

A Check List of an Exhibition of

# JOHN BROWN

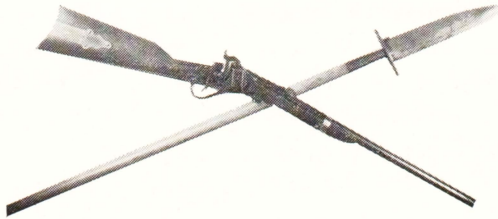
1800-1859

and

A Note on John Brown

by

Richard B. Harwell



University of Kansas Libraries - - - - 1959

© COPYRIGHT 1959  
BY THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS LIBRARIES

PRINTED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS PRESS  
LAWRENCE, KANSAS

## Foreword

The present exhibition of John Brown on display at The University of Kansas Library has been constructed with the assistance of several persons and institutions. Materials were gathered and notes for the exhibition prepared by the staff of the Library's Kansas Collection, Laura Neiswanger, curator, and Sondra Alden. To James C. Malin, professor of history at The University of Kansas, special thanks are due for technical advice and for assistance in the selection of materials. Mr. Boyd B. Stutler of Charlestown, West Virginia, generously lent from his large private John Brown collection the following items: numbers 8, 13, 15, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26, 28, 34, 35, 38, 41-43, 45, 49-57, 59, 60. Mrs. A. J. Mix of Lawrence, Kansas, kindly made available from her personal possessions items 12 and 58. Thanks to the Yale University Library for the loan of item number 19; to the University of Wichita Library for item number 36; to the Kansas State Historical Society for item number 37; and to the Pierpont Morgan Library for item number 40. All other exhibit items, including the weapons, are from the collections of The University of Kansas Library.

The Library is indebted also to Richard B. Harwell, executive secretary of the Association of College and Research Libraries and an editor and bibliographer of Civil War materials, for his *Note on John Brown*, published here as accompaniment to the checklist of the exhibition.

## A Note on John Brown

He was touched with fire. Whether it was the fire of Heaven or Hell or the mark of a strong case of insanity is a matter of interpretation and dispute, but the fiery swathe that Old John Brown cut across eastern Kansas lighted the way to an explosion of Southern and Northern tensions at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, in the fall of 1859 and sparked the flames that were to grow into the national conflagration of 1861-65.

The blind zealotry of Brown's Kansas career and the ultimate fanaticism of Harper's Ferry were the products of a long pattern of personal failure, Messianic delusion, and a family pedigree blotched by records of mental derangement. He was a visionary on one hand and, on the other, a murderer. His moment at the focus of the American scene was a moment of shame, but at the center of his delusions was the great truth that American slavery must die. His soul does go marching on—in the pages of American history as a mad abolitionist; in the folk memory of the people he worked to free as a prophet of Abraham Lincoln.

John Brown was born in Connecticut in 1800. From his father he inherited a wandering nature, an intense piety, a vigorous abolitionism, and the example of a large family. (The elder Brown was twice married and the father of sixteen children; the son was also married twice and became the father of a full score of offspring.) From his mother John Brown inherited only insanity.

The young abolitionist grew up in Connecticut and Ohio, almost without education. During the War of 1812 he drove herds of beef on their way as supply for the troops. Shortly afterward he entered trade as a foreman in his father's tannery. In 1825 he moved to Richmond, Pennsylvania. There his tannery became a station on the Underground Railroad forwarding slaves to freedom. His move to Pennsylvania was the first of more than a dozen in his life—moves usually brought about by business failures. Brown avoided the acknowledgment of his personal failure by emphasizing more and more his fanatical piety and his devotion to the cause of abolitionism. After the debacle of a costly bankruptcy in Massachusetts he removed his family to a Utopian community founded by Gerrit Smith at North Elba, New York, for the uplift of Negroes. He soon moved again, to Akron, Ohio, but the nature of his Messianic mission was beginning to take shape in dreams of slave insurrections. This was the idea that was to carry him to death.

In the mid-fifties Kansas was both symbol and fact in the controversies between the protagonists of slavery and the Free-Soilers. Many of the generals later famous (on both sides) in the American Civil War received their

first training for that conflict in the War with Mexico. The Kansas border wars were a second rehearsal for the coming war, a rehearsal for officers in frontier, partisan tactics, and a rehearsal for troops in the most bloody and ruffianly of guerilla methods. Brown himself engaged in this second rehearsal as a leader of the Osawatimie militia in the bloodless Wakarusa War and as the leader of his private band in the far-from-bloodless, premeditated massacre at Pottawatomie in 1856. And it was Brown who again held the stage in that prologue to war at Harper's Ferry. John Brown did not cause the Civil War, but he was certainly its prophet. He dramatized slavery and abolitionism as actual facts and effective propaganda just as successfully as Harriet Beecher Stowe sentimentalized them to the same end.

