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SHEPHERDSTOWN, W. VA.

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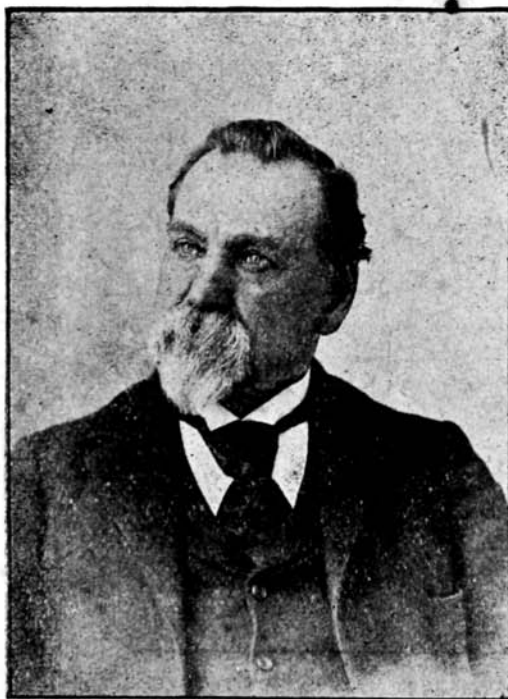
A CORRECT HISTORY  
OF THE  
John Brown Invasion  
AT  
HARPER'S FERRY, WEST VA.,  
OCT 17, 1859.

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COMPILED BY THE LATE  
CAPT. JOHN H. ZITTLE, of Shepherdstown, W. Va.,  
Who was an Eye-Witness to many of the  
occurrences, and  
EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY HIS WIDOW.

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CAPT. JOHN H. ZITTLE.

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## PREFACE.

The first overt act that led to the Civil War was the midnight raid at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, made by John Brown and his command on the Seventeenth day of October, 1859. This was the signal gun of the great war that began in less than two years afterwards. Brown attempted to start an armed invasion of Virginia, for the purpose of setting the slaves free and confiscating the property of their owners, proved a failure, on account of the sickness of the officials of the State in defending her soil and the slowness of the friends of John Brown in furnishing him the material and financial aid which they had promised.

Brown and his followers were captured by the military, tried in the courts of the State, convicted and executed in due course of law. The United States Government sent its marines to Harper's Ferry to protect the property of the Government, but as soon as Brown and his men were captured, they were turned over to Virginia for trial, as they had made the raid upon her territory. Such was the regard, at that time, for State's Rights, that the general government would not supercede the authority of the State or even send its troops over its boundary line without first obtaining permission from the Governor of the State. An investigation of Brown's movements was undertaken by Congress, but events came along so rapidly and so furiously al-

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most before the Government was aware of it, the country was involved in a civil war. The investigation was never completed.

Forty-six years have elapsed since Brown's raid was made and the startling events that so quickly followed it have prevented the people of the country from fully realizing its character and significance. The histories of the war and our school books generally ignore Brown and his raid and avoid any discussion of the object it had in view, so that the present generation knows little of the momentous circumstances that led to the war.

This book, compiled from the records of the times, when the whole scene was before the eyes and the events immediately before and after the raid, were fresh in the memory and the actors in the drama and their histories well known and their motives well understood and not concealed by them, gives a full, true and faithful account of the raid from its conception by Brown, the Ossawatamie of Kansas fame, to its tragic end with the execution of the last invader at Charles Town, Jefferson county, Virginia, in the month of March, 1860.

The writer and compiler of this book was an eyewitness of the occurrences, being an officer of one of the State's Volunteer Military Companies that first reached Harper's Ferry to repulse the raiders; hence the book presents a living picture of the occurrences as they appeared to the people of the community at that time. This matter has never before appeared in book form and is now published that the people of today may have a true account of the thrilling events that immediately

preceded the late civil war and precipitated Virginia into the great conflict which raged for four years.

From the fact that a new generation has grown up since John Brown invaded Virginia for the purpose of emancipating the slaves and thousands of our young men merely having heard of the John Brown raid and nothing more, never having fully understood the particulars and by whom the invasion was inaugurated, this book, giving the only true and correct account of one of the most important events that has ever occurred in American history, that of the causes and commencement of the late civil war, should be placed in every household in the United States and be handed down to future generations as one of the most important and eventful epochs in the history of the United States.



"OSSAWATAMIE" BROWN.

## HISTORY OF "OSSAWATAMIE" BROWN.

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We copy from the New York Herald the following history of the leader of the insurrection at Harper's Ferry. It will be read with interest and is important in forming correct conclusions as to the real character of the outbreak and the extent of its ramifications; "Capt. John Brown emigrated to Kansas from Central New York in the fall of 1855, and settled in the township of Ossawatamie. He was accompanied by seven sons, the youngest being old enough to earn his livelihood. The birthplace of Brown is not positively known to the writer, but report has it that he was born in Kentucky. At the time of his death he was about sixty years of age. He was about medium height, slim, muscular, thin visage, Roman nose, and possessing an iron constitution. He had "blue-greyish" and full eyes, sharp features, and long grey hair, wearing a full beard, and rather inclined to be stooped. In December, 1855, during the "Shannon war," Brown first made his appearance among the free State men at Lawrence. His entrance into the place at once attracted the attention of the people towards him. He brought a wagon load of cavalry sabres and was accompanied by twelve men, several of whom were his own sons. He first exhibited his qualities at the time the free state and proslavery parties, under the lead of Governor Robinson had stated to the people who were gathered around

the hotel the terms of the peace. Brown took the stand uninvited and opposed the terms of the treaty. He was in favor of ignoring all treaties, and such leading men as Robinson, Lane and Lowry, and proceeding at once against the border ruffian invaders to drive them from the soil, or hang them if taken. Gen. Lowry, who was chairman of the committee on safety, and also commander of the free state troops, ordered Brown under arrest. The latter made no physical resistance, but it was soon discovered that he was altogether too combustible a person to retain as a prisoner, and a compromise was made with the free State men, and he was released. He was informed by the leaders of that party that his remarks were intended to undo what they were trying to accomplish by means of the treaty; that he was a stranger in Lawrence and Kansas, and ought not by his rash remarks to compromise the people of Lawrence until he had known them longer and knew them better. One of his sons, who was elected to the Legislature in February, 1856, was seized and taken from Ossawatamie to Leecompton in chains, a distance of thirty miles. His feet and hands were chained together with a large heavy chain, the size that were used upon ox teams. He was compelled to walk the whole distance beneath a burning sun. The irons wore the flesh from his ankles; he was attacked with the brain fever, was neglected, and died in two or three days. He was a companion of Gov. Robinson Jenkins (since shot by Lane) and some eight or ten others. Another son of Capt. Brown was shot at Ossawatamie by a marauding

party from Missouri. After the death of his first son, occasioned by the tortures and fatigue of his forced march, Brown swore vengeance upon the pro-slavery party, and it was frequently observed by the more prudent of the free State men that he was evidently insane on the subject. He was always considered by them as a dangerous man, was never taken into their councils, and never consulted by them with reference either to their policy or movements. The destruction of the Free States Hotel and presses at Lawrence, in May, 1859, incited him anew to action, and he organized a small company, composed chiefly of men who had been robbed, or whose relatives had been murdered by the pro-slavery party, and at the head of this band armed with Sharp's rifles, bowie knives and Colt's revolvers, he scoured Southern Kansas, and the name of "Old Brown" became a terror to all who opposed his will in that region. While he was thus marauding, five pro-slavery men were taken from their cabins at Pottawatomie Creek, in the night time, and shot dead. The pro-slavery party charged this deed upon old Brown, while the free state party asserted that they could prove him in Lawrence, forty miles distant, when it happened, and that the horrid deed was perpetrated by "Buford's Georgia Ruffians," supposing that the victims were free State men. The news of this massacre reached Westport, Missouri, the place of the rendezvous of the "border ruffians," the same evening that the Kansas Commission, sent out by the United States House of Representatives, arrived at that place. The excitement

was intense, and was induced almost as much by the appearance of the Commission as by the news of the massacre. The "ruffians" swore vengeance upon the members and officers of the Commission, declaring that their blood should recompense for the slaughter at Pottawatamie Creek, and but for the intercession of Mr. Oliver, the pro-slavery member of the Commission, and others, it was believed that the Commission would have been attacked. It was at this time that the notorious H. Clay Pate organized a band of men in the streets of Westport, with the avowed purpose of entering the Territory and capturing "Old Brown." He raised about 30 men and went into the Territory about twilight one evening and was surprised at sunrise the next morning by "Old Brown," who was in command of nine men, armed as stated above. Pate sent a flag of truce to Brown, who advanced some rods in front of his company and ordered the flag bearer to remain with him, and sent one of his own men to inform Pate to come himself. Pate obeyed, when Brown ordered him to lay down his arms. Pate refused to give the order to his men, when Brown, drawing a revolver, informed him that he must give the order or be shot on the spot. Pate immediately surrendered with his men, and they were disarmed and marched into a ravine near by, and kept until liberated and sent back to Missouri, by Col. Sumner, a few days subsequently, who also ordered "Old Brown" to disband and go home. The latter agreed to do so if the Colonel would also agree to protect the settler in that region of the Territory. This was the celebrat-

ed "Battle of Black Jack Point," made famous by the "H. C. P." correspondent of the St. Louis Republican, who was the heroic commander of the surrendering party. Capt. Brown was not much heard from again until the notorious Captain Hamilton made his incursions into Southern Kansas from Missouri in 1856, when he raised another company, and, with Capt. Montgomery, drove Hamilton and his companions back to Missouri, and, marching into that State, took possession of one of the villages, shot one or two men, and liberated several slaves. This course of Brown was repudiated by Gov. Robinson and the leaders of the free State party in and out of Kansas, which caused Brown to publish a letter explaining his position, in which he assumed the entire responsibilities of his acts, and relieved the free State men from any share therein. This letter was called the "Two Parallels," on account of the peculiar distinction made by the writer. Capt. Brown was a very strong believer in the doctrines of the Presbyterian church. He was fanatical on the subject of anti-slavery, and seemed to have the idea that he was specially deputed by the Almighty to liberate slaves and kill slaveholders. It was always conceded to him that he was a conscientious man, very modest in his demeanor, apparently inoffensive until the subject of slavery was introduced, when he would exhibit a feeling of indignation unparalleled. After matters subsided in Kansas, Capt. Brown intimated to some of his anti-slavery friends that he contemplated organizing an insurrection among the slaves in the States of Kentucky and Tennes-



see. This fact becoming known to some of the leading anti-slavery men of the country, they refused him means with which to go on and discouraged his purposed undertaking. He spent a portion of the last summer in visiting different Northern cities, and was tendered sums of money with the understanding that he wished to secure a little farm upon which to settle in his old age. It is supposed that he employed this money thus obtained to hire the farm near Harper's Ferry, which he used as a rendezvous for the insurrectionists, and near which he so dearly paid the last debt of nature.

Organization of the Provisional Government.—The "J. Henrie," conspicuous throughout the plot, appears to have been J. H. Kagi, who was among the slain at Harper's Ferry.

Chatham, (Canada West.)

Saturday, May 8, 1858, 10 A. M.

Convention met in pursuance to call of John Brown and others, and was called to order by Mr. Jackson, on whose motion Mr. Wm. C. Monroe was chosen President; when, on motion of Mr. Brown, Mr. J. H. Kagi was elected Secretary. On motion of Mr. Delaney, Mr. Brown then proceeded to state the object of the Convention at length, and then to explain the general features of the plan of action in the execution of the object in view by the convention. Mr. Delaney and others spoke in favor of the project and the plan, and both were agreed to by general consent. Mr. Brown then presented a plan of organization, entitled "Provisional Consti-

tution and Ordinances for the People of the United States," and moved the reading of the same. Mr. Kinnard objected to the reading until an oath of secrecy was taken by each member of the convention; wherefore Mr. Delaney moved that the following parole of honor be taken by all members of the convention: "I do solemnly affirm that I will not in any way divulge any of the secrets of this convention, except to persons entitled to know the same, in the pain of forfeiting the respect and protection of this organization," which motion was carried. On motion of Mr. Delaney, it was then ordered that those approving of the constitution as adopted sign the same; whereupon the names of all the members were appended. On motion, the following officers were elected: Commander-in-chief, John Brown; Secretary of War, J. H. Kagi; Members of Congress, Alfred M. Ellsworth, Osbourne Anderson; Treasurer, Owen Brown; Secretary of the Treasury, Geo. B. Gill; Secretary of State, Richard Realf. The following are the members of the convention, written by each person: Wm. Charles Monroe, G. T. Reynolds, J. C. Grant, A. J. Smith, James M. Jones, Geo. B. Gill, M. F. Bailey, Wm. Lambert, S. Hunton, C. W. Moffett, John J. Jackson, J. Anderson, Alfred Whipple, James M. Blue, W. H. Leeman, Alfred M. Ellsworth, John E. Cook, Steward Taylor, James W. Purnell, Geo. Akin, Stephen Dettin, Thomas Hickerson, John Cannel, Robinson Alexander, Richard Realf, Thomas F. Cary, Richard Richardson, L. T. Parsons, Thomas M. Kinnard, M. H. Delaney, Robert Vanvanken, Thomas M. Stringer,

Charles P. Tidd, John A. Thomas, C. Whipple, J. D. Shadd, Robert Newman, Owen Brown, John Brown, J. H. Harris, Charles Smith, Simon Fislin, Isaac Holler, James Smith, J. H. Kagi.

**Letter to Gov. Floyd.**

The following is the anonymous letter received by Gov. Floyd, Secretary of War, of which mention will be made

Cincinnati, August 20, 1859.

Sir: I have lately received information of a movement of so great importance that I feel it to be my duty to impart it to you without delay. I have discovered the existence of a secret association, having for its object the liberation of the slaves at the South by a general insurrection. The leader of the movement is old John Brown late of Kansas. He has been in Canada during the winter drilling the negroes there, and they are only waiting his word to start for the South to assist the slaves. They had one of their leading men, a white man, in an armory in Maryland; where it is situated, I have not been able to learn. As soon as everything is ready those of their number who are in the Northern States and Canada, are to come in small companies to their rendezvous, which is in the mountains in Virginia. They will pass down through Pennsylvania and Maryland and enter Virginia at Harper's Ferry. Brown left the North about three or four weeks ago, and will arm the negroes and strike the blow in a few weeks, so that whatever is done must be done at once. They have a large quantity of arms at their rendezvous, and

probably are distributing them already. As I am not fully in their confidence, this is all the information I can give you. I dare not sign my name to this, but trust that you will not disregard the warning on that account."

### **The Insurrection, Its Origin and Its End**

The origin of the insurrection, and the sources from whence the fanatical traitors derived their hopes of success in this audacious attempt, is wrapped in mystery. All the insurgents, however, agree in saying that the plot has been in preparation for upwards of one year, during which time, young men were actually enlisted in several of the free States, and pecuniary contributions to the cause received from the same source.

Brown, accompanied by his sons, appeared at Harper's Ferry about eighteen months previous to the attack, calling themselves Smiths. Shortly after, they rented from Mr. Kennedy, of Washington county, Md., the farm and house which they occupied until the outbreak; the twenty-two men composing the invading party, joined him shortly after he had settled himself in his new home about which period J. E. Cook, co-leader, with Brown, of the conspirators, and an associate of the latter through the Kansas difficulties, made his appearance and engaging in school teaching, continued to so ingratiate himself in the good graces of the community, that general confidence was reposed in his integrity, and he acquired a very fair share of popularity. About a fortnight ago Cook gave out that he intended to visit Kansas, and left the Ferry in a cov-

ered two-horse wagon ostensibly for that territory. On Wednesday preceding the outbreak he returned, and drove his wagon, which appeared to be heavily loaded, to the farm of Smith (Brown) where it remained for two days. Early on Friday morning he commenced the moulding of bullets at the residence of his mother-in-



J. E. COOK.

law, whose suspicions he silenced by assuring her that they were designed for use against the Indians in Kansas. The entire party of insurgents, all of whom bore the appearance of poor and industrious farmers and citizens, were in habit of mixing freely with their neighbors, and with the residents of Harper's Ferry, with whose opinions, means of defense, etc., they had thoroughly familiarized themselves.

## Slaves of Maryland Aware of John Brown's Intended Invasion.

Some two or three days previous to the insurrection, Mr. Geo. Jacobs residing near Finksburg, Md., became convinced that something was wrong among his negroes. He paid particular attention to their movements, and that night, with the assistance of his neighbors, overtook them as they were about leaving, in company with the slaves of Dr. Butler, a neighbor to Mr. Jacobs. Upon searching them it was discovered that they were armed with long knives made of old scythe blades. They had secured the horses of their masters, and upon being interrogated, confessed that they had been induced to leave their masters and join the attempt to be made somewhere in Virginia to liberate the slaves. Their destination, no doubt, was Harper's Ferry.

### Partial Testimony of Daniel Whelan.

I live at Harper's Ferry, am 39 years old, and was a watchman at the armory gates on Sunday night. The gate was locked, and I advanced a little closer; I thought it was Mr. Mason, the head watchman; there were two men at the padlock striving to open it; I told them to "hold on." I went to the gate, and when I observed it was not Mr. Mason, I drew aside at the gate and looked until I observed them, and saw that they were strangers; when they all came into the yard I think there was about twenty-five men, they asked me to open the gate. I told them I could not open the gate by any means. "Open the gate," said they. I said "I could not if I was struck," and one of them

jumped up on the pier of the gate over my head, and another fellow ran and put his hand on me and caught me by the coat and held me. I was inside and they were outside, and the fellow standing over my head upon the pier, and then when I would not open the gate for them, five or six ran in from the wagon, clapped their guns against my breast, and told me I should deliver up the key. I told them I could not, and another fellow made answer and said they had not time now to be waiting for a key, but to go to the wagon and bring out the crow bar and large hammer, and they would soon get in. They went to the little wagon and brought a large crow bar out of it; there is a large chain around the two sides of the wagon-gate going in; they twisted the crow bar in the chain and they opened it, and in they ran and one fellow, Cook, got in the wagon; they all gathered about me and looked in my face. I was nearly scared to death with so many guns about me; I did not know the minute or the hour I should drop they told me to be very quiet and still and make no noise or else they would put me to eternity. One of them ordered the wagon to be marched in, and all got in the wagon except four who had me; they took the wagon down the yard and passed the horses' heads to the gate where Col. Barbour's office is; after that the head man of them, Brown, ordered all the men to dispatch out of the yard, but he left a man at each of the big gate along with himself, and then he said to me and Bill Williams, another watchman, I came here from Kansas, and this is a slave state. I want to free all the

negroes in this State. I have possession now of the United States Armory, and if the citizens interfere with me, I must only burn the town and have blood. I had a sword in my hand and when they all came in to run me, Cook took the sword out of my hand. I knew Cook well.

**Statement of W. W. Throckmorton.**

The clerk of the Wager Hotel, which is situated by the side of the railroad track, a young man named W. W. Throckmorton, makes the following statement:

“About 10 o'clock Sunday night as I was about closing up the doors below, I noticed a one-horse covered wagon going by, and from its appearance concluded it was a gypsy wagon. There were some four or five men following the wagon. I went below to shut up, and told one of our colored servants, whom I found up, that some gypsies were going by. He wanted to go out and see them, and seemed quite anxious, to go, but I said I was going to shut up, and bade him go to bed. All was quiet after this, except some men walking along the streets till about 12 o'clock, when I went to call some men who were to go on the express train. Then I heard the report of a gun on the bridge and a man running. I went down to the door when the watchman of the bridge, an Irishman, rushed in and said, lock your doors, there are several robbers on the bridge, several men. I did not think of the gypsy wagon at the time, but supposed some rowdies from the canal locks had fired at him to frighten him. I then went up and awoke the passengers, and tried to borrow a revolver



from some of the guests, but could not find one. I then walked out and went up to the railroad office to see Sheppard, the colored man, and borrow his revolver, as he always kept one, but his revolver was not loaded. As I came out of the office I saw two men on the bridge with guns in their hands. I went back to the hotel and kept quiet till the train came along. I then



### ATTACK ON RAILROAD MEN.

informed Capt. Phelps, the conductor, of what I had seen and heard, and he took four or five men and went to the bridge. Heyward Sheppard, the colored man, went in with them ahead, and as he got in, they called out "surrender." The man turned and ran, and the men on the bridge shot at him as he ran back to the hotel; we carried the wounded man into the ticket office, and I started for a doctor. I had a revolver then which I borrowed from a passenger on the train; just as I crossed the street, I met two men coming down the road; the passengers were at this time running around

in excitement and women and children screaming in the cars. I supposed these men were passengers till one of them presented his gun and said to me "you son of a ———, I will give you some too," and fired, but missed me. I had no chance to run, but they both ran towards the armory, and as they were running I fired all the shots in my revolver at them. The men stopped about half way to the armory gates. Then I got another revolver, and Capt. Phelps and some of the passengers went with me towards the armory. As we came out the men had got inside the gate and fired at us two or three times, but the distance or the darkness prevented their taking good aim, and nobody was hurt. I then returned and got the passengers into the hotel. Soon after I walked out upon the platform with another gentleman, and then we saw two men with guns coming from the armory. They walked past us towards the office where the negro Sheppard lay. As they reached the railroad bridge they called to us, but we could not understand what they said. Then we put the lights out in the hotel and watched from the windows. Soon after an old man named Grice, whom they had taken on the Shenandoah bridge, came up from the armory, and wanted to come in, but I sent him to the office where Capt. Phelps was. Afterwards I learned that he had been let out on condition of his going straight home, because of his age. He said he was directed by the men who had released him to tell the hotel keeper and railroad agent that nobody here should be harmed if they kept the peace and made no resistance. About

three o'clock we saw a large four-horse wagon and a two-horse buggy (Col. Washington's) driven past and taken into the armory yard. We concluded then that a gang of robbers were plundering the armory, where I knew there was a large sum of money. We could hear them at work loading or unloading in the armory, and an hour later the wagon was driven out with four men in it, and two or three following with guns. I recognized one of the men as a man named Cook, who had lived around here and married his wife in this town. He was here on Friday last, and I saw him talking a long time with our boy, the one who was so anxious to see the gypsy wagon. At day-light, Dr. Starry started for Charles Town to get help, and after that from time to time we could see citizens coming up to the armory gates, one at a time, and taken in as prisoners. I saw a negro boy leave the yard and come to the hotel bringing a note which was directed to the hotel keeper, or clerk of the Wager House, and read thus: "October 17—You will furnish forty-five men with a good breakfast. Capt. Smith." I determined then to go to the yard. I went to the gate and two mulattoes conducted me to "Capt. Smith," who spoke very politely. He said, "I am Capt. Smith, I want prepared a breakfast for forty-five men." He took me into one of the shops and showed me a number of citizens whom he had captured, and asked me if I knew them. I said I did. Then he said he wanted breakfast for forty-five men, including these, my friends, as soon as possible. I told him I would do the best I could,

but it would have to be rather rough, as we had not expected anything like this, and were not prepared. Capt. Phelps then came into the yard and was brought to Capt. Smith. He appealed to him in the strongest terms to allow him to pass with the train, saying he had women and children who were frightened nearly to death, and if he would let them pass they would do nothing to trouble him. Brown then said he could pass if he would hold his peace and say nothing along the route that anything was going on here, and he would go to the bridge himself and see that the train went through safely. Brown then came to the bridge and the passengers got on as fast as possible, and the train left. I went to some of the passengers and begged them to make an alarm, and have a military company sent here as soon as possible. Before leaving the armory, Brown told me they came here to free the slaves, and said although he had so small a force he could have thousands as soon as he said the word. Said he, I am a military man, and I came here to free the slaves of your surrounding country, and I take possession of this government property and arms to assist me in doing so. I can have five thousand men here in less than twenty-four hours at my call. He gave me leave to pass backward and forward if I would keep quiet, and if not he would take possession of the hotel. Everyone supposed of course he had a large force at hand. After the train left the bridge was still guarded, and Brown's men were marching backward and forward. I told Brown I could get him breakfast but only water to drink. He

said he must have coffee because he felt fatigued, and I must bring it immediately to the Armory yard. I accordingly prepared breakfast and took it over in a basket. They all ate but Brown himself, who took good care not to touch it. I had intended to prepare a special breakfast for him as he treated me so gentlemanly, but I forgot it. I laughed and joked with him, deeming it best not to seem to fear him. After breakfast Col. Washington asked me to take care of his horses, and said I might put them in the stable at the hotel. He then said, "There is another horse, pointing to his own, which was standing in the yard—I will put the horse in your stable; keep him till I call for him." I don't think he will call soon. I asked him about pay for the breakfast, and he said he should want dinner for 200 men, and he would pay for the whole then. One of our servants, the one I spoke of as wanting to see the gypsies, appeared to know him very well, and had conversation with him in the engine house. He had gone with me to carry the breakfast very willingly, though the other servants hung back, and when I ordered him to take the breakfast things back to the hotel, he said he would when he got ready, and I must understand he was as much boss as I was. This amused old Brown, who laughed at me, and I told him there was no nigger blood in me, at all events. This boy was a slave belonging to some heirs, but has been doing for himself and counted free for some time. The fellow left on Wednesday and has not been seen since. He went away because he knew, I suppose, that there were plenty around

who would take a crack at him if they got a chance. His name was Charles Williams. About twelve o'clock I learned that the Charles Town Company had arrived, and then I felt we were safe. I went and looked out of the window, and saw just then a shot fired at one of Brown's men, whose name is Stevens, and saw him fall. The shot was fired from the Galt House by Capt. Geo. W. Chambers. They called to me that they had spare guns, and asked me to come over. I went over, and as I passed seized Steven's rifle, which lay by his side. I tried also to get his pistol, they fired at me, and the bullets came too thick. The Charles Town Company had the bridge and called me to them, but I thought they were Brown's men, and ran into the hotel with the gun. After this, one of Brown's men got into the hotel by some means and demanded the gun, but just then the Charles Town men came through the hotel, and the man got out at the back way without any gun. Stevens, the wounded man, was then brought in, and another fellow named Thompson was brought in a prisoner, and placed in the parlor tied hand and foot. All this time a sharp firing was kept up. About three o'clock Heyward Sheppard, the colored man, they shot in the morning died. Mr. Beckham, the agent, was greatly excited at his death, as the old man had had him ten or twelve years, and liked him very much. He went to the railroad platform beyond the railroad station, once, and was pulled back, but he went again, his hands in his pockets, and got some distance beyond the water station, when they shot him through the heart. He fell

and never moved again. The man who shot him from the door of the engine house, was himself shot a moment afterwards by a Harper's Ferry man.

#### **Consternation Among the Passengers.**

The passengers, especially the ladies, were greatly alarmed, and feared the party was a gang of robbers, who intended to rob the Government Treasury which contains \$15,000 and might also rob them. The information is that the rifles were brought down from the works on the Shenandoah, and the parties at the Ferry were armed with them, and the wagons which brought them down afterwards drove off with outsiders; and it was supposed, when the train left, that they had taken off the treasure in the wagon. The band appeared to be well drilled, and Capt. Anderson had entire control, as his men were very obedient to his orders.

#### **Cause of the Outbreak.**

This puzzles everybody. Some of the passengers, with whom we conversed, were of the opinion that the object was one of plunder, and others that the entire affair has resulted from malice. The Captain of the outlaws makes use of such expressions as these: "If you knew me and understood my motives as well as I and others understand them, you would not blame me much." Again—"If you knew my heart and history, you would not blame me." But from the fact that negroes principally are in the fray, there can be no possible doubt of its abolition aspect.

#### **Dismal Appearance of the Town.**

A gentleman from New York, who came a passen-

ger says: "Every light in the town had been previously extinguished by the lawless mob. The train therefore remained stationary, and the passengers, terribly affrighted, remained in the cars all night. The hotels were closed and no entrance could be had into them. All the streets were in possession of the mob, and every road, lane and avenue leading to the town guarded or barricaded by them.

**Statement of Conductor Phelps and His Officers.**

The following particulars of the affair have been obtained from the train, viz: Mr. Andrew J. Phelps, conductor; Mr. Jacob Cromwell, baggage-master; William Wooley, engineer. They state that their train (the regular passenger train from the West) reached a point near the bridge at Harper's Ferry at 20 minutes of one o'clock this morning, when it was stopped. They were informed by the night bridge tender that when he proceeded to relieve his colleague he discovered that the light on the bridge had been extinguished, and that his colleague had been murdered or waylaid. He was not left long in a state of suspense, as three men suddenly came upon him with violent outcries, which caused him to flee, whereupon the parties discharged firearms at him, which fortunately did not take effect. It further appeared that a colored man, well known as a baggage assistant upon reaching the Ferry was also shot at, several balls penetrating his back, inflicting wounds of a mortal character. At first Conductor Phelps was at a loss to act, and concluded to send over a person to the vicinity of the Ferry to ascertain



the cause of the proceedings, when the leader of the party, a man of rather prepossessing appearance, and supposed to be nearly 60 years of age, appeared, and stated that he preferred holding communication with the conductor. Mr. Phelps went over alone and was told by the same man that he and his party had determined not to allow another train to pass over the road, but that they would give him five to ten minutes to get his train through.

In the meantime, other persons from the train ventured across the bridge above the Ferry, and soon coming into contact with the rioters, (who were reputed at about two hundred in number, half of whom seemed to be black). one of the party, a passenger, was captured. The train was delayed by the proceedings until half past six o'clock, when steam was raised and they reached Camden station, at Baltimore, at noon.

Upon the train leaving, Mr. Phelps was particularly requested by the leader of the gang to state to the superintendent of the road, that under no circumstances would another train be permitted to pass Harper's Ferry. During the night a large two-horse wagon, laden with wheat came in from one of the neighboring counties of the State. The rioters immediately seized the drivers, took possession of the wheat and loading the vehicle with weapons from the Armory, sent it back up the country.

The engineer states that amongst them there were several strapping negroes who occasionally shouted out that they longed for liberty, as they had been in bondage

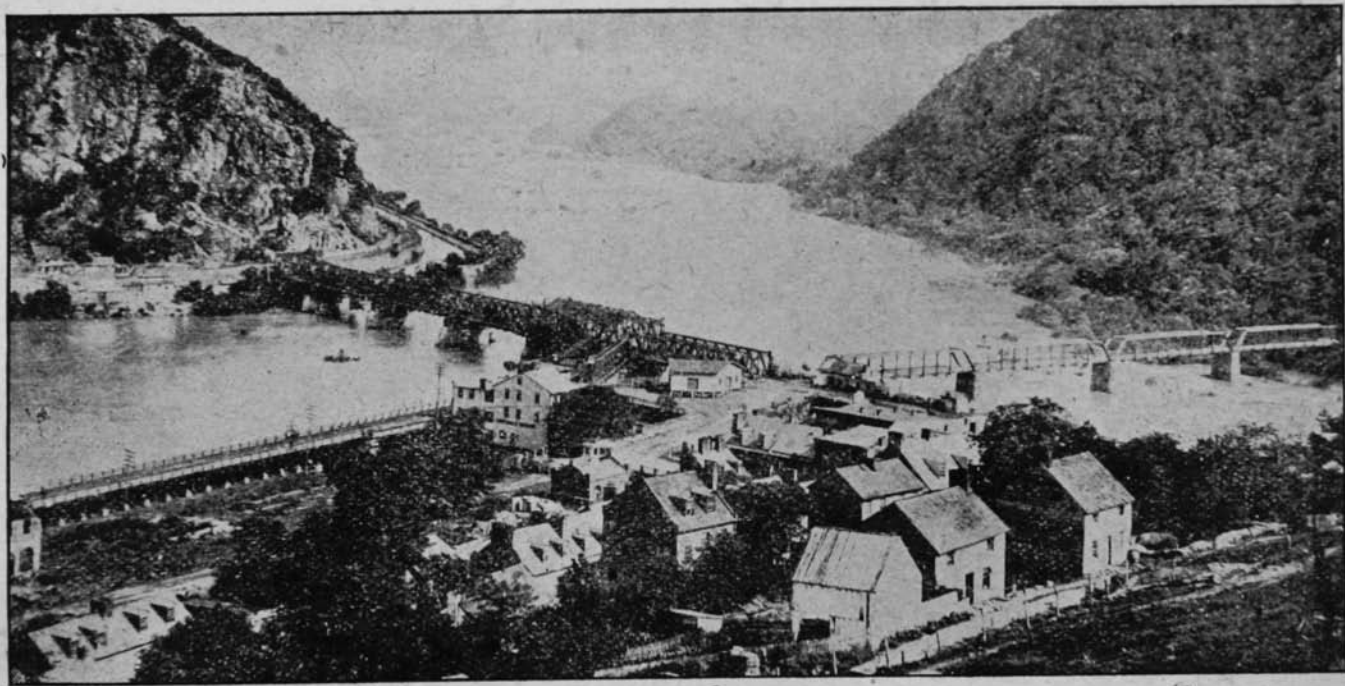
long enough. The ring leader, who it is said is named Anderson, made his appearance at Harper's Ferry five or six years ago and since that time has been driving around the place in an elegant barouche drawn by two horses.

The officers report that the United States Armory and the neighboring country have been taken possession of by the rioters, all of whom are well armed with Sharp's rifles and other United States arms. When the workmen of the Armory repaired there for the purpose of resuming work they were seized by the parties, forcibly dragged, within the gates and imprisoned. A number of the party proceeded to the proprietor of the hotel near the Armory, and in an authoritative tone ordered breakfast for fifty or sixty persons, adding that they were determined to keep possession of the place, and live in the best manner.

#### **More of the Bloody War.**

Samuel K. Thomas, one of the conductors of the railroad, and engaged in the storming of the paymaster's office, displayed unparalleled feats. He stood within fifty feet of the building, exposed to the fire of those within, and loaded and fired nearly some half a dozen times. His coat was perforated with ball, and the skin cut from the flesh of his person by the shot. His preservation from instant death seems miraculous.

Aaron D. Stevens, a captain of the rioters, shot at the bridge, was taken into the Carroll Hotel, where his dreadful wounds were dressed by Dr. McGarrity. Heavy bullets passed through his breast, head and one



BRIDGE AT HARPER'S FERRY, W. VA.

arm. He said to those around him that as he expected to die before morning, he wanted somebody to telegraph to his father, at Norwich, Conn., to say to him that his Brown died at Harper's Ferry in an attempt at high treason against the State of Virginia. He is represented as a remarkably fine looking man, six feet six inches high, and possessed of great nerve. While lying in bed a number of the outraged citizens crowded into the room and attempted to dispatch him, pointing cocked muskets at his head, but Stevens, as he lay helpless, folded his arms, and looked them calmly in the eye, without uttering a word.

Slaves were sent into Maryland, to bring the arms deposited at Brown's house there to a point nearer the Ferry and more accessible. During Monday a large portion of the arms, consisting of carbines, pistols, in boxes, and pikes, were brought off in the wagon and deposited in a school house about a mile from the village of Harper's Ferry, on the Maryland side. The first alarm that was given, indicating the presence of the hostile party, appears to have been on the arrival there of the mail train of cars on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, on its way from Wheeling to Baltimore, and which arrived at Harper's Ferry at its usual hour, about half past one in the morning. On the arrival of Brown's party, he had stationed two men, well armed, on the bridge, with directions to permit none to pass. This bridge is a viaduct for the railroad to cross the river, having connected with it a bridge for ordinary travel. When the train arrived, it was arrested by this

guard, and very soon afterwards, a negro named Hayward, a free man, who lived at Harper's Ferry and was in the service of the Railroad Company as a porter, was shot by this guard, and died in a few hours. His statement was, as shown in the testimony, of Dr. John D. Starry, one of the witnesses, "that he had been out looking, on the railroad bridge, after a watchman who was missing, and he had been ordered to halt, by some men who were there; and instead of doing that, he turned to go back to the office, and was shot in the back." When daylight came, as the inhabitants left their houses, consisting chiefly of workmen and others employed in the public works, on their way to their usual occupations, and unconscious of what had occurred during the night they were seized in the streets by Brown's men and carried as prisoners to the engine house, until, with those previously there they amounted to some thirty or forty in number. Pikes were put in the hands of such of the slaves as they had taken and they were kept under the eyes of their captors, as sentinels, near the buildings they occupied. But their movements being conducted at night, it was not until the morning was well advanced that the presence and character of the party was generally known in the village. The nearest towns to Harper's Ferry were Charles Town, Shepherdstown and Martinsburg, the latter 20 miles. As soon as information could reach these points, the citizens assembled, hurriedly enrolled themselves into military bands, and with such arms as they could find, proceeded to the Ferry. Before their arrival, however,

it would seem that some four or five of the marauders, who were stationed at Hall's rifle works, were driven out by the citizens of the village, and either killed or captured. In the course of the day, an attack was made on the engine and watch-house by those armed citizens of the adjoining country who had thus hurriedly arrived, and the prisoners in the watch-house, adjoin-



### ATTACK BY CITIZENS.

ing the engine-house, were liberated. The attacking parties were fired on by marauders in the engine house, and some were severely wounded. It should have been stated that during the night Brown selected ten of those whom he considered the principal men of his prisoners, and carried them into the engine house, where they were detained. The rest thus left in the watch-house were those who were liberated during the attack spoken of. The engine house was a strong building, and was occupied by Brown with seven or eight of



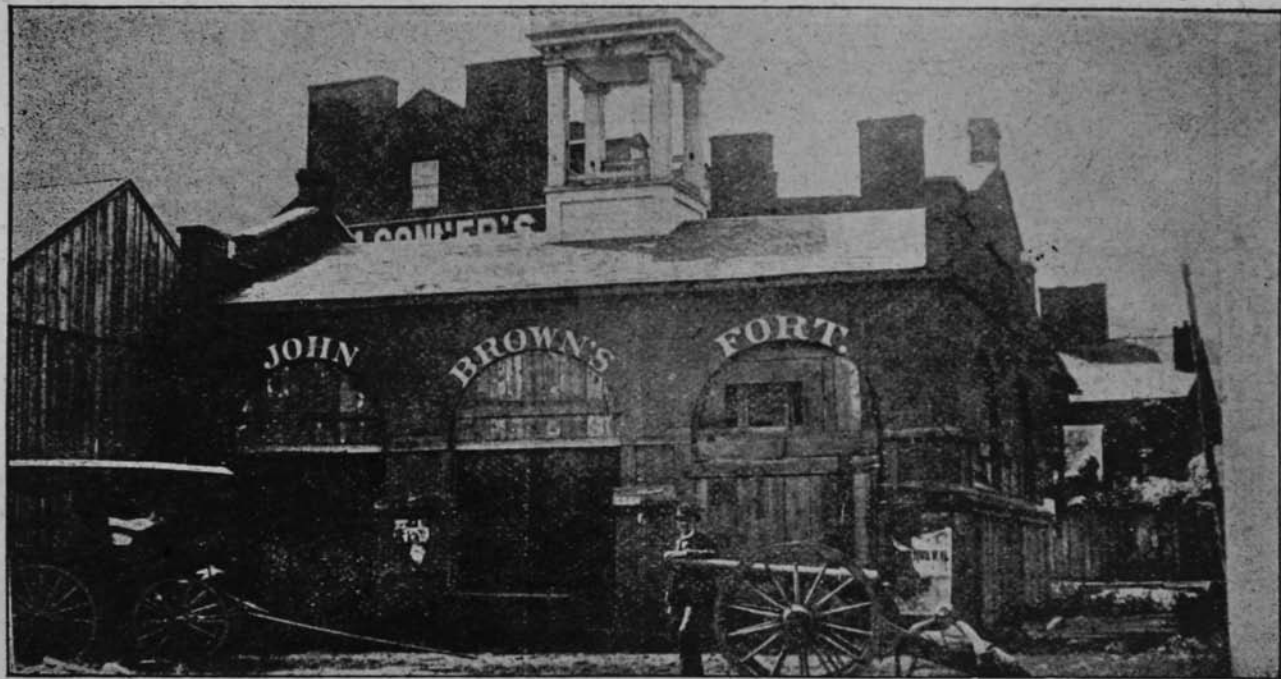
his men. During the day it appears that all of Brown's party, who were not with him in the engine-house, were either killed or captured, except those who were on the Maryland side engaged in removing the arms, as above stated. Before however they were thus captured or destroyed, they shot and killed two persons, citizens of Virginia, in the streets. One of them, a man named Boerly, who lived in the village, by a rifle shot, near his own house. He had taken no part in any of the attacks, and does not appear even to have been armed. The other, Mr. George W. Turner, was a gentleman who lived in the country some ten miles distant, and who it appears, had gone to the village upon information that his neighbor, Mr. Washington, had been seized in his house and carried off during the night. It would seem that, for his safety, he had taken a gun offered to him by some one in the village, and was proceeding along the street, unattended, with it in his hand, when he also was killed by a rifle ball. The party immediately under Brown remained barricaded in the engine house during the whole of that day, Monday. They had confined with them ten most respectable and valued citizens, kept, as stated by Brown, in the nature of "hostages," for the security of his own party, he assuming that a regard for the safety of the "hostages" would deter their friends and neighbors from attempting their rescue by force. During the day an irregular fire was kept up against the engine house by the people who assembled, and which was returned by the party within through loopholes made in the wall, or through the doorway, partially

opened. In this maneuver two of Brown's men were killed at the doorway; and in the afternoon a gentleman of the village, Mayor Beckam, was killed by a shot from the engine house. It was clearly shown that he was entirely unarmed, and had exposed his person only for an instant on the railroad bridge opposite to the engine house. As soon as intelligence could be conveyed to Washington, of the state of things at Harper's Ferry, the marines on duty at the navy yard were ordered to the scene of action, under the command of Col. Robert E. Lee, of the army.

