

HFR 299

Heyward Shepherd Monument

Input Notes - Reply to Lucille Bush, UDC

Feb. 1, 1980

Enclosed is a UDC news release by Lucille Bush in which she states that "... the ladies left the meeting with the satisfaction that the monument would be well cared for while in the custody of the park superintendent."

2. The monument remains placed in a horizontal position on wooden rails and wrapped in canvas, just as it was when Miss Bush, Mrs. Robert L. Beaves and Mrs. James Wright and others of the delegation viewed it in the park's maintenance storage area following the meeting of July 30, 1976.

3. In general all War Department ^(park) property was transferred to Department of the Interior.

The movement of the four ton boulder was for its protection due to historic building restoration as authorized by Congress and which is not complete.

The 50 year old inscription (wording) has provoked controversy by individual park visitors on several occasions.

Dedication

SHEPHERD MEMORIAL TO BE UNVEILED AT HARPERS FERRY.

At the General Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, held at Asheville, North Carolina, in 1930, the President-General, Mrs. Roy W. McKinney, appointed a committee to act jointly with a Committee of the Sons of the Confederate Veterans to erect at Harpers Ferry a memorial to Heyward Shepherd, colored watchman, the first victim of John Brown's raid, who was shot while on duty protecting the property of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad.

The memorial was completed and an appropriate inscription prepared. In the last few weeks, Dr. Walter E. Dittmeyer, owner of the property upon which was built the first house in Harpers Ferry, has generously permitted the use of it for the erection of the boulder prepared under the auspices of these patriotic societies. The site offered by Dr. Dittmeyer is within a few feet of the spot where Heyward Shepherd fell, when he refused to heed the demands of Brown's outlaw band.

The dedicatory exercises will take place on Saturday, October 10th, at 2 P. M. Harpers Ferry. Mrs. L. M. Bashinsky of Troy, Alabama, President-General of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, will speak for the organization. Mrs. Mary Dowling Bond, of Lawrenceburg, Kentucky, Chairman of the Heyward Shepherd Memorial Committee, will be in charge of the ceremonies.

Dr. George R. Tabor of Oklahoma City, Commander of the Sons of Veterans, will be represented by officials from West Virginia, Virginia, and the District of Columbia.

The invocation will be delivered by the Reverend Richard E. Washington of Hot Springs, Virginia, a son of the late George Washington, of Jefferson County, and a near relative of Colonel Lewis W. Washington, one of the first "hostages" seized by John Brown's raiders. Dr. Henry T. McDonald, President of Storer College, will make an introductory address, after which Dr. Matthew Page Andrews of Baltimore, will offer the historical address of dedication.

The Memorial will be unveiled by Mary Loretta Kern of Harpers Ferry, grand-daughter of Joseph Keyser, C. S. A., under the direction of Miss Josephine Arissee Ranson and Mrs. Augustine Jacquelin Todd of Washington, D. C., formerly of Charles Town, West Virginia, likewise a relative of Colonel Washington. Miss Ranson is a daughter of Dr. Arissee Baldwin Ranson, who, at the time of the John Brown raid, was a boy of fourteen, but a member of Botte Grays, which company did guard duty at the hanging of Brown at Charles Town, December 2, 1859. During the War between the States, Dr. Ranson served in Stuart's Cavalry.

The benediction will be pronounced by Reverend Dr. George F. Bragg, of Baltimore, a distinguished colored clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Mr. James M. Ranson is Chairman of the Harpers Ferry Committee on entertainment and arrangements. Other members of this Committee are: Dr. Walter E. Dittmeyer, Mrs. Edgar Ludrow, Mrs. C. C. Johnson, Mrs. Emory (Allstadt) Elder, Mrs. J. E. Fossett. The Chairmen of the U. D. C. Committee of West Virginia is Miss Mary Calvert Stribling of Martinsburg, President of the Division, assisted by Mrs. Kate A. Cooke. Miss Hannah ...

PUBLISHED IN BOOK - HEYWARD SHEPHERD
VICTIM OF VIOLENCE

PROGRAM

UNVEILING HEYWARD SHEPHERD MEMORIAL
HARPERS FERRY, W. VA.

OCTOBER 10, 1931--2 O'CLOCK P. M.

Miss Mary Calvert Stribling presiding, as Honorary President, West Virginia Division, U. D. C.

Invocation Rev. Richard B. Washington

Welcoming Address Dr. Henry T. McDonald
President Storer College, and Director Jefferson
County Historical Society

Greetings Colonel Braxton D. Gibson
Commander, Third Brigade, West Virginia Division,
Sons of Confederate Veterans

Introduction of Mrs. Leopold M. Bashinsky, President General, United Daughters of the Confederacy
Miss Mary Calvert Stribling

Message President General, U. D. C.

Unveiling of Boulder Mary Loretta Kern
Under supervision of Miss Josephine Briscoe Ranson
and Mrs. Augustine Jacquelin Todd

Placing of Wreath Mrs. Mary Dowling Bond
Chairman Memorial Committee

Memorial Music Storer College Singers

Historical Address Dr. Matthew Page Andrews

Memorial Music Storer College Singers

Benediction Rev. Dr. George F. Bragg

LOCAL COMMITTEE

James M. Ranson, Chairman,

Dr. Walter E. Dittmeyer,

Mrs. Edgar Dudrow,

Mrs. C. C. Johnson,

Mrs. J. E. Fossett,

Mrs. Emory (Alistadt) Elder.

The Committee on Arrangements would express their especial appreciation of the active cooperation of the officials of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, who, on the occasion of the unveiling of the memorial, not only offered the use of the grounds of the railway station but who also gave every assistance in the erection of the platform from which the exercises were conducted.

HEYWARD
VICTIM

AT Harpers Ferry
Heyward Shepherd
man was shot down.

Today, we are gathered
to dedicate a memorial
representative of the nation
take no part in an event
that must have staggered

The first object of the
the seizure of the Union
works. The attack, the
authority in both South
with military events
beginning two years later
triotic and historical
Confederacy have upon
Heyward Shepherd
transplanted people,
four years of war
which is the peculiar

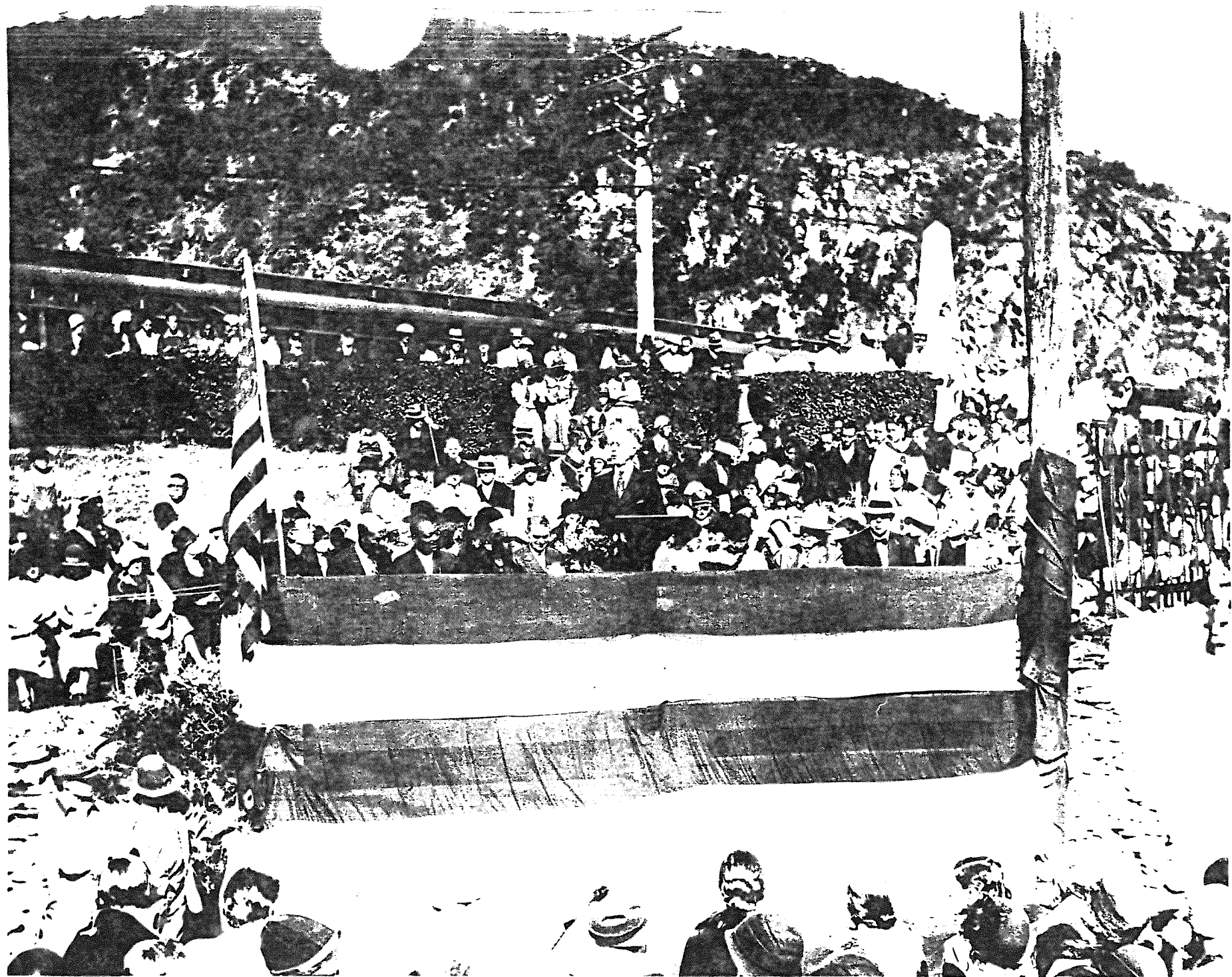
Search, if you wish
the beginnings of new
groups, of all people
find a parallel!

There must be a
tinction; and it is through
forth these reasons.
lasting appreciation
al as well as international