Five of Brown's sons had moved to Kansas early in 1855, planning to win the Territory to the Free Soilers as well as to take up lands for themselves. In May John Brown jr. wrote to his father for help. The old man must have been a convincing spellbinder; he could not only talk himself free from his bankruptcies, he could also talk support for militant abolitionism from conservative upstate New Yorkers and New Englanders. He came running, in a one-horse wagon loaded with ammunition. Shortly after his arrival in Kansas he and his sons organized at Lawrence a company of militia. The Lawrence *Herald of Freedom* for October 29, 1859 recalled:

The four sons had located on Pottawatomie creek, in Lykins county, and in the fall of 1855 were joined by the father and other brothers. When the Wakarusa war was pending the old man and four sons arrived in Lawrence, the balance he reported sick. As they drove up in front of the Free State Hotel they were all standing in a small lumber wagon. To each of their persons was strapped a short heavy broad sword. Each was supplied with a goodly number of fire arms, and navy revolvers, and poles were standing endwise around the wagon box with fixed bayonets pointing upwards. They looked really formidable and were received with great eclat. A small military company was organized at once, and the command was given to Old Brown. From that hour he commenced fomenting difficulties in camp, disregarding the commands of superior officers, and trying to induce the men to go down to Franklin and make an attack upon the Pro-slavery forces encamped there. The Committee of Public Safety was called upon several times to head off his wild adventure, as the people of Lawrence had planted themselves on the law . . . and they would not go out of town to attack any such body. Peace was established, and "Old Brown" *retired in disgust*.

The indecisive outcome of the Wakarusa War increased his enthusiasm for pressing the work of the Free Soilers, and the subsequent sack of Law-

rence by pro-slavery men from Missouri fired him to fever pitch. He worked hard to increase his forces and their strength. In a letter (now in the Kansas Room of the University of Kansas Library) he had written on February 21, 1856 to an eastern convert coming to join him: "We are about 60 miles from Kansas City; which is near the Missouri line. I think that Free State people who go quietly along their way will not now meet any difficulty in Missouri. I have been a number of times of late into the State & though *I always* (when asked) freely avow myself a *Free State* man, have met with no trouble. I would advise to *frankness* & quietness."

In his admirable introduction to Walt Whitman's *The Eighteenth President* (Lawrence, [1956]), Edward F. Grier comments: "Modern students of the Kansas Crisis agree that legend drew too lurid a picture of 'bleeding Kansas,' but it was legend which inflamed minds in 1856 and the facts were bad enough." In historical perspective Professor Grier is doubtless right, but bloody facts were real to the Kansans of 1856, and the murder by Brown and his sons of five pro-slavery settlers on Pottawatomie Creek on the night of May 25-26 was bloodier than any legend. Brown and his men were the Terrors of the Territory. At the end of August 1856, however, Brown and his followers were attacked at Osawatomie, and one of Brown's sons killed. The father returned east shortly afterwards. In what must have been one of his last letters (now at the University of Kansas) during this stay in Kansas he had written his children still in the east from Topeka on August 11: "At all events let none of you be disheartened for God still *lives*, & 'blessed be his great & holy name!'"

When Brown returned to the East he was the picture of the Old Testament patriarch that John Steuart Curry has so brilliantly represented in his paintings. His eyes shone with the intensity of his dedication to a cause, and his conversation revolved about slavery with the concentration of a monomaniac. His devotion to his cause won him support of men of the highest repute, and he returned to Kansas in the fall of 1857, but the temper of the Territory had quieted, and he had little opportunity to foment further trouble.

He again shifted his base. The next spring he met with his followers and a few Negroes at Chatham, Canada, to lay plans for a slave insurrection. In the summer of 1858 he returned to Kansas as "Shubel Morgan" to rally support and to continue his oldtime operations. This stay in the Territory was short-lived, but it too was bloody enough. Brown was in constant touch with supporters in the East who provided funds for his activities. When his plans were discovered by more level-headed Kansans, however, he left the Territory for the last time, stopping in Missouri only long enough to kill a pro-slavery settler and steal his slaves. He sloped to Canada, now really an outlaw, but still supported as a hero by abolitionist elements in the East.

