



**THE JOURNEY OF MR. JAMES F. BROWN:  
FREEDOM, CITIZENSHIP and ACCESS INTO AMERICAN SOCIETY**

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James F. Brown, an escaped slave, died on January 7, 1868, at the age of 74 in Fishkill Landing, now Beacon, New York. He led a long, self-documented life, which was in many ways both ordinary, yet quite extraordinary. The Fishkill Standard newspaper, now defunct, ran this obituary, which is somewhat factually inaccurate, on January 18, 1868, eleven days after his death:

*“Another Old Resident Deceased*

*Mr. James Brown, a colored citizen, who has been a resident of this village for nearly forty years, died at his residence on the Verplanck estate, on Tuesday. Mr. Brown was well-known to nearly all our citizens. He was formerly a slave in Maryland, but his master giving him his freedom, he came North, and by industry accumulated funds enough to purchase the freedom of his wife. For about thirty-six years he has lived with the Verplanck family, first as coachman, but for the last twenty years as head gardener, showing a good deal of taste and ability in this line. He was, as near as we can learn, about 73 years of age. He assisted at the building of the Episcopal Church, Matteawan. Mr. Brown was an old landmark, a prominent man among the colored people, always courteous and deferential, with a good education, probably self-acquired, and his death will be regretted by many.”*

Unlike many black Americans living in the Hudson Valley at the time, we know a great deal about the life of James F. Brown (1793-1868), mainly through the writings in his “diary” (1829-1866, intermittent; in the collection of the New York Historical Society, Manhattan). The diary, written in a series of what were known as receipt or account books, is more accurately described as a “journal” of daily life. During that era, some literate people, such as Brown, kept rather dry notes about their daily lives, as an exercise in personal discipline and character development, without disclosing any emotional or personal information, as is now in vogue. James F. Brown is also known to us from the Verplanck genealogy book, The History of Abraham Isaacse Ver Planck and His Male Descendants, 1892 (with an Addendum by Charlotte VerPlanck Willman, published by Mount Gulian Historic Site, 1998); from Verplanck family oral history; from the family’s limited correspondence regarding James F. Brown’s manumission from slavery; from the diligent research and subsequent book about Brown entitled Freedom’s Gardener, James F. Brown, Horticulture, and the Hudson Valley in Antebellum America, New York University Press, 2012 by Bard College Professor of History, Myra B. Young Armstead, as well as subsequent research on Brown and the Verplancks by this author.

From January 1829 until March 1866, James maintained a regular, but sometimes intermittent series of diary entries about his daily life in the Hudson Valley. His entries focus on his daily work chores, his interests, his recreation, his spiritual life, and reports on the weather, ships and navigational conditions on the Hudson River, notes on agriculture and horticultural fairs, as well as his devotion to becoming a model citizen, by becoming a property owner, voter and moderately prosperous man. It is upon these entries and the social conditions of the day that this article gives focus, especially as they relate to his dedication to gaining entry into the local civic society.

The journals and journey of James F. Brown are much more than his sojourn from slavery to freedom, or his flight from Frederick County, Maryland to Dutchess County, New York. The real essence of James F. Brown’s journey is, according to his own hand, what he delighted in most: that of being a free man, interacting normally within his community, and being a full citizen, a property owner, a frequent church goer, a registered voter and

a patriotic American. Despite coming out of the archipelago of slavery as a virtual “invisible man”, a non-citizen, James F. Brown in the end embodied an early version of what we now call “The American Dream”.

James began life as a slave on farms in Fredericktown (now Frederick) Maryland, and then had a stay in Baltimore as a leased-out slave, making a living as a carpenter in that city, while sending a portion of his earnings to his owners . He managed to escape to Manhattan in 1827 and live a long, productive life as a free man and full citizen in Dutchess County.