DEDICATION - SHEPHERD MONUMENT

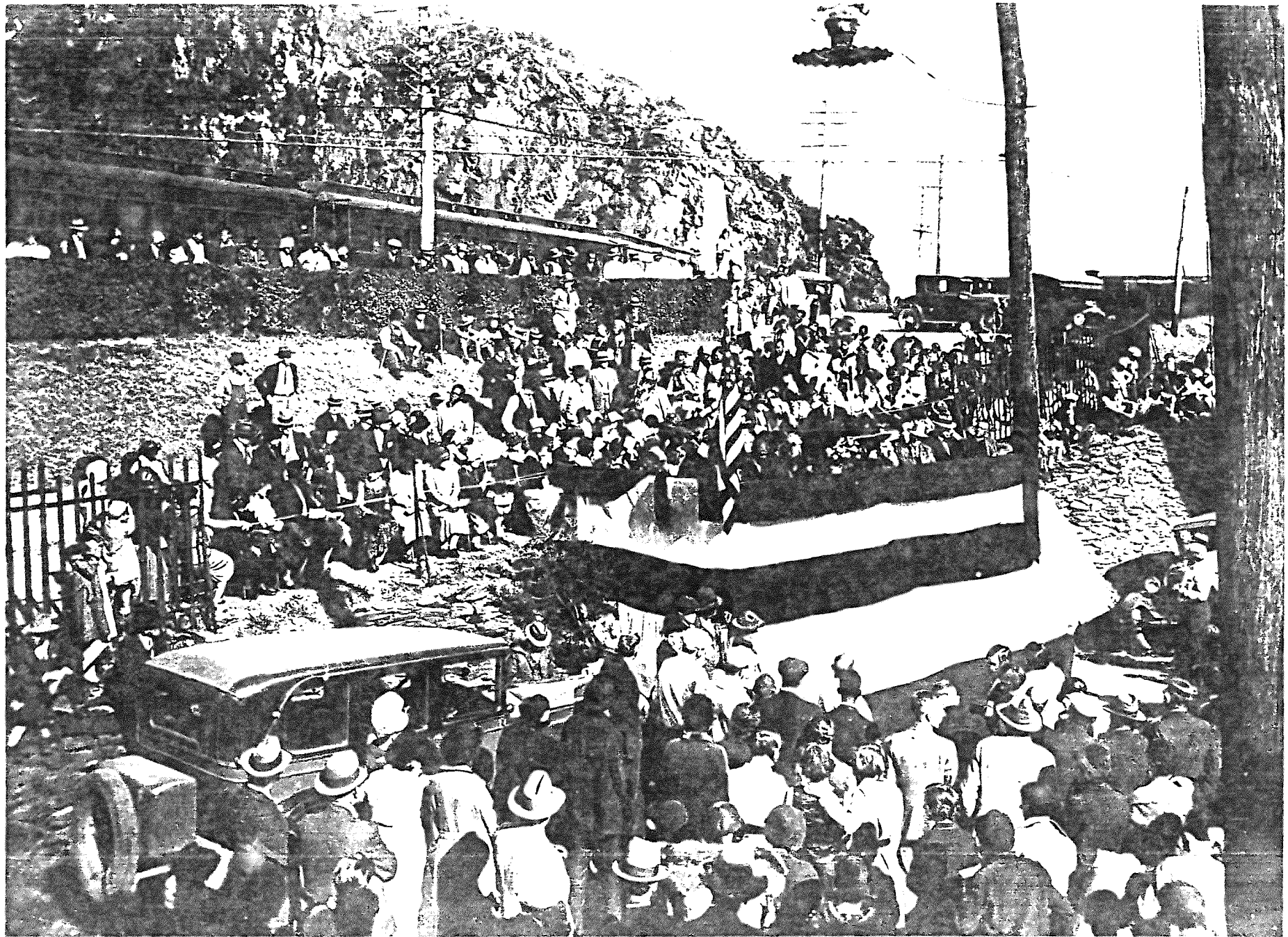
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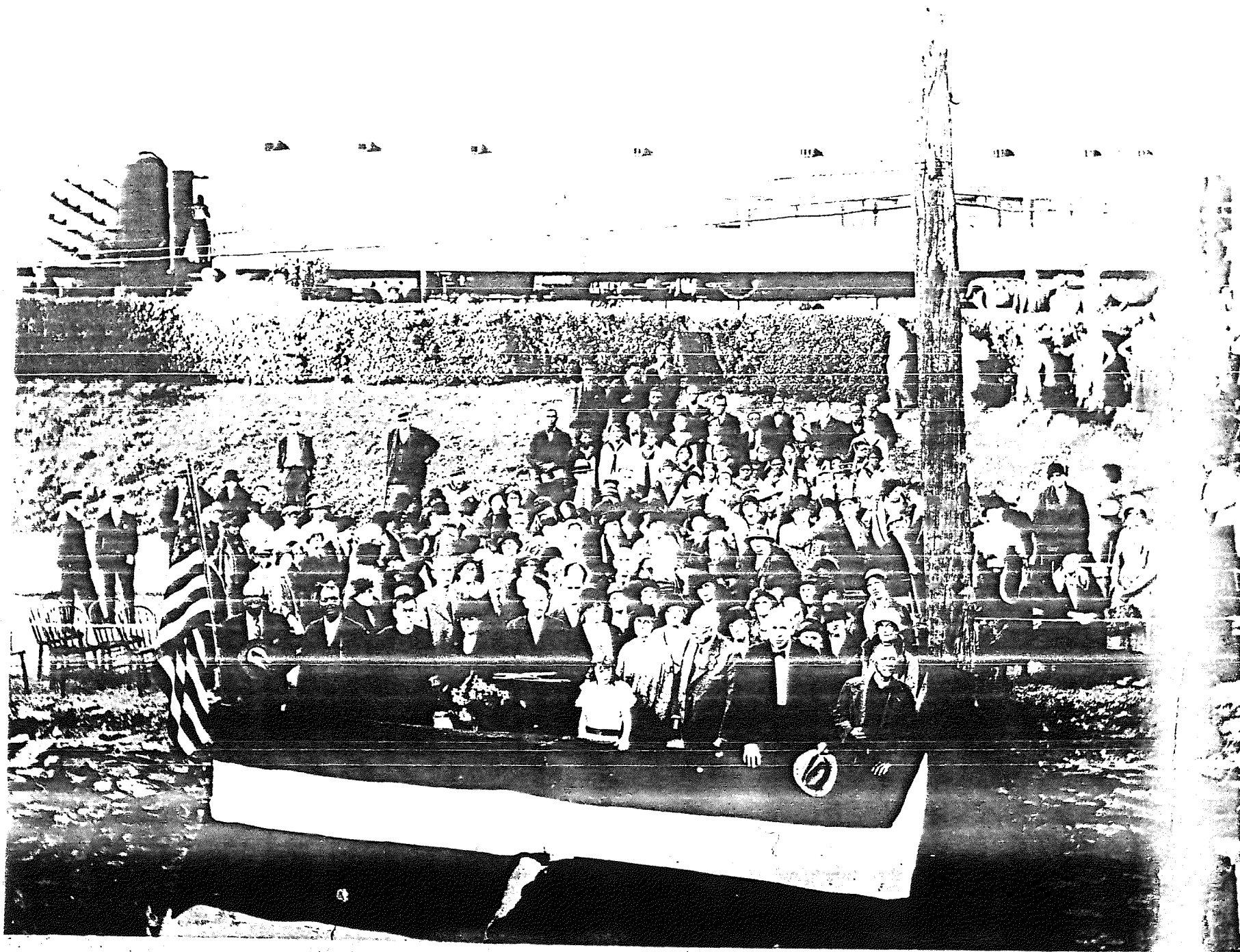
DEDICATION- SHEPHERD MONUMENT OCT. 10, 1931

HF 1233



DEDICATION - SHEPHERD MONUMENT OCT. 10, 1931

HF- 1348



Monument Inscription

EXTRA COPY OF INSCRIPTION
from orig - in book.

HEYWARD SHEPHERD VICTIM OF VIOLENCE

Property of
Harpers Ferry NHE

ON THE NIGHT OF OCTOBER 16, 1859,
HEYWARD SHEPHERD, AN INDUSTRIOUS
AND RESPECTED COLORED FREEMAN,
WAS MORTALLY WOUNDED BY JOHN
BROWN'S RAIDERS. IN PURSUANCE
OF HIS DUTIES AS AN EMPLOYEE OF
THE BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILROAD
COMPANY, HE BECAME THE FIRST
VICTIM OF THIS ATTEMPTED
INSURRECTION.

THIS BOULDER IS ERECTED BY
THE UNITED DAUGHTERS OF THE
CONFEDERACY AND THE SONS OF
CONFEDERATE VETERANS, AS A
MEMORIAL TO HEYWARD SHEPHERD,
EXEMPLIFYING THE CHARACTER AND
FAITHFULNESS OF THOUSANDS OF
NEGROES WHO UNDER MANY
TEMPTATIONS THROUGHOUT
SUBSEQUENT YEARS OF WAR, SO
CONDUCTED THEMSELVES THAT
NO STAIN WAS LEFT UPON A RECORD
WHICH IS THE PECULIAR HERITAGE
OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, AND AN
EVERLASTING TRIBUTE TO THE BEST
IN BOTH RACES.

Letter from Re
colored clergyman,
Church, Baltimore,

Mr. James M.
Heyward Sheph
Harpers Ferry,

I very grea
ical address del
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As a missio
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informing treati
all the colored
country.

The way to
circulate the tru

TYPE SCRIPT NEXT PAGE

INSCRIPTION ON SHEPHERD MONUMENT

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Property

SHEPHERD MEMORIALNotes re Dittmeyer Drug Store

1. Deed from Roy Kackley to West Virginia (Drug Store)
No mention of Shepherd Memorial (189-208)
2. Roy Kackley obtained property from A. D. Goetz Sons
11 July 1945. No mention of Shepherd Memorial in this
deed. (163-64)
3. A. D. Goetz Sons got property from Forrest A. Brown -
Special Commissioner, in liquidation of Dittmeyer Estate
16 June, 1939. No mention of Shepherd Memorial in this
deed. (150-52)
4. W. E. Dittmeyer died 12/12/37. His Will declared that all
of his debts would be paid, and then all property would go
to widow, Ellen Mary Dittmeyer.

At the time of his death, Dittmeyer had 2 deeds of trust with the drugstore as security. One, dated 29 Jan. 1926 (126-543) to G. B. Goetz, and one dated 31 Aug. 1932 (137-446) to the Albertype Co., P.O. Faulkner, Trustee. The '32 deed of trust excepts the Shepherd Memorial; the '26 deed of trust does not. When he died, the court decree of 6 March 1939 stated that the drugstore would be sold at auction to satisfy the Goetz debt. (T-466) This was done, the purchaser being A. D. Goetz Sons. No mention was made of the Shepherd Memorial in any of the court proceedings, nor in the A. D. Goetz deed. (T-403, 424, 466, U-8, 104, 190, and 285).

No evidence exists of a deed between W. E. Dittmeyer and the U.D.O.C., or W. E. Dittmeyer and the Sons of Confederate Veterans, or any individual, concerning the property on which the Shepherd Memorial stands.

J. H. Weaver
HFNHP
8/2/66

W. L. Erwin, ^{Dec.} Ex.

to: I of Bargain and Sale.

Walter E. Dittmeyer.

This Deed, made this first day of June, 1914, between William L. Erwin, and Nellie B. Erwin, his wife, of Jefferson County, West Virginia, parties of the first part, and Walter E. Dittmeyer of the same place, party of the second part.

WITNESSETH That the parties of the first part for and in consideration of ten (\$10.00) dollars, to them in hand paid, the receipt of which is hereby acknowledged, do grant with general warranty and free from incumbrances, to the said party of the second part, in fee simple, all the following described land and premises situate, lying, and being in the city of Harpers Ferry in the County of Jefferson, in the State of West Virginia, Bounded and described as follows:

On the north by Potomac Street, on the front or east by Shenandoah Street, on the south by house and lot of Alexander Murphy, and running back to an alley for its western boundary, the same being all of the land and premises conveyed by deed of February 9th, 1875, of Elizabeth Wager and others to John E. Erwin, and recorded in deed Book C, at page 60, one of the land records of Jefferson County, West Virginia, to have and to hold all the same to the said party of the second part his heirs and assigns, in fee simple, absolutely and forever: Together with all the stock in trade, furniture, fixtures, and equipment now on said premises and consisting all the drug store business now carried on there by said William L. Erwin, and the good will of said business; and the said William L. Erwin hereby covenants and agrees with the party of the second part that, within five years from and after June 15th, 1914, he will not directly or indirectly engage in the drug store business, or any branch of same, on any land or premises in the said City of Harpers Ferry, and that he will not for said period cause or permit any real estate in said City of Harpers Ferry of which he is the owner, or part owner, or in which he is interested, to be used, for carrying on a drug store business or any branch of same.

In Witness whereof the parties of the first part have hereto signed their names and affixed their seals this day of June, 1914:

William L. Erwin (Seal)

Nellie B. Erwin (Seal)

State of West Virginia, County of Jefferson, Set.:

I, F. L. Bushong, a Notary Public of the said State and County do hereby certify that William L. Erwin, whose name is signed to the writing foregoing and annexed, bearing date the first day of June, 1914, has this day June, 1st, 1914, acknowledged the same before me in my said Jefferson, County, West Virginia.

Given under my hand and Notarial Seal this ____ day of June, 1914.

(Notarial Seal)

F. L. Bushong, Notary Public.

My Commission expires, Jan. 21st, 1915.

State of New York, County of Kings, to-wit:

I, Chas. Rosenthal, a Notary Public, in and for the County and State aforesaid, do hereby certify that Nellie B. Erwin, the wife of William L. Erwin, whose names are signed to the foregoing deed bearing date the first day of June, 1914, has this day acknowledged the same before me in my said County.

Given under my hand and Notarial seal this 11th. day of June, 1914.

(Notarial Seal)

Chas. Rosenthal,

My Commission expires on the 30th. day of March, 1915,

Notary Public.

State of West Virginia, County of Jefferson, Set.:

In the Clerk's Office of the County Court. June 22nd, 1914:

This Deed of Bargain and Sale, dated June 1st, 1914, from W. L. Erwin, & W., to Walter E. Dittmeyer for Real estate was produced in this office and duly admitted to record, on June 22nd,

1914, &

Forrest A. Brown, Bonded Special Commissioner

To: DEED of B. & S.

