the general intention of the Party of which this is the Standard

REPUBLICAN PARTY

In this timeframe Mrs. [Rebecca B. Spring](#) not only wrote to but, twice, with her son, visited Captain [John Brown](#) in prison. Her expenses to provide Captain Brown and [Aaron D. Stevens](#) with flowers, books, clothing, medicine, and food during their incarceration prior to execution amounted to some \$400, approximately one year's income for a day laborer. She even sent them music. She would inform a newspaper reporter that what he had said to her was "I do not think I can better serve the cause I love so much, than to die for it!"

The Republicans were being referred to as the Black Republicans, in order to indicate the general sense of the

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country, that these were people who harbored an unsavory prejudice in favor of the unworthy, blacks and Irish:



The long autobiographical letter which [John Brown](#) had written on July 15, 1857  to [George Luther Stearns](#) was made available to [Waldo Emerson](#), who would use the allegations and much of their phrasing in his speech of January 6, 1860  in Salem on the history of Brown's abolitionism.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY



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According to Seymour Drescher's "[Servile Insurrection](#) and John Brown's Body in Europe":

The most famous and graphic European image to appear in the wake of the raid on Harper's Ferry was an engraving, entitled *John Brown*. Against a dark landscape and a dull, cloudy sky a small human figure hangs from a gallows. The body's features are almost completely blanketed in shadow. From the heavens alone come shafts of light, breaking through the dreary obscurity to fall upon the gallows and the figure. Beneath this bleak illustration initially appeared the words: "*Pro Christo-Sicut Christus, John Brown, - Charleston. Designed by Victor Hugo.*"



The engraving was the frontispiece to the most widely publicized commentary on [John Brown](#) to reach America from across the Atlantic. Victor Hugo's letter on John Brown, originally written in early December 1859, was reprinted in newspapers and pamphlets on both sides of the Atlantic and was viewed by American abolitionists as a document that "will be read by millions with thrilling emotions." In it, France's most famous contemporary writer declared in exclamatory prose that the whole civilized world (namely, England, France, and Germany) was witnessing with horror a travesty of justice - "not in Turkey, but in America!" "The champion of Christ ... slaughtered by the American Republic," "the assassination of Emancipation by Liberty," ... "something more terrible than Cain slaying Abel ... Washington slaying [Spartacus](#)!" Hugo had written the letter as an impassioned public plea to save Brown from execution. The engraving was appended to later publications of the letter to portray Brown as a crucified Christian martyr and slave emancipator, with the gibbet as his cross.

I don't know when he wrote this, but [Bronson Alcott](#) would write a "Sonnet XXIV, Addressed to John Brown, Harper's Ferry":

Bold Saint, thou firm believer in the Cross,
Again made glorious by self-sacrifice,—
Love's free atonement given without love's loss,—
That martyrdom to thee was lighter pain,
Since thus a race its liberties should gain;
Flash its sure consequence in Slavery's eyes
When, 'scaping sabre's clash and battle's smoke,
She felt the justice of thy master-stroke:
Peaceful prosperity around us lies,
Freedom with loyalty thy valor gave;
Whilst thou, no felon doomed, for gallows fit,
O Patriot true! O Christian meek and brave!
Throned in the martyrs' seat henceforth shalt sit;
Prophet of God! Messiah of the Slave!

I don't know when she wrote this, but [Louisa May Alcott](#) would write a poem "With a Rose, That Bloomed on the Day of John Brown's Martyrdom":

In the long silence of the night,
Nature's benignant power

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NOT CIVIL WAR

Woke aspirations for the light
 Within the folded flower.
Its presence and the gracious day
 Made summer in the room.
But woman's eyes shed tender dew
 On the little rose in bloom.

Then blossomed forth a grander flower,
 In the wilderness of wrong.
Untouched by Slavery's bitter frost,
 A soul devout and strong.
God-watched, that century plant arose,
 Far shining through the gloom.
Filling a nation with the breath
 Of a noble life in bloom.

A life so powerful in its truth,
 A nature so complete;
It conquered ruler, judge and priest,
 And held them at its feet.
Death seemed proud to take a soul
 So beautifully given,
And the gallows only proved to him
 A stepping-stone to heaven.

Each cheerful word, each valiant act,
 So simple, so sublime,
Spoke to us through the reverent hush
 Which sanctified that time.
That moment when the brave old man
 Went so serenely forth
With footsteps whose unfaltering tread
 Reëchoed through the North.

The sword he wielded for the right
 Turns to a victor's palm;
His memory sounds forever more,
 A spirit-stirring psalm.
No breath of shame can touch his shield,
 Nor ages dim its shine;
Living, he made life beautiful,—
 Dying, made death divine.

No monument of quarried stone,
 No eloquence of speech
Can grave the lessons on the land
 His martyrdom will teach.
No eulogy like his own words,
 With hero-spirit rife,
"I truly serve the cause I love,
 By yielding up my life."