John Brown's Kansan days were over. His steps now led to everlasting fame—or infamy—at Harper's Ferry.

The accuracy of Lawrence's *Herald of Freedom's* understanding of the events of 1859 stands the test of time remarkably well:

Eli Thayer, of Massachusetts, had projected a peaceful demonstration to the people [of Virginia] of the advantages of educated free labor over slave labor, and had located a colony there which was in successful operation, and was winning golden opinions by its quiet, orderly action. But 'Old Brown,' and his sympathizers, who only saw 'through revolution the end of American slavery,' marched into the State, hired a farm in the vicinity of Harper's Ferry, and there projected their iniquitous work—the exciting of a servile insurrection. . . . Their sympathizers and co-operators in Kansas were posted in all the movements of these men, and but a short time before the breaking out of the difficulty at Harper's Ferry, were trying to hire money in Lawrence with which to pay their expenses to the scene of contemplated strife. . . .

The whole plan of the organization, mode of operation, &c., it seems had been known in Kansas for a long time. We are told by parties who were in on the secret, that the plan of Old Brown & Co. was to strike such a bold and vigorous blow as to intimidate the entire population of Virginia and the South, who are known to be exceedingly timorous over their slave population. With his few immediate supporters he was to take possession of the armory, while others, with teams, were to carry the arms and military supplies to the mountains. In those fastnesses he was to erect his independent standard, around which the negroes were to assemble. A secret organization, permeating all sections of the North, with powerful backing in Kansas, was to furnish recruits. Thus strengthened they would be able to bid defiance to State and federal authority, and though a seven years' war should follow, or though it should be protracted through half a century, they would keep alive their movements, acting mostly upon the defensive at first, till the negroes of the Canadas and of the South could give them sufficient strength to justify aggressive movements.

The story of events at Harper's Ferry is a thrice told tale: how Brown and his followers took possession of the United States Armory and the town's bridges, how he spurned his chance to escape to the mountains until local militia blocked his way to leave, how he was besieged in the engine-house of the Armory, how United States Marines (commanded by Colonel Robert E. Lee—on leave from his post in Texas—and accompanied by Lieutenant J.E.B. Stuart—on leave from the Kansan frontier) arrived the next day and

captured the old abolitionist. This was in mid-October. The mad career of John Brown had reached its climax. His great project had failed. Ten of his men (including two of his sons) had been killed at Harper's Ferry. Brown himself had been slightly wounded and was held a prisoner.

His steps now led to the gallows—and to glory.

In an almost unknown set of articles that John Esten Cooke, a private in the Richmond Howitzers at Harper's Ferry after the raid and at Brown's execution (later a well known unreconstructed southern novelist), wrote in 1862 for Richmond's *The Southern Illustrated News* as "The First Campaign of a Fat Volunteer: A Sketch of the John Brown War" is a perceptive Southern account of the effects of the raid:

The outrage so lately perpetrated upon the soil of Virginia awakened the most intense apprehensions for the safety of the Union in the minds of every lover of his country. But, perhaps, the most striking results of it were the immediate development of a sympathy for Old Brown and his associates which the Northern people could not conceal, and of a corresponding indignation on the part of the Southern people at the unparalleled insult offered to them and their institutions, and of their determination, at all hazards, to avenge it. An immediate impetus was given to the military spirit of the South, with a view to prepare for the events which must surely come. New companies were enrolled, not only in the city of Richmond and in the State of Virginia, but like activity was observable as extending throughout the whole South.

Old Brown had been tried by a jury of his peers, and, as he richly deserved, had been sentenced to be hanged on the 2d day of December, and following his trial came those of the conspirators, and with a like result. The abolition newspapers of the North were unblushing in expressing their sympathy for these wretches, and when it was at last ascertained that none but the most insane could entertain hopes of a pardon to them, their rescue from the clutches of the law was advocated with the most insolent boldness.

There was no attempt to prevent Brown's execution. He was hanged on the appointed day. The next February Lincoln in his famous speech at the Cooper Union dismissed Brown's raid as of little importance. "That affair, in its philosophy," he said, "corresponds with the many attempts, related in history, at the assassination of kings and emperors. An enthusiast broods over the oppression of a people till he fancies himself commissioned by Heaven to liberate them. He ventures the attempt, which ends in little else than his own execution." Fate and time and Old John Brown of Osawatomie himself proved Lincoln wrong.



