

THE SECOND RAID ON HARPERS FERRY,
JULY 29, 1899:
THE OTHER BODIES THAT LAY
A'MOULDERING IN THEIR GRAVES

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The first raid on Harpers Ferry, launched by John Brown and twenty-one men on October 16, 1859, ended in failure. The second raid on Harpers Ferry, a signal success and the subject of this article, was carried out by three men on July 29, 1899.¹ Many people have heard of the first raid and are aware of its significance in our nation's history. Perhaps as many are familiar with the words and tune of "John Brown's Body," the song that became popular in the North shortly after Brown was hanged in 1859 and that memorialized him as a martyr for the abolitionist cause. Few people have heard about the second raid on Harpers Ferry. Nor do many know why the raid was carried out, and why it, too, reflects significantly on American history.

Bordering Virginia, where Harpers Ferry was located, Pennsylvania and Maryland figured in both the first and second raids. The abolitionist movement was strong in Pennsylvania, and Brown had many supporters among its members. Once tending to the Democratic Party because of the democratic nature of

the state's western and immigrant citizens, Pennsylvania slowly gravitated toward the Republican Party as antislavery sentiment became stronger, and the state voted the Lincoln ticket in 1860. Lines of the Underground Railroad ran through Pennsylvania and Maryland, and it may have been Pennsylvania Quakers who initiated the system. At news of Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry, rumors were rife, among them that forces of Yankee invaders from Pennsylvania and Maryland were preparing to join him.²

Believing from his experience in Kansas that any border country was an area of sharp disagreement between abolitionist and proslavery sentiment, Brown had taken pains to inform himself about antislavery sympathizers in Bedford, Chambersburg, Gettysburg, and Carlisle in Pennsylvania and in the Hagerstown district of Maryland, expecting that they would support his efforts. Brown chose Harpers Ferry as his point of attack because it seemed a good point from which expected aid from Pennsylvania and Maryland could come. Traveling it often, Brown also knew well the road between Harpers Ferry and Chambersburg, and, if by chance his raid were unsuccessful, he could retreat with his men along this route into Pennsylvania. Brown stationed John H. Kagi, his second in command, in Chambersburg, where he remained most of the summer of 1859 making preparations for the raid. Late in September, for example, fifteen heavy boxes of "tools" were sent from Chambersburg to the Kennedy farm in Maryland. The boxes contained 198 Sharps rifles and 950 pikes. The heavy woolen blanket-shawls that Brown's men wore during the raid to ward off the cold and protect their Sharps carbines from the rain were gifts from abolitionist sympathizers in Philadelphia.³

In early July 1859, Brown, two of his sons, and a friend rented a two-story farmhouse owned by heirs of Dr. Booth Kennedy and located about five miles from Harpers Ferry, on the Maryland side of the Potomac River. A small cabin across the road served as additional shelter and storage. Brown chose the Kennedy farm as his base of operations, and, passing himself off as a land-seeker and cattle-buyer named Smith, was able to move about the country without arousing undue suspicion. By early fall, Brown had gathered twenty-one men at the farm, including three of his sons – Oliver, Owen, and Watson. Daughter Annie and daughter-in-law Martha, both seventeen years of age, arrived to keep house, divert suspicion, and serve as sentinels, waylaying visitors until the men had removed all evidence of their presence and had hidden themselves.⁴

After weeks spent in waiting and preparation, on October 16, 1859, Brown and twenty-one dedicated followers, five of whom were black,

launched a raid on Harpers Ferry. From the Kennedy farm, the men crossed the Potomac River on a moonless night and stole into Harpers Ferry, Virginia (now West Virginia), the site of a federal arsenal and armory. In the course of the raid, the small band succeeded in securing the bridges across the Potomac and Shenandoah Rivers, seizing the arsenal, the armory, the Hall Rifle Works, and the fire-engine house (known today as John Brown's fort), and taking a few dozen of the town's citizens as hostages. They also killed one United States marine and four Harpers Ferry residents, including, unfortunately, the town's mayor. They wounded nine other townspeople. The raid ended on the morning of October 18 when a military force under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Robert E. Lee and his aide, Lieutenant J. E. B. Stuart, stormed the engine house in which Brown and a handful of his men had barricaded themselves.⁵

Brown's daring, if foolhardy, raid attracted national attention. Nothing crystallizes popular sentiment so much as a dramatic event such as Brown's attack on Harpers Ferry. In both North and South in 1859, emotions were aroused, nerves were tense, and anger lay near the surface. Southerners spent sleepless nights in their efforts to ward off any attempt to foment, arm, and support a slave insurrection that would endanger wives, children, property, and the entire social fabric. Long haunted by the threat of a slave insurrection, southerners therefore expressed consternation, anger, indignation, and fear when learning of Brown's actions. Northern abolitionists, on the other hand, were excited, encouraged, and approving. Whatever Brown hoped to accomplish with his raid, however, and whatever its ultimate consequences, the raid was a failure. Five of Brown's men escaped; ten were killed, including his sons Watson and Oliver; and seven men, including Brown, were taken prisoner, tried, convicted, and hanged.⁶

Although Brown had conducted a raid on a federal installation, he was placed in the custody of Virginia governor Henry A. Wise. Wise, a Jacksonian Democrat, had served as United States Minister to Brazil from 1844–47, and he was a powerful figure in both the Virginia and the national Democratic parties. An outspoken defender of slavery and a strong advocate of the Confederacy, Wise served the Confederate cause throughout the Civil War and was promoted to Major-General by General Robert E. Lee in 1865. Wise brought Brown to trial on a number of charges: conducting war against the Commonwealth of Virginia, conspiring to foment insurrection, inciting slaves to rebel, and murdering civilians. Brown was tried with indecent haste, convicted on October 31, 1859, and hanged on December 2 at Charles Town. In an uncharacteristically

magnanimous act, Wise allowed Brown's widow to claim her husband's body and take it to North Elba, New York, site of the Brown farm, where today it "lies a'mouldering in its grave while his soul goes marching on."⁷

Forty years later, a second raid was conducted on Harpers Ferry. Unlike the first, this one succeeded. Like the first, however, this raid also attracted national attention. Most major eastern and midwestern newspapers carried accounts, often on their front pages, as did many in the South.

Early on the morning of July 29, 1899, three men, Dr. Thomas Featherstonhaugh and Captain E. P. Hall, both of Washington, D.C., and Dr. Orin G. Libby, University of Wisconsin history professor, quietly entered Harpers Ferry and dug up the remains of eight of John Brown's men who had been killed in the raid of 1859, forty years earlier. To avoid difficulties with townspeople, relic-seekers, government officials, health authorities, and newspaper reporters, the men worked quickly and stealthily and Libby spirited the remains to North Elba, New York, in an ordinary traveling trunk. In an impressive ceremony attended by approximately three thousand people, the remains were reinterred beside the grave of John Brown on August 30, 1899, the forty-third anniversary of the Battle of Osawatimie. The date was as significant as it was symbolic. In 1855, Brown, leaving his family in North Elba, had joined five of his sons in Kansas. He settled near Osawatimie, where he quickly became a prominent figure in the bitter conflict between "free-state" and proslavery settlers and where he earned the name "Old Osawatimie Brown." On August 30, 1856, Brown and a small band defended Osawatimie against an attack by a superior proslavery force. Brown's son, Frederick, was shot through the heart and died. Brown barely escaped with his life, more determined than ever in his abolitionist views and vowing that he would die fighting for the cause of freeing slaves.⁸

That the second raid and the reinterment ceremonies elicited both enthusiastic approval and bitter criticism revealed that nearly thirty-five years after a civil war that was to make North and South once again one nation, sectionalism was still strong. In the North, the eight men were described as "heroes" who had died for a just cause. In the South, they were identified as "law-breakers," as "ruffians," and as "murderous raiders." Many dignitaries, although invited to the reinterment ceremonies, declined to attend, lest by doing so they would give offense to sectionalist and sentiments in either North or South – or both.

Little can be learned of Captain E. P. Hall, except that he enjoyed Featherstonhaugh's confidence and he worked with the Interior Department

in Washington, D.C. Dr. Featherstonhaugh and Dr. Libby had responsible positions and national reputations. They risked both in this daring undertaking.

Featherstonhaugh, a staff member of the Medical Division of the Bureau of Pensions, who was an admirer of Brown and a nationally recognized authority on him, had long been absorbed in the study of Brown and the abolitionist movement. He had published extensively on Brown, and, after years of diligent searching, had amassed an impressive collection of records and photographs of Brown, his raid on Harpers Ferry, his trial and execution, and his burial at North Elba, New York. His large collection of Brown artifacts included one of the carbines used in the defense of the engine house and a pike blade found in Harpers Ferry after the raid. The carbines carried by the raiders, rare weapons for the time, had been furnished by the Kansas Emigrant Aid Society, ostensibly for use by settlers in Kansas. The pike blades were nine inches long and three inches wide. Fitted to ash poles six feet long, they were to be distributed to those slaves who rallied around Brown at news of the raid. After the raid, the pikes had been scattered and Featherstonhaugh owned one of the few known to exist.⁹

Orin Grant Libby enrolled in the University of Wisconsin in 1890 where he was among the first graduate students of Frederick Jackson Turner, who in 1893 advanced the thesis that American society had been shaped by conditions experienced on an undeveloped frontier. Libby's doctoral dissertation, which positioned him as an important figure in American historiography, was titled "The Geographical Distribution of the Vote of the Thirteen States on the Federal Constitution, 1787-8." Libby's dissertation, Turner noted, applied "a new method to American history" and opened the way "for rewriting much of that history." Published in 1894, the work attracted national attention. Still in print and still being studied and cited, Libby's dissertation remains an important contribution to the interpretation of the movement for the federal Constitution.¹⁰

Shortly after receiving his Ph.D. in 1895, Libby enhanced his reputation as a historian having a "passion for accuracy" and a "remarkable gift for original research" by exposing two accepted authorities on American history as plagiarists. William Gordon's four-volume *History of the American Revolution* published in 1789, Libby found, was "one of the most complete plagiarisms on record." That Gordon had copied "wholesale" from the *Annual Register* could be proved merely by placing the *Annual Register* and Gordon's history side by side. By doing so, one could find "parallel readings everywhere."

