

Chronology of John Brown Photo Portraits Narrative

by Jean Libby, author and curator

John Brown used photographs to promote and recruit for his organization and plans to end slavery in the United States. Just as he insisted on the most modern weapons, Brown seized on the technology of print replication of the single-image daguerreotype as soon as it became available in the 1850s. As he grew older and his face showed the strain of age and illness, he encouraged art enhancement of prints and negatives and even the original plates. Finding the chronology of photographs of John Brown is consequently often a study of deliberate variation from a single portrait.

There are a total of twelve known original photographs, most (possibly all) of which were daguerreotypes, made between 1848 and 1858.¹ Five of the twelve sittings were in a 90-day period between January and April 1857, sponsored for promotion of free state emigration to Kansas. His famous bearded photograph, standing in $\frac{3}{4}$ length with his arms behind him, or vignetted into a soft-edged face and shoulders, is from one original daguerreotype, made in 1858 by M. M. Lawrence of New York.²

Most of the archives who own the photographs call them 'John Brown.' The Chronology uses the convention of his name followed by place of the portrait, then date or date range. Attributed photographer, size of the photograph,³ identification of the archives and the required creditlines are posted beneath each Image name. There are fifteen numbered prints, with five

additional subnumbered variations. Five of the twelve original daguerreotypes are extant in archives.

The Chronology was undertaken as a public history project, with workshops by interested organizations and specialists beginning in 2002. A forensic opinion was contributed by Professor Eileen Barrow of Louisiana State University (Baton Rouge) FACES Laboratory, based upon digital images.⁴

The sequence of the portraits is directly related to the three critical historical events of the decade from 1848 to 1859: the Fugitive Slave Law (1850), the Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854), and the Dred Scott decision of the U.S. Supreme Court (1857) declaring slavery legal in all states and territories. Seen in chronology, the photographs are definitive of John Brown's response to these national events, and his actions to resist them.

Period 1: The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. John Brown lives in Springfield, Massachusetts, North Elba, New York (in community with African Americans on land contributed by abolitionist Gerrit Smith) and in Akron, Ohio. He is a sheep farmer, in business as a wool dealer, visiting England and Europe in 1849. In 1850 he organizes a defense compact within the black community of Springfield, the League of Gileadites.⁵

The first two daguerreotypes (Images 1 and 2) are made in Hartford by the black abolitionist photographer Augustus Washington ca. 1848. The originals have been recovered in the last twenty years, auctioned and residing at the Nelson-Atkins Museum in Kansas City, Missouri and the National Portrait Gallery at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. After returning to Akron with his family from 1851 to 1855, Brown is visited frequently by black abolitionists who are organizing the Underground Railroad from Ohio to Detroit.⁶

1. John Brown in Hartford 1848/1850

Photographer: Augustus Washington (1820-1875)

Quarter plate daguerreotype, Nelson-Atkins Museum 2008.6.4, mirror view

The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri.

Gift of the Hall Family Foundation in 2007 Photo by John Lamberton (JBCh, 15-19)

On Tuesday evening, 1st Feb., I lectured to a considerable audience in the Town Hall, Springfield, Mass., but with very little apparent effect ...The most interesting part of my visit to Springfield, was a private interview with Mr. Brown, Mr. Van Rensaelaer and Mr. Washington. The first of these, though a white gentleman, is in sympathy a black man, and is as deeply interested in our cause, as though his own soul had been pierced with the iron of slavery. After shaking my hand with a grip peculiar to Anti-Slavery men, Mr. Brown said that for many years he had been standing by the great sea of American bondmen, and anxiously watching for some true men to rise above its dark level, possessing the energy of head and heart to demand freedom for their whole people, and congratulated myself and the cause, that he now saw such men rising in all directions, the result of which, he knew, must be the downfall of slavery. Mr. Brown is one of the most earnest and interesting men that I have met in a long time.

F. Douglass (The North Star, February 11, 1848)

"The two Hartford daguerreotypes were taken within days, or at most weeks of each other." (Barrow 2003) The traditional portrait is listed as Image 1, the abolition promotion daguerreotype is Image 2. A third daguerreotype by Washington, of John Brown and African American employee/confidant Thomas

Thomas holding an outstretched banner 'Subterranean Pass Way,' is known anecdotally but not in its original format.⁷

Dating the first two daguerreotypes to 1848/1850 is based on Douglass's description of the meeting of Brown with black abolitionist Augustus Washington (the photographer), and identification of the portrait by Franklin Sanborn, ca. 1850.⁸ He wrote a letter to the New York Daily Tribune in 1851 describing "African Colonization—By a Man of Color" In 1853 Augustus Washington emigrated to Liberia.⁹

**2. John Brown with abolition banner 1848/1850
Photographer Augustus Washington (1820-1875)
Quarter-plate daguerreotype, National Portrait Gallery
NPG 96.123, mirror view**

**National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution
Purchased with major acquisition funds and with funds donated by Betty Adler Schermer
in honor of August M. Bondi in 1996 (JBCh,16-19)**

In a letter to Franklin Sanborn on March 27, 1885, John Brown Jr. responded to questions about the Washington daguerreotypes:

"In regard to the daguerreotypes you refer to, I have them both. The one with flag, (which appears to be only of white or light colored cloth of some kind without stars, stripes or emblems of any sort), was taken by a Colored daguerresian artist at Hartford, named Washington. I doubt if you would consider it a good one. The other is no better perhaps, and is considerably defaced. It presents however the opposite side of the face which the Boston artist in Statuary wrote me he had failed to find in any pictures of Father. I will send these pictures to you if you wish."¹⁰

John Brown Jr. died in 1895. The portrait-style Hartford daguerreotype (Image 1) was given to Annie Brown Adams in California, who loaned it to Thomas Featherstonhaugh for copy in Washington D.C. in the early 1900s.¹¹ Her descendants in Ohio placed it on auction in 2007 for medical expenses, which realized \$97,000. The banner daguerreotype (Image 2) was recognized at a Pennsylvania auction in 1996, mislabeled. The subsequent auction and purchase by the National Portrait Gallery realized \$115,000.

