

Finding the Carpetbag: Documents in the Dreer Collection at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania

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Pennsylvania was one of the states that John Brown called home. An understanding of Brown's relationship to Pennsylvania is fundamental for understanding his life as well as his papers in the Ferdinand Dreer Collection at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP). Brown's homestead stood upon wooded land that was cheap because it was originally "donation land" intended for Pennsylvania Revolutionary War veterans. But the frontier area with virtually no roads, towns, or even people drew few veterans. Therefore, in 1813 Pennsylvania passed a homestead law stating that "a person who had made an improvement and settlement by erecting a dwelling house, reside with a family on the lot three years from the date of the settlement, and clear, fence, and cultivate at least ten acres of ground could receive a patent for such donation lot, by paying into the State treasury at the rate of one dollar and fifty cents an acre with interest from three years." This attractive opportunity led Brown to buy land in Pennsylvania in 1825 and move his family there. ¹



Seven years after they settled in the Pennsylvania wilderness in Crawford County, tragedy struck the family. Brown's first wife, Dianthe Lusk Brown, died after childbirth on August 10, 1832. Overwhelmed by the challenge of raising five children alone, Brown hired a local young woman, Ruth Day, as housekeeper. Ruth brought along her younger sister Mary Ann who assisted with spinning. A year after the death of Dianthe, Brown proposed to Mary Ann Day. The couple was married on July 11, 1833.

It was while living in Randolph, Crawford County, and operating a successful tannery that the radical side of John Brown began to emerge. He clashed with local Congregational Church officials, contemplated starting a local school for African American children, broke with the Masonic order, made Underground Railroad contacts, mingled with local blacks and dreamed of ending slavery. ² Yet Brown had to put his dream on hold in order to support his growing family. In the wake of business disappointments in Crawford County, John and Mary Ann Brown and seven children—five the children of Dianthe and two small ones from Mary—moved from Pennsylvania to Ohio three years after their marriage.

John Brown returned to Pennsylvania in 1859 to hatch plans for the raid on Harpers Ferry, Virginia. He shipped weapons to Chambersburg, Franklin County, Pennsylvania where he boarded with Mrs. Mary Ritner, the widow of Abram Ritner, who was the son of a strongly antislavery Pennsylvania governor, Joseph Ritner. ³ Brown would go back and forth between Chambersburg, Philadelphia, and the Kennedy Farm near Sharpsburg, Maryland, between July and October 1859 transporting weapons and the young men for his vanguard army. While hiding in Chambersburg, Brown tried in vain to convince Frederick Douglass to go along on the raid. ⁴

Brown would succeed, however, in recruiting a black Pennsylvanian, Osborne P. Anderson, who had moved to Canada and was a printer's assistant on the *Provincial Freeman*, published by Mary Ann Shadd, and her brother Isaac Shadd, both with Pennsylvania ties. When the Harper's Ferry raid failed—exactly as Frederick Douglass predicted—in October 1859, Osborne Anderson was the only member of the original army who fought in the battles at Harpers Ferry and successfully escaped. His account of the event, published in January 1860, is the only primary source of the taking of hostages and the battles in town written from the perspective of the side of John Brown who was not imprisoned in Virginia. ⁵

Mary Ann Brown and her family were devastated. Not only were Oliver and Watson (two of her three sons who had survived childhood) killed but their father was sentenced to be hanged. On November 3, 1859 Mary Ann Brown set out for Charlestown, Virginia to visit her husband with the Rev. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, one of John Brown's "secret six" abolitionist supporters.⁶ On the way south, she stopped to stay with the family of black abolitionist and Underground Railroad conductor William Still in Philadelphia. Still records in his book Mrs. Brown's visit: "Mrs. [Frances Ellen Watkins] Harper passed two weeks with Mrs. Brown at the house of the writer while she was awaiting the execution of her husband and sympathized with her most deeply." ⁷