Libby concluded that Gordon “was neither a man of unimpeachable veracity nor a great historian, and [that] his history must be rejected wholly as a source for the American Revolution.” In Dr. David Ramsey’s *History of the American Revolution*, based supposedly on original documents and long considered an authority, Libby also found “abundant evidence” that Ramsey had plagiarized a large part of his history from either Gordon or from the *Annual Register*. On the basis of his “close examination,” Libby concluded “that Ramsey must be considered as wholly unreliable as an authority.”¹¹

Eminent figures all, these were the three who conducted the second raid on Harpers Ferry. The eight men whose remains they surreptitiously removed were: Oliver Brown, William Thompson, Dauphin O. Thompson, Stewart Taylor, William H. Leeman, John H. Kagi, Lewis Sheridan Leary, and Dangerfield Newby. Leary and Newby were identified in accounts as “colored.” To recount how these eight men died in 1859 is to explain why Featherstonhaugh, Libby, and Hall undertook the second raid and why they carried it out as they did.¹²

Aware by the early morning of October 17 that John Brown and his men were in Harpers Ferry, aroused townspeople armed themselves with knives, axes, squirrel rifles, and other weapons and rushed into the streets. By late morning, poorly armed farmers and militiamen were pouring into Harpers Ferry and as the day wore on the town became noisier and the crowds more unruly. Good firearms and ammunition were initially in short supply, but ample quantities of bonded Bourbon whisky, corn liquor, and cheap “red-eye” were available, and the Galt House and Wager Hotel bars did a brisk business. Men lacking in courage found it in spirits, but alcohol also robbed them of their reason and their sense of decency.¹³

The frenzy and anger of the crowds increased in intensity as the day wore on and by late afternoon Harpers Ferry was a scene of chaos as half-drunken and uncontrolled crowds roamed Potomac and Shenandoah streets. The shooting of Fontaine Beckham, the town’s mayor, by one of Brown’s men roused the citizens of Harpers Ferry to an even higher pitch of fury. Beckham, unarmed, died instantly, and his death and the rumors that Brown and his men intended to foment a slave insurrection were all that were needed to incite the more unruly and drunken to begin an orgy of violence and killing. Intoxicated men caroused about the town, shooting at random and at African Americans they mistakenly thought were part of Brown’s band, getting in the way of organized troops, and driving decent citizens inside their homes behind locked doors. To some Harpers Ferry residents, the drunken volunteers were a menace

worse than Brown's raiders. Drunks in saloons banged on the bars, fired guns out the windows, clamored for revenge, and, exhibiting uninhibited hatred for Brown and his men, screamed "Kill them, Kill them."¹⁴

Joseph G. Rosengarten, a director of the Pennsylvania Railroad who chanced to be in Harpers Ferry during the raid and who was jailed on the suspicion that he was one of the raiders, described the situation as "unbelievable." The scene, he recounted later, "was made hideous by the drunken noise and turmoil of the crowd in the village; . . . [and] the tipsy and pot-valiant militia fought and squabbled with each other." Patrick Higgins, a watchman on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and a man of "recognized probity and character," witnessed the raid and later gave Featherstonhaugh a detailed account of it. Higgins remained at Harpers Ferry during the Civil War and observed the fighting, destruction, and killing as Northern and Southern troops alternated in taking and holding the town. The days and nights of the John Brown raid stood out in his mind, however, "for their terror and the fury and excesses that prevailed."¹⁵

During the three days of the raid, October 16–18, Harpers Ferry was in a state of wild excitement. Groups of drunken men roamed the streets, shooting at random targets, and seeking and breathing vengeance.

Dangerfield Newby, a tall powerfully built mulatto and at forty-four years old the oldest of the raiders, was the first of Brown's men to die. Born a slave in 1815 in Fauquier County, Virginia, Newby had been taken to Ohio and freed by his Scottish father. A blacksmith by trade, he yearned to purchase and free his wife Harriet and her children who were held by Jesse Jennings of Warrenton, Virginia. Newby had joined Brown in response to his wife's letters in which she implored his help in freeing her and her children.¹⁶

Brown had assigned Newby and two others to guard the wagon bridge over the Shenandoah River. When a detachment of the Jefferson Guards seized the bridge late in the morning of October 17, the three men began retreating towards the armory. Caught in the open in Shenandoah Street, near the armory gate, Newby was shot by Richard B. Washington who fired on him from a second-story window. Lacking a ball for his ancient muzzle loader, Washington had loaded his musket with a six-inch spike from which he had filed the head. Fired from above, the spike entered Newby's body just under the chin, cut his throat from ear to ear, and nearly severed his head from his body.¹⁷

Newby's body was allowed to lie in the street until late the following day. Enraged militiamen and townspeople beat and kicked Newby's corpse, cursed

him for not having a thousand lives to forfeit for his black deeds, and rammed sticks into his gaping wounds. One man sliced off Newby's ears and cut them into small pieces for souvenirs and another took his heavy cowhide boots. The town's dogs sniffed at his body and loose-running hogs rooted at his corpse and bedded down for the night around his body. The writer for the Frederick, Maryland, *Herald*, whose account was later cited in the *Liberator* of November 11, 1859, recorded the indignities perpetrated on Newby's corpse.¹⁸

The deaths of Newby's seven companions were little less brutal and gruesome. The Frederick newspaperman observed that because locals regarded Brown and his men as "outlaws" and as "food for carrion birds" they did not have to be treated as human beings.¹⁹

William H. Leeman, the youngest of the raiders at twenty years of age, was shot about 1:00 p.m. on October 17. Tall, well built, handsome, of rather wild disposition, a heavy smoker, and possessing intelligence and ingenuity, Leeman had become imbued with antislavery sentiments as a youth and had become a member of John Brown's "Volunteer Regulars" in 1856. He had fought at Osawatimie when he was only seventeen years old. The circumstances of his death were afterward cited as an example of the "savagery" that Brown and his men encountered in Harpers Ferry.²⁰

The mob and members of the militia, many of them crazed with liquor, roamed Harpers Ferry's streets seeking vengeance and firing their weapons indiscriminately. Their bloodcurdling yells and shouts of "kill them, kill them" penetrated the armory yard where Leeman was stationed. Losing his nerve, Leeman left the yard and attempted to escape by swimming across the Potomac River to the Maryland shore. Spotted and fired upon, Leeman—perhaps wounded—crawled up on a huge boulder projecting above the surface of the river and, according to a generally accepted story, indicated that he had surrendered. One G. A. Schoppert waded out to where Leeman lay, put a pistol to his head, and shot him—blowing half his face away. Throughout the day, Leeman's body lay on the boulder, half in and half out of the water and townspeople and members of various volunteer units amused themselves by using his body for target practice. When they had tired of the sport, a man waded out to the boulder and pushed Leeman's body into the river. The next day, a reporter from the Baltimore *Sun* sent to cover the raid, saw Leeman's body and left an account. "About the middle of the stream of the broad Potomac," he wrote,

lies the body of one of the insurgents named Wm. H. Leeman, who was shot on Monday, while attempting to make his escape from the

town. His black hair may just be seen floating upon the surface of the water and waving with every ripple. The visitors [militiamen who had arrived too late to do any fighting], upon discovering the body today, saluted it with a shower of balls, but the action was one of very questionable taste and propriety.²¹

John Brown had assigned John H. Kagi, his second in command and the band's Adjutant General, Lewis Sheridan Leary, a free mulatto, and John Copeland, Leary's nephew, to guard the Hall Rifle Works. Kagi and Leary died while trying to escape from Harpers Ferry, their bodies riddled with many of the estimated 400–500 bullets that had been fired at them. Copeland was captured.

Kagi was the most scholarly and cultured of the raiders – he knew Latin, German, and French well enough to teach the languages – and a former school teacher. His abolitionist views had forced him to leave Virginia where his family had lived for over a century, and he had relatives living near Harpers Ferry. Kagi had spent time in Nebraska, where he had been admitted to the bar when only twenty-one years old, and in Kansas, where he was a correspondent for a number of eastern newspapers. Imbued with an “innate hatred” of slavery, he was wise beyond his years and was only twenty-four years old when he was killed. Brown held Kagi in high regard for his bravery and for his “devotion to the cause,” and he trusted him explicitly.²²

Lewis Sheridan Leary was born at Fayetteville, North Carolina, March 17, 1835, and had received his name from a Mr. Sheridan who had freed all his slaves as a matter of conscience. Leary's mother was French and he was descended on his father's side from an Irishman, Jeremiah O'Leary, who had fought in the American Revolution. Bright and well-educated, he was a saddler and harnessmaker by trade. In 1857 he went to Ohio where he met John Brown. Leaving his wife and baby with the explanation that he was going to look for work, Leary joined Brown and his men at Harpers Ferry. He was twenty-five years old when he died.²³

In command at the Rifle Works, Kagi, by mid-afternoon on October 17, realized that the position was untenable. Armed men had surrounded and isolated the site and escape was the only alternative. When an armed party stormed their position and penetrated into the interior of the building, Kagi, Leary, and Copeland retreated out the back towards the Shenandoah River, firing at their pursuers as they ran. Wading into the stream, the three men were caught in the crossfire of two hundred militiamen and armed citizens

firing from both banks of the river. Kagi died in the water and his corpse was allowed to remain in the river until the next day. Leary was hit a number of times and mortally wounded. He was pulled from the river and carried to a carpenter's shop on "the Island." Although in agony from his wounds, he was denied medical attention and died the next morning. Copeland was captured and later tried and hanged.²⁴

William Thompson, murdered in cold blood in Harpers Ferry, was Dauphin O. Thompson's brother. Their sister, Isabella, had married Brown's son, Watson, in 1858. She was left a widow at nineteen when Watson was killed in the raid. Their brother, Henry, had married Ruth, Brown's oldest daughter. Twenty-six years old at the time of the raid, William Thompson was strong, good-natured, given to mischief, kind-hearted, and generous to a fault. After listening to Brown lecture on the subject at North Elba, he had become committed to the abolitionist movement and had accompanied Brown to Harpers Ferry from a sense of duty to a noble cause.²⁵

Originally assigned to guarding the Potomac railroad bridge, Thompson had eventually been forced to retreat and join Brown in the engine house. When the Jefferson Guards from Charles Town arrived and joined in the fighting, Brown realized that his only hope was to negotiate a cease fire, offering to release prisoners on the condition that he and his men be allowed to go free. He sent Thompson and one of the prisoners out under a flag of truce, but the frenzied mob seized Thompson and dragged him off at gunpoint to the Wager House where he was held under guard by men who did not believe it their responsibility to prevent his being killed.²⁶

William Thompson's killing was the day's most gruesome. Mayor Beckham was shot about four o'clock in the afternoon on October 17, and his death served to incite the drunken crowd to an uncontrolled fury. The account came out during Brown's trial, in answer to questions posed by Andrew Hunter, the state's special prosecutor. Wanting to avenge Beckham's death, George W. Chambers, the saloonkeeper, and Henry Hunter, the mayor's grandnephew, forced their way at the front of a mob into the room where Thompson was held and leveled their guns at him, intending to shoot him. Miss Christine Foulke, the landlord's daughter, threw herself, according to some accounts, between Thompson and the men and begged that his life be spared and that his fate be left to the courts. She supposedly admitted later that she feared only that the carpet would have been soiled had Thompson been shot in the room.²⁷

Deciding that the hotel was not the proper place in which to kill Thompson, Hunter and Chambers dragged him, kicking and screaming and

begging for his life, to the Potomac River bridge, where they intended to hang him. Unable to find a suitable rope, they shot him in the head with their pistols and threw him over the bridge into the river. Mob members fired several rounds into his body before it hit the water. Still alive, Thompson clung to a bridge pier until his body was literally riddled with bullets and for hours enraged townspeople used his corpse for target practice. Thompson's body lay in the water until the next day, his "ghastly face," according to one observer, revealing "his fearful death agony." Hunter testified at John Brown's trial that he had shot Thompson, an unarmed prisoner, and regretted only that it was not his shot that had killed him. Chambers also boasted of his part in Thompson's killing. These men's testimonies and actions are revealing of the public mood in Harpers Ferry at the time of the raid.²⁸