#### Col. Washington's Statement.

Col. Lewis Washington, who is a great nephew to George Washington, gives the following account of his arrest and imprisonment: "Between one and two o'clock on Sunday night I was in bed at my home, five or six miles from Harper's Ferry. I was awakened by hearing my name called in the hall. I supposed it was some friends arrived, who, being acquainted with the house, had come in through the kitchen without making any noise. I got up and opened the door into the hall, and before me stood four men, three armed with Sharp's rifles, levelled and cocked, and the fourth, this man Stevens, with a revolver in his right hand, and in his left a lighted flambeau, made of pine whittlings. As I opened the door one of the men said, "Is your name Washington?" Says I, "that's my name." Perhaps Cook, who was one of the crowd, also identified me, as he told me afterwards, he was taken there for that purpose. I was then told that I was a prisoner, and one





ENGINE HOUSE.

of them said, "Don't be frightened." I replied, "Do you see anything that looks like fright about me." "No," he said, "I only want to say that if you surrender and come with us freely you are safe." I told them I understand that sufficiently, and there was no necessity for further explanation. But I was struck with the number of men sent against me, and asked what need there was of so many, as there was no danger of an unarmed man in his night shirt resisting an armed force. I was told to put on my clothes, and of course complied. "Perhaps," said I, "while I am dressing you will be so good as to tell me what all this means." I inquired what the weather was outside, and one of them advised me to put on an overcoat, as it was rather chilly. Another said they wanted my arms, and I opened the gun-chest for them to help themselves. They then explained their mission which they represented to be purely philanthropic, to-wit: the emancipation of all the slaves in the country. After I was dressed Stevens said to me, "Have you got any money?" I replied, "I wish I had a great deal." "Be careful, sir," said he. I told him if I had any money I knew how to take care of it, and he could not get it. Said he, "Have you a watch?" My reply was, "I have, but you cannot have it. You have set yourselves up as great moralists and liberators of slaves; now it appears that you are robbers as well." "Be careful, sir," said he again. I told him I was dressed and ready to go. They bade me wait a short time, and my carriage would be at the door. They had ordered my carriage for me, and pried open the stable door to get

it out. They had harnessed the horses on the wrong side of each other, and I tried to induce them to correct the mistake, which they did after driving a short distance; but still, being harnessed wrong, and rather spirited animals, they would not work well. My servant, whom they had forced along, was driving. I suspected they were only robbers, and was expecting all along that they would turn off at some point, but they drove directly to the Armory. Brown came out and invited me in, saying there was a comfortable fire, and I shortly afterwards met with Mr. Allstadt, whom they had arrested on the way and brought along in my buggy wagon. While coming along, the horses being restive, I got out and walked up a hill with one of the men, who took occasion to ask my views on the subject of slavery in the abstract. I declined an argument on the subject, but he still pressed it upon me, and I was obliged to refuse the second time. "Brown told us to make ourselves comfortable," and added, "By and by I shall require each of you gentlemen to write to some of your friends to send a stout negro man in your places." This was by way of ransom. He told us he must see the letter before it was sent, and he thought after this was effected they could make an arrangement by which we could return home. I determined in my own mind not to make the requisition, but he never made application for it, having other matters before the day expired attracting his attention. My sword, which had been presented by Frederick the Great to General Washington, was taken from my house, with other arms. This man

Cook had been at my house sometime before and seen the arms, and at this time I beat him at shooting, and he told me I was the best shot he had ever met. On the way to Harper's Ferry he asked me if I had shot any since that time, and said he owed me an apology for being with this party, after being so well treated by me. I told him that it was of no consequence about the apology, but I would ask one favor of him, which was to use his influence to have returned to me the old sword and an old pistol which, in the present improved state of arms, were only valuable in consideration of their history. He promised to attend to it, and shortly after reaching the Armory I found this sword in old Brown's hands. Said Brown, "I will take special care of it, and shall endeavor to return it to you after you are released." He carried the sword in his hands all day Monday until after the arrival of the military. Upon the first announcement of the arrival of the militia Brown came into the room and picked out ten of us whom he supposed to be the most prominent men. He told us we might be assured of good treatment, because in case he got the worst of it in this fight, the possession of us would be of service in procuring good terms; we could exercise great influence with our fellow citizens, and as for me, he knew if I was out I should do my duty, and in my position as aid to the Governor I should be a most dangerous foe. Then we were taken into the engine house and closely confined. Two of our number went backwards and forward repeatedly, to confer with citizens during the various negotiations, and finally remained

out altogether, leaving the eight who were inside when the building was finally assaulted and captured by the marines. During Monday various terms of capitulation were proposed and refused, and at night we requested our friends to cease firing during the night, as, if the place should be stormed in the dark, friends and foes would have to share alike. In the morning Col. Shriver of Frederick, announced the arrival of the United States Marines. During the night he had brought in Dr. Tyler, of Frederick, to look at the wounds of old Brown's son. The surgeon looked at the man and promised to attend him in the morning, if practicable, but about the time he was expected hostilities had commenced. Col. Lee, who commanded the United States forces, sent up Lieut. Stuart to announce to Brown that the only terms he would offer for surrender were that he and his men should be taken to a place of safety and kept unmolested until the will of the President could be ascertained. Brown's reply was to the effect that he could expect no leniency and he would sell his life as dearly as possible. A few minutes later the place was assaulted and taken. In justice to Brown, I will say that he advised the prisoners to keep well under shelter during the firing, and at no time did he threaten to massacre us or place us in front in case of assault. It was evident he did not expect the attack so soon. There was no cry of "surrender" in his party except from one young man, and then Brown said "only one surrenders." This fellow, after he saw the Marines, said he would prefer to take his chance of a trial at Washington. He had taken his

position and fired one or two shots when he cried "surrender." There were four of Brown's party able to fight when the Marines attacked, besides a negro, making five in all. This negro was very bold at first, but when the assault was made he took off his accoutrements and tried to mingle with the prisoners and pass himself off as one of them. I handed him over to the Marines at once, saying he was a prisoner then at all events."

#### **How the Slaves Received Brown's Proposition.**

A negro boy belonging to Col. Lewis Washington, who was taken by the insurgents at the time his master was, when he reached the Ferry was offered a Pike which he refused, when one of the insurgents told him that he was free and should fight the whites, the boy replied, "I don't know anything about being free. I was free enough before you took me, and I am not going to fight until I see Massa Lewis fighting, and then I fight for him." This boy was among the prisoners in the engine house.

#### **Ripening of the Plot.**

A fortnight or more prior to the occurrence which has resulted so fatally, Cook accompanied by Stevens, who it has subsequently been ascertained, had a 'Captain's commission among the insurgents, and was quite influential among them appeared at the residence of Col. Lewis Washington and requested permission to see his cabinet curiosities, and library. The request was readily granted, and during the conversations which their visit gave rise to, the theme of skill in the use

of fire arms was introduced, and Cook proposed to test his excellence as a shot, with that of Col. Washington. The match was made up, and resulted in the defeat of Cook, who expressed much surprise at the skill of his competitor. On the Sunday night of his capture, Col. Washington recognized Cook among the party and upbraided him for the cowardice of the proceedings. The latter said he regretted the affair, but he could not help it. As the party were about to leave the house, Cook whispered to Stevens, the leader of the party, who then immediately demanded of him the key of his cabinet. It was yielded up in preference to having the costly furniture broken, as threatened in the event of a refusal, and the insurgents took therefrom a valuable sword and pistol, formerly the property of Gen. George Washington, the former presented him by Frederick the Great, and the latter by Gen. Lafayette; he also demanded the purse and watch of Col. Washington, which was indignantly refused. On Monday the Colonel observed the sword in possession of Capt. Brown, who paced the floor with the weapon on his arm every moment that he was not engaged in shooting at the citizens and soldiers. He expressed to Col. Washington his high admiration of the character of the original owner of the sword, and assured him that it would be restored to him at the termination of the affair. During the bloody transaction of Tuesday morning, the sword lay upon one of the two engines which occupied the house in which the insurgents had entrenched themselves, and at the conclusion of the attack, Col. Washington repossessed himself of the relic; the pistol, however, was not returned yet.

**Testimony of John H. Allstadt.**

I am fifty-one years old, am a farmer and reside two and a half miles above Harper's Ferry. The first intimation I had of them was a rapping at our chamber door, on the morning of the 17th of October, 1859, about 3 o'clock. I was in bed. I immediately got up and inquired who was there they told me to open the door directly or they would burn me up. I did not open the door, but at that moment they bursted the door open with a rail. The door was locked. When the door was bursted open I could see out. I had gotten up by that time, and my wife had gotten up also. I tried to shut the door. I saw five or six men with arms, rifles, standing right at the door, but three of them came into the room and told me to dress myself directly. I asked them their object. They told me they intended to free the country of slavery. I asked them what they were going to do with me. They said they were going to take me to Harper's Ferry; that they had the Armory in their possession, and said they had Col. Washington. They asked me if there were any more men about the house. None but my son, said I. In the meantime my son had come down stairs, and they seized him by the collar and held him until I dressed myself. My son is 18 years old. I dressed myself and went to the door, they had all my black men and boys there, waiting for me and my son. There were seven of my slaves. We were ordered out to the pike, and ordered to get into a four-horse wagon. I recognized the wagon to be Col. Washington's. They said Col. Washington was right in front



of us in his carriage. We were driven to Harper's Ferry into the Armory yard. John Brown delivered us to a man who took us into the watch-house.

**Order to Col. John T. Gibson.**

Immediately upon the information of the Adjutant General, the following order was sent to Col. John T. Gibson:

Richmond, Va., Oct. 17, 1859.

Col. John T. Gibson, 55th Regiment, Charles Town,  
Jefferson County, Va.

Sir: The commander-in-chief calls your attention to the provisions of the first sections of chapter twenty-nine of the code and directs that you call out immediately a sufficient force from your Regiment to put down the rioters at Harper's Ferry. The commander-in-chief is informed that the arsenal and government property at that place are in possession of a band of rioters. You will act promptly and fully in this emergency, and command the troops called out in person. By command of

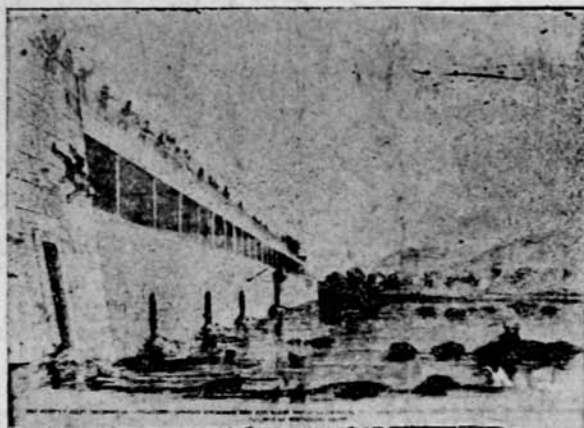
W. H. RICHARDSON,

Adjutant General.

**Wholesale Massacre.**

A party of five insurgents armed with Minnie rifles, and posted in the Rifle Armory, it is said, were expelled by the Charles Town Guards. They all ran for the river, and one who was unable to swim, was drowned. The other four swam out to the rocks in the middle of the Shenandoah and fired upon the citizens and troops upon both banks. This drew upon them the muskets of between two and three hundred men, and not less than

400 shots were fired at them from Harper's Ferry, about 200 yards distant. One was finally shot dead. The second, a negro, attempted to jump over the dam but fell short, and was not seen afterwards. The third



### VOLUNTEERS SHOOTING INSURGENTS.

was badly wounded, and the remaining one was taken unharmed. The white insurgent wounded and captured, died in a few minutes afterwards. He was shot through the breast, arm and stomach. He declared there were only nineteen whites engaged in the insurrection.

#### **The Town Approached on Every Side.**

The Shepherdstown Company, Hamtramck Guards, Capt. V. M. Butler, approached the town, over the hill, by the Bolivar road. The Frederick (Va.) company by the Shenandoah river way; and the Jefferson County company came down the Potomac river road; while the Frederick, Md., companies and Baltimore Volunteers approached the town from across the railroad bridge.

### Incidents of the First Battle—Interesting Statement of an Eye-Witness.

A gentleman who witnessed the scene describes the storming of the bridge and town. The first attack was made by a detachment of the Charles Town, Va., Guards. They crossed the Potomac river above Harper's Ferry, and reached the building where the insurgents were posted, by the canal, on the Maryland side. A smart firing occurred, and the rioters were driven from the bridge. One man was killed here and another arrested. A man ran out of the building and tried to escape by swimming the river. A dozen shots were fired after him, and he partially fell, but rose again, threw his gun away and drew his pistol. Both snapped and he drew a bowie knife, cut his heavy accoutrements off and plunged into the river. One of the soldiers was about ten feet behind, the man turned around, threw up his hands and said "don't shoot." - The soldier fired and the man fell into the river with his face blown away. His coat skirts were cut from his person, and in the pockets was found a Captain's commisison to Captain E. H. Leeman, from the Provisional Government. The commission was dated October 15, 1859, and signed by A. W. Brown, commander-in-chief of the Army of the Provisional Government, of the United States. For nearly an hour running and random firing was kept up by the troops against the rioters. Several were shot down, and many managed to limp away wounded. During the firing the women and children ran shrieking in every direction, but when they learned that the soldiers were their pro-

tectors they took courage, and did good service in the way of preparing refreshments and attending the wounded.

Our informant, who was on the hill when the firing was going on, says all the terrible scenes of a battle passed in reality beneath his eyes. Soldiers could be seen pursuing singly and in couples and the crack of the musket and rifle was generally followed by one or more of the insurgents biting the dust. The dead lay on the streets where they fell. The wounded cared for.

#### **An Object of Horror.**

Within twenty steps of the engine-house, and in full sight of beseiged and beseigers, lay stretched along the pavement the body of a very fair mulatto, one of the insurgents, who, after inflicting several wounds upon several citizens with his Sharp's rifle and revolver, was shot by a young man of Harper's Ferry named Kirk Hammond. The wretch had been struck in two places in the breast and side of the throat, the latter wounds a most hideous one, gaping open quite large enough to admit the fore part of an ordinary sized foot.

#### **Killed and Wounded.**

Killed—Mayor F. Beckham, railroad agent; Hayward Sheppard, colored porter at the railroad station; Thomas Boerly, grocer; Wm. Richardson, of Martinsburg; Geo. W. Turner, of Charles Town; Wm. Brown, son of "old Brown," insurgent; Stewart Taylor, insurgent; J. C. Anderson, insurgent; E. H. Leeman, insurgent; Albert Hazlett, insurgent; and several colored men; Dorsey, of Baltimore, and a Mr. McCabe, of Harper's Ferry.

Wounded—Ossawatamie (old) Brown, and second son, insurgents; Allen Evans, mortally, insurgent; Private Quinn, U. S. Marine, mortally; another Marine, slightly; Alex. Kelly, Martinsburg, slightly; G. N. Hammond, Martinsburg, slightly; Geo. H. Murphy, Martinsburg, slightly; Geo. M. Richardson, Martinsburg, slightly; Nelson Hooper and Clinton Bowman, also of Martinsburg.

**Colonel Lee to the Secretary of War**

Harper's Ferry Arsenal, Oct. 19, 1859.

Upon a more deliberate examination of the wounds of O. Brown, they are believed not to be mortal. He has three wounds, but they are not considered by the surgeon as bad as first reported. Please direct me what to do with him and the other white prisoners. - I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. E. LEE, Colonel Commanding.

Hon. Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

**Condition of the Wounded.**

Adam B. Stevens, who was shot in the face and breast, on Monday, is sinking rapidly, his recovery is impossible. Old Brown is but slightly wounded; he owes his life to a trepidation which shook his heart at the last moment and made him fall almost unharmed at the feet of Lieut. Green. Col. Washington told us that while the Marines were hammering at the door, he said to him, "Brown, they are battering down the walls; in one minute more they will enter, and you will be cut to pieces." He informed us that old Brown perceptibly quailed at this, and offered but little resist-

ance afterwards, firing but one shot off of the twenty-five which were at his command.

Col. Washington made a narrow escape from death. He was cheering on the Marines, and pointing out Brown, who stood beside him, to Lieut. Green, when one of the Marines mistaking his shouts for words of encouragement to the insurgents, leveled his piece at him and was about to fire, when he discovered his error. In the pocket of Brown was found, besides a number of letters, an envelope upon which was the following memorandum: "Jacob Fiery (!) 3 miles south of Hagerstown, widow of Kennedy, at Sharpsburg, on the way to Hagerstown."

We give *literatum et punctuatum*, the following scrap written by Watson Brown who was seriously wounded by one of the Martinsburg men, and found on the floor of the engine house immediately after the storming: "Fight on, fight on, you Hell Hown of the Lower Regions! Your day has come. Lower your black flag, shout you Dogs, you Devils. Hell and furies go in for Death."

Slave Insurrection at Harper's Ferry.

Great Excitement.

The Armory Seized and Trains Stopped.

Cars Fired Into.

Virginia and Maryland Military Ordered Out.

Citizens Killed and Others taken Prisoners.

Blood Shed and Lives Lost.

The Insurrectionists Routed.

Part of them Flee to the Mountains.

The Commander-in-chief of the Insurgents Captured, &c., &c.

The following dispatches were sent from Frederick, Md., to Baltimore, the wires at Harper's Ferry being cut east and west, at 2 o'clock, Monday morning, October 17, 1859:

Frederick, Oct. 17, 1859.—Information has just been received here this morning of a formidable negro insurrection at Harper's Ferry. An armed band of Abolitionists have full possession of Harper's Ferry and the United States Arsenal. The express train east was fired into twice, and one of the hands, a negro, was killed whilst trying to get the train through the town.

They have arrested two men who came with a load of wheat and took their wagon and loaded it with rifles, and sent them into Maryland. They are led by about fifty whites with a gang of negroes fighting for their freedom. They gave Conductor Phelps notice that they would not allow any more trains to pass.

#### **Residents Imprisoned—Citizens Killed.**

Frederick, Md., Oct. 17, 1859.—The engine and train from here have just returned, being unable to proceed through Harper's Ferry. A letter has just been received here from a merchant in Harper's Ferry, which was sent by two boys who had to swim the river to escape the insurrectionists. The letter states that most all of the leading people of Harper's Ferry were taken prisoners, and that several have been killed. The robbers have all the works in their possession, and have taken the money from the vaults. The Powder

house is in their possession, and they will not permit any one to leave the town.

Mayor F. Beckham, the railroad agent, was shot twice by the gang and killed. They are said to be disguised, the whites being painted as blacks. The attack was first made about 12 o'clock last night. The watchman at the railroad depot was shot dead.

#### **The Excitement in Baltimore.**

The bulletin boards of the newspapers were besieged by anxious crowds the livelong day. "What's the news?" was on every lip, and the utmost eagerness manifested everywhere to hear something.

#### **Rush of Volunteers.**

The rush of volunteers at the various armories, was absolutely immense. Every vacant uniform in some of the companies, of which any knowledge could be gained, was hunted up and filled an hour at least before starting. Hence, if any company in service is thin in its ranks, the cause is surely not the want of men, but of uniforms. One stalwart chap, at the armory of the Wells and McComas Riflemen, begged piteously for a chance to go. His language was: "Captain, if you'll just let me go, dogged if I'll ever forget you. All I want is a rifle, and a fair shot, and I'll fetch 'em sure." But the Captain was heedless.

#### **Military Movement—The Bridge to Be Forced.**

Washington, Oct. 17.—On receipt of intelligence from Harper's Ferry this morning, orders were issued for three companies of artillery, at Old Point, and the corps of Marines, at the Washington barracks, to pro-



ceed thither without delay. The Marines, about 93 in number, with two twelve-pound Howitzers, and a full supply of ammunition, left on the 3 o'clock train this afternoon. It is reported that they are under orders to force the bridge at all hazards. Hon. C. J. Faulkner accompanied them. It is stated on good authority that some weeks ago Secretary Floyd received an anonymous epistle, stating that about the 16th of October, the Abolitionists and negroes, with other disaffected persons would make an attempt to seize the Arsenal and hold the place. This statement appeared so indefinite, impossible and ridiculous as to be regarded as not worthy of any attention.

#### **State of Affairs at the Arrival of the Baltimore Troops.**

The train containing the Baltimore soldiery and the U. S. Marines, which left Baltimore at 5 o'clock on Monday, after creeping along the road at a pace most tedious to the impatient spirits aboard, many of whom were sadly afraid that the town would be found plundered and deserted by the insurgents, reached Sandy Hook, a station about one mile east of Harper's Ferry, about 11 o'clock at night and was there halted. The intelligence which the military on board here received was well calculated to fire the blood of the coldest man, and scores of volunteers were for instantly pressing forward and attacking the building in which they learned the traitors had fortified themselves, when Col. Lee issued through Gen. Egerton positive orders that the troops, with the exception of the Marines and

the Independent Greys, should remain inactive. The Marines, after an half hour's delay or more, were marched across the bridge and posted in the arsenal yard, and the Greys ordered to relieve the Hamtramack Guards, Capt. Butler, of Shepherdstown, Va., in keeping guard over the entrance to the bridge.

#### **Disobedience of Orders.**

The instant upon the arrival of the train at Sandy Hook, several gentlemen proceeded forward with the intention of crossing over to the town. They were followed by W. Prescott Smith, and a companion, who were the first from Baltimore to cross the bridge. The first point to visit was the fortified position of the insurgents which was found entirely surrounded and carefully guarded by the United Guards of Frederick, whose commander, Capt. Thomas Linn, had but one instant before held a parley with the desperado Brown, and concluded a mutual agreement not to fire at each other during the remainder of the night.

#### **A Cold Watch.**

A cold penetrating rain had set in a few minutes before, rendering the outside watch duty most disagreeable, and in the event of a sally or attempt to escape, most dangerous, yet notwithstanding, the Frederick lads maintained their guard, with a perseverance and watchfulness which would have defied every effort at escape.

#### **Defeat of the Insurgents—The Rioters Barricaded in the Armory.**

Harper's Ferry, 3:15 a. m., Tuesday, 18th Oct. 1859.—The town being in possession of the military,

the rioters are entrenched in the armory and hold Mr. Washington, Mr. Dangerfield, and others as prisoners.

The insurrectionists were commanded by Capt. Brown, of Kansas notoriety, who gave his name as Anderson, to Conductor Phelps. They numbered originally seventeen white men and five negroes, but were reinforced during the day. Allen Evans, one of the insurgents, a white man, is lying here dying, with a ball through his breast. He is from Connecticut, but has been in Kansas. He says the whole was got up by Capt. Brown, who represented that the negroes would rise by thousands, and Maryland and Virginia would be made free States. Col. Shriver, of Frederick City, Md., has just had an interview with Capt. Brown, in the armory. He asked to be allowed to march out with his men, and avowed his intention to defend himself to the last. They are very strongly posted in the engine-house, and cannon cannot be used against them for fear of injuring the prisoners whom they still hold. Some sixteen persons are known to be killed. Mayor Fountain Beckham, the railroad agent, was shot dead from the Armory windows. Three rioters are lying dead under the bridge, shot by the Shepherdstown troops, (Hamtramck Guards) in the charge on the bridge.

The Armory was taken possession of by the rioters about 9 o'clock on Sunday night, and was so quietly done that the citizens knew nothing of it until the train was stopped. Captain Brown had been about here and rented a farm four miles off, which was the rendezvous

of the rioters. Capt. Cook has also lived in the vicinity, and at one time taught school here. All the other white men are unknown, but are supposed to be men who have been connected with Capt. Brown in Kansas.

#### **Incidents of the Second Battle.**

Harper's Ferry, Oct. 18, 1859.—The town was thronged last night with military and rioters, and martial law prevailed throughout the entire community. No one could pass the bridge without arrest, unless permitted by Col. Shriver, commanding the Frederick City military. The precaution was taken to prevent the possibility of escape of any of the disturbers of the peace of the town. Nearly the first object visible after passing the bridge was a dead negro lying outside the pavement with an ugly gash in his throat, and other wounds. No one seemed to notice him particularly, more than any dead animal. ¶ The citizens have not yet recovered from their astonishment at the Civil War which has so suddenly been engendered in their peaceful community, nor their surprise at the boldness which characterizes the efforts of the conspirators who have so mysteriously alighted, full armed, in their midst. The insurgents are caged, however, after their work of violence and death, and the people with great anxiety awaited the results of the events of today.

#### **The Crisis.**

The anxiously looked for dawn of Tuesday morning broke slowly and dully, and throngs of citizens and soldiers crowded around the besieged in ill-defined expectation of the bloody tragedy which they were assured

would ensue. About 6 o'clock the City Guard Battalion, Law Greys, and other troops of Baltimore, Hamtramck Guards of Shepherdstown, Charles Town Greys, and other troops, were assigned their positions. For half an hour or more the time was passed in disposing 600 troops present in a manner entirely to surround the arsenal yard, which was occupied exclusively by the Marines—no one but a regular soldier or Marine being permitted within its gates. The Independent Greys were marched by Gen. Egerton to a position on the railroad bridge, directly facing the door of the engine house, and within range, though some thirty feet above the direct line of the fire which it was thought would be poured from the door when it should be broken open. The United Guard of Frederick occupied a position nearly at the iron gates of the armory yard.

About 5 o'clock yesterday morning, the military companies, a part of which had been on duty at guard, during the night, were ordered out. The volunteers took possession of the streets surrounding the government buildings, and cleared them of spectators. The Marines were drawn up within the enclosure, under the command of Col. R. E. Lee, Lieutenant Stewart, of the army, and Major Russell, with their two Dahlgreen 12-pound Howitzers. The insurgents were in the engine room of the armory, a small building at the extreme end of the government works. They held as their prisoners some half dozen negroes. One of the Baltimore companies, the Independent Greys, Lieut. Simpson, commanding, occupied the railroad bridge directly in front of the unoccupied buildings.

The military companies of the adjoining towns and the Baltimore companies presented an imposing military display. The scene was exciting in the extreme. The most breathless suspense existed for the half hour which preceded the attack. Death was anticipated, and the reckless daring of the few bold and foolish fanatics who set at defiance the authority of the general government and the whole military force in their view, created an intense indignation and a desire for the summary chastisement. The apprehensions for the safety of the gentlemen detained in the custody of the insurgents were also painful. The Marines in the yard commenced maneuvering towards a close proximity to the building. At length Col. Lee appeared in front of the enclosure with Lieut. Stewart, who, with a citizen, was deputed to bear a flag of truce to the insurgents. Every eye was upon the two latter as they approached the door of the building. The conference was long, especially between the insurgents and the citizens and the patience of all present was nearly exhausted. At length they retired.

#### **The Summons to Surrender.**

About 7 o'clock a detachment of Marines, two of whom concealed heavy sledge hammers behind their backs, were brought up to the end of the offices of the department, separated from the engine house by six or eight feet, but, from their position, entirely concealed from the view of those within it. All being now in readiness, Col. Lee, dressed in citizens clothes, took a position outside the armory yard, concealed from the view of the fanatic insurgents, by a heavy brick column,

and beckoned to Capt. J. E. B. Stuart, who, accompanied by an aged man holding an umbrella, to which was attached a white handkerchief, entered the yard and approached the engine house, the door of which was opened a few inches, and the parley commenced. The actions of the officers were watched with breathless attention by the vast throng, who thus gathered the probable result of the interview.

It is understood that Col. Lee, in summoning them to surrender, offered them protection till the pleasure of the President of the United States should be made known, and that nearly all of the insurgents were in favor of accepting those conditions, but the powerful will



MARINES STORMING ENGINE HOUSE.

of the leader, Brown, overruled their wishes, and they refused to surrender. Major Russell then ordered Liut. Green, with a file of Marines, to force the large double iron doors. They rushed towards them and

attempted with their bayonets to force them open, but the strength of their fastenings defied the efforts. At this time a volley from within increased the excitement of the spectators. The marines then tried to force the doors with heavy sledge hammers, but they also proved ineffectual. A double file of Marines was then ordered to attack the doors with a heavy ladder. A few powerful efforts shattered the strong doors of the engine-house of the government, which was filled with fire engines, and as they yielded to the force of this battering ram and flew in pieces, an extra shout went up from the multitude. The moment the upper part of the doors went down, Lieut. Green and his Marines fired a volley into the insurgents with deadly aim. Major Russell then sprang upon the ladder and preceded them. The conflict was terminated in a few moments. One of the Marines, Private Quinn, was borne off fatally wounded by a shot in the abdomen, and another private, Rupert, received a flesh wound in the upper lip and had one or more of his upper teeth knocked out.

#### **The Storming.**

Finally, the officer bowed and turned to depart, the door was closed quickly, and instantly Col. Lee elevating his hand, gave the signal of assault. The action scarcely performed ere a dozen Marines sprang from behind the angle of the wall, and the blows of the two sledge hammers resounded through the entire enclosure. Strange, not a shot was fired from within, and the men began to suspect some bloody reception trick. Suddenly, the men threw down the hammers, and quickly



sprung behind the protecting angle of the adjoining building. A terrible pause of a minute ensues, and thirty unarmed Marines are seen to approach from the opposite end of the lengthy yard, bearing a ladder about thirty feet in length. Not a minute is wasted. Allowing a run of several yards, they dash their battering ram against the door, the blow resounding with a heavy crashing noise, which denoted its effect. A sec-



#### BATTERING DOWN DOOR WITH LADDER.

ond and shorter run is taken. The battering ram is again applied, and a sharp crackling noise follows. A third time the battering ram is applied, and a rent is made in the stubborn door barely sufficient to admit a man. Meanwhile not a shot has been fired by the insurgents within, and the crowd are in wondering expectancy, as simultaneously with a breach, a party of 20 armed Marines dash forward, led by a slightly built officer, Lieut. Green, who was the first man to enter. As they enter, the Marines each picking their man, fire.

Three Sharp's rifle reports and only three are heard in response, one of which was fired by old Brown beneath the engine, behind which himself and his gang were crouching, and in a few seconds after, a Marine appears leading out one of the citizen prisoners. Shout after shout rends the air after this signal of victory, and all is then commotion and confusion. But the contest was over. From its commencement until its termination, not five minutes had elapsed. The work was done, and well done, exclusively by the Marines. None other were permitted within the yard, and no persons not connected with that corps had the remotest agency in the assault, or in its results. The first to enter the building after the volley were Drs. Dunbar and Henry C. Scott, of the City Guards. The former caught Quinn the wounded marine as he fell, and Surgeon Scott rendered similar aid to private Rupert.

#### Ball's Experience.

Mr. Ball, the master armorer, while a prisoner in the engine-house was the most excited intense and vivid in his description. He said Brown would not permit him to swear, though he felt dreadfully like it. He complained bitterly of his adipose conditions. "For the first time in my life, he remarked, I wished I was a thin man. Old Brown placed me in the corner, the brick wall forming an angle only thirteen inches deep. I am seventeen inches in diameter. I prayed smartly then that the extra four inches had never belonged to me. I squeezed into the wall every time a ball came banging through the door. At first I

wasn't much frightened, but when old Ossawatamie told us he should place Col. Washington and the rest of us in front of them if the military fired, I really felt awful squeamish, and when I heard the door breaking in I thought I was a goner. One of the Marines was just going to poke me through with his bayonet, when Lieut. Greene, who was the first in, threw up his arm and said I was a friend. I could hear the teeth of young Brown grate together when the bayonet went through his body. When I got outside fairly I gave three cheers for the United States. I embraced my friends, eagerly, in fact everybody. In the delight of the moment I could have embraced anything but a negress, upon my honor, sir! I never was so happy in my life."

Mr. A. M. Ball, one of the rescued prisoners from the engine-house, is a very large man. Considering his size and the great number of shots fired into the house, a friend inquired how he had managed to escape unhurt. He replied that it was explained by his powers of contraction, and the faculty of "flattening himself like a sun fish, as he had done to escape bullets." Amidst all his troubles, Mr. Ball says, he was amused at an incident with a negro named Phil, belonging to Mr. Allstadt. Old Brown desired Phil, with some suitable tool, to make a hole in the wall, for his party to shoot through. Under a threat Phil went reluctantly to work, and while thus engaged the Martinsburg men made an attack. At a volley from their guns the negro dodged, dropped his tool, and exclaimed as he did so, "too hot here for Phil."

### Coolness of Brown.

Col. Washington, who was a keen observer of Capt. Brown, during the events of Monday and Tuesday, expresses the highest admiration of the cool, calm, courage of the insurgent leader, and of his humanity. He told us that he heard Capt. Brown give explicit orders to his men, not to injure, if possible, any women, and only to aim at those who carried guns. Capt. Brown's coolness and courage inspired his men with a like contempt of danger, and their conduct and conversation were marked by a remarkable calmness. Watson Brown, the younger son of "Ossawatamie" and who was desperately wounded by the Martinsburg men, (and who afterwards died) on Monday forenoon, suffered intensely during Monday night, several times requesting his comrade to dash out his brains with their guns, and thus relieve his sufferings. On Tuesday morning his agony apparently became unendurable, and seizing a pistol, he was about to shoot himself in the head, when his father staying his hand, calmly told him that the time had not yet arrived for such a deed as that, to endure a little longer, and he might die as befitted a man; we spoke with this young man a few minutes after the assault, and could not divest our heart of something akin to pity for him. He feelingly inquired whether his father was alive, and on being answered in the affirmative, looked his thankfulness. He was informed of the death of his brother in the assault, but exhibited no emotion at this announcement. In reply to certain questions, he stated that his father had been

assured of the co-operation of several hundred of men, who were to have rendezvoused at the Ferry on Sunday night, and frequently affirmed his conviction of the justness of the cause in which he had been so disastrously engaged. Edwin Coppie, the only one of the party except a negro, named Green, who escaped unhurt, is too ignorant to appreciate his position. He spoke glibly and good-naturedly of the occurrences through which he had passed as if it was a matter upon which he should pleasantly congratulate himself.

Col. Washington says on Monday night, three of the party had advised a surrender, but that Capt. Brown quietly but firmly opposed the proposition. Upon the entrance of the Marines into the building, Coppie shouted out, "I surrender," when Capt. Brown exclaimed in as loud a tone, "But *one* surrenders, give him quarter"

#### **Storming of the Engine House.**

Most of the published accounts of the storming of the engine house in which the insurgents had fortified themselves, convey an entirely erroneous idea of the affair. In nearly all of which have come under our attention, the assault is represented as having been a most desperate one, and the resistance equally stubborn, continuing through ten or fifteen minutes. To those who witnessed the transaction it is needless to say, that while the accounts do credit to the descriptive powers of their writers, they are far beyond the facts, in truth as in dramatic effect.

#### **Conduct of the Martinsburg Men.**

Too little justice has been done, we think, to the volunteers of Martinsburg, and the citizens of Harper's

Ferry and Sandy Hook, in relation of their connection with the matter. To the former body of twelve or fifteen men, under the lead of Capt. Alburtis is due by far, the largest share of credit for true valor, and military spirit. After their arrival they entered the arsenal grounds, and charged boldly up to the very windows of the building into which the insurgents were compelled to retreat. It was while in the act of firing through an open window into the arsenal that Conductor Richardson was mortally wounded, after bringing down his man; and Conductor Evan Dorsey was also wounded directly at a window through which he had a second before fired with fatal aim.

#### **Bravery of a Young Attorney.**

Geo. H. Murphy, Esq., son of Paymaster Murphy at Harper's Ferry, and Prosecuting Attorney of Berkeley county, a young man apparently not more than 21 years of age, accompanied the Martinsburg men, and was one of the first to dash up to the window which he broke in with a blow from the butt of his gun. It was by this act, and through this window that some 40 prisoners or more, were released. Subsequently Mr. Murphy engaged in the fight with much determination, receiving a rifle ball below the knee. The wound, however, did not prevent him from further participation in the contest, and through the remainder of that, and during the events of the succeeding day, he was a conspicuous actor in the exciting scenes limping around with a Sharp's rifle, which he had captured, slung across his back, and cheering his associates on to the attack.