Mrs. Brown also stayed with the renowned white abolitionist Lucretia Mott at the latter's country home—Roadside—in Cheltenham Township, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania while her husband awaited execution. Mrs. Mott and her husband James were Quakers. On the last Sunday of November 1859, before Brown's execution set for December 2, Mary Ann Brown accompanied Mrs. Mott to the Philadelphia suburb of Germantown to attend the First Day meeting of the Hicksite Branch of the Society of Friends. It is recorded that Mrs. Brown listened while Mrs. Mott preached for an hour that Sunday. Mary herself, in a letter to her children left in safety in New Jersey at the Eagleswood School of Marcus and Rebecca Spring wrote on November 28, 1859 from "somewhere near Philadelphia" that "I am here with Mrs. Lucretia Mott where I expect to stay until your dear father is disposed of what a terrible thought."⁸

Dozens of her husband's relatives, friends, and foes had been implicated in the Harpers Ferry raid because of the letters captured at the Kennedy Farmhouse, headquarters of John Brown and his twenty-one young men who attacked Harpers Ferry on October 16, 1859. ⁹ Under orders of Col. Robert E. Lee, then of the United States Army, Captain J.E.B. Stuart went at dusk to the Kennedy farmhouse across the Potomac River in Maryland. There was no one there. Owen Brown and four others had left the evening before, but not until they buried a trunk of papers under the floorboard and some inside a carpetbag on the beds. ⁹ While Jeb Stuart's company seemed more interested in confiscating weapons, Clifton W. Tayluere, a journalist with the *Baltimore Clipper* and a member of the Baltimore City Guards, a Maryland militia which had participated in the capture of Brown, was excited by the discovery of so many documents. With Stuart's permission, Tayluere took many of the documents and published them in his newspaper on October 20 and 21, 1859. ¹⁰

After the appearance of some "carpetbag" papers in the Baltimore newspapers, Virginia Governor Henry A. Wise declared that the documents were legal evidence that must be turned over to the Commonwealth of Virginia. Tayleure complied with Governor Wise's demand,

bringing the documents to Andrew Hunter, the prosecuting attorney, who was in Charlestown conducting Brown's trial. The documents were sent to the office of the Secretary of State in Richmond in November, following the trial. At Richmond, transcriptions of the documents dated November 17, 1859 were sent to Washington where they were used in the Senate Committee Hearings which began in January, 1860. In 1893 the transcribed documents were published as edited by H. W. Flournoy, Secretary of the Commonwealth and State Librarian, as *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts from January 1, 1836 to April 15, 1869 Preserved in the Capitol at Richmond.* There are two sets of transcribed "John Brown Papers" from the carpetbags and trunk. Where are the originals?

Ferdinand Julius Dreer (1812-1902) was a collector of political and military history papers and a board member of HSP. Correspondence and receipts in the Dreer Collection prove that Dreer purchased the last wills and farewell letters of John Brown from the New York autographs dealer Walter R. Benjamin in 1891. Dreer then donated them to HSP where he was assembling a formidable antiquarian collection of books, autographs and documents. The Ferdinand Dreer Collection contains 84 linear feet of archival materials but only one item, a scrapbook with numerous documents and letters purchased by Dreer, concerns John Brown. That scrapbook is one of the most important archival collections in the United States for John Brown scholars. Along with Brown, the important personage represented in this collection are members of the so-called "Secret Six," Frederick Douglass, J. Henry Kagi (Brown's second in command), Ohio Congressman Joshua R. Giddings, Virginia Governor Henry A. Wise, President James Buchanan, Mary Ann Brown, Ruth Brown Thompson, Jason Brown, Owen Brown and John Brown Jr. The inscription on the title page of the scrapbook reads: **"Original papers read in evidence at the trial of John Brown for the invasion of Harpers Ferry together with other papers relating to his life and execution presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania by Ferdinand J. Dreer, 1890."**

The Dreer Collection scrapbook begins with four pages labeled A through D and then continues with numbered pages from 1 to 150. Many documents cover multiple pages and many pages have more than one document pasted on them so the total number of documents in the scrapbook is higher than 150. The number of the item listed in the left hand margin represents the page number in the Dreer Collection scrapbook. Half page numbers signify the second of two items pasted on the same scrapbook page.