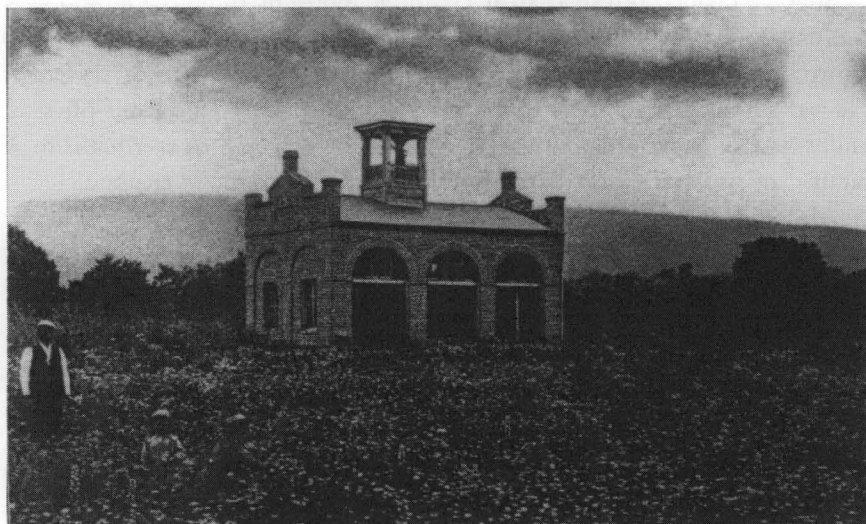


FIGURE 1: Engine house at Harpers Ferry, now known as John Brown's Fort, in which Brown and his men made their last stand. Moved to the bank of the Shenandoah River a few miles from Harpers Ferry. West Virginia State Archives, Boyd B. Stutler Collection.

Oliver Brown, Stewart Taylor, and Dauphin O. Thompson were killed in the engine house, in which John Brown and the remnant of his band had barricaded themselves. Their deaths did not, however, end the orgy of violence.

Oliver Brown, the youngest of Brown's sons to reach adulthood, was only twenty years old when he died at Harpers Ferry, leaving behind his young wife, Martha, who later died in childbirth early in 1860. Tall and muscular, Oliver was considered by his mother to be the most promising of her

children. When only seventeen years old, he had fought beside his father in Kansas and had waved aside the protestations of those who tried to persuade him not to go to Harpers Ferry. Oliver was marked by the distinctive, shaggy "bearskin cloth" overcoat he wore during the raid and in which he was buried. In its pocket, he carried two stubs of lead pencils, sharpened and ready for use.²⁹

Sitting partly in the open door of the engine house on the afternoon of October 17, Oliver spied a rifleman in the act of sighting his gun and instantly took aim himself. Even as he was in the act of firing, however, the other's shot struck him, inflicting a mortal wound. Lying on the floor and in intense pain, Oliver begged his father to kill him and release him from his agony. John Brown admonished his son rather, "If you must die, die like a man." In the quiet of the night, after suffering for many hours, he did.³⁰

Stewart Taylor, born in 1836 at Uxbridge, north of Toronto, Ontario, was the only raider of Canadian birth. A wagonmaker by trade, he met John Brown in 1858 and threw himself "heart and soul" into the antislavery cause. He was studious, accomplished on the violin, capable of remarkable physical endurance, of striking appearance, and strongly disposed to spiritualism. A fatalist, he was convinced that he would be the first to die in the raid.³¹

Although not the first to die as he had predicted, Taylor was killed at Harpers Ferry. Initially assigned to guard the Potomac bridge, on the afternoon of October 17, he had been forced to seek safety in the engine house. Like Oliver Brown, he was shot in the building's doorway. He lived for about three hours after receiving his wound, all the while begging his companions to kill him and free him from his suffering.³²

Dauphin O. Thompson, brother of William, was a quiet, handsome, inexperienced country boy who was twenty-one years old when he participated in the raid. A curly-haired blond, he was teased by his companions for looking more like a girl than a soldier. Unmarried, Dauphin O. Thompson did not take an active part in the raid, his assignment being to guard the hostages in the engine house. He was killed on the morning of October 18, when military troops forced their way into the engine house and ran him through with their bayonets.³³

The first raid on Harpers Ferry ended on the morning of October 18, 1859, when a force of marines commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Robert E. Lee stormed the engine house. Lieutenant Israel Green, leader of the troops, ran John Brown through with his dress sword and almost lifted him from the floor with the force of his thrust. Before regaining control of himself, Green then used his sword hilt as a club with which to strike Brown repeatedly about the head and shoulders. A marine pinned Jeremiah G. Anderson to

the wall of the engine house with his bayonet, from which his body hung doubled over and face downward, “a horrible sight.” Bleeding from multiple bayonet wounds in his chest and stomach, Anderson, still alive, was dragged from the engine house, vomiting blood from internal hemorrhages. Armed men kicked him about the body and face and a farmer pried Anderson’s jaws apart and spat his large, well-chewed quid of tobacco into his mouth. Because Anderson was a splendid physical specimen, physicians later claimed his body, packed it headfirst in a barrel – cracking bones and sinews when bending his legs to fit them in – and took it to the Medical College at Winchester, Virginia, for anatomical study. It was “a wonder,” observed some, that Brown and his men had not been torn “in pieces” by the mob. Had they been, the almost universal sentiment would have been that it “served them right.”³⁴

The first raid on Harpers Ferry was over. Of the twenty-two raiders, ten had been killed and five had been taken prisoner. Seven slipped away from Harpers Ferry and made their way into Pennsylvania where they endured almost indescribable hardships in their attempts to elude capture. Beset by snow, rain, wind, and freezing temperatures, the men subsisted on corn stolen from farmers’ fields. With bounties of up to \$2,000 on their heads and the country teeming with hunters, some hunting game and others hunting men, the men were forced to hide by day and travel by night. Only five—Owen Brown, Charles Plummer Tidd, Francis J. Meriam, Barclay Coppoc, and Osborne P. Anderson—made it to safety in Ohio or Canada. John E. Cook and Albert Hazlett were captured and remanded to Virginia to stand trial.³⁵

Famished and weak, Hazlett broke down ten miles below Chambersburg, but he made it to the house where Kagi had stayed the previous summer. Taken for Cook, he fled to Carlisle where he was arrested, given over to Virginia authorities, and “shamefully executed” although the authorities never proved his identity. Cook was overcome by hunger, he craved salt pork, and ventured out of the hills and into Mont Alto, where he was identified and arrested. He was surrendered to Virginia authorities, tried, and hanged. Anderson made it to Chambersburg where he hoped to obtain food from a friend, but at sight of a federal marshal he fled to York and the Pennsylvania Railroad. By traveling only at night and by changing his clothes frequently to avoid detection, he reached Philadelphia and from there made his way to Canada. Two weeks after leaving Harpers Ferry, the remaining men reached Chambersburg, where Meriam took the train to Philadelphia, thence to Boston and Canada. The others walked to Centre County where Coppoc took the train to Canada. Owen Brown and Tidd slipped from Pennsylvania to safety in Ohio.³⁶

With the capture of John Brown and the few surviving members of his band, details gathered the bodies of the dead from the streets and rivers into a “gruesome pile.” Authorities were at a loss, however, as to what to do with the corpses. The high levels of excitement, rage, and resentment in the town prevented respectful burial in a Harpers Ferry cemetery. Authorities thought it best, therefore, to bury the bodies outside of town, in the most desolate place possible, where the graves’ location would quickly be forgotten. County officials paid James Mansfield and his brother-in-law James Giddy ten dollars to perform the grisly task. Eyewitnesses remembered that the dead men were carted to their graves in a farm wagon, arms and legs hanging over the sides, and buried as if they were dead animals. Mansfield and Giddy uncereemoniously crammed the bodies into two large “store boxes” made of one-inch pine lumber – five in one and three in another – about four feet wide, six feet long, and three feet in depth. They buried the boxes in two shallow trenches close to the east bank of the Shenandoah River, about one-half mile upriver from the town. Over the years, by all accounts, the graves had been forgotten, and it was commonly assumed that the river’s frequent flooding had long since washed all traces of the remains away.³⁷

The graves had not been forgotten, however, and the men’s remains had not been washed away. Dr. Thomas Featherstonhaugh had frequently visited Harpers Ferry and had searched for the graves, but he had never found them. In 1896, however, while in Harpers Ferry with L. A. Brandebury, Featherstonhaugh chanced to meet James Foreman, a long-time resident of Harpers Ferry. Foreman had witnessed the burials and he led Featherstonhaugh to the two sunken places on the riverbank, a few feet from each other, that marked the sites of the graves.

Featherstonhaugh, Brandebury, Foreman, and Foreman’s son Lewis opened one of the grave sites. Some three feet below the surface their spades struck the cover of one of the wooden store-boxes. They removed the cover, to which a man’s entire backbone adhered, revealing how tightly the bodies had been packed into the box. Because the graves were close to the river’s edge, the box had been kept wet, being below the water line, and it was remarkably well preserved. Masses of woolen material surrounded the bones, remnants of the heavy blanket shawls that the men had worn on the raid and in which they had been buried. One of the skulls, perhaps that of Newby, had been shattered. Satisfied from the box’s contents and Foreman’s testimony that he had located the graves of the eight men, Featherstonhaugh replaced the cover, refilled the grave, and marked the location with two large, flat stones.³⁸



FIGURE 2: Opening the grave of John Brown's men killed at Harpers Ferry in 1859. Left to right: L. A. Brandebury, James and Lewis Foreman. Photo by Dr. Thomas Featherstonhaugh. West Virginia State Archives, Boyd B. Stutler Collection.