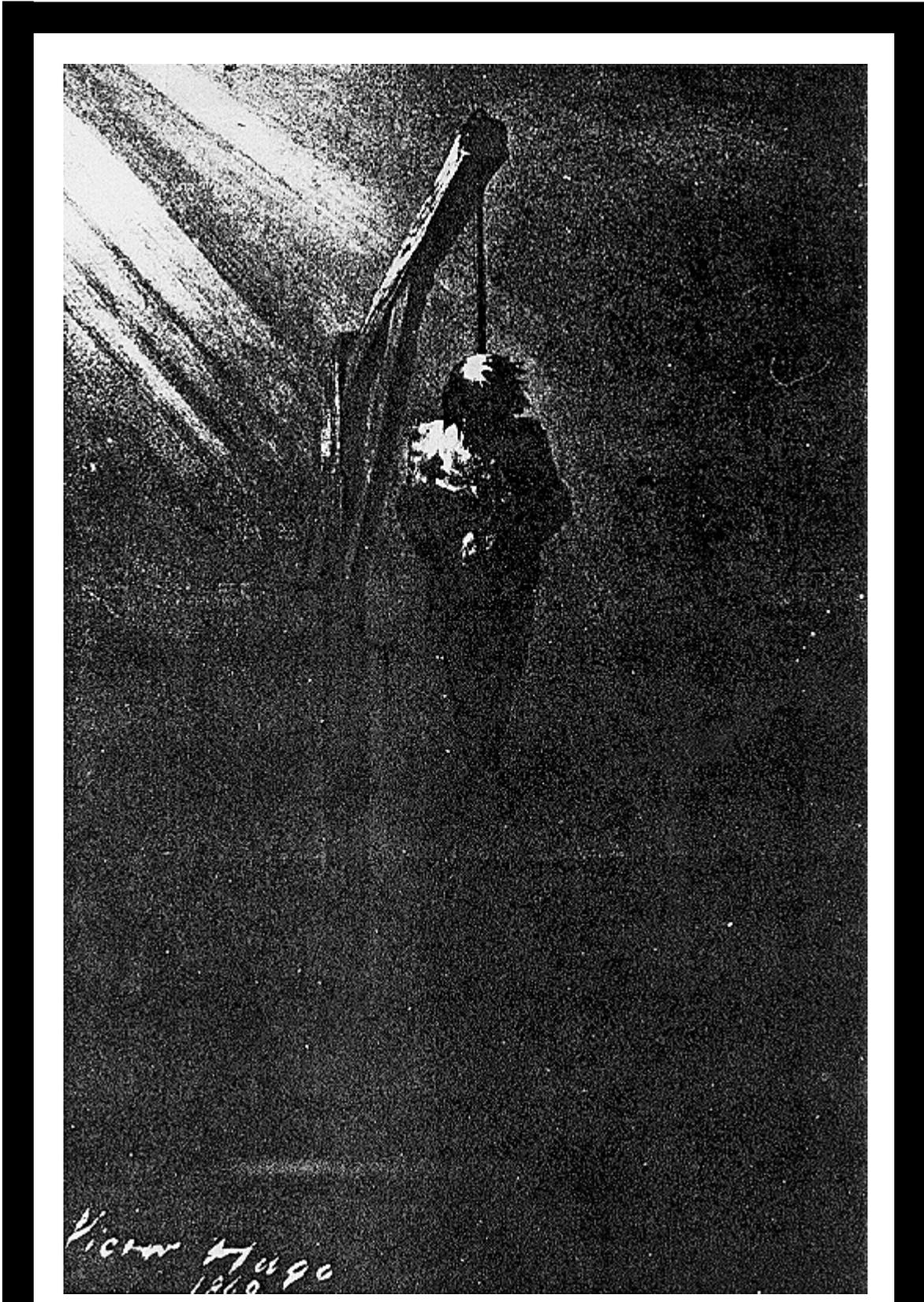
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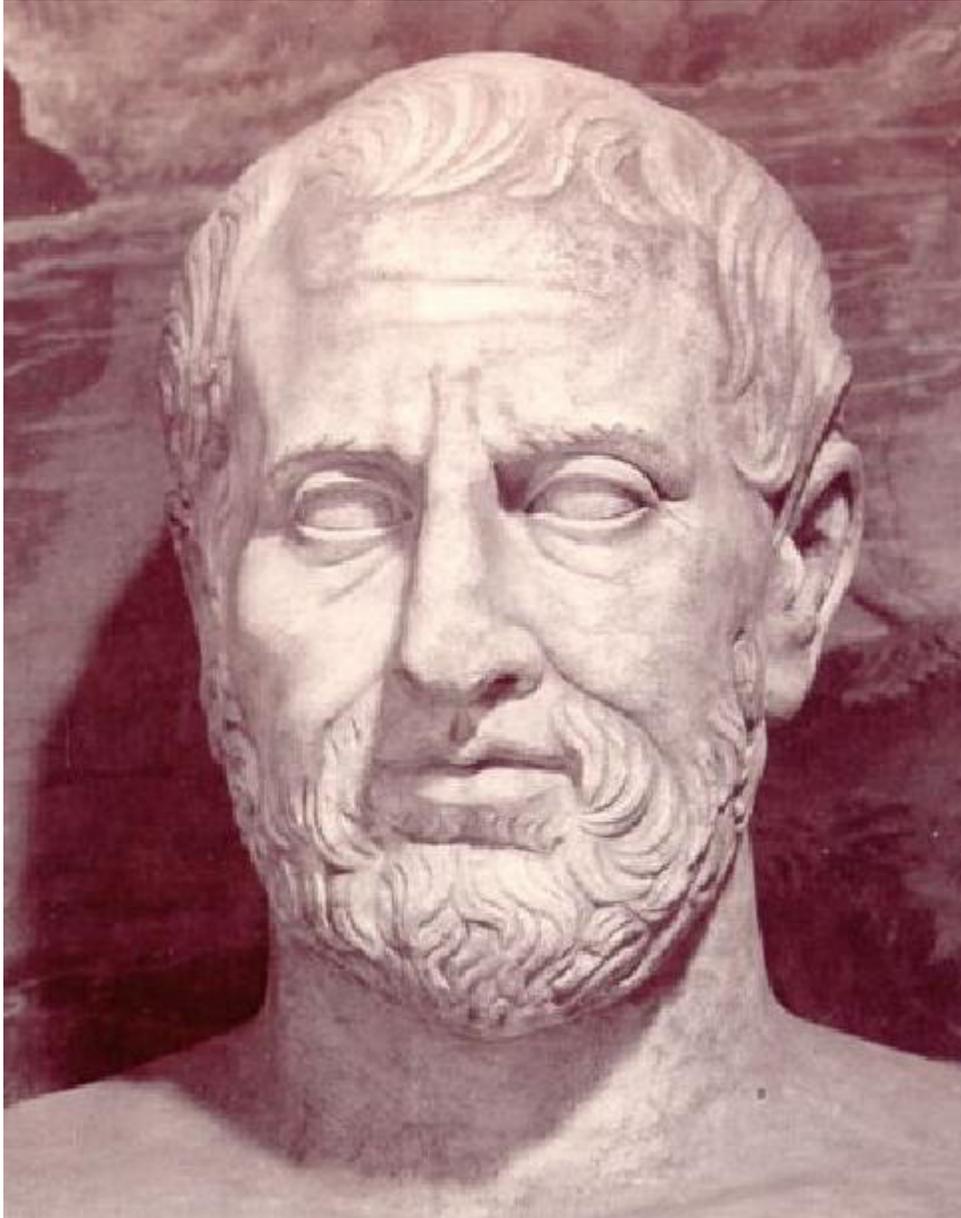


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RACE WAR,

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December 16, Friday: [Henry Thoreau](#) checked out, from [Harvard Library](#), the 2d volume of a 5-volume set prepared 1818-1821 (*THEOPHRASTI ERESII QVAE SUPERSUNT OPERA: ET EXCERPTA LIBRORUM* by [Theophrastus of Eresus](#) (circa 372-circa 287BCE), JOHANN GOTTLLOB SCHNEIDER, HEINRICH FRIEDRICH LINK. Lipsiae: Sumtibus Frid. Christ. Guil. Vogelii) of ΘΕΟΠΗΡΑΣΤΥΣ ΕΡΕΣΙΩΝ ΤΑ ΣΟΟΛΟΜΕΝΑ.



