The John Brown Raid

"Notes by an Eyewitness"
Preserved in the Regional History Collection

On the morning of the 17th of October 1859 I was engaged in my office at Martinsburg when I was informed that there was an insurrection of some sort at Harpers ferry and that the night train for Passengers and the morning Freight trains on the Baltimore & Ohio R. Road had been stopped and turned back....

With the above words, David Hunter Strother (1816-1888) commenced a personal journal entry describing one of the most poignant episodes in American history — John Brown’s raid on Harpers Ferry.

Nationally known by his pen name, Porte Crayon, the most popular contributor to America’s favorite periodical, Harpers Monthly, Strother was well qualified to document the historic events that unfolded one hundred and fifty years ago in what soon become West Virginia’s Eastern Panhandle. Not only did he have extraordinary literary prowess but also possessed artistic talents that made him one of the finest illustrators of his day. In addition, he enjoyed yet another singular advantage — the trust and cooperation of the local authorities who captured, tried and eventually hung the great anti-slavery crusader. The judge who presided over Brown’s trial was a close family friend. The prosecutor, Andrew Hunter, was Strother’s uncle. Thus, while other journalists received little cooperation in covering this story due to fears that
Brown would be portrayed with sympathy, Strother was able to come and go at will. As a result, his writings and sketches contain an immediacy, a level of detail and a behind-the-scenes intimacy that make them unique among the many accounts of these events that have survived.

Perhaps the most controversial figure in American history, John Brown has been considered both a messiah and a murderer. A “misguided fanatic,” in Abraham Lincoln’s eyes, he was likely as responsible for the eventual outbreak of civil war as any other individual. He first gained national attention during the mid-1850s for his role in the “Bloody Kansas” territory slavery war. Among other exploits, he personally presided over the vigilante style execution of five proslavery southerners in retaliation for an attack on the abolitionist center of Lawrence, Kansas in 1856. He was thereafter a wanted man.

Convinced that human bondage could only be abolished by bloodshed, Brown began soon afterwards to plot a full scale rebellion to end slavery in America. The capture of the Federal Armory at Harpers Ferry would trigger his holy war, inspiring slaves and abolitionists alike throughout the nation to join an army under his command that would proceed to overthrow the “culture and institutions” of the Southern States. It was a bold but preposterous plan, a plan that would quickly lead to the death of more than half of Brown’s small army of nineteen, including three of his own sons, along with four civilians.

Ironically, the first to die was the free African American baggage master at the Harpers Ferry train station, Heyward Shepherd.

In continuing the above narrative, Strother notes that he initially dismissed claims that abolitionists had seized Harpers Ferry as “absurd.” Convinced that the affair was either a labor dispute or a ploy by bandits, it was not until news arrived the following morning of a pitched battle between insurgents and local militia that he took reports of an insurrection seriously.

Boarding the morning train for Harpers Ferry on October 18, Strother arrived to find the town “crowded with military of all arms, uniforms and in various stages of organization,” ranging
from orderly U.S. Marines to “half drunk and noisy militiamen.” In the Potomac River lay the bodies of three of Brown’s men which an armed mob was “shooting at for their amusement.” In the street, pigs were “routing at a corpse.” Nearby lay three more bodies, “ghastly and stiff,” and yet another “still wallowing in death spasms” protected from a crowd of onlookers by a marine sentinel. As he viewed the grim scene, Strother heard a voice shout out “in tones of petulant rebuke” to those surrounding the bodies.

It was that of a Mountain Beau with a girl on each arm, who seemed disgusted and astonished at the want of manners among the vulgar. Gentlemen, said he, “jist give room here – can’t you stand back and let the ladies see the corpses?”

Proceeding up the street, Strother was beckoned by a friend into a house where a marine lay dying on the floor. In an adjoining room lay two more wounded, a “stout comely man,” and “an old man who lay with his head on a leather travelling sack, his person covered with an old quilt.”