Featherstonhaugh's "long cherished" desire was to remove the remains of the eight men from their graves in Harpers Ferry and reinter them near the huge boulder that marked John Brown's final resting place at North Elba. He realized, however, that the project entailed great risk, that his plans would have to be kept secret, and that the remains would have to be removed without attracting notice. For the next three years he bided his time, until Dr. Orin G. Libby, doing research in Washington in the summer of 1899, learned of his plans and offered his assistance.³⁹

Featherstonhaugh gave Libby directions on how to locate the graves – by crossing the Shenandoah bridge and proceeding upstream for a half mile along the river's edge. Libby would recognize the location by the large stones Featherstonhaugh had placed near the graves three years earlier. Leaving Baltimore, Libby arrived in Harpers Ferry by train at 1:43 a.m. on July 29,

and in the predawn darkness made his way to the graves on foot. Featherstonhaugh and E. P. Hall arrived from Washington at daybreak. All the while fearing discovery and interference by the authorities, townspeople, relic-seekers, and newspaper reporters, the men opened the graves that Featherstonhaugh had found in 1896 and removed their contents, the remains of five men from one grave, three from the other.⁴⁰

The remains were lying jumbled together, indicating that the bodies had been crowded into the store-boxes "without order or decency." Most of the small bones had crumbled, but femurs and shin bones were intact. By counting the femurs, the men ascertained that eight bodies had been buried in the two graves. Oliver Brown's remains were identified from the remnants of his shaggy "bearskin cloth" overcoat and by the two stubs of lead pencils that dropped from it. Libby hoped to identify another raider from some fragments of a red shirt. Apart from some scraps of clothing and some brass buttons and buckles, little more remained. That the graves yielded no pieces of leather and no nails indicated that the men's boots had been removed before they

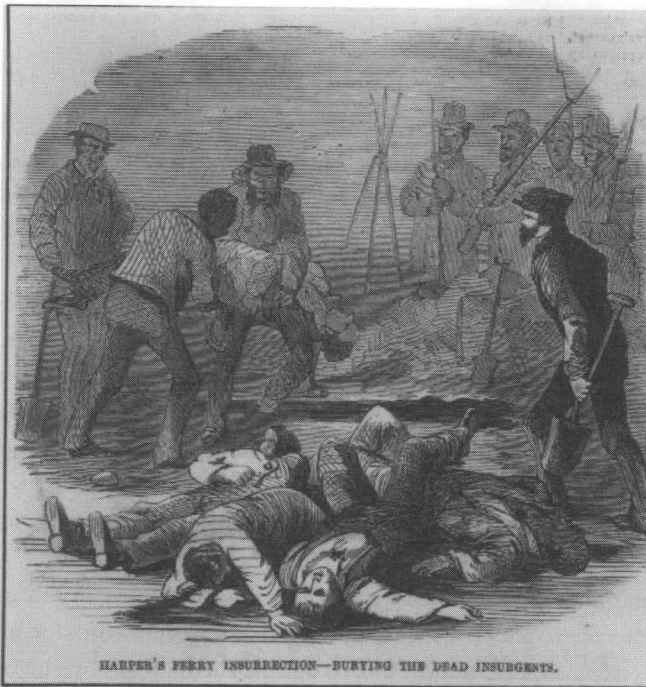


FIGURE 3: "Harper's Ferry Insurrection—Burying the Dead Insurgents," *Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, October-December 1859. West Virginia State Archives, Boyd B. Stutler Collection.

were buried. An elderly woman who had witnessed the burials in 1859 later assured Libby that the graves were indeed those of the eight men killed in the raid. She remembered seeing the two large store-boxes and she described one of the dead men as having a head of beautiful curly hair. Dauphin O. Thompson had beautiful curly hair.⁴¹

By extreme good fortune, Featherstonhaugh learned that James Mansfield, who had buried the eight men in 1859, although an old man, still lived in Harpers Ferry. Anticipating that skeptics would question whether the remains that he and Libby had removed were those of John Brown's men – many soldiers had been hurriedly buried near Harpers Ferry in unmarked graves during the Civil War – Featherstonhaugh took the precaution of having Mansfield swear to an affidavit attesting that he and James Giddy had buried the men in two large store-boxes on the east bank of the Shenandoah River in 1859, and that the graves that Featherstonhaugh and Brandebury had found were those in which he and Giddy had placed the bodies. The unusual location of the graves, the peculiar method of burial, the accounts of many older Harpers Ferry residents who had witnessed the burial, the contents of the boxes, and Mansfield's affidavit – together convinced Featherstonhaugh that the remains were indeed those of the eight men killed in the raid of 1859.⁴²

Featherstonhaugh, Libby, and Hall removed the boxes' contents to the Summit House in Harpers Ferry, the small cottage serving as their headquarters. Here, to avoid arousing suspicion, they placed the remains in an ordinary traveling trunk that Libby had purchased in Washington. Taking the trunk as baggage, Libby started for North Elba, New York, stopping in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, to repack the remains carefully in cotton and excelsior. Careful to a fault and wanting to guard against any health risk, Libby had investigated the effectiveness of formaldehyde as a germicide and disinfectant. Featherstonhaugh assured him, however, that the remains posed no health hazard because "all animal matter" had long since disappeared and there was nothing "offensive" about them. Libby also wanted to consult medical experts in New York City to verify the remains and determine from them exactly how many bodies they represented. Featherstonhaugh opposed his doing so. "I do not like the New York plan *at all*," he wrote Libby, and "I earnestly on every account deprecate delay." "The health authorities in New York," warned Featherstonhaugh, "will make it very uncomfortable for you if they get track of your movements. I advise you very earnestly to keep away from New York." Libby acted on Featherstonhaugh's advice and proceeded

directly to North Elba, eluding newspaper reporters and doing nothing that would attract attention to himself or to the baggage that he so carefully guarded.⁴³

Libby avoided drawing attention to himself, but Featherstonhaugh, long known to be an admirer of John Brown, did not. "This thing will attract a great deal of attention throughout the country when it gets out," he wrote to Katherine E. McClellan, "and I shall give it to the press at once." Featherstonhaugh had been so deeply involved in everything related to John Brown for so many years that he would be suspected of complicity in the matter even if he tried to keep it quiet. He was willing, therefore, to be identified "as the chief conspirator and as the one responsible for the grave robbery."⁴⁴

Libby initially believed that a major New York City newspaper would pay "almost any price" for the first authentic account of what he and Featherstonhaugh had done and he hoped thereby to raise money with which to pay the expenses involved with reburying the eight men's remains at North Elba. He was unable to sell the story, but most major eastern newspapers nevertheless carried the account, many of them on their front pages. As news of the "grave robbery" moved from south to north, the eight men underwent a metamorphosis, suggesting that memories of the first raid on Harpers Ferry were still keen, that sectional bitterness had not entirely dissipated, and that Featherstonhaugh and Libby had been well advised to cloak their movements with stealth and darkness when removing the remains.⁴⁵

In a scathing editorial, speaking, it believed, for the people of the South, the *Nashville* (Tennessee) *American* described the eight men as "law-breakers," as "a gang of ruffians," and as "murderous raiders" who had sought to "incite a civil war," which, it was hoped, would lead to "the slaughter" of slaveowners by their slaves and the beginning of a "reign of terror." The paper deplored the attention being paid to what it considered "a lot of cut-throats and brigands." From south to north, the descriptions became more tempered. "John Brown's Raiders," read a headline in the *Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette*, but other newspapers referred to the men as "John Brown's Friends," as "John Brown's Comrades," as "John Brown's Followers," as "John Brown's adherents," as "John Brown's Soldiers," as "John Brown's Men," as the "Liberator's Companions," and, finally, when the remains reached New York, as the "Heroes of Harper's Ferry."⁴⁶

A few days after leaving Harpers Ferry, Libby arrived with the traveling trunk in Saranac Lake, New York, at the end of his "long and exciting trip." On August 5, he turned over the eight men's "immortal remains" to Dr. E. S. McClellan,

Health Officer, Saranac Lake Board of Health, Dr. Samuel Strock, and Charles J. Stickney. Libby's sworn statement as to the trunk's contents and to the identities of the men was notarized by George L. Challis. For a time, Katherine E. McClellan hid the remains in her home before she turned them over to the local undertaker to be prepared and held for burial.⁴⁷

Featherstonhaugh asked McClellan to arrange for the reinterment of the men's remains and to make the burial ceremony "memorable and historic." He also requested that she record the ceremony with photographs. McClellan, who operated a photography studio in Saranac Lake, was widely known for her pictures of Adirondack scenery. A long-time admirer of John Brown, she had attracted Featherstonhaugh's attention with her publication on Brown titled "A Hero's Grave in the Adirondacks." She accepted the charge and determined to draw national attention to the occasion and afford "these heroes," as she described them, a military funeral that would be "a fitting climax for their sacrifice." Townspeople in Lake Placid and North Elba caught



FIGURE 4: Benediction at the reinterment of John Brown's men at North Elba, New York, August 30, 1899. Standing at head of casket – Richard J. Hinton on the left, the Reverend Joshua Young on the right. West Virginia State Archives, Boyd B. Stutler Collection.

her enthusiasm and began making “elaborate plans for the funeral.” Those in North Elba provided a silver plate bearing the men’s names and a handsome casket with silver trimmings to hold their remains. Draped with an American flag, the casket occupied a place of honor in the Lake Placid Town Hall before being taken to North Elba. Townspeople also helped with such arrangements as furnishing carriages for distinguished guests and providing lunch and supper for dignitaries on the day of the funeral. Officials of the Delaware and Hudson Railroad arranged for transportation from Plattsburgh for those attending the ceremony, and George A. Stevens entertained distinguished guests at the Stevens House.⁴⁸

On August 30, 1899, the forty-third anniversary of the Battle of Osawatimie, the remains of the eight men were buried beside those of their leader on the John Brown farm at North Elba, New York, in the heart of the northern Adirondacks, a popular tourist area. Although the heat was oppressive and not a breath of air was stirring, it being the “height of the season” news of the event had spread quickly and some 3,000 people attended the impressive ceremony. Among those attending were “men of renown, place, and power,” including Dr. Orin G. Libby. President William McKinley, who had been vacationing at Lake Champlain, not wanting to risk offending anyone, had requested that he not be invited. Vice-President Garret A. Hobart and New York Governor Theodore Roosevelt, although invited, did not attend.⁴⁹

McClellan and members of her planning committee intended that every feature of the reinterment ceremony be as symbolic as it was memorable, from the opening hymn “Onward, Christian Soldiers” to the crowd’s heartfelt rendering of “John Brown’s Body Lies a-Mouldering in the Grave” at the end. The Reverend E. A. Braman of the Lake Placid Methodist Episcopal Church offered the opening prayer. At the request of McClellan and two of John Brown’s daughters, Ruth Brown Thompson and Ellen Brown Adams, both of California, the Reverend Joshua Young of Groton, Massachusetts, officiated and pronounced the benediction. They believed it only fitting that he do so. Young, a “pronounced abolitionist” and former “station master” of the Burlington, Vermont, terminus of the Underground Railroad, had been shunned by his friends, ostracized by his parishioners and fellow pastors, and driven from his parish and from the state of Vermont – some demanded that he be hanged – for conducting John Brown’s funeral in 1859. Once described as “vile,” “infidel,” and “traitor,” Young was now seen as a “splendid type of hero” whose remarks inspired awe and reverence. “Magnates of church and state” were now eager to show him honor.⁵⁰

Captain James M. Holmes, New York journalist and John Brown's trusted lieutenant in the Kansas war, delivered an address in which he eulogized Brown. Holmes had fired the first shot at the Battle of Osawatimie. Colonel Richard J. Hinton, well known in Washington as a journalist and author, gave a "historical address" in which he offered brief biographical sketches of the eight men whose remains were to be reinterred. Many of them had been his personal acquaintances. Hinton, a close friend



FIGURE 5: Group at the reinterment of John Brown's men at North Elba, New York, August 30, 1899. Left to right: the Reverend Joshua Young, Richard J. Hinton, Whitlaw Reid, the Reverend Mackey Smith, the Reverend E. A. Braman, the Right Reverend Bishop Potter, S. H. Stevens. The young man looking over Reid's shoulder is unidentified. West Virginia State Archives, Boyd B. Stutler Collection.