After his capture and his conviction for "treason to the Commonwealth [of Virginia], conspiring with slaves to commit treason and murder," Brown conducted himself with such steadfastness and with such conviction of the recitude of his course that some were convinced of his insanity, and many were convinced of his cause. Having engaged in a multitude of excesses on his way to Harper's Ferry he fought there with bravery and died there with dignity.

Brown became a *cause*. He was treated as a martyr in the North, and his name became a rallying cry for abolitionists everywhere. Victor Hugo, a lover of causes all his life, overflowed with sympathy for Brown. In a pamphlet *John Brown* published in Paris in 1861 he wrote: "John Brown is a hero & a martyr. To kill him was a crime. His gibbet is a cross." Writing of the war in America Hugo spoke of "the gallows at Charlestown, the starting point of these momentous events," and mourned: "When, in December 1859, I with deep sorrow predicted to America the disruption of the Union as a consequence of the murder of John Brown, I did not think that the event was to follow so closely. At this hour everything that was in John Brown's scaffold is coming out of it."

Hugo knew only the supposed martyrdom of Brown. George Washington Brown of Lawrence, editor of *The Herald of Freedom*, knew John Brown from long before. This other Brown wrote for his issue of December 17, 1859:

Whatever John Brown may have been engaged in previously as a means of achieving the triumph of free principles, that cannot be construed as casting any luster on his last enterprise, unless it is proved a legitimate sequence of the defence of free principles. His avowed object, and that of his associates, was to set on foot a slave insurrection. Is that a legitimate sequence of the advocacy of free principles? If so, then insurrection is one of the noble and Heaven-ordained means of advancing the freedom of the African race—one which abolitionists can advocate, good citizens commend, and Christians laud its active promoters as men worthy of being enshrined as better than Washington, and equal to Jesus Christ; and the gallows of John Brown as honored as the cross of Jesus!

. . . Had John Brown been a believer in the atheism and wild revolutionary dogmas of the French Revolution, his course would have had the merit of consistency. Had he succeeded in his late attempt, and written his name in blood as did Robespierre, and Danton, and Murat, he would have been enrolled on the same martyr-list with theirs, by the zealots and anarchists of future centuries; but now, while conservative men shudder at his fate, and Christians regret that he did not believe in the truth he professed; while they may drop a silent tear

over the calmness with which he met his doom; while they may grant him to be sincere but mistaken in his motives, neither subjecting them to a rigid analysis, nor calculating their tendencies—they cannot award him a place on the martyr-roll of the future.

The columns of the same issue of the *Herald of Freedom* announced that the next week the young men of Lawrence would discuss at a meeting of the newly formed Lawrence Lyceum “Is our Union in immediate danger of being dissolved?” They had only to look to the gallows at Charlestown for their answer. Rightly or wrongly, John Brown had entered his name on the roll of martyrs. His soul would march with these young men and with hundreds of thousands of other young men as they marched to war for freedom and for the Union.

—RICHARD B. HARWELL

## The Exhibition

- I. Materials are arranged in approximate chronological order.
  1. Sharps Carbine, 1853 Model, .54 caliber. Serial 11657. Sometimes known as the "John Brown" model.
  2. Lucy Larcom. *Lays of the Emigrants as Sung by the Parties for Kansas on the Days of Their Departure from Boston, During the Spring of 1855*. Boston, 1855.
  3. *The Statutes of the Territory of Kansas*. Shawnee M.H. School, 1855. The "Black Laws."
  4. C. W. Briggs. *The Reign of Terror in Kansas*. Boston, 1856.
  5. U.S. Congress. House. Committee to Investigate the Troubles in Kansas. *Report . . .* Washington, 1856. The "Howard report."
  6. *New England Emigrant Aid Company*. Boston, JAN'Y 15, 1856. *This is to Certify, that JOHN BROWN, LAWRENCE, K.T. is Proprietor of ONE Shares, of the par value of twenty dollars each, of the Capital Stock of the New England Emigrant Aid Company. . .* (Photostat copy).
  7. John Brown. ALS to Orson Day from Osawatomic, K.T. February 21, 1856.
  8. James B. Abbott. ALS to "Capt Brown," June 24, 1856.
  9. John Brown. Portrait. Copy of a photograph and autograph note, "A likeness of old John Brown which he had taken at my request in 1856, when he went to Kansas. Amos A. Lawrence, Boston, 1881."
  10. John Brown. ALS to "Dear Children every One," from Topeka, Kansas Terr. August 11, 1856.
  11. James Hale. *The Battle of Osawatomic (August 30, 1856) Story of the Conflict told by Lieutenant with the Pro-Slavery Forces for the First Time*. Typescript copy (1910).
  12. *Fremont Festival. New England All Right . . . in Collinsville [Connecticut] . . . December 10th, 1856 . . . Proceeds to be sent to the needy in Kansas*. Program of a fund-raising event.
  13. John Brown. Autograph manuscript (one leaf) of a speech before a committee of the Massachusetts Legislature, February 18, 1857.
  14. Amos A. Lawrence. ALS to Charles Robinson from Boston. March 31, 1857.
  15. John Brown. *Old Brown's Farewell to Plymouth Rocks*. Autograph manuscript, signed. Boston, April, 1857.
  16. Robert John Walker. *Inaugural Address of R. J. Walker, Governor of Kansas Territory, Delivered at Lecompton, May 27, 1857*. Lecompton, 1857.
  17. Charles Robinson. *Message of Charles Robinson, Governor of Kansas, Delivered at Topeka, June 11, 1857*. Quindaro, 1857.

