JOHN BROWN'S INVASION.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

CHARLESTOWN, Va., Friday, Nov. 25, 1859.

PASSING EVENTS.

I have early information of the most recent correspondence between Gov. Wise and Gen. Taliaferro. It seems important, but, after all, may be no more so than the majority of the late warlike communications. The Governor has intimated that all his advices indicate the rescuing attack, which everybody is looking for, to be made next Sunday night, of all the days in the year. The General is admonished to keep his powder dry and his men in prime condition as that time approaches. Moreover, arrangements have been made, or are to be immediately made, with the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company for the transportation to this town on Sunday of a large number of troops. I attach very little weight to this new evidence of anxiety; but it seems to be somewhat more entitled to consideration from the extreme secrecy with which the preparations in regard to it are conducted. However, I have no serious doubt but that Sunday night will pass off as uneventfully as every other night of the past two weeks. There may be a cow or so, and here and there a predatory pig, but I apprehend nothing beyond.

The influx of soldiers has caused great confusion here. There is difficulty in accommodating them. The Court House has been given up to one party of four or five companies, and the judicial county business has been suspended. For the sake of formality, the Court met the other day in an ante-room, and the Jury were discharged, after which legal gentlemen went about other business. The braves are a little disgusted with the hardships of their situation, especially since Gen. Taliaferro has cut them off from hotel fare, and set them to doing their own cooking. They say they did not bargain for starvation. I judge that provisions are scarce with them, especially as one of the newspapers is out with an appeal to the countrymen around to furnish them "supplies in an uncooked condition." This is certainly hard. Who would willingly be a slave of glory on such terms?

I find that the public excitement is daily increasing. There is very little attention to business here now. I should not be surprised to learn of the temporary discontinuance of the newspapers. This would be mortifying. Besides, I should lose my chief tri-weekly entertainment. Every issue that appears contains paragraphs of apology for deficiencies, on the ground that editorial balance being overthrown, journalism must totter. Totter it does, and curiously enough, as I will show you presently. But the most remarkable manifestation of perturbation is a proclamation just issued from the Mayor's office, warning even the citizens themselves to avoid coming any nearer the jail than necessity requires. In case of public alarm, he forbids them to approach within one square of the jail, on any pretense.

HUMORS OF THE LOCAL PRESS.

The local press continues its customary sprightliness. It showers disfavors with unsparing pens. I think some of the editors must be addicted to red ink, according to the hint of Sir Lucius O'Trigger. One of the most fiery paragraphs this week is in *The Free Press*, which still harps on Mr. Sennott, and is very loth to give him up. Here it is.

"SENNOTT & CO.—In order that our readers may be advised of passing events we insert letters from these 'worthies.' While Sennott professes over his signature to defend the citizens of Jefferson County from the aspersions of letter-writers, he is defaming them with his anonymous letters through THE N. Y. TRIBUNE. We can only say that Mr. Sennott must keep out of this town. The people will not submit to having in their midst incendiary rascals. An eye will be kept to them. The letters are filled with falsehoods."

Though faulty as to style, the directness of these energetic sentences cannot be questioned. It appears that Mr. Gallaher will have it that Mr. Sennott is THE TRIBUNE's correspondent. This is an unkind return for Mr. Sennott's letter of thanks for courtesies bestowed upon [illegible] by Charlestown citizens. It is a pity, though, that I should [illegible] have disseminated falsehoods. I think this must be an error, because a great deal of my information has come from Mr. Gallaher himself, and he, as every one knows, is the soul of honor. His bearing, when publicly chastised, some time ago, showed that. But one of his cotemporaries *The Independent Democrat*, repels the idea of TRIBUNE correspondence altogether. It says:

"THE TRIBUNE has no correspondent here. Such an individual being as far from coming voluntarily for such a purpose as the old white hatted sepulture, GREELEY, himself. We hope, however, if there is power enough in the Federal arm, both he and his coadjutors will pay us a visit before long, at which time, under the protection of our jail walls, his paper can have its own 'true correspondent.'"

This, too, though grammatically deficient, is forcible in expression. I do not quite understand, however, why Mr. Greeley is called a sepulture. Do you think Mr. Greeley is a sepulture? As for the presence of THE TRIBUNE correspondent, Mr. Eichelberger ought to know better than to deny it. He has eaten chestnuts at my expense a dozen times, and in return has helped me—unconsciously, of course—to a deal of valuable intelligence. But Mr. Eichelberger has at least discovered that Mr. Jewett was unfairly treated, and endeavors to do him tardy justice by saying that "in the present state of affairs the innocent "are as likely to suffer as the guilty," and that he is "sorry that Mr. Jewett was made to feel this necessity."