Unlike many of those seeking escape to the North, Brown was fully literate, had lived on his own in Baltimore, and had saleable skills, as a versatile farm hand, house servant, and skilled carpenter. Although not documented, it is very possible that James was taught reading and writing as a child or young man in one of the German Lutheran churches of Fredericktown, which operated Sunday Schools and Bible studies including blacks as pupils. As a slave, it is believed that James was owned in the early 1800’s by brothers Matthew and William Brown, owners of a sheep farm and wool mill operation called the Fleecy Dale Factory, Frederick County, Md. The business required skilled labor for processing and dyeing wool, as well as raising sheep and managing complex business and farm maintenance operations, skilled labor tasks that James would have been exposed to, if not directly engaged. In 1816, James was sold to William E. Williams, his 300 to 500 acre farm & estate located in Ceresville, Frederick County, Md. The business was apparently a working farm operation with a variety of crops, livestock, saw mills and grist mills, and was not a one-crop Southern plantation. Although no records as to James’ exact status during the time he worked for Williams exist, it is clear that over time he developed skills as a waiter and coachman, roles that he later took on as a skilled freeman employee for the Verplancks in New York.

In 1818, James is reported to be living independently in Baltimore in an old frame house he “improved”, while still a slave of the Williams family. While there, he had some sort of business relationship with well-known Baltimore gentleman and shipbuilder Captain Daniel Howland. Their relationship, and other evidence, shows that James was living as a quasi “free-slave” in Baltimore at this time. “Free-slaves” were often self-dependent for earning income and managing their own housing, while still owned by a master and subject to numerous restrictive racial laws. Such “free-slaves”, sometimes known as “wage slaves” needed to pledge in writing that they would not run away during their time under agreement. Quasi-slaves worked in a skilled trade, engaged in commerce, or even ran their own businesses, usually in urban areas such as Baltimore. They were responsible to pay their owners directly, or pay money to creditors their owners owed money to, at a set fee per month from the money they freely earned. In some cases, “free-slaves” had agreements to pay a specific monthly amount to their owner, to gradually earn their manumission by purchasing their own freedom at the going market price.

In 1822, James’ owner, William E. Williams, died, and as his property, James was inherited by Williams’ wife Susan. From 1823-1826, James was leased out by Susan Williams to her brother-in-law, Henry Lee Williams of Baltimore, for \$10 per month (about \$200 in 2010 dollars). In 1826, a dying Henry Lee Williams authorized the executors of his Will to purchase James F. Brown (now living under the pseudonym Anthony Chase) from owner Susan Williams, in order to set him free. Henry Lee Williams died that year, but the manumission of James F. Brown /Anthony Chase by the executors of the Will did not occur, reason unknown, and James remained in bondage. Sadly, he was leased out again by Susan Williams, this time to a Jeremiah C. Hoffman, a wealthy Baltimore merchant.

In September 1826, just prior to Henry Lee William’s death, James was expecting to be freed soon, so he legally married Julia Chase (aka Julia Williams) in order to prepare for her manumission, so that he could send her North to safety. James well understood that unless she was manumitted, freed, and sent North, she could very well be re-sold further South at any time, and be forever lost to him. Soon after the marriage on September 12, 1826, in the First Presbyterian Church in Baltimore, James F. Brown paid \$100 of his earned money to his

wife's owner, possibly Susan Williams, for Julia Brown's freedom, thus preceding his own freedom. This is one element in the above obituary that now stands corrected.

When not freed upon Henry Lee Williams' death, James became determined to escape. In August 1827, he wrote an emotional letter to his then lease-master, Jeremiah C. Hoffman, of his intent to run away, having not been freed earlier as promised. In the dramatic letter James promises to eventually pay back his owner, Susan Williams, in full, for the price equivalent to his value as a slave. James even recommends another person to take his place as house servant to Mr. Hoffman. Sometime after this letter was penned, James F. Brown left Maryland, and servitude, forever.

There is no record or diary notation as to exactly how James F. Brown escaped from slavery and came North, or how he initially met the Verplancks. His presence in New York is first documented in March 1828, when he was hired as a private waiter and employee of the Verplanck family, then living in Lower Manhattan. The Verplancks at this time were one of the most socially prominent and wealthy families in New York, active in banking, law, Columbia College (University), state and national politics, the arts, and horticulture, which at the time was thought to be a blessing of Science, Prosperity, and the Enlightenment. The Verplancks had once been slave owners; the Census of 1800 records five slaves working for them in Manhattan. However, by the 1810 Census, no slaves are recorded as living with the Verplancks, and they gradually evolved into "moral abolitionists" who believed that slavery was certainly an evil, but as business interests and property rights had to be protected, the issue needed to be decided by the individual states, a central position of the later Whig Party.