Below is a list of the contents of the Dreer Collection scrapbook on John Brown, his family and his associates. I identify the "carpetbag" documents which were either published immediately after the raid or used evidence by the Commonwealth of Virginia or in the Mason Committee hearings in the U.S. Senate and which were written before October 16, 1859. I caution, however, that not all of the documents used in the inquiry into the Harpers Ferry raid, or stored at Richmond, Virginia, or published by the Baltimore newspapers are in the Dreer Collection. Nevertheless there is an impressive number of significant original John Brown documents in the Dreer Collection at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania which correlate with the following publications:

VSP=Virginia State Papers; Sun=Baltimore Sun; Amer=Baltimore American, Clip=Baltimore Clipper; Rep=Report of the Select Committee of the U.S. Senate #268 (the Mason Committee), June 1860.

A LIST OF THE CONTENTS OF THE JOHN BROWN SCRAPBOOK IN THE DREER COLLECTION, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia

Page A: “Received of Ferdinand Dreer one thousand dollars for the last wills and farewell letters of JOHN BROWN of Osawatomie—

Signed Walter R. Benjamin of Walter R. Benjamin Autograph Letters, 28 W. 23rd Street, New York City, dated October 16, 1891.”

Page B: [JOHN BROWN’S] “Last Will and Testament,” 1 December 1859.

Page C: “To be inscribed on the old family monument at North Elba;”

Letter, **JOHN BROWN to Mary Ann Brown, 2 December 1859 [farewell note];**

Letter, **JOHN BROWN to Mary Ann Brown, 10 November 1859.**

Page D: Letter, “JOHN BROWN to sisters, sons, family etc.,” 30 November 1859; Letter, Salmon Brown to William S. Peltram, 27 July 1891. In this letter Salmon Brown claims he has his father’s letters as far back as 1838 and also possesses his father’s original will.

1) Letter, JOHN BROWN to Ruth Brown, 16 September 1847.

2) Letter, JOHN BROWN to Jason Brown, 30 September 1851

[Later reprinted in the *Pittsburgh Leader*].

3) Letter, JOHN BROWN to Simon Perkins, 29 December 1849.

4) Blank commission certificates, Officers of the Provisional Constitutional Government, 1859.

5) Commission certificate, Watson Brown, Captain of the Provisional Constitution Army, 15 October 1859. **VSP no. 58**

6) Commission certificate, Oliver Brown, Captain of the Provisional Constitution Army, 15 October 1859. **VSP no. 52**

7) Letter, “J. Henrie” [J. Henry Kagi] to JOHN BROWN, 18 July 1859.

Rep p. 61.

8) Letter, “John Smith,” [John Brown Jr.] to JOHN BROWN, 18 July 1859.

VSP no. 81, Rep. p. 62

9) Letter, “John Smith” [John Brown, Jr.] to “J. Henrie” [John Henry Kagi] 23 July 1859.

VSP no. 74, Rep. p. 62

10) Letter, John Brown Jr. to “J. Henrie” [John Henry Kagi] 27 July 1859.

VSP no. 71, Rep. p. 63

11) Letter, John Brown, Jr. to “J. Henrie” [John Henry Kagi] 7 August 1859.

VSP no. 87, Rep. p. 63

12) Letter, “J. Henrie” [John Henry Kagi] to “Isaac Smith” [JOHN BROWN], 11 August 1859

VSP no. 55, Rep. p. 63

13) Letter, “J” [Jason Brown] to “I. Smith & Sons” [JOHN BROWN] 12 August 1859.

VSP no. 83, Rep. p. 64

14) Letter, “J” [Jason Brown] to “I. Smith & Sons” [25 August 1859. [Note reads “Directed I. Smith & Sons,” and endorsed in Old Brown’s hand “Jason Smith’s letter.”]

VSP no. 85, Rep. p. 64.

15) Letter, “J. Henrie” [John Henry Kagi] to “Isaac Smith” [JOHN BROWN] 27 August 1859.

VSP no. 61, Rep. p. 64

16) Letter, John Brown Jr. to “J. Henrie” [John Henry Kagi] 2 September 1859.

VSP no. 62, Rep. p. 64

17) Letter, John Brown Jr. to “J. Henrie” [John Henry Kagi] 8 September 1859.

