

## *JOHN BROWN'S INVASION.*

### *CORRESPONDENCE OF THE CONSPIRATORS.*

The *Herald* of Tuesday publishes, with a great flourish, a batch of letters found in John Brown's carpet-bag, or in the pockets of other of the Harper's Ferry conspirators. That paper affects to regard them as affording evidence of an extensive conspiracy, and of the complicity therein of various important persons at the North. On looking carefully at them, however, we see that they are of very little consequence. Most of them are dated at West Andover, Ashtabula Co., Ohio, and signed "John Smith." They were written, no doubt, by one of John Brown's sons, and they disclose very little beyond the fact that the writer was laboring to obtain money, arms, and men, and that for these purposes he was traveling about the country and holding correspondence with persons whose names are sometimes mentioned and sometimes only hinted at. They are addressed, for the most part, to "J. Hearie, esq." (a fictitious name, doubtless), Chambersburg, Pa., and were intended to keep the old man informed of his (the son's) movements. The writer speaks mysteriously of "mining operations," "missionsary labors," "meetings of stockholders," &c., phrases which need no explanation. Drafts for various sums are inclosed from time to time. In a letter dated West Andover, Ohio, Oct. 1, "John Smith" says:

"Yesterday I returned from a trip to Jefferson and Ashtabula, where I met with some success. Our old friend J. R. G. took stock to the amount of \$300 and so he was just starting for Boston, said he would form an association there. Monday next I shall start for Cleveland. Hope to had a letter from you at Mrs. Stewart's. You may depend upon it, I have been, and am yet 'striking every nerve' in furtherance of our cause. (Two photographs: char-ters which might be made to read Parker, Fribury) is here, and actually working in behalf of the mining operation."

In one letter allusion is made to "C. H. L" (probably Charles H. Langston, one of the Oberlin rescuers, a colored man), who is said to be "clear discouraged" "about the mining business—thinks the hands too few."

Another letter speaks of "J. M. Bell" of Concord, "a true man," and of "L. H." at Boston. In a letter dated Sept. 21, "John Smith" says: "Shall make a copy of yours to Jay." There is nothing to explain who is meant by "Jay." The following letter was addressed to John Hinckley on the envelope, and dated Concord, Sept. 23, but on the inside the initials are "F. D.," and reads thus:

"F. D., esq.—Dear Sir:—The undersigned feel it to be of the utmost importance that our cause be properly represented in a convention to come off right away (near) Chambersburg, in this State. We think you are the man of all others to represent us, and we severally pledge ourselves that in case you will come right on we will see your family well provided for during your absence, or until your safe return to them. Answer to us and to John Hinckley, esq., Chambersburg, Pa., at once. We are ready to make you a remittance, if you go."

"We have now quite a number of good but not very intelligent representatives collected. Some of our members are ready to go on with you."

There is nothing to indicate who is meant by "F.D.," but many suppose that Frederick Douglass is the person alluded to.

John Brown's diary, extending from March to October, 1859, speaks of letters written by him to the following, among other persons, viz.: Augustus Waters; Frederick Douglass; W. Penn Clark, Iowa City; A. Hazlett, Indiana, Pa.; Clinton Gilroy, esq., New-London, Ct.; H. Greeley & Co. (inclosing \$3 for THE TRIBUNE); James N. Gloucester.

The diary also contained the following memorandum:

"BANTS OF MEN TO CALL UPON FOR ASSISTANCE.  
"Isaac J. White and Wm. Burgess, Carlisle, Cambria and Co., Pa.; Joseph A. Crowley, Elias House and John Miller, Bedford, Pa.; J. D. Bassett, No. 718 Lombard street, Philadelphia; John D. Scoville."

The following memoranda were found, written on ivory tablets, in the pockets of Kagi, who was shot in the Shenandoah River on the retreat from the rifelfactory:

TUESDAY.—Mr. Merriam came; went down with me to M.J.—[Last word illegible]  
TUESDAY.—James returned to Mrs. Russells.

Wednesday.—Wrote Wm. Still.

Written to R. Jones sending men off. Guerrilla operations at Brownsville, Texas.

Levy and Coplin arrived.

TUESDAY.—Rec'd. letter from Merriam dated Baltimore.

FRIDAY.—Sent telegram to Merriam at Baltimore.

SATURDAY.—[Blank.]