3. John Brown 1852/1854

Photographer: unknown, possibly Samuel J. Miller of Akron (1822-1888) Copy by Easton's Photographic Gallery, Rochester, Minnesota, dated March 24th 1868. Carte-de-visite albumen print, Kansas Memory ID 208851, life view

Kansas State Historical Society

Donated by James Burton in 1952 (JBCh, 21)

The original daguerreotype may have been taken by Samuel J. Miller, the pioneer photographer in Akron. Miller made a now-famous daguerreotype of Frederick Douglass (who frequently visited Brown in Akron) in 1852.¹² An engraving published in The Magazine of American History (1893) is captioned 'John Brown as he appeared in 1854.' (JBCh, 20)

The copy photographers in Rochester, Minnesota, were an interracial married couple, James and Lucy Easton. Kansas archivist Judy Sweets researched the partial studio identification for the exhibition. Lucy Jane Easton, who was white, was known as a clairvoyant and healer as well as photography artist. James Easton, a mulatto, went into the business of stock horses after operating the photograph studio for many years. (JBCh, 72)

**3a. Family portrait Copy by the Morse Studio in San Francisco, ca. 1880
Albumen print, 9 x 12 inches, inscribed 'To my beloved wife Mrs. Mary A. Brown
from her Affectionate husband John Brown'. Lucy Higgins and Sarah Brown
Papers, Banc Mss 2007/152, life view**

**The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley
Donated by Lori Deal, a descendant of Lucy Higgins, in 2005**

John Brown's daughter, Sarah, lived with her mother until Mary's death in 1884. The copy portrait was given to her friend Mrs. Lucy Higgins of Santa Clara at Sarah's death in 1916, as well as an original 1854 letter from John to Mary Brown. Both were donated to The Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, in 2005 by Lori Deal, descendant of Lucy Higgins. (JBCh,vi)

Period 2: The Kansas-Nebraska Act, 1854. (Docs,13-15)

Residents of territories north of Missouri will decide by election whether to be free or slave when applying for statehood. John Brown's adult sons and families become free state emigrants to Kansas Territory in 1854. After moving Mary and his young family back to North Elba, Brown begins collecting arms requested by his sons in June 1855, going to their free state settlement near Osawatomie, Kansas, in October 1855. Appointed Captain in the Kansas Free State Regulars, December 1855, he participates in civil war in Kansas in 1856.¹³,

John Brown makes a speaking tour in New England to raise funds for weapons for Kansas free state settlers' defense. The effects of Bell's Palsy is evident on Brown's face from December 1856 onward, in varying degrees as common with the condition, which is not permanent paralysis as in a stroke.¹⁴

**4. John Brown in Akron [1], August 1855
Photographer: attributed to Benjamin Battels (1823-1896) or
Samuel J. Miller (1822-1888) Albumen print, 6 7/8 by 5 3/8 inches,
F. G. Logan Collection IChi 22207; life view**

**Chicago History Museum
Acquired from Horatio Rust, representing Ruth Brown Thompson and Henry
Thompson, in 1892¹⁵**

Image 4 is firmly dated to 1855 by several sources. Attribution to Benjamin Battels is complicated by the fact that Battels did not move his studio to Akron until 1856.¹⁶ The possibility is noted that pioneer Akron photographer Samuel J. Miller photographed John Brown for both Image 3 and Image 4. Samuel Miller moved to New York in 1857, working for Gurney and Sons, who photographed many abolitionists, until 1863.¹⁷ It is notable that Jeremiah Gurney was instructed in the crystalotype (salt paper print) process by J. A. Whipple and J. W. Black of Boston.¹⁸

Another print, inscribed by John Brown to Franklin Sanborn in 1857, is extant in New England.¹⁹

4a. Summit County Historical Society painted photograph, attributed to Benjamin F. Battels in the frame. Hand-painted on paper, 7 3/16 x 4 7/8 inches, life view

**Courtesy of the Summit County Historical Society – Akron, Ohio
Found in the hallway of the Simon Perkins Mansion, which was purchased by SCHS in 1945 and is now their headquarters and museum.**

"The photos ICHI22207 and the SCHS portrait (Images 4 and 4a) appear to be the same. The SCHS being a hand tinted version, its more youthful appearance (lack of wrinkles) is the result of the coloring, much as our computer photo enhancement of today." (Barrow 2003)

**5. John Brown in Lawrence, September 12, 1856
Photographer of daguerreotype: John Bowles (1833-1900), art rendition by Daniel Beard (1850-1941) Frontispiece of Richard J. Hinton, *John Brown and his Men; with some account of the roads they traveled to reach Harper's Ferry* with signature of Brown reproduced on it, 7 1/4 x 4 3/4 inches, mirror view**

First edition in the Collection of Jean Libby (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1894)

Richard Hinton: 'from a sketch made by Dan Beard, the artist, from a daguerreotype taken in Lawrence, Kansas, September 12, 1856, by Colonel John Bowles, then residing in Lawrence. It is the only picture taken in Kansas.'²⁰

The photographer John Bowles was a stationmaster on the Underground Railroad assisting freedom-seekers in Douglas County. His daguerreotype rooms in 1856 were above the Finley and Woodward store on Massachusetts Street in Lawrence. Bowles made two field daguerreotypes of free-state batteries with captured cannon in the warfare in Kansas in the summer of 1856. One is associated with John Brown (including his son Owen Brown) posing by a small cannon in September 1856, after the defense of Lawrence on September 14. Handed off by James Redpath (who is also in the famous photograph) in Topeka, the cannon battery daguerreotype was donated to the Kansas State Historical Society by Thomas Wentworth Higginson in 1878. (JBCh,28) Image 5 is an original portrait from the daguerreotype, not a painted photograph or projection painting. Location of original daguerreotype and/or the artwork is unknown.²¹

**6. John Brown in Hudson, 1856.
Photographer unknown. Sixth-plate daguerreotype,
Boston Athenaeum UTB-6, 5.4, broj (no. 1), mirror view**

**Boston Athenaeum
Sitting sponsored by William Ritezell, editor of the *Western Reserve Chronicle*, and presented to John Brown. Donated by Sally Fairchild, a descendant of Charles and Elizabeth Nelson Fairchild, in 1942.**

Image 6 is often identified as "John Brown in Kansas, 1856." Newspaper editor William Ritezell (Western Reserve Chronicle) was the originator of the daguerreotype. In 1915,

his son Col. F. M. Ritezell noted: 'Portrait taken in Hudson, Summit County, Ohio, and presented to Brown by William Ritezell.'²² John Brown was in Hudson in the winter of 1856 to attend to family matters due to the death of his father, Owen Brown, in May 1856. He made public speeches about the need for defense of Kansas settlers, leaving after December 20 for New England for a fundraising tour.²³ He was successful in his mission of raising funds for arms in Kansas, receiving a donation of \$25 from the governor of Ohio, Samuel P. Chase (later Chief Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court).

Several branches of the Fairchild family (the owners of the daguerreotype for over eighty years) lived in Ohio. Jarius and Sally Fairchild (grandparents of the donor to the Boston Athenaeum in 1942) were particularly good friends of Owen Brown, and associated with John Brown in business in Hudson during the 1840s and 1850s. Moving West in 1856, Jarius Fairchild was the first mayor of Madison, Wisconsin. Another son, Lucius, became governor of Wisconsin after an illustrious career in the Civil War. The original daguerreotype was probably given to Owen's friends Jarius and Sally Fairchild when John Brown went to Milwaukee to raise funds for Kansas with Gerrit Smith in June, 1857, after the New England fundraising tour. Whipple and Black made a rough lithograph of the image while John Brown was in Boston, which was published in the French journal *L'Illus* in November 1859. While it was the property of Elizabeth Nelson Fairchild, the wife of Charles, in Boston, the daguerreotype was loaned for reproduction to biographers Joseph Edgar Chamberlin and Oswald Garrison Villard. (JBCh, 31.)