The old man’s strongly marked face, iron gray hair and white beard were grimed and matted with blood and fresh puddles oozing from his wounds in his head collected on the floor and travelling bag. These men were indicated to me as Aaron Stephens and John Brown. The latter the leader of the robber band and the first described, his lieutenant. As I knew nothing of the previous history of either of these men I went to work as quietly as I could to make a note [sketch] of the scene on paper.

Strother proceeds to describe the two prisoners’ condition and demeanor in detail noting the older man’s “extreme agitation” when it was suggested that a scaffold was being constructed outside. Strother himself eased the man’s fears by observing through a window that the report was mistaken and that the alleged scaffold was merely a wagon.

Departing the building moments later, Strother was introduced to Col. Robert E. Lee and Lieutenant J.E.B. Stuart of the U. S. Marines who had been dispatched to take command of the town. It was from the latter that he learned the identity and history of “the celebrated John Brown of Kansas notoriety.”

With this revelation, Strother decided to return to the place where the prisoners were confined in order “to make a more careful sketch” of the “infamous captain.” Lt. Stuart accompanied him in order to assist his efforts. Upon entering the makeshift prison,

The Lieutenant spoke roughly to Brown & ordered him to draw down the covering that I might get a better view of his face, damned him and said he was not so much injured as he pretended.... To this Brown made no reply but turned his glassy gray eyes from one to the other in silence. His face
was so grimed with blood that I could get no satisfactory view of him, and Stewart [sic] then suggested that someone should be sent for to wash him up & dress his wounds.

Stephens then spoke up with more life than I had supposed was left in him – yes, said he – it is a shame that a man like that should be so maltreated and neglected. Not a surgeon has been near him and no one has paid him the least attention. If there is any manhood in you and you are not a set of old women you should immediately have him cared for. You son of a bitch, replied Stewart [sic], you had better keep silence – Your treatment is to be that of midnight thieves and murderers, not of men taken in honourable warfare.

Upon completing his sketch, Strother again ventured into the street. He proceeded to the Potomac River where he observed the bodies still strewn among rocks and then examined the place where the town’s mayor, Fontaine Beckham, had been shot and killed some hours before.

Informed that Governor Wise of Virginia had arrived to question the prisoners, Strother returned once again to the place where Brown was confined.

I went over and remained in the room for several hours during which the examination continued. I found it rather tedious and thought the examination very ill conducted & unsatisfactory, when it might have afforded an opportunity of eliciting most important information to the public which it is now to be feared is forever lost. It seemed conducted more to afford Governor Wise an opportunity to talk & exhibit himself than to aspire to elicit any useful information. Brown appeared on that occasion in a better light than I ever saw him before or afterward.... He answered all questions considerately & directly without attempted argument or prevarication, simply declining to reply to such questions as might implicate others. That he purposely misstated some things on this occasion we have clearly ascertained, but the general tenor of his confession was truthful I am inclined to believe.

Strother reports that Brown openly admitted his goal of overthrowing the “social and political institutions” of the southern states in order to abolish slavery and stated that a new government which he would serve as Commander and Chief of the Army had already been organized.

John Brown Aged 60 years, taken at Harpersferry Oct: 1859 during his examination by Gov. Wise
Strother’s journal entry ends abruptly with the above confession. However, the thread of his account of Brown’s examination by Governor Wise continues in a much longer reminiscence of John Brown that Strother prepared for delivery in the form of a lecture some ten years later. According to that text, Brown revealed that some six thousand men had pledged to support his campaign and that he had fully expected at least several hundred to join him as he prepared to take Harpers Ferry.

When they had failed to appear “through cowardice or want of zeal” he decided to proceed with the force on hand with the presumption that “the whole servile population of the South” would rally behind him. “He acknowledged that he had been bitterly deceived by his own zeal and betrayed by the falsehood of others.”

Towards the end of the examination, Strother reports, “the following noteworthy passage occurred between the prisoner & his questioner:"

Did it ever occur to you Mr. Brown – with your religious convictions & deep sympathy with your down-trodden and oppressed fellow men, (as you call them), that there might be something radically wrong in your plan of amendment, which involves in its execution, so vast a sum of outrage, bloodshed and suffering...?