A. D. Goetz Sons Company

THIS DEED, made this 16th day of June, 1939, between Forrest A. Brown, bonded Special Commissioner, party of the first part, and A. D. GOETZ SONS COMPANY, a corporation, party of the second part:

WITNESSETH, that Whereas, Forrest A. Brown, George M. Beltzhoover Jr., P. O. Faulkner and James M. Mason Jr. Special Commissioners, in pursuance of the authority vested in them by decree of the Circuit Court of Jefferson County, West Virginia, made on March 3, 1939, in a suit in chancery therein pending, in which Ellen M. Dittmeyer, Executrix of Walter E. Dittmeyer, is plaintiff, and Ellen M. Dittmeyer and others are defendants, did sell the real estate herein-after mentioned and conveyed, and according to the terms and conditions required by said decree, at which sale said A. D. GOETZ SONS COMPANY became the purchaser for the sum of \$300.00; and

WHEREAS the said Court by subsequent decree made in said cause on the 29th day of May, 1939, confirmed said sale and ordered a deed for the said real estate to be made to the said A. D. GOETZ SONS COMPANY by the said Forrest A. Brown, bonded Special Commissioner:

NOW THEREFORE the said Forrest A. Brown, bonded Special Commissioner as aforesaid, doth grant unto the said A. D. GOETZ SONS COMPANY the following real estate, situated in the town of Harpers Ferry, Jefferson County, West Virginia, to-wit:

ALL THAT certain lot or parcel of land, with brick building thereon, situated at the West corner of Shenandoah and Potomac streets, in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, being the same property conveyed to the said Walter E. Dittmeyer by William L. Erwin and wife, by deed of June 1, 1914, recorded in the Clerk's office of the County Court of Jefferson County, W. Va., in deed book 111, page 160, to which said deed, and the references therein contained, reference is made for further description thereof.

Witness the following signature and seal.

Documentary stamp \$.50 affixed

Forrest A. Brown (seal)

Bonded Special Commissioner

State of West Virginia;

County of Jefferson, to-wit:

I, L. C. Briscoe, a Notary Public, in and for said county and state, do hereby certify that Forrest A. Brown, bonded Special Commissioner, whose name is signed to the above deed bearing date the 16 day of June, 1939, has this day acknowledged the same before me in my said county.

Given under my hand this 16 day of June, 1939.

L. C. Briscoe

Notary Public

My commission expires May 11, 1943.

A. D. Goetz Sons Company

To: DEED of B. & S.

Roy A. Kackley

THIS DEED, made this 11th day of July, 1945, between A. D. GOETZ SONS COMPANY a corporation chartered under the laws of West Virginia, party of the first part, and Roy A. Kackley, party of the second part:

WITNESSETH that for and in consideration of the sum of \$10.00 and other good and valuable consideration, receipt in full of which is hereby acknowledged, the said A. D. Goetz Sons Company does hereby grant unto the said Roy A. Kackley all that certain lot or parcel of land with brick building thereon, formerly owned and occupied by Walter E. Dittmeyer as a drugstore, situate at the west corner of Shenandoah and Potomac streets, in Harpers Ferry, Jefferson County, West Virginia, being the same property conveyed to said A. D. Goetz Sons Company by Forrest A. Brown, Special Commissioner, by deed dated June 16, 1939, recorded in the clerk's office of the County Court of said county, in deed book 150, page 52, to which said deed and the references therein contained reference is made for further description of the same.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF said A. D. Goetz Sons Company has executed this deed by causing Hiram A. Goetz, its President, thereunto duly authorized, to sign its corporate name and affix its corporate seal hereto.

(corporate seal)

A. D. GOETZ SONS COMPANY

BY Hiram A. Goetz

(Documentary stamps \$1.10 affixed)

PRESIDENT

STATE OF WEST VIRGINIA:

COUNTY OF JEFFERSON, to-wit:

I, L. C. Briscoe, a Notary Public of said county and state, do hereby certify that Hiram A. Goetz who signed the attached writing for A. D. GOETZ SONS COMPANY, a corporation, bearing date the 11th day of July, 1945, has this day in my said county, before me, acknowledged the said writing to be the act and deed of said corporation.

Given under my hand this 11th day of July, 1945.

L. C. Briscoe

Notary Public

My commission expires May 11-1948.

State of West Va., County of Jefferson, ss.

IN THE CLERK'S OFFICE OF COUNTY COURT: JULY 17th, 1945

This Deed of B. & S. dated July 11th, 1945 from A. D. Goetz Sons Company to Roy A. Kackley was produced in this office and duly admitted to record.

Test,

Emily A. M. Stanley, Clerk of said Court.

Newspaper Articles

The monument in the box

By RODNEY A. WHITE
Journal Staff Writer

Almost a 130 years ago, Heyward Shepherd was a man in the wrong place at the wrong time. For almost 10 years, the memorial erected to his memory has fallen into the same trap.

Had circumstances been a little different, probably no one would care much about this man. Had he been ill or drunk or just had the night off on Sunday, October, 16, 1859, he would have escaped his tragic encounter with history.

A porter at the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad station at Harpers Ferry, Shepherd worked the late shift. Upon arriving, he happened to notice that the express train from Wheeling was stopped on the bridge over the Potomac River. That wasn't right, and it made him curious.

He heard men in the gloom shouting at him, and he could see that they had guns.

Shepherd turned around and ran. The men stopped running and fired their Sharps rifles. He stopped a bullet and died, slowly, on a Harpers Ferry sidewalk.

No one knew it at the time, but Heyward Shepherd made history. He was the first person killed in John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry.

It just so happens that Heyward Shepherd was black. That night he found what Brown had wanted to give all the slaves, freedom, but not quite as Brown or he would have had it.

Beyond these basic facts, we know very little about Shepherd. We know that he was friends with Harpers Ferry Mayor Fontaine Beckham, who also was killed during the raid. We do not know for certain if he had any family. In fact, we aren't really sure if his name were Heyward Shepherd, or Shepherd Heyward, or if Heyward is the way he spelled his name.

His memory was invoked 61 years ago in Steven Vincent Benet's Pulitzer Prize winning poem, "John Brown's Body." And three years later, his name was inscribed on a four-ton boulder which was placed near the intersection of Potomac and Shenandoah streets in Harpers Ferry.

Ironically, across Potomac Street from Shepherd's monument, is the obelisk marking the actual site of the federal armory's firehouse — John Brown's Fort. Shepherd's six-foot-tall boulder stands beside a three-story, brick building now called the John Brown Museum.

As it is, none of the thousands of visitors who come to Harpers Ferry would ever notice the marker. Like Dumas' Man in the Iron Mask, Shepherd's memorial has become the Monument in the Wooden Box.

The problem with the monument is not the inoffensive Shepherd, but the reason why the monument was erected by the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Sons of Confederate Veterans. The inscription reads:

"On the night of Oct. 16, 1859, Heyward Shepherd, an industrious and respected colored freeman, was mortally wounded by John Brown's Raiders in pursuance of his duties as an engineer of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company. He became the first victim of this attempted insurrection.

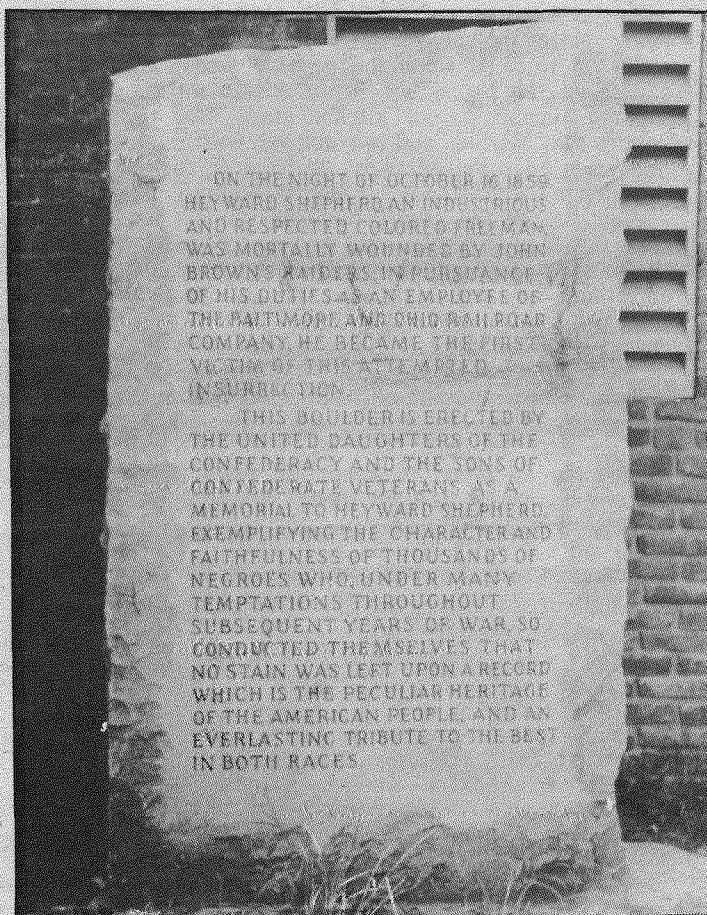
"This boulder is erected by the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Sons of Confederate Veterans as a memorial to Heyward Shepherd exemplifying the character and faithfulness of thousands of Negroes who under many temptations throughout the subsequent years of war, so conducted themselves that no stain was left upon a record which is the peculiar heritage of the American people and the everlasting tribute to the best in both races."

The custodian of the monument now is the U.S. Park Service.

As such, the park service has found itself in the unenviable position of being between two organizations that have strongly held feelings about the monument. The NAACP wants the monument removed and preferably destroyed. The United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) wants the monument uncovered and kept right where it is.

The park service proposed a compromise, which was rejected by both parties. It recommended that a special

The problem with the monument is not the inoffensive Heyward Shepherd, whom it memorializes, but the reason why the monument was erected by the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Sons of Confederate Veterans.



NHF. 3273 
The monument unmasked.

marker explaining that this was a point of view held by many whites years ago. Both the NAACP and the UDC nixed this idea.

Since both parties could only agree to disagree, the park service opted to leave the monument where it had been originally placed. It also boxed it up with heavy plywood, which it painted a dark, reddish brown.

Jim Tolbert, has nothing whatsoever against Heyward Shepherd. Quite the contrary. He wishes somebody, preferably a black scholar, would delve deeper into Shepherd's history and tell the world more about him and his tragedy.

In the meantime, Tolbert, who is president of the West Virginia NAACP, says he will make "no compromises with history."

More than 10 years ago, Tolbert and the the Jefferson County NAACP, protested the monument to the park service. As far as he is concerned, Tolbert says he will not be satisfied until the monument is removed and destroyed.

Tolbert interprets the monument as a statement to the effect that "all slaves were satisfied to be whippd, raped, tortured, torn away from their families and sold." In an interview from his home in a

subdivision near Charles Town, Tolbert asserted that said nothing could be further from the truth.

The problem now is — as Tolbert sees it — persuading whites that blacks were not happy to be slaves.

Tolbert says he has been able to trace his ancestor back to the 1760s. "It is a terrible feeling not to know much about your ancestors before that," he says. "But it is more terrible to have one of these organizations imply that these people, my ancestors, were satisfied. That is down right ridiculous."

"Who gave them (the UDC) the right to say what was going on with those slaves," he said.

An uncovered Shepherd monument, he said, would tell both "black and white visitors that the savages in Virginia...were satisfied and had no desire for freedom. No one can come around here and tell me that was so."

In Tolbert's long experience of battling racism, he has had to contend with both ignorance and bigotry. He says he still sees racism and ignorance percolating through the pages of too many text books. He says he also sees both overt and subtle forms of racism on the increase at all levels in the schools.

For Jim Tolbert, the Shepherd Monument, boxed up as it is, is an evil geni that is waiting to get out and spread more poison. "That must not happen," he says.

Mrs. Dewey Wood of Front Royal, Va., was among the members of the UDC who tried to persuade the park service to uncover the monument. She wants no interpretive signs erected nearby. As far as she is concerned, the monument is quite clear in its meaning.

But she concedes she is perplexed. "Why is the NAACP opposed to this? It is a monument to one of their people," she says.

From her point of view, the monument honors those blacks who refused to rise up and support John Brown. "There were 40,000 slaves in Maryland, and not one came to his support," she says. "They were loyal to their people."