Despite slavery being formally abolished in New York State on July 4, 1827, escaped slaves from Slave States could still be recaptured and sent back into slavery. Black refugees without papers, and even free blacks, were being kidnapped off the streets and hustled South. Recognized as an escaped slave by a Verplanck dinner guest from Maryland, James' freedom was suddenly in jeopardy. Daniel Crommelin Verplanck, former Congressman and family patriarch, then engaged in a series of letters with Susan Williams, James' legal owner, discussing the price and terms for his permanent manumission. A letter on March 23, 1828 indicates that Susan Williams and Daniel Crommelin Verplanck agreed to a sum of \$300 (about \$6000 in 2010 dollars) for James F. Brown's freedom, the full amount to be paid by May 1, 1828, minus \$36 that had already been paid by James to her. Although there is no record as to James agreeing to pay the Verplancks the sum of \$274 over time, or at all, one suspects that the debt was repaid in full. Due to the Verplanck's Dutch sense of business, and James' sense of pride and high moral character, one would believe he paid off the \$274 over time, with interest.

Sometime between late 1827 and early 1828, James F. Brown was, according to the Verplanck genealogy book, working as a personal waiter for the family in Manhattan. By January 1, 1829, he was living with and working for the Verplancks at Mount Gulian, Fishkill Landing. On that date he began his diary, the first entry being made the following day: "I went to church at Fishkill village and returned home through the rain and got very wet but heard a very good sermon preached. Mr. J D L Verplanck , Mr. W S Verplanck and Miss A L Verplanck attempted twice to cross the river to Newburgh to take passage in the steam boat for N Y . But was disappointed and was obliged to return home".

For the next thirty-nine years, with the exception of one year (March 1831-March 1832) where he lived in Manhattan with abolitionist Mr. Peter A. Jay, son of founding father John Jay, James F. Brown was a permanent resident of Dutchess County, living at Mount Gulian with the Verplancks, and in a series of homes in Fishkill Landing. As a permanent resident, James strove to become totally engaged in civic life and reap the benefits and obligations of full citizenship. Dutchess County, during the period 1830 through 1860, was experiencing a time of general economic growth and prosperity (with the exceptions of the Bank Panic of 1839 and other "corrections"), optimism, and major technological improvements. The steam engine had revolutionized labor, steamboats dominated the busy wharves, railroads had arrived at Fishkill Landing carrying stock and passengers to New York City, and the telegraph had revolutionized communication. The local citizenry were well aware of

their own accomplishments and role as inheritors of democracy and prosperity, and celebrated these virtues often, with public ceremonies, fairs, lectures and statues. The very notion of “citizen of the nation” had evolved from that of a woolly farmer or landed gentry, into that of an engaged middle class businessman, a shop-keeper, an educated man of character. James F. Brown, born into slavery, seems to have fully embraced these ideals.

During James’ lifetime, the notion of personal character was not an abstraction. Character was more a verb than a noun or adjective, reflected in activities of daily life and ideals of conscience. The virtues of good character were also to be recognized by one’s family, friends, and the larger community. The development of personal character was taught in schools, in church, and especially in the home, Regimens of daily and Sunday prayer, daily sewing, daily labor chores and daily journal entering, as in James’ case, were understood to be activities of spiritual discipline, to focus the mind and body, and exercise the soul to refrain from evil and to do good. Giving charity, helping the poor, participating in civic duties and assisting at communal activities such as barn-building bees reflected proper character, physical vigor and good will toward your neighbors. Modesty in behavior, manners and dress, and moderation in diet and habits, especially regarding spirits and tobacco, were considered essential aspects of proper character and public decorum in a quickly changing age. Bad behavior was understood to be a manifestation of bad inner character, to be punished, chastised or beaten out of the person, and not coddled or psychologized over.