The Old Man thought a moment as if in great perplexity, but at length replied –

I do confess Governor, I have long and painfully exercised on that subject, & that reflection has caused me much hesitation & uncertainty, but I finally concluded that God accomplished his great designs by means of human instruments, often weak and erring, and I believed that I was called to undertake this work as a high moral & religious duty. I had hoped that it might have succeeded without much violence, but if violence was required, then the blood should rest on the heads of the oppressors.

Then returned the Governor – Let me tell you Mr. Brown if your religion gives you no higher nor clearer views than those, you have still much to learn both of true religion & high morality.

The prisoner was silent, and lay with half-closed eyes working his lips as if still chewing the cud of cruel perplexity.
Abruptly changing the subject; as if satisfied with the triumph of his logic - The Governor went on, And so Mr. Brown, you were really crazy enough to imagine that you could take possession of this place Harpers ferry the “Thermopylie of America” and hold it with 23 men?

The Old Man blinked with a snappish vivacity - Why Governor - I did take it and hold it for the better part of two days.

The Lion roared & plunged as if stung by a venomous gnat - with furious gesture & voice of thunder, he shouted - yes, and if I had been here - if I had commanded this cowardly rabble you wouldn't have held it ten minutes. I would have blown you and your pitiful Burrow to atoms.

Why Governor - In doing so you would at the same time destroyed the lives of a number of your worthy and innocent fellow citizens, whom as a man & a public officer you were especially bound to protect - would you have considered it right to sacrifice these men in your eagerness to shed blood?

... Yes, I would have done it - it was but a question of sacrificing life inside or outside & the honour of this great state was involved in your immediate destruction: I would have blown you to the SKY, all together.

Then said Brown drolly - if these are your ideas of right and justice, I must say Governor (meaning no offence) that you also have much to learn of true religion & high morality.

This unexpected shot from the Old Bush whacker completely silenced the Governor’s polemics, and in spite of the dignified presence, an irrepressible titter convulsed among the audience.

According to Strother, as the Governor exited the building moments later he declared, “That is the Bravest & most honest man I ever saw.”

In addition to his journal narrative and lecture, Strother penned three lengthy articles on the subject of John Brown’s raid and its aftermath for publication in Harper’s Weekly. Written largely from a southerner’s point of view, the first two articles which focused upon Brown’s raid, capture and trial appeared in Harper’s November 5 and November 12 issues. By the time the third article, focusing on Brown’s execution on December 2, 1859, was submitted, public opinion in the North had veered strongly in Brown’s favor. Rather than risk offending readers, the publishers decided not to print the final article.
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Selected Recent Accessions


Genealogical records of the descendants and ancestors of Andrew Alexander. The Alexander family settled in West Alexander (Washington County), Pennsylvania. Hannah Jane Alexander, a daughter of Andrew Alexander, married Samuel Andrew Cockayne. The Cockayne family moved from West Alexander, Pennsylvania to Glendale, West Virginia, and then to Moundsville, West Virginia. They eventually settled in Glendale, West Virginia. Includes birth, death, marriage, and lineage information from 1801-1953. Also includes a clipping of a 1965 article published in the Moundsville Daily Echo regarding Cockayne property in Marshall County, West Virginia.


Papers of William A. Alexander, farmer, businessman, West Virginia State Senator (1871-1872), and local public office holder in Mason and Putnam Counties. The collection includes receipts,
ledger sheets documenting accounts, correspondence, deeds, contracts, court papers, wills, election notices for the Virginia State Agricultural Society (1860), and a stockholder's ticket for the West Virginia State Agricultural Society (undated). There is also election literature (1 item) campaigning against the Know-Nothing Party in the 1855 Virginia Gubernatorial race; minutes of the October 22, 1849 meeting of the Putnam County School Commissioners regarding the financing of "commission schools [public schools] for poor children"; and operating directions and purchase warranty pertaining to the McSherry Grain Drill (ca. 1871). The collection also includes correspondence (6 items) regarding the Washington family property in Jefferson County (1869-1878).