and biographer of John Brown, had been correspondent for several eastern papers during the free-state agitation in Kansas and was described as being "determined to take the Declaration of Independence literally and die, if necessary, for freedom of the slave." A Scot by birth, Hinton associated with leading abolitionists before the Civil War and during the war served with

distinction on the Union side as an officer in the Kansas Colored Infantry, rising to the rank of colonel. He was among those who planned to free John Brown after his capture in 1859, but the scheme failed due to lack of funds. Among other dignitaries who spoke was Whitlaw Reid. Long-time editor of the *New York Tribune*, Reid had been war correspondent for the *Cincinnati Gazette* during the Civil War. He served as minister to France from 1889 to 1892, and in 1892 he was the unsuccessful Republican nominee for Vice-President. Special United States ambassador on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Jubilee in 1897, Reid later served as United States ambassador to Great Britain from 1905 until his death in 1912. The beloved Bishop Henry C. Potter of New York, fearless crusader against the spoils system, spoke of the eight men as having given all they had – their lives – to advance the cause in which they believed.⁵¹

The most touching feature of the reinterment ceremony was Lyman Epps and his family singing the sad and melancholy refrains of John Brown's favorite hymn, "Blow Ye the Trumpet, Blow," which they had sung at his funeral on December 8, 1859. The family had sung the same hymn at public exercises held on July 21, 1896, when the state of New York officially accepted the Brown farm of 244 acres as a gift from the John Brown Association, an organization founded by journalist-lecturer Kate Field. Wrote one listener on the latter occasion, "above the rich blend of the quartet, floated the pure, sweet, tenor of old man Epps, in tones which might have come from the adolescent throat of a choir boy." The Epps, neighbors to John Brown at North Elba, were a black family who had come to New York via the Underground Railroad and who had assisted Brown in forming an African American colony in northern New York. The Epps family loved Brown because he had attempted to help their people and he had treated them as human beings.⁵²

McClellan realized her desire to reinter the remains of the Harpers Ferry "heroes" with military honors, yet another of the ironies that contrasted the second raid with the first. The first raid on Harpers Ferry ended when a military contingent stormed the engine house in which John Brown and his men had barricaded themselves. The second raid ended with another military contingent, a detachment of the Twenty-sixth United States Infantry Regiment, performing the honors at the close of the reinterment ceremonies at North Elba.

Recruited and organized in little more than three weeks, its ranks numbering men from many New England cities and towns, the Twenty-sixth

United States Infantry Regiment stationed at the Plattsburgh Barracks in New York was one of the many volunteer units that was raised to quell the Philippine insurrection. Generally conceded to be the best of the volunteer regiments, the Twenty-sixth was "the darling of New England." When ordered to Manila in the Philippines early in September 1899, the unit "took Boston by storm" as it passed through the city on its way to San Francisco where it embarked on the transports *Sheridan* and *Grant*. Boston residents welcomed the volunteers warmly and enthusiastically, honored them with speeches and celebrations, and entertained them with balls and banquets.⁵³

The mustering and training of the men of the Twenty-sixth Infantry Regiment at Plattsburgh coincided with President and Mrs. McKinley's vacation stay in the Hotel Champlain at Lake Champlain. The first couple frequently entertained Colonel Rice and other regimental officers at lunch and dinner, often observed the men of the Twenty-sixth at drill, and occasionally reviewed the troops. At the conclusion of one of the reviews, President McKinley praised the men "in the highest terms" for their deportment and precision, and Mrs. McKinley presented the regiment with a handsome silk flag.⁵⁴

At the Hotel Champlain, President McKinley received well-wishers, entertained dignitaries, and conferred with members of his cabinet, who made the trip from Washington, D.C. for visits lasting sometimes for several days. Understandably, given the situation in the Philippines, few cabinet members met with President McKinley more frequently than his recently appointed Secretary of War, Elihu Root. Secretary Root was also impressed with the Twenty-sixth Infantry Regiment and he praised the men for the "simply marvelous" progress the officers and men had made in their training and drilling in the short time the unit had been in existence. On one of his visits, Root acceded to Katherine E. McClellan's request and ordered a detachment of the Twenty-sixth United States Infantry Regiment to provide a military escort for the funeral procession on August 30, 1899, and fire a three-volley salute over the grave of the eight men. A regimental bugler solemnized the closing of the reinterment ceremony by sounding "Taps."⁵⁵

It remains to explain why Thomas Featherstonhaugh and Orin G. Libby would risk their reputations and positions by undertaking an enterprise as daring and as controversial as the second raid on Harpers Ferry. Featherstonhaugh's reasons, characteristically, were straightforward. Libby's, just as characteristically, were more ambiguous.



FIGURE 6: Reinterment on the John Brown Farm on August 30, 1899, of the remains of eight of John Brown's men killed at Harpers Ferry in 1859. The men were buried beside the huge boulder at the center. Note the raised rifles of the military contingent firing a volley over the grave. Photo courtesy Edwin Cotter, Jr., Lake Placid, NY.

Featherstonhaugh wanted to remove the remains of the eight men from Harpers Ferry and bury them beside those of John Brown because, he believed, they deserved a decent burial even though they had been killed while conducting a raid. Moreover, when Brown's wife had visited him on the day before his execution, he had asked that the men's remains be placed next to his near the large boulder on the Brown farm. Annie, Brown's daughter, had intended to remove the remains herself and had gone to the South during the Civil War with the intention of doing so. She was prevented from carrying out her plans when her health failed her. With her move to California and her subsequent marriage, she had abandoned her plans altogether.⁵⁶

Many of the men, according to Annie Brown, before going to Harpers Ferry had said that should they die, they did not want to be buried on slave soil. Most were familiar with Frances Ellen Watkins's poem "Bury Me in a Free Land" and some carried copies of the verses with them. To remove their remains from Harpers Ferry, Featherstonhaugh believed, would be to honor their request.⁵⁷

Mrs. Ruth Brown Thompson and other surviving members of Brown's family had long wanted all the men who had been killed at Harpers Ferry to be "laid at rest in their historic half acre at the Adirondack homestead." Knowing of his interest in John Brown, they had begged Featherstonhaugh for years to recover the men's remains and bury them on the Brown farm. After locating the men's graves in 1896, Featherstonhaugh had sent Ruth Brown Thompson photographs of the graves covered with the wild flowers he had placed there and pieces of clothing and buttons he had found in one of the store boxes. Hearing the news, she was "filled with wonder and gratitude" for what Featherstonhaugh had done, and she confessed to being so happy she could not sleep. "What *could be more fitting*," she asked in her letter thanking him, than to move the men's remains to North Elba. "If those long neglected and almost forgotten bodies who so long slept in Virginia soil could be placed beside their loving leader," she wrote, would it not be "the crowning act of devotion to them?"⁵⁸

Finally, Featherstonhaugh acted as he did out of a sense of urgency. He had waited for years to disinter the men's remains, but he had delayed doing so because Brown family members wished to be present and they also wanted to attend the reinterment ceremony. Family members were too destitute to travel, however, some were in poor health, and the time had never been convenient for them. Featherstonhaugh was also aware that the longer he delayed, the more likely it would be that circumstances and the authorities would prevent him from accomplishing the task. Orin G. Libby's offer to assist him prompted him to act. "I might have written to Harper's Ferry for ten years," Featherstonhaugh remarked to Katherine E. McClellan, "and not have gotten the bones, but I went right up and took them. I got no permission from any one except the owner of the land on which the graves were situated."⁵⁹

Libby had other reasons for taking part in the second raid on Harpers Ferry. He believed that given the brutality with which the men had been killed and the callousness with which their bodies had been buried, it was an "act of delayed historic justice" that their remains be snatched from under the noses of West Virginia authorities and spirited to North Elba, New York, for proper burial.⁶⁰

Libby participated in the second raid as well because he was connected by family ties to the first. Libby was the nephew of Charles Plummer Tidd, among the five of Brown's men who had made good their escape from Harpers Ferry. Libby's mother, Julia, had been married to Alanson Tidd, a

ne'er-do-well who deserted her and her five children. Libby's father, Asa, had lost his wife in 1862. Seeing Julia destitute and with five children, Asa Libby took the family in, married Julia on June 18, 1863, and gave Orin G. Libby's stepbrothers and stepsisters his name.⁶¹

Having dropped "Tidd" from his name to avoid detection, arrest, and execution for his part in the Harpers Ferry raid, Charles Plummer in 1861 enlisted in the Twenty-first Massachusetts Volunteers. Detailed to participate in General Ambrose E. Burnside's expedition to North Carolina early in 1862, his regiment shipped on the steamer *Northerner*, and on February 7, 1862, assaulted fortified Confederate positions on Roanoke Island. The Confederate forces were commanded by Brigadier-General Henry A. Wise, former governor of Virginia. Plummer yearned to take vengeance on Wise for the deaths of John Brown and his men and for the hardships that he had suffered on his escape from Harpers Ferry in 1859. Unfortunately, he was prevented by fever and debilitating enteritis from participating in the fighting, and he died shortly after the battle, probably more from bitter disappointment than from his illness. He was buried in the National Cemetery in New Bern, North Carolina. Wise's son, O. Jennings Wise, was killed in the engagement.⁶²

Libby's primary reason for participating in the second raid on Harpers Ferry was his hope that doing so would bring him national recognition, elevate his stature in the profession, and improve his situation at the University of Wisconsin. Failing that, the recognition might enable him to move to a better position.

Libby was one of Frederick Jackson Turner's first graduate students and, after receiving his Ph.D. in 1895, he remained at Wisconsin as an instructor in Turner's department until 1902. To his dismay, he was consigned to teaching large sections of Ancient history, rather than courses in his chosen field of American history. Both Turner and Libby were possessed of big egos and Libby confessed to having "a perfectly ravenous, insatiable ambition." The two, both craving recognition, were too similar in research interests, too close in age, and too dissimilar in temperament to work well together in the same department. Relations between the two, once mentor and student and now senior and junior colleagues, became increasingly embittered. More than a little paranoid, Libby convinced himself that Turner, aware that Libby was his superior as a historian, was denying him advancement, stealing his work, and preventing him from gaining the recognition in the profession that he deserved.⁶³

Wanting to write a “new book on a new plan” that would mark a new era in history writing, Libby planned a research trip to archives in Washington, D.C. and New England in the summer of 1899. He intended that his research would result in a work that would give him “a recognized place among experts” and demonstrate to all in the profession that he was Turner’s superior. The resulting recognition, he hoped, would bring him a promotion at Wisconsin and a salary increase sufficient to allow him to marry his fiancée, Eva Cory. It was while Libby was doing research in Washington in July that he learned of Featherstonhaugh’s intention to disinter the remains of the men at Harpers Ferry and begged to assist in the raid. Combining research and the raid would serve his plan nicely. To Eva he wrote “I mean to make this [research] trip tell toward a better place . . . and with the John Brown incident to help me I may succeed.” Excited at the prospect, Libby wrote to Eva from Baltimore before leaving for Harpers Ferry: “Tuesday I expect to engage in a harum-scarum expedition which I don’t even dare tell you about till it is all done. You’ll probably read about it in the newspapers.”⁶⁴

Finally, Libby doted on flouting authority, he relished adventure, and he thrived on taking risks – to his person and to his reputation. The second raid on Harpers Ferry allowed him to indulge in all three – in ample measure. The raid, Libby confessed to his fiancée, was one of the greatest risks he had ever taken. The authorities, newspapermen, relic-seekers, and townspeople, had they known of the raid in advance, would have prevented the disinterment. “The old Charleston fire-eaters” as he described them, who still hated John Brown and the North, “would have been on hand with their Winchesters and driven us off. It is a wild land there still and not a few Washington people were prevented from being present for fear of hearing the bullets whistle.” In the end, for Libby, it had all been a “thrilling adventure.”⁶⁵

With the success of the second raid on Harpers Ferry, eight more bodies lay a’mouldering in their graves beside that of John Brown, and their souls, like his, presumably, go marching on.