18. Amos A. Lawrence. ALS to Charles Robinson from Boston. August 16, 1857.
19. [John Brown ?] | *Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States . . .* | John Kagi, printer. Hamilton, Canada, 1858?]
20. John Brown. Autograph letter (signed "Shubel Morgan") to "Dear Wife & Children All" from Sugar Mound, Kansas. July 9, 1958.
21. John Brown. AL to "Dear Wife and Children All" from Osawatomie. December 2, 1858.
22. Henry Clay Pate. *John Brown as Viewed by H. Clay Pate*. New York, 1859. A typewritten copy.
23. John Brown. Portrait sketch by Joseph H. Diss Debar. (1859?).
24. John Brown. Portrait photograph, with autograph note by F. B. Sanborn. 1859.
25. John Brown. ALS to "Dear Wife and Children All," from Osawatomie. January 11, 1859.
26. John Brown. ALS to "My Dear Daughter Ellen," from Boston. May 13, 1859. See item number 55.
27. John Doy. *Narrative of John Doy of Lawrence, Kansas*. New York, 1860.
28. *The Last Act of the Kansas Drama! The Rescuers of Dr. John Doy. . . July 23, 1859*. Broadside.
29. *The Doy Rescue*. An enlargement of the original photograph by A. G. DaLee. Lawrence, 1859.
30. Lawrence *Republican*, October 20, 1859.
31. Lawrence *Republican*, October 27, 1859.
32. John Brown Pike. One of a thousand ordered by Brown, presumably to be put into the hands of slaves. They ended up at Harper's Ferry.
33. *Address of John Brown to the Virginia Court, November 2, 1859, on Receiving the Sentence of Death . . .* Broadside (photocopy).
34. [Charlestown] | *Free Press Extra*. Broadside. Charlestown, Virginia, November 11, 1859.
35. *John Brown, Leader of the Harper's Ferry Insurrection*. Lithograph. Currier & Ives, 1859.
36. John Brown. Copy of letter to Luther Humphrey from Charlestown, Virginia. November 19, 1859.
37. *Remember Friday! The Sixteenth of December! On that day, being the day of the Execution of Capt. Brown's four comrades, an Anti-Slavery Meeting will be held in the Court House in Lawrence. . .* Broadside, 1859.
38. John Brown. ALS to "Dear Brother Jeremiah," from Charlestown Prison. December 1 (misdated November 1) 1859.