VSP no. 72, Rep. p. 65

- 18) Letter, Francis J. Merriam to JOHN BROWN, 23 December 1858.
VSP no. 75, Rep. p. 66
- 19) Letter, Samuel G. Howe to JOHN BROWN, 25 August 1859.
Rep. p. 67
- 20) Letter, J.[oshua] R. Giddings to JOHN BROWN, 26 May 1859.
VSP no. 46, Rep. p. 67
- 21) Letter, Francis [Franklin] B. Sanborn to JOHN BROWN, 27 August 1859.
Rep. p. 67-68
- 22) Letter, Francis [Franklin] B. Sanborn to JOHN BROWN, 30 August 1859.
Rep. p. 68
- 23) Letter, "John Smith" [John Brown Jr.] to "J. Henrie" [John Henry Kagi], 11 August 1859.
VSP no. 44, Rep. p. 68-69
- 24) Letter, "John Smith" [John Brown Jr.] to "J. Henrie" [John Henry Kagi], 17 August 1859.
VSP no. 60, Rep. p. 69-70
- 25) Letter, Mrs. E. H. Gloucester to JOHN BROWN, 18 August 1859.
VSP no. 88, Rep. p. 70
- 26) Letter, JOHN BROWN to John Henry Kagi, 16 April 1859 [Written in Westport, NY].
VSP no. 68 Rep. p. 70-71
- 27) Letter, JOHN BROWN to John Henry Kagi, 16 April 1859 [Written in Boston]
VSP no. 67, Rep. p. 70
- 28) Broadside, Illustrated Original Version of the John Brown Song by H.H. Brownell. Color.
- 29-32) JOHN BROWN "A brief history of John Brown otherwise (old B) & his family as connected with Kansas by One Who Knows." History of his family. Page 3 of original five pages is missing
- 33-35) Letters, John Brown Jr. to JOHN BROWN, 20 and 26 May 1855.
- 36) Commission certificate, JOHN BROWN, Captain of the Liberty Guards, 1st Brigade of Kansas Volunteers.
- 37) Muster roll of Captain JOHN BROWN [from Kansas].
- 38) Blank commission certificates for Kansas volunteers defense of Lawrence, Kansas.
- 39) Letter in shorthand, [correspondents unknown] 5 June? 1856
- 40) Letter, JOHN BROWN to Colonel H[ugh] Forbes, 22 June 1857.
VSP no. 24
- 41) Letter, Frederick Douglass to JOHN BROWN, 27 December 1857.
VSP no. 84, Amer.10/21/1859, Sun, 10/21/1859
- 42) Letter, Jason Brown to JOHN BROWN, 25 April 1858.
- 43) Letter, Luke F. Parsons to WM [William Leeman], 16 January 1859.
VSP no 8
- 44) Letter, M. Beele, to JOHN BROWN, January 1859.
- 45) Notes of Owen Brown, March 1859
Clip, 10/21/1859
- 46) Letter, Henry C. Carpenter to Charles Tidd, 15 April 1859.
- 47) Letter, John Brown Jr. to John Henry Kagi, 22 April 1859.
VSP no. 33
- 48) Letter, JOHN BROWN to "John Henrie" [John Henry Kagi], 25 April 1859.
VSP no. 50
- 49) Letter, Horace Greeley & Co. to John Henry Kagi, 30 April 1859.
VSP no 37
- 50) Letter, Son Brown to JOHN BROWN, 2 May 1859 [A note on the page reads "Allegedly found among papers in JOHN BROWN's home"] **VSP no.11, Clip, 10/21/1859**
- 51) Engraving of Gerrit Smith by J. C. Buttre.
- 52) Letter, Gerrit Smith to JOHN BROWN, 7 June 1859? **VSP no. 40**