THEOPHRASTUS

He also checked out the two volumes of [Aristotle](#)'s *HISTOIRE DES ANIMAUX D'ARISTOTE* in Greek and in the

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French translation by M. Camus (Paris: Chez la veuve Desaint, 1783).



HISTOIRE DES ANIMAUX I

HISTOIRE DES ANIMAUX II

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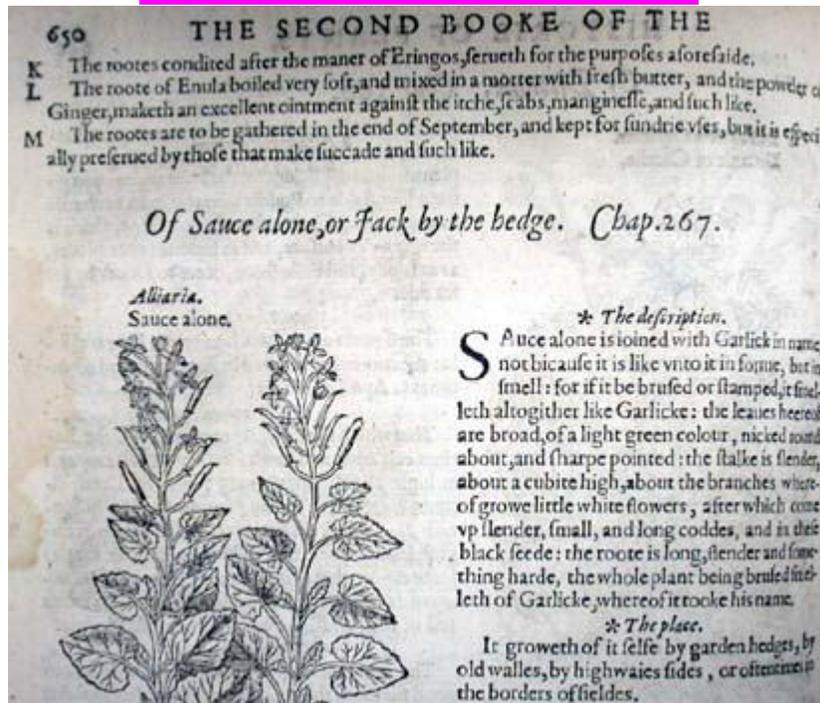
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RACE WAR,

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While at the [Harvard Library](#), [Thoreau](#) read from but did not check out [John Gerard](#)'s 1597 [botanical](#) resource, THE HERBALL OR GENERALL HISTORIE OF PLANTES:

GREAT HERBALL OF 1597



INTERNET COMMENTARY



December 16, 1859: A.M.—To Cambridge, where I read in [Gerard](#)'s Herbal. [Vide extracts from preface made in October 1859.] His admirable though quaint descriptions are, to my mind, greatly superior to the modern more scientific ones. He describes not according to rule but to his natural delight in the plants. He brings them vividly before you, as one who has seen and delighted in them. It is almost as good as to see the plants themselves. It suggests that we cannot too often get rid of the barren assumption that is in our science. His leaves are leaves; his flowers, flowers; his fruit, fruit. They are green and colored and fragrant. It is a man's knowledge added to a child's delight. Modern botanical descriptions approach ever nearer to the dryness of an algebraic formula, as if $c + y$ were = to a love-letter. It is the keen joy and discrimination of the child who has just seen a flower for the first time and comes running in with it to its friends. How much better to describe your object in fresh English words rather than in these conventional Latinisms! He has really seen, and smelt, and tasted, and reports his sensations.

Bought a book at Little & Brown's, paying a nine-pence more on a volume than it was offered me for elsewhere. The customer thus pays for the more elegant style of the store.

BOTANY



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

The Select Committee on the Invasion of [Harpers Ferry](#) created by Democratic Senator [James Mason](#) of Virginia held its first meeting in regard to the [John Brown](#) affair and its [Secret "Six"](#) conspiracy. The committee would be in existence for six months before delivering its final report and would summon, in all, 32 witnesses.

[Edwin Coppoc](#) and [John E. Cook](#) were [hanged](#) in Charlestown, Virginia.⁸ Edwin's body would be buried in

8. I have been advised that according to THE QUAKERS OF IOWA by Louis Thomas Jones, a scholarly work published under the auspices of the State Historical Iowa at Iowa City, Iowa in 1914 (I haven't myself actually seen this book), prior to their deaths the Coppoc brothers were disowned by the Red Cedar Monthly Meeting of Friends in the West Branch/Springdale area.

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Winona after a funeral attended by the entire town. Later his body would be reburied in Salem, Ohio.



(Edwin had written from the prison to his adoptive mother, of a nonresistant-abolitionist [Quaker](#) farm family, that he was

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

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Edwin's brother [Barclay Coppoc](#) was still eluding capture.)

[John E. Cook](#) had made a full confession of his activities with the raiders and at the last moment had sought to save his neck by representing that he had been deceived through false promises, but this had not saved him, nor had the fact that his brother-in-law A.P. Willard was Governor of Indiana.

When it came the turn of [John Anderson Copeland, Jr.](#) to be [hanged](#), too short a drop was used. He strangled slowly.



Just before being taken from his cell to the execution field that morning, he had completed a last letter to his family:

*Charlestown Jail, Va.,
Dec. 16, '59*

*Dear Father, Mother, Brothers Henry, William and Freddy, and
Sisters Sarah and Mary:*

*The last Sabbath with me on earth has passed away. The last
Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday that I shall ever see
on this earth have now passed by God's glorious sun, which he
has placed in the heavens to illuminate this earth- whose
refulgent beams are watched for by this poor invalid, to enter
& make as it were in heaven of the room in which he is confined-
I have seen declining behind the western mountains for the last
time. Last night for the last time, I beheld the soft bright
moon as it rose, casting its mellow light into my felons cell,
dissipating the darkness and filling it with that soft pleasant
light which causes such thrills of joy to all those in like
circumstance with myself. This morning for the last time, I
beheld the glorious sun of yesterday rising in the far-off East,
away off in the country where our Lord Jesus Christ first
proclaimed salvation to man, and now as he rises higher and his*