The Free Press is confident that an attempt is to be made to induce jailor Avis to betray his trust, and bases its suspicion upon THE TRIBUNE letter which approved the manliness and undoubted integrity of that officer. This is a rather illogical deduction, but *The Free Press* can see as far into a mill-stone as any other Virginian, and appears half disposed to berate Capt. Avis soundly for having deserted his principles so far as to gain the good opinion of a Northerner. Here is its article:

"It will be seen that an effort is made to cajole the keeper of the jail. But the writer is mistaken in his man, we think. Besides, too, the *People* will keep an eye to the wretched inmates that they do not escape; and they will hold those who have them in keeping responsible for any dereliction of duty. But we have no fears of this insidious attempt to corrupt our Jailor. While he yields to the kind impulses of his nature and *Virginia* character, he is not to be corrupted. It is but proper, however, that the prisoners should be heavily ironed."

The Democrat is very severe upon the reporter of *The N. Y. Herald*, who ventured certain complaints about the Charlestown Post Office. It says:

"We can assure the 'puerile wit' of *The Herald*, that our Post Office is large enough, except when our community is overrun with Northern catch-penny and lying scribblers, for all the purposes of our citizens, and if it was not the Law that the mail shall not be opened in the presence of any one, yet such precaution, when such gentry as those to whom we allude are about, would have been right and proper in the Postmaster. We have been robbed often by special Northern Doughfaces."

But the most hotly spiced of all the Charleston editorial effusions is *The Democrat's* article in demolition of Mr. Seward. I do not see how anything could more seriously interfere with Mr. Seward's prospects in life:

"This arch demagogue and traitor, we suppose, will have the impudence to take his seat again in the Senate. Will Mason and Hunter, or any other Southern Senator, permit him as a peer, reeking and dripping as he is with the blood of Southern citizens upon his skirts, is a question for them to determine. In point of atrocity—deep, dark and damning atrocity, the crime for which Brown will expiate his life upon the gallows, is a small offence in comparison with that of this man Seward. After inaugurating the "irrepressible conflict" by traitorous and fanatical harangues to the ignorant, debauched, and fanatical populace of the North, after persuading the old, infatuated simpleton now in our jail, that he would be doing God's and the country's service to come here and murder the slaveholder, and incite a negro insurrection at the South, and when he knew that this attempt would be made with a sneaking inexpressible meanness and a dastardly skulking cowardice, which nothing but a white-livered murderer and scoundrel could be guilty of, he takes himself out of the country, and puts an ocean between him and the scene of his treason and his crimes. If such a pusillanimous villain as he is permitted to occupy a seat in the most august and respectable deliberate body which the world can assemble—the American Senate—then, indeed, have we fallen upon evil times—the fate of Rome will be no longer a phantom to haunt the day-dream of our young Republic—it will be a living reality, but Seward, too much of a coward to aspire to be its Catiline, can only be ranked in that of the lowest grade of the most contemptible of assassins."

MINOR ITEMS.

I may mention, as a comparatively unimportant matter, that a reward has been offered for THE TRIBUNE correspondent, in spite of the incredulity of *The Democrat*. A member of one of the volunteer companies, named Beall, told me he had been promised $20 if he would detect the culprit. Mr. Beall wanted the money, but had not the information. For me, I am mortified to find myself rated at so contemptible a figure. I do not esteem $20 the fair thing.

OPPOSITION.

A meeting of Opposition Democrats has been called in this town, but so great is the present excitement that it is thought better to defer all such movements until after the final disposition of the prisoners now in jail. Mr. Botts, the lawyer, who, I believe, is a leader of the small Opposition party here, is strongly disposed to test the opinions of the citizens on the subject.

CHARLESTOWN, Nov. 25, 1859.

PREPARATIONS.