Papers of historian and collector Hunter Armentrout of Gilmer County, West Virginia, primarily documenting the history of the Gilmer County region in the 19th century. Includes the letters of Amie Evaline Sexton-Silcott (1836-1865), a member of the Sexton family from New England who settled in western Virginia; her letters contain much information regarding life in Upshur, Gilmer, and Calhoun Counties before and during the Civil War (transcriptions are available). There are also letters of her sisters Almira and Louisa (ca. 1840-1890). Also includes: 1) two court documents regarding distribution of abolitionist literature in Gilmer County (3 pages, 1857); 2) the papers of Minter Jackson which extensively document his land speculation in north central western Virginia in the 1840s and 1850s, among other material; 3) entire run of newsletter "Horse's Mouth" regarding Glenville residents in World War II (1942-1945); and 4) photographs regarding Glenville Normal School (ca. 1880-1920).


Photocopy of a typescript entitled "Progress Report Number 1; On Property of Wyoming Pocahontas Coal & Coke Company, Raleigh & Wyoming Counties, West Virginia", dated October 1922. Prepared by E.M. Merrill Engineering Company of Beckley, West Virginia, the report regards more than 56,000 acres owned by the Company. It includes descriptions of the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the company's coal fields; leases for timber, gas, and oil; taxation; and location of coal veins. It also includes financial information regarding coal, farm, and company store sales. There are photographs of company housing (including one photo of a "colored town" house) and industrial facilities along the Virginian and Western Railroad in Raleigh and Wyoming counties.

Ernst, Harry W., Author. Manuscripts of Book Regarding Presidential Primary of John F. Kennedy

Original manuscripts of first and final drafts of “The Primary That Made a President: West Virginia 1960”, a political study by Harry W. Ernst regarding the presidential primary campaign of John F. Kennedy in West Virginia. Includes letters to the author from Charles U. Daly (former Kennedy aide), and Ron M. Linton (former U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense) regarding his manuscript as well as correspondence with West Virginia University history professor Festus P. Summers regarding same. There is also a photocopy of a November 1964 news clipping regarding Kennedy’s campaign style in West Virginia.


Papers of Greenland Thompson Federer and family. Box 1 includes: three letters to Federer, including a letter from his sister containing lyrics to “Battalion Hymn” dating from 1917 during World War I; a pamphlet regarding the history of Consolidation Coal Company in northern West Virginia, undated; a cap bearing a “Federer’s Market” label; six photographs including World War I Morgantown draftees group portrait; World War I portrait of G.T. Federer; railroad steam engine at Uniontown, Pennsylvania, ca. 1910-1920; and sternwheeler “Sam Barnum”, ca. 1910-1920. There are also two scrapbooks created by Thora Federer, including an extensive collection of clippings and notes regarding infant care from 1921-1922, and clippings regarding music appreciation from 1930. Box 2 includes two oversize items: a framed certificate of proficiency awarded to G.T. Federer by the Fairmont Normal School in 1915, and a photograph of the Morgantown Masonic Lodge membership, ca. 1920-1930.


Research materials compiled by authors Phillip G. Goff and Roy L. Lockhart for their book, “The Four Goff Brothers of Western Virginia”. The bulk of the collection consists of photocopied documents regarding the Goff brothers and their families, including court records, wills, deeds, newspaper clippings, and family Bible records. There are also photocopies of correspondence, photographs, chapters of books and pamphlets pertaining to the lives of James Goff, John Turton Goff, Thomas Goff, and Salathiel Goff (ca. 1734-1834). There is a DVD containing a finding aid for the research material, listing the copied documents and the repositories from which they were acquired. The DVD also contains digital copies of photographs (portraits and homesteads), and digital photographs of the papers of James Goff (1735-1834), his son James Jefferson Goff (1803-1879), and his grandson Andrew Martin Goff (1846-1937).


