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Branch of History

RECONNAISSANCE OF THE
PROPOSED HARPER'S FERRY NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

Edward Steere
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Introduction

The history of Harper's Ferry embraces four distinct periods. Historic and scenic sites pertaining to the town and its immediate surroundings readily lend themselves to classification according to these time periods. The first extends from 1747, the date Robert Harper settled at the junction of the Potomac and Shenandoah Rivers, to 1794, when President Washington designated this same point as the site for a national arsenal and armory; the second dates from 1794 to 1861 and terminates with the seizure of these properties by the military forces of the State of Virginia. The third period extends through the American War of Secession, 1861 to 1865, during which time Harper's Ferry acquired preeminent strategical importance as a dominating point on the vital east-west line of communications (the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal) from the head of the Chesapeake Bay to the Ohio Valley, and also as a point exercising partial control over the north-south lines of communication between the Valley of Virginia and the Cumberland Valley. The fourth period extends from the termination of the War of American Secession to the present time, and has only local historical importance.

I

Historic and Scenic sites identified with the first period are:

1. Robert Harper's Potomac and Shenandoah River ferries.
2. Harper's first place or residence. The site of Dr. Dittmeyer's Drug Store.
3. Harper's dwelling on the Shenandoah River, in which he lived and died.
4. Harper's Stone House built during the American Revolution but probably never occupied by Harper.
5. Harper's Grist Mill, on the Shenandoah River.

6. The Stone Steps, leading from the foot of Washington Street (Highway No. 34) up the cliff and hewn by hand from in the solid rock under Harper's direction.

Of these sites only the Stone House and the Stone Steps are now in existence. The town owns the Stone Steps, the house is the property of William Marmion of Harper's Ferry. Precise location of the other listed sites would require painstaking research and ground study.

No visible remains are known.

7. Jefferson's Rock, a scenic point on the cliff forming the west bank of the Shenandoah River, may be classified with the foregoing group of historic sites. This point is with the Jefferson lot, a property of the city.

II

Sites of the United States Arsenal, Armory and Rifle Works, popularly known as the Hall Rifle Works are clearly defined in various War Department Maps - 1836, 1852 and 1869, the latter of which shows the Federal properties sold at auction in that year. It does not seem practicable to study these sites with a view of restoration. The site of the Arsenal, or Musket Factory is, for the greater part, covered over with subsequent railroad and industrial constructions. Only a small section of the original Arsenal site is now seen on a small plat of ground east of the B. & O. station and included between the railroad fill and the original river wall. (Potomac River) Foundations of two Arsenal buildings and portions of two others, partly hidden by the toe of the slope of the fill, are indicated by flat rocks tracing the foundation lines of these buildings. The Armory was situated between Shenandoah Street and the Shenandoah River, at the junction of the two rivers. The site

is now occupied by business houses and a hotel, most of which are abandoned. Careful archeological investigation may discover remnants of the group of buildings constituting the Rifle Works, about one and one quarter miles up the Shenandoah River.

The construction of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and the Baltimore Railroad through the gorge of the Potomac River between Point of Rocks and Harper's Ferry recall early developments in American transportation that equal if it does not surpass in point of historical importance the founding of the Arsenal.

III

The Civil War contributed various military sites, some of which are impressive on account of the superb panorama offered the visitor. These fall into three distinct areas:

CAMP HILL. The camp, which was the seat of the Harper's Ferry garrison is roughly defined by the campus of Storer's College. A Federal battery in vicinity of the Superintendent's House (now Anthony Hall) received considerable attention from Jackson's artillery during the attack of Sept. 14, 15, 1862. Included within this area was a line of breastworks extending from the Shenandoah to the Potomac River and following the military crest of the hill now approximately marked by Hall Street. Building and street constructions have, apparently obliterated every vestige of this work.

BOLIVAR HEIGHTS. During the operations of Sept. 1862, the outer line of defense of the town skirted these heights and consisted of separate rifle pits. The best single preservation is found on the estate of the late Major Sylvester, Chief of Police of Washington, D. C., during the administration of McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt. Another pit, an unusually fine preservation, is located in Alstadt Wood, one-half mile south of Highway No. 340. Alstadt Wood, although

bearing a distinct name, is topographically a continuation of Bolivar Heights south of the highway. The remains of a stone rifle pit overlooks the Shenandoah River and covers the left rear of the Bolivar Heights-Alstadt Wood line.