RACE WAR,

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bright light takes the place of the pale, soft moonlight, I will take my pen, for the last time, to write you who are bound to me by those strong ties (yea, the strongest that God ever instituted,) the ties of blood and relationship. I am well, both in body and in mind. And now, dear ones, if it were not that I know your hearts will be filled with sorrow at my fate, I could pass from this earth without a regret. Why should you sorrow? Why should your hearts be racked with grief? Have I not everything to gain and nothing to lose by the change? I fully believe that not only myself but also all three of my poor comrades who are to ascend the same scaffold- (a scaffold already made sacred to the cause of freedom, by the death of that great champion of human freedom, Capt. JOHN BROWN) are prepared to meet our God. I am only leaving a world filled with sorrow and woe to enter one in which there is but one lasting day of happiness and bliss. I feel that God in his mercy has spoken peace to my soul, and that all my numerous sins are now forgiven me. Dear parents, brothers and sisters, it is true that I am now in a few hours to start on a journey from which no traveler returns. Yes, long before this reaches you, I shall as I sincerely hope, have met our brother and sister who have for years been worshiping God around his throne - singing praises to him, and thanking him that he gave his Son to die that they might have eternal life. I pray daily and hourly that I may be fitted to have my home with them, and that you, one and all, may prepare your souls to meet your God, that so, in the end, though we meet no more on earth, we shall meet in Heaven, where we shall not be parted by the demands of the cruel and unjust monster Slavery. But think not that I am complaining, for I feel reconciled to meet my fate. I pray God that his will be done; not mine. Let me tell you that it is not the mere act of having to meet death, which I should regret, (if I should express regret I mean,) but that such an unjust institution should exist as the one which demands my life; and not my life only, but the lives of those to whom my life bears but the relative value of zero to the infinite. I beg of you one and all that you will not grieve about me, but that you will thank God that he spared me time to make my peace with Him. And now, dear ones, attach no blame to anyone for my coming here for not any person but myself is to blame. I have no antipathy against anyone, I have freed my mind of all hard feelings against every living being, and I ask all who have any thing against me to do the same. And now dear parents, Brothers and sisters, I must bid you to serve your God and meet me in heaven. I must with a few words, close my correspondence with those who are the most near and dear to me: but I hope, in the end, we may again commune, never to cease. Dear ones, he who writes this will, in a few hours, be in this world no longer. Yes, these fingers which hold the pen with which this is written will, before to-day's sun has reached his meridian have laid it aside forever, and this poor soul have taken its flight to meet its God. And now dear ones I must bid



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

*you that last, long, sad farewell. Good-day, Father, Mother,
Henry, William, and Freddy, Sarah and Mary, serve your God and
meet me in heaven.
Your Son and Brother to eternity,
John A. Copeland.*

OBERLIN COLLEGE

Is it that Aaron D. Stevens, and 10 of Captain Brown's black supporters, having been duly found guilty of treason and murder by a jury of their white male peers, were hanged on this date?



Or is it that the other surrendered survivors of the raid on Harpers Ferry, John Anderson Copeland, Jr., Shields Green, and Aaron D. Stevens, having been duly found guilty of treason and murder by a jury of their white male peers, were hanged on this date?⁹

A monument would be erected by the citizens of Oberlin, Ohio in honor of their three free citizens of color who had died in the raid or been hanged, Shields Green, John Anderson Copeland, Jr., and Lewis Sheridan Leary (the 8-foot marble monument would be moved to Vine Street Park in 1971).

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



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

1860

February 4, Saturday: At the trial of [Aaron Dwight Stevens](#) in Charlestown, Virginia, when the jury came back at 4PM from 15 minutes of deliberation to announce its verdict, the prisoner was noticed to smile, and seemingly heard the verdict of guilt on all counts with the most perfect indifference (however, this time around, despite his sister Lydia Stevens's pleas, he would receive no presidential pardon).



[THOREAU MADE NO ENTRY IN HIS JOURNAL FOR FEBRUARY 4th]

February 5, Sunday: At this point [Waldo Emerson](#) had not yet purchased a copy of [Charles Darwin](#)'s ORIGIN OF SPECIES.

[Franklin Benjamin Sanborn](#) of the [Secret "Six"](#) conspiracy spent this day with the bereaved [Brown](#) family on their farm in North Elba, New York (also spoken of as Timbukto, no longer in existence but had been near Lake Placid) and would then depart for Concord, Massachusetts.

9. In THE CAPTURE AND EXECUTION OF JOHN BROWN: A TALE OF MARTYRDOM, BY ELIJAH AVEY, EYE WITNESS, WITH THIRTY ILLUSTRATIONS, dated 1906, we have on page 45 an assertion that the white men [John E. Cook](#) and [Edwin Coppoc](#), and then the black men [John Anderson Copeland, Jr.](#) and [Shields Green](#), were [hanged](#) on December 16th, 1859. The reference says that, the gallows being not large enough, the 2 black men Copeland and Green were forced to stand and watch the 2 white men Cook and Coppoc being hanged before themselves ascending the scaffold. But I have from another reference this assertion that it was one surrendered surviving white man, [Aaron D. Stevens](#), who was hanged on the 16th along with 10 black supporters of Captain [John Brown](#), and that Cook actually would be among the last hanged. Which account would be correct — and why is there such a glaring discrepancy between these various accounts?

The book SECRET SIX treats each retreating admission of each of the co-conspirators in treason as if it were holy writ. No attempt has been made to discern, behind this haze of post-facto explanations and justifications, what the brags of these participants might have been had their plot been successful in initiating the race war they contemplated and had this race war been completed, as it would certainly have been completed, by a historic genocide against black Americans. (Joel Silbey has contended, in "The Civil War Synthesis in American History," that postbellum American historians have been misconstruing antebellum American politics by viewing them in conjunction with our knowledge of the bloodbath that followed. It is only after the fact that we can "know" that the US Civil War amounted to a sectional dispute, North versus South. We avoid learning that before the fact, it was undecided whether this conflict was going to shape up as a race conflict, a class conflict, or a sectional conflict. We avoid knowing that the raid on Harpers Ferry might have resulted in a race war, in which peoples of color would be exterminated in order to create an all-white America, or might have resulted in a class war, in which the laboring classes might have first destroyed the plantation owners' equity by killing their slaves, and then gone on to purge the nation of the white plantation owners themselves, with their privileged-class endowments.) Also, according to the endmatter, the SECRET SIX study had obtained its material on [Frederick Douglass](#) basically from McFeely's FREDERICK DOUGLASS of 1991, and its material on [Thoreau](#) from Sanborn's HENRY DAVID THOREAU of 1917, neither of which were the last word on the subject when the book was prepared. In addition, this work provides no reference whatever for the Emerson life: evidently he was simply presumed not to be of even marginal pertinence. There is no consideration to be found anywhere in this volume of the comparison event: the other American struggle for freedom, the one which had taken place in [Haiti](#) under General [Toussaint Louverture](#).