Genealogy and history of the Johannes Hofer Family compiled by Charlotte Betler Hughes into a booklet for presentation at the Hofer Family Reunion (held at Helvetia, West Virginia on 9 July 1994). This thirty-nine page booklet ( photocopied) contains copies of family photographs and a history of the Swiss village of Helvetia, which was settled in 1869. The genealogy begins with Johannes (born in Canton Bern, Switzerland, 1836) and Kathrina Veltschi Hofer, who
settled in Helvetia in 1871, and continues through 1994.


Articles and letters regarding the biography of Union officer Joseph Andrew Jackson Lightburn assembled by members of the Lightburn family in response to an article written by Forrest Hill of the Charleston Daily Mail (reprinted in the 17 February 1994 edition of The West Virginia Hillbilly). The article, entitled "The Sad Saga of Lightburn's Retreat From Kanawha Valley", was a critique of Lightburn's leadership during a retreat from the Kanawha Valley during the Civil War. A 1994 letter from the Lightburn family to the Director of West Virginia Archives and History, among others, refutes the allegations set forth in Hill's article. There are other articles about Lightburn by Roy Bird Cook (1933, 1953) and Charles H. Washburn (1951). The Cook article of 1953, which appeared in the journal "West Virginia History", includes a transcribed 1862 letter from Lightburn to Governor Pierpont describing his retreat from the Kanawha Valley. There is also a seven page photocopied transcript of an 1865 Wheeling Intelligencer piece describing in detail same year's Independence Day celebration in Weston, West Virginia. Parade participants included Brigadier General J. Lightburn, detachments of the 10th and 15th West Virginia Infantry, and others.


Correspondence of Smith McCoy of Roderfield, West Virginia, breeder of small ponies (including some as small as twenty-four inches in height). Most letters are requests for pictures and information regarding small ponies from interested parties and customers from the United States, Puerto Rico, Canada, and South Africa. Other letters tell of the joy of owning small ponies and include photographs that attest to the top rate care and homes of the ponies. The letters also document arrangements for shipping ponies and for small pony exhibits at state fairs. Attachments include photographs of ponies, a copy of Horsetrader magazine, and photocopies of clippings showing small ponies that originated from McCoy's 150 acre farm in West Virginia. There is correspondence with United States District Court Judge Sidney Christie regarding a neighbor of McCoy's that was charged with moonshining (box 1, folder 5). Other material includes oversize broadsides and clippings from newspapers and magazines dating from 1965 to 1969 regarding Smith McCoy and small ponies.


Records of Minter Homes Corporation of Huntington, West Virginia, regarding the company's building of prefabricated structures. The collection documents early construction projects of Minter Homes (1923-1932), including homes, schools, and churches, among other community buildings, for miners, steel workers, and support staff of several coal, chemical, and steel corporations in the Appalachian and Mid-Atlantic Regions. Among the companies Minter Homes contracted with were Bethlehem Steel, DuPont Rayon, Elkhorn Piney Coal Mining Company, and U.S. Coal and Coke. Includes contracts, blue prints, correspondence, invoices, estimates, and specification statements. There are records of a project contracted by the

United States War Department with Minter Homes (1930) for the building of Nurses Quarters at Fort Meade, Maryland. The collection also contains a folder of material pertaining to the history of Minter Homes, including correspondence, advertisements, and articles (box 1, folder 1).


Papers of Melville Davisson Post (1869-1930), an American mystery and detective short story writer in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The bulk of the materials date from 1850 to 1929 and primarily consist of Melville Davisson Post’s personal and business letters and family financial and legal papers. Business letters mainly document the process of soliciting or accepting and then publishing Post’s stories. Financial papers pertain to Post’s personal finances in the 1920s, and legal documents from the 18th and early 19th century relate to several members of the Post and Davisson families. Collection also contains a manuscript and typescript draft of the story “The Hole in the Glass” (The Bradmoor Murder, 1929); a biography of Melville Post by Charles Norton; and several black-and-white photographs of Templemoor, Post’s childhood home in Harrison County.