LOUDOUN HEIGHTS. This area presents a difficulty with respect ^{to} the location of military sites. Remains of what appear to have been structures erected by charcoal burners seem to have been confused with traces of military works. Military equipment, principally Federal, has been found in considerable abundance on these heights. Careful ground examination, as directed by research, should lead to the discovery of the sites of breastworks and gun pits.

The point of Loudoun Heights offers striking scenic possibilities. The ridge terminates in a cliff, the Shenandoah washing its western base and the Potomac flowing past its northern front. Several flattop rocks, the most notable of which are Fairview and Split Rock, afford views for a considerable distance up the Potomac and Shenandoah rivers and down the Potomac toward Point of Rocks. Jefferson's inspired passage should have been reserved for these magnificent vistas.

MARYLAND HEIGHTS. This eminence was the military key to Harper's Ferry. Here are found the remains of pretentious military constructions: Fort Duncan, an enclosed earthwork on a shoulder of the ridge and inclosed within a bend of the Potomac about two miles above Harper's Ferry; Stone Fort, a massive work of rough masonry on the crest of the ridge; the Naval Battery and the 6-gun Battery, which occupy positions on the so-called "Pinnacle", or the break of slope between the crest of the ridge and the cliff fronting the north shore of the Potomac.

The scenic grandeur beheld at the Stone Fort baffles description. Looking north one sees the Valley of the Antietam and the Village of Sharps-

burg. Far to the West the current of the Potomac emerges from the Alleghanies and winds across the Valley to the gorge at Harper's Ferry. Southward the view is lost in the mists of the Valley of Virginia. Turning to the east one sees the Potomac winding through the gorges of the Weaverton and Catoctin ranges and on over the lowlands to the sea. On a clear day the Washington Monument is visible through a glass. Here the grand strategy of the Virginia Theatre of the War and Lee's two invasions of the North may be grasped at a glance.

SUGGESTED CONCLUSIONS

No special plea is required to establish the national importance of Harper's Ferry. Description of its scenic grandeur becomes superfluous. Any program that neglects to combine these two elements overlooks obvious possibilities of the situation. An effective combination here calls for the development of recreational facilities. Such a solution imposes the primary requirements of accessibility to the motor tourist. A partial solution is offered by Highway No. 340. An ideal solution is offered in the proposed projection of the Skyline Drive, or Appalachian Parkway, northward through Harper's Ferry and its junction at this point with the proposed Washington-Gettysburg Parkway. Realization of this ideal, however, is contingent upon suitable bridge locations by the States of Maryland and West Virginia across the Potomac and the Shenandoah Rivers. For our purposes the Potomac crossing should carry the traffic of Highway No. 340 directly through Harper's Ferry, and the Shenandoah crossing so located as to provide a practicable junction of the projected Skyline Drive with Highway No. 340 and the proposed Potomac Parkway.

Granted such a solution, the following developments are suggested for study:

1. A recreational park of about 1300 acres on Maryland Heights, including Fort Duncan, Stone Fort and the works on the Pinnacle. A right of way, following the location of the old military road from Fort Duncan to Stone Fort could connect the Fort Duncan Site, as a detached area, to the tract on the crest of the ridge. The old Signal tower at Stone Fort should be restored, both for historical reasons and scenic purposes. Special study should be given to the problem of determining a practicable location for the Skyline Drive along Maryland Heights. If such a feat ^{an} is deemed/engineering impossibility, thought should be given to the construction of a spur to the Pinnacle and Stone Fort area.
2. A recreational park of similar dimensions on Loudoun Heights, particular attention being given to the scenic possibilities of Split Rock and Fair View Rock.
3. Possibilities of the flood area on the north bank of the Shenandoah River from the east boundary of the Rifle Works site to the mouth of the river should be examined with a view of creating a recreational center, with special emphasis given to parking facilities. In times past Virginus Island has, by permission of the owners, been used as an automobile camp. Although destitute of facilities for such a purpose, the island was a popular stopping place. A portion of the Rifle Factory site below water level has been flooded and used as an open swimming pool. This experience suggests the practicability of further development.
4. The section of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal between the feeder lock one

and one-half miles upstream from the lock just above the B. & O. Railroad bridge invites consideration both as a recreational waterway and an historic restoration. Difficulties attending transfer of title from the B. & O. Railroad to the Federal Government may preclude the possibility of consideration. Aside from this obstacle no serious difficulty would be encountered. The locks are in good condition, aside from the gates. The feeder locks are badly choked with sand. Otherwise the channel would require little or no excavation. The embankments are in good condition.