For these reasons, the study is, fundamentally, incompetent. It is as if O.J. Simpson and his Dream Team had been allowed to control what would appear in our social history texts. Or, it is as if the White House staff had been allowed to define once and for all the extent of President [Richard Milhouse Nixon](#)'s involvement in the Watergate break-in, with, after their initial defensive testimony, after their establishment of the official consensus "truth," all explanations accepted at their putative face value — with no further questioning tolerated.

SECRET "SIX"



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR



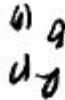
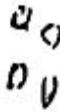
Feb. 5. P.M.— Up Assabet.

2 P.M., 40°.

I see where crows have pecked the tufts of cladonia lichens which peep out of the snow, pulling them to pieces, no doubt looking for worms. Also have eaten the frozen-thawed apples under the trees, tracking all the ground over there.

February 1st, though so cold and the snow so dry, as it blowed pretty hard, was a day of drift behind northerly walls, and when those shell-like drifts were formed, as well as the wild drifts of Hubbard's meadow described on the 3d.

I see at the Assabet stone bridge where, apparently, one or two otters travelled about on the ice last night in the thin snow. The river is open eight or ten rods there, and I noticed their tracks all about the river and close to the edge of the ice, thin as it was, for a dozen rods above and below the bridge. At first, being at a distance, I thought them dog-tracks, but I might have known that no dogs would ever have run about so there, on that thin ice and so near the edge of it. They were generally like this, each four being from fifteen to twenty-four inches apart.



Occasionally the track was somewhat like a rabbit's. I saw where one had apparently dragged himself along the ice. They had entered the water in many places, also travelled along under the slanting ice next the bank long distances. They were evidently attracted by that open water. There was no distinct sliding place.

Coming home last night in the twilight, I recognized a neighbor a dozen rods off by his walk or carriage, though it was so dark that I could not see a single feature of his person. Indeed, his person was all covered up excepting his face and hands, and I could not possibly have distinguished these at this distance from another man's. Nor was it owing to any peculiarity in his dress, for I should have known him though he had had on a perfectly new suit. It was because the man within the clothes moved them in a peculiar manner that I knew him thus at once at a distance and in the twilight. He made a certain figure in any clothes he might wear, and moved in it in a peculiar manner. Indeed, we have a very intimate knowledge of one another; we see through thick and thin; spirit meets spirit. A man hangs out innumerable signs by which we may know him. So, last summer, I knew another neighbor half a mile off up the river, though I did not see him, by the manner in which the breath from his lungs and mouth, i. e. his voice, made the air strike my ear. In that manner he communicated himself to all his acquaintance within a diameter of one mile (if it were all up and down the river). So I remember to have been sure once in a very dark night who was preceding me on the sidewalk, — though I could not see him, — by the sound of his tread. I was surprised to find that I knew it.

And to-day, seeing a peculiar very long track of a man in the snow, who has been along up the river this morning, I guessed that it was George Melvin, because it was accompanied by a hound's track. There was a thin snow on the ice, and I observed that he not only furrowed the snow for a foot before he completed his step, but that the (toe) of his track was always indefinite, as if his boot had been worn out and prolonged at the toe. I noticed that I and my companion made a clear and distinct track at the toe, but when I experimented, and tried to make a track like this by not lifting my feet but gliding and partly scuffing along, I found myself walking just like Melvin, and that perfectly convinced me that it was he. [I told him of it afterward, and he gave a corresponding account of himself.]

We have no occasion to wonder at the instinct of a dog. In these last two instances I surpassed the instinct of the dog.

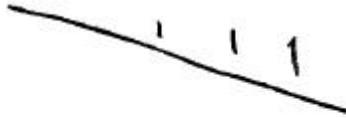
It may always be a question how much or how little of a man goes to any particular act. It is not merely by taking time and by a conscious effort that he betrays himself. A man is revealed, and a man is concealed, in a myriad unexpected ways; e. g., I can hardly think of a more effectual way of disguising neighbors to one another than by stripping them naked.

DOG

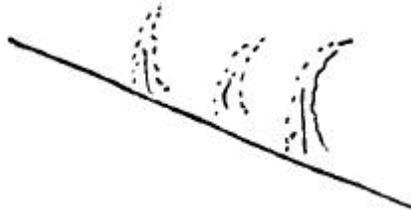
February 10, Friday: The Boston Liberator reported on page 23 that at the trial of [Aaron D. Stevens](#) in Charlestown, Virginia on February 4th, when the jury had come back at 4PM from 15 minutes of deliberation to announce a verdict of guilty on all counts, “The prisoner received the verdict with most perfect indifference, and smiled at the announcement.”



Feb. 10. A very strong and a cold northwest wind to-day, shaking the house, — thermometer at 11 A.M., 14°, — consumes wood and yet we are cold, and drives the smoke down the chimney. I see that Wheildon’s pines are rocking and showing their silvery under sides as last spring, — their first awakening, as it were. P.M.—The river, where open, is very black, as usual when the waves run high, for each wave casts a shadow.¹⁰ [Theophrastus](#) notices that the roughened water is black, and says that it is because fewer rays fall on it and the light is dissipated. It is a day for those rake and horn icicles; the water, dashing against the southeast shores where they chance to be open, *i.e.* free of ice, and blown a rod inland, freezes to the bushes, forming rakes and oftener horns. If twigs project above the ice-belt thus:



the water freezes over them thus:—



The very grass stubble is completely encased for a rod in width along the shore, and the trunks of trees for two or three feet up. Any sprig lying on the edge of the ice is completely crusted. Sometimes the low button-bush twigs with their few remaining small dark balls, and also the drooping corymbs of the late rose hips, are completely encased in an icicle, and you see their bright scarlet reflected through the ice in an exaggerated manner. If a hair is held up above the ice where this spray is blowing, it is sufficient to start a thick icicle rake or horn, for the ice forming around it becomes at once its own support, and gets to be two or three inches thick. Where the open water comes within half a dozen feet of the shore, the spray has blown over the intervening ice and covered the grass and stubble, looking like a glaze, — countless loby fingers and horns over some fine stubble core, — and when the grass or stem is horizontal you have a rake.



Just as those great organ-pipe icicles that drip from rocks have an annular structure growing downward, so these on the horizontal stubble and weeds, when directed to the point toward which the wind was blowing; *i.e.*, they

10. Call it Black Water.



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

grow thus southeast.



Then there is the thickened edge of the ice, like a cliff, on the southeast sides of openings against which the wind has dashed the waves, especially on the southeast side of broad meadows.



No finer walking in any respect than on our broad meadow highway in the winter, when covered with bare ice. If the ice is wet, you slip in rubbers; but when it is dry and cold, rubbers give you a firm hold, and you walk with a firm and elastic step. I do not know of any more exhilarating walking than up or down a broad field of smooth ice like this in a cold, glittering winter day when your rubbers give you a firm hold on the ice. I see that the open places froze last night only on the windward side, where they were less agitated, the waves not yet running so high there.