She also points out that the Shepherd monument was one of the first, and probably one of the few monuments that were erected to a black man in this country. "I really don't know what they find offensive about it," she says.

The monument was bought and paid for by the UDC and the SCV. On October 10, 1931, it was dedicated. The guest speaker was an historian named Matthew Page Andrews, who would later publish his speech in a small booklet.

Also speaking was Henry T. McDonald, who was then president of Storer College, an all-black college in Harpers Ferry. Memorial music was provided by the Storer College Singers.

Pictures of the dedication ceremonies show a few black faces sitting on the podium. The choral group, standing at the rear of the presentation. On the hill side around the John Brown Fort monument, a few blacks stand, separate from the white crowd that is positioned closed to the bunting-wrapped podium.

In his speech, Andrews said he had high praise for the blacks who refused to be seduced by Brown's abolitionist rhetoric. One of the people who commented on the speech later feared it would be interpreted as too "pro-colored." A Baltimore minister said the speech was favorable to blacks and should be given wide circulation.

Now, as far as Wood is concerned, the problem is not circulating the speech. The problem is unboxing the monument.

It was clear from the outset of our interview that Don Campbell, the superintendent of the Harpers Ferry National Historic Park, is not at ease with the topic. He does not state flat out that he wishes the the matter would go away, but it is clear that it makes him uncomfortable.

The park's retiring public affairs officer, who was clearing out his desk when we approached him, asked that the issue not be stirred up. And a park service staffer had told us earlier that he wanted no part of the story. He did not want his name mentioned in any connection with the monument. "It's too hot," he said.

(Continued on page 11)

Harpers Ferry's monument in a box

(Continued from page 4)

Campbell explains the park's actions, and confirms that the dispute is ongoing and that the park's compromise was indeed rejected.

He says the park is reluctant to make any move, much less destroy the monument, because it is "an historic artifact."

"Until we get some agreement, we must keep it in safe keeping," he says. In other words, it will remain where it is, boxed up, for the foreseeable future.

If anyone is interested in the monument, they are welcome to look at the park's records in its library and archives, he says. But how will anyone know to ask about it if they can't see it.

"That can't be helped," says Campbell.

The monument is but one of 12,000 artifacts entrusted to the Harpers Ferry National Historic Park. If the public is curious, says the superintendent, they are welcome to research it in the park's facilities.

□ □ □

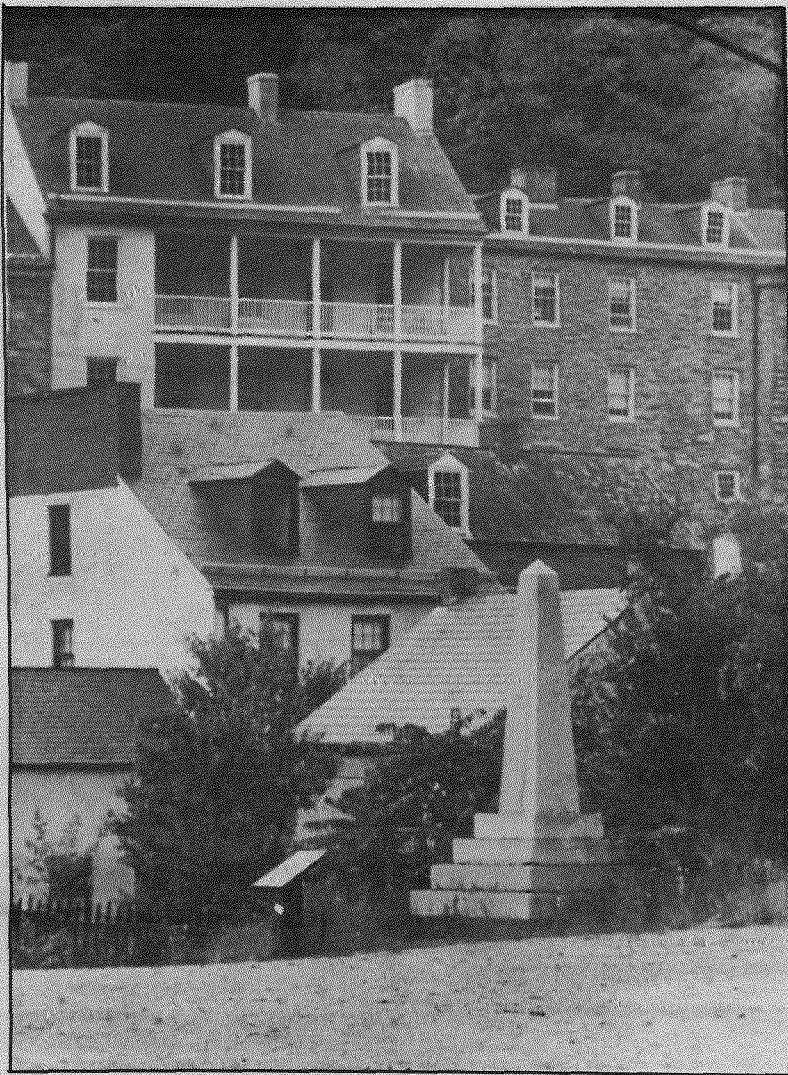
About five years ago, my father and I took my son to the park. He was just about the age at which he could begin to appreciate some of the history of the place.

We saw the movie about John Brown in the museum. I was impressed by the approach it took: Was John Brown a freedom fighter or a terrorist? The question was posed but no attempt was made to answer it.

I also noted that the film did not mention Heyward Shepherd, and the terrible irony of his death. After leaving the museum, I took my son to look for the monument. Dad went elsewhere.

My son and I worked our way through the crowd down Shenandoah Street, and turned west up Potomac Street. When we reached the place where the monument was supposed to be, we were confronted instead by the huge box.

I found a ranger and asked her what had happened to the monument. She said the monument



This is the monument marking the location of the firehall John Brown's raiders used as a fort. It stands directly across Potomac Street from the boxed Heyward Shepherd monument.

□ □ □

was being restored. But she did not sound very convincing.

I asked what needed to be restored. She said she didn't know.

When we found my father, I told him what happened. My son wanted a drink of water, so we separated again. In the meantime, my father found and asked another ranger about the monument.

Dad reported later, "They boxed it up because the NAACP was mad about it."

When the park service trains its seasonal personnel to give interpretive talks about historic occasions, it emphasizes two rules. First, the talk must be factual and accurate. Second, the ranger giving the talk must not slant the interpretation. The interpretation should be as neutralist as possible.

The first mission is easy, the second more difficult — especially when a ranger is giving a talk about a particular issue in which the facts make it very clear that someone's stupidity caused the death of many people.

Interpreting history honestly and fairly is never easy and rarely a popular thing to do. Living with a myth for many people is much more comfortable and reassuring than confronting a stark and sometimes painful truth.

So what are the facts with regard to the message of the Shepherd monument?

Factually, the first paragraph is accurate, except that it describes Shepherd as an engineer for the B&O. He was a porter.

The inscription also refers to Shepherd as "colored." That was a common practice among whites up through the 1950s. Many blacks find the term at best, patronizing. Some point out, tongue in cheek, that when whites are talking about "colored people," are they implying that whites they are not, and are, therefore, albinos?

The second paragraph contains the most offensive language. The clause, "no stain was left upon a record which is the peculiar heritage of the American People..." is at best patronizing. At worst, it does send a put forward the point of view that slaves were indeed content with being slaves.

During the American Civil War, when federal armies made deep incursions into the South, hundreds of thousands of slaves quickly packed up their belongings and left their owners. Clearly, they were not satisfied with their condition and many declared that "the year of Jubilee" had come.

Equally true is the fact that many slaves did not leave. Their reasons vary. Obviously many could not because of their age or health. Others may have had other reasons which are as diverse as humans themselves.

Tolbert is right when he says

the slaves were not happy to be slaves. Thousands of slaves not only fled their bondage but, directly and indirectly, either as soldiers or as laborers, took an active role in the Union war effort.

But to a certain extent, Wood is right. Many slaves, for whatever reason, did not leave their white owners even after the war. Ex-slaves did not band together to rape and pillage their ex-owners.

So, what, if anything, should be done with the monument?

□ □ □

As it is, the monument's wording is vague and ungrammatical. It does not accurately interpret how Black Americans felt during John Brown's Raid or during the American Civil War that followed. It asserts the point of view that once was held by many white Americans 50 years ago.

Nevertheless, the monument does serve a mission. It is a lightning rod for controversy. If nothing else, it exposes for all to see the language that many whites have gratuitously applied in reference to blacks. It can help explain why many blacks find that language offensive.

With this thought in mind, the monument could serve a useful purpose, providing the means can be found whereby it can be interpreted by skilled historians, knowledgeable about Harpers Ferry and black history.

By exposing ignorance and misunderstanding, a long step is made toward education and enlightenment.

□

Crossword answer

METS WHITE EAGLE READ
ACRE RULER ARTIEL ARMY
THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION
HOE ESTABLANE NACRE
HITS KOREA RED AES
OSCAR MEWED AESOP
TAG FAYE SIMP ACID
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MANATEE ROUEN TALON
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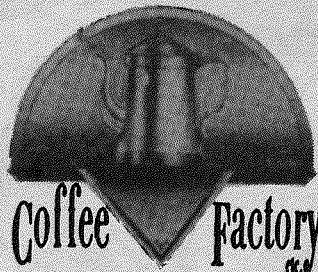
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UDC Delegates Plan For Safe Keeping of Monument

On Friday morning, July 30, a delegation representing the Martinsburg, Shepherdstown and Charles Town Chapters of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, along with two state representatives, Mrs. Robert L. Reaves, first vice president of the West Virginia Division, and Mrs. James Wright, state registrar, both of Martinsburg, met with the Harpers Ferry National Historical Park superintendent, Martin Conway, for the purpose of determining the safe keeping of the four ton historical monument located on Shenandoah street and placed there in the 1920's through the combined efforts of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Sons of the Confederate Veterans.

The marker was moved from its 50 year old resting place by the park

service, due to digging in the immediate area, and stored in what is hoped to be a safe sanctuary until such time as the work is completed and the monument returned to its original spot.

The delegates were cordially welcomed by Mr. Conway and Preston Smith, public information officer for the Park Service, and the ladies left the meeting with the satisfaction that the monument would be well cared for while in the custody of the park superintendent.

Harpers Ferry is a lovely spot in our historical area and the trip through the immaculately clean and pleasant little town of Bolivar, down the steep hill into the quaint shopping area and on into the restored area was as appealing and inviting as any to be found anywhere, at any time.

UDC Members Discuss Monument Location Park Supt. Conway

On Friday morning, July 30, a delegation representing the Martinsburg, Shepherdstown, and Charles Town Chapters of the United Daughters of the Confederacy along with two State representatives, Mrs. Robert L. Reaves; 1st vice president of the W. Va. Division, and Mrs. James Wright; State Registrar, both of Martinsburg, met with the Harpers Ferry National Historical Park Supt., Mr. Martin Conway, for the purpose of determining the safe keeping of the four-ton historical monument located on Shenandoah Street, and placed there in the 1920's by the combined efforts of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Sons of the Confederate Veterans.

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Bolivar, down the steep hill into the quaint shopping area and on into the restored area, was as appealing and inviting as any to be found anywhere, at any time.