### **Statement of an Eye-Witness.**

When the order was given for the Marines to storm the barracks, Adjutant G. W. Talbott, of the Fifth Regiment, of Baltimore, mingled in with the Marines, and took an active part in the affray. The insurgents were in a small house, the engine house, within the arsenal enclosures, and stubbornly refused to surrender, preferring death to capture. The order was given to batter down the doors, which was speedily done with sledge hammers and a large ladder, when the doors flew open the insurgents poured a volley into the besiegers, which was returned with deadly effect. After the first fire, the Marines rushed into the barracks and captured five blacks and four white men, all of whom were wounded, with the exception of one white man.

Upon entering the door, J. G. Anderson, one of the ring-leaders of the insurgents, discharged a minnie rifle at the Marines, and was in the act of firing his revolver, when a minnie ball struck him in the left side below the heart. He staggered back a few paces and appeared determined to sell his life dearly. He raised his revolver and was cocking it, when Adjutant Talbott rushed upon him, and succeeded in disarming him. This task, however, was not accomplished without a struggle, as Anderson, finding that his situation was life or death, used all his energies to accomplish as much harm as he was able. Finding himself overpowered, he yielded to Adj. Talbott, and was removed to a place of safety, where he was attended by Prof. Dunbar, of Baltimore. Anderson died a few hours afterwards.



The pistol which Adj. Talbott secured was one of the largest cavalry description, and was heavily loaded. On the butt end there was engraved the name of J. E. Cook. This individual was in second command of the insurgents, and made his escape to the mountains, with a few of his followers. When the barracks were captured there were six dead bodies lying on the floor. On the body of one of the killed there was a copy of the By-laws and a constitution governing the abolitionists. A love letter was also found upon one of the killed, couched in the most affectionate terms, from a female in Illinois. In leaving for home, three dead bodies were discovered floating down the Potomac river. They were permitted to pass by, and no effort was made to bring them ashore. When the insurgents found that they were getting the worst of the battle, they secured themselves in houses and shot down passers-by, by thrusting their rifles through windows and loop holes.

#### **Names of Those Held as Prisoners.**

Armstead Ball, chief draughtsman at the Armory; Benj. Mills, master of the Armory; J. E. P. Dangerfield, paymaster's clerk; Col. Lewis Washington; John Allstadt and six servants, the last two named were seized on their farms several miles from the Ferry.

#### **Names of the Raiders, &c.**

The following is a list of the names of the Raiders, as well as could be ascertained: Capt. John Brown, Watson Brown, Oliver Brown, Owen Brown, Capt. John E. Cook, Aaron D. Stevens, Edwin Coppie, Barclay Coppie, Albert Hazlett, Steuart Taylor, William Lehman,



William Thompson, John Kagi, Charles P. Tidd, Oliver Anderson, Jeremiah Anderson, Dolph Thompson, Dangerfield Newby, Shields Green, John Copeland, Lewis Leavy; the four last were negroes or mulattoes. Capt. John Brown was about 60 years old, 5 feet 11 inches high, large boned and muscular, not fleshy. He, in his younger days, no doubt, possessed great physical strength. His hair had been dark brown, but at this period was gray. His beard was long, and on this day it hung in snowy waves to his breast, giving him a wild appearance. His eyes of a full dark grey; he was of quick temper and daring courage. His head was of conical shape and his physique corresponded with the traits of his character. Watson and Oliver Brown, sons of Capt. Brown, were killed in the engine house. Capt. John E. Cook was about 28 years old, 5 feet 8 inches high. He had fair, long hair, and bright blue eyes, and was quite an intelligent looking man, and of slender build.

#### **Names of the Hostages.**

The nine citizens confined as hostages in the engine house were as follows: Lewis W. Washington, John Allstadt, farmer; John E. P. Dangerfield, paymaster's clerk; A. M. Ball, master machinist; Benjamin Mills, master armorer; John Donohoo, assistant agent of the B. & O. railroad; Terence Burns, farmer in Washington county, Md.; Israel Russell, merchant, and Mr. Shope, of Frederick, Md., who happened to be at the Ferry

#### **One Good Turn Deserves Another.**

When Old Brown was wounded and supposed to be

dying, Major Russell of the Marines, kindly ordered him to be conveyed to a room in one of the departments, and all attention paid him. Brown looked up and recognized Major Russell, said, "you entered first, I could have killed you, but I spared you." In reply to which the Major bowed and said: "I thank you."

### **Seizure of Arms**

Shortly after the storming of the citadel of the insurrectionists, several respectable looking citizens of the Ferry approached Major Warner excitedly, and declared that a large number of the insurgents, under the command of J. E. Cook, one of the leaders, had entrenched themselves within an unoccupied log cabin, sometimes used as a schoolhouse, and had fired upon certain citizens a few moments before; and the assistance of Major Warner was asked to dislodge them. The latter replied that his corps being under the command of General Egerton he could not act without orders from him, but that they were eagerly willing to volunteer for the service. Meantime Gen. Egerton having received intelligence to the same effect, as that communicated to Major Warner, had detailed the Independent Greys, Lieut. Simpson, of Baltimore, to dislodge and capture the party. The Greys proceeded at "double-quick" time, along a constantly ascending and rocky road to execute the order. About a mile from the Ferry, on the Maryland Heights, they arrived within sight of the school house, a cabin situated in a gloomy hollow, and apparently closely barricaded. Halting for a few minutes, the Greys formed into two platoons, under the

respective commands of Lieuts. Simpson and Kerchner, and, at a given signal, dashed down the declivity of the road, with the butt end of their muskets, battered in the doors and windows, through which they entered. The cabin was entirely empty of occupants, though on all sides were discovered evidences of recent occupation, and a hasty retreat of the inmates. Against the front door were piled sixteen long and heavy boxes, one of which, upon being burst open, was found to contain ten newly finished Sharp's rifles, breech-loading, evidently fresh from the hands of their maker. There was also discovered one large square box, exceedingly heavy, which was suffered to remain, unopened; a large and heavy black trunk, a box filled with bayonets, and sabres, and several boxes of rifle cartridges and ammunition. There were 21 boxes, several of which were filled with Maynard's large sized patent revolvers, with powder flasks accompanying.

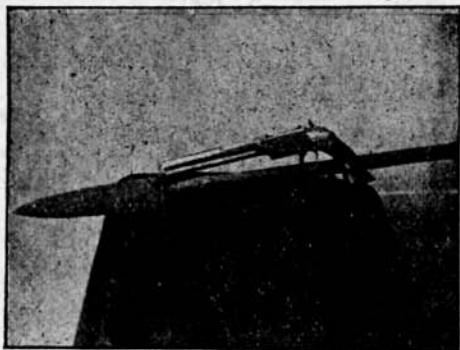
The room was littered with Sharp's rifles, revolvers and pikes, evidently distributed with a view to their immediate use, either for the purpose of defense or an aggressive action. After satisfying themselves that the traitors had fled, the Greys proceeded to possess themselves, each man, a rifle, and a pair of revolvers, the remainder being placed, together with a large number of pikes, &c., upon a large new wagon, purchased but a few days before by Smith, or Capt. Brown, to which the captors harnessed a pair of fine horses they caught grazing in the enclosure, and conveyed their valuable prize into the Ferry where they were received with loud

cheers by the citizens and military. The captured boxes were placed for safe keeping in the Arsenal of the United States, though the Greys asserted an exclusive right to their possession as the lawful prize of its captors. The revolvers and rifles were entirely new, and evidently expressly manufactured for the insurrectionists, the initials of one of the leader's name, "J. E. C.," were stamped upon every weapon.

The boxes in which the weapons were contained were marked thus, "By railroad via Pittsburg and Harrisburg, J. Smith & Sons, Chambersburg, Pa. By American Express Company. Keep dry." One box was directed to "W. F. McClarney, Marine Bank Building." The name of the town had been obliterated, but several legible letters indicated that Cincinnati was the place. One small box containing cartridges was inscribed with the initials "J. B." written on the back of a nearly obliterated card, with the following printed advertisement, "From Burr and Swift, wholesale and retail dealers and importers of groceries, fish, fruit, tobacco, sugar, glass, salt, rope, wooden-ware, etc., commission and forwarding merchants, between Front and Second, Davenport, Iowa." Another unopened box, supposed to contain rifles was addressed to "T. B. Eldridge, Mt. Pleasant." The succeeding portion of the address, the name of the State perhaps, had been carefully obliterated.

It is shown that Brown brought with him for this expedition arms sufficient to have placed an effective weapon in the hands of not less than 1500 men; besides

which, had he succeeded in obtaining the aid he looked for from the slaves, he had entirely under his control all the arms of the United States deposited in the arsenal at Harper's Ferry. After his capture, besides the arms he brought in the wagon to the Ferry, there were found on the Maryland side, where he had left them, 200 Sharp's rifled carbines, and 200 revolver pistols, packed in the boxes of the manufacturers, with 900 or 1000 pikes, carefully and strongly made, the blade of steel being securely riveted to a handle about five feet in



### BROWN'S PIKE AND PISTOL.

length, many thousand percussion caps in boxes, and ample stores of fixed ammunition, besides a large supply of powder in kegs, and a chest that contained hospital and other military stores, besides a quantity of extra clothing for troops. They were sent directly from Connecticut to Brown under his assumed name of Isaac Smith, first to Chambersburg, Pa., there received by some of Brown's men, who were there placed also under assumed names, and by whom they were transported to

his abode near Harper's Ferry. It appears from the evidence that, in 1856, these 200 Sharp's carbines had been forwarded by an association in Massachusetts called the "Massachusetts State Kansas Committee," at first to Chicago, on their way to Kansas. At Chicago they were placed under the control of another association called the "National Kansas Aid Committee." There being some difficulty, from the disordered condition of the country at that time in getting them to Kansas, they were sent by this last named association into Iowa, where they remained. In January, 1857, it seems there was a meeting of this National Kansas Committee in the city of New York. That committee was constituted of one member from most of the non-slave-holding States. At that meeting John Brown appeared, and made application to have these arms placed in his possession. It seemed that he wanted them, as he expressed it, for the purpose of defense in Kansas," but as the troubles were nearly ended, such pretensions seem to have been discredited by those to whom it was addressed.

#### **Discovery of the Papers of the Insurgents**

The excitement attending this clever exploit had scarcely subsided, when another alarm was given, that the leader Cook had a few moments before been seen upon the mountains on the Maryland side. A scouting party consisting of several members of the Greys, (the only foreign corps in the town, quite or nearly all of those present in the forenoon having left for their homes) some score or more of volunteers, and about twenty U. S. Marines, under command of Capt. J. E.

B. Stewart, was instantly formed, and proceeded rapidly in pursuit. Following the same path which the Greys had pursued in making their discoveries, and which is known as the "County road," leading into the heart of Washington county, Md., the party continued their course for a distance of four miles from the Ferry, until they reached the farm and house bought and occupied by Brown, under the name of John Smith. The dwelling, a log house, containing two unpaved basement rooms, used apparently for storage, and in which were several empty gun boxes; two rooms and a pantry upon the second floor; and one large attic room in which were about six husk mattresses, was discovered to be unoccupied, save a huge, savage looking mastiff, tied with a rope to the railing of a small piazza outside the house, but there were abundant evidences of its recent hurried vacation. The floors of all the rooms were littered with books, papers, documents and wearing apparel of several persons, hastily snatched from eight or ten trunks, and an equal amount of valises and coarse carpet bags, strewn around, the fastenings all of which had been forcibly broken, as if their violators were too much hurried for time to adopt the tardier method of entrance by looking up keys. In the pantry, which appeared to have been used for kitchen purposes, beside an almost new cooking stove and an abundance of tin utensils, were two barrels of flour, a large quantity of sausage, meat and cured hams, together with several pounds of butter, lard, &c. The fire was yet smouldering in the stove, and the water in the boiler was quite hot at the time of the entrance.

But the most valuable discovery was a trunk belonging to Capt. Brown containing a great number of highly important papers, documents, plans and letters from private individuals throughout the Union, all revealing the existence of an extensive and thoroughly organized conspiracy, whose leaders were Capt. Brown and J. E. Cook, and the well-defined, determinedly expressed object of which, was the hastening of the "irrepressible conflict" predicted by Senator Seward, and recently by Gerritt Smith, which was to result in the "disenthralment of the slaves of the South," and the extinction of the slave power." The most undoubted evidences have been obtained, not only of the plans and hopes of this formidable insurrectionary organization; but of the indisputable fact of its extension throughout the Northern and Western States, from the influential citizens of whom the treasonable movement has received its sustaining support and encouragement.

Among the most important documents discovered were pamphlets containing the Constitution of a Provisional Government for the United States, the treasonable purposes and objects of which if not directly put forth, are nevertheless so clearly expressed as to be conclusive.

#### **Startling Revelation—The Points of Attack.**

In a trunk, supposed to have belonged to Capt. Brown, was found seven small though elaborate maps of as many different States, bearing peculiar marks, which would seem to indicate that the points of attack, and the course of the insurrectionary movement through the South, had already been carefully determined upon



by this well organized and confident league of traitors. Certain counties in the seven States, of which only these maps were obtained, bear cross-marks formed by a pen, and in several instances as if to command greater particularity of attention, or to suggest perhaps more available points of attack, circular lines are drawn around the crosses.. South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Florida, Tennessee and Kentucky are the States mentioned to attack. The maps which are about 18 by 12 inches, are carefully and neatly pasted on stout cambric cloth. Upon the margin of each map is pasted the census returns of 1850, of its State; giving in detail the relative strength of the white and slave population of each county, and the proportion of females to the whole number of inhabitants. By referring to the counties marked, it will be perceived that in them the slave population vastly preponderate, and might, therefore, have been deemed a safer field of operation for the abolition invaders.

#### **Important Letters and Notes.**

In the same trunk in which the maps were discovered, were found a number of highly important letters from certain well-known Northern abolitionists, conveying both "aid and comfort" to the insurrectionists; among them was a letter from Gerritt Smith, of New York, containing some financial statements, and a cheque for \$100, endorsed by the cashier of a New York bank, and a letter from Frederick Douglass, enclosing \$10, a part contributed by a lady. These were read by Governor Wise to the crowd in the arsenal yard. There

are yet other letters not yet made public, which implicate several well-known politicians of Iowa, New York and Pennsylvania, in the conspiracy to create a slave insurrection throughout the Southern States. Among a quantity of papers in our possession, found in the house of Capt. Brown, is the following brief, written upon a scrap of paper, in a good, professional hand writing: "At the right hour, by all you deem sacred, remember me." (Signed) GEORGE B. GILL.

The following is in the handwriting of Brown himself, and is entitled, "Vindication of the Invasion, &c."

"The Denver truce was broken.

"1st. It was in accordance with my settled policy.

"2d. It was intended as a discriminating blow at *slavery*.

"3d. It was calculated to lessen the value of *slaves*.

"4th. It was (over and above all other motives) *Right*.

"Duty of all persons in regard to this *matter*.

"Criminality of neglect in this *matter*.

In an envelope addressed to "Capt. John Brown, care of Dr. S. G. Howe, 20 Bloomfield Street," where a number of clippings from the New York Tribune, Cleveland Plaindealer and Rochester Union, referring to the Kansas exploits of "Ossawatamie" Brown. Scattered over the floor of the rooms were hundreds of copies of a pamphlet work entitled "extracts from the manual of the Patriotic Volunteer in active service in regular and irregular war, being the art and science of obtaining and maintaining Liberty and Independ-

ence. By Hugh Forbes." Certain passages in one of the copies in our possession, referring to the duties of riflemen, is penciled down the margin and dog-eared as if for future reference.

### **Discovery of Tents**

From the house of Brown the party proceeded to a log cabin, on the opposite side of the road, and but a few hundred feet higher up, where they discovered some eight or ten boxes filled with wearing apparel, boots, blankets, quilts, &c., amply sufficient to supply the wants of a formidable number of men. In the loft of the cabin nearly or quite 2,000 pikes were found, together with six or more tents, and a great number of axes, picks and shovels. The captured articles completely filled a large country wagon, and was with much difficulty drawn to the Ferry by two powerful horses.

### **To the Victors Belong the Spoils.**

The entire contents of the house were appropriated by the scouting party, as legitimate plunder; barrels of flour were rolled away; the stove and its appurtenances removed, and on the re-entry of the expedition into Harper's Ferry, scarcely a man of its volunteer army but staggered beneath the weight of his spoils.

### **Further Developments.**

It is stated that the Hon. Alexander R. Boteler, member of Congress, from this district, has collected from fifty to one hundred letters from citizens in the neighborhood of Brown's house, who searched it before the arrival of the Marines. The letters are in the possession of Andrew Hunter, Esq., who has also a large

number of letters obtained from Brown's house by the Marines and other parties. Among them is a roll of the conspirators, containing forty-seven signatures; also a receipt from Horace Greely for letters &c., received from Brown, and an accurately traced map from Chambersburg to Brown's house; copies of letters from Brown stating that the arrival of too many men at once would excite suspicion, that they should arrive singly; a letter from Merriam stating that of the 20,000 wanted G. S. was good for one-fifth. Brown told them to let the women write the letters, and not the men. There is also a pathetic letter from Elizabeth Leeman to her brother. Also a letter from J. E. Cook, stating that "the Maryland election is about to come off, the people will *become* excited, and we will get some of the candidates that will join our side." Then follows four pages in cipher. There is also a letter from Col. Craig, of the Ordinance Department, Washington, answering inquiries as to the disposition of the United States troops, &c. There is also a collection of autographs. Important papers are also in the possession of the State and general government.

#### Old Brown's Journal.

"Old" Brown kept a daily journal, in which he set forth the details of his transactions, which show his purchase of arms, in large quantities, and ammunition and stores of all kinds necessary to the success of an extensive insurrection—field spy-glasses, picks and shovels for throwing up temporary fortifications; calls, or boatswains' whistles of a new kind, being very shrill and

capable of being heard at a long distance, which are supposed to have been intended for assembling his bands or warning them of danger, were among the stores in the wagon captured by the Greys. The whistles, as per bill, found in his effects, were made in Philadelphia, and forwarded to an agent of his in Baltimore, last week, per Adams & Co.'s Express; some of them were found in his valise. There is nothing in the papers found, showing that negroes or others belonging to Harper's Ferry or its vicinity were *particeps criminis* before the fact in Brown's conspiracy.

#### **The Excitement in Shepherdstown.**

On Monday whilst our Military were absent at Harper's Ferry, the greatest excitement prevailed. From any lip could be constantly heard, "What's the news from Harper's Ferry?" Flying and exaggerated rumors were frequently brought to town, which caused our citizens, for the protection of our own interests, to call upon the Mayor, Dr. John Reynolds, to organize a Patrole, to be posted at the different thoroughfares leading into town. At 7 o'clock a meeting was held by order of the Mayor, at the Armory Hall, and five different squads of Patrole were appointed to guard the town during the night. No disturbance of any kind occurred through the night. About twelve o'clock at night a gentleman from Frederick, Md., passed through town on his way to Charles Town, bearing telegraphic dispatches from President Buchanan to Col. Gibson, of Charles Town, and Col. Price, of Winchester, to order out the militia and proceed directly to Harper's Ferry.

The telegraphic wires being cut east and west of the Ferry, no connection could be made further than Frederick city. Tuesday morning (18th, Oct. 1859) the excitement was still greater. About 12 o'clock the news came to town that a band of insurgents and negroes, headed by Capt. Cook, were proceeding up the river to make a descent upon Sheperdstown. No sooner had this news reached us, than a 'company of armed men, composed principally of our oldest citizens, commanded by Col. Charles Harper, marched through our streets, headed by fife and drum, and saluted with the cries of women and children, across the river and down the canal a mile or so in the expectation of meeting and dispersing the advancing insurrectionists, but coming upon a canal boat, they were informed by the Captain of the boat that the insurrectionists had fled to the mountains and were closely pursued by the military, except those who were captured and forced into the engine house. In the evening of the same day, the Hamtramck Guards returned to town from Harper's Ferry, marched through our principal streets, headed by fife and drum, and greeted with the cheers and bouquets of our ladies, for the inflexible courage and undaunted bravery displayed by them at Harper's Ferry in the midst of the hot firing of the insurrectionists upon them; happily all of them escaped unhurt. On Wednesday morning, a party of our citizens left town for the purpose of searching the mountain for Cook and his followers. They were not successful in capturing anyone of the band, but came upon their rendez-

vous and found several letters and a portion of their By-laws, which state that their sole object and intention was the liberation of the slaves. Another provision in their By-laws was, that the most liberally educated of them were to teach school in the neighboring counties in order that they might avoid suspicion and be both able to incite the slaves to rebellion. This same Capt. Cook was in our town last Spring, selling the "Life of Gen. Washington," and married a Miss Kennedy of Harper's Ferry, a few months ago. He passed here as a literary character, and contributed several poetical effusions to the columns of the Register. It is stated that Capt. Brown, commander of the insurrectionists, confessed that he intended to attack Shepherdstown on Tuesday evening had he been successful in Harper's Ferry.

#### **Conversation With Capt. Brown**

Several persons and reporters availed themselves of an opportunity to be present at an interview which Senator Mason and Hon. C. J. Faulkner, of Virginia, had with Capt. Brown and Capt. Stevens, shortly after taken prisoners. The conversation is thus reported:

Mr. Mason. Can you tell us who furnished money for your expedition?

Mr. Brown. I furnished most of it myself. I cannot implicate others. I could have escaped.

Mr. Mason. You mean if you had escaped immediately?

Mr. Brown. No; I had the means to make myself secure without any escape, but I allowed myself to be surrounded by a force by being too tardy.

Mr. Mason. If you would tell us who sent you here—who provided the means, that would be information of some value.

Mr. Brown. I will answer freely and faithfully about what concerns myself. I will answer anything I can with honor, but not about others.

Mr. Valandingham. Did you get up the expedition yourself?

Mr. Brown. I did.

Mr. Valandingham. Did you get up this document that is called a constitution?

Mr. Brown. I did. They are a constitution and ordinance of my own contriving and getting up.

Mr. Valandingham. How long have you been engaged in this business?

Mr. Brown. From the breaking out of the difficulties in Kansas. Four of my sons had gone there to settle, and they induced me to go. I did not go there to settle, but because of the difficulties.

Mr. Mason. How many are engaged with you in this movement? I ask these questions for your own safety.

Mr. Brown. Any questions that I can honorably answer I will, not otherwise. So far as I am myself concerned I have told everything truthfully. I value my word, sir.

Mr. Mason. How do you justify your acts?

Mr. Brown. I think, my friend, you are guilty of a great wrong against God and humanity. I say that without wishing to be offensive. It would be perfectly



right for any one to interfere with you, so far as to free those you willfully and wickedly hold in bondage. I do not say this insultingly.

Mr. Mason. I understand that.

Mr. Brown. I think I did right, and that others will do right who interferes with you at any time, and at all times. I hold that the golden rule, do unto others as you would that others do unto you, applies to all who would help others to gain their liberty.

Mr. Valandingham. Where did your men come from? Did some of them come from Ohio?

Mr. Brown. Some of them.

Mr. Valandingham. From the Western Reserve? Of course none from Southern Ohio?

Mr. Brown. Oh, yes. I believe one came from Steubenville, down not far from Wheeling.

Mr. V. Have you been in Ohio this summer?

Mr. B. Yes, sir.

Mr. V. How lately?

Mr. B. I passed through Pittsburg on my way in June.

Mr. V. Were you at any county or State fair there?

Mr. B. I was not there since June.

Mr. Mason. Did you consider this a military organization in this paper (showing a copy of the so-called constitution and ordinances), I have not read it?

Mr. B. I did in some measure. I wish you would give that paper your close attention.

Mr. M. You consider yourself the commander-in-chief of this provisional military force?

Mr. B. I was chosen, agreeably to the ordinance of a certain document; commander-in-chief of that force.

Mr. M. What wages did you offer?

Mr. B. None.

Lieut. Stewart. The wages of sin is death.

Brown. I would not have made such a remark to you if you had been a prisoner and wounded in my hands.

Mr. Valandingham. Were you ever in Dayton, Ohio?

Brown. Yes, I have been there.

Mr. V. This summer?

Brown. No, a year or two ago.

Mr. Mason. Does this talking annoy you at all?

Brown. Not in the least.

Mr. V. Have you lived long in Ohio?

Brown. I went there in 1845. I lived in Summit county, which was then Trumbull county. My native place is New York State.

Mr. V. Do you recollect a man in Ohio named Brown, a noted counterfeiter?

Brown. I do. I knew him from a boy. His father was Henry Brown, of Irish or Scotch descent. The family was very low.

Mr. V. Have you ever been in Portage county?

Brown. I was there in June last.

Mr. V. When in Cleveland did you attend the Fugitive Slave Law Convention there?

Brown. No. I was there about the time of the sitting of the Court to try the Oberlin rescuers. I spoke there publicly on that subject. I spoke on the fugitive slave law and of my own rescue. Of course so far as I

had any preference at all I was disposed to justify the Oberlin people for rescuing the slaves, because I have myself forcibly taken slaves from bondage. I was concerned in taking eleven slaves from Missouri to Canada last winter. I think that I spoke in Cleveland before the Convention. I do not know that I had any conversation with any of the Oberlin rescuers. I was sick part of the time I was in Ohio. I had the ague. I was part of the time in Ashtabula county.

Mr. V. Did you see anything of Joshua R. Giddings there?

Brown. I did meet him.

Mr. V. Did you consult with him?

Brown. I did. I would not tell you, of course, anything that would implicate Mr. Giddings, but I certainly met with him and had a conversation with him.

Mr. V. About that rescue case?

Brown. Yes, I did. I heard him express his opinion upon it freely and frankly.

Mr. V. Fortifying it?

Brown. Yes, sir. I do not compromise him in saying that.

A Bystander. Did you go out to Kansas under the auspices of the Emigrant Aid Society?

Brown. No, sir, I went under the auspices of Old John Brown, and nobody else's.

Mr. V. Will you answer this? Did you talk with Giddings about your expedition here?

Brown. No, sir, I won't answer that because a denial of it I could not make; and to make affidavit of it I would be a great dunce.

Mr. V. Have you had any correspondence with parties at the North on the subject of this movement?

Brown. I have had correspondence.

Bystander. Do you consider this a religious movement?

Brown. It is in my opinion the greatest service a man can render to his God.

Bystander. Upon what principle do you justify your act?

Brown. By the golden rule. I pity the poor in bondage; that is why I am here; it is not to gratify any personal animosity or feeling of revenge or vindictive spirit. It is my sympathy with the oppressed and wronged, that are as good as you, and as precious in the sight of God.

Bystander. Certainly, but why take the slaves against their will?

Brown (warmly). I never did.

Bystander. You did in one instance at least.

Stevens, (to the inquirer interrupting Brown). You are right, sir: in one case I know the negro wanted to go back. (To Brown) Captain the gentleman is right.

Bystander, (to Stevens.) Where did you come from?

Stevens. I lived in Ashtabula county, Ohio.

Mr. Valadingham. How recently did you leave Ashtabula county?

Stevens. Some months ago, I never resided there any length of time. I have often been through there.

Mr. V. How far do you live from Jefferson?

Brown, (to Stevens). Be very careful, Stevens, about an answer to that; it might commit some friend. I would not answer it at all.

Stevens, who had been groaning considerably, as if the exertion necessary to conversation affected him) seemed content to abide by "my captain's" decision. He turned over and was silent.

Mr. V. (to Brown). Who were your advisers in this movement?

Brown. I have numerous sympathizers throughout the entire North.

Mr. V. In Northern Ohio?

Brown. No more than anywhere else in all the free states.

Mr. V. But you are not personally acquainted in Southern Ohio?

Brown. Not very much.

Mr. V. Were you at the convention last June?

Brown. I was. I want you to understand, gentlemen that I respect the rights of the poorest and weakest of colored people oppressed by the slave system, just as much as I do those most wealthy and powerful. That is the idea that has moved me, and that alone. We expected no reward; we expected the satisfaction of endeavoring to do for them in distress—the greatly oppressed—as we would be done by. The cry of distress and of the distressed is my reason, and the only one, that impels me.

Bystander. Why did you do it secretly?

Brown. Because I thought it necessary for success,

and for no other reason.

Bystander. You think that honorable, do you? Have you read Gerritt Smith's letter, in which he says, "that it is folly to attempt to strike the shackles off the slave by the force of moral suasion or legal agitation," and predicts that the next movement made in the direction of negro emancipation will be an insurrection in the South?

Brown. I have not; but I presume from your remark about the gist of the letter that I should concur with it. I agree with Mr. Smith that moral suasion is hopeless. I don't think the people of the slave states will ever consider the subject of slavery in its true light until some other argument is resorted to than moral suasion.

Mr. V. Did you expect a general uprising of the slaves in case of your success?

Brown. No sir, nor did I wish it. I expected to gather strength from time to time; then I could have let them free.

Mr. V. Did you expect to hold possession here until then?

Brown. Well, probably I had quite a different idea. I do not know that I ought to reveal my plans. I am here a prisoner and wounded because I foolishly allowed myself to be so. You overrate your strength when you suppose I could have been taken if I had not allowed it. I was too tardy after commencing the open attack in delaying my movements through Monday night and up to the time I was attacked by the Government troops. It was all occasioned by my desire to

spare the feelings of my prisoners and their families, and the community at large.

Mr. V. Did you not shoot a negro on the bridge, or did not some of your party?

Brown. I knew nothing of the shooting of the negro, Haywood.

Mr. V. What time did you commence your organization over in Canada?

Brown. It occurred about two years ago. If I remember right, it was, I think, in 1858.

Mr. V. Who was the Secretary?

Brown. That I could not tell if I recollected, but I do not remember. I think the officers were elected in May 1858. I may answer incorrectly but not intentionally. My head is a little confused by wounds, and my memory of dates and such like is somewhat confused.

Dr. Biggs, (of Sharpsburg). Were you in the party at Dr. Kennedy's house?

Brown. I was the head of the party. I occupied the house to mature my plans.

Dr. Biggs. What was the number of men at Kennedy's?

Brown. I decline to answer that.

Dr. Biggs. Who lanced that woman's arm?

Brown. I did. I have sometimes practiced surgery, when I thought it a matter of humanity or of necessity—when there was no one else to do it; but I have studied surgery.

Dr. Biggs, (to persons around). It was done very

well and scientifically. These men have been very clever to the neighbors, I have been told, and we had no reason to suspect them, except that we could not understand their movements. They were represented as eight or nine persons on Friday.

Brown. There were more than thirty.

Questions were now put by almost every one in the room, as follows:

Q. Where did you get arms?

Brown. I bought them.

Q. In what State?

Brown. That I would not tell.

Q. How many guns?

Brown. Two hundred of Sharp's rifles and two hundred revolvers—what is called the Massachusetts Arms' Company's revolvers—a little under the navy size.

Q. Why did you not take that swivel you left in the house?

Brown. I had no occasion for it. It was given to me a year or two ago.

Q. In Kansas.

Brown. No. I had nothing given to me in Kansas.

Q. By whom and in what State?

Brown. I decline to answer that. It is not properly a swivel; it is a very large rifle on a pivot. The ball is larger than a musket-ball; it is intended for a slug. If you do not want to converse any more I will remark to these reporting gentlemen that I claim to be here



carrying out a measure I believe to be perfectly justifiable, and not to act the part of an incendiary or ruffian; but, on the contrary, to aid those suffering under a great wrong. I wish to say further that you had better, all you people of the South, prepare yourselves for a settlement of this question. It must come up for settlement sooner than you are prepared for it, and the sooner you commence that preparation the better for you. You may dispose of me very easily; I am nearly disposed of now; but the question is still to be settled—this negro question. I mean the end is not yet.

Q. Was your only object to free the negro?

Brown. Absolutely our only object.

Bystander. But you went and took Col. Washington's silver watch?

Brown. Oh, yes, we intended freely to have appropriated the property of slaveholders to carry out our object. It was for that, only that, we had no design to enrich ourselves with any plunder whatever.

**Report of Col. Robert E Lee, Colonel Commanding,  
to Col. Samuel Cooper, Adjutant General,  
U. S. Army, Washington City, D. C.**

Headquarters, Harper's Ferry, Oct. 19, 1859.

Colonel: I have the honor to report, for the information of the Secretary of War, that on arriving here on the night of the 17th instant, in obedience to Special Orders No. 194 of that date from your office, I learned that a party of insurgents, about 11 P. M., on the 16th, had seized the watchman stationed at the armory, arsenal, rifle factory, and bridge across the Potomac

and taken possession of those points; they then dispatched six men, under one of their party, called Capt. Aaron D. Stevens, to arrest the principal citizens in the neighborhood and incite the negroes to join the insurrection. The party took Col. L. W. Washington from his bed about 1:30 A. M. on the 17th, and brought him, with four of his servants, to this place. Mr. J. H. Allstadt and six of his servants were in the same manner seized about 3 A. M., and arms placed in the hands of negroes. Upon their return here, John E. Cook, one of the party, sent to Mr. Washington's, was dispatched to Maryland, with Mr. Washington's wagon, two of his servants and three of Mr. Allstadt's, for arms and ammunition, &c. As day advanced, and the citizens of Harper's Ferry commenced their usual avocation, they were separately captured to the number of forty, as well as I could learn, and confined in one room of the fire-engine house of the armory, which seems early to have been selected as a point of defence. About 11 A. M. the volunteer companies from Virginia began to arrive, and the Jefferson Guards and volunteers from Charles Town, under Captain J. W. Rowan, I understand were first on the ground. The Hamtramck Guards, Capt. V. M. Butler, Shepherdstown; the Shepherdstown Troop, Capt. Jacob Reinhart, and Capt. Alburtis' company from Martinsburg, arrived in the afternoon. These companies, under the direction of Cols. R. W. Baylor and John T. Gibson, forced the insurgents to abandon their positions at the bridge and in the village, and to withdraw within the armory in-

closure, where they fortified themselves in the fire-engine house, and carried ten of their prisoners for the purpose of insuring their safety and facilitating their escape, whom they termed hostages, and whose names are Col. L. W. Washington, of Jefferson county, Va.; Mr. J. H. Allstadt, of Jefferson county Va.; Mr. Israel Russell, Justice of the Peace, Harper's Ferry; Mr. John Donahue, clerk of B. & O. railroad; Mr. Terrance Byrne, of Maryland; Mr. Geo. D. Shope, of Frederick, Md.; Mr. Benjamin Mills, master armorer, Harper's Ferry; Mr. A. M. Ball, master machinist, Harper's Ferry arsenal; Mr. J. E. P. Dangerfield, paymaster's clerk, Harper's Ferry arsenal; Mr. J. Burd, armorer, Harper's Ferry arsenal. After sunset more troops arrived. Capt. B. B. Washington's company from Winchester, and the companies from Fredericktown, Maryland, under Col. Shriver. Later in the evening the companies from Baltimore under Gen. Charles C. Edgerton, second light brigade, and a detachment of Marines, commanded by Lieutenant J. Green, accompanied by Major Russell of the corps, reached Sandy Hook, about one and a half miles east of Harper's Ferry. At this point I came up with these last named troops, and leaving Gen. Edgerton and his command on the Maryland side of the river for the night, caused the marines to proceed to Harper's Ferry, and placed them within the armory grounds to prevent the possibility of the escape of the insurgents. Having taken measures to halt, in Baltimore, the artillery companies ordered from Fort Monroe, I made preparations

to attack the insurgents at daylight. But for the fear of sacrificing the lives of some of the gentlemen held by them as prisoners in a midnight assault, I should have ordered the attack at once. Their safety was the subject of painful consideration, and to prevent, if possible, jeopardizing their lives, I determined to summon the insurgents to surrender. As soon after daylight, as the arrangements were made, Lieutenant J. E. B. Stuart, 1st cavalry, who had accompanied me from Washington, as staff officer, was dispatched, under a flag, with a written summons, (a copy of which is hereto annexed, marked A.) Knowing the character of the leader of the insurgents, I did not expect it would be accepted. I had therefore directed that the volunteer troops, under their respective commanders, should be paraded on the lines assigned them outside of the armory, and had prepared a storming party of twelve Marines, under their commander Lieutenant Green, and had placed them close to the engine house, and secure from its fire. Three Marines were furnished with sledge hammers to break in the doors, and the men were instructed how to distinguish our citizens from the insurgents; to attack with the bayonet, and not to injure the blacks detained in custody unless they resisted. Lieutenant Stuart was also directed not to receive from the insurgents any counter propositions. If they accepted the terms offered, they must immediately deliver up their arms and release their prisoners. If they did not, he must, on leaving the engine house, give me the signal. My object was, with a view of

saving our citizens, to have as short an interval as possible, between the summons and attack. The summons, as I had anticipated, was rejected. At the concerted signal the storming party moved quickly to the door and commenced the attack. The fire-engines within the house had been placed by the besieged close to the doors. The doors were fastened by ropes, the spring of which prevented their being broken by the blows of the hammers. The men were therefore ordered to drop the hammers, and, with a portion of the reserve, to use as a battering-ram a heavy ladder, with which they dashed in a part of the door and gave admittance to the storming party. The fire of the insurgents up to this time had been harmless. At the threshold one marine fell mortally wounded. The rest led by Lieutenant Green and Major Russell, quickly ended the contest. The insurgents that resisted were bayoneted. Their leader, John Brown, was cut down by the sword of Lieutenant Green, and our citizens were protected by both officers and men. The whole was over in a few minutes. After our citizens were liberated and the wounded cared for, Lieutenant-Colonel S. S. Mills, of the 53rd Maryland Regiment, with the Baltimore Independent Greys, Lieut. B. F. Simpson commanding, was sent on the Maryland side of the river to search for John E. Cook, and to bring in the arms, &c., belonging to the insurgent party, which were said to be deposited in a school house two and a half miles distant. Subsequently, Lieutenant J. E. B. Stuart, with a party of marines, was dispatched

to the Kennedy farm, situated in Maryland, about four and a half miles from Harper's Ferry, which had been rented by John Brown, and used as the depot for his men and munitions. Col. Mills saw nothing of Cook, but found the boxes of arms, (Sharp's carbines and belt revolvers) and recovered Mr. Washington's wagon and horses. Lieut. Stuart found also at the Kennedy farm a number of sword pikes, blankets, shoes, tents, and all the necessaries for a campaign. These articles have been deposited in the government storehouse at the armory. From the information derived from the papers found upon the persons and among the baggage of the insurgents, and the statement of those now in custody, it appears that the party consisted of nineteen men—fourteen white and five black. That they were headed by John Brown, of some notoriety in Kansas, who in June last located himself in Maryland, at the Kennedy farm where he has been engaged in preparing to capture the United States works at Harper's Ferry. He avows that his object was the liberation of the slaves of Virginia and of the whole South; and acknowledges that he has been disappointed in his expectations of aid from the black as well as the white population, both in the Northern and Southern States. The blacks whom he forced from their homes in this neighborhood, as far as I could learn, gave him no voluntary assistance. The servants of Messrs. Washington and Allstadt, retained at the armory, took no part in the conflict, and those carried to Maryland returned to their homes as soon as released. The result proves that the plan was,

the attempt of a fanatic or madman, which could only end in failure; and its temporary success was owing to the panic and confusion he succeeded in creating by magnifying his numbers. I append a list of the insurgents (marked B). Cook is the only man known to have escaped. The other survivors of the expedition, viz:—John Brown, A. C. Stevens, Edwin Coppie and Shields Green, (alias S. Emperor) I have delivered into the hands of the Marshal of the Western district of Virginia and the Sheriff of Jefferson county. They were escorted to Charles Town by a detachment of marines under Lieut. Green. About nine o'clock this evening I received a report from Mr. Moore, from Pleasant Valley, Md., that a body of men had, about sunset, descended from the mountains, attacked the house of Mr. Gennett, and from the cries of murder and the screams of the women and children, he believed the residents of the valley were being massacred. The alarm and excitement in the village of Harper's Ferry was increased by the arrival of families from Sandy Hook, fleeing for safety. The report however, was so improbable, that I could give no credence to it, yet I thought it possible that some atrocity might have been committed, and I started with twenty-five marines, under Lieut. Green, accompanied by Lieut. Stuart, for the scene of the alleged outrage, about four and a half miles distant. I was happy to find it was a false alarm. The inhabitants of Pleasant Valley were quiet and unharmed, and Mr. Gennett and his family safe and asleep. I will now, in obedience to your dispatch, of

this date ,direct the detachment of the marines to return to the navy yard at Washington on the train that passes here at 1:15 A. M., tonight, and will myself take the advantage of the same train to report to you in person at the War Department. I must also ask to express my thanks to Lieut. Stuart, Major Russell and Lieut. Green, for the aid they afforded me, and my entire commendation of the conduct of the detachment of the marines, who were at all times ready and prompt in the execution of any duty. The promptness with which the volunteer troops repaired to the scene of disturbance, and the alacrity they displayed to suppress the gross outrage against law and order, I know will elicit your hearty approbation. Equal zeal was shown by the president and officers of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company in their transportation of the troops, and in their readiness to furnish the facilities of their well-ordered road. A list of the killed and wounded, as far as came to my knowledge, is herewith annexed (marked C) and I enclose a copy of the "Provisional Constitution and ordinances for the people of the United States," of which there were a large number prepared for issue by the insurgents.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. E. LEE, Colonel Commanding.