A little snow, however, even the mere shavings or dust of ice made by skaters, hinders walking in rubbers very much, for though the rubber may give a good hold on clear ice, when you step on a little of the ice dust or snow you slide on that.

Those little gyrinus-shaped bugs of the 8th, that had come out through a crevice in the ice about a boat frozen in, and were swimming about in the shallow water above the ice, I see are all gone now that that water is frozen, — have not been frozen in; so they must have returned back under the ice when it became cold, and this shows that they were not forced up accidentally in the first place, but attracted by the light and warmth, probably as those minnows were some time ago. That is, in a thaw in the winter some water-insects — beetles, etc. — will come up through holes in the ice and swim about in the sun.

February 13, Monday: [Aaron D. Stevens](#) and [Albert Hazlett](#) were sentenced to be hanged.

The Virginia General Assembly rejected South Carolina's call for a convention of southern states.

[Henry Thoreau](#) did of course notice that during his public lectures his audience was tending, because he lacked standing in their eyes as a "minister," to be "more obedient at first to words than ideas":



Feb. 13. 2 P.M.— Down river.

Thermometer 38°. Warm; a cloud just appearing in the west.

That hard meadow just below the boys' bathing-place below the North Bridge is another elfin burial-ground. It would be a bad place to walk in a dark night. The mounds are often in ridges, even as if turned up by the plow. Water overflowing the ice at an opening in the river, and mixing with thin snow, saturating it, seen now on one side at right angles with the sun's direction, is as black as black cloth. It is surprising what a variety of distinct colors the winter can show us, using but few pigments, so to call them. The principal charm of a winter walk over ice is perhaps the peculiar and pure colors exhibited.

There is the *red* of the sunset sky, and of the snow at evening, and in rainbow flocks during the day, and in sun-dogs.

The *blue* of the sky, and of the ice and water reflected, and of shadows on snow.

The *yellow* of the sun and the morning and evening sky, and of the sedge (or straw-color, bright when lit on edge of ice at evening), and *all three* in hoar frost crystals.

Then, for the secondary, there is the *purple* of the snow in drifts or on hills, of the mountains, and clouds at evening.

The *green* of evergreen woods, of the sky, and of the ice and water toward evening.

The *orange* of the sky at evening.



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

The *white* of snow and clouds, and the *black* of clouds, of water agitated, and water saturating thin snow on ice. The *russet* and *brown* and *gray*, etc., of deciduous woods.

The *tawny* of the bare earth.

I suspect that the green and rose (or purple) are not noticed on ice and snow unless it is pretty cold, and perhaps there is less greenness of the ice now than in December, when the days were shorter. The ice may now be too old and white.

Those horn, knob, and rake icicles on the southeast sides of all open places—or that were open on the 10th near enough to the bushes—are suddenly softening and turning white on one side to-day, so that they remind me of the alabaster (?) or plaster images on an Italian's board. All along the ice belt or shelf—for the river has fallen more than a foot—countless white figures stand crowded, their minute cores of sedge or twigs being concealed. Some are like beaks of birds,—cranes or herons.



Having seen this phenomenon in one place, I know with certainty in just how many places and where, throughout the town,—four or five,—I shall find these icicles, on the southeast sides of the larger open places which approached near enough to a bushy or reedy shore.

The grass comes very nearly being completely encrusted in some places, but commonly rounded knobs stand up.



The ground being bare, I pick up two or three arrowheads in Tarbell's field near Ball's Hill.

There is nothing more affecting and beautiful to man, a child of the earth, than the sight of the naked soil in the spring. I feel a kindredship with it.

The sun being in a cloud, partly obscured, I see a very dark purple tinge on the flat drifts on the ice earlier than usual, and when afterward the sun comes out below the cloud, I see no purple nor rose. Hence it seems that the twilight has as much or more to do with this phenomenon, supposing the sun to be low, than the slight angle of its rays with the horizon.

Always you have to contend with the stupidity of men. It is like a stiff soil, a hard-pan. If you go deeper than usual, you are sure to meet with a pan made harder even by the superficial cultivation. The stupid you have always with you. Men are more obedient at first to words than ideas. They mind names more than things. Read to them a lecture on "Education," naming that subject, and they will think that they have heard something important, but call it "Transcendentalism," and they will think it moonshine. Or halve your lecture, and put a psalm at the beginning and a prayer at the end of it and read it from a pulpit, and they will pronounce it good without-thinking.

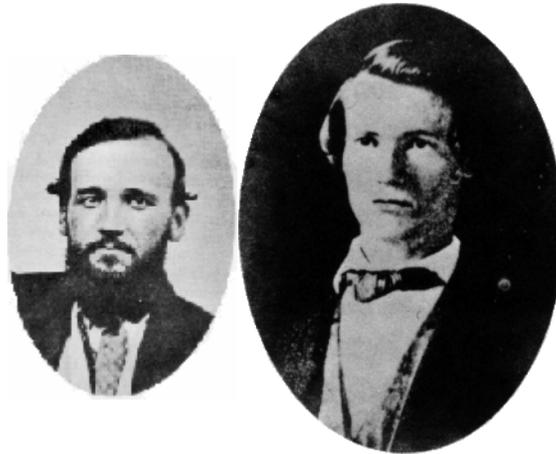
The Scripture rule, "Unto him that hath shall be given," is true of composition. The more you have thought and written on a given theme, the more you can still write. Thought breeds thought. It grows under your hands.



RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

 March 16, Friday: [Aaron Dwight Stevens](#) and [Albert Hazlett](#) (who had not taken part in the [Harpers Ferry](#) fighting but had been captured in Pennsylvania in the company of [John E. Cook](#)) were hanged, Stevens at the age of 29 and Hazlett at the age of 22.