SPRIT OF
JEFFERSON

8-5-76

Heyward Shepherd Victim of Violence

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HEYWARD SHEPHERD

VICTIM OF VIOLENCE

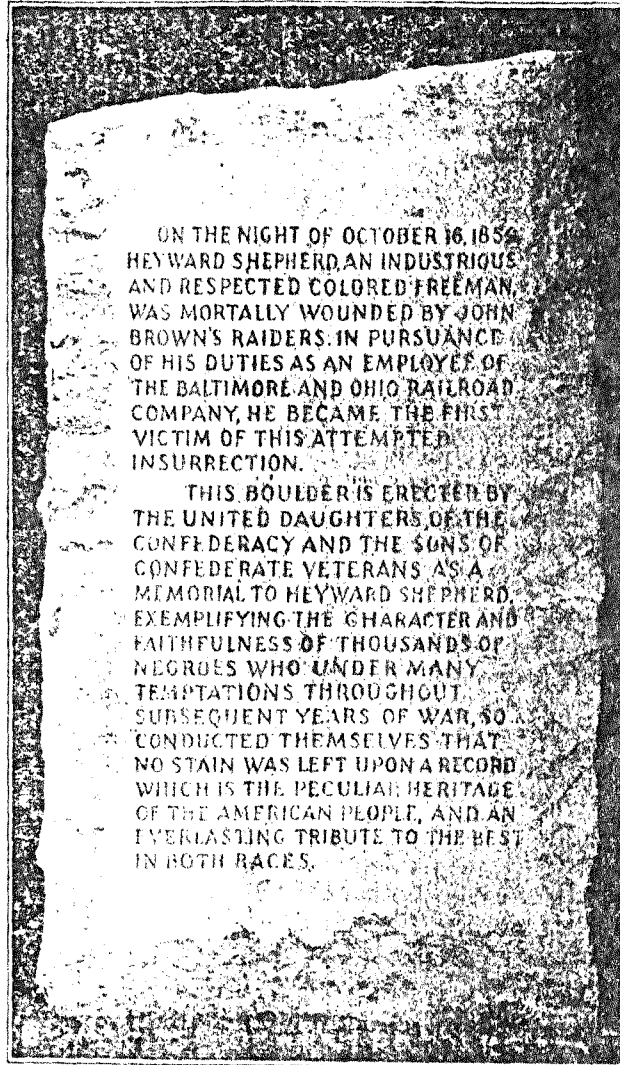
MATTHEW PAGE ANDREWS

HEYWARD SHEPHERD VICTIM OF VIOLENCE

Address of dedication, by Matthew Page Andrews, author
of: "American History and Government"; "A Heritage of
Freedom"; "History of Maryland, Province and State", etc.
etc.

Published under the auspices of the Heyward Shepherd
Memorial Association, which has for its primary and sole
purpose the furtherance of the spirit of charity, courtesy,
friendliness, and consideration, making for good will and
mutually helpful interracial relations.

Property of
Harpers Ferry NHE



Letter from Reverend
colored clergyman, rect
Church, Baltimore, Md.

Mr. James M. Ran
Heyward Shepherd
Harpers Ferry, W.

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The way to put
circulate the truth.

Letter from Reverend Doctor George F. Bragg, Jr., noted colored clergyman, rector of St. James Protestant Episcopal Church, Baltimore, Md.

Mr. James M. Ranson, President,
Heyward Shepherd Memorial Association,
Harpers Ferry, W. Va.

I very greatly enjoyed the memorial and historical address delivered by Mr. Matthew Page Andrews at the unveiling of the Heyward Shepherd Monument, at Harpers Ferry, October 10. It was simply magnificent. It would be impossible for me to speak too highly of it.

As a missionary effort, in the interest of increasing good will and the very best of feeling between the white and colored races, I ardently wish that the way can be found whereby this able and informing treatise could be published and sent to all the colored leaders of thought throughout the country.

The way to put error out of commission is to circulate the truth.

PROGRAM
UNVEILING HEYWARD SHEPHERD MEMORIAL
HARPERS FERRY, W. VA.

OCTOBER 10, 1931--2 O'CLOCK P. M.

Miss Mary Calvert Stribling presiding, as Honorary President, West Virginia Division, U. D. C.
 Invocation Rev. Richard B. Washington
 Welcoming Address Dr. Henry T. McDonald
 President Storer College, and Director Jefferson
 County Historical Society
 Greetings Colonel Braxton D. Gibson
 Commander, Third Brigade, West Virginia Division,
 Sons of Confederate Veterans
 Introduction of Mrs. Leopold M. Bashinsky, President General, United Daughters of the Confederacy
 Miss Mary Calvert Stribling
 Message President General, U. D. C.
 Unveiling of Boulder Mary Loretta Kern
 Under supervision of Miss Josephine Briscoe Ranson
 and Mrs. Augustine Jacquelin Todd
 Placing of Wreath Mrs. Mary Dowling Bond
 Chairman Memorial Committee
 Memorial Music Storer College Singers
 Historical Address Dr. Matthew Page Andrews
 Memorial Music Storer College Singers
 Benediction Rev. Dr. George F. Bragg

LOCAL COMMITTEE

James M. Ranson, Chairman,
 Dr. Walter E. Dittmeyer,
 Mrs. Edgar Dudrow,
 Mrs. C. C. Johnson,
 Mrs. J. E. Fossett,
 Mrs. Emory (Alistadt) Elder.

The Committee on Arrangements would express their especial appreciation of the active cooperation of the officials of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, who, on the occasion of the unveiling of the memorial, not only offered the use of the grounds of the railway station but who also gave every assistance in the erection of the platform from which the exercises were conducted.

**HEYWARD
 VIC**

AT Harpers Ferry Heyward Shepherd man was shot down

Today, we are to dedicate a memorial representative of the men who take no part in an action that must have stayed

The first object of the seizure of the life works. The attack on authority in both military and civil government during the two years of the Civil War and the Confederate States have Heyward Shepherd transplanted people four years of war which is the peculiar

Search, if you wish to find the beginnings of the groups, of all people find a parallel!

There must be a distinction; and it is for these reasons that we have lasting appreciation as well as interest

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Mary Loretta Kern

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HEYWARD SHEPHERD VICTIM OF VIOLENCE

AT Harpers Ferry, during the night of October 16, 1859, Heyward Shepherd, a popular and capable colored free-
man was shot down by John Brown's raiders.

Today, we are gathered upon the scene of that event to dedicate a memorial to this American citizen as the representative of the negroes of the neighborhood, who would take no part in an effort to promote an interracial disaster that must have staggered humanity.

The first objective of Brown's insurrectionist band was the seizure of the United States arsenal, armory, and rifle works. The attack, therefore, being aimed at constituted authority in both State and Nation, had no connection with military events involved in the sectional conflict beginning two years later. Nevertheless, the two largest patriotic and historical societies commemorating the Southern Confederacy have united to erect this memorial, because Heyward Shepherd likewise exemplifies the character of a transplanted people, who so conducted themselves through four years of war that no stain was left upon a record which is the peculiar heritage of the American people.

Search, if you will, the annals of the human race, from the beginnings of recorded history to the present day—of all groups, of all peoples, and of all nations—and you will not find a parallel!

There must be a reason, or reasons, for this unique distinction; and it is the purpose of your speaker to try to set forth these reasons, so that this occasion may make for a lasting appreciation of moral worth that will be intersectional as well as interracial.

HEYWARD SHEPHERD

I

Formal history is rarely free from partisan prejudices until the third or fourth generation after the event, when the exposition of conflicting actions shall have become the resultant of intelligent reactions. We should now be approaching such a status with respect to the controversies of the nineteenth century. False faces must first be torn away; for the truth will out. So will murder; and murder was done at Harpers Ferry to the innocent subject of this memorial.

Human minds—even some of the best—take curious turns at times. For instance, the idea of erecting this memorial was questioned, lest in honoring Heyward Shepherd we might cast reflections upon his alleged liberator! Such questioning, however, may be explained on the basis of the persistence of a popular delusion.

This so-called "liberator", responsible for the death of Heyward Shepherd, was self-selected, self-proclaimed, self-esteemed; and contemporaneously listed, even by men otherwise informed and intelligent, at an exaggerated valuation having no equal in the modern era. In fact, we may well marvel at the lengths to which sentimentality may go, when steeped in ignorance of the circumstances and swayed by emotion. The English writer, Thomas Hughes, compared the life of Brown to that of Christ; and after Brown was fairly tried and hanged for murder, Emerson predicted that the gallows would become as glorious as the Cross.

These opinions were the views of a minority, which, in modified form, not a few Americans have somehow come to believe were representative of the Northern public, at the time when these events took place. Hence, it is fitting to recall that the sound judgment of the majority found contemporary expression in a speech by Abraham Lincoln who,

on February 27, 1860, at Harpers Ferry in the following words:

That affair, in its many attempts, relation of kings and emperors,

Apparently, no history has been given to the startling act of John Brown in high authority; for I was destined to die at the hands of the rebels but no less surely, than the act of Brown in the then rebellion, and Czolgosz in your mind that all of these crimes a worthy cause, and wrongs.

More than a thousand men were killed at Harpers Ferry, on, or before, the day of the attack, but none was used. He thereby offering conviction that he was usually superior to the cause to atrocities such as have been committed in a few years before.

Heyward Shepherd's life in this mad attack; as baggage master of the Company, he became the target of the rebels' guns. His name, appearing in the memorial, is almost invariably given as ample to establish the record on your memorial effects of the late Judge

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VICTIM OF VIOLENCE

on February 27, 1860, referred to Brown's outbreak at Harpers Ferry in the following words:

That affair, in its philosophy, corresponds with the many attempts, related in history, at the assassination of kings and emperors.

Apparently, no historian or commentator has called attention to the startlingly prophetic note in thus linking the act of John Brown with the assassination of individuals in high authority; for Lincoln himself, only five years later, was destined to die at the hands of an assassin. Unwittingly but no less surely, the future President united the name of Brown in the then recent past with those of Booth, Guiteau, and Czolgosz in years to come—and it is well to bear in mind that all of these men assigned as a motive for their crimes a worthy cause, or some pretense in righting human wrongs.

II

More than a thousand pikes were brought into Harpers Ferry, on, or before, that Sunday night in October, 1859; but none was used. Heyward Shepherd's people held aloof, thereby offering convincing evidence that they were spiritually superior to the Caucasian invaders who invited them to atrocities such as had taken place in the West Indies a few years before.

Heyward Shepherd was not the only citizen to lose his life in this mad attack; but, while in pursuance of his duties as baggage master of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, he became the first to fall under the fire of their guns. His name, appearing of late in historical exposition, is almost invariably given backwards. Although the evidence is ample to establish the authenticity of the name as recorded on yon memorial, it may be added that, among the effects of the late Judge Daniel B. Lucas, the long-lost pa-

HEYWARD SHEPHERD

pers covering the formal indictments of Brown and his accomplices were brought to light after being lost for more than half a century. Here were inscribed not only the names of those convicted but also the names of the victims as set down by attorney Andrew Hunter, who had known all of them in their several persons.

We may not know a great deal of detail about the career of Heyward Shepherd; but all that investigation has revealed is distinctly creditable. As a freeman, he had attached himself to Fontaine Beckham who, at the time of the outlaw raid, was Baltimore and Ohio station master at Harpers Ferry and Mayor of the town. Heyward Shepherd was not only capable but thrifty. He had "money in the bank"; in fact, a considerable amount for those days—all of which was to his credit, in more ways than one.

III

It is overlooked by some, who seem to lack intellectual facilities above the neck, that when the insurrectionists marched into Harpers Ferry, John Brown was proclaimed Provisional President of some new kind of government, in complete disregard of the authority established by the Federal Constitution. In law, therefore, Brown was in every sense an outlaw. He was engaged in what Abraham Lincoln called an "insurrection". Furthermore, Brown was Commander-in-Chief of a Provisional Army of officers and men—largely officers, since the rank and file, he thought, were destined to be augmented by tens or hundreds of thousands of fresh recruits armed with munitions of war already contributed and with the guns he was to seize at the United States arsenal on the Potomac and the rifle works on the Shenandoah. (1)

When the project of President Brown is calmly considered in the light of what happened, his cause seems to

Brown and his accomplices lost for more than a year, and were not only the enemies of the victims who had known all

the details about the case. The investigation has shown, however, that he had at no time, at the time of his station master at Heyward Shepherd, had "money in the bank" for those days—all of them than one.

to lack intellectual ability. The insurrectionists were proclaimed as the government, in the name of the Federal Government, in every part of the country. Abraham Lincoln, Brown was in every part of the country. He thought, however, that he had hundreds of thousands of war munitions of war and the rifle works

He is calmly conscious of his cause seems to

VICTIM OF VIOLENCE

have been that of a madman—or of a simpleton. In fact, Lincoln dismissed it rather on the latter basis. On the other hand, the incendiary literature of the ultra-radical abolitionists and the then recent insurrections in Latin-American countries convinced him that all was ripe for the "revolution" he had so carefully planned and for the establishment of what would now be called, perhaps, a soviet republic—the term "republic" being a euphemism for a dictatorship, or some other form of despotism.