7. John Brown in Boston, 1856/1857 [1]

**Photographer: attributed to John Adams Whipple (1822-1891)
Quarter plate daguerreotype. MHS Photo. 1.18, mirror view**

Massachusetts Historical Society

Donated by Amos A. Lawrence in 1869 : 'Mr. John Brown sat for this likeness for me in 1856, in Boston, after the Ossawatomie affair.'

Prints were made from the daguerreotype by various photographers. One, directly signed by John Brown between 1857 and 1859, was given to Dr. Thomas Webb in Boston.²⁴ John Brown gave his daughter Ruth a life view print, which he inscribed 'To my Beloved Daughter Mrs. Ruth Thompson From her Affectionate Father John Brown'.²⁵ Rev. William Lawrence donated a print by J. J. Hawes to the Library of the State University, Lawrence, Kansas, in 1932. Inscribed on the verso: **"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."**²⁶

8. John Brown in Boston 1856/1857 [2] Photographer: attributed to John Adams Whipple (1822-1891) Tintype copy of a daguerreotype by Miss M. A. Winnie of Topeka, ca. 1888-1891, 3 3/4 x 2 5/8 inches. Kansas Memory ID 3386, life view

Kansas State Historical Society

John Brown Collection. Original sitting for Dr. Thomas H. Webb, Secretary of the New England Emigrant Aid Committee

James Redpath wrote in 1864 that John Brown had three daguerreotypes made in Boston in January 1857: one for Amos A. Lawrence (Image 7), one for Dr. Thomas Webb (Image 8) and one which Redpath was given by Brown (Image 9).²⁷ KSHS acquired the massive collection of papers and clippings of Dr. Thomas H. Webb (1801-1866, the Secretary of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, in 1878. Webb, born in Providence, Rhode Island, was once editor of the *Providence Daily News*. With John Wayland, founder of Brown University, and Dr. George Capron, he promoted the concept of animal magnetism in Providence.²⁸ Webb was progressive in ideas and actions of equality for women,

publishing a book written by Catherine Beecher in the 1843 in Boston.

Dr. Webb is a key player in the search for documentation about John Brown. He sponsored the 1857 daguerreotype sittings at Whipple & Black, and was instrumental in obtaining print copies of the other Brown images, including the bearded portrait by M. M. Lawrence (Image 15). His purpose was not only to aid Brown—introducing him as one who “will be a very famous man one day”—they were planned for possible use in his published brochures “Information for Kansas Emigrants” in 1857.²⁹ Dr. Webb’s own portrait was made by J. W. Black.³⁰

A tintype produces a reverse (mirror) image of the subject—therefore photographing a daguerreotype produces a life view. A cabinet card of Image 8 in mirror view was donated to KSHS by J. H. Leonard, another Topeka photographer, whose wife was named Winnie but who cannot be positively identified as “Miss M.A. Winnie” the tintype artist, in 1891 in 1891.³¹

A painted portrait, probably from the daguerreotype (in mirror view), was made by Selden J. Woodman in 1882. Presently at the Kansas Museum of History, the photographic history is extensively discussed by the artist and by F. G. Adams, Secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society in The Century Magazine in 1883.

A letter from “Mrs. John Brown” during her visit to Topeka in 1882 states **“I have seen Mr. Woodman’s portrait of my husband. I think it a very good likeness of him, and the more I see it, the more I like it.”**³²

The Woodman portrait was part of the Kansas exhibition in the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition:

58. This portrait of John Brown was painted by Selden J. Woodman, from a photograph belonging to the Webb

collection in the library of the Kansas State Historical Society. The portrait exhibits expressive features, which are, in a measure, concealed in the portraiture of Captain Brown with the full beard. Portrait No. 62, by Ruggles, was painted from the same photograph. Many citizens of Kansas who remember John Brown as he appeared in the stirring events of August and September, 1856, recognize the portrait without the beard as far the most satisfactory.³³

9. John Brown in Boston, 1856/1857 [3]

Photographer: Whipple and Black

Half-plate daguerreotype, Boston Athenaeum UTB-2. 5.4 Broj 1857, mirror view

Boston Athenaeum Donated by James Redpath in 1863

John Brown's tour of the New England and midAtlantic states from January to May of 1857 introduced his militant stance to the growing abolitionist movement. James Redpath identified the date of the daguerreotype **"in January 1857 or in December of the year before."**³⁴ Hair growth comparison of the three Boston images provides the dating [1] [2] [3].

At the "John Brown Remembered" Symposium in Harpers Ferry in October, 2009, Greg Artzner³⁵ commented that—rather than a mild stroke (Barrow 2003)—Brown's face shows evidence of Bell's Palsy, a nerve condition that causes facial paralysis. This was confirmed by Alice Keesey Mecoy at a tour of the exhibition that Bell's Palsy is a family condition. Her father, Paul Keesey descends from John and Mary Brown through their daughter Annie Brown Adams. He described the effects on his own face that are seen in the photographs of John Brown.³⁶

9a. Engraving by John C. Buttre (1821-1893)
Frontispiece of *The Public Life of Capt. John Brown With an Auto-Biography of his Childhood and Youth*, by James Redpath, with inscription 'Farewell, God bless you, Your friend, John Brown' reproduced on it. Lithograph, 7 ½ x 4 ½ inches, mirror view
First edition in the Collection of Jean Libby
(Boston: Thayer and Eldridge, 1860)

James Redpath was a journalist closely associated with John Brown in Kansas and with his plans for the Harpers Ferry raid. In 1858 he traveled throughout the southern United States as a 'roving editor' looking for areas of likely slave support and weak defense for John Brown.

³⁷ The Public Life of Capt. John Brown was the first biography to be published after Brown's death. The engraving is frequently published because it is online, at Encyclopedia Britannica.com., and at the National Archives and Records Center, Civil War photographs ³⁸

"This copy of a daguerreotype is captioned 'JOHN BROWN—
'Osawatomie' So called because he lived for a time in
Osawatomie, Kansas. Famous for raid on Harper's Ferry, Va.
1859. He was a militant abolitionist. From collection of Wm
Woodbridge. Believed to be copied from daguerreotype made
in Meadville, Penna, by C.J. Dennington. Copied Sept. 1
1934."

This description needs more analysis. C. J. Dennington, Meadville photographer, was born in 1854 and began business in 1872. His father, of the same name, was an abolitionist associated with John Brown and the Underground Railroad in Meadville.

Period 3: The Dred Scott Decision, April 1857. The peaceful abolition of slavery is dealt a death blow by the United States Supreme Court, who declare that slavery is legal in all states and territories, and legally free African Americans are not citizens—having "no rights the white man is bound to respect."