COLONEL S. COOPER, Adjutant General, U. S.  
Army, Washington, D. C.

(A) Headquarters Harper's Ferry, October 18, 1859.  
Colonel Lee, United States Army, commanding the  
troops sent by the President of the United States, to



suppress the insurrection, at this place, demands the surrender of the persons in the armory building. If they peaceably surrender themselves and restore the pillaged property, they shall be kept in safety to await the orders of the President, (James Buchanan.) Col. Lee represents to them, in all frankness, that it is impossible for them to escape; that the armory is surrounded on all sides by troops; and that if he is compelled to take them by force he cannot answer for their safety.

R. E. LEE,

Colonel Commanding United States Troops.

(B). List of the Insurgents.—John Brown, of New York, commander-in-chief, badly wounded, prisoner; Aaron D. Stevens, Connecticut, captain, badly wounded, prisoner; Aaron D. Stevens, Connecticut, captain, badly wounded, prisoner; Edwin Coppie, Iowa, Lieutenant, unhurt, prisoner; Oliver Brown, New York, captain, killed; Watson Brown, New York, captain, killed; Albert Hayzlett, Pennsylvania, lieutenant, killed; William Leeman, Maine, lieutenant, killed; Stuart Taylor, Canada, private, killed; Charles P. Tidd, Maine, private, killed; William Thompson, New York, private, killed; John Kagi, Ohio, private, killed; Jeremiah Anderson, Indiana, private, killed; John E. Cook, Connecticut, captain, escaped. Negroes—Dangerfield Newby, Ohio, killed; Louis Leavy, Oberlin, Ohio, killed; Green Shiels, New York, unhurt, prisoner; Copeland, Oberlin, Ohio, prisoner; O. P. Anderson, Pennsylvania, unaccounted for.

List of killed and wounded by the Insurgents, 14—  
Fountain Beckam, railroad agent and Mayor of Harper's Ferry, killed; G. W. Turner, Jefferson county, Va., killed; Thomas Boerly, Harper's Ferry, killed; Heywood Sheppard, negro, railroad porter, killed; Private Quinn, marine corps, killed; Geo. W. Murphy, Martinsburg, wounded; Mr. Young, of Charlestown, wounded; Mr. Richardson, wounded; Mr. Hammond, wounded; Mr. McCabe, wounded; Mr. Dorsey, wounded; Mr. Hooper, wounded; Mr. Wollet, wounded; Private Rupert, marine corps, wounded in lip.

It is very certain from the proofs before the committee, that not one of the captured slaves, although arms were placed in their hands, attempted to use them, but on the contrary, as soon as their safety would admit, in the absence of their captors, their arms were thrown away and they hastened back to their homes.

(A). Governor Wise and staff arrived at Charles Town on Sunday evening, 19th, and were made the guests of Mr. Wells J. Hawks. The staff consisted of Gen. W. C. Scott, Col. S. T. Bailey, Col. N. A. Thompson, Col. Christian White, Col. Wm. H. Brown, Major T. Bryan, Surgeon, J. S. D. Cullen and Assistant Surgeons E. Mason, C. W. P. Brook. On Monday afternoon Governor Wise reviewed the regiment, and on Tuesday morning left Charles Town with his staff.

#### **Interview Between Gov. Wise and Capt. Brown.**

On Tuesday evening Governor Henry A. Wise, who had arrived by the afternoon train, from Richmond, held an interview with Captain Brown, at the office of the

Superintendent of the Arsenal whither he was borne immediately after the assault. He held a second interview with him on Wednesday morning, the results of both interviews may be summed up in the following.

**Statement of the Insurgent Leader.**

For upwards of one year, the affair which has just culminated, has been in constant preparation. The necessary expenses of the undertaking was born exclusively by himself, though he received frequent words of encouragement from friends of the cause. Governor Wise informed him of the capture of his correspondence and desired to have him mention the names of the most prominent. In reply to the Governor, Capt. Brown said he was in possession of his correspondence and was welcome to all the intelligence it conveyed, but he declined adding any to it. The Governor pointed out the folly and temerity of the insurgents hoping to maintain their ground at Harper's Ferry. Captain Brown smiled peculiarly, and said that had he not permitted the train to pass of which Mr. Phelps was the conductor, his plan would have proven entirely successful. He had been promised, he said, reinforcements of 5,000 men at a word, and had not the military come upon him so soon, or had he not been delayed at Harper's Ferry longer than he intended, he should have had them. In reply to Governor Wise's questions as to where he would obtain his recruits from, Brown replied from Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky and North and South Carolina. Governor Wise said the assertion was impossible. When the old insurgent tartly replied that

the Governor was surrounded by ignorance, and that on that subject he (Brown) was far wiser than the Governor. He said he was glad he was entitled to a jury trial, and he should demand his rights.

In reference to the Government funds, he said he did not know of their presence here, or he should certainly have taken them; and that had he found money or provisions necessary to his cause, he should have levied upon the inhabitants of the South without compunctions of conscience. The Governor told him if such were his sentiments of honesty, he had better prepare to meet an impartial Judge. The old "Border Ruffian" replied that he had no favors to ask, no apologies to offer to anybody, that he had well weighed the cost of his expedition before engaging in it, and that he would as lief hang as to die in any other manner. He did not deny that the organization of which he had been the leader, was a most extensive one; on the contrary he affirmed to Governor Wise his entire conviction that the work would go on until the entire South would be in a state of insurrection. He had preparations, he said to arm 1,500 men; the pikes he intended for the negroes, whom he was afraid to trust with fire arms. He spoke with some show of feeling of the extinction of his family; two of his sons he said had been killed in Kansas by Southerners, two had been butchered at Harper's Ferry by the General Government, and a fifth was he did not know where. His wife was somewhere in the State of New York. Of the twenty-two who composed the invading party, 15 have been killed and two serious-

ly wounded. Edwin Coppie has been consigned to the jail at Charles Town, the capitol of Jefferson county, whither "old Brown" is to be carried today. Governor Wise said they should both be tried before the Circuit Court of Jefferson county, which meets next week, and that at the conclusion of their trials there is murder, the General Government would be welcome to what was left of them.

The people of Virginia are bitterly incensed against "old Brown," and even did the law fail to claim his life, he could not possibly escape beyond the borders of the State.

#### **John Brown Excitement.**

(A). Harper's Ferry, November, 21, 1859.

Major General Taliaferro arrived here today by the express train, from Gloucester county, and has assumed by the direction of Governor Wise, to command all forces. General Taliaferro does not supersede Col. Davis, but was entitled by rank to command the whole forces. Colonel Davis has been disfranchised under the anti-duelling act from holding any office, civil or military, in Virginia. He has acted here as an advisory officer. There are now about one thousand troops in arms here. A rumor was afloat today that there was a party of outlaws in the mountains near Cherry Run, but it is not credited. The sentinels at Charles Town are reported to have been fired on last night. Governor Wise exhibits no sort of fears of a rescue being attempted. He thinks it best to have a good force out. In reply to a gentleman this morning he stated that he

never had the least fear on the subject, but considered it the finest opportunity ever offered to put the State in military training. I can now, he said, teach my boys how to carry biscuits in their knapsacks and arrange bullets in their cartridge boxes.

(D). At Harper's Ferry, Nov. 22, 1859.

The following companies arrived from Richmond:—Greys, 86; Blues, Lieut. Mall, oldest company in the State, 80; Co. F., 75; Montgomery Guards, 50; Virginia Rifles, 35; Young Guards, 40; Howitzer Corp, infantry, 46; all under command of Wyatt M. Elliott, of the Whig, as Colonel commanding. Also Petersburg Greys, 40; Petersburg Artillery, 35; City Guards, 40; Rock Ridge Rifles, 35; all under command of Colonel Weisinger. Mr. O. Jennings Wise was a private in Co. F. 1st Reg.; Hon. Roger A. Pryor, elect to Congress, was a private in Petersburg Greys.

(C). From Martinsburg, Extract from a letter.—“We have now four companies on foot, of Riflemen 120, commanded by Capt. J. Q. A. Nadenbousch. A company of artillery of two pieces, Capt. E. G. Alburtis, Geo. Wollet, 1st Lieutenant, Geo. H. Murphy, 2nd Lieutenant, with 64 members. A company of cavalry, John Blair Hoge, Captain, 50 members. Our military men are up every night and ready for anything that may turn up.”

(B). During Governor Wise's interview with the condemned insurgents, the other day, Brown declared himself prepared to die. He justified his course only regretting his error in not allowing the train to pass

without interruption. Cook said he was willing to be shot, but always had a great pugnance to hanging. Governor Wise said that Coppie was the only one he had ever thought of commuting, but he had now determined to hang them all.

### **Trial of the Insurgents.**

Charles Town, Va., Oct. 25, 1859.

The Magistrate's Court assembled here this morning to examine the prisoner captured in the recent insurrection. The following magistrates were on the bench: Colonel Braxton Davenport, Presiding Justice; Dr. Alexander, John J. Lock, John F. Smith, Thomas H. Willis, Geo. W. Eichelberger, Charles H. Lewis and Moses W. Burr.

At half past ten o'clock the Sheriff was directed to bring in the prisoners, who were conducted from the jail under a guard of eighty armed men. A guard was also stationed around the Court House, their bayonets bristling on all sides.

Charles B. Harding, Esq., Attorney for the county, was assisted by Andrew Hunter, counsel for the commonwealth.

The prisoners were brought in amidst profound silence. Brown and Coppie were manacled together. Brown seemed weak and haggard, with his eyes swollen from the effects of the wounds on his head. Coppie is uninjured. Stevens seemed less injured than Brown; but looked haggard and depressed. He has also a number of wounds on the head. John Copeland is a bright mulatto, about 25 years of age. Green is a dark negro about 30 years of age.

Sheriff Campbell read the commitment of the prisoners on the charge of treason and murder, when Mr. Harding, the State's Attorney, asked that the Court might assign counsel for the prisoners if they had none. The court inquired if the prisoners had counsel, when Brown addressed the Court as follows: "I did not ask for any quarter at the time I was taken. I did not ask to have myself spared. The Governor of the State of Virginia tendered me his assurance that I should have a fair trial, and under no circumstances whatever will I be able to attend to a trial. If you seek my blood you can have it any moment without the mockery of a trial. I have had no counsel. I have not been able to advise with one. I know nothing about the feelings of my fellow prisoners, and am utterly unable to attend in any way to my defence. My memory don't serve me. My health is insufficient, although improving. There are mitigating circumstances, if a fair trial is to be allowed us, that I would urge in our favor. But if we are to be forced with a mere form of a trial to execution, you might spare yourselves that trouble. I am ready for my fate. I do not ask a trial. I plead for no mockery of a trial. No insult, nothing but that which conscience gives over cowardice would drive you to practice. I ask to be excused from the mockery of a trial. I do not know what the design of this examination is. I do not know what is to be the benefit of it to the Commonwealth. I have now little to ask other than that I be not publicly insulted as cowardly barbarians insult those who fall into their hands."



The Court assigned Charles J. Faulkner and Lawson Botts as counsel for the prisoners.

After more consultation with the prisoners, Mr. Faulkner addressed the Court, stating that he declined the right of this Court to assign counsel for the prisoners, and that he could not under any circumstances enter upon the defence of these prisoners on such a short notice, as it would be a mockery of justice. Mr. Botts said he did not feel it his duty to decline the appointment of the Court. He was prepared to do his best to defend the prisoners, and he hoped the Court would assign him some experienced assistant if Mr. Faulkner declined.

(A). Brown's Jurors.—The following is a list of the jurymen who tried John Brown: Isaac Dust, Joseph Myers, Jacob I. Miller, Richard Timberlake, John C. McClure, Wm. Rightstine, Wm. A. Martin, Thomas Watson, Jr., Thomas Osbourn, Geo. W. Tabb, Geo. W. Boyer, John C. Wiltshire.

~~Brown Sentenced.—Sentence of death was passed on Capt. Brown on Wednesday evening, November 1st, 1859, by Judge Richard Parker, and on Friday, the 2nd of December, fixed for his execution, between the hours of 9 and 4 p. m. When he was asked to say why sentence should not be passed upon him, he spoke several minutes adhering to the righteousness of his course. He said that those acting with him did so voluntarily, some of them without compensation. He bore testimony to the truthfulness of most of the witnesses. Brown stood up, and in a clear distinct voice, said, "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, of a design on my part to free slaves. I intended certainly to make a clear thing of that matter, as I did last winter when I went into Missouri and there 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 have done the same thing on a larger scale. That was all I intended. I never did intend murder, or treason, or the destruction of property, or to incite slaves to rebellion, or to make an insurrection. I have another objection, and that is, it is unjust that I should suffer such a penalty. Had I interfered in the manner which, I admit, has been fairly proved (for I admire the truthfulness and candor of the greater portion of the witnesses who testified in this case) had I so interfered in behalf of the rich and powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great, or in behalf of any of their friends, either father or mother, brother or 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. This court acknowledges too, 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 men should do to me I should do even so unto them." It teaches me further to "remember them that are in bonds as bound with them." I endeavored to act up to these instructions, I say I am yet too young to

understand that God is any respecter of persons. I believe that to have interfered as I have done, and as I have always freely admitted I have done in behalf of His despised, poor, was no 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 the 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 at my trial. Considering all the circumstances, it has been more generous than I expected; but I feel no consciousness of 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 the slaves to rebel, or make any general insurrection. I never encouraged any man to do so, but always discouraged any idea made by some of those connected with me. I fear it has been stated 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 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."

#### **Guards of John Brown and His Raiders.**

The following is a list of the men who guarded John

Brown and his raiders in the jail during their trials: Henderson Bishop, J. O. Tutwiler, John Sheets, John W. Taylor, John E. Hildebert, Hiram O'Bannon, D. H. Cockerell, David Heck, Geo. Hawks, John F. Blessing, Charles Trussell, John Gallaher, Tutwiler and Hildebert are the only two who are yet living.

Old Brown.—This old Pos-a-wattamie exhibited more impudence on Friday last, says the Charles Town Free Press, than we have even seen or heard of. After several days of incessant labor and effort by his counsel, Messrs. Botts and Green, taking advantage of every quibble susceptible of the law in his behalf, and an unusual leniency to him by the Court and opposing counsel, he exhibited the ingrate in declaring that he had not confidence in his counsel, and discharged them and procured Shelton, of Washington; Hoyt, of Boston, and Griswold, of Ohio. He has had more latitude allowed him than any other criminal that has ever been arraigned in this court.

(A). The petition of John Brown for a writ of error was refused by the Supreme Court of Virginia, at Richmond, on the 19th of November, to the judgment rendered by the Circuit Court of Jefferson county, the Court being of the opinion that the judgment is plainly right, therefore the execution of the prisoner takes place on the 2nd of December, 1859. Judges Allen, Daniel, Moncure, Lee, Robertson on the bench.

**Mrs. Doyle's Letter to Brown.**

The following is a letter from Mrs. Doyle to Brown in jail:

Chattanooga, Tenn., Nov. 20, 1859.

John Brown:—

Sir: "Although vengeance is not mine, I confess that I do feel gratified to hear that you were stopped in your fiendish career at Harper's Ferry with the loss of your two sons. You can now appreciate my distress in Kansas, when you then and there entered my house at midnight and arrested my husband and two boys and took them out of the yard, and in cold blood shot them dead, in my hearing. You can't say you did it to free our slaves; he had none and never expected to own one; but has only made me a poor disconsolate widow with helpless children. While I feel for your folly, I do hope and trust you will meet your just reward. Oh, how it pained my heart to hear the dying groans of my husband and children. If this scrawl gives you any consolation you are welcome to it. My own, John Doyle, whose life I begged you to spare, is now grown up, and is very anxious and desirous to be at Charles Town, that he might adjust the rope around your neck, if Governor Wise would permit it.

MAHALA DOYLE."

**Characteristic Letter From John Brown.**

A gentleman of New York who has received the following letter from John Brown handed it for publication to the N. Y. Times:

"Charles Town, Jefferson Co. Nov. 17, 1859.

My Dear Young Friend: I have just received your most kind and welcome letter of the 15th instant, but did not get any other from you. I am under many

obligations to you and your father, for all the kindness you have shown me especially since my disaster. May God and your own consciousness ever be your awarders. Tell your father that I am quite cheerful, that I do not feel myself in the least degraded by my imprisonment, my chain or the near approach of the gallows. Men cannot imprison or chain or hang the soul. I go joyfully in behalf of millions that "have no rights" that this great and glorious, this *Christian Republic* is bound to respect. Strange change in morals political as well as Christian, since 1776! I look forward to other changes to take place in God's good time, fully believing that the "fashion of this world passeth away." Farewell! May God abundantly bless you all.

Your friend,

JOHN BROWN."

The Independent publishes a longer letter from Brown, written in response to a note from Rev. H. L. Vaill Litchfield, Ct. The italics are Brown's own:

"Charles Town, Jefferson Co., Va., Tuesday, Nov. 15, 1859.

Rev. H. L. Vaill.

My Dear Steadfast Friend: Your most kind and welcome letter of the 8th instant, reached me in due time. *I am very grateful* for all the good feeling you express and also for the kind counsels you give, together with your prayers in my behalf. Allow me to say, that notwithstanding 'my soul is amongst lions,' still I believe that 'God in very deed is with me.' You will not therefore feel surprised when I tell you that I

am 'joyful in all my tribulations,' that I do not feel condemned of him whose judgment is just, nor of my own conscience. Nor do I feel degraded by my imprisonment, my chain or prospect of the gallows. I have not only been (though utterly unworthy) permitted to suffer 'affliction with God's people,' but have also had a great many rare opportunities for 'preaching *righteousness* in the great congregation.' I trust it will not all be lost. The jailor, in whose charge I am, and his family, and assistants, have all been most kind; and notwithstanding he was one of the bravest of all who *fought me*, he is *now* being abused for his humanity. So far as my observation goes, none but the *brave* men are likely to be *humane* to a fallen foe. 'Cowards prove their courage by their ferocity.' It may be done in that way with but little risk. I wish I could write you about a few only of the interesting times I have experienced with different classes of men, *clergymen* among others. Christ, the great captain of liberty as well as of salvation, and who began his mission, as foretold of him, by proclaiming it, saw fit to take from me a sword of steel after I had carried it for a time, but he has put another in my hand, (the sword of the Spirit) and I pray God to make me a faithful soldier, wherever he may send me, not less on the scaffold than when surrounded by warmest sympathizers. My dear old friend, I do assure you I have not forgotten our last meeting, nor our retrospective look over the route by which God had then left us, and I bless His name that he has again enabled me to hear your words of cheering and comfort, at a time when

I at least am on the brink of Jordan." See Bunyan's Pilgrim. God in his infinite mercy grant us soon another meeting on the opposite shore! I have often passed under the rod of Him whom I call my Father and certainly no son ever needed it oftener; and yet I have enjoyed much of life as I was enabled to discover the secret of this somewhat early. It has been in making the prosperity and the happiness of others *my own*. so that really I have had a great deal of prosperity. I am very prosperous still, and looking forward to a time when 'peace on earth and good will to man' shall prevail. I have no murmuring thoughts or envious feelings to fret my mind. I'll praise my Maker with my breath. I am an unworthy nephew of Deacon John and I love him much; and in view of the many choice friends I have had here, I am led the more earnestly to pray gather not my soul with the unrighteous. Your assurance of the earnest sympathy of the friends in my native land is very grateful to my feelings; and allow me to say a word of comfort to them. As I do believe most firmly that God reigns, I cannot believe that anything I have *done, suffered, or may yet suffer, will be lost to the cause of God, or of humanity*. And in the *worst event*, it would certainly pay. I often expressed that belief, and I can now see no possible cause to alter my mind. I am not yet, in the *main*, at all disappointed. I have been a *good deal* disappointed as it regards *myself*; in not keeping up to *my own plans*; but I now feel entirely reconciled to that event; for God's plan was infinitely better, *no doubt*, or I should have kept



to my own. Had Sampson kept to his determination of not telling Delilah wherein his great strength lay, he would probably have never overturned the house. I did not tell Delilah, but I was induced to act *very contrary to my better judgment*; and I have lost my *two* noble boys, and other friends, if not my *two eyes*. But God's will, *not mine*, be done. I feel a comfortable hope that, like the erring servant of whom I have just been writing, *even I may yet die in faith*. As to both the time and manner of my death, I have but very little trouble on that score and *I am able* to be (as you exhort) of good cheer. Farewell, till we meet again.

Your friend in truth,

JOHN BROWN."

**Letter From Mrs. Child to John Brown.**

"Wayland, Mass., Oct. 26, 1859.

"Dear Captain Brown: Though personally unknown to you, you will recognize in my name an earnest friend of Kansas, when circumstances made that territory the battle-ground between the antagonistic principle of slavery and freedom, which politicians so vainly strive to reconcile in the government of the United States. Believing in peace principles, I cannot sympathize with the method you choose to advance the cause of freedom. But I honor your generous intentions. I admire your courage, moral and physical. I reverence you for the humanity which tempered your zeal, I sympathize with your cruel bereavements, your sufferings, and your wrongs. In brief, I love you and bless you. Thousands of hearts are throbbing with sym-

pathy, as warm as mine. I think of you night and day, bleeding in prison, surrounded by hostile faces, sustained only by trust in God, and your own strong heart. I long to nurse you, to speak to you sisterly words of sympathy and consolation. I have asked permission of Governor Wise to do so. If the request is not granted, I cherish the hope that these few words may at least reach your hands, and afford you some little solace. May you be strengthened by the conviction that no honest man ever sheds blood for freedom in vain, however he may be mistaken in his efforts. May God sustain you, and carry you through whatsoever may be in store for you. Yours with heart-felt respect, sympathy and affection,

“L. MARIA CHILD.”

**Spirited Rebuke.**

In a letter to L. Maria Child, on the subject of sympathy for old Brown, Mrs. M. J. C. Mason, of King George County, Va., says:

“But, if, indeed, you do lack objects of sympathy near you, go to Jefferson county, to the family of George Turner, a noble, true-hearted man, whose devotion to his friend, Colonel Washington, causing him to risk his life, was shot down like a dog. Or to that of Mr. Beckam, whose grief at the murder of his negro, subordinate, made him needlessly expose himself to the aim of the assassin Brown. And when you can equal in deeds of love and charity those around you, what is shown by nine-tenths on the Virginia plantations, then by your “sympathy” whet the knives for our throats and

kindle the torch for our homes. You reverence Brown for his clemency to his prisoners. Prisoners! and how taken? Unsuspecting workmen, going to their daily duties; unarmed gentlemen, taken from their beds at the dead hour of night, by six men doubly and trebly armed. Suppose he had hurt a hair of their heads do you think one of the band of desperadoes would have left the engine house alive? And did he not know that the treatment of them was the only hope of life then, or clemency afterwards? Of course he did. The United States troops could not have prevented him from being torn limb from limb."

**Letter From a Quaker Lady to John Brown.**

"Newport, Rhode Island, Oct. 27th, 1859.

Capt. John Brown, Dear Friend: Since thy arrest I have often thought of thee, and have wished that like Elizabeth Frv toward her prison friends, I might console thee in thy confinement. But that can never be, so I can only write thee a few lines, which, if they contain any comfort, may come to thee like some little ray of light. You can never know how very many dear friends love thee with all their hearts, for thy brave efforts in behalf of the poor oppressed and though we, who are non-resistants, and religiously believe it better to reform by moral and not by carnal weapons, could not approve of bloodshed, yet we know thee was animated by the most generous and philanthropic motives. Very many thousands openly approve thy intentions, though most Friends would not think it right to take up arms. Thousands pray for thee every day; and oh, I do pray

that God will be with thy soul. Posterity will do thee justice. If Moses led out the thousands of Jewish slaves from their bondage, and God destroyed the Egyptians in the sea because they went after the Israelites to bring them back to slavery, then, surely, by the same reasoning, we may judge thee a deliverer, who wished to release millions from the more cruel oppression. If the American people honor Washington for resisting, with bloodshed, for seven years, an unjust tax, how much more ought thou to be honored for seeking to free the poor slaves. Oh, I wish I could seek to defend thee. If I had now the eloquence of Portia, how I would turn the scale in thy favor. But I can only pray "God bless thee," God pardon thee, and through our Redeemer give thee safety and happiness now and always.

"From thy Friend,

E. B."

**John Brown's Reply.**

"Charles Town, Jefferson Co., Va., Tuesday, Nov. 1,  
1859.

Dear Friend E. B., of Rhode Island: Your most cheering letter dated the 27th of October, 1859, is received, and may the Lord reward you a thousand fold for the kind feeling you express toward me, but more especially for your fidelity to the poor that cry, and those that have no help. For this I am a prisoner in bonds. It is solely my own fault, in a military point of view, that we met with our disaster—I mean that I mingled with our prisoners and so far sympathize with them and their families, that I neglected my duty in

other respects. But God's will, not mine be done. You know that Christ once armed Peter. So also in my case. *I think he put a sword into my hand, and there continued it, so long as he saw best, and then kindly took it from me.*— *I mean when I first went to Kansas.* I wish you could know with what cheerfulness I am now wielding the Sword of the spirit, on the right hand and on the left. I bless God that it prove mighty to the pulling down of strongholds. I always loved my Quaker friends, and I commend to their regard my poor bereaved widowed wife, and my daughters and daughters-in-law, whose husbands fell at my side. One is a mother, and the other likely to become so soon. They, as well as my own sorrow-stricken daughter, are left very poor, and have much greater need of sympathy than I who, through Infinite Grace and the kindness of strangers, am joyful in all my tribulations. Dear sister, write them at North Elba, Essex county, New York, to comfort their sad hearts. Direct to Mary A. Brown, wife of John Brown. There is also another, a widow, wife of Thompson, who fell with my poor boys in the affair at Harper's Ferry, at the same place. *I do not feel conscious of guilt in taking up arms;* and had it been in behalf of the rich and powerful, the intelligent, the great, as men count greatness, if those who form enactments to suit themselves and corrupt others, or some of their friends that I interfered, suffered, sacrificed and fell, it would have been doing very well. But enough of this. These light afflictions, which endure for a moment, shall work out for me *a far more exceeding and*

*eternal weight of glory.* I would be grateful for another letter from you. My wounds are healing. *Farewell.* God will surely attend to his own cause in the best possible way and time, and he will not forget the work of his own hands. Your friend,

#### **Insanity in Brown's Family.**

John Brown and several of his family have resided near Akron, Ohio, for many years. Insanity is hereditary in the family. His mother and sister died with it, and a daughter of that sister has been two years in the lunatic asylum. A son and daughter of his mother's daughter have also been confined in the lunatic asylum, and another son of that brother is now insane and under close restraint. These facts can be conclusively proven by witnesses residing there who will doubtless attend the trial if desired. Signed,

A. H. LEWIS.

#### **Personal Interview With Capt. Brown's Wife.**

The New York Independent published an account of an interview of a correspondent with Mrs. Brown, the wife of Capt. Brown. Mrs. Brown is tall large and muscular, giving the impression at first sight of a frame capable of great strength and long endurance. Her face is grave and thoughtful, leaving even in this hour of her trial, an expression of solemnness rather than sadness. She is a native of Whitehall, near Lake Champlain, and has been the mother of thirteen children; but not withstanding the cares of her numerous family and her many privations and struggles, independent of household burdens, she still appears fresh and hale as

if she were only now in the prime and vigor of life. While living in Ohio, four of her children died from dysentery within eleven days, three of whom were carried to the grave together on the same day. I referred incidentally to the design upon Harper's Ferry as having been premeditated for two years, to which she immediately replied, "Not for two years but for twenty."



JOHN BROWN'S WIFE.

He had been waiting twenty years for some opportunity to free the slaves; we had all been waiting with him, the proper time when he should put his resolve into action; and when at last, the enterprise of Harper's Ferry was planned, we all thought that the time had now come. Mr. Brown was sanguine of success. We

were all equally confident. He had no idea, nor did any of the family that the experiment would result in defeat. We all looked to it as fulfilling the hopes of many years." I then put the question which I had been chiefly solicitous to ask: "It is the common talk of the newspapers that Capt. Brown is insane—what do you say to that opinion?" "I never knew of his insanity," she replied, until I read it in the newspapers—he is a clear-headed man. He has always been and now is entirely in his right mind. He is always cool, deliberate, and never over-hasty, but he has always considered that his first impulses to action were the best and safest to be followed. He has almost always acted upon his first suggestion. No, he is not insane. His reason is clear. His last act was the result, as all his other acts have been, of his truest and strongest conscientious convictions."

#### **A Northerner's Visit to John Brown in Jail.**

A correspondent of the Boston Traveler, who made a visit to John Brown says: "During my interview with Brown at the jail, he repeated what he said in court, that he was satisfied with the fairness of his trial and the kindness of his treatment. He said that Capt. Avis, his jailor, showed as much kindness in treating him, as he had shown courage in attacking him; it is what I should expect from every brave man." Seeing one of the deputy jailors was present, he added: "I don't say this to flatter, it is not my way; I say it because it is true." Judge Parker appears to have conducted the trial with remarkable candor, dignity and

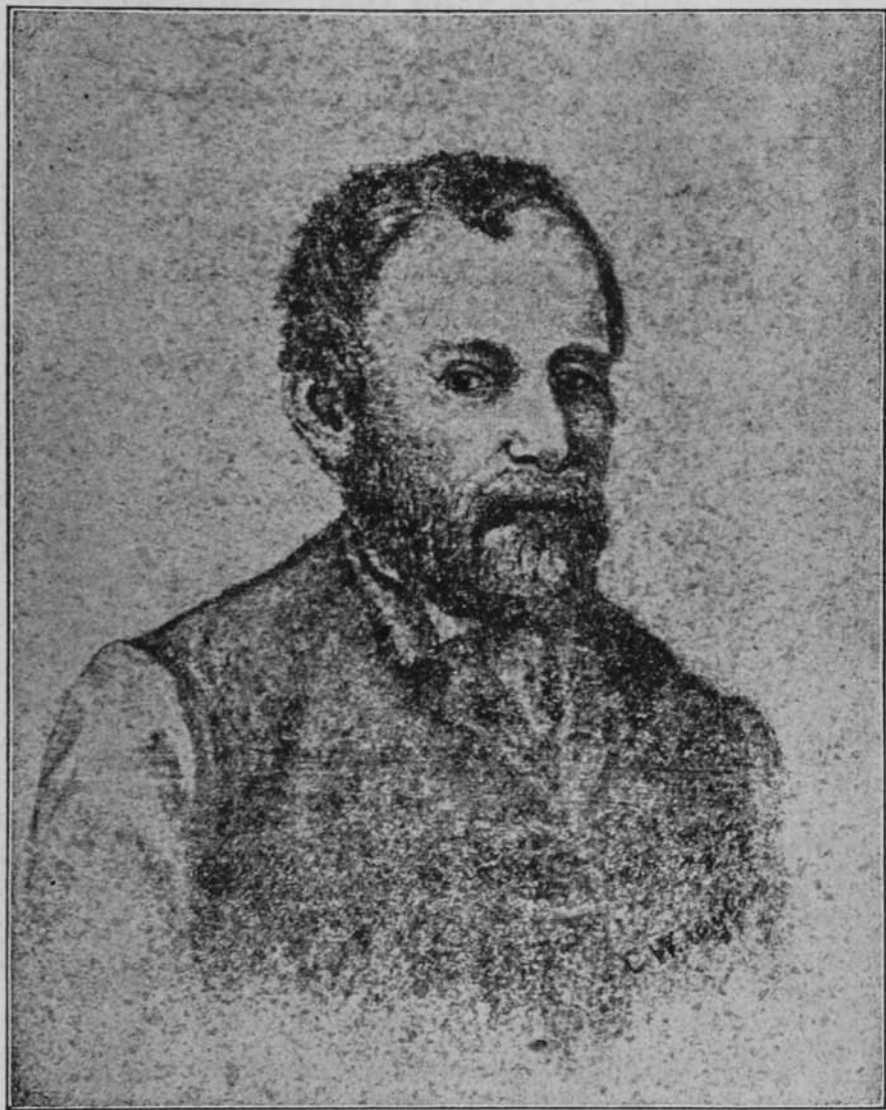


impartiality; and when we consider what a servile insurrection the self control of the people is wonderful. Brown has not been in irons since the first night and every possible indulgence is shown him, except the indulgence of delay. He speaks well of his medical attendants, but rejects the offered counsel of all ministers who believe that slavery is right. He will die as fearlessly as he has lived. Brown attributes his defeat to a want of military skill, and foresight, but insists that he took up arms in a righteous cause, and expresses his firm conviction that his motives are just."

Brown was visited yesterday afternoon by Rev. James H. March, of the M. E. Church. The Reverend gentleman having advanced an argument in favor of the institution of slavery as it now exists, Brown replied to him, saying: "My dear sir, you know nothing about Christianity; you will have to learn the A B C's in the lesson of Christianity, as I find you are entirely ignorant of the meaning of the word. I, of course, respect you as a gentleman, but it is as a heathen gentleman." The reverend gentleman here thought it best to draw such a discussion to a close, and therefore withdrew.

#### **Capt. Brown and Capt. Pate.**

Capt. Henry Clay Pate of Kansas notoriety, but a resident of Petersburg, Va., came to see Brown while in prison. It will be remembered by the intelligent reader that Capt. Pate commanded the pro-slavery forces at the battle of "Black Jack," whilst the abolition forces were arranged under Capt. Brown, who through a piece



JOHN BROWN IN JAIL.

of strategy not recognized in honorable warfare, made captives of Pate and his party. The interview between the two captains was conducted in as peaceable a manner as could have been expected, but it is evident that they have no particular love for each other. Capt. Pate who is quite a young man returned home on Tuesday.

**Brown's Last Letter to His Family.**

“My Dear Beloved Wife, Sons and Daughters, every one:

“I am awaiting the hour of my public murder with great composure of mind and cheerfulness, feeling the strong assurance that in no other possible way could I be used to so much advantage to the cause of good and of humanity, and that nothing that either I or all my family have sacrificed or suffered will be lost. The reflection that a wise and merciful as well as just and Holy God, rules not the affairs of the world, but of all the world, is a rock to set our feet upon under all circumstances, even those more severely trying ones which our own feelings and wrongs have placed us. I have now no doubt but that our seeming disaster will ultimately result in the most glorious success; so, my dear shattered and broken family, be of good cheer, and believe and trust in God with all your heart, and with all your soul, for He doeth all things well. Do not feel ashamed on my account, nor for one moment despair of the cause or grow weary of well doing. I bless God I never felt stronger confidence in the certain and near approach of a bright morning and a glorious day than I have felt, and do now feel, since my confinement here.

I am endeavoring to return, like a poor prodigal as I am to my Father, against whom I have always sinned, in the hope that he may be kind and forgivingly meet me, though a very great way off. Oh, my dear wife and children, would to God you could know I have been travailing in birth for you all, that no one of you may fail in the grace of God, through Jesus Christ—that no one of you may be blind to the truth and glorious light of His Word, in which life and immortality are brought to light. I beseech you every one to make the Bible your daily and nightly study, with a childlike, honest, candid, teachable spirit of love and respect for your husband and father. And I beseech the God of my fathers to open all your eyes to the discovery of the truth. You cannot imagine how much you may soon need the consolations of the Christian religion. Circumstances, like my own for more than a month past, have convinced me beyond all doubt of our great need of some theories treasured up when our prejudices are excited, our vanities worked up to the highest pitch. Oh do not trust your eternal all upon the boisterous ocean without even a helm or compass to aid you in steering. I do not ask any of you to thrown away your reason; I only ask you to make a candid, sober use of your reason. My dear young children, will you listen to this last poor admonition of one who can only love you? Oh, be determined at once to give your whole heart to God, and let nothing shake or alter that resolution. You need have no fears of regretting it. Do not be vain and thoughtless, but sober-minded; and let me en-

treat you all to love the whole remnant of our once great family. Try and build up again your broken walls, and to make the utmost of every stone that is left. Nothing can so tend to make life a blessing as the consciousness that your life and example bless and leave you the stronger. Still, it is ground of the utmost comfort to my mind to know that to as many of you as have had the opportunity have given some proof of your fidelity to the great family of men. Be faithful unto death, from the exercise of habitual love to man, it cannot be very hard to learn to love his Maker. I must yet insert the reason for my firm belief in the divine inspiration of the Bible, notwithstanding I am perhaps naturally skeptical, certainly not, credulous. I wish all to consider it most thoroughly when you read that blessed book, and see whether you cannot discover such evidence yourselves. It is the purity of heart feeling our minds as well as work and actions, which is everywhere insisted on, that distinguished it from all the other teachings, that commends it to my conscience. Whether my heart be willing and obedient or not the inducement that it holds out is another reason of my convictions of its truth and genuineness; but I do not here omit this my last argument on the Bible that eternal life is what my soul is panting after this moment. I mention this as a reason for endeavoring to leave a valuable copy of the Bible to be carefully preserved in remembrance of me, to many of my posterity instead of some other book at equal cost. I beseech you all to live in habitual contentment with

moderate circumstances, and gains of worldly store and earnestly to teach this to your children and children's children after you, by example as well as precept. Be determined to know by experience as soon as may be whether Bible instruction is of divine origin or not. Be sure to owe no man anything, but to love one another. John Rogers wrote to his children, "Abhor that arrant whore of Rome." John Brown writes to his children to abhor, with undying hatred also, that sum of all villians—slavery. Remember, he that is slow to anger is better than the mighty, and he that ruleth in spirit than he that taketh a city. Remember, also, that they, being wise, shall shine, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever. And now, dear beloved family, to God and the work of His Grace I commend you all. Your affectionate husband and father.