Within Charlestown affairs remain very nearly as they were. The people continue to agitate themselves with vain alarms, the soldiers pursue their regular evolutions, and struggle to attain skill in arts of cookery. The determination to prevent the ingress of strangers, as the time of the execution approaches, gathers strength. I am told that all persons, without exception, will be rigidly excluded next Friday, and that the few strangers who may happen to be in town will be closely watched during the day, until all is over. I think that the rules will not even be set aside in favor of journalists. There is to be a reporter for the Associated Press on the spot, but it is doubtful about the admission of special correspondents. Suspicion is the pervading feeling. I am quite sure that none of the former legal counsel for the prisoners will be received, whatever their errand may be. Mr. Chilton, of course, and Mr. Griswold, will have no desire to come. Mr. Hoyt cannot, if he would, and Mr Sennott would not be allowed within sight of the town. If the intended regulations are really put in force, there will be but few beside the military gentlemen to witness the execution.

I learn that the extra troops, in view of an anticipated attack on Sunday night, of which I spoke yesterday, are to be doubled, and to be sent to this and to other important stations some time during Sunday, on special trains engaged for the purpose. I presume this is merely another of the excessive and extravagant precautions.

AN ODD RUMOR.

A rumor, worth repeating for its singularity, nothing more, circulated this morning. It was to the effect that the concentration of troops here was to enable Gov. Wise to protect the prisoners against the fury of the populace in the event of a respite to Brown, to give time for certain further investigations in his case, or, perhaps, to consider the question of his sanity. There was some excitement, and Mr. Harding was all in a glow. But we must not suppose that this had any more substantial foundation than the other unreliable reports that have been spread around so profusely for the last few days.

A TERRIFIC VISITATION.

A heavy affliction has befallen us. The town is deluged with *Richmond Enquirers*. Two hundred copies of that paper have just come, with the promise of a similar influx every day. A paragraph explains that there is no malicious intent about this. In consequence of the fact that a great many Richmond citizens are now on military duty at Charlestown, and for a time beyond *The Enquirer's* influence, the editors besought permission of the Postmaster-General to have 200 copies sent free of postage, that their moral and political instruction might not be interrupted. The Postmaster-General, doubtless thinking that the soldiers would have to undergo enough hardships in the natural course of events, humanely refused to have any hand in the operation. The persistent *Enquirer* then determined to pay its own postage, and so the papers are here. I think, however, that the motives of the editors were not unkind.

PERVERSION OF TESTIMONY.

A number of the papers that have been recently received here contain a statement that in one of the trials a slave girl testified that the prisoner Stephens, on the night of the seizure of Col. Washington and Mr. Allstadt, finding himself alone in a room with her, threw her violently upon a bed with the vilest purpose. Nothing could be more untrue. I heard the whole of the evidence which has been thus distorted. It was given during the trial of one of the negroes, and, by the way, was improperly admitted, as it had no relation whatever to the particular case under consideration, but the Court did not stop at trifles. The girl's evidence would have been used before, but the Virginia law does not permit slaves to appear against whites. She stated that when she was with Stephens, he kissed the children, who were also present, and then put his arm about her. When further pressed by the prosecuting counsel, she said distinctly, and more than once, that no injury was offered her. I think her words, which she several times repeated, were: "He meant nothing unfair." It was upon this point, nevertheless, that Mr. Andrew Hunter based his bitterest invectives against the prisoners, and created the greatest oratorical sensation that the Court-room had witnessed. Mr. Hunter, as well as almost all his hearers, gave themselves wholly up for five minutes to virtuous indignation against a purely imaginary offense.

CHARLESTOWN, Va., Nov. 27, 1859.

THE ROPE.

The principal excitement of yesterday (Saturday) was caused by the public exhibition, at the Sheriff's office, of the rope with which John Brown is to be hung. It was examined by crowds. The horrible, bloodthirsty discourses for which it afforded the text, were almost startling, even in this region of barbarous freedom of speech. I think that if ample arrangements had not been made to preserve order during the execution, Brown might be seized by the infuriated people and torn in pieces. There is no limit to the violence of expression here; whether it will lead to equal violence of action is doubtful. I should judge not; words cost nothing—deeds demand daring and courage.

The fact that the rope is made of South Carolina cotton is pointed out with exultation. "No Northern hemp," says the Sheriff, "shall help to punish our felons."

BROWN'S CONDITION.