- 53) Receipt, Charles Blair to JOHN BROWN for \$150 per 1857 contract, 4 June 1859
Sun, 10/20/1859, VSP no. 56
- Receipt, W. & L.E. Greeley to JOHN BROWN for \$36 purchase, 9 June 1859.
- 54) Letter, JOHN BROWN to "John Henrie" [John Henry Kagi], 9 June 1859.
VSP no. 86
- 55) Receipt, Charles Blair to JOHN BROWN, for \$300 to complete contract 10 June 1859.
VSP no. 57, Amer. 10/21/1859, Sun, 10/20/1859
- 56) Letter, "S. Munroe" [JOHN BROWN] to "John Henrie" [John Henry Kagi],
 23 June 1859. **VSP no.27**
- 57) Letters, "Isaac Smith" [JOHN BROWN] to "John Henrie" [John Henry Kagi]
 30 June 1859. **VSP no. 59, Rep. p. 71**
- 57 ½) Letter, "Isaac Smith" [JOHN BROWN] to "John Henrie" [John Henry Kagi],
 27 June 1859. **VSP no. 79**
- 58) Letter, "Mary D. Smith" [Mary Day Brown] to "Dear Husband" [JOHN BROWN],
 29 June 1859. **VSP no. 32**
- 59) Letter in shorthand, writer and correspondents unknown, 30 June 1859.
- 60) Letter, JOHN BROWN to Charles Brown? 9 July 1859.
- 61) Letter, "Isaac Smith" [JOHN BROWN] to "John Henrie" [John Henry Kagi],
 10 July 1859.
- 62) Letter, "Isaac Smith" [JOHN BROWN] to "John Henrie" [John Henry Kagi],
 12 July 1859 **VSP no. 80**
- 63) Letters, "Isaac Smith" [JOHN BROWN] to "John Henrie" [John Henry Kagi],
 10 September 1859, **VSP no. 66.**
- 63 ½) Letter, "Isaac Smith" [JOHN BROWN] to "John Henrie" [John Henry Kagi],
 27 July 1859. **VSP no. 48**
- 64) Letter, "Isaac Smith" [JOHN BROWN] to "John Henrie" [John Henry Kagi],
 1 August 1859.
- 65) Letter, "Isaac Smith" [JOHN BROWN] to "John Henrie" [John Henry Kagi].
 2 August 1859.
- 66) Letter, "Isaac Smith" [JOHN BROWN] to "John Henrie" [John Henry Kagi],
 6 August 1859.
- 67) Letter, "Isaac Smith" [JOHN BROWN] to "John Henrie" [John Henry Kagi],
 11 August 1859. [Note on page reads "The above is in the handwriting of Old Brown."]
VSP no. 82
- 68) Letter, Sarah G. Walleo [Wattles] to JOHN BROWN, 14 August 1859.
Sun, 10/24/1859
- 69) Letter, Sarah O. Walleo [Wattles] to JOHN BROWN, 17 August 1859.
- 70) Letter, Ruth Thompson to "Dear Brother John" [John Brown, Jr], 17 August 1859.
 [endorsed in hand of JOHN BROWN] **VSP no. 54**
- 71) Letters, Owen Brown to "John Smith" [JOHN BROWN], 18 and 19 August 1859.
- 72) Letter, "John Smith" [John Brown, Jr.] to "John Henrie" [John Henry Kagi],
 27 August 1859. **VSP no. 43**
- 73) Letter, Charles Blair to "Isaac Smith & Sons" [JOHN BROWN], 27 August 1859.
VSP no. 64.
- 74) Letter, Charles Geaton to "John Henrie" [John Henry Kagi], 6 September 1859.
- 75) Letter, L. J. Leary to "John Henrie" [John Henry Kagi], 8 September 1859.
- 76) Letter, Bell Brown to Watson Brown, 14 September 1859.
VSP no. 9
- 77) Letter, Thomas Carlisle to James Lesley, 27 September 1859. [letter of introduction for
 JOHN BROWN] **VSP no. 20**
- 78-79) Pencil draft of letter by JOHN BROWN, 30 September 1859 [Written at Woodlawn,VA]