NOTES

1. A shorter version of this article was read as a paper at the Northern Great Plains History Conference in October 2001.
2. Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln: Prologue to Civil War, 1859–1861*, 2 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1950), 2: 73–74, 76–77, 85, 140.
3. Nevins, *Emergence of Lincoln*, 72, 76; and *Washington Post*, August 2, 1899, 7.

4. Nevins, *Emergence of Lincoln*, 72–73.
5. A number of studies detail John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry. See, for example, Stephen B. Oates, *To Purge This Land with Blood: A Biography of John Brown* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1970); Benjamin Quarles, *Allies for Freedom: Blacks and John Brown* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974); Richard J. Hinton, *John Brown and His Men* (1894; repr., New York: Arno Press, 1968); Oswald G. Villard, *John Brown: A Biography, 1800–1859* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1929); and Allan Keller, *Thunder at Harper's Ferry* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1958). Accounts written shortly after the raid include Richard D. Webb, ed., *The Life and Letters of Captain John Brown* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1861) and Osborne P. Anderson, *A Voice from Harper's Ferry: A Narrative of the Events at Harper's Ferry* (Boston: Printed for the Author, 1861). One of the five black men with Brown on the raid, Anderson was fortunate to be among the five who escaped. C. Vann Woodward offers a concise and perceptive account of the differing views held by intellectuals, businessmen, and others in the North and slaveholders and others in the South regarding the Harpers Ferry raid. See his essay titled "John Brown's Private War" in Daniel Aaron, ed., *America in Crisis* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952), 109–130. The one-story brick building in which John Brown and his men barricaded themselves had been erected in 1848 to serve as the armory's fire engine and guard house. Known after Brown's raid as "John Brown's Fort," it was the only armory building not destroyed during the Civil War. In 1891, the building was dismantled and transported to Chicago, where it was erected and displayed at the world exposition. Attracting only eleven visitors in ten days, the display was closed and the building was again dismantled and shipped back to Harpers Ferry. Again reconstructed, it stood from 1895 to 1909 on a farm three miles upstream on the Shenandoah River. In 1909, on the fiftieth anniversary of Brown's raid, it was moved to the campus of Storer College on Camp Hill, where it stood for more than fifty years. In 1968, the building was once again moved, to a location about 150 feet from its original site. David T. Gilbert, *A Walker's Guide to Harpers Ferry, West Virginia* (Harpers Ferry National Historical Park), 39–41.
6. Owen Brown, Charles Plummer Tidd, Francis J. Meriam, Barclay Coppoc, and Osborne P. Anderson made their way to Ohio and Canada. Eight men were buried at Harpers Ferry. The bodies of Watson Brown and Jeremiah G. Anderson were taken to the Medical College at Winchester, Virginia, and used for anatomical study. When Union forces took Winchester in 1862, Dr. Jarvis J. Johnson, a Union doctor, took Watson's preserved body and later used it in his practice in Martinsville, Indiana. In 1882, Johnson returned Watson's remains to his mother and they were buried on the Brown farm in North Elba, New York. It is not known what happened to Anderson's remains. John Brown, Shields Green, John A. Copeland, Aaron D. Stevens, Edwin Coppoc, Albert Hazlett, and John E. Cook were hanged at Charles Town. Hinton, *John Brown and His Men*, 307, 581; Anderson, *A Voice from Harper's Ferry*, 3–4, 46–58; Oates, *To Purge This Land with Blood*, 302, 407; Thomas Featherstonhaugh, *John Brown's Men: The Lives of Those Killed at Harper's Ferry* (Harrisburg, PA: Harrisburg Publishing Company, 1899); and Milton S. Terry, "Some Strange Facts About the John Brown Tragedy," *Epworth Herald* 13, no. 32 (January 3, 1903), 802–803 (6–7).
7. Quarles, *Allies for Freedom*, 120–33; Oates, *To Purge This Land with Blood*, 302–58; and Villard, *John Brown: A Biography*, 511–62. A newspaper correspondent described Governor Wise as "brilliant but eccentric." *Spirit of Jefferson* (Charles Town, WV), September 5, 1899, 2. Another correspondent

- explained the "indecent haste" with which Brown and his confederates were tried and hanged – the fear that they would be rescued by supporters. Brown's presence in the South also kept people, including slaves, in a state of high excitement. Webb, ed., *Life and Letters of Captain John Brown*, 187–89, 198–99, 214–15, 309, 317–22; *Concise Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1964), 1237–38.
8. Libby took pains to avoid attracting attention to himself on his way to New York, and he scrupulously avoided newspaper reporters. He feared that medical authorities would seize the men's remains for health reasons, and he wanted to raise money with which to meet the expense of reburying the remains at North Elba by selling the story to a major New York newspaper. Libby to Eva Cory, July 31, October 3, 1899, Orin G. Libby Manuscripts Collection, Orin Grant Libby Papers, Collection 49, Box 7, File 10, Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections, Chester Fritz Library, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, ND 58202. Subsequent references to this collection will be cited as Libby Papers.
9. Charles H. Blair and his father of Collinsville, Connecticut, had made the pike blades at a cost of one thousand dollars. Quarles, *Allies for Freedom*, 173–74; and *Washington Post*, August 2, 1899, 7. That of Featherstonhaugh's collection used in researching this article is held in the John Brown/Boyd B. Stutler Collection, MS05–0064 A–D, West Virginia State Archives, Charleston, WV.
10. Orin Grant Libby, "The Geographical Distribution of the Vote of the Thirteen States on the Federal Constitution, 1787–8," *Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin* 1 (June 1894):1–116; Allan G. Bogue, *Frederick Jackson Turner: Strange Roads Going Down* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 64–66, 91–92, 170–71, 232, 403–404, 425–26; and Robert P. Wilkins, "Orin G. Libby: His Place in the Historiography of the Constitution," introduction to Orin G. Libby, *The Geographical Distribution of the Vote of the Thirteen States on the Federal Constitution 1787–8* (1894; repr., Grand Forks, ND: University of North Dakota Press, 1969), 5.
11. Orin Grant Libby, "A Critical Examination of William Gordon's History of the American Revolution," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1899* 1 (1900): 367–88; Orin Grant Libby, "Ramsey as a Plagiarist," *American Historical Review* 7 (July 1902): 697–703; and George F. Shafer, "Dr. Orin Grant Libby," *North Dakota History* (July 1945): 107–110. A major fault of American historians, Libby believed, was that they were too quick "to erect stately works on foundations too often shaky and unsafe," resulting in "popular," not "authoritative," history. His admonition cum credo was that "it is time to stop writing American history in the large until we have more of it in the little." Writing American history "in the little," Libby believed, allowed historians to base their conclusions on carefully researched original sources. O. G. Libby, "An Economic and Social Study of the Lead Region in Iowa, Illinois, and Wisconsin," *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters* 13, Part I (1900): 188–90.
12. Oates, *To Purge This Land with Blood*, 302, 407; Hinton, *John Brown and His Men*, 307; Featherstonhaugh, *John Brown's Men*, 8–9; Franklin B. Sanborn, *The Life and Letters of John Brown* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1891), 615; *New York Daily Tribune*, September 18, 1899, 6–7; and *Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette*, August 2, 1899, 5.
13. Keller, *Thunder at Harper's Ferry*, 116–23; Oates, *To Purge This Land with Blood*, 292–303; and Hinton, *John Brown and His Men*, 287–91.

14. Keller, *Thunder at Harper's Ferry*, 80–93, 116–23; Oates, *To Purge This Land with Blood*, 292–303; Hinton, *John Brown and His Men*, 287–91; and Villard, *John Brown: A Biography*, 440–48.
15. Hinton, *John Brown and His Men*, 287–91; Keller, *Thunder at Harper's Ferry*, 163; and Richard Patterson, "Schemes and Treachery: The 1861 Plot to Seize the Arsenal at Harpers Ferry," *Civil War Times Illustrated* 28: 2 (April 1989): 38–45. At the outbreak of the Civil War, the small Union garrison at Harpers Ferry withdrew and Virginia forces seized Harpers Ferry with its valuable machinery and arsenal, cut the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad that connected Washington with the West, and gained a point in the Shenandoah Valley from which the South could threaten the Union's capital. Union forces under General Robert Patterson later reoccupied Harpers Ferry when Confederate troops were withdrawn to Winchester, a more tenable position. As the war wore on, Harpers Ferry figured prominently in the military policy of both North and South. In September 1862, General "Stonewall" Jackson captured Harpers Ferry during General Robert E. Lee's invasion of Maryland, taking over 11,000 Federal prisoners and 13,000 small arms. After Lee's defeat at Antietam and during his Gettysburg campaign, Harpers Ferry alternated between being in Federal or Confederate hands. At the end of the war, Harpers Ferry was occupied by Union forces.
16. Villard, *John Brown: A Biography*, 686; and Quarles, *Allies for Freedom*, 85–87.
17. Featherstonhaugh, *John Brown's Men*, 16–17; Thomas Featherstonhaugh, "The Final Burial of the Followers of John Brown," *New England Magazine* (April 1901), 133; Villard, *John Brown: A Biography*, 686; Oates, *To Purge This Land with Blood*, 294; Quarles, *Allies for Freedom*, 95–96; and Keller, *Thunder at Harper's Ferry*, 78–79.
18. Hinton, *John Brown and His Men*, 310–13; Webb, ed., *Life and Letters of Captain John Brown*, 156; Villard, *John Brown: A Biography*, 640, n. 27, 686; Oates, *To Purge This Land with Blood*, 294; Keller, *Thunder at Harper's Ferry*, 78–79, 87–88, 109; Quarles, *Allies for Freedom*, 85–87, 95–96; Anderson, *A Voice from Harper's Ferry*, 40; and Featherstonhaugh, *John Brown's Men*, 16–17.
19. Hinton, *John Brown and His Men*, 313; and Webb, ed., *Life and Letters of Captain John Brown*, 156–57.
20. Hinton, *John Brown and His Men*, 534–38; Villard, *John Brown: A Biography*, 685; and Featherstonhaugh, *John Brown's Men*, 14–16.
21. Featherstonhaugh, *John Brown's Men*, 15–16; Featherstonhaugh, "Final Burial," 132–33; Keller, *Thunder at Harper's Ferry*, 84–86; Villard, *John Brown: A Biography*, 440; Webb, ed., *Life and Letters of Captain John Brown*, 151–57; Oates, *To Purge This Land with Blood*, 295; and Hinton, *John Brown and His Men*, 534–38. For an account of armed men using Leeman's body for target practice see *The Sun* (Baltimore, MD), October 19, 1859, and an eyewitness statement in *The Herald* (Frederick, MD), quoted in the *Liberator* of November 11, 1859. The controversy surrounding Leeman's death involves the question of whether he had surrendered before he was shot. He was armed with a knife and a pistol and may have been determined to fight for his life. That G. A. Schoppert in 1900, forty-one years after the event, felt obliged to sign an affidavit attesting to his having shot Leeman in self-defense indicated the public's interest in the Harpers Ferry raid decades later. Keller, *Thunder at Harper's Ferry*, 84–85.
22. Sanborn, *Life and Letters of John Brown*, 539–40, 546; Anderson, *A Voice from Harper's Ferry*, 15–16, 49–51; Villard, *John Brown: A Biography*, 679; and Hinton, *John Brown and His Men*, 452–66.
23. Sanborn, *Life and Letters of John Brown*, 546; Quarles, *Allies for Freedom*, 96–97; Hinton, *John Brown and His Men*, 312, 508; Villard, *John Brown: A Biography*, 685–86; and Featherstonhaugh, *John Brown's Men*, 17–18.