A statement, I perceive, has been scattered through the Northern papers intimating that Brown is "repentant." If the idea conveyed be that he repents of his recent invasion, then it is incorrect. Brown manifests no regret on that score, although he has within a day or two appeared more quiet and thoughtful than before, as if centering his mind upon his rapidly approaching death. He is perfectly composed, and wholly reconciled to his fate, as indeed he has been all along. To-day he is engaged in writing a long letter to one of his friends, which he desires to have published after his execution, and in which he endeavors to set right certain errors which he says have appeared in the newspaper accounts of his conversations with Gov. Wise. He is very earnest on one point. He declares he never has said that his attempt at Harper's Ferry was intended as a revenge for the injuries he received in Kansas. Here, he avers, he has been misrepresented or misunderstood.

Brown is now confined by light chains upon his ankles. His hands are left free. He suffers no discomforts, except the incessant visits to which he is subjected, and of which he begins to complain. The other prisoners are fettered in a similar manner.

THE MILITARY.

I hear of fresh additions to the forces here. There is no reason to anticipate the dreaded attack, against which preparations were to be made to-day; but certainly several new companies are coming in. There is a detachment from Wheeling, and another from Richmond. The troops now number nearly one thousand men, and a few more are yet expected. I do not know of anything but conflagrations for them to attend to. Another burned barn last evening woke the town from its propriety.

TELEGRAPHIC REPORTS.

The recent telegraphic reports to the Northern papers are full of errors. The story that Gov. Chase of Ohio had sent a word of warning to Gov. Wise was false. The story that Gov. Packer of Pennsylvania had offered Gov. Wise ten thousand troops was also false. The story that Brown had become repentant was another fiction. Likewise many more. I see it hinted that these tales are told by Abolition telegraph operators to excite alarm. This is very amusing. The fact is, they proceed not from intimidators, but from one of the intimidated. The reports from Charlestown are supplied by a member of one of the volunteer companies here, who, I am afraid, does not examine closely enough into the rumors which are brought to him. It will be necessary to take with caution the telegraphic news from Charlestown until the day before the execution, when regular reporters are to be on hand.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE EXECUTION.

Dispatch to The N. Y. Herald.

HARPER'S FERRY, Monday, Nov. 28, 1859.

The arrangements for Brown's execution are now nearly completed, and every precaution has been taken to guard against a surprise or disturbance of any kind.

I have just learned that the most stringent regulations have been adopted in regard to the presence of civilians at the execution. All applications for passes for civilians to attend within the military lines are refused by the Governor, on the ground that it would conflict with the military programme. He said that no civilian could, under any circumstances, be admitted within the military lines, the outer one of which would be nearly a mile from the scaffold. Not a word of what John Brown may utter, if he should say anything, will, therefore, be audible to the men forming even the line next the gallows.

Governor Wise stated the cause of this exclusion of all persons other than the military to be, that in the event of an attempted rescue an order to fire upon the prisoner will be given, and that those within the lines, especially those sufficiently near the gallows to hear what Brown may say, would inevitably share his fate.

This will give you an idea of what the authorities of Virginia think of this affair. The imposing solemnity of the occasion will indicate to the North the feeling here on this matter.

JOHN BROWN'S CORRESPONDENCE.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

BOSTON, Nov. 28, 1859.

Mr. Hoyt, the counsel for John Brown, has favored me with following copy of a letter just received from Charlestown:

LETTER TO MR. HOYT.

CHARLESTOWN, Jefferson Co., Va., Nov. 24, 1859.

GEORGE H. HOYT, esq.—*Dear Sir:* Your kind letter of the 22d inst. is received. I exceedingly regret my inability to make you some other acknowledgment for all your efforts in my behalf than that which consists merely in words; but so it is. May God and a good conscience be your continual reward. I really do not see what you can do with me any further. I commend my poor family to the kind *remembrance* of all friends, but I well understand that *they are not the only poor* in our world. I ought to begin to leave off saying our world. I have but very little idea of the charges made against Mr. Griswold as I get to see but little of what is afloat. *I am very sorry for any wrong that may be done him*, but I have no means of contradicting anything that may be said, not knowing what is said. I cannot see how it should be *any more dishonorable* for him to receive some compensation for his expenses and service, than for Mr. Chilton, and I am not aware that any blame is attached to him on that score. I am getting more letters constantly than I well know how to answer. *My kind friends* appear to have very wrong ideas of my condition as regards *replying* to all the kind communications I receive.

Your friend in truth, JOHN BROWN.

—Another letter, not yet published, has been received from John Brown. Mrs. Lydia Maria Child's letter to the old man in prison, was properly published with his answer, and as a contrast to it—as a voice of the old conservative heart, which also John Brown's acts and words have set a throbbing—I transcribe the letter which elicited the reply from the old man, herewith subjoined:

WEST NEWTON, Nov. 5, 1859.