Sometime previously, Brown had circulated a number of tracts intended to beguile the rank and file of the United States army into sympathy or association with his outlaw purpose. At no time does he seem to have taken much stock in the thought that the President of the United States, the Congress thereof, and official Washington generally, might look with disfavor upon his procedure; and, doing so, proceed to overwhelm him. He sincerely believed that the abolitionist pulpit, press, and influence would hamstring effective action in that quarter, whilst he and his army would make themselves unassailable strong in the States affected by the proposed invasion. Long before he began his public posing at Charles Town as a "man of peace", he had remarked that if he could "conquer Virginia, the balance of the Southern States would conquer themselves". Ultimately, it might be desirable for the conqueror to turn north and take over the government in Washington, should that government show signs of restlessness or disapproval. In fact, he had appealed to each soldier in the United States army to consider his right to "govern his actions as though he were President". Looking upon their duty in this light, Brown hoped that the bluecoats would decide to make what he called "an exchange of service from that of Satan to the service of God." (2)

HEYWARD SHEPHERD

The Cabinet of Provisional President Brown was incomplete, as cabinets usually go; but at least he had a Secretary of the Treasury, George B. Gill, and a Secretary of War, John Henry Kagi. The latter was said to be Brown's ablest lieutenant; and well he might be, for the prosperity of all the branches of the new government depended upon the success of the War Department. The other officers, such as the Secretary of the Navy, could wait.

The original of one of Brown's orders, issued through Secretary of War Kagi, I have with me. It is Order "No. 9". At the top, in fancy lettering, there is the single word, "GREETING", underneath which we read in regular type, capital lettering:

"HEAD-QUARTERS: WAR-DEPARTMENT"

The remainder of the printed portion, with blanks duly filled in by hand, is as follows:

Near Harpers Ferry, Md.

WHEREAS, Wm. H. Leeman has been nominated a Captain in the Army established under the PROVISIONAL CONSTITUTION, NOW, THEREFORE, In pursuance of the authority vested in Us by said CONSTITUTION, We do hereby Appoint and Commission the said Wm. H. Leeman, Captain, Given at the Office of the Secretary of War, this day, Oct. 15, 1859.

John Brown, COMMANDER IN CHIEF,
J. H. Kagi, SECRETARY OF WAR,
George B. Gill, Secy of the Treasury.

Secretary Kagi did not have opportunity to issue very many orders; but what there were befitted the Government aimed to supplant or supersede the outmoded Constitution of the United States, copies of which groups of abolitionist zealots had publicly consigned to the flames as a "covenant with death and a league with hell". No wonder John Brown had drawn up a new and better instrument, which he called the Constitution of the Provisional Government. The con-

flagrations on New England for the fatal fact for numbers. He did not conservative people the tolerance, intemperance.

After the disastrous correspondents rushed for evidence to indicate that the loudest of the shouted him, undoubtedly Ferry, but a self-proclaimed necessary funds for form of Virginia. (3)

In view of Commar temporarily at least, that would seem that Shepherd solicited as timely and useful proached" about the present and reports were current violence should they re Shepherd had already re was marked for death, I town.

Although denied by order indictment in Charles who might oppose his plan otherwise disposed of, when ed. Certain it is that, in ing, Heyward Shepherd, gagemaster of the Baltimore refused to heed the command tally wounded. He was first to be killed by the over six feet in height, h

VICTIM OF VIOLENCE

flagrations on New England hillsides justified his action, except for the fatal fact that President Brown mistook noise for numbers. He did not realize that the great majority of conservative people throughout the North condemned intolerance, intemperance, and violence.

After the disastrous failure at Harpers Ferry, sundry correspondents rushed for cover, or to Europe; and there is evidence to indicate that President Brown secretly despised the loudest of the shouters. On the other hand, they furnished him, undoubtedly a fighter up to the last at Harpers Ferry, but a self-proclaimed "man of peace" thereafter, the necessary funds for forays in Kansas and for the invasion of Virginia. (3)

In view of Commander-in-Chief Brown's plan to seize, temporarily at least, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, it would seem that Shepherd's assistance must have been solicited as timely and useful. The negroes who had been "approached" about the proposed insurrection were reticent; and reports were current that they were under threat of violence should they reveal anything about it. Hence, if Shepherd had already refused to join the outlaw band, he was marked for death, long before the raiders entered the town.

Although denied by Brown, a "man of peace" when under indictment in Charles Town, it became known that all who might oppose his plans were to be put to the sword or otherwise disposed of, whilst the town itself was to be burned. Certain it is that, in the chill small hours of the morning, Heyward Shepherd, in pursuance of his duties as baggagemaster of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, refused to heed the command of the invaders and was fatally wounded. He was not the first to be shot at; but the first to be killed by the outlaws. Since he was considerably over six feet in height, his great size made him an easy tar-

President Brown was incompetent at least he had a Secretary and a Secretary of War, said to be Brown's ablest for the prosperity of all depended upon the success of other officers, such as wait.

His orders, issued through me. It is Order "No. 9". Here is the single word, we read in regular type,

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HEYWARD SHEPHERD

get even in the rain and darkness. He did not die immediately, but, in the words of the poet, he

"Lay for twelve hours of torment, asking for water,
Until he was able to die." (4)

IV

That night there was another citizen of the neighborhood who refused to obey demands made by the conspirators; this was Colonel Lewis W. Washington, citizen of Jefferson County and a great-nephew of George Washington. Washington was warned of his danger in refusal; and he, too, might have been shot, except that his person was deemed excellent security for President Brown himself; and so he was spared.

Lewis Washington's reply was a blistering commentary on the motley crew, of whom four descended upon his home, demanding his "surrender". It was announced by the leader of the quartet that "another revolution" had begun, and if a Washington would not volunteer for service, he could be used as a prisoner. Also, Commander Brown had expressed a wish to have the pistol of Lafayette and the sword of Frederick the Great, which their owner had hospitably shown to some of the raiders on a previous, and apparently friendly, visit. Having, therefore, possessed themselves of what was once the property of the Father of his Country, the outlaws demanded his nephew's watch.

"You shall not have it", calmly replied the Virginian, who added: "I am going to speak plainly; you told me your purpose was philanthropic, but you did not mention at the same time that it was robbery and rascality. I do not choose to surrender my watch."

Threatened with the fate that befell others that night, Lewis Washington spoke his mind; but, it may be suggested that his illustrious uncle saved his life. (5)

It is now to Shepherd, the people who have slon, originally and Hughes, who the scene as Cole deceived; neither Baltimore and C his body the fata

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VICTIM OF VIOLENCE

It is now time to speak plainly on behalf of Heyward Shepherd, the first victim, and to the thousands of good people who have fallen under the spell of a monstrous delusion, originally promoted, in part, by such men as Emerson and Hughes, who, it may be remarked, were not as close to the scene as Colonel Lewis Washington. The latter was not deceived; neither was Heyward Shepherd, who, at the Baltimore and Ohio station, had by that time received in his body the fatal bullet.

V

Historically speaking, the waters at Harpers Ferry have not entirely cleared; traces of a muddy sediment, or sentiment, come to the surface ever and anon; for there are some who still maintain that the happenings in Kansas and at Harpers Ferry, with the horrid hates engendered by the inflamed imagination and abusive language of the ignorant type of pulpiteer and demagogue, while bad, were necessary, a part of the scheme of liberation ordained by God.

The argument may be met in several ways. For one thing, the immutable laws of economics would have forced emancipation upon the entire country, just as those laws had made themselves felt first in the North. Under modern conditions, free labor was proving vastly more profitable; and King Coal had achieved triumph after triumph over King Cotton in the halls of Congress and in the domain of trade and commerce. The chief obstacle to the march of emancipation was the violence of the abolitionist.

The term "emancipation" is correctly used to signify a gradual or graduated scheme of liberation, provided for by legal processes. Emancipationists were law-abiding men and women working for a worthy purpose, whether slave-holders or not. They were actuated by humanitarian or by practical motives, or both. Abolitionists, on the other hand, were usually non-slaveholders advocating direct and immediate

HEYWARD SHEPHERD

action, even regardless of law and order. Some were of the ranting type that lived by fishing in troubled waters. The sincere and the insincere were contemporaneously described by Bishop John Henry Hopkins, of Vermont, as follows:

The eloquent preacher chooses it (slavery) for the favorite topic of his oratory. The theme is well adapted to rouse the feelings, and it is usually by no means difficult to interest and gratify the audience, when the supposed sins of others, which they are under no temptation to commit, are made the object of censure. In due time, when the public mind is sufficiently heated, the politician lays hold of the subject, and makes the anti-slavery movement the watchword of party. And finally the Press follows in the wake of the leaders, and the fire is industriously fanned until it becomes a perfect blaze; while the admiring throng surround it with exultation, and fancy its lurid light to be from heaven.

Abraham Lincoln was an emancipationist; and no one condemned the abolitionists in stronger terms—to such effect, in fact, that he was politely described by the abolitionist orator, Wendell Phillips, as the “slave hound of Illinois”. In an eloquent eulogy of Henry Clay, Lincoln remarked:

Those who would shiver into fragments the Union of these States, tear to tatters its now venerated constitution, and even burn the last copy of the Bible, rather than slavery should continue a single hour, together with all their more halting sympathizers, have received, and are receiving their just execration.

It may be noted that Lincoln used the word “execration”, which is defined in the dictionary as “the act of cursing or calling down evil upon”. He could not have used a stronger term; and that speech, made in 1852, bears witness to the fact that the best thought of the best people, North and

South, was opposed to the slave agitator.

What Heyward's imitation was expressed there were more than joined the outlaw approached whilst were perfecting the negroes united in might well have been and unreasonable of William Ellery Channing by exhausting upon reproach. Meeting Episcopal Church, the resolutions:

We do most fitly disseminate of mainly to the preference to the evils already more alarming the situation of in possession of the fetters still toward the prosperity of the whole people both white and considerations, and tude of our depredations and unconquerable tempts of mistake country into and with torrents of ourselves not to and incendiary scattered abroad.

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VICTIM OF VIOLENCE

South, was opposed to the reckless violence of the abolition-
ist agitator.

What Heyward Shepherd's people thought about this ag-
itation was expressed in public protest in Maryland where
there were more than 80,000 free negroes, not one of whom
joined the outlaw gang, although many must have been
approached whilst John Brown and his fellow-conspirators
were perfecting their plans north of the Potomac. These
negroes united in framing a remarkable document, which
might well have brought the blush of shame to unreasoning
and unreasonable extremists, who, in the words of Dr. Wil-
liam Ellery Channing, of Boston, approached the problem
by exhausting upon the Southern people the vocabulary of
reproach. Meeting in Baltimore at the African Methodist
Episcopal Church, they drafted and published the following
resolutions:

We do most firmly and sincerely believe that the
dissemination of inflammatory appeals addressed
mainly to the prejudices and passions without ref-
erence to the reason, instead of promoting the object
professed to be had in view, will greatly aggravate
the evils already existing, and create others of a far
more alarming and calamitous nature; will render
the situation of that portion of a colored people now
in possession of liberty, awfully precarious, rivet
the fetters still more closely on the slave; and jeop-
ard the prosperity and happiness, nay, the life itself
of the whole population of the Southern States,
both white and black. . . . Influenced by these con-
siderations, and determined by the harmless recti-
tude of our deportment, to manifest our heart-felt,
and unconquerable abhorrence of the atrocious at-
tempts of mistaken hot-headed zealots to plunge the
country into anarchy and discord, and to deluge it
with torrents of blood: We do hereby sacredly pledge
ourselves not to receive any of the vile, mischievous
and incendiary publications now so industriously
scattered abroad.

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In simplest summary, Abraham Lincoln said, in 1860: John Brown's effort was peculiar. It was not a slave insurrection. It was an attempt by white men to get up a revolt among slaves, in which the slaves refused to participate. In fact, it was so absurd that the slaves, with all their ignorance, saw plainly enough it could not succeed.

If any fault is to be found with this contemporary opinion, it is with the word ignorance; for when we compare the attitude of the colored people of the South with the attitude of certain of the so-called intellectuals of the white race, are we not justified in speaking, not of the ignorance of the former, but rather of their superior intelligence, or common sense, with which the American negro is naturally endowed?