It is in this respect, as an essential element of personal character development and civic responsibility, that James F. Brown’s attraction to religion and church can be viewed, in addition to the obviously spiritual nature. As reflected in his diary, James loved going to church. He went regularly and often, sometimes to as many as two or three services a day, sometimes visiting different churches. Considering that in the Slave States, religious instruction, attendance at church and rites of religious passage such as baptism and weddings were often expressly forbidden, and understanding the succor and sanctuary that religion provides to the oppressed, one is able to better understand why James may have gravitated to religion once safely established in Dutchess County. James’ diary contains nearly 500 entries directly related to his attendance at church services and religious events at a variety of churches. As noted above, his earliest entry is related to going to church. The majority of the entries concern churches in Fishkill Landing and today’s Fishkill village, but some in Newburgh and others in New York and Brooklyn, then an independent city, are also noted. Primarily, James attended, and was at various times a member of the Dutch Reformed Church at Fishkill Landing, African Methodist Churches (Zion Church) in Fishkill Landing and in Newburgh, and St. Anna’s Episcopal Church in Matteawan, where he accompanied the Verplancks. It is important to recall that the Dutch Reformed Church of his day, in New York, along with the Quakers (Society of Friends) were noteworthy in their demand for abolition, and their belief in the doctrine of equality and the saving of souls of all races.

James’ consistent attendance at a variety of churches reflects his quest for spiritual knowledge, as well as his desire for intellectual growth and the development of his character. Besides these lofty goals, there is an element where his search for sermons seems to be a vehicle for socializing, as well as some level of entertainment. Besides his regular Sunday attendance at the Dutch Reformed or at the African Methodist, James was particularly interested in hearing the sermons and preaching of new and itinerant ministers passing through the area. He frequently records his attendance at sermons of “strange preachers” (strangers), including such entries as: “February 14, 1830: Went to the Methodist church to hear a strange minister preach. He was a very young man but well educated”.

Typical of his interest in variety are these entries: “June 18, 1837: Went to church three times. Went to Bethel church in the morning and then to the Baptist in the afternoon”; “February 16, 1840: A colored minister from Poughkeepsie preached at Simon Hasbrouck’s this evening”; “March 1, 1840: A strange clergyman officiated at the E P (Episcopal Protestant) church today”; “February 12, 1840: Mr. Bell, the Mormon preacher preached this evening at the house of John Carter”; “May 22, 1843: There was a Jew preached at the Five Corners on the step of the Eagle Hotel formerly Addingtons”. One entry reflects the virulent anti-Catholic feeling of the times:

“April 24, 1836: Mr. Van Kleek administered the Lord’s supper at St Anna’s Church, Matteawan. A discourse delivered at the Dutch Reformed Church, Fishkill Landing on Popery”.

As might be expected, James was primarily active in local black churches and religious life. He records participating in numerous “colored camp meetings”, and large multi-day revivalist events at various campgrounds in Newburgh.

James’ religious affiliations and church attendance reflect other elements of civic responsibility and activity besides the purely spiritual. His participation in church-related organizations, such as his regular attendance at the quarterly organizational meetings of the Zion Church (African Methodist) in Fishkill Landing, and his attendance at quasi-religious societies and related organizations, such as the local Temperance Society and the Fishkill Landing Bible Society, are well reflected in his diary. Like today, churches served an important civic function, being the venue for community meetings, lectures and special occasions, and James’ civic participation in many of these is reflected in his diary. His frequent attendance of lectures at church venues includes: “March 12, 1844: A lecture delivered by Mr. Sherwood on Palestine and the Holy Land at the D R Church at Fishkill Landing”.

James was well known in the area for his expertise as a master gardener and property caretaker for the Verplancks. As a volunteer, he was active doing physical labor and general chores for local churches, combining his work ethic and acumen for community service with his deep ties to the religious community. These entries are typical: “August 12, 1833: Hauled sand for the Episcopal church”; “December 23, 1841: Hired John Bloomer with his team to haul greens to dress the Episcopal church at Matteawan (for Christmas decoration)”;

”October 24, 1847: Bought a tree from Mr. C. Deboyce and took it up to Poughkeepsie to be placed on Edward Landres grave in the Episcopal burying ground”.

Perhaps James’ most long-lasting civic contribution related to his faith was his participation in the effort to create a consecrated burial ground for the black community. Cemeteries at that time were strictly segregated by race, so with the black population growing, someone had to step up to address the need, and James F. Brown did. Beginning in mid-1851, an effort to buy land for a black cemetery near Fishkill Landing began. Here are his diary entries relevant to that successful effort: “August 29, 1851: A meeting to buy burying ground”; “September 1, 1851: Agreed for a lot of land for the colored peoples burying place at a meeting held in the Zion church Fishkill Landing”; “September 6, and 16, 1851: Went out to collect money to buy a burying ground for the colored people of Fishkill Landing and vicinity”; “September 23, 1851: Went over to Newburgh to collect some money for a burying ground”; “October 4, 1851: Paid 65 dollars to James Mackin for the colored burying place”; October 14, 1851: Paid all the money for the Colored Peoples Union Burying Ground To James Mackin for John P Dewint –also chose five trustees namely Samuel Sampson, James F Brown, Edward Bush, Christian Reynolds and Samual Gomer”; “October 21, 1851: Went up to Poughkeepsie to have a deed recorded for the colored peoples burying ground”; “October 31, 1851: J Henry Roose was buried in the colored peoples new Burying place it being the first internment in that ground”.