Capt. JOHN BROWN.—*Dear Brother:* Withdrawing any expression of opinion respecting the outbreak at Harper's Ferry, I cannot but admire your bravery and effort to save life during the conflict. But, above all, your unwavering faith in God and fidelity to principle, your fearless answers, your faithful testimony against Slavery, and your noble self-sacrificing spirit excites the admiration of all who venerate justice, truth, and humanity.

While I cannot approve of all your acts, I stand in awe of your position since your capture, and dare not oppose you lest I be found fighting against God; for you speak as one having authority, and seem to be strengthened from on high. Look only to God for aid in these your trying hours, which, if they be brief, may the illumination of His Spirit and of a life-time be centered in the time allotted you here. If called to ascend the gallows, may you do it joyfully, praising God that you have been counted worthy to die for those ready to perish, and like His Son, may you feel to forgive and bless those who take your life. Many, yes, a multitude, appreciate you *now*; and were you ambitious of immortal fame, you might now enjoy a foretaste of that which is to come if you die as you have lived since a prisoner.

Your family will not be forgotten—their wants will be attended to abundantly by those who love heroism and integrity to principle, and by the Father who suffers not a sparrow to fall to the ground without his notice. My prayers you have. May God give you strength and resignation and inspire you to utter words of wisdom, warning, courage, and love to those you leave.

I would imprint on your sacred face the kiss of sympathy and love ere you join the multitude of martyrs who have gone before you. But this cannot be. God bless you. I would ask a line from you, but would not tax your brief time—for never having seen you I should sacredly cherish a line from your hand. Believing God reigns, I feel to view these recent events as his Providence, which in time may be fully manifested although at present inscrutable. A host of friends love and remember you, and I speak for many in my immediate neighborhood. Farewell, dear brother. God bless you.

[I omit the name at the writer's request.]

REPLY OF JOHN BROWN.

CHARLESTOWN, Jefferson Co., Va., Nov. 15, 1859.

MY DEAR SIR: Your most kind communication of the 5th inst. was received by me in due time. You request a few lines from me, which I cannot deny you, though much at a loss what to write. Your kind mention of *some* things in my conduct here which you approve is very comforting indeed to my mind, yet I am conscious that you do me more than justice. I do certainly feel that, through Divine grace, *I have endeavored* to be "faithful in a few things," mingling with even these much of imperfection. I am certainly unworthy "even to suffer affliction with the *people of God*." Yet, in Infinite grace, He has *thus* honored me. May the *same grace* enable me to serve Him in "*new obedience*" through my little remainder of this life, and to rejoice in Him forever. I cannot feel that God will suffer the poorest services we may any of us render Him or His cause to be lost or in vain.

I do feel "dear Brother," that I am wonderfully "strengthened from on high." May I use that strength in "showing *His strength* unto this generation, and His power to every one that is to come.

I am most grateful for your assurance that my poor shattered, heart-broken "family will not be forgotten." I have long tried to commend them them to "the God "of my Father." I have *many* opportunities for *faithful plain dealing* with the more powerful, influential and intelligent class in this region, which I trust are not entirely misimproved. I *humbly trust that* I firmly believe that God reigns, and I think I can truly say, "Let the earth rejoice."

May God take care of His *own cause* and of His own name, as well as of them who love their neighbors.

Farewell. Yours in truth, JOHN BROWN.

As collections of John Brown letters will be published, with other biographical facts, for the benefit of his family and the families of those who fell with him, it is urgently requested that a copy of all communications received from him, as well as of the letters to which they were an answer, should be printed or sent to the undersigned, who has the matter in charge.

JAMES REDPATH, Box No. 3,421, Boston

ANOTHER HOAX.—Virginia seems doomed to be kept in a constant ferment by bogus telegraphic dispatches. At one time it was announced that Gov. Chase of Ohio had sent a message, informing Gov. Wise that an expedition for the rescue of Brown was being organized in that State. That a dispatch bearing Gov. Chase's signature was received may be true, but that it was a hoax has been stated by authority. Then came a report that Gov. Packer of Pennsylvania had offered to send to the Governor of Virginia a force of 10,000 men; and this, too, was promptly contradicted by authority. Next, we were told that the Governor of South Carolina had made a tender of military aid to Gov. Wise, but this, also, turns out to be untrue. *The Southern Guardian*, published at Columbia, the State capital, says:

"We are authorized and have been requested to state that the telegraphic announcement that Gov. Gist had tendered military aid to Gov. Wise, is incorrect. Gov. Gist has been restrained from doing so only by the conviction that Virginia is abundantly able to take care of herself."