VI

The life and death of Heyward Shepherd, together with the lives of many thousands of his race like him, teach all of us valuable lessons. For one thing, Heyward Shepherd may be used to exemplify what Africa has done for America; or, again, what America has done for transplanted Africa. He may be used to exemplify the great service his race has rendered in the development of this country. In fact, in his way, the negro made the South what it was. Prior to the days of modern medical science, his powerful physique, accustomed to the tropical heat of his native land, was able easily to undertake a task that was decimating the Caucasians in the lowlands of the Southern colonies and States.

On the other hand, because the negro race was known to stagnate or drop back when left to its own devices, it was thought that if millions of negroes were given their freedom in America, the results would be disastrous to both races. Abraham Lincoln held that view; for during the War, the President met a delegation of colored freemen to discuss the matter of wholesale deportation. In the course of his

remarks to the visit

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remarks to the visiting delegation, Mr. Lincoln said:

Your race suffer very greatly, many of them, by
living among us, while ours suffer from your pres-
ence. (6)

One may admire the War President for his frankness;
but it would seem that his conclusions were unduly harsh.
If Abraham Lincoln's ideas had been carried out, this coun-
try would have suffered a serious loss, from the public point
of view; and I believe I express the sentiment of the major-
ity of Anglo-Americans, particularly those born below the
Mason and Dixon Line, that we should markedly miss daily
contacts with a people for whom, from childhood up, we
have a spontaneous liking extended to no other people. Fur-
thermore, since the negroes in America have reached a
higher plane en masse than anywhere else, they themselves
would have lost heavily by any such deportation.

There must be a reason for such feelings. There was a
peculiar charm developed by Heyward Shepherd's people
during the period of their indenture. For instance, all chil-
dren are agreed that Aesop is completely eclipsed by Uncle
Remus; and respect and devotion on the part of children
is said to be one of the best tests of character in those who
are the objects of such attention. Certainly it is not senti-
mentality—perhaps it is sentiment; but I beg to differ with
Abraham Lincoln: I believe that both races have, in the
main, profited by the presence of the other. (7)

When, some weeks ago, I visited Harpers Ferry to con-
sult with Chairman Ranson and Dr. Dittmeyer, patron of
this occasion, about the placing of this memorial, I asked if
Heyward Shepherd had a successor in the employ of the
Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company. Hardly had I put
the question before Mr. Ranson replied: "There he goes now
—Jimmie Moten. Everybody likes him." Naturally, he is
one of the specially invited guests of this occasion. (8)

VII

One sees a deal of sentimentality, which is sometimes mistaken for sentiment, sometimes for fact. Years ago, when teaching school in Winchester, the birthplace of Heyward Shepherd, I read an article in the Atlantic Monthly, in which the author spoke of the "death ships" at Jamestown. "Death ships" is a striking title for the vessels engaged in the slave trade; but when we stop to think of the Dark Continent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, are we not justified in wondering if the bondage of the body in America, which, however, freed the soul of the captive, was not preferable to the bondage of both soul and body which enveloped the life of the majority of those captured on the Congo.

We are taught, in almost every American history textbook, that the so-called "peculiar institution" began at Jamestown, Virginia, when a Dutch vessel landed twenty negro slaves, a statement that is perfectly true—except that the vessel was not Dutch and the passengers were not slaves!

The "Dutch man of warre", first described in the report of John Rolfe and followed by innumerable historians ever since, was evidently an English trading vessel doing a little extra business under another label, for purposes best known to its English crew. So much for "the Dutch" in the first place. In the second place, the newcomers were indentured servants, like thousands of whites in every colony who were bound out to service for a specified number of years.

Hence, it is seen that the long-accepted story of inter-racial relations in this country begins with error as to the origin of slavery; and it closes—or continues—with the widespread delusion that a sectional war—really representing the armed climax of seventy years of economic and political differences—was initiated in 1861 for the prime, or

primary, purpose of record, emancipation struggle. In accordance with Lord Dunmore, the been set free, had

The question now brought over here had they remained century, thousands of the descendants of hoped by good people to provide them would uplift and Christ what has happened. natives over there as Americo-Africans are slavery of their own.

Prior to the War of the county immediate luxuries and even sold slaves—those who were them to the land of Here is the original onists. It is dated: Being a letter of consolation and I believe, a relative extracts only:

You wrote in the I write a full account particular. As to man can live here got money he can place the things are get something for as fast as I can get

which is sometimes
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primary, purpose of putting an end to it. As a matter of record, emancipation was an incidental outcome of the struggle. In accordance with the previous proclamation of Lord Dunmore, the slaves of George Washington would have been set free, had the British been victorious. (9)

The question may well be asked: Would the negroes brought over here have attained a better state or condition had they remained in Africa? In the first half of the past century, thousands of them were sent back to Africa; that is, the descendants of those who were brought here. It was hoped by good people, who often made heavy personal sacrifices to provide their passage, that these trained freedmen would uplift and Christianize the African people. You know what has happened. These American negroes regarded the natives over there as vastly inferior, and these repatriated Americo-Africans are accused of having set up a system of slavery of their own.

Prior to the War between the States, a Virginia woman of the county immediately adjoining this one denied herself luxuries and even sold family silver in order to liberate her slaves—those who were willing to be liberated—and send them to the land of liberation, significantly called Liberia. Here is the original letter written by one of these colonists. It is dated: "Morovia, Liberia, Dec. 29th, 1847." Being a letter of considerable length from a contemporary, and I believe, a relative of Heyward Shepherd, I shall read extracts only:

You wrote in the last that when we write we must write a full account of the Colony and of us in particular. As to the regards of this Colony, any man can live here that will work and if a man has got money he can live. All the fault I find in this place the things are so dear that I have to work to get something for me and my children to eat, and as fast as I can get a little money I have to take it

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all to buy some clothes for my children to wear . . .
Please, Miss Sally, send money or buy some goods
for me for I am in want of them to get me a house
built in the place of the thatch hut I am now living
in, also the following articles: Tobacco, cloth & flour
& Meat, Powder & guns and nails.

The letter bears the signature of Peggie Potter; and
appended to it is a postscript—from Peggie Potter's son,
Daniel:

I beg of you, if you please, madam, to send me some
books
Smiths Geography
Smiths Arithmetic
Smiths Grammar
and some Slate Pencils and a Slate and some Pens
and paper and ink. Please to send me some books
of all kinds. . . . Give my respects to all, White and
Black.

Here, also is an original letter from this particular
emancipationist to the children of some of the freed people,
in Liberia—whom she addresses specifically: "My dear young
friends John, Peter, and Solomon." Written near Millwood,
Clarke County, this Virginia woman showed that her inter-
est in her former dependents did not cease upon their lib-
eration. This, also, is a lengthy communication, so I quote
in part:

Within the last year a letter has been received from
each of you; and as I have never written to any one
of you, I will now address you all three together—
you do not know how much gratified I am to hear
such good accounts of you and to know that you are
all trying to get a good education, and especially
that Peter has become pious—for I loved you and
your parents before you—your mothers were my
playmates when a child, and my kind and affection-
ate friends always. I remember well the counte-
nance of each one of you and how much delight I

used to take in your
face when you were

The news from Liberia,
couraging, for the letter con-

I often think how delig-
now to hear of the great
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answered that she trusted
in the Bible that "Ethio-
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was not in vain. You are
independent nation—with
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the world.

Since the freedmen had
the emancipator, she added

I trust you will all con-
bear—it is a very honest
and I hope it will prove

Whilst we render rich
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perhaps, than any people
that charity; i. e., good
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VICTIM OF VIOLENCE

used to take in your little ways and words when you were little children.

The news from Liberia, at that time, was evidently encouraging, for the letter continues:

I often think how delighted my mother would be now to hear of the great prosperity of Liberia, and especially of those whom she sent there. She was often told how foolish it was to send you all there, that you would come to no good—but she always answered that she trusted in the promise of God in the Bible that "Ethiopia should soon stretch out her hands unto God"—and now we see that her trust was not in vain. You are now citizens of a free and independent nation—with a government like that of the United States which is proved to be the best in the world.

Since the freedmen had taken the family cognomen of the emancipator, she added:

I trust you will all confer honour on the name you bear—it is a very honourable name in this country, and I hope it will prove so in Liberia.

VIII

Whilst we render richly merited tribute to the negro on this occasion, should not some measure of praise be granted by public opinion to the Southern white people who raised another race up from the lowest known scale more rapidly, perhaps, than any people had ever risen before? Granted that charity; i. e., good will, courtesy, kindness, and all else the word implies, is the basic virtue of the Christian religion, I should add that one of the saddest commentaries upon our vaunted civilization was the uncharitable violence exhibited in hundreds of pulpits and churches, where weekly hymns of hate were the order of the Sabbath day, lined out in fiercest diatribes against fellow-Americans in the South just as good as any in the North. In short, political ha-

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rangues were all too generally substituted for discourses upon the gospel of Christ.

Despite the condemnation in the North of all this allegedly religious but apparently malevolent agitation of the extremists, the severest indictment of the intolerance and bigotry of the ante-bellum period was administered to a representative of this element by a Maryland negro, Henry Highland Garnett, as set forth in a letter to Maria W. Chapman, of Boston, one of the most noted abolitionist editors of New England. Mrs. Chapman, it seems, had denounced Garnett for not joining with the extremists. To her Garnett, in terms that would have done honor to Thomas Jefferson, thus replied:

It astonishes me to think that you should desire to sink me again to the condition of a slave by forcing me to think just as you do. My crime is that I dared to think and act contrary to your opinion. I am a Liberty party man—you are opposed to that party—far be it from me to attempt to injure your character because you cannot pronounce my shibboleth. While you think as you do we must differ. If it has come to this that I must think and act as you do because you are an abolitionist or be exterminated by your thunder then I do not hesitate to say that your abolitionism is abject slavery.

For my introduction to Henry Highland Garnett, I am indebted to Dr. George F. Bragg, rector for many years of St. James' Episcopal Church, who has kindly consented to close these proceedings with the benediction. Dr. Bragg is the author of "Men of Maryland", a series of sketches of negroes who have achieved distinction. The story of Henry Highland Garnett is one of these sketches. Another tells of Benjamin Banneker, the most remarkable scientist of his race. Banneker, in fact, was a genius; and, I may say to Dr. Bragg, in particular, that when the late Professor Allen

Johnson, editor-in-chief of the *Encyclopedia*, submitted to me a paper on the subject of Maryland, I thought that of Benjamin Banneker, saw fit to ignore him. I think that omission.

In the words of one bad man we fear so much of "John Brown" is "wrong." Some of John Brown's number of those who not stop to consider the cause he said he represented which he so constantly mistaken idealists, Brown's career of blood in Kansas.

Our text-books in John Brown as a hero. a "fanatic". Whilst that first conferred, a study terms, to some kind of other words, to that for to obsessions, and yet we him by reason of its mis-sub-normal deficiencies, easily accounted for the startlingly prevalent in the

Brown justified his order, by scriptural reference from the Old Testament those that involved the constant inspiration, or

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Johnson, editor-in-chief of the Dictionary of American Biography, submitted to me a list of men of distinction produced by Maryland, I added a number of names, among them that of Benjamin Banneker. The editor, a New Englander, saw fit to ignore this suggestion, and the volume that should contain the name of Banneker has appeared without him. I think that is an injustice—a serious error of omission.

IX

In the words of one of our war Presidents: "It is not the bad man we fear so much as the good man who thinks wrong." Some of John Brown's following were idealists, and a number of those who have worshipped at his shrine did not stop to consider the character of the man—only the cause he said he represented and the scriptural phrases which he so constantly quoted. Without the support of mistaken idealists, Brown could never have started on his career of blood in Kansas and Virginia.

Our text-books in American history used to acclaim John Brown as a hero. Most of them now refer to him as a "fanatic". Whilst that is a far cry from the sainthood at first conferred, a study of his life would point, in modern terms, to some kind of warped psychosis or paranoia—in other words, to that form of mental disease which yields to obsessions, and yet would keep the victim out of an asylum by reason of its mixture of abnormal shrewdness and sub-normal deficiencies. With John Brown this is the more easily accounted for through the fact that insanity was startlingly prevalent in the blood which he had inherited.