#### **The Will of John Brown**

Charles Town, Va., Dec. 1, 1859.

I give to my son, John Brown, Jr., my surveyor's compass, and other surveyor's articles, if found; also my old granite monument, now at North Elba, N. Y., to receive upon its two sides a further inscription, as I will hereafter direct, said stone monument, however, to remain at North Elba so long as any of my children and my wife may remain there as residents.

I give to my son, Jason Brown, my silver watch with my name engraved on inner case.

I give to my son, Owen Brown, my double spring opera glass and my rifle gun, if found, presented to me

at Worcester, Mass. It is globe-sighted and new. I give, also, to the same son fifty dollars in cash, to be paid him from the proceeds of my father's estate, in consideration of his terrible sufferings in Kansas, and his crippled condition from his childhood.

I give to my son, Solomon Brown, fifty dollars in cash, to be paid from my father's estate, as an offset to the first two cases above named.

I give to my daughter, Ruth Thompson, my large old Bible, containing the family record.

I give to each of my sons, and to each of my other daughters-in-law as good a copy of the Bible as can be purchased at some book store in New York or Boston, at a cost of five dollars each, in cash; to be paid out of the proceeds of my father's estate.

I give to each of my grand-children that may be living when my father's estate is settled, as good a copy of the Bible as can be purchased as above, at a cost of three dollars each.

All the Bibles to be purchased at one and the same time, on the best terms.

I desire to have fifty dollars cash paid out of the final proceeds of my father's estate, to the following named persons, to-wit: to Allen Hammond, of Rockville, Tolland county, Conn., to Geo. Kellogg, former agent of the New England Company, at that place, for the use and benefit of that company. Also fifty dollars to Silas Havens, formerly of Lewisburg, Summit county, Ohio, if he can be found; also fifty dollars to a man of Stark county, Ohio, at Canton, who sued my father

in his lifetime, through Judge Humphrey and Mr. Upson, of Akron, to be paid by J. R. Brown, to the man in person if he can be found. His name I cannot remember. My father made a compromise with the man by taking our house and lot at Mannerville. I desire that any remaining balance be paid in equal amounts to my wife, and to each of my children, and to the widows of Watson and Owen Brown, by my brother.

JOHN BROWN."

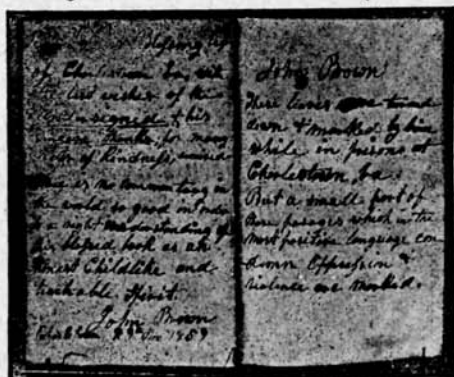
#### Will of John Brown.

The following is a true will of John Brown revoking all others as published in the papers, and written with Brown's own pen, in the Charles Town jail. "I, John Brown, will and direct that all my property being personal property, which is scattered about in the States of Virginia and Maryland, should be carefully gathered up by my executor, hereinafter appointed, and disposed of to the best advantage, and the proceeds thereof paid over to my beloved wife, Mary A. Brown. Many of those articles not of a warlike character, and I trust as to such and all the property that I may be entitled to, that my rights and the rights of my family may be respected. And lastly, I hereby appoint Sheriff James W. Campbell, executor of this my true last will, hereby revoking all others. Witness my hand and seal this 2nd day of December, 1859. I wish my friends, James W. Campbell, Sheriff, and John Avis, Jailor, as a return for their kindness, each to have a Sharp's' rifle of those belonging to me, or if no rifle can be had, then each a pistol."



### Approach of Brown's Execution.

Many strangers from the North and West are arriving to see Brown yet alive, and many suspicious looking characters are upon the streets. Brown has written to his wife to come on. He continues to be in good spirits and says he wants no minister to accompany him to the scaffold nor does he want the mockery of prayers. Yesterday he sent for Mr. J. F. Blessing, who was extremely kind to him in dressing his wounds and paying other attentions, and requested him to accept as a token of regard his pocket Bible. The edition is the



### FLY LEAF IN BROWN'S BIBLE.

common bible-clasp edition, bound in calf, and of the cheapest description. It bears upon the fly-leaf this dedication: "To John F. Blessing, Charles Town, Va., with the best wishes of the undersigned, and the sincere thanks for many acts of kindness received. There is no commentary in the world so good in order to a right understanding of this blessed book as an honest, child-

like and teachable spirit. John Brown, Charles Town, 29th November, 1859." Upon the opposite page is the following inscription: "John Brown. The leaves were turned down and marked by him while in prison at Charles Town, Va. But a small part of these passages, which in the most positive language condemn oppression and violence are marked." Many hundred passages, which can by any possibility of interpretation be tortured into a support of his peculiar theory, are carefully marked both by having the corners of the pages turned over, and by being surrounded by heavy pencil marks.

#### **Execution of John Brown.**

Capt. John Brown, convicted of the high crime of treason, insurrection, and murder, met his doom on the scaffold, at Charles Town, Va., on Friday, the 2nd of December, 1859, in pursuance of the sentence of the legal tribunal before which he was tried and convicted. The proceedings attending the execution were characterized by due solemnity, and the best of order and decorum. About two thousand troops were present. The arrival of Mrs. Brown, the wife of the condemned, at Charles Town about 4 o'clock on Thursday afternoon, on the day previous to the execution, created a decided sensation. She was dressed in black, and closely veiled, and seemed to manifest considerable fortitude under the painful circumstances. She was accompanied to Harper's Ferry by two friends or relatives, a gentleman and lady and was escorted from Harper's Ferry, in a carriage, by a detachment of twelve of the Richmond Montgomery Guards, Capt. Moore, with whom, during the trip she conversed freely, and with great composure, on her arrival at Charles Town,

the canon in front of the jail, were wheeled around to allow the passage of the carriage and eight military companies were ordered to clear an open space in front of the jail. The whole population of the place gathered in the vicinity to see her pass into the jail. They were disappointed however, in not seeing her features, as she kept her veil, closely drawn, and escorted by the officer



### FAREWELL IN JAIL.

who accompanied her in the carriage from Harper's Ferry, she hastened up the steps and into the prison. Prior to introducing Mrs. Brown to the cell of her husband, her person was searched by the wife of Jailor Avis, to see that no poison or weapon was concealed about her to be conveyed to Brown to enable him to commit suicide.

Nothing, however, was found. During this scene, Mrs. Brown seemed calm and collected, but bore on her features the evidence of internal anguish. She was met at the step of the jail by Sheriff Campbell, who took her arm and escorted her within the walls to take her last interview with her husband. Gen. Taliaferro inquired of Brown how long he would like the interview to last. Brown answered, "Three or four hours." Gen. Taliaferro intimated that the interview must be short. "Oh, said Brown, coolly, I don't ask any favors of the State of Virginia. You must execute your duty." As Mrs. Brown entered, Brown arose and extended both his hands, but she flew to him, and throwing her arms around his neck, exclaimed, "My husband!" Brown was perfectly calm, and collected, but Mrs. B. appeared to be deeply, but quietly affected. The sheriff was the only person present at the interview. Mrs. B. is about 50 years old. She returned about 7 P. M. to Harper's Ferry, under the escort of Capt. Moore, to await the arrival of the body of her husband.

#### **Visit to Brown's Family.**

Rev. T. W. Higginson, of Worcester, Mass., has just returned, November 4, 1859, from a visit to the family of John Brown. He found them up among the Adirondack Mountains, in New York, near Lake Champlain, opposite Burlington, Vermont. Mrs. Brown and four of her surviving children, three daughters and one son. She is a second wife and has been the mother of twelve children. Brown had eight children by a previous wife, making twenty in all. She leaves today

for Virginia to see her husband in the Charles Town jail.

During the interview between Mrs. Brown and her husband, John Brown, in jail, the subject of the death of their two sons was spoken of, and Mrs. Brown remarked that she had made some effort whilst at the Ferry for the recovery of their bodies, to which object she said Col. Barbour had kindly consented to give his assistance. Capt. Brown remarked that he would also like the remains of the two Thompsons removed, if they could be found, but suggests that it would be best to take his body with the bodies of his two sons, and get a pile of pine logs and burn them all together that it would be much better and less expensive to thus gather up all their ashes together and take them to their final resting place. Sheriff Campbell told him that this would not be allowed within the State, and Mrs. Brown objected to the proposition all together.

#### **Brown's Interview With His Fellow-Prisoners.**

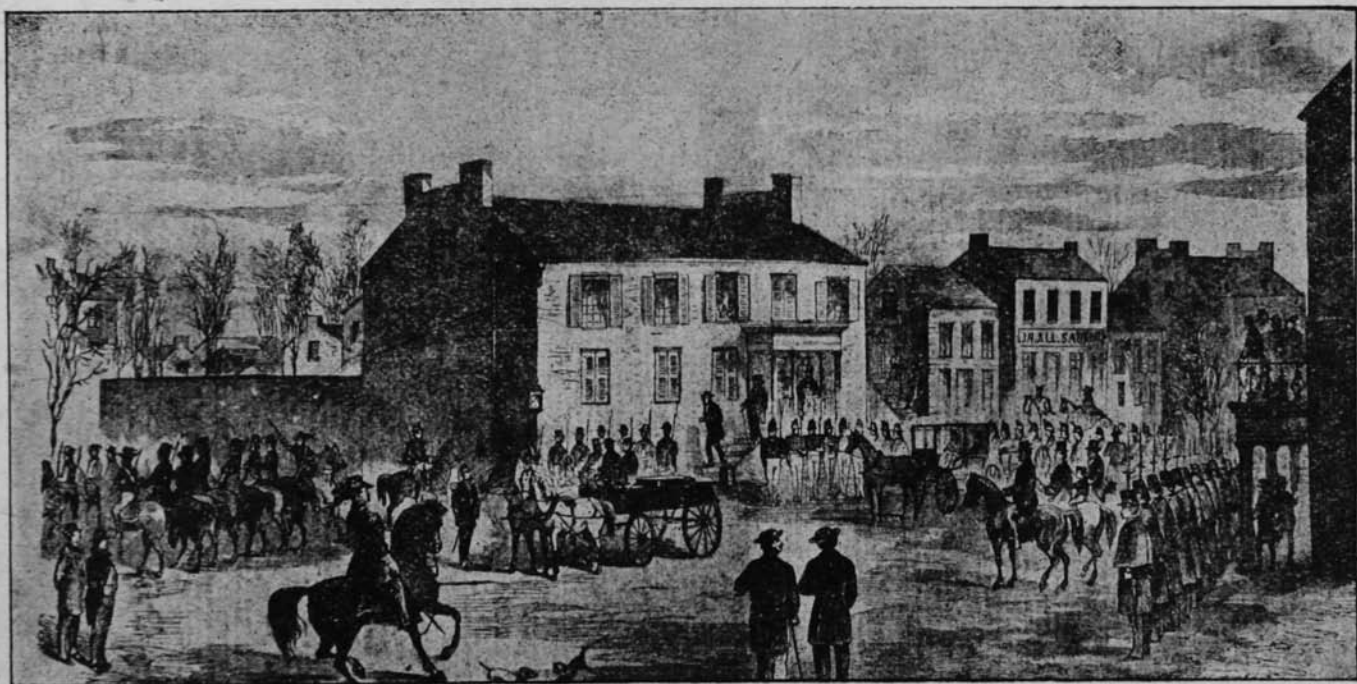
Sheriff Campbell bid the prisoner farewell in his cell, and Brown returned thanks to him for his kindness, and spoke of Capt. Pate as a brave man. He was then conducted to the cells of his fellow-prisoners, desiring to take his leave of them. Entering the cell of Copeland and Green he told them to stand up like men and not betray their friends. He handed each a quarter of a dollar, saying that he had no more use for money, and having said this, he bid them a final farewell. Next he visited Cook and Coppie, who were chained together. Addressing Cook he remarked,



"You have made false statements." Cook asked, "What do you mean?" Brown replied, "Why in stating that I sent you to Harper's Ferry." Cook replied, "Did you not tell me in Pittsburg to come to Harper's Ferry and see if Forbes had made disclosures?" Captain Brown. "No sir, you knew I protested against your coming." To this Cook only responded: "Captain Brown, we remember differently." As he said this he dropped his head, and Brown, as if in contempt, turned away, and addressing Coppie you also made false statements, but I am glad to hear you have contradicted them. Stand up like a man." Brown also handed him a quarter, and then shaking both by the hand, parted with them. The prisoner was taken to Steven's cell, and kindly interchanged with him a good-bye. Stevens said: "Good-bye Captain, I know you are going to a better land." Brown replied, "I know I am," and urged Stevens to bear up, and not betray his friends. He also gave Stevens a quarter, and then took leave of him. He did not visit Hazlett, as he has always persisted in denying any knowledge of him.

#### **Capt. Brown on His Way to Execution, &c**

On his way to the scaffold, Mr. Sadler, the undertaker, remarked to Capt. Brown, "You are a game man certain." To which Capt. Brown replied, "Yes, I was so trained—it was one of the lessons of my mother, but it is hard to part from friends, though newly made." Then he remarked, "This is a beautiful country, I never had the pleasure of seeing it before." On reaching the field in which the gallows was erected, Brown said,



JOHN BROWN STARTS TO THE GALLOWS.

"Why are none but military allowed in the enclosure?" "I am sorry the citizens are kept out." As he reached the gallows he observed Wm. Hunter and Mayor Green standing near to whom he said, "Gentlemen, good-bye," his voice not faltering in the least. While on the scaffold Sheriff Campbell asked if he wanted a handkerchief in his hand to drop as a signal when he was ready. He replied, "No, I do not want it, but do not detain me any longer than is actually necessary."

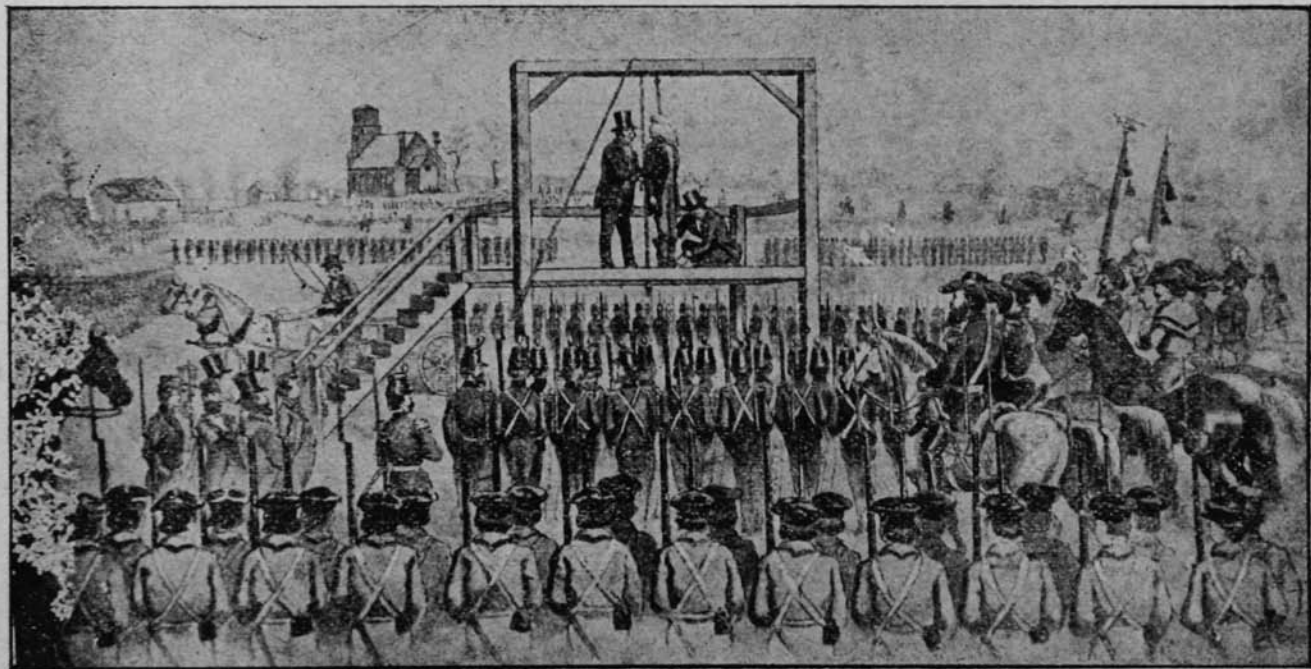
#### **Troops Present.**

On the day of the execution of John Brown at Charles Town, the troops numbered upwards of two thousand—fifteen hundred at Charles Town, and the remainder were placed at different points in the neighboring counties. These troops contained a number of the most prominent and distinguished citizens of the State.

#### **The Execution. &c.**

At an early hour on Friday morning the town was in more than usual stir, even for the stirring times that have fallen upon this neighborhood. Soon the movements of the military drew all the citizens of the place and all others who had been able to gain admittance to the town, to the vicinity of the place assigned for the execution. The prisoner was brought out of the jail at 11 o'clock. Before leaving he bid adieu to all his fellow prisoners and was very affectionate to all except Cook. He charged Cook with having deceived and misled him in relation to the support he was to receive from the slaves. He said he was led by him





SCAFFOLD—HANGING JOHN BROWN.

to believe that they were ripe for insurrection, but he had found that his representations were false. Cook denied the charge, and made but little reply to Brown. The prisoner then told the sheriff he was ready, when his arms were pinioned, and he walked to the door apparently calm and cheerful. He wore a black slouch hat and the same clothes worn during the trial. As he came out he was taken under guard of the military. Six companies of infantry and one troop of horse, with Gen. Taliaferro and his entire staff, were deploying in front of the jail. At the door of the jail, an open wagon, with a pine box, in which was a fine oak coffin, was waiting for him. He looked around and spoke to several persons whom he recognized, and walking down the steps, was assisted to enter the wagon, and took his seat on the box, containing his coffin, along with Jailor Avis. He looked with interest on the fine military display, but made no remark. The wagon moved off as soon as he had taken his seat, flanked with two files of riflemen in close order. On reaching the field, the military had already full possession, and pickets were stationed at various points. The citizens were kept back at the point of the bayonet, from taking any position except that assigned them--nearly a quarter of a mile from the scaffold. Through the determined persistence of Dr. Rawlings, of Frank Leslie's paper, the order excluding the press was partially rescinded, and the reporters were assigned a position near the General's staff. The prisoner walked up the steps firmly and was the first man on the gallows. Jailor Avis and Sheriff

Campbell stood by his side, and after shaking hands and bidding an affectionate adieu, thanked them for their kindness. He then put the cap over his face and the rope around his neck. Mr. Avis then asked him to step forward on the trap. He replied, "You must lead me, for I cannot see." The rope now being adjusted, and the military order given, the soldiers marched and counter-marched, and took their positions as if an enemy was in sight. Nearly ten minutes was thus occupied, the prisoner standing meanwhile. Mr. Avis inquired if he was not tired, Brown remarked, "No, but don't keep me waiting longer than necessary." At fifteen minutes past eleven the trap fell. A slight grasping of the hands and twitching of the muscles was visible, and then all was quiet. The body was several times examined, and his pulse did not cease beating for thirty-five minutes. It was then cut down and placed in the coffin and conveyed under military escort to the depot, and there put in a car to be conveyed to Harper's Ferry, by special train at 4 o'clock. The whole arrangements were carried out with a precision and military strictness, that was most annoying. The general conviction is everywhere entertained that the rumors of intended rescue were altogether an egregious hoax. This morning Capt. Brown executed an instrument empowering Sheriff Campbell to administer on all property of his in the state, with directions to pay over the proceeds of the sale of his weapons, if recovered, to his widow and children.

The last words of John Brown, according to the Philadelphia Enquirer, were as follows:

"I die alone responsible for my own operations, and ask no sympathy. I am satisfied in my own belief—but desire no other man to believe as I do, unless his conscience and philosophy approve. I am singly responsible for my own acts, good or bad. If right or wrong, the consequences rests only upon myself."

#### **Remains of John Brown.**

About three o'clock the body of Brown, which after the execution, had been placed in a coffin and reconveyed to the jail, was examined by Gen. Taliaferro, and several physicians. It presented some remarkable phenomena. The eyes were fully unclosed, and possessed almost their natural luster, retaining even something of the peculiar glaring expression which had characterized them in life. The limbs were pliant and flexible, with nothing of the rigidity of death about them, and with the exception of the nose and feet, which were covered with two pairs of woollen socks, the body was quite warm. A consultation of all the physicians present in Charles Town was immediately held—both Dr. Mason and Gen. Taliaferro, declaring that the body should not under the circumstances leave Charles Town until it was entirely extinct, and various tests resorted to, for the purpose of determining whether the doomed traitor yet retained any flickering of existence. Liquid ammonia was applied to his eyes, and strange to say they exhibited immediate indications of congestion; a lighted candle was then held near the nose for the purpose of ascertaining its effect upon the sensitive mucus membrane of that organ, but no evidence of life could

be discovered. A number of other tests were applied with like effect, and he was finally pronounced quite dead by all the physicians in attendance. Nevertheless, when at six o'clock, the corpse was again examined, just prior to its departure on the train for Baltimore, the eyes and countenance presented the same life-like appearance before observed, although the body had then become quite cold and stiff. The physicians confessed their inability to account for the phenomena, though several similar cases are recorded in medical works. While at Harper's Ferry, Mrs. Brown, accompanied by Col. Barbour, Dr. Murphy and other citizens of that place, proceeded to the spot where her two sons were buried. It was however, ascertained that the body of Watson Brown had been carried off by surgeons for dissection. They found two bodies, one supposed to be that of Oliver Brown, but far gone in decomposition, and Mrs. Brown thought herself unequal to the task of recognition. So the bodies were interred.

#### **Brown's Body in Philadelphia.**

The mortal remains of John Brown passed through Philadelphia Saturday afternoon from Charles Town, to Essex county, New York. The remains were in charge of the widow of Brown, and Messrs. Hector Tindall and Miller McKim, of Philadelphia, who had gone South with Mrs. Brown. A large crowd had assembled at the depot, previous to the arrival of the Baltimore train. In order to avoid the crowd, the body remained in the baggage car until after one o'clock when it was taken out, the depot having been pre-

viously cleared of all persons except policemen. The body was in a box which was covered with a blanket of coarse cloth. A fur robe was lashed upon top. A double line was formed by the police and the box was carried to an old wagon covered with canvass and drawn by an old bay horse. Into this wagon several policemen got, and the wagon was driven out of the gate upon Broad street. It was followed by an immense crowd, composed principally of colored people. The appearance of the vehicle with the body of Brown was greeted with cheers, and the crowd made chase after the wagon. It left at 2 o'clock for New York.

#### The Burial of John Brown.

The fact that John Brown was buried at North Elba, New York, Thursday, December 8, 1859, has been stated. Of the arrival there of Mrs. Brown, with the remains, a correspondent of the Herald writes: "The meeting between Mrs. Brown and the surviving members of the family was not characterized by any loud demonstration of grief. Tears did not flow so profusely perhaps as might be expected under the circumstances, but a close observer could perceive that the anguish of the household was intense. One by one they silently embraced their mother. First came Ruth, the eldest daughter, who married Henry Thompson; then followed Salmon and his sister, Anna, Sarah and Ellen, the latter being only five years old. Martha Brown, wife of Watson Brown, who was killed at the Ferry, was also present. The coffin was brought into the house and deposited in one of the upper rooms, where it was the

"Four years ago the friends of John Brown committed his body to the keeping of the hills he loved"  
 Wendell Phillips  
 Dec. 8, 1863.

object of much curiosity among the neighbors who had crowded in. After tea the family surrounded Mr. McKim and learned from him the particulars of the late scenes at Charles Town and Harper's Ferry. The Rev. gentleman testified to the courtesy of several prominent citizens in Virginia and Maryland, and the sympathy that was felt for Mrs. Brown, all along the route from Harper's Ferry to North Elba. He said they had been treated with all proper respect, and made favorable mention of Mr. Garrett, president of the B. & O. railroad; Col. Shutt, Mr. Phelps, Capt. Lenn, Col. Lee, Capt. Moore, Col. Barber, Dr. McDougall, U. S. Army, Mrs. Fouke, of the Ferry, and others, who aided them materially in their mission South. At the close of the evening the lid was raised from the coffin and the body was examined by all present. The countenance of the deceased was more natural than it appeared in New York, and bore a placid and serene expression. At the funeral Mr. McKim read a letter to Mrs. Brown from Coppie in which he said: "I was with your sons when they fell. Oliver lived but a very few moments, after he was shot. He spoke no word, but yielded calmly to his fate. Watson was shot at ten o'clock on Monday morning, and died about 3 o'clock on Wednesday morning. He suffered much. Though mortally wounded at ten o'clock, yet at 3 o'clock Monday afternoon he fought bravely against the men who charged on us."

#### **Another Account of John Brown's Funeral.**

The funeral occurred at North Elba, New York, 8th December, 1859. The body was borne by six of his

neighbors, from his own roof to a rock near by, under the shadow of which he had directed to be laid. The coffin had been previously placed in front of his doorstep, when his neighbors came in crowds to take a last look. The face was hardly changed, and wore its usual expression. Before leaving the house, his favorite hymn, "Blow ye the Trumpet, blow," was sung, and prayer was offered by the Rev. Mr. Young, of Burlington, Vermont. Remarks were then made by J. M. McKim, of Philadelphia, and Wendell Phillips, of Boston. At the grave Mr. Young quoted Paul's words, "I have fought the good fight," and pronounced a benediction.

#### **A Piece of John Brown's Coffin.**

Coming upon the train we noticed a cadaverous looking personage sitting alone on one of the seats, and by the side of him a large piece of composite stone on which was painted, "A piece of John Brown's coffin." We asked him where he got it. He replied, "In Essex county; Brown's grave was bored in the solid rock, and this piece I broke out myself." He looked upon it as a sacred relic, and we have no doubt will always consider it so.

#### **John Brown's Piety.**

John Brown has been held up by abolitionists generally, as a paragon of piety. A gentleman who was a candidate for office in the county of Washington, Md., where John Brown resided whilst he was planning his murderous midnight incursion into Virginia, happened, in canvassing the county, to call at Brown's house one morning before breakfast. He had hardly entered the



house before Brown took down his Bible, remarking that it was always his custom to have family devotion before breakfast. He then read a chapter of the Bible and knelt down and offered up a most fervent prayer. The gentleman was struck with his devoutness and came to the conclusion that he was one of the most pious Christian men he had ever met with, and left with that impression. A few days afterwards, he happened along by Brown's house again, and was attracted at a volley of most horrid oaths, proceeding from one of the two men standing at Brown's yard. Judge of his surprise when he rode up to discover that the man who uttered them was no other than the pious John Brown, a few mornings before. Such was this old miscreant's piety.

#### **Brown as a Preacher.**

The Danville, Va., Register stated that John Brown once travelled through Virginia as a peddler. He came to that place under the assumed name of McLane, and passed himself off as a Baptist preacher. Brown acknowledged that he had traveled as far South as the North Carolina line.

#### **Another of the Martyr Brown's Virtues.**

Having exposed the hypocrisy of John Brown's piety, we have still another leaf of his character to unfold. Some two months before his raid at the Ferry, he purchased a cow of a neighbor, residing about a mile from him, upon condition that if she suited him he was to pay \$20, and if she did not he was only to pay a reasonable compensation for the time he should keep her. On the Saturday before his onslaught upon the

Ferry, he returned the cow to the owner, stating that she did not exactly suit him, but he was willing to pay, as promised, for the time he had her in his possession, and told the gentleman to come to his house the next Monday morning, and he would settle the amount. Now, the purchase of the cow upon these conditions, and his promise to settle the amount after his intended raid, was of course nothing, from first to last, but a piece of low rascality, to obtain the milk upon the clear. Yet he is held by pious abolitionists as the pink of Christian virtue.

#### Character of John Brown.

The following is a copy of a letter received by a prominent citizen of this State:

Kansas City, Mo., Nov. 2, 1859.

"Though unknown to you personally, the motive which prompts me, a desire to see an unexampled villain receive his deserts at the hands of Justice, will, I hope, be my pardoned excuse for this letter. By the telegraph I see John Brown's pluck, as exhibited in his trial and the late disturbance at Harper's Ferry, have excited in your breast, as would naturally be the case with any chivalric man, an admiring sympathy. My purpose is to relate to you a passage in Brown's life that you may place his true character before you. He stated in his conversation with Senator Mason, Mr. Vallandigham, and others, that save in a fair fight, he had never shed human blood. In June, 1856, a series of the most dastard murders were perpetrated on Potawatamie Creek. Mr. Wilkinson, an inoffensive and

quiet farmer, who had never taken up arms in Kansas, was dragged from the side of his wife, who had been confined but two or three days before, and had his head split open, his throat cut, and his hands cut off, and his body and his members thus mutilated, thrown back into the house at the feet of his wife.' On the same night, the house of two brothers named Doyle, were entered by the same band, eight in number, they were taken from their beds and foully murdered. That night five murders were committed by that party of eight Kansas outlaws. These murders brought on the difficulties that devastated the territory in the summer and autumn of 1856, as you may remember. Mr. Wilkinson, a younger brother of the Doyles, and every one conceded these brutal murders were committed by John Brown, who has just been convicted in Jefferson county, Va. Brown took his son and six more men, making eight, and went off, and the next morning old John Brown rode up to a wagon, and threw into it a sabre, bloody from the hilt to the point, saying at the time with a fiendish delight, don't that look like it had done some work? These were the most brutal murders I ever heard of. Those are simple facts, and will, I hope, disabuse your mind of any mistaken feeling of mercy you may have entertained for this human fiend."

The Cleveland, Ohio, Democrat says:

"A bolder or worse man than that same Ossawatimie Brown the world never knew. His single virtue, linked with a thousand crimes, was bull-dog courage.

Fanatic to the highest degree—a pupil in politics, of the Giddings school, he has been taught to believe that the killing of a slave holder was an act God would approve. When in this city last spring, in his lectures, he told of his stealing negroes and running them to Canada, of his stealing horses which he then had with him for sale, of his shooting down slaveholders, and other acts equally atrocious. “And now, said Brown, I approve of what I have done. Those who approve of my acts will say “aye,” and more than one-half of his audience, composed of Abolitionists, shouted “aye,” while not a single “nay” was uttered by any one present.” Such approval as this, and the question was put at all his lectures, gave Brown confidence that his party would sustain him in whatever he might do against the South, and thus emboldened the miserable wretch, by servile insurrection, sought to overthrow the Government and bring himself to its head.

### **The New Dispensation**

The Rev. McKim pronouncing Brown's funeral oration at North Elba, N. Y., speaking of the foray upon Harper's Ferry, said, “Brown wielded the sword of the spirit against slavery with wonderful effect.” On this the New York Express remarked: “The sword of the spirit” referred to combined Sharp's rifles, Colts revolvers and pikes. The definition, although differing so widely with the one commonly taught by theologians, is nevertheless, in unison with the command first given in 1856, to go into all the free states and shoot the Gospel into every creature. We never expected this

new gospel put into practice, but taking John Brown's acts at Harper's Ferry, and the translation rendered by the Rev. McKim at North Elba, of the true meaning of the sword of the spirit, and who will deny this gospel has begun to bear fruit. Brown is the first deity recognized by this new school of divinity. All that a certain class of people now have to do to be saved is to believe in John Brown and wield the sword of the spirit as he wielded it; who says this is not the age of progress?

Parson Brownlow made a speech at Lynchburg, Va., on the John Brown raid, and it was "intensely southern." He said "he would rather be with the South in Pandemonium than with the Abolitionists in Heaven." The Parson also remarked that he intended to give his family instructions not to bury him in a Yankee coffin, but in case of an emergency they must leave both ends open so that when the devil or abolitionist came at one end he could crawl out at the other end.

A gentleman accosted an old negro in the village of Urbanna: "Well Butler, do you think old John Brown has gone to Heaven?" "I think it doubtful Massa; but if he has he will be put in de kitchen, as he is fond of niggers."

A fugitive slave from Harper's Ferry went to Auburn, New York, on his way to Canada, and while walking about he strolled into an oyster saloon, and saw a U. S. Marshal from Harper's Ferry, who lived within three doors of him at the Ferry. The fugitive was the slave who guided John Brown into the engine house. The negro left immediately.

Realf, Brown's Secretary of State, barely escaped lynching, twice on his way from Austin Texas, to Galveston, in charge of the officer dispatched for him, by the United States Investigating Committee at Washington city. An interesting sketch of the life of Realf, shows him to have been a man possessed of fine poetic and sculptural abilities, a great traveler, a mad adventurer, a crazy abolitionist, a bigoted Roman Catholic, and finally travelling Methodist preacher. He seems to have been everything by fits and starts, but nothing long.

Allen, a slave of Gen. Harman, of Staunton, took up his musket and marched to Charles Town in one of the Augusta Companies. Allen said all he wanted was a pop at the abolitionists. He was with Gen. Harman in Mexico.

J. R. Giddings, in a lecture in Philadelphia, on the Harper's Ferry conspiracy, says that he knew nothing of Brown's movements in Virginia; that Brown was not as radical in his notions of slavery as he was, that he had for years given fugitives money and arms and taught them how to use them, and that he would strike down a slave catcher at his door.

#### **Cassius M. Clay Suspected of Abetting the Plot.**

The Lynchburg Virginian, in speaking of the complicity of Gerritt Smith, and Giddings, with the outbreak, says: "By a private source, we learn that Cassius M. Clay has also been mentioned in the same connection. Should these suspicions prove well founded, we would favor a requisition upon the Governors of their

respective States, for the apprehension and delivery into custody of the parties. We trust that Gov. Wise will prosecute this matter to the utmost."

#### **Henry Clay Pate on Old Brown.**

H. Clay Pate, the border-ruffian hero of Black Jack has published a card in reply to the charges of having showed the white feather to his old Kansas conqueror, Ossawatamie Brown. His letter closes with the following allusion to the imprisoned insurrectionists: "As to old Brown, he has been an outlaw all his life. Professing to be a zealous Christian, he is a fanatical hypocrite. Living at different times in almost every state in the Union, he has been everything by starts and nothing long, except as mean a man as a horse thief can be, and as treacherous as an heir of hell and a joint heir of the devil."

#### **A Nut to Crack.**

It is stated on reliable authority that the slaves of a widow in Shenandoah county, Va., were furnished with arms by the abolitionists, and a night appointed for them to start to Harper's Ferry. Instead of doing so, however, when the time came, they held a consultation, and, taking those very arms, kept guard from dark until dawn around their mistress' house. In the morning they showed her the arms, told her what they had done, and went to work as usual.

#### **Abolition Sympathy.**

The New York Tribune states that Wendell Phillips, on receiving one hundred dollars for his recent lecture at Plymouth Church, upon the Harper's Ferry

raid, immediately paid over the whole sum as a contribution to John Brown, to procure for him such comforts as he may need in the few remaining days of his life.

#### **Forbes and Seward.**

The New York Journal of Commerce has learned from Forbe's own lips that he did unfold to Senator Seward last year all about John Brown's intended invasion at Harper's Ferry. This is the key to the "irrepressible conflict" speech of Seward, and to the convenient absence of that person from this country.

#### **False Statement.**

Geo. H. Hoyt, of Boston, one of the counsel of John Brown, at Charles Town, made a most violent speech at New Bedford, Mass. He denounced the Virginians in round terms, declared that Brown did not receive a fair trial, that he was put on trial contrary to the customs of all civilized people, and that Caleb Cushing in declaring that Brown had justice done him told a "deliberate, malicious and premeditated falsehood." The latter assertion was received with alternate cheers and hisses.

#### **Anonymous Letter.**

The following letter was addressed to the clerk of this county, from New York city, Oct. 23, 1859, as follows:

"You had better caution your authorities to be careful about what you do with John Brown; as sure as you hurt one hair on his head, mark my word, the following day you will see every city, town and village



south of Mason and Dixon's line in flames. We are determined to put down slavery at all odds, forcibly if it must, peaceably if it can. Believe me when I tell you, the end is not yet, by long odds. All of us at the North sympathize with the Martyrs of Harper's Ferry."

### Sympathy For Brown.

Many exhibitions of sympathy for Brown came off in New England and Northern states. Churches were opened, and bells tolled, and addresses delivered. On all hands Brown was represented as a martyr in a glorious cause. At Cheever's Church, New York, a Mr. Goodall declared that Brown was a greater man than Gen. Washington. Old and young threatened to follow in the footsteps of the illustrious Brown, to abolish slavery. A meeting at Cleveland, Ohio., of 5,000 commemorated the day in honor of its hero. At Manchester, New Hampshire, a party collected to toll obsequies of Old Brown from the City bell. It had struck four or five times when the Mayor, Mr. Harrington, appeared among the sympathizers in the belfry and ordered the men to desist. James B. Straw refused to leave, when the Mayor dropped him through the scuttle by the most convenient mode, and the bell didn't ring any more.

### Old Brown "Crucified."

Some of the New York sensation preachers, on Sunday, instead of preaching Christ, spoke of "Old Brown" as crucified. At the Hope Chapel, Rev. Geo .F. Noyes held forth on "The Irrepressible Conflict between

Freedom and Slavery," and allusion was made to the same thing in the sermons of Rev. Dr. Cheever, Rev. Mr. Frothingham, and (last but not least) Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, at the Plymouth church, Brooklyn.