A SLANDER UPON JOHN BROWN REFUTED.

From The Cleveland Herald.

All who know the character of Brown, of *The Herald of Freedom*, of Kansas, very well know the baseness of his slanders upon his namesake, Capt. John Brown. The brother of Capt. B. has, however, thought it best to notice a republication of one of *The Herald of Freedom's* slanders in *The Plain Dealer*. The letter of Mr. J. R. Brown we give as it appears in *The Plain Dealer*:

To the Editor of The Plain Dealer.

You published some time since an article from *The Kansas Herald of Freedom*, charging upon my brother, with abetting the death of William Doyle and others. You referred to this subject again in your paper of yesterday.

This statement of *The Herald of Freedom* is wholly false, so far as concerns my brother; and its circulation through your paper is an act of injustice to him, which I trust you would not willingly commit.

I have no doubt that time will rectify all false impressions as to my brother's conduct in Kansas, and I have no wish to say anything at present, by way of changing public sentiment concerning it. But the circulation of this statement of *The Herald*, uncontradicted, is calculated to embitter the few remaining days my brother has to live, and it is for his sake that I trouble you with the following statement:

My brother, at the time William Doyle and others were killed, was not present, did not assent to the act, nor had any knowledge of it, and was eighteen miles distant at the time of the occurrence.

My brother John and his two sons were living in the same neighborhood, and a Committee of five from the Border Ruffian camp called upon him, and said that they were instructed to warn him that, if Free-State men were found there the next Thursday night, they would kill every one of them, and they could command force enough to carry the threat into execution. My brother replied to them that he should not be found there, as, before this, he had made his arrangements to be in another part of the Territory. It was known to the Free-State men of that section that this threat to destroy them had been made, and, before Thursday night came, Doyle and others were destroyed—they being of the number of those who had threatened the destruction of the Free-State settlers. The effect of this was, the Border-Ruffians became terror-stricken, and left the Territory.

I have this account of this affair from my brother and his two sons; also from a sister and brother-in-law (now living in Kansas), who had personal knowledge of this transaction, and the statements of all of whom upon any subject were never yet questioned by any one having anything like a perfect knowledge of their characters. J. R. BROWN.

Cleveland, Nov. 22, 1859.

G. W. BROWN IN REPLY TO JAMES REDPATH.

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: I observe in your issue of the 7th inst., an editorial in which you speak of *The Herald of Freedom* as "one of the organs of the Free-State party, "but now the open tool and stipendiary of the Pro-Slavery Democracy."

Do me the favor to say to the readers of THE TRIBUNE that I most positively deny the charge made against me and my paper. *The Herald of Freedom* was established in Kansas in the Fall of 1854, the avowed object of which was to make Kansas a FREE STATE. It professed to be *independent* of all parties, and laboring solely for the end for which it was called into being. I had formerly been connected with the Free-Soil party of 1848, and the Free Democracy of 1852. In 1856 *The Herald of Freedom* was the first paper in the Republic to run up the name of JOHN C. FREMONT for the Presidency, and I had the honor of sustaining him until presses and type were destroyed, and myself imprisoned, charged with high treason for sentiments of Freedom promulgated in my paper.

When *The Herald of Freedom* was revived on the 1st day of November, '56, I again wrote an article defending the position of John C. Fremont, and urging every friend of Kansas in the States to give him their vote.

On the 5th day of September, 1855, the Free State party of Kansas was organized. It was composed of "Whigs, Democrats, Free-Soilers, native and naturalized citizens," in the language of one of the resolutions of the Convention: and the members of it pledged themselves together that they would discard *all* minor issues, and that the only test of membership should be a determination to make Kansas a Free State. The organization was to be preserved until *Kansas was a State in the Union*. I planted myself on the platform with my journal, and exerted what little influence I possessed to maintain that party *in tact* until the end for which it was organized had been fully attained; hence I opposed the organization of a Democratic party, as well as a Republican party, in Kansas, desirous of keeping the issue a distinct one between Freedom and Slavery, until we had taken our place in the Union, and had a voice in national politics, at which time I frequently declared in my paper I should take position with that party which promised the most for Freedom. My own opinion was that if we could prevent the organization of National parties in Kansas until after the Republican party was reorganized in the States in 1860, we could induce nearly every Free-State man in the Territory to go into the support of that organization, and thus make it a tower of strength to the country; while, if prematurely organized, hundreds, and probably thousands, would be forced into the Democratic party, because of past affinity, and hence our strength would be materially lessened.