John Brown, greatly radicalized by this decision, completes his Eastern tour and returns to Kansas, organizing his core forces to train for action in Iowa. He plans liberation of enslaved African Americans in cooperation with black leadership and the fugitives settlement at the terminus of the Underground Railroad in Chatham, Canada West. He writes the *Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the Oppressed People of the United States* at the home of Frederick Douglass in February 1858. It is approved at the Chatham Convention, in early May 1858, where he is first seen with his famous beard. Brown's plans to liberate slaves in the South are postponed due to disclosure by a disgruntled populist warfare consultant. He meets with eastern supporters in New York on May 20, 1858 in a struggle over arms control. Returning to Boston on May 31, Brown continues to North Elba, visiting Mary and the children, then to Ohio and Iowa, reaching Lawrence on June 25. His long beard is documented by his supporters in Kansas, who organize with John Brown as the guerilla "Shubel Morgan's Company."

In December 1858 through March 1859 John Brown leads twelve rescued people from Missouri through Kansas, Iowa, and Illinois into Canada. He writes an analysis of the Underground Railroad journey, "John Brown's Parallels," which is published in the New York Tribune.³⁹ Publication of the ¾ length bearded John Brown in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* on November 19, 1859 has the caption that "the photograph made one year ago" is by Martin M. Lawrence at 381 Broadway in New York. Hundreds of prints were made by Thaddeus Hyatt, president of the National Kansas Committee, to benefit his widow Mary Brown.

10. John Brown in Albany, February/April 1857 Photographer unknown. Frontispiece of Richard D. Webb, *The Life and Letters of Captain John Brown*, 6 ½ x 4 inches. Inscription 'Farewell, God bless you, Your Friend, John Brown' reproduced on it. Albumen print, life view

First edition in the collection of Jean Libby (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1861)

Dublin (Ireland) publisher Richard D. Webb described his acquisition of the negative as 'personally brought from New York by Rev. Samuel D. May, made from the original daguerreotype, at the time of Brown's execution and funeral in December 1859.'⁴⁰ Richard D. Webb was a leader of the Antislavery Movement in Ireland; he published the narratives of William Wells Brown and Frederick Douglass in the 1840s.

An original 8 x 10 print made from this negative was held in the family for three generations, but is misplaced. Ellen Brown Fablinger, granddaughter, donated it to the Hudson Historical Society in the 1950s or early 1960s.

**10a. John Brown 'Albany' picture, February/April 1857
Sepia-tinted black and white print, 8 x 10 inches, John Brown/Boyd Stutler Database
PH 01-0040, mirror view**

**West Virginia State Archives, Boyd Stutler Collection
Original print donated to the Kansas State Historical Society by William Barnes,
Secretary of the New York Kansas Committee, in 1888**

Mr. Stutler's notes: "Inscribed on the front, not in Brown's handwriting, 'John Brown A.D. February 24th.' On the back: 'This is an original photograph taken for me at Albany, New York, about the year 1857; It is a good picture of him at that time. William Barnes, Albany, New York, December 8, 1888.'"⁴¹

William Barnes was the secretary of the New York Kansas Committee. On April 3, 1857, John Brown wrote Barnes of his disappointment in fundraising for weapons in the New England and midAtlantic states that he began in January.⁴² By April 14 he had enough funds to make a trust to hold **"all funds and other**

personal property in my hands, or in the hands of W.H.T. Collender of Hartford [the manufacturer of John Brown's pikes] for the aid of the free state cause in Kansas ..."⁴³ The date of February 24 given by Barnes is in question because Brown is not otherwise documented to be in Albany before April, 1857. The daguerreotype was reportedly made for William Barnes' wife, the daughter of Thurlow Weed, the publisher of *The Albany Journal*.⁴⁴

**11. John Brown in Akron [2] June 1857
Photographer: attributed to Benjamin Battels (1823-1896)
Copy by the Philadelphia Photographic Company, undated
carte-de-visite albumen print. Western Maryland Room, WMR 1703, life view**

**Washington County [Maryland] Free Library (WMR)
Donated by Jean Libby in 2003**

The last photograph of John Brown without his beard was probably taken in late May or early June, 1857. Brown was heading West, through Hudson (where he wrote to Mary on May 27th)⁴⁵ and Akron to visit his sons John Jr. and Jason, continuing the fundraising for Kansas freestate settlement defense. His tired expression may be indicated in his letter, when he told Mary that "I am much confused in mind, and cannot remember what I wish to write."⁴⁶

The same portrait in a painted photograph at the Akron Public Library is attributed to Benjamin Battels. It was used as the signature portrait in Akron's events of the commemoration of the 150th anniversary of John Brown's raid, identified as taken in January, 1858.⁴⁷ It is more likely that Battels made the painted photographs from prints from a late May or early June, 1857 sitting.

In January, 1858, John Brown was organizing the Antislavery Convention in Chatham, Canada West, which would create the provisional government of his planned liberation. He was on his

way through Akron to the home of Frederick Douglass in Rochester, where he wrote the Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the Oppressed People of the United States. (Docs, xx) Another painted version of this photograph is located in Chatham, Canada West, the settlement of former fugitive slaves and free blacks where Brown held the Antislavery Convention of May, 1858.⁴⁸

**12a. A painted photograph on card stock with letterpress imprint:
'The Original Photograph Presented to Allen Pinkerton by John Brown in 1858.'
6 ½ x 8 ½ inches, life view**

Collection of Jean Libby

John Brown's beard is documented in accounts of the Chatham Convention, held May 8 and 9, 1858. and in late June by James Redpath:

"We were at supper, on the 25th of June, 1858, at an hotel in Lawrence, Kansas, when a stately old man, with a flowing white beard, entered the room and took at seat at the public table. I immediately recognized in the stranger, John Brown, though many persons who had previously known him did not recognize his patriarchal disguise."⁴⁹

His plans betrayed by Hugh Forbes, a European who was employed to instruct and drill his recruits in guerilla warfare, Brown returned to Boston and New York in June to meet with the Secret Six, who had postponed their support of the planned liberation. He did not return East again—even to visit Mary and the children in North Elba--until spring 1859.

The future famed detective Allen Pinkerton owned a barrel shop in a small town near the railroads outside Chicago, and loaned a barrel to John Brown for sending flour to his family in

North Elba, which is noted in a letter by John Brown from Osawatomie on Sept. 9, 1858.⁵⁰ Pinkerton assisted John Brown's Missouri Rescue of twelve enslaved persons in Missouri on March 11, 1859, raising several hundred dollars to aid the fugitives and finding a railroad car from the Michigan Central Railway for their final journey.