The *Herald* correspondent says:

"The Merriams referred to in the memoranda is supposed to be a man who stopped at the Wager House on Saturday last, bringing a heavy trunk, which was taken off in a wagon by one of Brown's sons and a negro man. Before leaving the hotel he registered his name 'F. G. Merriman, Massachusetts,' and took dinner. He then procured paper and wrote a large number of letters, taking particular pains to prevent any one from seeing what he had written. It is supposed that he took some part in the doings of Sunday night, and escaped in company with Cook and his party. His face was very peculiarly marked with blotches, and a man answering his description exactly is known to have registered the name of 'J. Henry,' at Chambersburg. It is conjectured that this man had charge of the procuring of the supplies of arms, ammunition, &c., for the 'Provisional Army.'

"A large bundle of letters, addressed to Charles P. Tidd, one of the dead filibusters, was found in a trunk at the house of Capt. Cook's mother-in-law. Among them were several from his mother, who, it appears, lives with a second husband at or near Springfield, Iowa, breathing the most tender and affectionate spirit, and praying Heaven to bless and protect her 'dear child, Charles,' through all the dangers which he was about to pass, and begging of him if he escaped unharmed to return at once to his home. All the letters are written in the Quaker style of 'theeing and thouing,' and are pervaded with a deeply religious tone. All approve and encourage the enterprise in which he is engaged as a holy cause, and exhort him to lead a life of purity. Many of the letters are in a feminine hand. One signed 'Emilia,' very prettily written and dated '8th month, 11th, 1859,' contains this sentence: 'Press nobly on, for by your instrumentality millions may have the pleasure of singing the song of liberty.'

"Anna" writes, under date of "7th month, 2d, 1859," as follows:

"MY DEAR FRIEND:—As the time seems drawing very near that we must part, perhaps never again to meet on these mountains above, and thinking that I have many things to say to thee, I have concluded to let my pen follow, for a few moments, my thoughts. . . . I believe that thy motives are purely philanthropic and sympathetic, and I think that I do appreciate the feeling that prompts thee to take, as it were, thy life in thy hands, and go boldly forth in such a hazardous undertaking in that cause that lies near my heart, and in which I can see nothing that I can do to hasten the day of deliverance."

"I have been thinking, this afternoon, of the great responsibility that is going to rest upon thee in the command of others. May thou do it with wisdom and discretion, in calmness, doing nothing rashly. Set thy mark high, and aim at perfection. Be noble, be signs, and always set the rights of woman as respected and protected."

LIFTER FROM JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS.

The following letter appeared in *The Philadelphia North American* of Monday:

"While coming to this city on Saturday, I first read a telegraph dispatch from Washington, saying 'that John Brown (the prisoner captured at Harper's Ferry) refused, in the presence of Senator Mason and Messrs. Faulkner and Vallandigham, to answer the question whether he had consulted Mr. Giddings about his Virginia expedition.'

"It is evident that the object of these gentlemen was not to obtain facts on which to predicate a charge of crime, or of any immoral or dishonorable act. Had such been their object, they would not have published what was not said, but they proclaim their suspicions, and by such innuendoes and imputations seek to impugn the character of one who was not present.

"I do not feel called upon to reply to such attempts to cast reproach upon myself. I say to these questioners, gentlemen, I am your peer. I have served my country as long, and I hope as honestly, as either of you; and you know, and the country knows, that any question you may propound to me touching the Government, its past or present position, will be frankly, promptly, and fully answered, to the extent of my knowledge and belief; and I pronounce that attempt to ascribe me dishonorable, unworthy of your positions, unworthy of honorable men."

"But you must not expect to escape the responsibility of your own conduct by thus aspersing one who has for years cautioned you of the results that must follow the efforts of yourselves and party to extend Slavery, and your determined purpose to involve the people of the Free States in the disgrace and crime of supporting an institution which all honest and independent men of these States repudiate. No man of our nation has done more than one of you to produce the results which have recently attracted the attention of the people. They are the immediate and unmistakable effects of the efforts of yourselves and party to establish Slavery in Kansas. Murderers there were rewarded by Executive appointments to office. Brown's sons were the victims of that despotism which your party exerted in favor of an institution which the people abhorred."

"These facts do not rest on suspicion, nor on the refusal of a victim to answer any questions. They rest upon the records and the history of the Government itself. No evasion, no tergiversation, can change the enduring truths to which I refer. And you would better subserve the public good by exerting your influence and occupying your time in correcting the evils you

and your party have brought upon the country, than by vain efforts to involve others in the crimes which you and your associates have committed."