5. Cypress Island, an amusement center of great popularity in former days, presents future possibilities. Here, again, the question of title appears as the greatest obstacle, the island being a property of the B. & O. Railroad.

The above listed suggestions contemplates what in reality would be a tri-state park, including lands of Maryland, Virginia and West Virginia. The tri-state idea, however, should not be permitted to obscure the associations invoked by the name Harper's Ferry. No towns of 1,500 population in the United States enjoys the wide-spread fame of Harper's Ferry unless it be those of Concord and Lexington. There is magic in the name.

Deprived of its recreational features, which necessarily include a projection of the Skyline Drive, development of a Harper's Ferry National Site would consist of devising appropriate markers for sites listed in parts I, II, III. This limited treatment would be of little benefit to the town and arrest the interest of the present flow of tourists to about the extent that is evinced by the travelling public in the historic markers lining Highway No. 1 between Washington and Richmond.

* * * * *

PROPOSED HARPER'S FERRY NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

Harper's Ferry had great historic significance during the Colonial period as the point of navigation and entrance into the Shenandoah Valley from the Great Valley leading from Pennsylvania and Maryland. John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry arsenal is a well-known story. During the Civil War the town figured prominently in the Antietam campaign. Today, it is a center for tourists coming up the Potomac Valley on either the Maryland or West Virginia sides, or for those going down the Shenandoah Valley into Virginia.

The proposed Harper's Ferry National Historic Site should include a minimum area of approximately 1300 acres, comprising the following historic sites:

1. Harper's Ferry

Arsenal Site. Owned by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

Associated with the story of John Brown.

Harper's Stone Steps. Owned by the town. These steps lead from the foot of Washington Street (Highway No. 340) up the cliff and were hewn by hand from solid rock under Robert Harper's direction.

Jefferson Rock. Owned by the town. A scenic point on the cliff on the west bank of the Shenandoah River.

Harper's Stone House. Now privately owned. The house was built during the American Revolution.

In addition, it would be desirable for the town of Harper's Ferry to pass a zoning law for the protection of the historic quarter of the town that faces toward Maryland Heights and Loudoun Heights.

2. Maryland Heights

This eminence was the military key to Harper's Ferry. Here are the remains of pretentious military constructions:

Fort Duncan. An enclosed earthwork on the bend of the Potomac about two miles above Harper's Ferry.

Stone Fort. A massive work of rough masonry on the crest of the ridge.

Naval Battery and Gun Position. Located on the so-called "Pinnacle", or the break of slope between the crest of the ridge and the cliff fronting the north shore of the Potomac.

East down the Potomac Valley, south down the Shenandoah, and northeast towards the mountains, this area provides a unique scenic and historic panorama from which to study Lee's two invasions of the north.

3. Loudoun Heights

Military equipment, principally Federal, has been found in considerable abundance on these heights, but as yet no definite historical sites or remains of Civil War fortifications have been identified. Careful ground examination,

as directed by research, should lead to the discovery of the sites of breast-works and gun pits. In addition to the military sites, sufficient land must be secured to protect the scenic value of Loudoun Heights.

4. Bolivar Heights

It is known that certain features of the fortifications that once stood on Bolivar Heights survive today, but their preservation and development are made more difficult by the extension of the residential area of the town over some portions. Further study will be necessary to determine whether any features here could or should be included in the historic site.

* * * * *

Memorandum for Mr. Chatelain:

Re: Map of Harper's Ferry, West Virginia.

There is on file in the Division of the Constructing Engineer, Office of the Chief of Engineers, War Department, Drawer 150, Sheet 82-2, a map in two sheets entitled: "Map of Harper's Ferry Showing the Location of the Winchester and Potomac Railroad. Drawn by Lts. White, Allen and R. S. Smith, U. S. Army, under the direction of James Kearney, Lt. Col. and T.E. 1835". On the left hand side of the map is the following: "Approved agreeably to the joint resolution of Congress of the 27 January 1835 and as located and indicated by the parallel black lines, marked a b c d e f g h. (signed) Andrew Jackson". The scale is "Horizontal scale 100 feet the inch, Vertical scale 10 feet the inch."