#### **An Appropriate Prayer.**

At a prayer meeting held at Groton, Connecticut, one of the Republicans prayed with great unction, for the peace of John Brown's soul. After he had finished, a brother from the "other side of the house" offered up his petition to the throne of Grace—in the course of which he prayed "that all men might live together in the love of the Lord, that wars might cease, and that 'swords might be beaten into plough shares, and spears into pruning hooks,' more especially O Lord, those 1200 pikes manufactured by that traitor to his country—Old John Brown."

#### **A Minister's Prediction.**

Rev. Geo. W. Bassett, of Ottawa, Illinois, in a letter to the Chicago Times says:

"Dark as the present day is for our country, if Captain Brown and his confederates are hung by the State of Virginia, as they will be, the sod will not be dry over their new-made graves ere a reaction will take place in the popular heart, and the blood of those noble but unfortunate men will constitute the seed of a revolution that will drive slavery from the American soil."

#### **Take Care of the Widows.**

Wendell Phillips, Rev. Cheever, and another red hot Brown Christian by the name of Rev. Prof. Matti-

son, are out with a call in New York for a meeting at the Cooper's Institute, to take up a collection for the benefit of the widows and orphans of John Brown. As an offset a similar meeting is proposed for the purpose of getting up some sort of a testimony for Mrs. Mahala Doyle, whose husband and two sons it is said Old Brown helped to murder in Kansas.

#### Widow of John Brown.

The Shepherdstown Register, dated Sept. 1865, contains the following:

"A subscription is being made to purchase a lot for the widow of John Brown, who lives at Red Bluffs, California, entirely dependent on her labor for support. The New York Times commends the project, but cannot forego a little bitter raillery at some of John Brown's admirers; 'But where are Mr. Phillips and his rich friends of Massachusetts that they permit this 'relict' of their 'representative man' to suffer? They could 'purchase a house and lot for her in a little town on Sacramento river' and not forego a single luxury. Why have they lost sight of her? The fact is, that having seen poor old John's knapsack strapped upon his back, and set his soul 'a marching on,' they fancy, like so many of these *votex prae erca nihil* philanthropists, that their work was finished with their last speech, and they 'turn in' and take it comfortably. A very good adage for old Mrs. Brown would be to 'up and die,' then would she come into notice once more. If she didn't get 'bread' she would have at least a famous 'stone,' and a most soul-stirring oration from a first-class orator at the laying of the foundation."

### **Brown's Son.**

Jason Brown, a son of John Brown, is now living,  
(May 1894) at the age of 71, on a spur of the Sierra  
Madre Mountains, not far from Pasadena, California.  
He makes his living by exhibiting a little museum of animals.

### **John Brown's Grave Decorated.**

The following dispatch we clip from the Baltimore Sun of May 31, 1894:

Saranac Lake, New York, May 30, 1894.

At North Elba the grave of John Brown, who led the invasion at Harper's Ferry, was decorated. Though it rained the celebration was one of the largest ever seen at the grave of Brown.

### **Monument to John Brown**

The following letter, dated Philadelphia, Dec. 6, 1859, has been received by Horace Greeley, of the New York Tribune:

"Many persons would be glad to contribute to a fund to build a monument to Capt. Brown. It is too soon to do this, as the only suitable spot is not now available. To ask contributions to a fund for that purpose now moreover, might cut off donations for the benefit of Mrs. Brown and her family, and the families of the others yet to be executed. Let me suggest that \$2,000 be collected and converted in some way, by which it shall draw compound interest and that it shall remain untouched for a century, until say, the 2nd day of December, 1959, that then the proceeds be devoted to building a monument to the memory of John Brown, on the

spot where the gallows stood on which he was executed. The fund would then amount to \$1,000,000."

John Brown, Jr., son of Old John Brown, lectured at Gustavus, Trumbull county, Ohio, on the night of the 15th of March, 1860, on the "Influence of Slavery." His brother, Owen Brown, who was at Harper's Ferry, made remarks after the lecture was over.

The wife of Oliver Brown, killed at Harper's Ferry, died on the 2nd of March, 1860, at North Elba, New York, of child-birth, the child also died. She was but 18 years old and had been married only five months when her husband went to Harper's Ferry.

#### **John Brown's Fort Desecrated.**

John Brown's Fort, which was taken to Chicago to be exhibited during the World's Fair, in the fall of 1893, has fallen into the hands of a State street firm, in that city, which intends to use it as a stable. An appeal was made to the colored people of America to save this historic relic from such an ignominious fate.

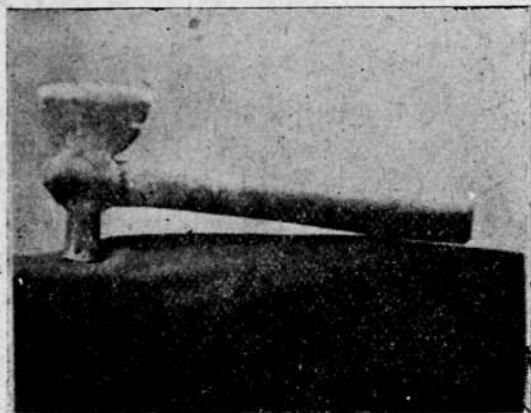
#### **Death of Capt. John Brown, Jr.**

Capt. John Brown, Jr., son of Capt. John Brown, who started the insurrection at Harper's Ferry, and who participated in the raid, died at his home on the Island of Put-in-Bay, Ohio, on the 2nd day of May, 1895, aged 71 years.

#### **The Hatchet That Made The Scaffold and Cut the Rope.**

The hatchet which was used to make the scaffold and cut the ropes which were used in the hanging of John Brown and the other insurgents, is now in the

possession of Miss Mary Cockrell, daughter of Capt. David Cockrell, deceased, Charles Town, W. Va. This



photograph is an accurate picture of the same.

### **The Cooking Stove.**

Mr. Spencer, residing on the Maryland side, at the Canal, opposite Harper's Ferry, has in his possession, the cooking stove upon which John Brown and his men cooked their meals while located at the school house, on the Maryland Heights, near the battle grounds of Antietam and Burnside's Bridge. The stove is in good preservation and a good meal can be served from it. Mr. Spencer prizes it as a valuable relic.

The horse that John Brown rode at the battle of Ossawatamie, Kansas, was sold in the streets of St. Joseph, Mo., at auction. Col. Samuel, of Ralls county, was the purchaser.

### **Brown's Big Gun.**

We saw in the possession of Hon. Alexander R. Boteler, member of Congress, a gun belonging to Brown, taken from his rendezvous on the mountains in Maryland, which weighed 34 pounds, and was worked by means of a pivot, attached to the barrel and was made for the purpose of shooting slugs. Mr. Boteler has also in his possession one of the pikes belonging to the band, the blade of which is somewhat like that of a bowie knife, or the end of a Roman sword, very heavy, on the end of a six foot ash staff. It is a very formidable weapon, both to cut and to thrust. The big gun was in possession of the Petersburg Artillery, when they left Charles Town. It is to occupy a conspicuous position in the Old Dominion in the future, by being placed in the rotunda of the State House at Richmond, as a trophy of the late war upon her borders. It is a Sharp's rifle, and takes a stout man to level it; the barrel is two inches in diameter, with a 3-4-inch bore, and 4 feet in length.

### **Insolent Letter.**

A special dispatch from Washington to the New York Herald, dated Oct. 23, 1859, says:

"The Secretary of War has received, since the affair at Harper's Ferry, an insolent letter, purporting to come from the notorious Cook, dated at Chambersburg, Pa., informing him that it is his intention to march an army of several thousand men and take Harper's Ferry and Charles Town, and liberate the prisoners, and to perform sundry other ridiculous feats.

**Capt. Cook and His Wife.**

Hagerstown, Md., Oct. 20, 1859.

A gentleman, just from Harrisburg, Pa., says that Cook's wife came into that town day before yesterday, and stopped at the same place where old Brown's son's wife was boarding.

Hagerstown, Md., Oct. 20, 1859.

The statement must be true. Cook's wife is not at Harper's Ferry. She left some days ago. The Sheriff of this county tracked Cook as far as Greencastle today, and the impression there was that Cook had left for Chambersburg. The opinion here entertained is that Cook passed through last night. The Sheriff was credibly informed at Greencastle that a load of boxes passed through there on Tuesday for Washington county, loaded with rifles, pistols and pikes. Sheriff Hawk is now on the look-out for them. A gentleman named John Cuthberton, who resides in Chambersburg, Pa., informs us that Cook's wife certainly did go to Harrisburg on Tuesday, and took lodging at the same place where Brown's daughter-in-law has been lodging for the last two or three weeks. Cook's wife left the Ferry several days before the disturbance broke out. The stage driver of the Chambersburg line also confirms the statement in regard to her going to Harrisburg.

The Chambersburg, Pa., Times, of the 4th of November, 1859, says:

"We have been told that three men were in town begging for bread the night after the Sharp's Rifles were found in Beaty's woods. They were almost starv-



ed, and devoured gluttonously what a good woman set before them. The morning following a farmer in Green township saw three men bearing a wounded comrade from his barn. The general belief is that the party belonged to Cook and that the wounded man was one of Brown's sons, whom they had carried from Harper's Ferry.

Gov. Wise has offered a reward of \$1,000 for the apprehension of Cook, who is said to be hemmed in among the mountains, from whence it is barely possible he may escape. He is a man of very small stature, blue eyes and light curly hair. Indeed it is a notable fact that, with two exceptions, all of the white insurgents had long light hair and blue eyes.

#### **Arrest of Capt. Cook.**

John E. Cook was arrested at the Mount Alto Furnace, near Clarksburg, by Messrs. Logan and Fitzhugh, on Thursday night, 26th October, 1859, at 9 o'clock. Cook went to the furnace under the pretense of purchasing bacon, when he was identified and apprehended. Hunger had driven him to the Furnace, as he had not eaten but six apples for sixty hours.

#### **Capt. Cook Arrested.**

Chambersburg, Pa., Oct. 26, 1859.

The notorious Capt. Cook, of the Insurrectionary band of outlaws, under John Brown, has at last been captured, beyond doubt, and has been fully committed to jail to await the requisition of the Governor of Virginia. He was brought to this town last evening. There is not a doubt of his identity, as a captain's com-

mission, with prisoner's signature and clerk's name was found on his person. He came down from the mountains to get provisions, having, from his haggard appearance, suffered greatly from want and exposure. He admitted that three others of Brown's party are in the mountains, on the strength of which information parties are now out in pursuit of the fugitives. Cook had on his person a parchment memorandum, formerly attached to Mr. Washington's person, and says the pistol is in his valise, which he left in the mountains. He was fully armed when arrested, and attempted to make resistance, but being exhausted, was soon captured, at a point eight miles from this place.

#### **Capture of Cook.**

The arrest was made in Franklin county, Pa., near the Mount Alto Iron Works, about eight miles from Chambersburg, by Messrs. Claggett Fitzhugh, of Hagerstown, a nephew of the Hon. Gerritt Smith, and John Logan, brother of the ex-sheriff of Washington county, Md. He had gone to the iron works for the purpose of getting provisions, having been in the mountains for ten days. He made considerable resistance, but was overpowered by the superior strength of the two men. On his person was found a commission as Captain in the Provisional Army, a daguerreotype of his wife, and several articles taken from the house of Col. Washington. A telegram was sent to Gov. Wise, who immediately sent an officer to bring him to Charles Town, and he was accordingly lodged in the jail of the county about half past one o'clock at night.

John E. Cook, to account for his escape from Harper's Ferry, during the prevalence of the insurrection, says that he was detailed with three others of the insurgents to guard the arms at Brown's house, and that when he returned to the Ferry, he found Brown and his men had been driven into the armory; he then fired a few shots across the river and took to the mountains which he followed, travelling at night and hiding in the bushes during the day, until he reached the place of arrest.

#### **Speeches of Cook and Coppie.**

The Court room on Thursday morning was crowded. The prisoners were directed to be brought into Court to receive their sentences. It was a scene of most feeling and solemnity, and caused quite a thrill in every heart that was sensible to feeling. The prisoners were directed to stand up, when the Clerk read to them each, the crimes for which they had been committed, viz: Coppie, for treason, advising and conspiring with slaves and others to rebel, and for murder in the first degree. Cook, Green and Copeland, not guilty of treason, but of advising and conspiring with slaves and others to rebel, and for murder in the first degree. The clerk then addressed the prisoners severally, to know if they had anything to say why sentence according to the terms of the verdict, should not be passed. Edwin Coppie arose with much composure and in a clear and distinct voice, declared his innocence of any intent to commit treason, murder or robbery. He said he had been induced to come here at the instance of Capt. Brown, under the

impression that the negroes were anxious to escape from bondage, and his whole purpose when starting from home was to liberate the slaves. Previous to the day of the night upon which the attack was made upon Harper's Ferry, he had no knowledge of any Constitution or By-laws for a Provisional Government, and had never signed it up to that period. He had shot no one, and had done no man any injury, but he knew he violated the laws of the State, and must be held responsible therefor. If those who desired his life sought it, he had nothing more to say. The clerk then pronounced the same interrogatory to John E. Cook, who, though apparently a youth of some 26 years, of feminine, rather than masculine appearance, arose without emotion and said in substance as follows: "If it may please the Court, I have but few words to say, and should scarcely express that, did I not think some of your own citizens have testified against me wrongfully, though without intention, I have no doubt. I deny ever having come into your community as a Spy; I had no such intention or design. Having met with John Brown in Kansas, some two years or more ago, I was induced through him to locate here, to ascertain if possible the extent to which the exposition of Forbes in his (Brown's) favorite schemes to liberate the slaves of Virginia, had effected (Brown's) ulterior objects. With one solitary exception, to which he had referred in his confession, he had never attempted or coerced any slaves to leave his or her master. He admitted that he had been deceived as to the desire of the slaves for freedom, for whilst he

had been almost a pro-slavery man up to his visit to Kansas, yet there he had been induced to believe the slaves of Maryland and Virginia were eager and anxious for liberation. He solely came for that purpose, and no other. As to the relics which had been taken from Col. Washington (which he now regretted) they were taken only as the moral prestige of success of freedom, as our fathers of the Revolution had done before us. That they were not taken by his command, as has been stated, but by the express orders of Capt. Brown. He had neither committed or connived at any violation of law, but he supposed it was for the good of humanity and the best ends of the Government. I have done." The negroes, Green and Copeland, made no response, when Judge Parker evidently laboring under much feeling, proceeded to pronounce the sentence.

A correspondent at Charles Town, of November 10, 1859, to the Baltimore Clipper, says:

"Leaving Baltimore on the morning train, I arrived at this place at noon today just in time to hear the Judge pronounce sentence of death on the prisoners Cook and Coppie, Green and Copeland. No emotion was visible on any except Cook, the muscles of whose face showed that he was nearly broken down. They were then taken to prison and a strong guard placed over them. I visited them this afternoon. I called on John Brown. I told him Dr. Dunbar sent his compliments and also to Stevens. They both thanked me very kindly, and in the next breath Brown said: "Well I suppose you have come to see the monkey show."

### Sketch of Capt. Cook.

The New York Times contains a letter from Mr. John N. Stearns, of Williamsburg, in whose office Cook was once engaged as a law clerk. Mr. Stearns says:

"He was born in Hadden, Conn., about the year 1833, of highly respectable parentage, and was reared amidst the religious and moral influences which characterize the rural population of Connecticut. His general education was good, so that he had spent one or two winters as a successful teacher of public schools, before his majority. He had also been through most of the States of the Union, in the pursuit of a mercantile agency. He had a great passion for minerology, and for the collection of mineral cabinets, nurtured no doubt, by his spending his early pastimes amidst the stone quarries worked on his father's estate and in the vicinity. While with me he showed specimens of ore, and, as he supposed, of gold, found by him more than five years since in the neighborhood of Harper's Ferry, Va. So that I am inclined to believe that the alleged purpose of his going to Harper's Ferry to dig ore was truthful not feigned. More than five years since he expressed the purpose of going there some time for that object. And I am strongly of the impression that this Harper's Ferry rebellion was an incident of special temptation that crossed his path, rather than the result of a long settled and matured purpose. In March, 1854, he came to reside with me, as a student and law clerk, and was employed in my office, and continued an inmate of my family for a year. But he had no taste for the

law. Though generally faithful to his duties as a copyist, the law, in its facts and principles, was destined to remain to him a blank obscurity. The most persevering drill on my part could not fix in his mind the most simple elements of legal knowledge. I was disappointed in the result of my experiment with him. Possessing, as he appeared to have, so fair a share of general intelligence, it was a mystery to me to find in him so much reluctance to intellectual analysis. His knowledge, however, was the fruit of a wide extended superficial observation of men, matters, and things, rather than of reflection and reasoning. And still, in his elegant penmanship, correct orthography, and ready knowledge of arithmetic and grammar, and there was evidence that in his early life he studied to some purpose and effect. The truth, when discovered, was this. He had nurtured the fancies of a poetic imagination for years, and his mind wandered in a land of dreams. The world and life were scarcely appreciated as realities. While he could not draw a complaint or a promissory note, a score of fancy verses for a lady's album would be thrown off without effort, as by intuition. The use of guns and pistols was with him a kindred passion to his poetry, as a marksman he was a dead shot. If thrown in the midst of a strife and contention, he would naturally become a soldier as by the force of this passion, without personal motive or inducement, and indeed, as against his own welfare and happiness. And still he appeared kind to every one; and during the year he was with me, though often abstracted from his proper em-

ployments by his poetical infatuations, he was never guilty, to my recollection of a disobliging act or unkind word toward myself or family. I never knew him to drink a glass of intoxicating liquor, or to utter a profane oath. He would do anything and everything reasonable to oblige us, except to learn law. He went to Kansas during the year 1855, and is said to have had something to do with the defence of Southern Kansas from the border ruffians. How much or what, I have no means of knowing. He was once at the East afterwards for a short time, but his family and friends shortly afterwards lost all trace of him, and for two or three years have supposed him dead. While with me, I never discovered in him any special interest in abolitionism, nor any special sympathy for the colored race. If he was ever converted to that faith, it must have been through the teaching of Burford and other border ruffians in Kansas. I know of none of his family friends who are specially infected with anti-slavery sentiments. Gov. Willard, of Indiana, is his brother-in-law, and he has certainly been no "heretical" teacher to this end. I can well conceive, from my knowledge of the character of Cook's mind, how that without a purpose of crime, he would become the parasite of the first leader in a romantic adventure that might solicit his aid. If anybody is killed or injured it is a consequence not intended by Cook, but a necessity arising from the circumstances into which he has been led. Cook was, in fact, the Blannerhasset of Brown's enterprise, without Blannerhasset's estate, but more of courage and skill."



The following lines are respectfully dedicated to  
MISS H. VIRGINIA W.

By J. E. COOK.

"A trav'ler on the road of life,  
Full often meets upon his way,  
To cheer him 'mid the toil and strife,  
Some friendly beacon's golden ray  
Some beaming light, which, like a star,  
May shine amid his life's dark sky;  
To cheer his pathway, when afar,  
With its undying memory.

And so, the hours, I've spent with thee,  
And the bright friendship, thou hast giv'n,  
As sacred mem'ries, dwell with me,  
Or glimpses of a fairer Heav'n.

And bright, forever bright will be,  
Their record on my changeless heart,  
In life, and death—Eternity,  
Will find them, of my soul a part.

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### TO MY SISTERS.

By J. E. Cook.

"Distance divides us. But the chain  
Of Friendship and affections bright,  
Remains unbroken. Moons may wane,  
And years may pass in winged flight.  
And Earth may change. Yet still the same  
Will be forever flowing—

The soul's deep love; a bright, pure flame,  
No change, or distance knowing.

"And as adown life's vale I go?  
Mid joy and grief to speed along,  
Full oft to you my thoughts shall flow,  
And love's bright tendrils grow more strong.

Full oft to you, my mind will turn,  
While mem'ry fond recalls the hours,  
Whose joy, a beacon bright will burn,  
And bloom, like amaranthine flowers.

Oh, yes, to you, what e'er my lot,  
My thoughts shall turn, my heart shall glow.  
My soul shall speak, *forget me Not*;  
Whatever changes, you may know.

For I, though distant from you here,  
In thought, am passing o'er again,  
Those happy hours to mem'ry dear,  
Whose light, will never beam in vain.

And though I wander thus away,  
And wide, our pathway's sever  
My Love, shall never know decay,  
Forever and Forever.

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### THE EXILE.

By J. E. Cook.

"With footsteps worn and weary,  
He wandered home to die,  
When the summer flowers were blooming  
And the winds went softly by;

For his heart was fondly yearning  
For his own bright sunny skies,  
Where loving hands might smooth his brow  
And close his dying eyes.

“He pined for those home voices,  
To hear each kindly tone  
Thrilling once more upon his ear,  
A joyous welcome home.  
To meet a wife’s beaming smile  
A sister’s warm caress;  
O, these he deemed might death disarm  
Of half its bitterness.

“Once more that quiet home-path  
The weary wanderer prest;  
And his sinking form was palsied  
Close to each yearning breast  
A sister’s smile, a sad wife’s tears,  
Were mingled with his own;  
The first, for many weary yeas,  
His care-dimmed eye had known.

“When the autumn winds were wailing  
Amid the forest trees,  
And the withered leaves were falling.  
In every passing breeze.  
Coldly and tenderly  
They laid him down to rest,  
And kind friends placed with gentle hands  
The green turf on his breast.

## SILENT MEMORIES.

By J. E. Cook.

"Silent memories are stirring,  
Thoughts of years, which long have flown,  
In my ear, are voices ringing,  
Voices, which long since have gone.  
"Gone forever; souls that wander,  
Through Elysian's happy Bow'rs,  
Angel spirits, who may ponder,  
O'er this darkened world of ours.  
Silent memories, how they rush,  
O'er the spirits trembling chords,  
While my very breath, I hush,  
List'ning to departed words.  
Oh, their music, low and sweet,  
As it breaks upon my soul,  
Voices loved, my heart will greet,  
Silent mem'ries o'er me roll.  
Silent memories, of the hours,  
Which in youthful joy have past;  
Bright spots, mid our darkened bowers,  
Thoughts, that through all time shall last.  
Memories bright, of word and stream,  
Gushing music, with its thrill,  
Beauteous landscape, happy dream,  
Scenes like these, my spirit fill.  
Scenes which sweeping Time, can never  
Blot, from my undying soul;  
Ties, which Death will fail to sever,  
Growing bright, while ages roll.

## TO MARY.

By J. E. Cook.

"Tis evening; and the setting sun,  
Sheds its bright glory o'er the sky;  
Its hues are beaming, one by one,  
In golden light and purple dye.

"'Tis evening; and my thoughts to thee:  
Like fleeting clouds, that greet the sun  
To catch each beam of love, I see,  
Or glory, e're the day is done.

"And so to *thee*, my love will turn,  
To gather beauty from the light,  
Of those blue eyes, that brightly burn  
Like stars upon the brow of night.

"And so to thee, I turn my eye,  
To catch each beam of love that's given  
To light the darkness of my sky,  
And point me to a brighter Heaven.

## WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY.

By J. E. Cook.

Hail consecrated morn; whose light  
Is hallowed by our thought of *one*,  
Who will while ages take their flight  
Remember'd be Our Washington.  
Remember'd ever, for enshrined,  
Within a Nation's grateful heart,  
For glory bright, His chaplet twined,  
Of Fame's undying wreath a part.

Her brightest garland, on *his* brow,  
Her fairest song for *him* was giv'n,  
The Hero's wreath he's wearing now,  
Amid the golden light of Heav'n.

"A mourning Nation bends above  
His ashes, in their silent tomb,  
And shrined within his children's love,  
He dwells amid eternal bloom.

And here, beside Potomac's stream,  
He wandered oft in days of yore;  
Its blue waves, murmur'd happy dreams,  
To *him*, who dwells with us, no more.

To *him*, who oft in days gone by,  
Guarded our homes from ruthless wrong  
When wars dark clouds o'er cast our sky,  
And Battle's tempest, swept along.

He stood amid the carnage then,  
To guide our *warriors* to the light,  
That shines so pure, and clear, and fair,  
O'er this, our Freedom's Home, so bright.

Immortal man whose deathless fame,  
Will live, while Sun and Moon shall shed  
Their flowing light, or silver flame,  
Above our Conquering Hero's bed.

And just, forever just will dwell,  
His mem'ry blest, and o'er his name,  
A grateful Nation's Anthem swell  
In worship of his glowing fame.

Peace to Him now, who always stood  
 The *first* in war, the *first* in Peace,  
 Who only sought *his* Country's good,  
 And in his Country's' heart, will rest.

#### Confession of Cook.

"He (Brown) came to Harper's Ferry about the last of June (1859) though I did not see him till late in July or the early part of August, when we met on Shenandoah street, Harper's Ferry, opposite Tearney's store. I do not know who were his aiders or abettors, but have heard him mention in connection with it, the names of Gerritt Smith, of New York, Howe, of Boston, and Sanborn and Thaddeus Hyatt, of New York city. The attack at the Ferry was made sooner than it was intended, owing to some friends of Brown in Boston writing a letter, finding fault with the management of Capt. Brown, and what to them seemed his unnecessary delay and expense. I do not know who those persons were, or how far they were cognizant of his (Capt. B's.) plans. But I do know that Dr. Howe gave Capt. Brown a breech-loading carbine and a pair of muzzle-loading pistols, all of government manufacture. They were left either at the house, of Capt. Brown, or at the school house where most of the arms were conveyed. A short time before the attack on the Ferry, Capt. Brown requested me to find out in some way, without creating suspicion, the number of male slaves on or near the roads leading from the Ferry, for a distance of eight or ten miles and to make such memoranda that it would be unintelligible to others, but in such a manner that I

could make it plain to him and the rest of the company. The remainder of the confession relates principally to the abortive attack on the Ferry. I ascended the mountain in order to get a better view of the position of our opponents. I saw that our party were completely surrounded, and as I saw a body of men on High street, firing down upon them, they were about a half mile distant from me, I thought I would draw their fire upon myself. I therefore raised my rifle and took the best aim I could and fired. It had the desired effect, for that very instant the party returned it, several shots were exchanged. The last one they fired at me cut a small limb I had hold of just below my hand, and gave me a fall of about fifteen feet, by which I was severely bruised and my flesh somewhat lacerated. I descended from the mountain and passed down the road to the Crane on the bank of the Canal, and about fifty yards from Mrs. W's store. I saw several heads behind the door-post looking at me; I took a position behind the Crane, and cocking my rifle beckoned to some of them to come to me; after some hesitation, one of them approached and then another, both of whom knew me. I asked them if there were any armed men in the store. They pledged me their word and honor that there were none. I then passed down to the lock-house, and went down the steps to the lock, where I saw William McGregg, and questioned him in regard to the troops on the other side. He told me that the bridge was filled by our opponents, and that all our party were dead but seven, that two of them were shot while trying to escape



across the river. He begged me leave immediately. After questioning him in regard to the position and number of the troops, and from what source he received his information, I bade him good-night and started up the road at rapid walk. I stopped at the house of an Irish family, at the foot of the hill, and got a cup of coffee and some eatables. I was informed by them that Capt. Brown was dead, that he had been shot at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. At the time I believed this report to be true. I went on up to the school house and found the shutters and door closed; called to Tidd and the boys, but received no answer; cocked my rifle and then opened the door. It was dark at the time. Some of the goods had been placed in the middle of the floor, and, in the dark looked like men crouching. I uncocked my rifle and drew my revolver, and then struck a match; saw that there was no one in the school house; went into the bushes back of the school house and called for the boys. Receiving no answer I went across the road into some pines and again called, but could find no one. I then started up the road toward Captain Brown's house; I saw a party of men coming down the road; when within fifty yards, I ordered them to halt; they recognized my voice, and called me. I found them to be Charles P. Tidd, Owen Brown, Barclay Coppie, F. J. Merriam and a negro who belonged to Washington or Allstadt. They asked me the news and I gave the information that I received at the canal lock and on the road. It seemed that they thought it would be sheer madness in them to

attempt a rescue of our comrades, and it was finally determined to return to the house of Capt. Brown. I found that Tidd before leaving the school house to go for Brown, Coppie and Merriam, had stationed the negroes in a good position in the timber, back of the school house. On his return, however, they could not be found. We therefore left for Capt. Brown's house. Here we got a few articles which would be necessary, and then went over into the timber on the side of the mountain, a few yards beyond the house, where the spears were kept. Here we laid down and went to sleep. About 3 o'clock in the morning one of our party awakened and found that the negro had left us. He immediately aroused the rest of the party, and we concluded to go to the top of the mountain before light. Here we remained for a few hours and then passed over to the other side of the mountain, where we waited till dark, and then crossed the valley to the other range beyond. Cook's acquaintance with Brown commenced at the battle of Black Jack, in Kansas, in 1856. In November 1857 the attack on Harper's Ferry was first made known by Brown, at Tabor, Iowa. Cook says: "Our party now consisted of Capt. John Brown, Owen Brown, A. D. Stevens, Charles Moffet, C. P. Tidd, Richard Robertson, Col. Richard Realf, L. F. Parsons, Wm. Leeman and myself. We stopped some days at Tabor, making preparations to start. Here we found that Capt. Brown's ultimate destination was the State of Virginia. Some warm words passed between him and myself in regard to the plan, which I supposed was to

be confined entirely to Kansas and Mississippi. Realf and Parsons were of the same opinion with me. After a good deal of wrangling, we consented to go, as we had not the means to return, and the rest of the party were so anxious that we should go with him. In the winter of 1857 the party spent the winter in military drill, under Stevens, at Pedee, Iowa; in the Spring of 1858, all went to Chatham, Canada, where a convention was held, after the adjournment of which, Cook, as a spy went on to and remained at Harper's Ferry. The attack which was intended directly after the Chatham convention was delayed by news received that Col. H. Forbes, who had joined in the movement, had given information to the Government. The outbreak finally was hastened by the impatience of certain prominent abolitionists who seemed to think that Brown was fooling them. The only names mentioned as cognizant of Brown's plan are those of Gerrit Smith, Fred Douglas, Dr. Howe, of Boston; and Thaddeus Hyatt and Sanborn, of New York. Cook denies, most positively, the rank in the "provision army" conferred upon him by the newspapers. He says, "I have been represented as Capt. Brown's chief aid. This is incorrect. Kagi was second in command, Stevens third, Hazlett fourth. Further than this I do not know that Capt. Brown had made known any preference as to superiority of rank. Edward Coppie and Dolphin Thomas were the only lieutenants he commissioned. Owen Brown, Barclay Coppie and F. J. Merriam were not at the Ferry during the time the attack was made, but remained by order of

Capt. Brown to take charge of the premises, and guard the arms left at Brown's house in case of an attack. I do not know of any person in the Ferry, or its neighborhood, who knew of our plan, save our own party, and they were pledged to keep it secret."

#### Confession.

John Copeland, the mulatto prisoner from Oberlin, Ohio, has made a full confession to the U. S. Marshal, Martin, of Virginia, and Marshall Johnson, of Ohio. He also states that a similar movement was contemplated in Kentucky about the same time.

Copeland, one of the condemned negroes, has written a letter to his father and mother, in which he justifies his conduct in going to Harper's Ferry, as follows:

"Dear Parents: My fate, as far as man can seal it, is sealed; but let not this fact occasion you any misery, for remember the *cause* in which I was engaged—remember it was a holy cause, one in which men in every way better than I am have suffered and died."

The people of Oberlin, Ohio, propose to erect a monument to Copeland and Green, the negroes who were hung at Charles Town, and Lewis Leavy, who fell in the fight at the Ferry, all of whom were students at Oberlin.

#### Card of Cook and Coppie.

The following is a card from Cook and Coppie, explaining the manner in which they tried to make their escape from jail on the night previous to their execution, written a few hours before they were executed:

Charles Town Jail, Dec. 16, 1859.

"Having been called upon to make a fair statement in regard to the ways and means of our breaking jail, we have agreed to do so from a sense of our duty to the Sheriff of the county, to our jailor, and to the jail guard. We do not wish that anyone should be unjustly censured on our account. The principal implements with which we opened a passage through the wall of the jail were a Barlow knife, and a screw which we took out of the bedstead. The knife was borrowed from one of the jail guards to cut a lemon with. We did not return it to him. He had no idea of any intention on our part to break out, neither did the Sheriff, Jailor, or any of the guard have any knowledge of our plans. We received no aid from any person or persons whatever. We had, as we supposed, removed all the bricks several days before; but on the evening previous to our breaking out we found our mistake in regard to that matter. We had intended to go out on the evening that my sisters and brothers-in-law were here; but I knew that it would reflect on them and we postponed it. But I urged Coppie to go and I would remain. He refused. We then concluded to wait. I got a knife blade from Shields Green and made in it some tolerable teeth with which we sawed off our shackles. We had them all off the night previous to our getting out. Coppie went out first and I followed. We then got upon the wall, when I was discovered and shot at. The guard outside the wall immediately came up to the wall. We saw that there was no chance of escape, and as it was discovered

that we had broken jail, so we walked in deliberately and gave ourselves up to the Sheriff, Capt. Avis, and the jail guard. There was no persons who aided in our escape. This statement is true so help us God."

JOHN E. COOK,

EDWIN COPPIE.

The sentinel who fired at Cook whilst endeavoring to make his escape from the Charles Town jail, is named Thomas William Guard, a very appropriate name, and was at the time a member of the Clarke Guards, of Berryville, and is a tailor by trade. He will be richly compensated by the State for his noble and vigilant act. He was just the man to be on guard at the time. He used the Minnie rifle, and the wonder is that the ball did not pierce Cook's head.

Capt. Cook, under sentence of death, addressed a letter dated November 26, 1859, to Mr. and Mrs. Sellers, of Cleveland, Ohio, as follows:

"One short month more and he whom your generous hospitality welcomed to your happy home will stand upon the scaffold to take his last look of earth. The dread of death with me is small, for I have faced it oft before, unflinching and untrembling. I only dread the mode in which it must now come, and the disgrace attending it. The only ties that bind me are the ties of kindred and affection. These, it is true, bring with them death's deep agony, and almost crush the spirit with their weight of woe. Brave men have fallen in this brief fatal struggle. Comrades who to me were brothers, companions of many a scene of danger, and

many a happy hour sleep in their bloody grave, with the cold earth above them. They died as they had ever lived, brave men and true. Eleven of twenty-two fell in the contest. Five more were already doomed. Another but awaits his trial to meet the same fate. Those who fell, died like brave men. Those who yet remain will not shame, I trust, their comrades who are gone. We, I trust, shall calmly meet our doom untrembling and unshaken."

**Another Letter From Capt. Cook.**

The following letter was sent by Cook to his brother-in-law in New York:

Charles Town Jail, Nov. 21, 1859.

"My ever dear sister and brother: Your kind and welcome letter, postmarked Nov. 14, I received the following day. I have no words to tell the deep, pure joy it gave me. So kind, so full of love and affection, that while it gave me new life, still made me feel that I was all unworthy of such a fond and devoted sister. You cannot know my feelings as I read over and over again the dear lines your hands had penned. Confined within my lonely cell, shut out from society, your letter came like the "olive branch" of love to those who for long, long days has floated over a deluged world. It came to me as the "olive branch" of love, borne from a dear sister's heart. Those lines came to me but to wake responsive echoes to your tones of love, which thrilled through all my soul like some wild burst of seraph music, over whose sounds we love to linger. Those dear lines are engraved on my heart core and

on my memory, stamped in bright eternal characters. It made my lonely cell more cheerful, for, from every word and line beamed love's own sunshine over my heart. It woke to newer life every cord of affection and every kindred tie. I know that you do not believe that any stain of murder rests upon my soul. Though doomed to die for such a crime, I feel a conscious innocence from such deep stains of blood. Whatever may be my fate, I shall meet it calmly. If we are thus early parted here, I hope that we again may meet where partings are no more."

John E. Cook, in a letter to his mother-in-law, at Williamsburg, New York, says:

"It had been represented to me and my comrades that when once the banner of freedom should be raised, they would flock to it by thousands, and their echoing shout of freedom would be borne to the breeze to our most Southern shore, to tell of freedom there. I gave heart and hand to the work which I deemed a noble and a holy cause. The result has proved that we were deceived, that the masses of the slaves did not wish for freedom. There was no rallying beneath our banner. We were left to meet the conflict all alone to dare to do, and die. Twelve of my companions are sleeping now with the damp mould over them, and five are inmates of these prison walls."

Mrs. Kenendy, the mother-in-law of Cook, visited him in jail. Upon her approach they embraced affectionately, recognizing each other as mother and son. She remarked that he was looking thin. He replied,



he was well, at least as well as could be expected under the circumstances. After a general conversation, she said, "Had I only known your business at Harper's Ferry, you would not have been here, John." He replied, "I knew that very well, you knew nothing of it." In conversation, Mrs. K. said, she had gone down into the Ferry to find him twice on the morning of the 17th, and referred to the narrow escape of a young friend, who came near being killed from Cook's fire from the opposite side of the river. In speaking of his arrest he said, "Had I got possession of my pistol, I would not have been here." Mrs. K. replied, "Perhaps, John, it is better than if you had used it." After his arrest Mr. Logan, under promise of absolute secrecy, obtained from him his name, and also his commission as Captain of John Brown's forces. He spoke in terms of eulogy of his lawyers and said they had done their duty, the evidence being so positive against them. His mother-in-law before leaving, exhorted him to keep nothing back, and said tell all you know. Cook replied, "I have nothing further to tell, I have told all I know about it."

Gov. Willard, of Indiana, accompanied by Mrs. Crowley, a sister of Cook, and the Hon. Daniel W. Voorhees, Attorney-General of Indiana, arrived at Charles Town, on Tuesday, and visited Cook, as did also Dr. Staunton and wife, of Indiana, and Miss Hughes. Mrs. S. is a sister of Cook, and Miss H. is a cousin. The interview between the stricken relatives and the condemned man is said to have been of a most affecting character.

### **Another Letter From Cook.**

Cook entertained strong hopes of executive clemency, up to a late date. The following is an extract of a letter written to his wife:

"Though now confined in these prison walls, I still have hopes that we again may meet; that through executive clemency I may again see our child, and clasp its mother to my yearning heart; and I once more feel the warm kiss on my lips, and read within thine eyes affection all untold; that I may know once more a mother's dear caress, receive a father's welcome, and the embraces of my sister and my brothers; to meet once more in joy around the social hearth of my childhood's home; to see the companions and playmates of my youth, and hear their voices of welcome to those dear familiar scenes; to bury my evening hours in Lethe's streams, and in future live for thee and Heaven. But if stern fate should decree that I must die, I hope that we may meet amid the radiance of eternal homes. If so, then all is well."

### **Cook's Last Letter to His Wife**

Charles Town Jail, Dec. 16, 1859.