- 80) Letter, John Gibson to Henry A. Wise, 18 October 1859.
- 81) Letter, J.C. Dwyer to H. R Boteler, 21 October 1859.
- 82-92) Letter, Col. Robert W. Baylor to Henry A. Wise, 22 October 1859 [re Harpers Ferry]
- 93) Address of JOHN BROWN to the Virginia Court, 2 November 1859.
- 94) Fernando Wood to Henry A. Wise, 2 November 1859.
- 95) John Tyler to the Virginia Court, 4 November 1859 [Recommends punishment for Brown].
- 96) Henry A. Wise to F [Fernando] Wood, 4 November 1859.
- 97) John Tyler to Henry A. Wise, 4 November 1859.
- 98) Letter, John Brown to family, 9 November 1859 [Copy].
- 99) Letter, John Tyler to Henry A. Wise, 9 November 1859.
- 99 ½) Letter, James Buchanan to Henry A. Wise, 10 November 1859.
- 100) Letter, Henry A. Wise to James Buchanan, 10 November 1859.
- 101) Letter, Leonard Bacon to Henry A. Wise, 14 November 1859.
- 101) Letter, Leonard Bacon to Henry A. Wise, 14 November 1859.
- 102) Letter, W.W. Boardman to Henry A. Wise, 14 November 1859.
- 103) Letter, Thomas N. Hicks to George W. Mumford, 14 November 1859.
- 104) Letter, P. Hughston to Henry A. Wise, 16 November 1859.
- 105) Letter, Henry Newal to Henry A. Wise, 17 November 1859.
- 106) Letter, Edward Asquith to Henry A. Wise, 17 November 1859.
- 107) Letter, S. D. Darin to Henry A. Wise, 25 November 1859.
- 108) Letter, E. N. Foster to Henry A. Wise, 19 November 1859.
- 109) **Letter, Mary D. Brown to Henry A. Wise, 21 November 1859.**
- 110) Letter, John Brown to Andrew Hunter, 22 November 1859 [Copy]
- 111) Letter, Henry A. Wise to the Postmaster General of the United States, 23 November 1859.
- 112) Letter, John Coueter to Henry A. Wise, 24 November 1859.
- 113) Letter, Henry A. Wise to James Buchanan, 25 November 1859.
- 114) Letter, M. E. Bickle to Henry A. Wise, 25 November 1859.
- 115) **Letter, Henry A. Wise to Mary Ann Brown, 26 November 1859. [Draft]**
- 115 ½) **Letter, Henry A. Wise to Mary Ann Brown, 26 November 1859. [Final letter]**
- 116) Letter, Henry A. Wise to Major General William Taliaferro, 26 November 1859. [Draft]
- 117) Letter, Henry A. Wise to Major General William Taliaferro, 26 November 1859. [Draft]
- 117 ½) Letter, Henry A. Wise to Major General William Taliaferro, 26 November 1859. [Final letter]
- 118) Letter, Henry A. Wise to Major General William Taliaferro, 27 November 1859.
- 119) Letter, Henry A. Wise to the Sheriff of Jefferson County, Virginia, 27 November 1859.
- 120) Governor's Proclamation to be observed at the execution of John Brown, 20 November 1859.
- 121) Letter, James Buchanan to Henry A. Wise, 28 November 1859.
- 122) Petition to Governor Wise for pardon of John Brown, 5 December 1859
[Signed by 22 Philadelphians].
- 123) Telegram, Major General William Taliaferro to Henry A. Wise, 5 December 1859.
- 124) Letter, John Brown III to Henry A. Wise, 2 December 1859.
- 125) Letter, G. Coffin to Henry A. Wise, 2 December 1859.
- 126) Letter, Henry A. Wise to B. F. Sloan, 12 December 1859 [Copy].
- 127) Letter, William Emmons to Henry A. Wise, 16 December 1859.
- 128) Letter, John Moffat to [Aaron D.] Stevens and [Albert] Hazlett, 8 March 1860.
- 129) Broadside, "To John Brown—To Virginia—the Bible."
- 130) Letter, E.H. Cormick to John Fletcher, 15 April 1860.
- 131) Letter, E. H. Cormick to John Fletcher, 17 April 1860.
- 132) Letter, Colonel J. W. Munford to Major General William Taliaferro, 20 May 1860.
- 133) Letter, John Brown Jr. to Francis [Franklin] B. Sanborn, 13 April 1875.
- 134-141) **"A Declaration of Liberty by the Representatives of the Slave Population of the United States of America." VSP no. 2**

142-150) James Beak, "A Famous War Song: A Paper read before the United Service Club of Philadelphia."