Sheet No. 1 is of the area west of Hall's Rifle Works and has a notation "Canal to the rifle works canal". Sheet No. 2 shows the streets and houses of the town, including the Hall Rifle Works and the Arsenal. It is signed by James Kearney and Andrew Jackson and undoubtedly is the original of the plat referred to by Mr. Snyder in his letter of July 10, 1936.

The following maps of Harper's Ferry are on file in the same drawer 150 Sheets 78-1-4: "Plat of Harper's Ferry. Exhibiting the limits of the ground requisite for the passage of the Winchester and Potomac Railroad through the town. Scale 100 feet to the inch." (No date is given on these maps but the index card gives the date as 1834).

The Map Division of the Office of the Chief of Engineers has the following map which shows the streets and houses of the town: "Maps and Profiles of a Line for a Canal along the Maryland side of the Potomac Valley from Cumberlandland to Georgetown. 1828".

The other maps of Harper's Ferry on file in the Office of the Chief of Engineers are of the Civil War Period.

The Map Division of the Library of Congress does not have any plans of the town of Harper's Ferry but has some photographs.

Respectfully submitted,
(sgd.) Ruth Graham
Junior Historian

Memo received July 20, 1936
Report completed July 21, 1936

(Copied from pencilled memorandum)

JOHN BROWN'S RAID, HARPER'S FERRY

The famous John Brown raid on Harper's Ferry, Virginia, (now West Virginia) for the liberation of slaves, took place October 16-18, 1859. It was conducted by Brown at the head of eighteen men, five of them Negroes. Twelve of the party were killed during the raid, five were captured at once, and two escaped. Four citizens and a Negro were killed by the insurgents, and nine wounded. The prisoners were convicted of treason and hanged.

The historical significance of this famous affair lies in its relation to the slavery question, and the feeling of distrust and belligerency which it engendered. Brown's conduct during his trial, and his forcible explanations of motives constituted the difference between an ordinary riot and a fairly important and highly colorful national incident. If the leader had been slain instead of wounded when Lieutenant Green tried to run him through with his dress sword, the raid would have attracted but little attention.

Since John Brown's importance lies, not merely in the actual raid but in the forces and circumstances behind it, the man must be judged in the light of his past. He was born at Torrington, Connecticut, in 1800, the son of an ardent abolitionist, and one of sixteen children. The father was an agent of the "underground railroad", constantly moving from place to place, and never prosperous. During the War of 1812 John Brown drove cattle to supply the American troops with meat.

1. Allen Johnson, "John Brown", in Dict. Am. Biog., III, 131-134.

He married in 1820 and again in 1831, the first wife having died, had a family of twenty, and moved often like his father. For a time he lived at Richmond in northwestern Pennsylvania where his barn was utilized as a station on the Underground Railway. Later, in Springfield, Massachusetts, he organized a "League of Gileadites" among the negroes to aid them in protecting themselves and fugitive slaves. It was not until Brown was past fifty years of age that he came to believe in violence² or force as an agency in freeing slaves. In 1855 at the beginning of the slave controversy in Kansas, five of John Brown's sons migrated to the scene to procure land and to do their part in the struggle to keep the territory free from slavery. A call was soon sent for their father to join the affray and he complied by leaving his family at North Elba, Ohio, and following the sons with a one-horse wagon filled with ammunition, for the ostensible purpose of joining the Asawatomie colony as a surveyor. He speedily became, instead, a captain and leader of local militia, and a free-soil crusader. The sack of Lawrence, Kansas, in May, 1856 by pro-slavery outlaws preyed upon him to such an extent that five victims were selected to be killed in revenge. Brown, four of his sons, and three others carried out this plan in the murders near Dutch Henry's Crossing on the Pottawatomie, May 24, 1856. Five pro-slavery men were taken from their several homes at night and cut down in cold blood, merely because of their convictions, and to even the score of free-soil men who had been killed previously.³

2. Allen Johnson, "John Brown," in Dist. Am. Biog., III, 138

3. O. G. Villard, John Brown, 148 ff.

Other examples of border brutality are not lacking for those days, but the Pottawatomie crimes were peculiarly atrocious, and lend credence to the theory that Brown was mentally unbalanced. The affair was undoubtedly given an impetus by the assault in the Senate chamber on Senator Sumner of Massachusetts by Representative Brooks of South Carolina on May 22. From a political viewpoint the murders were distinctly prejudicial to the free-soil cause as most acts of violence heretofore were the work of pro-slavery parties. They did, however, have the effect of setting men to fighting openly.⁴ Frederick Brown, an insane son of the leader, was one of the victims of this warfare, and John Jr., a prisoner in the hands of "Border Ruffians" for two weeks, and also insane,⁵ was severely treated.