The parties have been organized. I labored afterward to rally the old Free-State party at Big Springs, but it proved a failure. During the last Summer I resolved to keep aloof from both parties, which I have done until recently. I opposed the Wyandot Constitution because it was defective in many important features, and because I thought it unnecessarily and foolishly partisan. I urged my objections to it. *After* taking position against it, the Democrats, in their Convention at Tecumseh, also took a position against it, and the Republicans in their Convention took a position in favor of it. I did not see proper to change front because this state of things existed, though I exceedingly regretted it. Had the Democrats possessed sense enough to have left the question to the people, *independent of party*, the result would have been very different from what it is; but by making it a party issue the Republicans sustained it in a body, with many Douglas Democrats; while the straight-out Democrats, and the few who had not identified themselves with either of the parties as then organized, with myself, who felt it was very objectionable, voted against it.

The Constitution was adopted by the people, and *The Herald of Freedom* took its position on the Republican platform in support of *all* the nominees of the Republican State Convention for officers under it. Martin F. Conway receives my support merely because he *is* a nominee of the party, not because I like the man, or his past political history in Kansas, and because I cannot consistently, with my Anti-Slavery views, sustain his opponent, Judge Houderman.

I did not sustain Marcus J. Parrott for reelection, because I believed him intemperate in his habits, which disqualified him, in my estimation, for a Delegate to Congress. I sustained Judge Johnston, not because he was a Democrat, but because he had formerly been identified with the Free-State party, entertaining precisely the same views on all national questions with Mr. Parrott, and less objectionable than Mr. P. on account of intemperance. I further believed his energy of character would enable him to do more for the material interests of Kansas than Mr. Parrott could do.

In raising the names of SALMON P. CHASE and NATHANIEL P. BANKS as candidates for the two highest offices in the nation, "*subject to the decision of a Republican National Convention*," I only expressed my honest wishes in the premises.

If bought up by the Federal Administration, I am unconscious of it, although it has seemed to give Republican journals great pleasure to make this charge against me. I have spoken of men and things in Kansas just as *I* saw them, and have only regretted that partisans outside of Kansas have endeavored to use us as tools for them to ride into power.

In regard to Old John Brown I have written no published nothing only what I believed to be strictly true. If the Republican press and the Republican party propose to defend or apologize for him, they will have an unpleasant task to perform, and it cannot but work disastrously to the future success of the party. Through his instrumentality and that of Redpath, Realf, Cook, and other men of that character, with whom I might include James H. Lane, our troubles have been protracted at least one year, and an amount of suffering and wretchedness has been entailed upon the people of this Territory which is almost incalculable.

In regard to Mr. REDPATH and his communication in THE TRIBUNE, I have very little to say. Those who will take the trouble to turn back to the files of THE TRIBUNE and *The N. Y. Times* of June, 1856, will find nearly every important statement in regard to myself made by him in that communication controverted, and that by letters copied into THE TRIBUNE, etc., written by this same Redpath.

As a *particeps criminis* with Old Brown, he attempts to divert attention from himself. If you wish to know more of him, please procure the "Roving Editor," a book written by Jas. Redpath, and published by A. B. Burdick, New-York. It is dedicated to Old John Brown. Turn to page 300, and read as follows:

"I believed that a *civil war* between the North and the South would ultimate in *insurrection*, and that the Kansas troubles would probably create a military conflict of the sections. Hence, I left the South, and went to Kansas, *and endeavored, personally and by pen, to precipitate* a REVOLUTION. That WE failed, *for I was not alone in this desire*, was owing to the influence of prominent Republican statesmen, whose *unfortunate* conservative character of council, which it was impossible *openly* to resist effectually *baffled all our hopes*—hopes which Democratic action was auspiciously promoting."

I had other extracts which I had designed furnishing you, but I have not leisure to copy them now.

Respectfully, G. W. BROWN.

Herald of Freedom Office, Lawrence, Kansas, Nov. 14, 1859.