39. *Martyrdom of John Brown*. [Program of] *Exercises at the Town Hall in Concord on Friday, December 2d, 1859* (Photocopy).
40. Ralph Waldo Emerson. Autograph page of remarks, December 2, 1859, in Concord, Massachusetts, at a service noting the martyrdom of John Brown. See item number 39.
41. John Avis. ALS to Mrs. [John] Brown, from Charlestown, Va. December 4, 1859.
42. J. M. Hopper. Bill for \$45 rendered to the estate of John Brown (dec.) for funeral expenses. Brooklyn, December 5, 1859.
43. Robert E. Lee. Autograph signed jacket brief of an official letter from Harper's Ferry, December 10, 1859, of Brevet Colonel R. E. Lee, Second Cavalry, USA.
44. (Lawrence) *Kansas Herald of Freedom*, December 17, 1859.
45. Victor Hugo. "Encore un mot sur le martyr John Brown." Proof sheet with autograph corrections, for *La Gazette du Guernesey*, issue of December 24, 1859.
46. Colt Percussion Revolver. .44 caliber, six-shot, single action. Army Model, 1860.
47. U.S. Congress. Senate. Select Committee on the Harper's Ferry Invasion. *Report*. Washington, 1860. The "Mason report."
48. (Topeka) *Kansas State Record*, March 24, 1860.
49. "John Brown's Body." Song, manuscript copy by James E. Greenleaf [1861].
50. "John Brown." Song (broadside). C. S. Hall, Charlestown, Massachusetts, 1861.
51. Victor Hugo. *John Brown*. Paris, 1861.
52. Paul Chenay. Engraving (of John Brown on the gibbet) from a sketch by Victor Hugo. Paris, 1861.
53. Victor Hugo. *John Brown*. (Ridgewood, N.J.) Alwil Shop, 1902.
54. *John Brown Meeting the Slave mother and her Child* . . . From the original painting by Louis Ransom. Lithograph. Currier & Ives, 1863.
55. Ellen Brown. Photograph by J. W. Black. Boston, 1863. See item number 26.
56. *John Brown—The Martyr. Meeting a Slave Mother and her Child*. Lithograph. Currier & Ives, 1870.
57. John Brown Medal (Bronze), recto and verso. (Two copies). Brussels, 1874.
58. Birthplace of John Brown, Torrington, Connecticut. Memorial ceramic plate, ca. 1875.
59. John Brown's Cabin, Ossawatimie, Kansas. Photograph (prior to 1914).
60. *John Steuart Curry . . . an exhibition*. Lawrence, Kansas, 1957. Oil sketches for the Topeka Capital murals: *Tragic Prelude*.

- II. A selected list of materials of biographical interest, also on exhibition.
61. Elijah Avey. *The capture and execution of John Brown, a tale of martyrdom by . . . an eye witness*. Elgin, Ill. (1906).
  62. Robert S. Bevier. *Briefleigh, a tale of the times of old John Brown*. New York, 1889.
  63. G. W. Brown. *The truth at last. History corrected. Reminiscences of old John Brown*. Rockford, Ill., 1880.
  64. William E. Connelley, *John Brown*. Topeka, 1900.
  65. R. M. DeWitt. *The life, trial and execution of Captain John Brown*. New York, 1859.
  66. R. J. Hinton. *John Brown and his men*. New York, 1894.
  67. Hermann E. von Holst. *John Brown*. Edited by F. P. Stearns. Boston, 1888.
  68. Thomas Hughes. *The struggle for Kansas*. "Substance of two lectures delivered at the Working Men's College, Great Ormond Street." Cambridge, 1862.
  69. Mary E. Jackson. *The spy of Osawatomie; or, The mysterious companions of old John Brown*. St. Louis, 1881.
  70. Allan Kellar. *Thunder at Harper's Ferry*. Englewood Cliffs, N. Y., Prentice-Hall, 1958.
  71. O. E. Learnard. *John Brown's career in Kansas*. Paper prepared for the Veterans of '56. (1910).
  72. James C. Malin. *John Brown and the legend of fifty-six*. Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1942.
  73. Kirke Mechem. *John Brown, a play*. Manhattan, The Kansas Magazine (1939).
  74. James Redpath. *Echoes of Harper's Ferry*. Boston, 1860.
  75. James Redpath. *The public life of Captain John Brown*. Boston, 1860.
  76. F. B. Sanborn. *The life and letters of John Brown*. Boston, 1885.
  77. B. B. Stutler. "An eyewitness describes the hanging of John Brown." In *American Heritage*, February, 1955.
  78. Mrs. J. C. Swayze. *Ossawatomie Brown; or, The insurrection at Harper's Ferry*. New York, S. French, n.d. (*Kansas Historical Quarterly*, February 1937. Reprint.)
  79. Joy K. Talbert. *John Brown in American literature*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Kansas, 1941. 2 v.
  80. O. G. Villard. *John Brown, 1800-1859; a biography fifty years after*. Boston, 1910.
  81. R. P. Warren. *John Brown; the making of a martyr*. New York, Payson and Clarke, 1929.
  82. Richard D. Webb. *Life and letters of Captain John Brown*. London, 1861.
  83. H. P. Wilson. *John Brown, soldier of fortune*. Lawrence, Kan., 1913.