In 1857 Brown evolved the theory that a formal organization was necessary. Accordingly he went to Chatham, Canada, (near the shores of Lake Erie) where he and a mixed group of negroes and white men worked out a plan for a provisional government designed to give freedom and aid to slaves. The keynote was sounded in the preamble to the constitution: "Whereas slavery...is none other than a most barbarous, unprovoked, and unjustifiable war of one portion of its citizens upon another portion..."⁶ This statement helps explain John Brown's reasons for adopting such extreme measures, but the constitution itself is a curious example of absurd fallacies that should have been apparent even to the ignorant men who were its authors. In setting up this provisional government, as an illustration, there was no intention of interfering with state or national

4. O. O. Villard, John Brown, 181-182

5. Ibid., 193 ff.

6. Report of Senate Investigating Committee, No. 278, June 15, 1860. 48

institutions, although there were to be departments, judicial, executive and military as in the federal government, an army, and a separate school system. John Brown was elected commander-in-chief of the Provisional Army, John H. Kagi Secretary of War, and G. B. Gill Secretary of the Treasury. After two colored men declined the presidency, that office was left vacant.⁷

In 1858 Brown returned to Kansas under the name of Shubel Morgan to engage in slave-running. Having previously grown the patriarchal beard with which we have come to associate the man, he was seldom recognized. On December 19, 1858 Brown, with a total of eighteen men including at least one well known horse thief, made a foray into Missouri, liberated eleven slaves, killed one slave owner, and fled northward, taking the negroes to safety. The party also "liberated" numerous horses, oxen and mules which they sold to defray expenses.⁸

Rewards for John Brown's capture were offered by President Buchanan and by the governor of Missouri, but the proclamations were almost ignored. Having started, as he said, to "carry the war into Africa", it was next determined to work on a large scale.

Numerous prominent men in the east, particularly New England, supported the new movement although its treasonable nature must have been apparent. John A. Andrew, war governor of Massachusetts, Samuel C. Howe, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Theodore Parker and Gerrit Smith were among those who contributed to the cause. Harper's Ferry, Virginia was chosen, apparently, because of its position near the border and at the head of the Shenandoah valley. The mountains of Virginia were conveniently close as

7. Villard, op. cit., 333

8. Ibid., 369

a hideout. Aside from utilizing the natural advantages of the region, there appears never to have been any detailed plan of campaign.

John Brown reached Harper's Ferry July 3, 1859 with two of his sons, Oliver and Owen, to establish a concentration camp. The place chosen was the Kennedy farm, some five miles northeast of the town on the road to Chambersburg, where the men and supplies were secretly collected during the summer. The latter were transported in wagons from Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, apparently without arousing local suspicion. Brown was generally thought to be a mineral prospector, although he gave as his occupation that of drover.

The summer was spent in collecting guns and pikes. The latter, designed to be placed in the hands of freed negroes, were made in Connecticut.

All but three of the final army were on hand by September 25, most of them impressed by the likelihood of impending death. Eighteen men besides the leader and his daughter and daughter-in-law filled the small house to overflowing and lived in great inconvenience as it was necessary to conceal their number from curious neighbors. The two women left on September 30, and two weeks later plans for the raid were completed, one thousand pikes having been prepared, and the firearms made ready. Few if any of the men believed in the plan of campaign, thinking it folly to attack the arsenal, but all of them were willing to sacrifice themselves. The plans were concealed as thoroughly as possible, but with eighty people in possession of the secret, some leakage was inevitable. An

anonymous letter was mailed in Cincinnati, August 20, 1859 to Secretary of War Floyd, laying bare the entire project, but no investigation was ordered as many such strange communications were being received. The writer, David J. One of Iowa, hoped to check the raid before it was really started and to save the lives of the participants.