The gallows that had turned off [John Brown](#) would be made into a portico in front of a private residence in Charlestown, Virginia. Pieces of the leftover timber, after this conversion, would be handed around as mementos as if they were pieces off the True Cross. Because of a relationship Stevens had with [Rebecca B. Spring](#), the bodies of Stevens and Hazlett would be interred on the grounds of the former [Eagleswood](#) social experiment on Raritan Bay near Perth Amboy, [New Jersey](#).¹¹



March 16. 2 P. M.—Thermometer 55; wind slight, west by south. To Abner Buttrick's Hill. The buttercup radical leaves are many of them now a healthy dark green, as if they had acquired new life. I notice that such are particularly downy, and probably that enables them to endure the cold so well, like mulleins. Those and thistles and shepherd's-purse, etc., have the form of rosettes on the brown ground. Here is a flock of red-wings. [**Red-winged Blackbird**  *Agelaius phoeniceus*] I heard one yesterday, and I see a female among these. These are easily distinguished from grackles by the richness and clarity of their notes, as if they were a more developed bird. How handsome as they go by in a checker, each with a bright-scarlet shoulder! They are not so very shy, but mute when we come near. I think here are four or five grackles with them, which remain when the rest fly. They cover the apple trees like a black fruit. The air is full of song sparrows and bluebirds to-day. The minister asked me yesterday: "What birds are they that make these little tinkling sounds? I haven't seen one." Song sparrows. C. saw a green fly yesterday. Saw a flock of sheldrakes [**Common Merganser**  *Mergus merganser*] a hundred rods off, on the Great Meadows, mostly males with a few females, all intent on fishing. They were coasting along a spit of bare ground that showed itself in the middle of the meadow, sometimes the whole twelve apparently in a straight line at nearly equal distances apart, with each its head under water, rapidly coasting along back and forth, and ever and anon one, having caught something, would be pursued by the others. It is remarkable that they find their finny prey on the middle of the meadow now, and even on the very inmost side, as I afterward saw, though the water

11. The graves would at least initially be guarded out of a fear either real or imaginary that they would otherwise be desecrated by local people. The caskets would be taken from the neglected area at about the turn of the century, and moved to graves in the vicinity of the [John Brown](#) grave, under its boulder in the Adirondacks. When the [Eagleswood](#) social experiment started by [Marcus Spring](#) and [Rebecca B. Spring](#) on Raritan Bay had failed, it had been surveyed by [Henry Thoreau](#) as part of breaking the properties apart, and then the funds obtained were used by Marcus to reorganize the venture as a school to be operated by [Theodore Dwight Weld](#) and his wife [Angelina Emily Grimké Weld](#) and her sister [Sarah Moore Grimké](#). The Springs would move on, to California, the school would close, and the Eagleswood properties would transform into an industrial area.



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is quite low. Of course, as soon as they are seen on the meadows there are fishes there to be caught. I never see them fish thus in the channel. Perhaps the fishes lie up there for warmth already.

I also see two gulls nearly a mile off. One stands still and erect for three quarters of an hour, or till disturbed, on a little bit of floated meadow-crust which rises above the water,—just room for it to stand on,—with its great white breast toward the wind. Then another comes flying past it, and alights on a similar perch, but which does not rise quite to the surface, so that it stands in the water. Thus they will stand for an hour, at least. They are not of handsome form, but look like great wooden images of birds, bluish-slate and white. But when they fly they are quite another creature.

The grass is covered with gossamer to-day, though I notice no floating flocks. This, then, is a phenomenon of the first warm and calm day after the ground is bare.

See larks about, though I have heard of them in the winter.





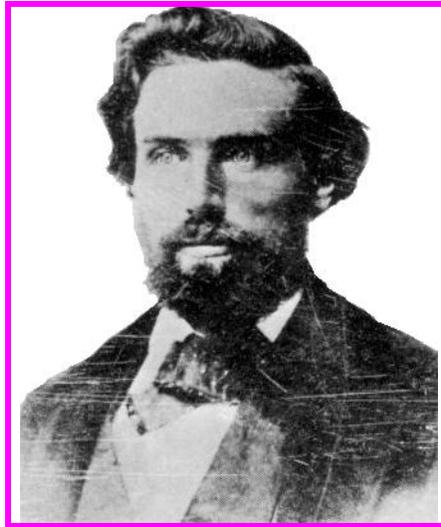
RACE WAR,

NOT CIVIL WAR

1861

July 19, Friday: The [First Minnesota](#) arrived in Centreville VA and were resupplied.

After escaping unscathed from [John Brown](#)'s raid on the federal arsenal at [Harpers Ferry](#), [Charles Plummer Tidd](#) had visited Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Canada and taken 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 this point he enlisted in the US Army under the name "Charles Plummer." He would become a 1st Sergeant of the 21st Massachusetts Volunteers.

(On February 8, 1862 he would die of fever aboard the transport *Northerner* during the battle of Roanoke Island, a battle he had particularly wished to take part in because ex-Governor Henry A. Wise of Virginia, the nemesis of the Harpers Ferry raiders, was in command of the Confederates. [Charles Plummer Tidd](#)'s grave is #40 in the National Cemetery in New Berne, North Carolina.)

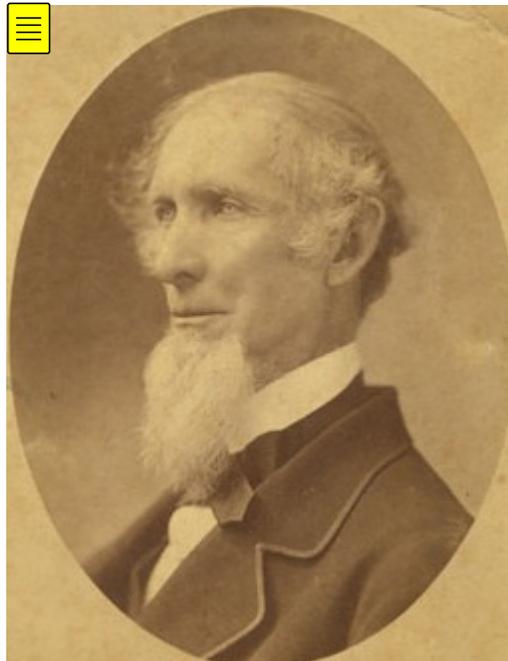
US CIVIL WAR

1867

John Mitchel founded the [Irish Citizen](#) in [New-York](#), but angered Fenians by suggesting they should give allegiance to their new country.



Concerned over the poor fortunes of his Medical College of Alabama (in the Reconstruction era the building was been, maddeningly, converted into a school for “two or three hundred negroes racing through it and tearing everything to pieces — the chemical laboratory is occupied by negro cobblers,” [Dr. Josiah Clark Nott](#) gave up in disgust and abandoned Mobile in favor of [Baltimore](#). “What, seize the facility in which I had intended to teach white men how to mend human bodies, and use it to teach black men how to mend boots? — that’s just disgusting” (later he would relocate again, and open a practice on West 23d Street on Manhattan Island, where because of a very large influx of well-to-do Southerners fleeing Reconstruction, he had reason to expect that people would sympathize with the white man’s postwar plight).



William Wells Brown noted well a strange factoid: that by having participated in the fighting in our [Civil War](#), American blacks had, rather than gaining the respect and admiration of very many white Americans, merely



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“gained the hatred of their old masters and put themselves throughout the South in a very bad position.”