John Brown "had brought them safely eleven hundred miles in eighty-two days from the date of their liberation, six hundred miles of which had been covered in wagons in the dead of winter."⁵¹

A cabinet card of the bearded photograph, with greatly enhanced artwork, was used as the base for a lithograph reproduced by Richard Hinton in John Brown and His Men (1894), 220. Hinton identifies the drawing as "John Brown as he appeared at the age of fifty-eight."⁵²

12. John Brown with beard, Boston, 1858/1859 [1] Original painted photograph by Nathum B. Onthank (1823-1888), negative by J. B. Heywood from original photograph for Dr. Webb by Martin M. Lawrence, 7 3/4 x 10 3/4 inches. Inscribed: 'June 18, 1859 From Your Affectionate Father, John Brown' Gilder Lehrman Collection, GLC04447, life view

**Gilder-Lehrman Institute of American History at the New York Historical Society
Acquired from an anonymous donor in 1994**

"This is a photograph which has been painted. Written on front bottom corner of mount is Brown's salutation and signature. With the oval blind embossment of J.B. Heywood, 176 Wash. St., Boston."⁵³

John B. Heywood of Boston made a negative from the Lawrence print or the daguerreotype, brought to his studio at 173 Washington Street by Dr. Thomas Webb in the company of John Brown "in the summer or fall of 1859."⁵⁴ The photo owner, Gilder Lehman Institute of American history, states that Heywood made the negative and print in May, 1859, whereupon it was painted by

Nathum Onthank (who would later paint the large murals from the negative by J. W. Black) and inscribed by Brown on June 18. However, the Springfield Republican in August, 1898, reports that the negative was made by Black & Batchelder in Boston "In the late spring of 1859, just before Brown left New England for the last time. ⁵⁵

The painted photograph was purchased in 1994 in a lot that includes a carte de visite vignette of the A. C. Platt photograph (Image 14), which is inscribed by Adeline Claussen, the daughter of Ruth Brown Thompson. ⁵⁶ GLC 04443.62 includes a lock of hair from John Brown. ⁵⁷

Heywood sold his studio to James Wallace Black in November 1859. The long partnership of Black with John Adams Whipple concluded in the same month, coinciding with the trial and sentencing of John Brown. By January 1860 Heywood was in business on Tremont Row in Boston advertising that he had a photograph of John Brown's widow Mary, and their daughters, made when Mary was traveling to Harpers Ferry to visit John Brown in prison. ⁵⁸ This group photograph is the source of Annie Brown's cropped oval portrait published extensively in books about the raid. ⁵⁹

**13. John Brown with beard, Boston, 1858/1859 [2]
Negative by James Wallace Black (1825-1896) from original photograph for Dr. Webb by Martin M. Lawrence. Library of Congress PH – Black no. 1 (A size) [P & P], LC USZ62 2472, b & w film copy neg. of salted paper print, 7 ½ by 5 ¼ inches, life view**

Courtesy of the Library of Congress and Professor John M. Lawlor, Reading Area Community College

Print registered for copyright by Black & Batchelder on December 12, 1859, in the District Court of Massachusetts . ⁶⁰

On December 12, 1859 (ten days after Brown's execution), a salted paper print was registered for copyright at the Massachusetts District Court by Black and his new partner, Gold

Rush photographer Perez Mann Batchelder.⁶¹ The print was amended by J. W. Black in 1864 (LC-DIG-ppmsca-23763). Written on the Verso: **"From the original taken for Dr. Webb Photographed by Black & Batchelder. Jan 21 1864 Boston Mass."**⁶² Black claimed that the original title of the copyrighted photograph was "Farewell, God Bless You, John Brown," but this is embellishment of the record, which is simply titled "John Brown."

The original print by Black & Batchelder at the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, is in a library mount, which cropped off the original pasted signature. A duplicate salt print by J. W. Black in its original mount is at the National Portrait Gallery: **"NPG.74.76, size 7 3/8 by 5 5/16 inches. Artist: James Wallace Black, Copy after: Martin M. Lawrence. Date of work: 1859, acquired in 1974."** It is a copy of the Lawrence print, including the pasted signature "Your Friend John Brown," The J. W. Black print is in a new exhibit from NPG, "Faces of the Frontier; Photographic Portraits of the American West, 1845 - 1924" which is traveling to the San Diego Historical Museum from March 12 to June 6, 2010.⁶³

One of Dr. Thomas Webb's original prints, with a pasted signature of John Brown, is at the Kansas Historical Society (Kansas Memory Item 208930).

The two salted paper prints at the Library of Congress from the Lawrence Studio and J. W. Black were examined by Carol M. Johnson, Curator of Photography. The print registered by Black & Batchelder has less fine detail than the print by Martin Lawrence, indicating that it is a copy farther removed from the original daguerreotype.⁶⁴ The location of the original daguerreotype is unknown.

14. John Brown with beard vignette, Boston, 1859
New enhanced negative by J. W. Black, May 1859, printed by Alfred Cowles Platt (1826-1884) in Sandusky, Ohio, ca. 1860. Albumen cabinet card, cut to 4 ¾ x 3 ½ inches to fit a frame or album. Kansas Memory ID 208848, life view

Kansas State Historical Society
Donated by John Brown, Jr. in 1888

A new negative of the bearded portrait in vignette was made by Jay Cooke in Philadelphia, from a portrait owned by John Brown, Jr.⁶⁵ Image 14 was identified on the Verso in 1881 by John Brown, Jr., as **made for 'newspaper presence... [illeg]...June 18, 1859, when on his way to Harper's Ferry.'** The negative was given to Alfred C. Platt of Sandusky (previously of Oberlin) for reproduction by John Brown, Jr., or by Jay Cooke, the Philadelphia Civil War financier who was a native of Sandusky, after 1860.⁶⁶

The standard size of a cabinet card is 6 ½ x 4 ½ inches. Cutting by an unknown hand removed much of the 1881 handwritten description by John Brown, Jr.

A vignette by J. W. Black was made into an ambrotype that is extant, owned by Swann Auction Galleries, who state: **"which Black had actually created after the original daguerreotype by Martin M. Lawrence."**⁶⁷ An engraving published by Franklin Sanborn in 1885 as the frontispiece of Life and Letters of John Brown, credits only J. W. Black, with the date May, 1859.⁶⁸

There are no new portrait sittings in 1859. Brown was greatly delayed in setting the raid into motion in April and May with illness and probably a severe Bell's Palsy episode:

"I write to say that I have been again entirely prostrated with the difficulty in my head, and with ague so that I have not yet been able to attend to any business ..." John Brown to John Henrie [Kagi] from North Elba, April 25, 1859.

In Concord by May 7, Brown went to Boston, meeting with A. A. Lawrence (who was cool to the Harpers Ferry proposal), and John Andrew (who gave him \$25). Andrew would assist in the defense of John Brown on trial in Virginia by publicly raising funds. He became the governor of Massachusetts in 1861 and led the Commonwealth in strong Union support throughout the Civil War.

Writing Kagi again from Keene, New York, on June 9th, Brown states:

Dear Sir: After being delayed with sickness and other hindrances, I am so far on my way back, and hope to be in Ohio within the coming week ...I have been middling successful in my business." ⁶⁹

At home in the Adirondacks with Mary and children for the last time in midJune, he apparently had the Onthank art-enhanced print by John Heywood (Image 12) with him, as well as a print from the enhanced negative by J. W. Black to prepare for "newspaper presence" (Image 14). He took them to the home of John Brown, Jr., in West Andover, Ohio, on June 18, 1859.⁷⁰

15. John Brown with beard, New York, May 1858

Photographer: Martin M. Lawrence (1808-1859). Salted paper print with Lawrence blind stamp on mount, with autograph of John Brown pasted on. Library of Congress PH Lawrence (M.) no, 1 (AA size) [P & P], 7 3/8 x 5 3/8 inches, life view.

Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division

Acquired from Marian S. Carson in 1997 (Sidney Strober Auction, 1970, Lot 344)

The date the salt print was made from the ¾ length portrait by M. M. Lawrence (the original photographer) is likely to be the time of the sitting, May 1858. In 1997 the Library purchased Image 15 from noted collector, Marian S. Carson, who had purchased it from the 1970 Sidney Strober Auction, Lot 344.⁷¹ According to the Parke Bernet catalog description, the

photographers [M. M.] Lawrence, [Jeremiah] Gurney, and [Matthew] Brady were instructed in the 'crystallotype' process by John A. Whipple of Boston. ⁷²

Publication of the ¾ length bearded John Brown in Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper on November 19, 1859 is captioned that "the photograph made one year ago" credits Martin M. Lawrence at "381 Broadway. N.Y.". Hundreds of prints were made by Thaddeus Hyatt, president of the National Kansas Committee, to benefit his widow Mary Brown.

The question of the dates of the original sitting and the reproduced prints relies upon close study of John Brown's movements in 1858 and 1859 and the opinion of photo experts, including forensic anthropologist Eileen Barrow, that there is only one original bearded photograph. This is done with attention to the eyes, showing evidence of retouching—some clumsy, some expert—as well as significant markers of hair and shadows.

Conclusion. This annotated compilation from archives, made with private funds over a period of thirty years, is the first complete publication of the twelve original photo portraits of John Brown. Digitization from the closest original source is by the author and curator, Jean Libby.

His own involvement in their reproduction for the purpose of recruitment and remembrance is a part of his leadership and determination. The context of the portraits is a good method of historical analysis for biographers of Brown and the abolition movement, most particularly in the history of free state emigration to Kansas, and for the history of photography in 19th century America.

Notes

¹ Twenty panels, enlarged to 15 x 20 inches and framed, are on permanent exhibition at the Harpers Ferry National Historical Park. Jean Libby, John Brown Photo Chronology; Catalog of the exhibition at Harpers Ferry 2009 Hereinafter cited in text as (JBCh,page).

² "John Brown, now under sentence of death for treason and murder, at Charlestown, Va. From a photograph taken one year ago by Martin M. Lawrence, 381 Broadway, N. Y." Frank Leslie's Illustrated, v. 9, no. 207 (1859 Nov. 19):383. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs: Illus. in AP2.L52 1859(Case Y).

³ The convention of citing standard formats without repeating measurements is used as recommended by The Daguerreian Society.

⁴ Dr. Barrow specializes in making aging models of missing children for the FACES (Forensics Anthropology Computer Enhanced Services) Laboratory, which assists the Coroner's Office and other law enforcement in Louisiana. Her comments were sent in an email communication to the author on June 4, 2003, with subsequent email clarifications. Hereinafter cited in text as (Barrow 2003).

⁵ Earle, John Brown's Raid on Harpers Ferry, a Brief History with Documents, 44-48. Hereinafter cited in text as Docs,page.

⁶ DeCaro, Fire From the Midst of You; a Religious Biography of John Brown,136-176. See also Louis A. DeCaro, "An Ohio Return, 1851-1855" in JBCh, 22-23.

⁷ Hinton, John Brown and His Men, 27.

⁸ "From a daguerreotype taken about 1850, in the possession of Frank B. Sanborn." New England Magazine 10 (May 1894):273.

⁹ New-York Daily Tribune (letter to the editors)July 10, 1851:7. Schumard, A Durable Memento,(2000) See also Carol M. Johnson, "Faces of Freedom: Portraits from the American Colonization Society Collection," The Daguerreian Annual, 1996 (Pittsburgh: The Daguerreian Society, 1997): 266-68.

¹⁰ Letter. John Brown, Jr., to Frank B. Sanborn, 1885 March 27. MS04-0050 A-D John Brown/Boyd B. Stutler Collection Database. In Theresa Leininger-Miller, "Important Long-Lost Quarter Plate

Daguerreotype of John Brown, the Abolitionist, by the African American Daguerreotype Artist, August [sic] Washington." Cowan's Auctions, Western & Historic Americana, 2007 Dec 6th and 7th. http://www.cowanauctions.com/department_view_item.asp?ItemId=55248 Accessed January 3, 2010.

¹¹ "Regarded as the best picture by the family." [Thomas] Featherstonhaugh Collection, "John Brown." Lot 5910. "114 photographs of prints, 1850 - 1902 (?) concerning John Brown (1800-1859), the abolitionist leader whose activities began in Kansas and culmination in the insurrection at Harper's Ferry in October 1859." Library of Congress finding aid description.

¹² "Art Institute of Chicago Pays Record \$150,000 for Douglass Portrait" Ebony Vol.LIII, no.4(February 1997):30-34. Includes a detailed description by Colin L. Westerbeck, Associate Curator of Photography at the Art Institute of Chicago. See also Colin L. Westerbeck, "Frederick Douglass Chooses His Moment," African Americans in Art: Selections from the Art Institute of Chicago Vol. 24, no. 2, Fall 1998. <http://www.artic.edu/museumstudies/ms242/westerbeck.shtml>

¹³ Calarco, People of the Underground Railroad,42-43.

¹⁴ "The disorder, which is not related to stroke, is the most common cause of facial paralysis.... Symptoms of Bell's palsy, which vary from person to person and range in severity from mild weakness to total paralysis, may include twitching, weakness, or paralysis on one or both sides of the face, drooping of the eyelid and corner of the mouth ... Other symptoms may include pain or discomfort around the jaw and behind the ear, ringing in one or both ears, headache, loss of taste, hypersensitivity to sound on the affected side, impaired speech, dizziness, and difficulty eating or drinking." National Institute of Neurological Disorders and Stroke. <http://www.ninds.nih.gov/disorders/bells/bells.htm> Accessed October 25, 2009

¹⁵ The Logan Emancipation Cabinet of Letters and Relics of John Brown and Abraham Lincoln. (The Chicago Tribune, 1892),19-25

¹⁶ A marking inside the frame states the date as 1855 "when John Brown spent the night at the Perkins mansion." John A. Botzum, "John Brown's Only Akron Photo," Times-Press, October 29, 1930.

Virginia Gunn, "Commercial Photographers in Akron, Ohio, 1850 - 1900." (University of Akron, 1989)

¹⁷ Samuel J. Miller left Akron in 1857 and worked for Jeremiah Gurney & Son (Benjamin) in New York until 1863. Ibid. See also Craig's Daguerreian Registry, 157. Auction Lot #284, "Orators and Reformers," 53 portraits of abolitionists, with imprints from Gurney and others, in the Sydney Strober Collection auction in 1970, included John Brown. Rare Photographic Images Apparatus & Literature, Sale Number 68, February 7, 1970, The Collection of Sydney Strober. (New York, 1970):80.