"My Dear Wife and Child: For the last time I take my pen to address you for the last time, to speak to you through the tongue of the absent. I am about to leave you and this world forever. But do not give way to your grief. Look with the eyes of hope beyond the vale of life, and see the dawning of that brighter morrow that shall know no clouds or shadows in its sunny sky—that shall know no sunset. To that eter-

nal day I trust, beloved, I am going now. For me there waits no far-off or uncertain future. I am only going from my camp on earth to a home in heaven; from the dark clouds of sin and grief, to the clear blue skies, the flowing fountains and the eternal joys of that better and brighter land, whose only entrance is through the vale of death, whose only gateway is the tomb. Oh, yes, think that I am only going home; going to meet my Saviour and my God; going to meet my comrades, and wait and watch for you. Each hour that passes, every tolling bell, proclaims this world is not our home. We are but pilgrims here, journeying to our Father's house. Some have a long and weary road to wander; shadowed o'er with fears and doubts, they often tire and faint upon life's roadside, yet still all wearied, they must move along. Some make a more rapid journey, and complete their pilgrimage in the bright morn of life; they know no weariness upon their journey, no ills or cares of toil-worn age. I and my comrades are among this number. A few more hours and we shall be there. True, it is hard for me to leave my loving partner and my little one, lingering on the rugged road on which life's storms are bursting. But cheer up, my beloved ones; those storms will soon be over; through their last lingering shadows you will see the promised rainbow. It will whisper of a happy land where all storms are over. Will you not strive to meet me in that clime of unending sunshine? Oh, yes, I know you will, that you will also try to lead our child along that path of glory; that you will claim for him an

entrance to that celestial city whose maker and builder is God. Teach him the way of truth and virtue. Tell him for what and how his father left him, ere his lips could lisp my name. Pray for him. Remember that there is no golden gateway to the realms of pleasure here, but there is one for the redeemed in the land that lies starward. There I hope we may meet, whenever you have completed your pilgrimage on the road of life. Years will pass on and your journey will soon be ended. Live so that when, from the verge of life you look back, you may feel no vain regrets, no bitter anguish for mis-spent years. Look to God in all your troubles, cast yourself on Him when your heart is dark with the night of sorrow and heavy with the weight of woe. He will shed over you the bright sunshine of his love, and take away the burden from your heart. And now farewell. May that all-wise and eternal God, who governs all things, be with you to guide and protect you through life, and bring us together in eternal joy beyond the grave. Farewell, fond partner of my heart and soul. Farewell, dear babe of our love. A last, long farewell, till we meet in Heaven. I remain, in life and death, your devoted husband.

JOHN E. COOK.

**Verses Written by John E. Cook.**

One of the last acts in this world, by Cook, was to write an affectionate letter to his wife and child, enclosing the following verses:

If upon this earth we're parted,  
Never more to meet below,

Meet me, oh, those broken hearted,  
In that world to which I go.  
In that world where time unmending,  
Sweeps in glory bright along,  
Where no shadows there are blending,  
And no discord in the song.  
Where the Saviour's flocks are resting,  
By that river bright and fair,  
And immortal glory cresting  
Every head that enters there.  
Where the anthem loud is pealing  
Songs of praise to Him alone;  
Where the seraph bands are kneeling,  
'Mid the radiance of the Throne.  
There at last I hope to meet thee  
Never, never more to part;  
In those happy bowers to greet thee,  
Where no farewell tears shall start.  
And again in Heaven united,  
'Mid those fair Elysian bowers,  
We'll perfect the love we plighted,  
In this darkened world of ours.  
Then look forward to that meeting,  
Which shall know no blight or woe—  
That eternal joyous greeting,  
'Mid Elysian's endless flow.

**Another Attempt to Bribe Jailor Avis.**

It is said that some days ago, Mr. Avis, the jailor at Charles Town, received a letter offering him a large

some of money to favor or permit the escape of Cook and Coppie. He immediately communicated this to Mr. Hunter, the lawyer employed in the trial, who wrote to Hon. Alexander R. Boteler, member of Congress from this district. The party making the proposition requested an answer to be sent to the postoffice at Washington. Mr. Boteler immediately went to the city postmaster, had the clerks put on the alert, and policemen in citizens dress stationed to watch the persons who might come for such a letter addressed as Mr. Avis had been directed to address it.

#### **Last Hours of Cook, Coppie and Green.**

On the morning of the execution, Cook came to Steven's door and extended his hand without speaking. Stevens then responded, "be of good cheer, give my love to all my friends in the spirit land." Cook said, "we were brothers in this world and will be in the next." Stevens then said, "you must die like a man, in a few weeks I will follow you." Cook replied, "I hope not; I see by the papers you are not to be tried by the U. S. Court, but by the court of Jefferson county," to which Stevens responded, "it makes no difference by what court I am tried." During the conversation, Green said to Cook, "you had better pray and prepare for another world." Cook in his remark asserted that a negro was as good as a white man and urged those present to reflect, (who were Virginians) and to take into consideration freedom of slavery, and reflect upon it well, and then I know you will be with me. A few moments before leaving the jail, Copeland said, "If I am dying

for freedom I could not die in a better cause; I had rather die than be a slave." A little son of the jailor, who had been kind to him, requested Copeland's autograph. On the morning of his execution he handed the little fellow a paper, upon which he had written these lines: "John A. Copeland, was born at Raleigh, North Carolina, August 15, 1834."

**Military Present at the Hanging of Cook, Coppie, Green and Copeland.**

Petersburg City Guard, Capt. May; Petersburg Greys, Capt. Scott; Washington Guards, Capt. Lener; Portsmouth Greys, Capt. Dean; Wythe Grays, Capt. Kent; Richardson Guards, Capt. Welsch; Clarke Guards, Capt. Bowen; Mountain Guards, Capt. Bushing; Fin-castle Rifles, Capt. Anthony; Woodie Riflemen, Major Lamb; Tenth Legion Artillery, Capt. Seibert; Jefferson Guards, Capt. Rowan; Alexandria Artillery, Major Duffey; Black Horse Rangers, Capt. Scott; Black Hawk Rangers, Capt. Ashby; numbering about 800 troops. The Hamtramck Guards, Capt. Butler, Shepherdstown, guarded the prisoners to the scaffold.

**Execution of Cook, Coppie, Green and Copeland.**

On Friday, the 17th day of December, 1859, the above condemned conspirators against the Commonwealth of Virginia, paid for their folly upon the scaffold. In the morning between 11 and 12 o'clock, the two negroes, Green and Copeland, were taken from the jail, and under a strong guard were marched to the field of execution. They ascended the gallows accompanied by Sheriff Campbell, Jailor Avis, Messrs Waugh,

Leech and North. They had nothing to say, and the noose was adjusted to their necks. Rev. Mr. North offered up a fervent prayer. All the ministers exhorted the criminals to trust in Christ, as the only hope. Both the negroes were apparently calm and collected. At ten minutes past 11 o'clock, everything being ready, the



### GREEN AND COPELAND.

drop fell, and John Copeland and Shields Green were launched into eternity. With Green the drop seemed to be instant death; scarcely a struggle was perceptible. Copeland died much harder, and his struggles indicated much suffering. They were permitted to hang for thirty-five minutes, when life being pronounced extinct by the surgeons, they were cut down and placed in their coffins. As soon as the execution of the negroes was



over and their bodies properly disposed of, the Sheriff and Jailor, with a number of the military, returned to town after the remaining prisoners, John E. Cook and Edwin Coppie. We are informed that when the Sheriff and his guard reached the jail, the prisoners were engaged in washing their feet and preparing themselves for the fate that awaited them. Mr. Avis the Jailor, asked them if they had anything to say, and told them they would be permitted to make any statement they desired. Cook responded, that he was truly grateful for the kindness shown him by Sheriff Campbell, Mr. Avis and family, Revs. Waugh, North, Little and Leech, and other ministers who had called upon and prayed and talked with him. Also to Messrs. John J. Lock and John F. Blessing, and to the citizens of Charles Town generally." There were some eighteen or twenty persons present. Cook then gave directions as to the disposition he desired to make of one or two articles which he had in his possession. A small breast-pin which he wore in his bosom he desired after his execution, to be taken out of his shirt and given to his little boy if he should live. "Within my shirt bosom, said he, will be found my wife's daguerreotype and a lock of my little boy's hair, and these I desire also to have sent to my wife." They both then made the request that their arms should not be pinioned so tightly as to interrupt the circulation of the blood, and their requests were granted. A blue talma was thrown over Coppie and a dark one over Cook, and these they wore to the scaffold. Coppie, just previous to leaving the jail, gave

to Mr. Thomas Winn, an elderly gentleman, from Iowa, a slouch hat, which he desired Mr. W. to give to his friends. The dark one which he intended to wear to the scaffold, he said, was a present from Gov. Willard, of Indiana. Cook made the request that the position of his hat be changed, which was done by Rev. Mr. North. During the whole time, Coppie seemed to be struggling to suppress his emotions, and Cook, though endeavoring to be calm, was evidently much affected. Some one made a remark to which Coppie replied, "it is parting with friends, and not the dread of death that moves us." The prisoners before leaving the jail, were permitted to visit the room occupied by Stevens and Hazlett *alias* Harrison. These advanced and shook hands with Cook and Coppie and bade them good-bye. Stevens in parting with them, said "Good-bye friends! Cheer up! Give my love to my friends in the other world!" Coppie made a remark to Stevens, which was not understood by others, to which the latter responded, "never mind." Neither Cook nor Coppie called Hazlett by name, but shook hands with him, and took their final leave. Near the jail door they recognized and took leave of others. On the way to the field of execution, and after they had entered the gate, the prisoners conversed with the Sheriff and others who were in the wagon with them. When they reached the scaffold, they ascended the steps without assistance, and approached their doom with apparent coolness. A short prayer was offered up by Rev. Mr. North, and the two prisoners were assigned to their places on the drop, and the white caps drawn over

their faces. The exhortations of the ministers were earnest and tender, and they directed the prisoners to Christ as the atonement for sin, and the hope of the sinner. They then shook hands with those upon the scaffold, and took their leave of the ministers. Whilst the noose was being adjusted to the neck of Coppie he said, "be quick as possible." Whilst the Sheriff was placing the rope around Cook's neck, he said, "Wait a moment. Where is Ed's hand?" Coppie's hand was then extended to him, and grasping it heartily he said, "Good-bye, God bless you." He then waved his hand to the crowd around the gallows, and said, "Good-bye all." These were the last words of John E. Cook. In less than one minute the drop fell, and with his confederate in crime, Edwin Coppie, he was transported from time to eternity, and from the judgment of the Court below to that of the Bar above. They both died without a struggle, and in one minute after the drop fell, no indication of life was left. Thus ended, for a time at least, the expedition of John Brown, an expedition conceived in sin, and inaugurated in bloodshed. After hanging thirty minutes, they were examined by the same physicians who performed a similar duty in reference to the negroes, and being pronounced dead, the bodies were taken down and placed in their coffins, that of Cook being an improved metallic, encased in a wooden box, directed to A. P. Willard, care of Robert Crowley, Williamsburg, New York, per Adams Express. The coffin was sent on from New York, the afflicted relatives not being able to procure one to suit them in

Charles Town. The body of Coppie was put in a plain mahogany coffin, encased in a box directed to "Thomas Winn, Springfield, Ohio." His uncle endeavored to procure a metallic coffin, but was unable to succeed, and therefore was compelled to take the best that Charles Town could afford. The body of Coppie was taken directly from the gallows to Harper's Ferry, by the turnpike, arriving there at 3 o'clock. It was handed over to his uncle, a highly esteemed old Quaker gentleman, who did not sympathize in the least with the misguided and errant young man, and by him conveyed to the home of his afflicted mother, leaving the Ferry on the regular express train at 7 o'clock. The old gentleman expected to reach home with the body on Monday evening. The body of Cook arrived at the Ferry at a late hour, and passed through Baltimore early the next morning, reaching his heart stricken relatives in the evening. It is said that nearly all the immediate relatives of Cook are in Williamsburg, and they intend interring the body in a private lot of his brother-in-law who resides there. After Cook and Coppie were taken from the cell, a number of papers were taken from the table occupied by the latter during his imprisonment, in writing. One-half sheet of fools-cap on which was inscribed in a beautiful hand all manner of things-prominent among which were the words "My Dear Wife." "Mrs. Mary Virginia Cook." "J. R. Sellers, of Chambersburg, Pa." has the daguerreotype of my poor mother," and many other endearing epithets. On the reverse side was written in a different hand and in pencil the

following: "Give me an accurate description, as possible as you can of the age, and personal appearance of Owen Brown, Barclay Coppie and J. T. Merriam. Signed, J. W. Avis." Below this was written, in Cook's hand-writing, the words, "I revealed the secret only to a woman and that under a solemn pledge of secrecy."

#### **Last of John E. Cook.**

Cook was buried in Williamsburg, New York, on Tuesday, December 20, 1859. On Saturday evening previous, the father of Cook arrived at Williamsburg from Haddam, Conn., where he lives. Cook's mother would have come also but was unable from indisposition. Mr. Cook is a plain Down East farmer. He said he had not heard from his son in two years, but supposed he was at Pike's Peak, having seen in the papers that there was a firm of that place called "Cook & Brothers," and he knew that the brothers to a firm were often made up of anybody. "But, said he in conversation, I little thought my son was at any such work as this, and it is but little in accordance with the teachings he received from his parents. But he always was a wild boy, and I have had much trouble on his account. I have scarcely slept for the last few weeks." Sunday morning he visited Mr. Kendricks, but it was deemed advisable that he should not see the corps of his son until it was embalmed. The consistory of Dr. Porter's Dutch Reformed Church, of which Mr. Crowley, Cook's brother-in-law, is a member, refused to allow holding the funeral services in the church, unless upon good guarantee that

the face of the deceased should not be exposed to public view. The funeral took place from the residence of Samuel L. Harris, where some of the relatives were stopping. Gov. Willard, of Indiana, and Robert Crowley, brothers-in-law of Cook, accompanied the body to Williamsburg. The body was dressed in a black suit, and had suspended from its neck a miniature of an only child of the deceased. Mrs. Cook with her child was stopping in Williamsburg. It is but 17 months since she was married, and her first acquaintance with the Northern relatives of her husband was at the grave. Thousands of people, many of whom had been personally acquainted with the deceased, while a resident, called at the undertaker's with the hope of seeing the remains, but the face was so much discolored that it was not thought advisable to expose it until embalmed.

**U. S. Senator Daniel W. Voorhees.**

"Gath," a correspondent to the Cincinnati Enquirer, under date of July 14, 1894, says: Senator Voorhees, of Indiana, who defended Cook as one of Brown's men, came to my room in Washington several years ago at my request, and said to me: "When I defended John Cook I did it upon the theory that the only way to save his life was to abuse John Brown. I thought to save his neck by haranguing the people there and the jury upon the influence that bad old Brown had exerted upon his adolescent mind. While I was giving it to old Brown hard I happened to glance around and saw Cook looking into my face as if to say, 'What humbug, my principles are those of Captain Brown, and I hold them

yet." "That said Mr. Voorhees, was the expression of Cook." I replied that Cook's principles were probably those of Voorhees at the same time, though the one followed his political leader in Brown and the other in Bright. "Yet Cook is the only one of Brown's men whom the people around Charles Town dislike. His attempt to escape the gallows, his settling in the neighborhood and acting as a spy, and his cowardice when he might have escaped from the walls of the jail by jumping back instead of forward, all tell against him. Meantime he lost the confidence of John Brown by assenting, however slightly, to the line of defense marked out by his brother-in-law, Gov. Willard, and Voorhees. In attempting to extirpate his character as an Abolitionist they were wiping out his only cause of heroism."

The shackles which bound Cook and Coppie, and which they filed through in attempting to make their escape from the Charles Town jail, have been placed in the show windows of a jewelry store in New York and attracted much attention.

John E. Cook was born on the 16th of May, 1830, was sentenced to death on the 16th of November, executed on the 16th of December, and his child was born on the 16th day of July 1859.

#### **Marriage of Capt. Cook.**

Married on Wednesday, the 27th of April, 1859, Mr. John E. Cook to Miss Mary V Kennedy, both of Harper's Ferry. Mrs. Cook married again to a gentle-



man named Johnston in Illinois and her son, John Cook, is a prominent young lawyer in New York city.

**Edwin Coppie.**

A correspondence to the New York Tribune from Salem, Ohio, Nov. 1, 1859, says:

"The young man, Edwin Coppie, is a native of this place, where he resided until some seven years ago, when he went to Iowa. He was left an orphan at an early age and was provided with a home in the family



**EDWIN COPPIE.**

of a Quaker, a friend of the Coppie family, who were Quakers. He remained with them some time during which he gave evidence of such a depraved and vicious nature that his benefactor turned him loose. After a few years more spent in various places he went to Iowa,



where he remained until the commencement of the troubles in Kansas. He enjoyed the reputation of a reckless character; afterwards he was engaged with Brown in running off slaves in Missouri."

#### **Coppie's Jury.**

Joseph E. Bell, G. T. Licklider, Wm. A. Marshall, Wm. R. Henson, James V. Moore, John Snyder, John Criswell, Peter Bowers, Daniel Hefflebower, Rezin Shugert, S. L. Minghini, Wm. P. Easterday.

#### **Coppie's Testimony.**

In the House of Representatives, in the course of a few remarks, made by Hon. Alexander R. Boteler, of third district, on the effect of preaching of abolition doctrines, by the Northern officials, and their misrepresentation of facts, relative to the condition of the Southern slaves, he said:

"I can illustrate this by an incident in my own county the other day. That poor man, Connie, a week or two before his execution, stood at the window of his prison, pressing his brow against the iron bars across it, looked out intently in the street at the happy group of negroes assembled there, and after some time, he turned away and sobbed, "Oh, sir, he said, I have seen day after day, the negroes in your streets, and they are better clad than the laboring people of the State from which I came; they are well cared for in every way, and see, oh see, how happy." Said my friend, "what did you expect, or what can you expect?" Oh, said he, I had been taught to believe that they were down-trodden and oppressed, and were ready to clutch

at liberty; but they refused it when we offered them the boon."

### **Letters From Coppie and Cook.**

The Iowa papers give publicity to an extract of a letter from Edwin Coppie. The letter is addressed to his father and mother, as follows:

"It is with much sorrow that I now address you, and under very different circumstances than I ever expected to be placed; but I have seen my folly too late, and must now suffer the consequences which I suppose will be death, but which I shall try and bear as every man should. It would be a source of much comfort to me to have died at home. It had been always my desire that, when I came to die, my last breath should be among my friends; that in my last moments they could be near me to console; but alas! such is not my fate. I am condemned and must die a dishonorable death among my enemies and hundreds of miles from home. I hope you will not reflect on me for what has been done, but I am not at fault; at least my conscience tells me so, and there are others that feel as I do. We were led into it by those who ought to have known better, but we did not anticipate any danger. After stopping at Harper's Ferry we were surrounded and compelled to save our own lives, for we saw our friends falling on all sides, our leader would not surrender, and there seemed to be no other resort but to fight. I am happy to say that no one fell by my hand, and sorry to say that I was induced to raise a gun. I was not looking for such a thing. I am sorry, very sorry, that such has been the

case. Never did I suppose that my hand would be guilty of raising a weapon again my fellow man. After our capture which was on the morning of the 17th, we were kept there until the next morning when we were removed to Charles Town where we have been ever since. We are well cared for, the jailor seems to do all he can to make us comfortable."

#### **Funeral of Coppie.**

Edwin Coppie's funeral took place near Hanover, Ohio, Dec. 18, 1859. Thousands of people were present. Coppie's friends and members of the Society of Friends, and of course the funeral was conducted according to their rules. All could not gain admittance into the house to see the corpse. It was taken into the yard and placed on a table, and as each one came to the side of the coffin they appeared to linger over it with more than usual interest and sympathy, notwithstanding the disfiguration of the face caused by the mode of death.

#### **The Re-Interment of Coppie.**

The remains of Edwin Coppie were disinterred on Monday, the 26th Dec. 1859, from the burying ground about five miles from Salem, Ohio, where they had been quietly buried by his Quaker relatives, for a more imposing burial by his sympathizers in the neighborhood, on Friday the 30th. The body was placed in the hands of experienced persons to prepare it for the occasion. The wooden coffin from Virginia was replaced by a handsome metallic one, the body being robed in white flannel, and taken to the town hall in Salem, where, on Friday it was exposed to view for four hours.

The hall accommodating six hundred, was filled, and then some four thousand persons, it was estimated, passed through the room to view the corpse, several ladies on seeing the blackened face, bursted into tears. In the procession to the burying ground, in sight of the



ALBERT HAZLETT.

town, relations followed first, then the colored people, and then the citizens generally. A monument is to be erected to the memory of the deceased.

Harrisburg, Pa., Oct. 26, 1858.

Hazlett was arrested here the 24th instant. Gov Packer today gave orders that Capt. Cook, now confined

in Chambersburg, and Hazlett, held in custody at Carlisle, Pa., be both delivered up to the authorities of Virginia, for trial.

### **Stevens' Jury.**

Joseph Welshans, John T. Cowley, Morgan Pultz, Daniel Coleman, Jacob Kemp, A. C. Timberlake, Geo. W. Anderson, James L. Roberts, James A. Adams, John Gaunter, Thomas F. Harris, John W. Packett.

### **Trials and Sentences of Stevens and Hazlett.**

The demeanor of Stevens was marked composure from the time he entered the court room until he heard his doom pronounced by the Judge. Hazlett seemed less possessed, yet he was not much daunted; he has not so intelligent a face as Stevens, the latter is a fine specimen of manhood, alas, a manhood so fallen. Both Stevens and Hazlett made short addresses to the Court, Stevens disavowing in the strongest language the evidence of one of the State's witnesses, declaring he (Stevens) had advised Brown to conflagrate Harper's Ferry and commit all the sanguinary horrors of the most savage warfare; he said those who knew him best would acquit him of such brutal acts. Hazlett denied the testimony in his case as to the attempts he made to disguise himself, omitting however, to deny his being one of the Brown men at the Ferry on the noted 17th of October, 1859. The mien of the Judge, during the delivery of his sentence on the condemned, was most impressive; and he did it in tears, his voice almost unarticulating when he pronounced "to be hanged till you are dead."

### Stevens' Antecedents.

Stevens, the accomplice of John Brown, in his Harper's Ferry foray, is, like his leader, not without antecedents. The records of the War Department show that he was in the regular army in Mexico; that while there he and several others mutined against their captain for which he was sentenced to be shot, but was pardoned by President Polk, that he was afterwards sent in the regular army to Kansas at the time of the troubles there, where he deserted the service and joined the marauding party of John Brown. Like his leader he was severely wounded at Harper's Ferry, but like him survives to end his life on the gallows.

The Augusta, Ga., Dispatch says:

"We published yesterday a list extracted from a Virginia paper of the places in the Southern states marked on Brown's map, designating, as it is supposed, the points of the designed insurrection. Among them, Crawfordsville, in this State, is to be found. We have been informed that the man Stevens, who was wounded, and made prisoner with Brown, resided in and about Greensboro for some weeks last year. For tampering with the negroes he was arrested by Judge Lynch, blacked and rode on a rail. Thence he went to Crawfordsville and was compelled to leave for the same offence."

### Execution of Stevens and Hazlett.

Another, and it is to be hoped the final act in the Harper's Ferry tragedy has been enacted, and Aaron D. Stevens and Albert Hazlett have been sent to "that

bourne from which no traveler returneth." Although it is known that at least four of the Brown party yet remain unwhipped of Justice, still the desire is that no more blood be shed, and that the remaining wretches be permitted to wander through the world. The near approach of the day of execution seemed to have little effect on the prisoners, and for the last few days they were unusually cheerful, Stevens declaring that it was his wish to be free, and therefore desired the day of execution to arrive. Mrs. Pierce, the sister of Stevens, was with him, and made a fine impression on all with whom she was thrown by her lady-like deportment and conduct. On Thursday, a Miss Dunbar, of Ohio, arrived in town. It is said she was engaged to be married to Stevens at the time of the invasion of Harper's Ferry, and has corresponded with him since his imprisonment in this town. She is a lady of much intelligence and beauty. A brother of Hazlett, who resided in Armstrong county, Pa., also arrived, and was present with his brother. He advised Hazlett to make a full confession of his connection with the Brown party. Yesterday morning the table was set in the passage for the criminals to eat, and seated around it were the two men, who in a few hours were to be launched into eternity, a sister, and the betrothed of one, and the brother of the other. A solemn feast, and one which was, seemingly, enjoyed by but two, the condemned. After breakfast, the friends of the criminals bade them a long farewell, and took a carriage for Harper's Ferry, where they remained until the bodies of the executed reached that

place. At eleven o'clock (17th of March, 1860) the field on which the scaffold was was occupied by a large number of spectators a still larger number, however, remaining in the town to accompany the sad procession. Col. John T. Gibson was in command of the military, which made a magnificent display. The following companies were posted around the scaffold before the arrival of the prisoners: Clarke Guards, Capt. Bowen; Berkeley Border Guards, Capt. Nadenbousch, Floyd Riflemen, Capt. Geo. W. Chambers; Lloyd Riflemen, Capt. Campbell; Continental Morgan Guards, Capt. Haines; and Litcher Riflemen, Lieut. Link. At ten minutes to 12 o'clock the prisoners made their appearance on the field, escorted by the Hamtramck Guards, Capt. V. M. Butler, of Shepherdstown; Jefferson Guards, Capt. Rowan; Botts Greys, Capt. Lawson Botts. The prisoners walked to the scaffold, Hazlett was in advance and ascended the steps with an easy, unconcerned air, followed by Stevens. Both seemed to survey, with perfect indifference, the large mass of persons in attendance, and neither gave the least sign of fear. A short time was spent in adjusting the ropes properly around the necks of the prisoners, which was improved by them taking an affectionate farewell of the Sheriff, Jailor, and the jail-guard, after which the caps were placed over their heads, and they were launched into eternity, to be dwelt with by a Judge who doeth all things right. There was no religious exercise with the prisoners, as they declined all offers from the clergy. Just before the caps were drawn over their heads, Ste-



vens and Hazlett embraced each other and kissed. The fall broke the neck of Hazlett and he died without a struggle, whilst the knot slipped on Steven's neck, and he writhed in contortions for several minutes. They were permitted to hang about half an hour, when they were examined and pronounced dead. The bodies were placed in neat walnut coffins, and forwarded to Mr. Marcus Spring, South Amboy, New Jersey. It is understood Mrs. Spring sent money here for the purpose of paying a portion of the funeral expenses.

The remains of these two men were buried at Eaglewood, New Jersey, on Sunday, 19th March, 1860; about 150 persons were present and brief addresses were made by Rev. Dr. Aaron T. Tilton, Mr. and Mrs. Spring, and others. Among those present was the lady to whom Stevens was engaged to be married.

#### **An Incident.**

A large number of negroes were allowed by their masters to witness the execution of Stevens and Hazlett. Whilst awaiting the approach of the prisoners at the jail door, a number of the presumed-to-be maltreated darkies, congregated near by, evidently waiting a sight of the condemned. We overheard the following conversation between two of them, one an old grey-bearded darky, and the other quite a boy. The elder remarked, "Pete, how'm it cum you Mas' 'low you heah today, vetter bin home plowin?" "Pete replied, "Mas' alers 'lows dis chile *cum to circusses on de tight ropes.*"

#### **Capt. Leeman's Commission.**

The following is a *fac simile* of the Commission

found on the body of Capt. Leeman, after he was killed in the middle of the river, while trying to make his escape to Maryland. The original is in possession of Col. John T. Gibson, at Charles Town, who has the rare document framed and hung up in his parlor. It is the only one in existence, and is highly prized:

No. 9. Greeting Headquarters, War Department, Near  
Harper's Ferry, Md.

Whereas, Wm. H. Leeman has been nominated a Captain in the Army established under the Provisional Constitution, Now, Therefore, in pursuance of the authority vested in us by said Constitution, We do hereby Appoint the said Wm. H. Leeman a Captain. Given at the office of the Secretary of War, this day, Oct. 15, 1859.

JOHN BROWN,

H. KAGI,

Commander-in-Chief.

Secretary of War.

J. H. Kagi, one of the conspirators killed at Harper's Ferry, was at one time the Kansas correspondent on the National Era, and associated editor of the Topeka Tribune.

### **Touching Letter From a Sister**

William Leeman, who was killed on Monday night while attempting to ford the Potomac and reach the Maryland side, was a native of Hallowell, Maine, where his mother and sister reside. Several letters addressed to him by his mother and sister, have come into our possession revealing the fact that he visited the South and West for the purpose of bettering his fortune, and that his absence from home was a source of deep and

affectionate anxiety to his family. We copy below a touching letter from his sister, written while he was in Kansas.

My Dear Brother: I received your letter, and was most happy to hear from you; also to know that you were well; that is a great blessing, to enjoy good health. We are all well as usual but our mother. She is much better now than when I wrote last, although she is not able to leave her room. Her mind is much more settled; she begins to move her fingers a little. The doctor says she will get better when the warm weather comes; she worries herself a great deal about you, and I don't know, my dear brother, how you expect your mother and sister to do otherwise, when we think where you are so far from your home—so long since we have seen you, and so long before we shall see you, (by your writing); but I hope it may not be but a short time before you will think it best to come to the loved ones at home. I do not like to write so very discouragingly to you, brother, when you are trying your best to encourage your folks, but if you knew how much we wanted you to come home, you would not blame us for writing such letters. Would you come home if you had the money to come with? Tell me what it would cost. Oh, I would be unspeakably happy if it were in my power to send you money, but we have been very poor this winter. Mattie has had a very good place, where she has had 75 cents a week! She has not spent any of it in the family, only a very little for mother. Father has had very small pay, but I think he has more now; he is

watchman on the Eastern Queen, that runs from here to Boston. I should have worked in the straw factory at Natick this winter had mother been well. Mattie has left her place, and talks of working in this mill, but she will not if she can possibly do anything else. Hal-  
lowell is still as dull as ever. There is no kind of business going on at all. Most all of those that think anything of themselves have left. I do not think you would know mother. We try to make her as comfortable as we can; she has everything that she wants; the folks in this place have been so very kind to us, our neighbors too; it seems as though they could not do too much. Father says he wants you to come, if you have to go back again. Ah, my dear brother, you can never know how much your folks want you to come home. My dear brother, I want you to be sure and write and often, and as soon as you receive this, for we are so very anxious when you don't write. Tell me who you are going to fight, if you are going to interfere with the Mormons. I rather thought so, for I know times are peaceable in Kansas.

Whatever may be thy lot on earth, thy mission here  
below,

Though fame may wreath her laurels fair, around thy  
youthful brow;

Though you would rise from earthly things and win a  
deathless name.

Let all your ways be just and right, let virtue be your  
aim—

Though you may oft be scorned by men, or those who  
bear the name,

Let all your ways be just and right—let virtue be your  
aim.

George Mitchell is dead, he died one month ago.  
Dr. Allen is dead. Mr. Bart Nason fell dead in the  
meeting house. David Wallock (Mamma Butter's hus-  
band) was drowned in California a short time ago. It  
has been very sickly here this spring. We are having a  
very great revival. Mattie and I have concluded to get  
our miniatures taken together for you—we will send  
them to you soon. We all send much love to you,  
brother and son. Accept this from your affectionate  
sister

LIZZIE."

L. Leeman, Hallowell, Maine.

**John Brown.**

It will be remembered that a short time ago, Rev.  
W. G. Brownlow, of Tennessee, went to the North, and  
had a discussion on the subject of slavery with a certain  
Rev. A. Pryne, the champion of abolitionism. The  
meeting of the two Reverences was like the collision of  
two locomotives, going at the rate of sixty miles an hour.  
Brownlow, owing to an attack of bronchitis, was unable  
to deliver his phillipic orally, but it was read for him  
by a friend, and was so solid in facts and arguments, as  
well as acrid and stinging in invective, that the Rev.  
A. Pryne was completely dismasted, and was forced to  
haul into port for repairs. Having sufficiently recover-  
ed to receive another broadside from his clerical com-

petitor, Parson Brownlow, in the last Knoxville Whig, lets fly at him two and a half columns of grape, slugs, chain shot and canister, upon the subject of the Harper's Ferry invasion. He reminds his antagonist that, in their late debate, he charged him with assisting in raising funds to send out to certain murderous ruffians in Kansas. He quotes from Pyrne's reply the following: "And let me tell you, freedom in Kansas was secured by a firm resistance to this spirit of slavery. Do you think it was Congressional speeches that secured freedom in Kansas? You are greatly mistaken; it was *Glorious old John Brown with his armed men*. The Demon of slavery was beaten back, because he and his brave band were on the ground to let her minions know that they had caught the spirit of '75, and were ready to fight for freedom. While on this subject, *excuse a little seeming egotism. I am proud to say that before John Brown went to Kansas, I had the privilege, in an Anti-Slavery convention at Syracuse, of moving a resolution to buy rifles for him and his boys*. I made a speech in favor of the resolution, and though it did not escape opposition, it was carried through enthusiastically; the collection was taken up, and *John Brown and his boys* were appointed to buy rifles." Brownlow then says to the Reverend Mr. Pyrne: "Had you as a preacher of Righteousness, exhorted the old scoundrel and his villianous boys to repentance and faith, they might have been religious instead of dying in this disgraceful act of rebellion and going to hell, as they doubtless have done. Shame on you, you vile hypocrite! How do you feel you

hypocritical philanthropist,' when you reflect that *you* have urged this old murderous villian on to death and hell? The Rev. Mr. Brownlow next informs the Reverend Mr. Pryne that he believes *him* to be engaged in this same insurrection. He says that Pryne exactly answers the description of one of the prisoners who escaped, and who is said to be about 5 feet 7 inches high; sallow complexion, dark hair, inclining sandy beard on his face, and chin long, but not heavy. This description suits Brownlow, suits Rev. Mr. Pryne, and so does the cowardice in absconding, and leaving glorious old John Brown 'to help himself.' I honestly believe, concludes Mr. Brownlow, you have been at Harper's Ferry in person, and ingloriously fled when danger stared you in the face. If you were not there in person, your letters to glorious old John Brown, are in the possession of Gov. Wise, showing that you were aiding and abetting in this murderous work. I hope the letters will be published, and that a requisition will be made upon the New York Governor for you. Should you be brought to Virginia and hung, it will be a curious fact, if I am there, and present on the scaffold, to administer to you, in your dying agonies, the consolations of the Gospel! You recollect that in our discussion at Philadelphia, only thirteen months ago, you notified me the slaveholders in the South would be made to sleep with revolvers under their pillows at night. This Harper's Ferry insurrection is the opening of the campaign, resulting disastrously to the scoundrels associated with you. We have put some of your party to sleep with *cold planks*

under their heads, and others of you we intend shall sleep with *ropes around your necks*. Hoping to hear from you soon, I have the honor to be, &c.

W. G. BROWNLOW,

Nov. 1859

Editor of the Knoxville Whig."

**Noble Conduct of a Lady.**

An incident of the occasion is thus referred to by Mr. Throckmorton of the Ferry: "When Mayor Beckham was shot our men became almost frantic. They rushed into the Wager hotel, where the prisoner (Thompson) was, crying "Shoot him," and had it not been for a lady who was in the room, (Miss Catherine Fouke, sister of the landlord, Mr. Isaac Fouke) he would have been killed, on the spot. They cocked their guns and pointed at him, crowding around, but she stood over him, telling them, "For God's sake, save him; don't kill him in that way, but let the law take its course!" She said they had him a prisoner, bound, and he could not get away, and begged that they would not kill him. The man said he was willing to die; knew he had to die, and wanted to be shot. They finally got hold of him, took him out on the platform and shot him. He had more than forty balls fired into him. The citizens around were chiefly concerned in this, but I cannot say who shot him, I could not have saved him if I had tried.

**Interesting Letter From Miss Christine Fouke, of Harper's Ferry.**

The St. Louis Republican publishes the following letter as having been received at that office from Miss



Fouke, of Harper's Ferry, a lady whose name has been widely published in connection with a thrilling incident in the Harper's Ferry tragedy:

"Harper's Ferry, Nov. 27, 1859.

"Mr. Editor: I anticipate your surprise when your eye shall rest on the signature attached to this sheet; but that surprise shall vanish when you learn the why and wherefore I have taken the liberty of writing you a few lines. I have learned from the Daily Missouri Republican, that you were under the impression that I saved the life of Thompson, the insurgent, when he was taken captive. He was brought into the public parlor of the hotel some time before I knew that he and Stevens had been captured. When I first saw Thompson he was seated in an arm chair with his hands tied behind his back, guarded by some of the citizens. Several questions were put to him in regard to his motives and expectations, when he enrolled in the Provisional Government. His answers were invariably the same; that he had been taught to believe the negroes were cruelly treated and would gladly avail themselves of the first opportunity to obtain their freedom, and that all they had to do was to come to Harper's Ferry, take possession of the armory and arsenal, which would be an easy matter, and then the colored people would come in a mass, backed by the non-slave holders of the valley of Virginia. Some one remarked, do you regret that you did not succeed in running off the darkies? He replied that he regretted having engaged in the attempt, and if it were to do over again he would decline.

Very soon after, Mr. Beckam, one of our most esteemed citizens, was shot down unarmed as he was. I went into the parlor and heard one of the guards ask T. if he were a married man; his answer was that he had been married six months only. I walked up to where the prisoner sat, and said to him: "Mr. Thompson, you had better have stayed at home and taken care of your wife and pursued some honest calling, instead of coming here to murder our citizens and steal our property; that their first act was to kill a free colored man, because he would not join them in their wicked scheme." He said I spoke truly; but they had been basely deceived. Whilst I was talking to Thompson, several of the friends of Mr. Beckam, who were justly enraged at his cold-blooded murder, came in, with the armed determination to kill Thompson on the spot. As they appeared with leveled rifles, I stood before Thompson and protected him, for three powerful reasons: First, my sister-in-law was lying in the adjoining room very ill under the effects of a nervous chill, from sheer fright, and if they had carried out their design, it would have proved fatal to her, without a doubt. In the second place, I considered it a great outrage to kill the man in the house, however much he deserved to die. Thirdly, I am emphatically a law and order woman, and wanted the self-condemned man to live, that he might be disposed of by the law. I simply shielded the terribly frightened man *without touching him*, until Col. Moore, I think it was, came in and assured me, on his honor, that he should not be shot in the house. That

was all I desired. The result everybody knows. One other error I wish to correct. Philip B. Fouke, of Bellville, Illinois, is my cousin only. I am happy to assure you that I have a birthright in the 'Old Dominion.' Respectfully yours,

C. C. FOUKE."

The New York Sun says:

It is rumored that a powerful organization was formed in this city whose purpose it was to aid Brown and his colleagues in their abolition scheme, and that aid for the Kansas work was furnished, by not only Gerritt Smith, but persons resident in this city."