It was on Sunday night, October 16, 1859 that John Brown finally set forth with eighteen men and a wagon-load of supplies, for Harper's Ferry, leaving three men to guard the Kennedy House. Every principle of military science was violated: there was no specific plan of campaign, the men were to separate widely through the town but had no concentration point designated, and no adequate force was left to guard the only avenue of retreat, the bridge over the Potomac. The idea apparently was to make a spectacular beginning, secure some slaves, fall back to the base for arms and take to the mountains. There was no suspicion that militia would gather speedily. The bridge watchman was seized at 10:30, the guard of the arsenal and armory taken immediately afterward with no alarm sounded. At midnight Colonel Lewis Washington, slave owner and great grandnephew of the first President, was seized at his home five miles distant. Other plantation owners and their slaves were taken on the way back to the arsenal.

A relief watchman on the bridge coming to his post about midnight, resisted capture and escaped with a wound to arouse part of the town but few people responded before morning. A train came in, eastbound, at 1:25 and the engineer, warned of the trouble, refused to cross the bridge until daylight. He was the first to give the alarm, telegraphing from

Monocacy at 7 a.m., as the wires from Harper's Ferry had been cut.

Shooting took place intermittently between citizens and the raiders, now barricaded in the government buildings, with occasional casualties, although not enough to prevent John Brown having breakfast for forty-five people; prisoners and fighters, served from the Wager House. Militia arrived from Charlestown, eight miles distant, and secured the bridge leading to Maryland by noon. The retreat, delayed too long, was now impossible, although the militia was no immediate menace to the abolitionists. Sharpshooters, however, picked off several of Brown's men. The first to die was Dangerfield Newley, a free negro whose wife and seven children were slaves in Virginia, momentarily expecting to be "sold south". Newley's body was carved up for souvenirs. William Thompson, sent out with a flag of truce, was detained by the citizens. William Leeman was captured on a tiny island in the river, while attempting to escape, and was killed by a local citizen. The body, left in the river, was a target for the militia companies. Late in the afternoon the mayor of the town, Beckham, was killed while peering around a corner. The prisoner, Thompson, was then killed and thrown into the river as an act of retaliation. The men in Brown's outposts were killed or captured on Monday afternoon, except two, Hazlett and Anderson, the only raiders to escape. Two of the leaders sons, Oliver and Watson Brown, were badly wounded. The former died Monday night. Only five men remained unwounded.

A company of marines under Robert E. Lee and "Jeb" Stuart arrived Monday night, and stormed the last stronghold early Tuesday morning. Two men were bayoneted, the others captured. John Brown was severely cut about the head, but the wounds were not serious. His son, Watson, survived the assault by about twenty hours.

11. Richmond Dispatch, October 23, 1859.

The following morning the prisoners were taken to Charlestown jail to await the trial which commenced October 25; one week after the capture. Two local lawyers, appointed as Brown's counsel, were superseded by rather able attorneys, Samuel Chilton of Washington and Eiram Griswold of Cleveland, although George H. Hoyt of Massachusetts, only twenty-one years old, was the sole representative for a time. The verdict of guilty of treason, murder and inciting slaves to insurrection was delivered October 25 and the prisoner was sentenced November 2 to die one month later. It was on this occasion that Brown made his famous speech explaining his motives. He pointed out that if he had "interfered in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great, or in behalf of any of their friends, either father, mother, brother, sister, wife or children, or any of that class, and suffered and sacrificed what I have in this interference, it would have been all right. Every man in this Court would have deemed it an act worthy of reward rather than punishment."

Brown had repeatedly objected to a claim of insanity in his behalf, although his maternal grandmother, two uncles, three aunts, one sister, one brother, one niece, six cousins and two sons had been insane.¹² In view of this record it is regrettable that a competent alienist was not consulted.

As a prophecy of the coming Civil War, it is noteworthy that "Stonewall" Jackson with his cadets from Virginia Military Institute acted as a guard at the execution. Brown with his last words predicted that the slavery question would be settled only in conflict.

12. Villard, Oswald Garrison, op. cit. 308.

Points of interest connected with the raid include the Kennedy house, the armory and arsenal in Harper's Ferry, and the jail, courthouse, and place of execution in Charlestown.

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Submitted by:

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