¹⁸ Auction Lot #344, "Plain Salted Paper Prints," which included the M. M. Lawrence print (Image 15) purchased by Marian S. Carson now at the Library of Congress. Ibid., 96. See also Pierce, Whipple and Black, Commercial Photographers of Boston.

¹⁹ Published in photocopy form by Kenneth Walter Cameron, Thoreau, John Brown and Slavery, (Hartford Books, 2000), 43.

²⁰ April 13, 1894, notation on print at the Kansas Historical Society, Kansas Memory ID 208878.

²¹ The painting by Dan Beard, founder of the Boy Scouts of America and designer of their logo, was seen at the Mayhew Cabin in Nebraska known as John Brown's Cave well into the 20th century. Changing ownership has lost track of the artwork. A print donated by Richard Hinton is Kansas Memory ID 208878

²² Provenance on a print of the Gue portrait donated to the Western Reserve Historical Society by Col. F. J. Ritezell. Personal communication, Anne Salsich, WRHS, 2004.

²³ "John Brown, Esq., formerly of this town, well known for his participation in the Kansas troubles of the last year, addressed a respectable audience at Empire Hall on Saturday night ..."
Summit Beacon, 17 December 1856.

²⁴ Kansas Memory Item 208929.

²⁵ The portrait was reproduced on a cabinet card with artifacts of John Brown by Ruth and Henry Thompson in 1894. They donated the artifacts (mainly weapons) and an original print of Image 4 to the Chicago Historical society, but the print of Image 7 in life view is only known in the copy version. iCHI-09617a

"Portrait Picture of John Brown," Chicago History Museum. JBCh, 36-37.

²⁶ Kansas Collection, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas. RH PH P466 Current Repository. http://luna.ku.edu:8180/luna/servlet/detail/kuvclkcp~1~1~1319354~182554?trs=7&mi=3&qvq=q%3AJohn+brown%3Bsort%3ACreator_Name%2CTitle%2CDisplay_Date%2CRecord_ID%3Blc%3Akuvclkcp%7E1%7E1&cic=kuvclkcp%7E1%7E1

²⁷ James Redpath to Mr. Poole, Librarian, Boston Athenaeum, February 27, 1864. Transcribed in JBCh, 68-69.

²⁸ Sheila O'Brien Quinn, "How Southern New England became magnetic north: The acceptance of animal magnetism." History of Psychology (2007) Vol. 10, #3: 231-248.

²⁹ Circular, Information for Kansas Immigrants, 1857, Call No. RH B369 1857, University of Kansas Spencer Research Library Item 101816.

³⁰ Cabinet card by "J. W. Black, Washington St., Boston." Kansas Memory Item 90678.

³¹ Judy Sweets. "Kansas Collections Relating to John Brown," in JBCh, 76-81.

³² The Century Magazine, Vol. XXVI, No. 3, July 1883: 321, 477. The issue also includes "Recollections of the John Brown Raid" by Alexander Boteler, pp. 399-411, and "Comments by a Radical Abolitionist, by Franklin Sanborn, pp. 411-415.

³³ Kansas Exhibits at the 1893 World Columbian Exposition, "Portraits and Pictures" p.16. <http://www.kancoll.org/books/world/world3.htm> Accessed February 9, 2010/

³⁴ Redpath to Poole, op cit. JBCh, 69.

³⁵ Greg Artzner, Terry Leonino, and Richard Henzel have researched, written, and perform a one-act play based on the letters of John and Mary Brown entitled "Sword of the Spirit." <http://www.magpiemusic.com/spiritsword.html>

³⁶ Interview, Paul Keeseey, December 8, 2009. Santa Clara, California.

³⁷ See James Redpath, The Roving Editor: or, Talks with Slaves in the Southern States (New York: A. B. Burdick, 1859). Redpath, who would become Brown's first biographer shortly after his hanging in Virginia, dedicated *The Roving Editor* to Brown in a two-page tribute. See also John R. McKivigan, Forgotten Firebrand; James Redpath and the Making of Nineteenth-Century America. Ithica and London: Cornell University Press, 2008.

³⁸ <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic-art/472828/122610/John-Brown-engraving-from-a-daguerreotype-1856>. The NARA number for the engraving is listed as 531116. On the NARA Civil War site, a different number is cited <http://www.archives.gov/research/civil-war/photos/images/civil-war-129.jpg> Signal Corps Still Photographs, SC 101021 RG111, National Archives and Records Administration. College Park, MD. Accessed April 4, 2010.

³⁹ The original manuscript, written at the home of Augustus Wattles in Moneka, is at the Kansas State Historical Society.

⁴⁰ Richard S. Harrison, Richard Davis Webb: Dublin Quaker Printer, 1805-72(1993), .

⁴¹ The photograph in the Boyd Stutler Collection is a copy of the print donated to the Kansas Historical Society by William Barnes in 1888. See Kansas Historical Society, Bicentennial Report (1890):37-38.

⁴² Villard, John Brown, 283.

⁴³ Original document at the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC00502. Published in the online exhibition "John Brown and His Legacy," <http://www.gilderlehrman.org/collection/online/johnbrown/index.html> in December 2009.

⁴⁴ Full reference needed after consulting the newspaper.

⁴⁵ "I do not expect to leave these parts under four or five days..." To Mary and children in North Elba, May 27, 1857. In Richard D. Webb, The Life and Letters of Captain John Brown... London, Smith, Elder & Co., 1861: 421.

⁴⁶ Ibid.,421.

⁴⁷ John Brown in Akron: A 150th anniversary Commemoration. Akron History Trails 2009. Akron Publishing Company: Summit County Historical Society (2009).

⁴⁸ Gwendolyn Robinson and John W. Robinson, Seek the Truth, A Story of Chatham's Black Community (1989),22.

⁴⁹ Webb, Life and Letters of John Brown, 106.

⁵⁰ Sanborn, Life and Letters, page.

⁵¹ Villard, John Brown, 390.

⁵² The lithograph is made from an art-enhanced cabinet card Mangrum and Barnett's Gallery in New York between 1875 and 1879. Kansas Memory Item 208850, Hinton Collection.

⁵³ The catalog description of GLC 04447. The Gilder-Lehman Institute published an online exhibition, "John Brown: the Abolitionist and His Legacy" in October 2009, <http://www.gilderlehrman.org/collection/online/johnbrown/index.html>.

⁵⁴ Statement of John B. Heywood, 1888, George Stearns Collection, KSHS.

⁵⁵ "Portraits of John Brown" [unsigned] in The Springfield Republican, August date, 1898.