As documented in the book Freedom’s Gardener by Myra B. Young Armstead, a great deal of James’ time was spent on the horticultural arts, both as a central part of his role of master gardener at Mount Gulian, and clearly for his recreation. Horticulture during James’ lifetime was considered one of the benefits of Providence, an almost sacred science, and proof of the bounty of Heaven as brought down to an enlightened America. Thomas Jefferson’s interest in European formal gardens, his instructions to Lewis and Clark to identify unknown flora on their expedition, and his dedication to introduce new plant species from around the globe to American farmers were central to this trend. Practicing horticulture was also a discipline, in keeping with good character development, while allowing social entrée to a world where few blacks at that time had access, except as laborers.

As Armstead writes, “ In the antebellum period, especially prior to the 1840’s, horticultural societies were decidedly white male preserves wherein members established or confirmed their middle- and upper-middle class status, so the implications of James’ involvement are notable. Even white women’s participation was exceptional or limited...” Not only did James oversee the ornamental gardens and crops at Mount Gulian, but he experimented and grew his own plants. He often brought championship caliber flowers, fruits and vegetable specimens to horticultural fairs as far afield as Philadelphia. Significantly, James was a personal acquaintance and protégé of Andrew Jackson (A.J.) Downing, considered the Father of American Landscape Architecture and a world-famous horticulturalist. James dedicated many diary entries to his meetings with Downing, as well as his visits to horticultural fairs, notations on weather and growth seasons, and mundane entries about agricultural chores at the homestead. James undoubtedly enjoyed his time with the various gentlemen found in the rarified air of the area’s horticultural societies, as this was an expression of his being accepted as a true Master Gardener, and part of the wider world of white Hudson Valley civil society.

Perhaps the most important hallmark of James F. Brown’s participation in civic society is his involvement in the community as a voter. Surrounded by Daniel Crommelin Verplanck, a former U.S. Congressman and District Judge, and his son Gulian Crommelin Verplanck, a founder of the New York Whig party, State Assemblyman, candidate for Mayor of New York City, and U.S. Congressman, politics was standard fare at Mount Gulian. But even as a free black man, voting in New York was very restricted.

Although New York was a slave state at its inception in 1776, the New York State Constitution of 1777 allowed a voting provision for free blacks, “...every person who now is a freeman of the city of Albany, or who was made a freeman of the city of New York... actually and usually resident in the said cities respectively, shall be entitled to vote for Representatives in assembly within his said place of residence...”. Gradual abolition of slavery in New York began 1799, with an Act passed in that name, and in 1817 the Act Relative to Slaves and Servants was passed, creating a permanent path to complete abolition for all slaves born in New York by July 4, 1827. Nevertheless, in the Second Constitution to New York State, 1821, Article 2 stated voting provisions and restrictions for all male citizens, but also included these special restrictions for black male citizens: that they must reside in the State for three years, and own a property for at least one year, valued at two-hundred and fifty dollars, having paid the annual tax on that property.

James, as a free black citizen and full-time employee of the Verplancks, earned annual wages from Mount Gulian, but he also earned money doing work for neighboring farmers and shop owners, and probably earned a good amount in tips from the Verplancks and others in his duties as coachman, ice sled driver, rowboat man on the Hudson, and general laborer. Additionally, James became engaged in real estate, both to buy property to fulfill the voting requirement, but also to earn money by leasing out his home. He also acted as an agent and property manager for others, most notably a man named George Washington, apparently a black gentleman from New York City. Although it seems that James may have owned his own home while a free-slave in Baltimore decades before, his eventual foray into home ownership in Fishkill Landing began with this entry: “February 23, 1833: I leased a house from Mr. J P DeWindt for three years”. James proudly wrote numerous entries of his quarterly rental payments to DeWindt, plus his payments of school taxes (i.e., one shilling, on Feb. 15, 1836). Home ownership was achieved on: “August 13, 1836: Paid some money and received a deed for G S Knowles, also my deed executed”. On “January 16, 1837: Paid the tax master taxes for my house & lot –50 cents-- For one year, and also 50 cents for Lott Jones tax on his house”. Although the value of the home is not memorialized in the diary, it was apparently over the \$250 voting requirement. The following Election Day had this glowing entry: “November 8, 1837: The election at Fishkill took place this day at which place James F Brown voted for the first time”, followed by, “November 9, 1837: The Whigs gained the victory”. From that date until his death, James voted each November and also in some special local or primary elections, noting each ballot in his journal.