Stock book and report regarding Randall Gas Company. The stock book contains handwritten entries dated between 1904 and 1920 recording names, dates, and amounts of transactions. The report, entitled “Reasons For Increased Cost of Natural Gas Service of Randall Gas Company in Pennsylvania and West Virginia”, is by Samuel S. Wyer, a consulting engineer from Columbus, Ohio; it is dated 24 November 1919. Topics covered in the analysis to support increased natural gas pricing include: demand for natural gas versus the supply (details provided), operating cost of wells, drilling and production of natural gas wells, and domestic consumer waste.


Records of the Miners Right To Strike Committee, a group affiliated with the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), documenting a strike against the Bituminous Coal Operators’ Association (BCOA) in 1977 that resulted in a 1978 contract. Collection includes bulletins, handbills, newsletters, and other material issued by the Committee. Also includes “Statement of the Bituminous Coal Operators’ Association (BCOA), presented at the First Session of the National Bituminous Coal Wage Agreement Negotiations, Washington, D.C., 10-6-1977”. There is an UMWA - BCOA Arbitration Review Board document (Decision No. 108; Appeal No. 574; between Consolidation Coal Company and Local Union 6114, District 29; arbitrated by Theodore Dyke; dated 30 May 1977; ARB File No. 29-77-601). A one-page photocopy from Vol. 3, No. 26, 4 July 1977, of Coal Week, describes President Jimmy Carter’s position in reference to negotiations between the UMWA and BCOA.

Watson, Margaret V. Diary, 1877-1882, 1 in., Acquired in 2009. A&M 3671.

Diary of Margaret V. “Jennie” Watson, a resident of northern West Virginia, with most entries dating from 1877 to 1879 during the period of her single life. These entries provide a glimpse of the day-to-day life of the author, including giving music lessons, sewing, entertaining, traveling by horse-drawn carriages and trains, and her courtship with Clarence Smith, whom she married on 21 May 1879. A 26 June 1877 entry mentions the “Mystics” having a “Grand Meeting” at Governor Pierpont’s. On 22 July 1877 she mentions the “railroad war” being “hot” in Pittsburgh; the following day’s entry refers to a depot near Philadelphia being burned by a mob of strikers while women and children were killed. She reports on 25 March 1878 of a lynching that occurred on 23 March involving a man named “Wallace”; he was lynched for the alleged murder of his sister-in-law, her 8 month old child, and a fifteen year old girl. Locations
mentioned in the diary include towns in West Virginia (Barracksville, Clarksburg, Grafton, Fairmont, Mannington, Palatine, Philippi, and Rivesville) and Pennsylvania (Bobtown, Carmichaels, East Liberty, Pittsburgh, Washington, and Waynesburg).


Papers of David Elkinton, environmentalist and author of "Fighting to Protect the Highlands: The First Forty Years of the West Virginia Highlands Conservancy". Includes resource materials collected for his book, such as research notes, video and audio tapes of interviews, photographs, and historical records of the environmental activist organization West Virginia Highlands Conservancy, including correspondence, court papers, and issues of its periodical publication *Highlands Voice* for period 1969 through 1989.

**West Virginia University. Martin, Alexander, President. Obituaries and Other Material, 1893, 12 pages, Acquired in 2009. A&M 3658.**

Photocopied obituaries regarding Alexander Martin, the first President of West Virginia University (1867-1875), from several newspapers, including the *New York Christian Advocate* (12-12-1893), the *Indianapolis Journal*, and the *Wellsville Union* (a weekly Republican newspaper from Ohio). The collection also includes biographical sketches that outline the life of Alexander Martin covering his immigration from Nairn, Scotland; his years as an educator and preacher; and his service as president of both West Virginia University and DePauw University.

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**West Virginia and Regional History Collection NEWSLETTER**

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*John Brown on trial, see story page 1.*