⁵⁶ Carte de visite printed by A. C. Platt acquired by the Gilder-Lehrman Institute of American History in 1994. GLC04463.02

⁵⁷ Mary Brown wrote to an unknown correspondent from Rohnerville, California, on 13 Sept. 1877: 'I will enclose a lock of hair and a little of his beard.' Dr. Charles Wesley Olsen Collection of Lincoln & John Brown Papers Presidential and Other Historical Artifacts (1962,6)were auctioned by the Parke-Bernet Galleries in New York. The lot description includes a 'reproduction of an 1858 portrait of John Brown.' The group was auctioned again in 2005 by Historical Collectible Auctions, <http://www.artifact.com/auction-lot/black-americana-old-john-brown-of-osawatomie-204-p-o2y5ovdy4c>. Accessed 12/30/2009

⁵⁸ Thomas Wentworth Higginson conducted Mary from North Elba to Boston and New York. Stopping at Eagleswood, the abolitionist boarding school of Marcus and Rebecca Spring, in New Jersey,

Mary Brown gathered the clothing for her husband's burial from Rebecca, who had visited Brown in prison in early November. Mary continued to the home of William Still in Philadelphia, where she remained in the black neighborhood of Richardson Row for two weeks. JBCh, 62. Eric Ledell Smith, "Finding the Carpetbag: Documents in the Dreer Collection at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in Libby, John Brown's Family in California, 25.

⁵⁹ Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Thomas Featherstonhaugh Collection

⁶⁰ U. S. District Court, Massachusetts, Clerk Copyright Account Books 1856-1864. Registry of Copyrights, District Court of Massachusetts 1859.

Date	Payee	Amount	Description	Balance
1859. Dec. 9 th			Amount birt forward	30
Dec. 9.	James H. Head	A.	Tableau Servant	1
10	Stoughton, Brooks, Holden	P.	Sewing Vm. (Nicks)	1
"	Stephen G. Perren	P.	Presidential Quarters	1
"	S. L. Sutton, sdo	P.	Daily Lark	1
"	Geo. Apton	P.	Upland's quiet place	1
"	Henry Linnard	A.	Poems	1
12	Stephen G. Perren	P.	Presidential Quarters (Directions)	1
"	"	P.	American Nest "	1
"	"	P.	English " "	1
"	Black & Whitehead	P.	John Brown	1
13	Stephen G. Perren	P.	Engl. Hist. Quarters, 1 Gen.	1
"	"	P.	American " "	1
"	Walker, Wain & Company	P.	Jesus "	1
14	John Bartlett	P.	Chemical Problems &c	50
"	Samuel C. Eddy	A.	Percy Jassily	1
15	Huntan, Miles & Whitehall	P.	Cambridge Directory	1
16	Russell & Tolman	P.	12 Musical Camps & 1 Book	7
"	Rufus Saighton Jr	P.	Two Christmas Celebrations	1
17	Russell & Tolman	P.	Melodrama "	50
"	Edward Beecher	A.	The Comrod of Ages!	1
19	Wm D. Smith	T.	Golden Eagle Cigars	1
"	Geo. & Lincoln	P.	2. Platonicists	1
20	Clark Brewer & Sons	P.	Flora Tempa Cigars (Nix)	1
"	J. L. Hill	P.	Prepared Topp. (Hilary)	1
21	Oliver Woodell Holmes	A.	Prepar at Breakfast Table	1
"	Williams & Everett	P.	Marion Muller. Nix	1
"	George Jones, The Court Journals,	A.	Ancient America	1
22	Thomas Dixon	A. & P.	John Brown Journal	1
22	Ticknor & Fields	P.	Atlantic Monthly Jan	1
"	Crosby, Nichols & Company	P.	Christian Belong & Living	1
"	"	P.	Simplicity of Christ Teach	1
"	Walker Wise & Co.	P.	Tragant Flowers	1
23	O. Russell Hiller	P.	Madison Book on Life of John	50
		A.	Sermons	1
			amt. carried forward	68 50

⁶¹ Joel Bresler, an Underground Railroad researcher and author examined the Massachusetts Copyright Registry of 1858 and 1859 at the New England Region branch of the National Archives for this study. The print registered at the Library of Congress, was appended with: "Photograph by J. W. Black and Batchelder, REC 1858 Vol. 34, pp. 874 from the original taken for Dr. Webb." Search of the Massachusetts Copyright Registry for 1858 at the National Archives in New England does not confirm a registry with this volume number. The national copyright office at the Library of Congress did not open until 1870.

⁶² Library of Congress MARC Record Display 2009633569. Accessed December 27, 2009. A duplicate salt print, with a studio mount stating: 'Pho. by Black & Batchelder, 173 Washington St., Boston From the Original, taken for Dr. Webb,' with 1859 copyright date, was offered by Historical Collectible Auctions in 2007. <http://www.artifact.com/auction-lot/salt-print-of-john-brown-salt-print-photograph,-111-p-j5ckpzy123>. Accessed 12/30/2009.

⁶³ The exhibition is accompanied by an illustrated catalogue published by University of Oklahoma Press. The curator of the exhibition is Frank Goodyear III, associate curator of photographs at the National Portrait Gallery. The John Brown daguerreotype by Lawrence is cited as photographed in 1859. <http://www.npg.si.edu/exhibit/frontier/pop-ups/01-11.html>

⁶⁴ Email from Carol Marie Johnson. Curator of Photography, Library of Congress, November 18, 2009.

⁶⁵ "John Brown's Picture" in Inter-Ocean Magazine, date. "Portraits of John Brown," in The Springfield Republican, August 11, 1898.

⁶⁶ Platt was an ambrotypist in Oberlin at the time of the Hudson daguerreotype sitting in 1856 (Image 6). His mother was related to the Fairchild family, the recipients of extant daguerreotype at the Boston Athenaeum. Platt purchased the gallery of David Brokaw of Oberlin about 1858. He opened his studio in Sandusky in 1860, which was carried on by his son, Clayton Winfield Platt, after A. C. Platt's death in 1884.

⁶⁷ Lot 6: (Cased Image) Portrait of John Brown. <http://www.artifact.com/auction-lot/cased-image-portrait-of-john-brown-84-p-70xm0blyjx> Accessed December 30, 2009.

⁶⁸ One of the prints from the engraving was given to Jason Brown, who donated it to the Western Reserve Historical Society in 1908.

⁶⁹ John Brown to John Henrie [Kagi] North Elba, N.Y., 25th April, 1859 [49]; John Brown to J. Henrie [Kagi] Keene, N. Y., 9th June 1859 [86]. in Calendar of Virginia State Papers (1893).

⁷⁰ Villard notes this place and date is in Brown's Memorandum Book. John Brown, 401.

⁷¹ Library of Congress. [Marian S.] Carson Collection of Americana, 6,500 items organized by format and subject into groups with the call number prefix PR 13 CN.

⁷² Rare Photographic Images Apparatus & Literature, Sale Number 68, February 7, 1970, The Collection of Sydney Strober. 96. See also Pierce, Whipple and Black.

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Comments for continued analysis and exhibition are welcome.