Endnotes

¹ Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. *Laws of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*. "An Act for the sale and settlement of the indrawn donation land, the property of this Commonwealth," Volume VI, (Philadelphia: John Birren: 1822): 64-65. The original land deeds at the Crawford County Courthouse show that Brown bought 200 acres of land from Armand Martin and wife for \$150 on November 12, 1825 and 80 acres from James McConnell and wife on November 18, 1825. See Crawford County Land Deeds, Book K, microfilm reel 8694, Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

² See Eric Ledell Smith, "John Brown in Crawford County: the Making of an Abolitionist," *The Journal of Erie County History*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (Fall 2001):41-54.

³ Virginia Ott Stake, *John Brown in Chambersburg* (Franklin County Heritage, Inc., 1977): 4-5 .

⁴ Frederick Douglass, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass: His Early Life as a Slave, His Escape from Bondage and His History Complete*. (Hartford, CT: Park Publishing Co., 1881); Citadel Press edition 1983: 322-326)

⁵ *A Voice From Harper's Ferry, a Narrative of Events at Harpers Ferry with Incidents Prior and Subsequent to Its Capture by Captain Brown and His Men by Osborne P. Anderson, One of the Number* (Boston: January 1861)

⁶ Thomas Wentworth Higginson, "A Visit to John Brown's Household in 1859." *Contemporaries* (Houghton Mifflin 1899): 219-243.

⁷ William Still, *The Underground Railroad*. (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1872): 702. Frances Ellen Watkins Harper (1825-1911) was a noted black journalist, poet, novelist, speaker and woman's rights advocate.

⁸ Mary Ann Brown's attendance at the Lucretia Mott sermon in Germantown, Pennsylvania is cited in "Up and Down Montgomery County," [Norrictown, Pa] *Times Herald*, December 5, 1959. Mary's letter to her children "somewhere near Philadelphia" is summarized and scanned at Territorial Kansas Online 1854 – 1861.

⁹ Stephen B. Oates, *To Purge This Land with Blood: A Biography of John Brown*. (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1970): 275. Clifton Tayluere describes the events in a lengthy letter to the Maryland Historical Society in 1883. It is notable that Tayluere, when giving the documents to the Virginia authorities for John Brown's trial, kept one aside with the permission of Andrew Hunter . Thought useless to the trial prosecution, the document is a red-leather copy book which contains the handwritten reverse-image copy of "Sambos Mistakes" by John Brown, published in *The Ram's Horn*, an African American newspaper in New York, in 1848. Tayluere donated this letterbook, and a sheet of numbers and an 1845 letter also written by Brown, to the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore in 1883. It is catalogued as Brown Letter Book, MS. 155, Manuscripts Department, Maryland Historical Society Library. Scott Sherlock, a Maryland Historical Society member and Civil War historian has transcribed "Sambo Mistakes" verbatim from the reverse image.

¹⁰ On October 20, various John Brown documents were cited in the *Baltimore Clipper*: "Constitution of a Provisional Government for the United States"; "Letter to John Brown from Gerrit Smith of New York containing some financial statements and a cheque for \$100, endorsed by the cashier of a New York bank," Letter to John Brown from Frederick Douglass enclosing \$10 a part contributed by a lady." On the latter document, there is a note stating: "These were read by [Virginia] Governor Wise to the crowd in the [Harpers Ferry] arsenal yard." Also named in the newspaper were the "Vindication of the Invasion" by John Brown and a note written by Watson Brown." On October 25, 1859, Tayleure transcribed and published in full in the *Baltimore Clipper* the following Brown documents: Letter, Lizzie Leeman to William Leeman, April 26 1858; Letter, R. F. Stief Jr. to Alonso Bradley, June 6, 1857; Letter, 'Son' Brown to John Brown, May 2, 1859, Akron, Ohio, and the so-called "Diary of Jason Brown" with entries beginning with August 25, 1857. The diaries attributed to Jason Brown by Tayluere are actually by Owen Brown, who accompanied his father through most of his abolition activities beginning in 1856. The entries are business matters, letters sent, people coming and going at Tabor, Iowa, in 1857 and in Springdale in 1858 and 1859.