The following is an extract of a dispatch received by Superintendent Barber, at the Ferry, dated:

New York, Oct. 24, 1859.

"I would not be surprised if from what I have heard, that there will be an attempt made by the Abolitionists of the North to release Brown and his associates from the Charles Town jail. I do not desire to add to the excitement already great, but write to caution you. If the attempt is made it will be a hidden movement by a party of armed desperadoes employed by leaders in the free States. Signed,

"HENRY HILL."

#### **A Minister Offering Himself as a Sacrifice.**

A certain minister of Cincinnati, who is a radical on the slavery question, wrote to Gov. Wise, begging the privilege of taking Brown's place on the gallows. He set forth that Brown was a hero, and his life should be spared for future brave deeds. If that could be done,

he, the minister, was ready to sacrifice himself, and would gladly die the ignominious death. It is further stated that the minister was not very well pleased with the answer of Gov. Wise, which was to the effect that it was now out of his power to save the life of John Brown, but if the minister was very anxious to be hanged, and would come to Virginia, the Governor would try to have him accommodated."

A petition to Gov. Wise is in circulation at Manchester, New Hampshire, praying him to postpone old Brown's execution until the meeting of the next legislature of Virginia, in view of getting Brown's reprieve.

#### Old Brown.

Hon. Fernando Wood, of New York, has written to Gov. Wise, of Virginia, to know if the Governor intends to pardon or commute the sentence of old Brown. The Governor has replied to ex-Mayor Wood that old John Brown will certainly be hung on the 2nd day of December, 1859, when his body will be handed over to the surgeons to be taken from the State, so that the carcass shall not pollute the soil of Virginia.

#### Threats Against Gov. Wise and Virginia

Gov. Wise continues to receive incendiary letters from the Northern hive of abolition demons, as the following:

"Randolph, Vermont, Nov. 21st, 1859.

"Gov. H. A. Wise:

"Sir: I improve the present opportunity to warn you of your danger, and the consequences attending the execution of John Brown, now under sentence of death.

Mark it well! Just as sure as John Brown swings from the scaffold, or is in any way injured or *dies while* in your *prison*, or under any circumstances sufficient to warrant the belief that he has met with *foul play* at your hands, or at the hands of the *slave minions* of the South, then just so sure, so help me God, in a moment, when you think not, you will be launched into the eternal world. This is no idle threat, for I solemnly swear, by Almighty God, that I will not rest, day or night, until I have taken your life, with the lives of four of your associates. At the same time I will assist (even to the lighting of the matches and placing them at the fuse) in carrying out a favorite and well matured plan here at the North, which is this: That of burning Harper's Ferry, Charles Town, and a few other places, which I am bound by oath not to reveal, to the ground, and also to set fire to every village, town and city south of Mason and Dixon's line as soon as practicable after the execution. You are then, aware how matters stand. Proceed as you choose, but have a care how you sign your own death warrant, and the warrants of at least four of your associates in crime. I withhold my name, practically because I desire my liberty, that in case John Brown, is injured in the least at your hands, or at the hands of your government officials, my dagger, or bullet, or poison, may be forthcoming, to send you for trial before the bar where the murdered Thompson has already been. If you should wish to address me, there is only one way; through the columns of the Weekly New York Tribune, addressed to the Green Mountain Boy of *Ethan Allen Descent*."

## Letter From Mrs. Child to Gov. Wise.

"Wayland, Mass., Oct 26, 1859.

Gov. Wise: I have heard that you were a man of chivalrous sentiments, and I know that you were opposed to the iniquitous attempt to force upon Kansas a constitution abhorrent to the moral sense of her people. Relying upon those indications of honor and justice in your character, I venture to ask a favor of you. Enclosed is a letter to Capt. John Brown. Will you have the kindness, after reading it yourself, to transmit it to the prisoner? I, and all my large circle of abolition acquaintances, were taken by surprise, when news came of Capt. Brown's recent attempt, nor do I know of a single person who would have approved of it, had they been apprised of his intentions. But, I, and thousands of others, feel a natural impulse of sympathy for the brave and suffering man. Perhaps God, who sees the inmost of our souls, perceives some such sentiment in *your* heart also. He needs a mother or sister to dress his wounds, and speak soothingly to him. Will you allow me to perform that mission of humanity? If you will, may God bless you for the generous deed. I have been for years, an uncompromising abolitionist, and I should scorn to deny it, or apologize for it, as much as John Brown himself would do. Believing in peace principles, I deeply regret the step that the old veteran has taken, while I honor his humanity towards those who became his prisoners. But, because it is my habit to be open as the daylight, I will also say that if I believed our religion justified men in fighting for freedom, I

should consider the enslaved, everywhere, as best entitled to that right. Such an avowal is a simple, frank, expression of my sense of natural justice. But I should despise my self utterly, if any circumstances could tempt me to seek to advance these opinions, in any way, directly, or indirectly, after your permission to visit Virginia had been obtained on the plea of sisterly sympathy with a brave and suffering man. I give you my word of honor, which was never broken, that I would use such permission solely and singly for the purpose of nursing your prisoner, and for no other purpose whatever.

Yours Respectfully,

L. MARIA CHILD."

**Gov. Wise's Reply to Mrs. Child.**

Richmond; Va., Oct. 29, 1859.

Madam: Yours of the 26th was received by me yesterday, and at my earliest leisure I respectfully reply to it, that I will forward the letter for John Brown, a prisoner under our law, arraigned at the bar of the Circuit Court for the county of Jefferson, at Charles Town, Va., for the crime of murder, robbery and treason, which you ask me to transmit to him. I will comply with your request, in the only way which seems to me proper, by endorsing it to the Commonwealth's Attorney, with the request that he will ask the permission of the Court to hand it to the prisoner, now in the hands of the Judiciary, not of the Executive of this Commonwealth. You ask me further to allow you to perform the mission "of mother or sister, to dress his wounds and speak soothingly to him." By this course, you mean to be allowed

to visit him in the cell and to minister to him in the offices of humanity. Why should you not be so allowed, Madam? Virginia and Massachusetts are involved in Civil War, and the Constitution which unites them in one Confederacy, guarantees to you the privileges and immunities of a citizen of the United States in the State of Virginia. That Constitution I am sworn to support, and am, therefore, bound to protect your privileges and immunities as a citizen of Massachusetts coming into Virginia for any lawful and peaceful purpose. Coming as you propose, to minister to the captive in prison, you will be met, doubtless, by all our people, not only in a chivalrous but in a Christian spirit. You have the right to visit Charles Town, Va., Madam, and your mission, being merciful and humane, will not only be allowed but be respected if not welcomed. A few unenlightened and inconsiderate persons, fanatical in their modes of thought and action to maintain justice and right, might molest you, or be disposed to do so, and this might suggest the imprudence of risking any experiment upon the peace of a society very much excited by crimes with those whose chief author you seem to sympathize so much; but, still, I repeat, your motives and avowed purpose are lawful and peaceful, and I will, so far as I am concerned, do my duty in protecting your rights in our limits. Virginia and her authorities would be weak indeed, weak in point of folly and weak in point of power, if her State faith and constitutional obligations cannot be redeemed in her own limits to the letter of morality as well as of law, and if her chivalry



cannot courteously receive a lady's visit to a prisoner. Every arm which guards Brown from rescue on the one hand and from lynch law on the other, will be ready to guard your person in Virginia. I could not permit an insult even to woman in her work of charity among us, though it be to one who whetted knives of butchery for our "mothers, sisters, daughters and babes." We have no sympathy with Brown, and we are surprised that you were "taken by surprise" when news came of Capt. Brown's recent attempt. His attempt was a natural consequence of your sympathy ought to make you doubt its virtue, from the effect on his conduct. But it is not of this I should speak. When you arrive at Charles Town, if you go there, it will be for the Court and its officers, the Commonwealth's Attorney, Sheriff and Jailor, to say whether you may see and wait on the prisoner. But, whether you are permitted or not, (and you will be, if my advice can prevail) you may rest assured that he will be humanely, lawfully, and mercifully dealt by, in prison and on trial. Respectfully,

HENRY A. WISE."

**Vindication of Citizens of Harper's Ferry From  
Slanders of Gov. Wise.**

Harper's Ferry, Oct. 28, 1859.

The smoke and excitement of the conflict having passed, and having been an eye-witness of and an actor in the scenes of the tragedy, I am unwilling that the great injustice done our citizens by the remarks of Gov. Wise should go without correction. The facts are these: On the morning of the 17th of October, 1859, at an

early hour, our people were startled by the intelligence that the Arsenal and Musket and Rifle factories were in the hands of a large body of armed negroes and whites, and that they had the principal streets leading or running in front of the government buildings, and were shooting down such of our citizens as they found outside their dwellings. Very few of our citizens had arms of any sort, and what few they had were fowling pieces, and those who had them had neither powder nor shot—bullets were out of the question—so that our town, for the time being, was at the mercy of the insurgents. The arms, and what little ammunition the government had at this place, were in the hands of the enemy. At this juncture of affairs two resolute men, employes of the Armory—John McClelland and William Copeland, crept stealthily into the enclosure of the Armory, and entered one of the buildings and procured from it two single ball bullet moulds, and all the percussion caps in that department; next they proceeded to a building outside, but contiguous to the enclosure, called the stock-house, to which arms had been removed, to secure them from damage from the late freshet, and thus after great delay our citizens were armed. Next powder and ball must be procured—the balls had to be cast in two pair of single-ball bullet moulds; this again occasioned great delay; the casting was necessarily a very slow process; powder was soon procured. Our citizens were assembled on Camp Hill, a height overlooking the Potomac river, eagerly awaiting their equipment. They were quickly organized as a body of citizen troops, under the com-

mand of Capt. John Avis, of Charles Town, Va. As soon as three rounds of ammunition were furnished, this body of citizen troops, they were divided into four detachments and ordered to take position at the following important points around the enemy. Capt. Wm. H. Moore was ordered with a detachment of 18 men to cross the Potomac river, at the Old Furnace a mile and a half above Harper's Ferry west, and descend the river on the Maryland side, and take, if possible, the Baltimore and Ohio railroad bridge, which the insurgents had in their possession. At Pitcher's Mill Capt. Moore received orders to stop the trains going east or west, to prevent reinforcements reaching the enemy by the cars, or the escape of the insurgents by the same means. After executing this order, Moore's command was reinforced by several gentlemen from Duffield's depot, making the entire force 25 men; this force crossed the river, marched to the bridge, cleared it to the Virginia side, killing one man and capturing another prisoner, thus obtaining an important point on that side of the town, as it cut off the retreat of the outlaws by the avenue they had entered the town. Capt. Moore left one-half of his force with Lieut. Hunter to hold the bridge, and entered, with others, the hotel and other buildings adjacent to the railroad, firing upon the insurgents from the front windows. Capt. Hezekiah Roderick with another detachment of citizens, were ordered to take possession at the west end of the Armory yard. This order he executed promptly, his command killing one of the insurgents, that was seen escaping across the

Potomac river. The position of Capt. Roderick prevented the escape of the enemy in a westerly direction, thus securing that position of the town. Capt. H. Medler with another detachment of citizens, was ordered to march and take position on the bridge crossing the Shenandoah river, on the east side of the town, which he did, thus cutting off the rest of the retreat of the enemy in that direction. Capt. Medler also acted with an independent citizen force which were engaged with the insurgents, at the Rifle Works, some half mile above Medler's position. The enemy was driven from the Rifle factory into the river, and all either killed or captured. Commander Avis, with the remainder of our armed citizens, took position in the upper part of Mr. Butler's house, in front of the Arsenal, where his command killed the negro sentinel in the street, and by his sharpshooters cleared the enemy from the Arsenal, which he immediately seized and held, thus gaining position that drove the enemy into the watch house and from which they could not escape. This was all accomplished by the citizens of the Ferry before assistance arrived, and yet Gov. Wise sees proper to stigmatize us with cowardice. Could he, under the circumstances, have made as good arrangements, and accomplished the same results? Many acts of individual gallantry on the part of our citizens were performed by Capt. Chambers and Mr. Percival, in what is called the Galt House, where they had posted themselves, shooting down the enemy from a wooden building that was no barrier from the enemy's balls. Personal gallantry of Edmund Cham-

bers and Edward McCabe, who was shot through the shoulder, &c., might be mentioned.

**What Gov Wise Intended.**

At a dinner in Richmond, Gov. Wise gave an explanation of his course in sending so large a force to Charles Town during the troubles of John Brown. The Governor fully intended to carry the war into Africa, if an attempt had been made to rescue Brown and his party.

Gov. Wise, in his impromptu speech at Richmond, on his return from the Ferry, dwelt with an appropriate anti-climax, on the fact that Brown had armed himself



**BROWN'S SWORD.**

with a sword which Frederick the Great had sent to Gen. George Washington. The sword belonged to Lewis Washington one of Brown's prisoners.

**Gov. Wise and the Brown Invasion.**

Gov. Wise, on his return to Richmond made a speech on the deck of the steamer at Aquia Creek. Among other things he said: "When we arrived at Harper's Ferry I found that there had been double more than ample forces. The gallant volunteers of Jefferson were the first on the ground, and soon after them the noble men of Berkeley were there. Farmers with single and double shot guns, and with plantation rifles, were there. The people with arms and without arms, rushed to the scene. For what? What had happened? What summoned them to shoulder musket and snatch weapons as they could? What had disturbed their peace? What threatened their safety and to sully their honor? Alas! to the disgrace of the Nation—not of Virginia, I repel all imputation upon her—but to the disgrace of—somebody—fourteen white ruffians and five negroes have been permitted to take the United States arsenal, with all its arms and treasure, and to hold it for 24 hours, at that Thermopylae of America, Harper's Ferry, on the confines of two slave States, with the avowed object of emancipating their slaves, at every hazard, and the very perpetration of the seizure and imprisonment of the inhabitants, and of robbery and murder and treason. You will indignantly ask: How could such outrage and disgrace be brought upon a country like this, strong as it is in everything? I will briefly inform you. Congress had by law, displaced the regular army from the superintendence of its own arms, as if it was unworthy of the trust of its own affairs, and its officers very naturally turned

away in disgust from giving attention to this arsenal. A civil superintendent was placed in charge, and I know the gentleman, a Virginian, is as worthy of it as any civilian can be. He was absent on official duty to Springfield, Mass., and I have great confidence that had he been at the arsenal it could not have been captured and held as it was. And now I do not mean to go into the dispute or question whether civil or military superintendence is most proper over a manufactory and Arsenal of arms. But this I do say, emphatically and indignantly, that whether the superintendence was civil or military, there ought to have been an organized and sufficient military guard there; and there was nothing of the kind. There was no watch even, worth naming, and no guard at all. Thus an arsenal, which ought to be a depot of arms and munition of defence, for the citizens at all times to flee to for means of protection, became a depot for desperadoes to assail and a positive danger to our people. It would be better for Virginia and Maryland to have the arsenal removed from their borders, than to allow it thus to become a danger of being unguarded. The Civil Superintendent was not responsible for a military guard. The question, who is responsible? I leave to the proper executive authorities of the United States. By the grossest negligence somewhere—which it is not my duty to look after or to correct, except to proclaim it and complain of it for the sake of the protection due to our own people—nineteen lawless men have seized this arsenal, with its arms and spoils, and have imprisoned and robbed and murdered our inhabitants!



## Letter From Fred Douglas.

Fred Douglas, a black republican in skin and principle, writes a letter to the editor of the Rochester Democrat, dated Canada West, October 31, 1859, in which, after denying that he furnished anybody to be at Harper's Ferry, and declaring that he was too great a coward to go there, or promise to go, continues in the following strain. We give it as a curiosity:

"The time for a full statement of what I know, and of all I know, of this desperate but sublimely disinterested effort to emancipate the slaves of Maryland and Virginia, has not yet come, and may never come. In the denial which I have now made, my motive is more a respectful consideration for the opinion of the slaves' friends than from any fear of being made an accomplice in the general conspiracy against slavery, when there is a reasonable hope for success. I may be asked why I did not join John Brown, the noble old hero. My answer to this has already been given, at least, impliedly given, "the tools to those who can use them." Let every man work for the abolition of slavery in his own way. I would help all and hinder none. My position in regard to the Harper's Ferry insurrection may be easily inferred from these remarks. I have no apology for keeping out of the way of those gentlemanly United States Marshals, who are said to have paid Rochester a somewhat protracted visit lately, with a view to an interview with me. If I have committed any offence against society, I have done so on the soil of New York, and I should be perfectly willing *there* to be arraigned



before an impartial jury but I have quite insuperable objections to be caught by the hands of Mr. Buchanan and "bagged" by Gov. Wise. For this appears to be the arrangement—Buchanan does the fighting and hunting, and Wise "bags" the game. Some reflections may be made upon my leaving on a tour to England, just at this time. I have only to say that my going to that country has been rather delayed than hastened by the insurrection at Harper's Ferry. All I know I intend to leave here the first week in November."

Fred Douglas sailed from Quebec for England on Saturday last, leaving his country for his country's good, and more especially for the safety of his own neck.

#### **Fred Douglas Fled.**

Fred Douglas failed to meet his engagement to lecture in Syracuse on the 21st inst., on "Self-Made Men." The Syracuse Banner think the disclosures at Harper's Ferry have induced him to take the underground railroad to Canada.

#### **Historical Reminiscence.**

Extract of a speech by Hon. Alexander R. Boteler, in Congress. The following touching passages are contained in a speech delivered by Hon. A. R. Boteler, on the 25th of January, 1860.

"That country made famous by the raid of Brown was the first, the very first in all the South, to send succor to Massachusetts. In one of the most beautiful spots in that beautiful county, within rifle shot of my residence, at the base of the hill, where a glorious spring leaps out into sunlight from beneath the guarded roots

of a thunder-riven oak, there assembled on the 10th of July, 1775, the very first band of Southern men who marched to the aid of Massachusetts. They met there, and their rallying cry was, "a bee-line for Boston." That beautiful and peaceful valley had never been polluted by the footsteps of a foe; for even the Indians themselves kept it free from the incursion of the enemy. It was the hunting range and neutral ground of the aborigines. This band assembled there, and, a "Bee-line for Boston" was made from thence. Before they marched they made a pledge that all who survived would assemble there fifty years after that date. It was my pride and pleasure to be present when the fifty years rolled around. Three aged, feeble, tottering men—the survivors of that glorious band of one hundred and twenty—were all who were left to keep the trust, and be faithful to the pledge made fifty years before to their companions, the bones of many of whom were bleaching on the Northern hills. Sir, I have often heard from the last survivor of that band of patriots the incidents of their first meeting and their march; how they made some six hundred miles in twenty days, thirty miles a day, and how, as they neared their destination, Washington, who happened to be making a reconnoissance in the neighborhood, saw them approaching, and recognizing the linsey-woolsey hunting shirts of old Virginia, rode up to meet and greet them to the camp; how, when he saw their captain, his old companion-in-arms, Stephenson, who stood by his side at the Great Meadows, on Braddock's fateful field and in many an Indian campaign, and who report-

ed himself to his commander-in-chief, as "from the right bank of the Potomac," he sprang from his horse and clasped his old friend and companion-in-arms, with both hands. He spoke no word of welcome; but the eloquence of silence told what his tongue could not articulate. He moved along the ranks, shaking the hand of each, from man to man, and all the while, as my informer told me, the big tears were seen coursing down his manly cheeks. Ay, sir, Washington wept! And why did the glorious soul of Washington swell with emotion? Because he saw that the cause of Massachusetts was practically the cause of Virginia; because he saw that citizens recognized the great principles involved in the contest. These Virginia volunteers had come in response to the words of her Henry that were leaping like live thunder through the land, telling the people of Virginia that they must fight, and fight for Massachusetts. They had come to rally to Washington's side, to defend your father's fireside, to protect their homes from harm. Well, *the visit has been returned!* John Brown selected that very country as the spot for his invasion, and, as was mentioned in the Senate yesterday, the rock where Leeman fell was the very rock over which Morgan and his men marched a few hours after Hugh Stephenson's command had crossed the river some ten miles further up. May this historical reminiscence rekindle the embers of patriotism in our hearts! Why should this nation of ours be rent in pieces by this irrepressible conflict? Is it irrepressible? The battle will not be fought out here. When the dark day comes,

as come it may, when this question that now divides and agitates the hearts of the people can only be decided by the bloody arbitrament of the sword, it will be the saddest day for us and all mankind that the sun of heaven has ever shone upon."

#### **John Brown's Pocket Knife.**

A citizen of the Ferry forwarded, for presentation to Gov Wise, the veritable pocket knife of John Brown. It is an old jack-knife, a bone handle and two blades, and has evidently seen much service. A small brass plate on the handle is engraved with the name of "John Brown." On one side of the large blade are now inscribed the words "Pirate Chief and Robber of Kansas" taken from his person. Attack on Harper's Ferry, 17th of October, 1859." On the other side of the blade: "Presented to Gov. Henry A. Wise, of Virginia, by A. M. Kitzmiller."

#### **Theft of U. S. Arms.**

Some 700 Minnie guns and rifles belonging to the United States, have been missed from the Armory at Harper's Ferry, supposed to have been appropriated by the volunteers who were present during the occurrences of the 17th and 18th inst. Parties having them, render themselves liable to a criminal prosecution upon detection. Lieut. Simpson, of the Independent Greys, made a demand we understand, for the arms captured by his corps, in the old school house, but as a matter of course it could not be entertained, the Greys, at the time of the successful scout, being in Government employ, and in fact Government troops. Col. Lee, commanding the

expedition cheerfully assented however to the Grey's retaining such of the Sharp's rifles and revolvers as were taken before the spoils were consigned into the keeping of the authorities.

### **Investigation Committee.**

The U. S. Senate committee had before them Messrs. Giddings, Plumb and Dr. Howe. Hon. Mr. Giddings gave at some length his views concerning slavery, but touching the John Brown raid nothing new was elicited. Dr. Howe, when called before the committee, declined taking the oath to testify unless he was permitted to enter his protest against the whole proceedings. The permission was granted. He then testified that he had known John Brown during the trouble in Kansas, and had sent him money and arms. They were raised by contributions made for the aid of the inhabitants of Kansas; that he expected that Brown would repel armed invasion by armed resistance; that Brown had gained his entire confidence; that he was a man of tried honesty as well as courage. That after the trouble had ceased in Kansas Brown devoted himself to advance the cause of practical anti-slavery. Dr. Howe knew nothing of the convention in Canada. He was not privy to the attack on Harper's Ferry, but thought the arms used were the same as were in Brown's hands in Kansas.

### **The Flight of Red Path**

The flight of James Red Path, who was summoned to appear before the investigating committee was noticed Monday. Before leaving, it seems, he assigned five rea-

sons for doing so, but the principal one was fear; on the eve of his flight he wrote to Senator Mason as follows: "I do not believe that either my life or liberty would be safe were I to go to Washington. Were I required to appear at Charles Town as a witness, you would know, Senator, what the result would be—I would be murdered by the mob. I think it would be very unwise for any anti-slavery man to voluntarily put himself in the power of such a people. You do not promise to protect me from going to Virginia, and I will not "walk into your parlor, Mr. Mason."

#### **Senate Report.**

On the 14th of December, 1859, the United States Senate, then in session, upon motion of Senator James M. Mason, of Virginia, a select committee of the Senate was appointed to inquire into the invasion and seizure of the public property at Harper's Ferry, by John Brown and other insurgents. The committee consisted of Senator James M. Mason, Senator Jefferson Davis, and Senators J. R. Doolittle, G. N. Fitch and J. Collamer. In conducting this inquiry the committee examined a number of witnesses, who were summoned before them, at Washington city, from different States of the Union. Among the witnesses were John H. Allstadt, A. M. Ball, Terrance Byrne, Capt. Geo. W. Chambers, Martin F. Conway, Lind F. Curry, Hon. Andrew Hunter, A. M. Kitzmiller, Dr. John D. Starry, John C. Unseld, Hon. Lewis C. Washington, of Harper's Ferry and neighborhood, and John A. Andrew, W. F. McArmy, Charles Blair, W. H. D. Callendar, Samuel Chilton, Hon. John

B. Floyd, Secretary of War, Joshua R. Giddings, Samuel G. Howe, James Jackson, Benj. B. Newton, Ralph Plumb, Richard Realf, Charles Robinson, Theodore Byndus, Edward K. Schaeffer, Hon. Wm. H. Seward, Geo. L. Stearns, Augustus Wattles, Daniel Whelan, Horace White, Hon. Henry Wilson, from different parts of the country, some among the latter were abettors of John Brown.

The Committee find, from the testimony, that this so-called invasion, originated with a man named John Brown, who conducted it in person. It appears that Brown had been for some previous years involved in the late difficulties in the territory in Kansas. He went there at an early day after the settlement of that Territory began, and either took with him or was joined by several sons, and, perhaps, sons-in-law, and as shown by the proofs, was extensively connected with many of the lawless military expeditions belonging to the history of those times. It would appear, from the testimony of more than one of the witnesses, that, before leaving the territory, he fully admitted that he had not gone there with any view to permanent settlement, but that, finding all the elements of strife and intestine war, there in full operation, created by the diversion of sentiment between those constituting what were called the free State and slave State parties, his purpose was, by participating in it, to keep the public mind inflamed on the subject of slavery in the country, with a view to effect such organization as might enable him to bring about servile insurrection in the slave states. To

carry these plans into execution, it appears that, in the winter of 1857-58, he collected a number of young men in the Territory of Kansas, most of them afterwards appeared with him at Harper's Ferry, and placed them under military instruction at a place called Springdale, in the State of Iowa, their instructor being one of the party thus collected, and who, it was said, had some military training. These men were maintained by Brown; and in the Spring of 1858 he took them with him to the town of Chatham, in Canada, where he claimed to have summoned a convention for the purpose of organizing a provisional government, as preliminary to his descent upon some of the slave States. The proceedings of this convention were taken amongst the papers found with Brown's effects after his capture, (and will be found in this book.) So far as the committee have been able to learn from the testimony, the convention was composed chiefly of negroes of Canada.—The only white persons present were Brown and those who accompanied him. The presiding officer of the convention was a negro, and a preacher. At the close of the convention Brown returned with the party he had taken there back to Ohio, and permitted most of them to disperse, upon the agreement that they would be at his command whenever called for. Two of them, however, to-wit: John E. Cook, afterwards executed in Virginia, and Richard Realf, were sent on the following missions: Cook was sent to Harper's Ferry, in Virginia, with directions to remain there and thereabouts subject to the future call of his chief. Realf was sent to the city of



New York, as shown by his testimony, for the following purposes; it would seem from the testimony that a man named Hugh Forbes, an Englishman who, it was said, had the reputation of military experience in some of the revolutions in Southern Europe, had been engaged by Brown to take charge of his military school in Iowa. Differences, however, arising between them, Forbes, who had gone West with that view, abandoned the project and returned to New York. Whilst the convention was sitting at Chatham, Brown received information which led him to believe that Forbes had betrayed his counsels, and Realf was dispatched to New York with instructions, if practicable, to get possession of such correspondence with Brown as might prove the facts of his intended descent upon some one of the slave States. Should his plans be divulged—a mission which, for the reasons stated in the testimony of Realf, altogether failed. Not long after the explosion of Harper's Ferry, Forbes left the country, and the Committee were not able to procure his attendance before them.

As to the attack itself at Harper's Ferry, the committee find that Brown first appeared in that neighborhood early in July 1859. He came there under the assumed name of Isaac Smith, attended by two of his sons and sons-in-law. He gave out in the neighborhood that he was a farmer from New York, who desired to rent or purchase land in that vicinity, with a view to agricultural pursuits, and soon afterwards rented a small farm on the Maryland side of the river, and some four or five miles from Harper's Ferry, having

on it convenient houses, and began farming operations in a very small way. He had little or no intercourse with the people of the country; and when questioned, through the curiosity of his neighbors, stated further that he was accustomed to mining operations, and expected to find deposits of metal in adjacent mountains. He lived in an obscure manner, and attracted but little attention, and certainly no suspicion whatever as to his ulterior objects. Whilst there, he kept some two or three of his party under assumed names, at Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, who there received, and from time to time forwarded to him, the arms of different kinds of which he was subsequently found in possession. Cook, one of his men, spoken of above, it appears, had resided at Harper's Ferry and its neighborhood for some twelve months before Brown appeared, pursuing various occupations. He left the Ferry a few days before the attack was made,

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The rest of the committee's report contained the circumstances and details, which have already been given in this narrative, up to the time of the execution of John Brown and those persons implicated with him, and concludes as follows:

The committee, after much consideration, are not prepared to suggest any legislation, which, in their opinion, would be adequate to prevent like occurrences in the future. The only provisions in the Constitution of the United States which would seem to import any

authority in the government of the United States to interfere on occasions affecting the peace or safety of the States, are found in the eighth section of the first article, amongst the powers of Congress, "to provide for calling for the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;" and in the fourth section of the fourth article, in the following words: "The United States shall guaranty to every State in the Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and, on the application of the legislature or of the executive, (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence." The "invasion" here spoken of would seem to import an invasion by the public force of a foreign power, or (if not so limited and equally referable to an invasion by one State of another) still it would seem that public force, or force exercised under the sanction of acknowledged political power, is there meant. The invasion (to call it so) by Brown and his followers at Harper's Ferry was in no sense of that character. It was simply the act of lawless ruffians, under the sanction of no public or political authority—distinguishable only from ordinary felonies by the ulterior ends in contemplation by them, and by the money to maintain the expedition, and the large armament they brought with them, had been contributed and furnished by the citizens of other States of the Union, under circumstances that must continue to jeopardize the safety and peace of the Southern States, and against which Congress has no power to legislate.

If the several States, whether from motives of policy or a desire to preserve the peace of the Union, if not from fraternal feeling, do not hold it incumbent on them, after the experience of the country, to guard in future by appropriate legislation against occurrences similar to the one here referred to, the committee can find no guarantee elsewhere for the security of peace between the States of the Union.

So far, however, as the safety of the public property is involved, the committee would earnestly recommend that provision should be made by the executive, or if necessary, by law, to keep under adequate military guard the public armories and arsenals of the United States, in some way after the manner now practised at the navy-yards and forts.

Before closing their report, the committee deem it proper to state that four persons summoned as witnesses, to-wit: John Brown, Jr., of Ohio; James Redpath, of Massachusetts; Frank B. Sanborn, of Massachusetts, and Thaddeus Hyatt, of New York, failing or refusing to appear before the committee, warrants were issued by order of the Senate for their arrest. Of these Thaddeus Hyatt only was arrested; and on his appearance before the Senate, still refusing obedience to the summons of the committee, he was by order of the Senate committed to jail of the District of Columbia. In regard to the others, it appeared by the return of the marshal of the northern district of Ohio, as deputy of the Sergeant-at-Arms, that John Brown, Jr., at first evaded the process of the Senate, and afterwards, with a

number of other persons, armed themselves to prevent his arrest. The marshal further reported in his return that Brown could not be arrested unless he was authorized in like manner to employ force. Sanborn was arrested by a deputy of the Sergeant-at-Arms, and afterwards released from custody by the judges of the supreme court of Massachusetts on habeas corpus. Redpath by leaving his State, or otherwise concealing himself, successfully evaded the process of the State.

And the committee ask to be discharged from the further consideration of the subject.

J. J. MASON,

Chairman.

JEFFERSON DAVIS,

G. N. FITCH.

There was also a minority report signed by Senators Collamar and Doolittle.

## SUPPLEMENTARY.

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### Proclamation of Emancipation.

On the 22nd day of September, 1862, five days after the battle of Antietam, which occurred on the 17th of October, 1862. President Abraham Lincoln issued the following Emancipation Proclamation :

I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, and Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy thereof, do hereby proclaim and declare that hereafter, as heretofore, the war will be prosecuted for the object of practically restoring the constitutional relation between the United States and the people thereof in those States in which that relation is, or may be, suspended or disturbed; that it is my purpose upon the next meeting of Congress to again recommend the adoption of a practical measure tendering pecuniary aid to the free acceptance or rejection of all the Slave States, so-called, the people whereof may not then be in rebellion against the United States, and which States may then have voluntarily adopted, or thereafter may voluntarily adopt, the immediate or gradual abolishment of slavery within their respective limits, and that the effort to colonize persons of African descent, with their consent, upon the continent or elsewhere, with the previously obtained consent of the government existing there, will be continued; that on the first day of January, in the year of

our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State, or any designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, *shall be then, thenceforward and forever, free*; and the military and naval authority will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for actual freedom; that the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto, at the election wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such States shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State and the people thereof have not been in rebellion against the United States.

That attention is hereby called to an act of Congress entitled, "An act to make an additional article of war," approved March 13, 1862, and which act is in the words and figures following: "*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That hereafter the following shall be promulgated as an additional article of war for the government of the Army of the United States, and shall be observed and obeyed as such:*

“Article—All officers or persons of the military or naval service of the United States are prohibited from employing any of the forces under their respective commands for the purpose of returning fugitives from service or labor who may have escaped from any persons to whom such service or labor is claimed to be due, and any officer who shall be found guilty by a court-martial of violating this article, shall be dismissed from the service

“Section 2. And be it further enacted, that this act shall take effect from and after its passage.” Also to the ninth and tenth sections of an act entitled, “An act to suppress insurrection, to punish treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate property of Rebels, and for other purposes,” approved July 17, 1862, and which sections are in the words and figures following:

“Section 9. And be it further enacted, That all slaves of persons who shall hereafter be engaged in rebellion against the Government of the United States, or who shall in any way give aid or comfort thereto, escaping from such persons and taking refuge within the lines of the army; and all slaves captured from such persons or deserted by them, and coming under the control of the Government of the United States, and all Slaves of such persons found on, (or being within) any place occupied by Rebel forces and afterward occupied by the forces of the United States, shall be deemed captives of war, and shall be forever free of their servitude and not again held as slaves.

“Sec. 10. And be it further enacted, that no



slave escaping into any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, from any of the States, shall be delivered up, or in any way impeded or hindered of his liberty, except for crime, or some offence against the laws, unless the person claiming said fugitive shall first make oath that the person to whom the labor or service of such fugitive is alleged to be due, is his lawful owner, and has not been in arms against the United States in the present rebellion, nor in any way given aid or comfort thereto; and no person engaged in the military or naval service of the United States shall, under any pretense whatever, assume to decide on the validity of the claim of any person to the service or labor of any other person, or surrender up any such person to the claimant, on pain of being dismissed from the service."

And I do hereby enjoin upon, and order all persons engaged in the military and naval service of the United States to observe, obey and enforce within their respective spheres of service the act and sections above recited.

And the Executive will, in due time, recommend that all citizens of the United States who shall have remained loyal thereto throughout the rebellion, shall (upon the restoration of the constitutional relation between the United States and their respective States and people, if the relation shall have been suspended or disturbed) be compensated for all loss by acts of the United States, including the loss of slaves.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed. Done at the city of Washington, this twenty-second day

of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

By the President,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WM. H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

On the first day of January, 1863, the expected Proclamation, completing this great work and giving it actual vitality, was promulgated in the following terms:

Whereas, On the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to-wit: That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State, or any designated part of a State, the people whereof shall be in rebellion against the United States, shall be thenceforward and forever free, and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States, and the fact that any State, or the people there-

of, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State and the people thereof are not then in rebellion against the United States

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and Government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for repressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the day of the first above-mentioned order, and designated, as the State and parts of States wherein the people thereof respectively are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following to-wit: Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, except the parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia, except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Ann and Norfolk,

including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth, and which excepted parts are, for the present, left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States, are and henceforward shall be free; and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I do hereby enjoin the people so declared to be free, to abstain from all violence unless in necessary self-defense, and I recommend to them, that in all cases, when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known that such persons of suitable condition will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And upon this, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh.

By the President:

[Seal]

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

Until the close of the Civil War, Harper's Ferry was a busy place from a military standpoint. Today passengers on the railroad trains passing the picturesque town look with eagerness for the white monument that marks the spot on which John Brown's Fort stood. It is along side the tracks, not more than fifty yards from the railroad station.

The fort was taken down in 1893 and transported to Chicago as an exhibit in connection with the World's fair. Through the efforts of Mrs. Kate Fields the structure was returned to Harper's Ferry when the Columbian Exposition was a thing of the past, but its present location is about two miles from the town. The original site has been filled in with a railroad embankment.

## APPENDIX.

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Judge Richard Parker, of Winchester, and Judge Kenny, of Harrisonburg, Va., at intervals, presided at the trials and passed sentence upon the insurgents.

Col. J. Lucius Davis was first in command of the military at Charles Town, and afterwards Major General W. B. Taliaferro, and the last in command was Col. John T. Gibson now residing at Charles Town, hale and hearty and a fine specimen of a soldier.

Charles B. Harding, Esq., was the Prosecuting Attorney at the time and was assisted by Hon. Andrew Hunter, in prosecuting the insurgents. Messrs. Sennett and Hoyt, of Boston, and Messrs. Lawson Botts and T. C. Green, of this county, defended the insurgents, and the Hon. Daniel W. Voorhees, U. S. Senator of Indiana, defended Capt. Cook in a very able and pathetic speech.

Mr. Robert T. Brown, who was the clerk of the Circuit Court for many years previous as well as afterwards, filled the duties of his office very ably, during the whole time of the trials.

James W. Campbell, Esq., was Sheriff of the county, and performed the services of the hanging of all the insurgents himself, and upon the same scaffold.

Mr. James R. Rickard, Locksmith, who manufactured the handcuffs and hobbles, which were placed upon Brown and his insurgents, after their capture is still living in Shepherdstown, W. Va., and is carrying on his business, and is hale and hearty.

The farm house in which Capt. John Brown held his headquarters previous to his invasion upon Harper's Ferry is yet standing and is situated within two miles of the battlefield of Antietam in Maryland.

Col. R. E. Lee and Capt. J. E. B. Stuart, mentioned as in command of the U. S. Marines at the storming of the Engine House, were afterwards the famous Generals in the Confederate Army in the Civil War.

The compiler and publisher of this book was well acquainted with Capt. Cook. Cook frequently visited his office in Shepherdstown, W. Va., and the compiler of this book has now in his possession a copy of "Headley's Life of Washington" which he purchased of said Cook, who canvassed the country selling books, previous to the invasion of Harper's Ferry.

John H. Zittle, compiler of this book, Shepherdstown, W. Va., was an eye-witness and participated in the hostilities, being Orderly Sergeant in the Hamtramck Guards, of Shepherdstown, Va., and editor of the Shepherdstown Register, from which paper he has gathered the only true and correct account, from be-

ginning to the ending of the invasion. It will be a valuable publication for the present generation as well as future generations. It gives a correct account of the first gun fired by John Brown for the emancipation of slavery, and the commencement of the late civil war between the States.

  
**FINIS**  