One little remembered feature for all male voters in New York was the provision in the 2nd N.Y. Constitution of 1821 stating that in order to vote, all men were to be, "... assessed to labor upon the public highways, and shall have performed the labor, or paid an equivalent..." This work requirement appears to have been equal for both white and black males, and James proudly noted his annual day of labor in order to vote, and apparently, his performing the labor obligation for others, making them eligible to vote. Although he had voted twice previously, this entry appears: "May 10, 1839- Worked on the public road for the first time", followed annually by similar entries until the late 1850's. Therefore, fulfilling the labor, property and real estate tax requirements, James F. Brown became a fully enfranchised voter in New York, one of perhaps no more than two dozen state-wide at the time.

As a final reflection of James' full engagement into American society, and as a participant and recorder of local community events, his considerable patriotism must not be overlooked. The diary reveals no hint of bitterness as to his years in servitude, nor shows any hatred or anger toward the nation that facilitated the pernicious institution. James dutifully records every George Washington's Birthday, a major holiday once celebrated on February 22, and the Fourth of July, including his attendance at celebrations and "illuminations" held on that day. His note of July 4, 1837 reads: "American Independence -The day was celebrated at Fishkill Landing by the scholars of the different schools of Fishkill Town". The diary also records local visits by prominent Federal officials, and entries such as: "General W. Scott arrived at Fishkill Landing, July 16, 1851"; orator and Senator Henry Clay's stop in Newburgh on August 20, 1839; and local funeral processions for deceased leaders such as William Henry Harrison's memorial in Fishkill Village, on April 17, 1841, soon followed by: "Thanksgiving Day by fasting and prayer for the death of the President of the United States of America" on May 14, 1841. Such entries are a clear reflection of James' interest in political events and prominent leaders of the times.

James' patriotism is reflected in his intellectual curiosity and optimism about America, and the eventual end of slavery. He recorded attending anti-slavery events, lectures, and a celebration for the abolition of slavery in the British Caribbean, as well as the visit by abolitionist and black publisher David Ruggles, who on August 5, 1836 "... came up from NY to see me". Also recorded are his attendance at numerous Whig Party meetings, lectures and exhibitions about "Indian Warriors" and "Indians beyond the Rocky Mountains", as delivered by an A.W. Parker in 1842. Not to be overlooked is James' long term involvement with a Firemen's organization in Newburgh, his involvement in many local horticultural and gardening organizations, and his excitement at the building of the railroad line up the Hudson. In fact, James joyously recorded his twelve day round trip by rail to Buffalo and Dunkirk to attend the grand ceremony of the completion of the railroad in New York in May 1851.

The life of James F. Brown is unique in many ways, but especially so because we know so much about him, whereas so many other's lives from similar circumstances remain unknown and forgotten. What can be said about this man, from his diary, from his remaining letters, and from the Verplanck family information, was that James ambitiously engaged in improving his situation in life, escaping from slavery, becoming a trustworthy and skilled employee, maintaining a unique journal, becoming a property owner, voter and frequent church-goer, and active participant in the civic life of Dutchess County, and the United States. Beginning with nothing he could call his own, he commanded a life of character, property and civic pride. Three of his entries near the end of his diary record the following monumental events, important to the nation, and very personally important to James: "October 20, 1859: We have news from Harpers Ferry of a great insurrection at that place"; "December 2, 1859: John Brown the Hero at Harpers Ferry insurrection was executed this day at Charlestown Va"; December 16, 1859: the prisoners was hung today at Charlestown Va". Reflecting on those events, we can only image the innermost thoughts of James F. Brown...

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