24. Featherstonhaugh, *John Brown's Men*, 10–11, 17–18; Featherstonhaugh, "Final Burial," 131–33; Hinton, *John Brown and His Men*, 281–84, 312, 508–12; Keller, *Thunder at Harper's Ferry*, 102–109, 162; Oates, *To Purge This Land with Blood*, 296; Quarles, *Allies for Freedom*, 96–97; Sanborn, *Life and Letters of John Brown*, 552–56; Villard, *John Brown: A Biography*, 685–86; Anderson, *A Voice from Harper's Ferry*, 49–51; and Webb, ed., *Life and Letters of Captain John Brown*, 151–56.
25. Featherstonhaugh, *John Brown's Men*, 13–14; Villard, *John Brown: A Biography*, 683; Hinton, *John Brown and His Men*, 529–31; and Oates, *To Purge This Land with Blood*, 294–97.
26. Hinton, *John Brown and His Men*, 530–31; Oates, *To Purge This Land with Blood*, 294–97; Anderson, *A Voice from Harper's Ferry*, 40–41; and Featherstonhaugh, *John Brown's Men*, 14.
27. Villard, *John Brown: A Biography*, 441–43; and Hinton, *John Brown and His Men*, 529–31.
28. Featherstonhaugh, *John Brown's Men*, 14; Featherstonhaugh, "Final Burial," 129–31; Hinton, *John Brown and His Men*, 317, 528–31; Villard, *John Brown: A Biography*, 441–43; Webb, ed., *Life and Letters of Captain John Brown*, 152–54, 204–207; Oates, *To Purge This Land with Blood*, 294–97; Keller, *Thunder at Harper's Ferry*, 81, 95–97; and Anderson, *A Voice from Harper's Ferry*, 40–41.
29. Keller, *Thunder at Harper's Ferry*, 94; Quarles, *Allies for Freedom*, 30–32; Featherstonhaugh, *John Brown's Men*, 9–10; Hinton, *John Brown and His Men*, 577–81; Villard, *John Brown: A Biography*, 683–84; Oates, *To Purge This Land with Blood*, 92–93, 241, 273–75, 290–94; and Terry, "Some Strange Facts," 802–803 (6–7).
30. Oates, *To Purge This Land with Blood*, 298–300; Featherstonhaugh, *John Brown's Men*, 9–10; Villard, *John Brown: A Biography*, 441, 448, 683–84; and Keller, *Thunder at Harper's Ferry*, 94.
31. Featherstonhaugh, *John Brown's Men*, 12–13; Featherstonhaugh, "Final Burial," 131; Villard, *John Brown: A Biography*, 684–85; Hinton, *John Brown and His Men*, 532–34; Oates, *To Purge This Land with Blood*, 243, 275, 280; and Keller, *Thunder at Harper's Ferry*, 118–119.
32. Featherstonhaugh, *John Brown's Men*, 12–13; Featherstonhaugh, "Final Burial," 131; Villard, *John Brown: A Biography*, 449; Keller, *Thunder at Harper's Ferry*, 118–119; Hinton, *John Brown and His Men*, 532; and Oates, *To Purge This Land with Blood*, 298–99.
33. Hinton, *John Brown and His Men*, 281, 283–84; Featherstonhaugh, *John Brown's Men*, 13–14; Featherstonhaugh, "Final Burial," 131; Keller, *Thunder at Harper's Ferry*, 150–151; Oates, *To Purge This Land with Blood*, 299–300; and Villard, *John Brown: A Biography*, 449, 454, 683.
34. Hinton, *John Brown and His Men*, 306–10, 545–46; Villard, *John Brown: A Biography*, 452–54; Quarles, *Allies for Freedom*, 173; Keller, *Thunder at Harper's Ferry*, 150; Oates, *To Purge This Land with Blood*, 299–301; and *Plattsburgh* (New York) *Republican*, September 2, 1899, 1.
35. Webb, ed., *Life and Letters of Captain John Brown*, 361–71, 383–91; Anderson, *A Voice from Harper's Ferry*, 46–57.
36. Webb, ed., *Life and Letters of Captain John Brown*, 361–71, 383–91; Anderson, *A Voice from Harper's Ferry*, 46–57.
37. Featherstonhaugh, *John Brown's Men*, 21–24; Featherstonhaugh, "Final Burial," 133–34; Terry, "Some Strange Facts," 802–803 (6–7); Quarles, *Allies for Freedom*, 173; Hinton, *John Brown and His Men*, 580–81; Villard, *John Brown: A Biography*, 558; Sanborn, *Life and Letters of John Brown*, 552–56; Webb, ed., *Life and Letters of Captain John Brown*, 156–57; *The Sun* (Baltimore, MD), August 1, 1899, 8; *Washington Post*, July 31, 1899, 3; and *Madison* (Wisconsin) *Democrat*, August 3, 1899, 1.

38. Featherstonhaugh, *John Brown's Men*, 21–24; Featherstonhaugh, “Final Burial,” 133–34; and *Washington Post*, August 2, 1899, 7.
39. Quarles, *Allies for Freedom*, 173; Featherstonhaugh, “Final Burial,” 134; *Milwaukee (Wisconsin) Sentinel*, August 31, 1899, 1; and Notes by Katherine E. McClellan, no date, Edwin Corter John Brown Collection, Lake Placid, NY.
40. Featherstonhaugh to Libby, July 25, July 26, 1899, Libby Papers, Coll. 49, Box 6, File 18; and Libby to Eva Cory, July 23, July 31, October 3, 1899, Libby Papers, Coll. 49, Box 7, File 10.
41. *Milwaukee Sentinel*, November 5, 1899, Section 2, 9; *Daily Cardinal* (University of Wisconsin), November 13, 1899, Libby Papers, Coll. 49, Box 6, File 17; *New York Times*, August 1, 1899, 1; *Spirit of Jefferson*, August 1, 1899, 2; Featherstonhaugh, *John Brown's Men*, 22–24; and Featherstonhaugh, “Final Burial,” 133–34.
42. The individual hired to bury the eight men is identified as James Mansfield in some accounts and as James Marshall in others. I chose to use James Mansfield as that is the name given in the affidavit sworn before Will O. Rau, Notary Public, on April 21, 1899. Featherstonhaugh, *John Brown's Men*, 22–24; and Featherstonhaugh, “Final Burial,” 133. A Frank Dumont, who identified himself as having long been interested in John Brown's raid and as being “thoroughly acquainted” with the locale, contended that the remains that Featherstonhaugh and Libby had removed could not have been those of Brown's men. He based his opinion on an account published in *Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, October–December 1859, stating that the bodies had been thrown into a hastily dug trench and that many individuals, some armed, had attended to the burial. The account included no mention of wooden “store-boxes.” *Philadelphia Times*, August 20, 1899, 8. *The Adirondack*, a Lake Placid, NY, newspaper, conducted its own investigation and concluded that the remains were indeed those of the eight men killed in the raid. *The Adirondack*, August 4, 1899; Libby Papers, Coll. 49, Box 6, File 17.
43. *Milwaukee Sentinel*, August 31, 1899; Libby Papers, Coll. 49, Box 6, File 19; Libby to Eva Cory, July 31, 1899, Libby Papers, Coll. 49, Box 7, File 10; Notes by Katherine E. McClellan, no date, Edwin Corter John Brown Collection, Lake Placid, NY; Featherstonhaugh to Katherine E. McClellan, July 30, 1899, Donaldson Collection, Adirondack Room, Saranac Lake Library, Saranac Lake, NY; Featherstonhaugh to Libby, August 1, 1899, Libby Papers, Collection 49, Box 6, File 18; William Dutcher to Libby, August 1, 1899, Libby Papers, Coll. 49, Box 6, File 18; and Brochure issued by the New York State Board of Health on uses of formaldehyde, Libby Papers, Coll. 49, Box 6, File 18. The trunk that Libby purchased in Washington and brought with him to Harpers Ferry was manufactured by the Seward Trunk and Bag Company, Petersburg, Virginia. Libby eventually had Dr. E. S. McClellan, Health Officer in Saranac Lake, examine the remains. That he could verify the existence of only fifteen femurs caused Libby to fear that “one femur remains in the grave.” By measuring the femurs, McClellan ascertained that many of them were those of tall men – taller than Libby's six feet one and one-half inches. Many of John Brown's men – Newby, Leeman, and Oliver Brown among them – were tall. Libby Papers, Coll. 49, Box 6, File 18.
44. Featherstonhaugh to Katherine E. McClellan, July 30, 1899, Donaldson Collection, Adirondack Room, Saranac Lake Library, Saranac Lake, NY.
45. Libby to Eva Cory, Libby Papers, July 31, October 3, 1899, Libby Papers, Coll. 49, Box 7, File 10.