Brown justified his acts, from theft and forgery to murder, by scriptural reference; but the quotations he used were from the Old Testament—and the texts he loved best were those that involved the shedding of blood. They were his constant inspiration, or his obsession. Undoubtedly his

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mind became more and more warped as the years went on. He showed no evidence of compassion for the first victim of his attempted insurrection at Harpers Ferry. Heyward Shepherd had stood in the way; and by doing so, he had become an obstacle in the path of his purpose, which was allegedly to free a people, but which included the role of plunderer. What regret he seemed to entertain after his failure was that he had not acted more vigorously and had not brought down more obstacles, in fact, all the people, white or black, that did not follow his standard.

During the years since the quiet passing of Heyward Shepherd, and the unprecedentedly vociferous exit of John Brown, the approach to the temple of truth has been cluttered up with litter left by storms of passion. In order to enter in, this rubbish must first be cleared away. We judge men not so much by what they say, as by what they do. John Brown persuaded many that he was sent by Heaven; but those who attempted to hinder his divine purpose must be prepared for immediate immortality. Heyward Shepherd made the mistake of interfering; and Brown became his liberator, not of his body, since that was already free, but of his spirit, which was given its liberty in the darkness of the October night that was to usher in a revolutionary government.

Brown had some local negroes join his band at the United States arsenal; but these were captives, like Colonel Lewis Washington, rather than accomplices, as in the case of a few recruits from elsewhere; and it may be noted here that when he brought about the death of Mayor Beckham he automatically set some Virginia negroes free, for Mayor Beckham was an emancipationist; and, in his will, he had provided for the freeing of four slaves, a fact that Brown probably never learned.

In the end, at Harpers Ferry, law and order triumphed; and by a curious coincidence, the chosen arm of the law on

this occasion, and the immediate other Virginia command of the United States slaves he had in the midst of the he took occasion wife, according to his father. The man, Robert E. refused to surrender to the insurrection to a

In view of the service of the United States his purpose or the law into his mob. That is to excuse the acts of condoning that live form of government by the courts or the people, who courage it.

Between this there is with us a visited John Brown was on trial for the brings up a story Besides a basket of her son a copy of the soul of the man

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this occasion, the representative of the federal government and the immediate avenger of Heyward Shepherd, was another Virginia emancipationist. He was the colonel in command of the United States marines. He had set free all the slaves he had owned or had inherited; and subsequently, in the midst of the greatest war ever waged on American soil, he took occasion to emancipate the slaves inherited by his wife, according to the terms of the will of her emancipationist father. Called to duty by the United States Government, Robert E. Lee came from Arlington; and, when Brown refused to surrender, issued the commands that brought the insurrection to an end. (10)

In view of the fact that John Brown was not in the service of the United States or of any unit thereof, whatever his purpose or the alleged character of that purpose, he took the law into his own hands as the leader of an irresponsible mob. That is lynch law; consequently, those who attempt to excuse the acts of this man put themselves in the position of condoning that form of lawlessness. Under a representative form of government, where justice may be administered by the courts or by law, lynching is not excused by intelligent people, who will do everything in their power to discourage it.

X

Between this day and the events of which we speak, there is with us a living link. Dr. Briscoe Baldwin Ranson visited John Brown in his cell at Charles Town, where he was on trial for treason and homicide. His presence here brings up a story which has never before been made public. Besides a basket of food, Dr. Ranson's mother had sent by her son a copy of the New Testament, to save, or comfort, the soul of the man who was so soon to face his Maker.

The Testament was sent by Mrs. Ranson in all innocence of intention; and yet her gift partook of the very

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essence of satire—in that Brown had hitherto received his justification from the blood-letting notes of the Old Testament. He was a man of force; and the fiercer the vengeance wreaked in ancient ages by the agents of Jehovah upon those not of the chosen people were the passages that most delighted John Brown's spirit, which was, his son-in-law tells us, "always vindictive."

And now came to Brown, in the cell of a felon, the New Testament with its doctrine of charity! It exactly suited the ex-warrior's new and appealing pose of the "man of peace". So with his wounds carefully emphasized, and uplifted by his very real genius for publicity, he played the hitherto unaccustomed note of peace so well that he deceived the souls of not a few Virginia visitors of distinction, whose bodies he would—quite unpeacefully and with sadistic joy—have impaled upon the pikes of his provisional army. The sentiment which Brown, as the leader of an outlaw band, would have considered weakness, now afforded Brown, a captive under the laws of the State, a means of triumph. John Brown, condemned and dead, would achieve the distinction which his egomania had craved for a lifetime of dubious and ever-shifting action.

At least one biographer of Brown mentions the transition in the source and character of Brown's scriptural quotations. Possibly Mrs. Ranson's present of a copy of the New Testament provides an explanation as to the cause of the change in John Brown's inspiration.

XI

Again coming back to the present, I would say a word about a fellow citizen of Jefferson County whose liberality and public spirit made it possible to erect this memorial—Dr. Walter E. Dittmeyer. Dr. Dittmeyer is a son and grandson of active Union men during the period of sectional conflict; yet he offers no contrast or difference in purpose or

opinion to the Sons of the Revolution. Dr. Dittmeyer are directly responsive to the common good. Dr. Dittmeyer meet on common ground. Dr. Dittmeyer is not an historian; he understands and grasps the meaning of many historical events. Dr. Dittmeyer has patiently perused, as part of my life work, with Beverly B. Murdock, Toward Slavery and the Resentment of Personal Opinion. Dr. Dittmeyer explains State and Community, having a citizen's community a good turn for service.

"The old order der the new order t a personal nature; take their place; but conditions, the spirit should prevail. Not in terms of the world in terms of the best

If old John E. fiercest action by the coln, all too often p sate for justice, it creates counter dis see overmuch of in sane or violent.

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opinion to the Sons and Daughters of the Confederacy who are directly responsible for these ceremonies. Rather, we all meet on common ground in a common country. Dr. Dittmeyer is not an historian by vocation or avocation; but he understands and grasps the good in either side better than many historians whose ponderous or pedantic tomes I have patiently perused, since that heavy labor has been, and is, part of my life work. Dr. Dittmeyer, I found, is familiar with Beverly B. Munford's book entitled "Virginia's Attitude Toward Slavery and Secession", a volume that does not represent personal opinions but a consensus of thought that explains State and status. Harpers Ferry is fortunate in having a citizen who seizes an opportunity to do his community a good turn and who does it in a spirit of national service.

"The old order changeth, giving place to the new". Under the new order there may be fewer close relationships of a personal nature; and colder "social service" aspects may take their place; but whatever happens, under these changed conditions, the spirit of charity, consideration, and courtesy should prevail. Neither race should come to regard the other in terms of the worst, which, I contend, is a minority; but in terms of the best.

XII

If old John Brown's disordered mind was stirred to fiercest action by the vitriolic harangues denounced by Lincoln, all too often proclaimed in Christian churches as a crusade for justice, it may be said that each such disorder creates counter disorders, as hate begets hate. Those who see overmuch of insanity or violence become themselves insane or violent.

At Charles Town, on the day when John Brown paid the penalty for his crimes, there was present at the hanging a young man from Harford County, Maryland. Talented but

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unbalanced, he was destined to commit a deed at Washington as wickedly foolish as that done by Brown at Harpers Ferry. He, also, had accomplices in crime, men with weak minds who could be easily led or misled. He, too, was to assign a noble motive for the purpose he had in view.

That young man was John Wilkes Booth. Like Brown and his men at Harpers Ferry, Booth and his conspirators promoted an attack upon the Federal Government. Booth's victim was Abraham Lincoln, and Lincoln belonged to the great body of Northern people who had repudiated Brown; as the South, with instant unanimity, repudiated the deed of Booth. These are remarkable coincidences, sequences, and consequences. They should teach us valuable lessons about intemperance in word or deed in pulpit or forum—anywhere.

Your speaker has already quoted a verse or two from Benet, who wrote but three years since:

There is no stone,
No image of bronze or marble green with the rain
To Shepherd Heyward, free negro of Harpers Ferry,
And even the books, the careful, ponderous histories,
That turn live men into dummies with smiles of wax
Thoughtfully posed against a photographer's background
In the act of signing a treaty or drawing a sword,
Tell little of what he was.

The poet need lament no longer. Today, we are fellow-memorialists, without regard to section, race or creed. Honor to him to whom honors are due; for truth is at last triumphant, as with one accord we meet to acclaim the name of HEYWARD SHEPHERD.

(1) "Wholly, grievous is Mr. Cook, when he in person at the Harpers Ferry other imprudence and I have never made a taking of Harpers Ferry by my word or by my field of labor for the to an attack upon the Douglass, Cf. Journal.

(2) "John Brown, of a graphic and yet Warren.

(3) Hill Peebles V tune") publishes some once gone South, where cultivated by slaves, not one of immediate laborious effort; and so repugnant to Brown's

(4) Benet: John I

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(6) President Lincoln judice against the negro of these States I negroes from their boy Horatio C. King, for a social in the Society of "If at any time in the mento (the emancipation would have had a very "Up to the Spring of the South might not slavery undisturbed".

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(1) "Wholly, grievously, and most unaccountably wrong is Mr. Cook, when he asserts that I promised to be present in person at the Harpers Ferry insurrection. Of whatever other imprudence and indiscretion I may have been guilty, I have never made a promise so rash and wild as this. 'The taking of Harpers Ferry was a measure never encouraged by my word or by my vote, at any time or place. . . . My field of labor for the abolition of slavery has not extended to an attack upon the United States arsenal.'" Frederick Douglass, Cf. Journal of Negro History, Vol. X, p. 770.

(2) "John Brown, the Making of a Martyr", is the title of a graphic and yet scholarly portrayal by Robert Penn Warren.

(3) Hill Peebles Wilson ("John Brown: Soldier of Fortune") publishes some evidence to show that Brown had once gone South, where he planned to establish a plantation cultivated by slaves. However, he found that this life was not one of immediate affluence; on the contrary, it involved laborious effort; and settled labor anywhere at anything was repugnant to Brown's temperament.

(4) Benet: John Brown's Body".

(5) "I wanted you particularly for the moral effect it would give our cause having one of your name, as a prisoner."—Commander Brown to Colonel Washington.

(6) President Lincoln was well acquainted with the prejudice against the negro in the northwestern States. Several of these States had taken legal steps to exclude all negroes from their borders, whether slave or free. General Horatio C. King, for over a third of a century a high official in the Society of the Army of the Potomac, observed: "If at any time in the early part of the war that pronouncement (the emancipation proclamation) had been made, it would have had a very bad effect upon the army". Again: "Up to the Spring of 1868, there was never any time when the South might not have come back into the Union with slavery undisturbed". Proceedings, Lincoln Fellowship, 1911.

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(7) Recently a small group of otherwise intelligent negroes have shown a tendency to cast slurs upon the period of racial apprenticeship and its people. This apprenticeship bears historical comparison to the "indented" service under which great numbers of white settlers began life in the New World. The "new" attitude is quite unlike customary American pride in the log-cabin start exhibited by the white pioneers of America. In this connection, therefore, it is well to recall an address delivered by Booker T. Washington in 1904. Dr. Washington pointed with pride to the spiritual development of the American negro, who, in a few generations, had risen to heights which the Caucasian had attained after centuries of effort. In accord with the natural good sense and peculiar insight of their race, it should be emphasized that the majority of negroes have not followed the hysteria of certain Caucasian theorists who actually looked up to John Brown as a superior being, when the latter's mental processes and political plans were regarded by Frederick Douglass, Henry Highland Garnett, and other negro leaders of his day with positive contempt.

(8) Another specially honored guest of the occasion was James W. Walker, a graduate of Storer College, independent farmer at Bunker Hill, W. Va., and a descendant of Heyward Shepherd.

(9) Since the emancipation proclamation of 1863 did not apply to territory under Federal control, Governor Augustus W. Bradford continued to hold his slaves until the Maryland legislature and his own proclamation set them free. Bradford was the leading supporter of the Union in Maryland, whilst the ranking soldier of Maryland in the Confederate Army, General Bradley T. Johnson, was not a slaveholder.

(10) The United States marines, be it said, had not been persuaded by Commander Brown to abandon "the service of Satan", and take up, under his leadership, the "service of God". Heyward Shepherd has, at last, a monument to his memory; but the body of Luke Quinn, the first marine shot down in storming the old engine house, still lies in an unmarked grave.