He had come at this point to consider that he had made a serious mistake, in having sponsored black enlistment in the Union Army. It would seem that these soldiers and recruiters had fallen victim to a con, a little white lie that he had unfortunately been susceptible to. The [US Civil War](#) had been merely a conversation among white men, with the fate of the American people of color being merely one of the topics of this conversation.

RACISM



It is I think unfortunate that he was able to figure this out only afterward, by virtue of hindsight — but it occurs to me now that this may be a truth worth repeating, a truth to which some white people have yet to adjust themselves.

Trooper Farrier O’Meara, who had while engaged in military actions against the native Americans of New Mexico and Colorado been taken into custody following the riot of Company F of the [1st US Regiment of](#)



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[Dragoons](#) against the abuses by their commanding officer, [Major George Alexander Hamilton Blake](#) in Taos, had since then twice reenlisted, and had seen combat with the regiment during the [Civil War](#). In this year he received a honorable discharge (but it is an open question whether he ever realized that what he was fighting for was the freedom of American people of color).



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1900

At about the turn of the century the area of downtown [Providence, Rhode Island](#) available to its [Chinese](#) population was being narrowed down, by urban renewal projects, to the point that all of Chinatown was made up of one stretch along Empire Street. Surprise, the white people didn't really want the Chinese around.

In this year or the following one, the [Quaker](#) schoolhouse near Princeton, [New Jersey](#), virtually abandoned and a ruin, would be torn down. The land on which it stood is now the parking lot of the new school. The [Eagleswood](#) properties had been long converted to industrial uses and the old graveyard there neglected. The caskets of the hanged Brown guerrilla fighters [Aaron D. Stevens](#) and [Albert Hazlett](#) were removed during this period to graves in the vicinity of the [John Brown](#) grave, under its boulder in the Adirondacks.

An American company, Quaker Oats, had obtained hoardings in the vicinity of the white cliffs of Dover, England, for purposes of advertising use. It is not known whether this advertising was to constitute Q-U-A-K-E-R--O-A-T-S individual letter signs atop the range of hills, in H-O-L-L-Y-W-O-O-D-L-A-N-D fashion, or cloth banners hung down over the white surface of the cliffs by means of cables, or some sort of painting on the white cliffs themselves. It is not known whether this was merely a plan, or whether there was in fact some actual signage erected. In either event, the Dover council was able to secure a local Act of Parliament, creating local authority control over unsuitable advertisings. (It is to be noted that when the predecessor to this company, Quaker Oat Mill, was formed on September 4, 1877 in Ravenna, Ohio by Henry Seymour and William Heston, it registered its trademark as "a figure of a man in 'Quaker garb,'" bearing a paper on which





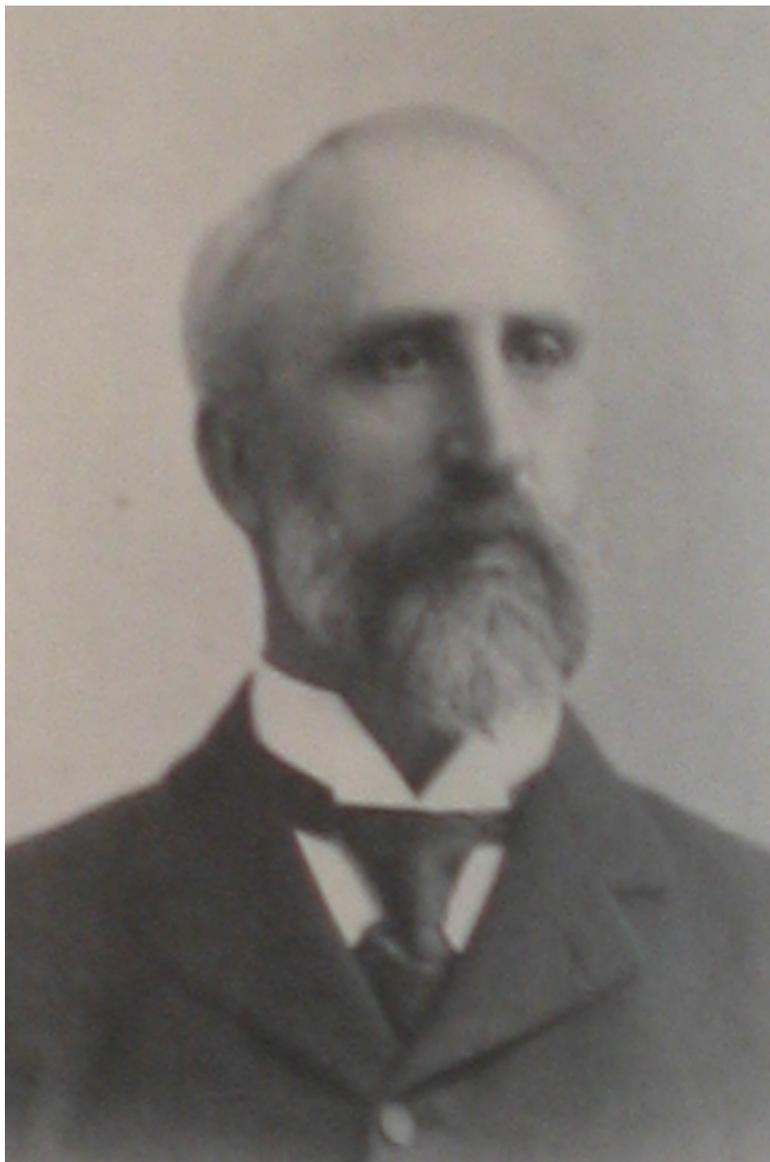
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the inscription PURE was visible, despite the fact that the clothing of the unsmiling portly male figure in their application drawing most definitely is not the Quaker plain dress. Shortly thereafter, the Religious Society of Friends attempted to obtain judicial or legislative relief, asking that there be a ruling or law preventing the use of the name of any church, religious denomination, or society as a trademark or trade name by any commercial corporation, to which the company responded that it valued the “good-will” associated with this trademark at more than \$9,000,000. Who is going to recompense them \$9,000,000 or more for their corporate investment in this image? –Of course, this being America, Mammon came in first and God second.)

Publication, in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), of Friend Augustine Jones’s BRIEF HISTORY OF PROVIDENCE FRIENDS SCHOOL, about the [Yearly Meeting School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on top of the hill.





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“NARRATIVE HISTORY” IS FABULATION, HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY

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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: November 5, 2016



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ARRGH AUTOMATED RESEARCH REPORT

GENERATION HOTLINE



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



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request for information we merely push a button.

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

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