46. *Nashville* (Tennessee) *American*, August 10, 1899, 4; *Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette*, August 2, 1899, 5, August 5, 1899, 2, August 31, 1899, 1; *Evening Times* (Washington, DC), August 1, 1899, 5; *Boston Herald*, August 9, 1899, 9; *New York Times*, August 14, 1899, 6; *New York Daily Tribune*, September 18, 1899, 6–7; and *New York Herald*, August 7, 1899, 9, August 13, 1899, Section 6, 4.
47. Notes by Katherine E. McClellan, no date, Edwin Cotter John Brown Collection, Lake Placid, NY; *Lake Placid News*, October 5, 1945, 8, Edwin Cotter John Brown Collection, Lake Placid, NY; Libby to Eva Cory, August 7, 1899, Libby Papers, Coll. 49, Box 7, File 10; Notarized statement, Libby Papers, Coll. 49, Box 6, File 18; and Katherine E. McClellan to Featherstonhaugh, July 23, 1899, Libby Papers, Coll. 49, Box 6, File 18.
48. Notes by Katherine E. McClellan, no date, Edwin Cotter John Brown Collection, Lake Placid NY; *Lake Placid News*, October 5, 1945, 8, Edwin Cotter John Brown Collection, Lake Placid, NY; Featherstonhaugh to Katherine E. McClellan, August 8, August 26, 1899, Donaldson Collection, Saranac Lake Library; *Philadelphia Times*, August 7, 1899, 5; *The Sun*, August 7, 1899, 2; and *Spirit of Jefferson*, September 5, 1899, 2.
49. *Chicago Tribune*, August 7, 1899, 1; *St. Paul* (Minnesota) *Pioneer Press*, August 31, 1899, 6; *Evening Star* (Washington, DC), August 30, 1899, 3; *New York Daily Tribune*, September 18, 1899, 6–7; Terry, "Some Strange Facts," 802–803 (6–7); Featherstonhaugh, "Final Burial," 134; Quarles, *Allies for Freedom*, 173–74; Notes by Katherine E. McClellan, no date, Edwin Cotter John Brown Collection, Lake Placid, NY; Libby to Eva Cory, August 3, 1899, Libby Papers, Coll. 49, Box 6, File 18; Ruth Brown Thompson to Featherstonhaugh, October 19, 1899, John Brown/Boyd B. Stutler Collection; and Katherine E. McClellan to Libby, August 25, 1899, Libby Papers, Coll. 49, Box 6, File 18.
50. *Boston Herald*, August 9, 1899, 9; *Milwaukee Sentinel*, August 31, 1899, 1; *Washington Post*, August 28, 1899, 9; *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, August 31, 1899, 6; *The Sun*, August 31, 1899, 2; *Evening Star*, August 30, 1899, 3; *New York Daily Tribune*, September 18, 1899, 6–7; Notes by Katherine E. McClellan, no date, Edwin Cotter John Brown Collection, Lake Placid, NY; Featherstonhaugh, "Final Burial," 134; and Terry, "Some Strange Facts," 802–803 (6–7).
51. Villard, *John Brown: A Biography*, 258; Oates, *To Purge This Land with Blood*, 16, 49–50, 173–75, 194, 254–57, 317, 358; Jay Monaghan, *Civil War on the Western Border, 1854–1865* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1955), 23–24, 109, 323; Terry, "Some Strange Facts," 802–803 (6–7); Featherstonhaugh, "Final Burial," 134; *The Times* (Washington, DC), September 4, 1899, 4; *New York Daily Tribune*, September 3, 1899, 4, September 18, 1899, 6–7; *New York Times*, August 31, 1899, 1; *Evening Star*, August 30, 1899, 3; *The Sun*, August, 31, 1899, 2; *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, August 31, 1899, 6; *Milwaukee Sentinel*, August 31, 1899, 1; and Notes by Katherine E. McClellan, no date, Edwin Cotter John Brown Collection, Lake Placid, NY.
52. Villard, *John Brown: A Biography*, 562; Quarles, *Allies for Freedom*, 12, 23–25, 28, 30, 132, 172, 174, 176; Featherstonhaugh, "Final Burial," 134; *Milwaukee Sentinel*, August 31, 1899, 6; *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, August 31, 1899, 6; *The Sun*, August, 31, 1899, 2; *Evening Star* (Washington, DC), August 30, 1899, 3; *New York Daily Tribune*, September 3, 1899, 4; *The Times* (Washington, DC), September 4, 1899, 4; Notes by Katherine E. McClellan, no date, Edwin Cotter John Brown Collection, Lake Placid, NY; and Oates, *To Purge This Land with Blood*, 357–58.

53. *Philadelphia Times*, August 20, 1899, 2; *Evening Star*, August 21, 1899, 3; and *Boston Herald*, August 6, 1899, 4, September 7, 1899, 1, 3, September 8, 1899, 1.
54. *Madison Democrat*, August 19, 1899, 1; *The Times* (Richmond, VA), August 9, 1899, 1; *Philadelphia Times*, August 19, 1899, 7; *Atlanta Constitution*, August 9, 1899, 2; and *Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette*, August 9, 1899, 1.
55. Quarles, *Allies for Freedom*, 173–74; Featherstonhaugh, “Final Burial,” 134; Notes by Katherine E. McClellan, no date, Edwin Corter John Brown Collection, Lake Placid, NY; *Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette*, August 9, 1899, 1; *The Times* (Richmond, VA), August 9, 1899, 1; *New York Times*, August 31, 1899, 1; *Atlanta Constitution*, August 2, 1899, 2, August 9, 1899, 2; *Evening Star*, August 10, 1899, 1; *Boston Herald*, August 9, 1899, 6; and *Harper's Weekly* 43, no. 2225 (August 12, 1899), 788. Root's order was controversial, and some believed that he had made “a great mistake” and had committed an “unpardonable blunder” by allowing federal troops to participate in the reinterment ceremonies. His action could be construed as the federal government's attempt to “canonize” John Brown and “his cut-throat band,” even though they had attempted “to incite revolution in the South” and foment “a reign of terror” by encouraging slaves to “slaughter” their owners. Suppose, some asked, the friends and admirers of John Wilkes Booth were to reinter him and his accomplices. Would Secretary Root order men from the Twenty-sixth Infantry Regiment to participate and fire a salute over the grave? Would he order a bugler from the Twenty-sixth to sound “Taps” on the occasion? *Evening Times* (Washington, DC), August 31, 1899, 4; and *Nashville American*, August 10, 1899, 4.
56. Quarles, *Allies for Freedom*, 142–43; Sanborn, *Life and Letters of John Brown*, 623; Featherstonhaugh to Libby, no date, Henry Thompson to Featherstonhaugh, October 22, 1896, Annie Brown Adams to Featherstonhaugh, September 29, 1896, Libby Papers, Coll. 49, Box 6, File 18; *Harper's Ferry Sentinel*, August 5, 1899, Libby Papers, Coll. 49, Box 6, File 17; and Featherstonhaugh to Katherine E. McClellan, July 19, July 30, 1899, Donaldson Collection, Saranac Lake Library.
57. A political writer, propagandist, and brilliant public speaker as well as a popular and widely acclaimed black poet, Frances Ellen Watkins (Mrs. Harper) sent cheering letters to John Brown and those imprisoned with him after the Harpers Ferry raid. After Brown's execution, she described the huge boulder near his grave at North Elba as “a new altar where man may record more earnest vows against slavery.” Quarles, *Allies for Freedom*, 113–14, 133, 142–43, 145, 163; and Hinton, *John Brown and His Men*, 498.
58. *New York Daily Tribune*, September 18, 1899, 6–7; Featherstonhaugh to Katherine E. McClellan, August 8, August 23, 1899, Donaldson Collection, Saranac Lake Library; Ruth Brown Thompson to Featherstonhaugh, October 6, 1896, Libby Papers, Coll. 49, Box 6, File 18; and Ruth Brown Thompson to Featherstonhaugh, October 19, 1899, John Brown/Boyd B. Stutler Collection.
59. Featherstonhaugh to Katherine E. McClellan, July 19, August 23, 1899, Donaldson Collection, Saranac Lake Library.
60. *Madison Democrat*, October 15, 1899, 9; *Daily Cardinal*, November 13, 1899, Libby Papers, Coll. 49, Box 6, File 17; and Rodney H. True to Libby, September 3, 1935, Libby Papers, Coll. 49, Box 6, File 18.
61. Libby-Tidd Genealogy Notebook, Libby Papers, Coll. 49, Box 9, File 1; Family History: Alanson Tidd and Julia Barrows, Libby Papers, Coll. 49, Box 9, File 2; Asa Libby's Biographical Material,

- Libby Papers, Coll. 49, Box 9, File 3; and Libby to Asa Libby, July 31, 1899, Libby Papers, Coll. 49, Box 9, File 17.
62. Villard, *John Brown: A Biography*, 681; Hinton, *John Brown and His Men*, 558–67; Family History: Alanson Tidd and Julia Barrows, Libby Papers, Coll. 49, Box 9, File 2; and Richard N. Current, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Confederacy*, 4 vols. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993) 4: 1736.
 63. In 1902, Libby assumed the positions of Professor of History and chairman of the department at the University of North Dakota, positions he held until his retirement in 1945 at the age of eighty-one. In 1903, he reorganized the State Historical Society and served as its Secretary until 1944. He also edited the Society's publications, the *Collections* and the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, until his retirement in 1945. Libby also established the State Library, the State Museum, and the State Park System. Libby was instrumental in organizing the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in 1907 and served as its president in 1909. In 1914–1916 and 1924–1926, he served on the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* editorial board. Gordon L. Iseminger, "Dr. Orin G. Libby: A Centennial Commemoration of the Father of North Dakota History," *North Dakota Quarterly* 68, no. 4 (2001): 2–25.
 64. Libby to Eva Cory, February 16, February 25, March 7, March 12, April 20, May 23, May 28, 1899, Libby Papers, Coll. 49, Box 7, File 9; and Libby to Eva Cory, July 23, July 31, December 10, 1899, Libby Papers, Coll. 49, Box 7, File 10.
 65. Libby to Eva Cory, July 31, 1899, Libby Papers, Coll. 49, Box 7, File 10; and Rodney H. True to Libby, September 3, 1935, Libby Papers, Coll. 49, Box 6, File 18. In 1920, Libby was the leader of a group at the University of North Dakota that sought to remove its president, Dr. Thomas F. Kane. Kane struck back and accused Libby of being consistently "off side" much of the time. Thomas F. Kane to Libby, May 4, 1922, Libby Papers, Coll. 49, Box 9, File 42. An avid bird watcher, Libby often risked serious injury in order to observe birds and their migrations. Undeterred by a violent storm on September 5, 1899, he visited the Minot Ledges Lighthouse at Cohasset Rocks in Massachusetts. He saw no birds, but he enjoyed the "vivid" lightning and the "sizzling blue St. Elmo's Fires," and he thrilled to the roar of the wind and the pounding of the waves. He risked being drowned when he leaped from the lighthouse ledge to the pitching deck of the small boat that conveyed him back to shore. He enjoyed it all "thoroughly." Libby to Eva Cory, September 5, 1899, Libby Papers, Coll. 49, Box 7, File 10. Libby might be forgiven for describing the South "as a wild land." The *New York Age*, a leading African-American newspaper, for an extended period in the 1890s ran a series of columns with the heading "Is the White South Civilized?" Columns recounted cases of blacks being mutilated, lynched, burned alive, and "accidentally killed by trains" – all at the hands of white mobs. The *New York World*, although leaving the question unspoken, recounted similar lawless acts perpetrated by whites on blacks in the South. In its issue of September 15, 1899, the paper described an "orderly lynching" that had taken place in Georgia. Ed Henderson, an African-American man, was believed to have assaulted a Mrs. Jennie Ashe. A mob of 250 men from Tifton, Ty Ty, and Poulan took Henderson from jail and, with "no shouting," "no shooting," and "no excitement," hanged him from a telegraph pole. It was a "quiet hanging" after which the crowd dispersed. *New York Age*, January 31, 1891, 2, March 21, 1891, 2; and *New York World*, July 26, 1899, 2, September 15, 1899, 1.