"To the public I will say, that Brown never consulted me in regard to his Virginia expedition, or any other expedition or matter whatever." J. R. GIDDINGS.

"Grand Hotel, Philadelphia, Oct. 24, 1859."

INTERESTING STATEMENT OF COL. JOHN A. WASHINGTON.

Col. John A. Washington, a distant relative of George Washington, and who was taken prisoner by Capt. Brown, makes the following interesting statement:

"Between one and two o'clock on Sunday night, I was in my bed at my house, five or six miles from Harper's Ferry; I was awakened by hearing my name called in the hall; I supposed it was some friends arrived, who, being acquainted with the house, had come in through the kitchen without making any noise; I got up and opened the door into the hall, and before me stood four men, three armed with Sharp's rifles, leveled and cocked, and the fourth—the man Stephens—

—with a revolver in his right hand, and in his left a lighted flambeau, made of pine whitilage. As I opened the door one of the men said: 'Is your name Washington?' Said I, 'that is my name.' Perhaps also Cook, who was of the crowd, also identified me, as he told me afterward he was taken there for that purpose. I was then told that I was a prisoner, and one of them said, 'Don't be frightened.' I replied, 'Do you see anything that looks like fight about me?' 'No,' he said. 'I only want to say, that if you surrender and come with us freely, you are safe. I told them I understood that sufficiently, and there was no necessity for further explanation; but I was struck with the number of men sent against me, and asked what need there was of so many, as there was no danger of an unarmed man in his night shirt resisting an armed force. I was told to put on my clothes, and of course complied. 'I've been,' said I, 'while I am dressing, you will be so good as to tell me what all this means?' I inquired what the weather was outside, and one of them advised me to put on an overcoat, as it was rather chilly. Another said they wanted my arms, and I opened the gun-closet for them to help themselves. They then explained their mission, which they represented to be purely philanthropic, to wit: the emancipation of all the slaves in the country. After I was dressed, Stephens said to me, 'Have you got any money?' I replied, 'I wish I had a great deal.' 'Be careful, Sir,' said he. I told him if I had money I knew how to take care of it, and he could not get it. Said he, 'Have you a watch?' My reply was, 'I have, but you cannot have it. You have set yourselves up as great moralists and liberators of slaves; now it appears that you are robbers as well.' 'Be careful, Sir,' said he again. I told them I was dressed, and ready to go. They bade me wait a short time and my carriage would be at the door. They had ordered my carriage for me, and pried open the stable-door to get it out. They had harnessed the horses on the wrong side of each other, and I tried to induce them to correct the mistake, which they did after driving a short distance, but still, being harnessed wrong, and rather sprained animals, they would not work well.

"My servant, whom they had forced along, was driving. I suspected they were only robbers, and was expecting all along that they would turn off at some point, but they drove directly to the Armory. Brown came out and invited me in, saying there was a comfortable fire, and I shortly afterward met with Mr. Allard, whom they had arrested on the way and brought along in my buggy wagon. While coming along, the horses being raw, I got out and walked up a hill with one of the men, who took occasion to ask my views on the subject of Slavery in the abstract. I declined an argument on the subject, but he still pressed it upon me, and I was obliged to refuse the second time.

"Brown told us to make ourselves comfortable, and added, 'By and by I shall require each of you, gentlemen, to write to some of your friends to send a stout negro man in your place.' This was by way of ransom. He told us he must see the letter before it was sent, and he thought after this was effected they could make an arrangement by which we could return home. I determined in my own mind not to make the requisition, but he never made application for it, having other matters before the day expired attracting his attention.

"My sword, which had been presented by Frederick the Great to General Washington, was taken from my house, with other arms. This man Cook had been at my house some time before and seen the arms, and at that time I beat him at shooting, and he told me I was the best shot he had ever met. On the way to Harper's Ferry he asked me if I had shot any since, and made an apology for being with this party after being so well treated by me. I told him it was of no consequence about the apology, but I would ask one favor of him, which was to use his influence to have returned to me the old sword and an old pistol, which, in the present improved state of arms, were only valuable as curiosities of their history. He promised to attend to it, and shortly after reaching the Armory I found the sword in Old Brown's hands. Said Brown: 'I will take especial care of it, and I shall endeavor to return it to you after you are released.' He carried the sword in his hands all day on Monday, until after the arrival of the military.

"Upon the first announcement of the arrival of the militia, Brown came into the room and picked out ten of us, whom he supposed to be the most prominent men. He told us we might be assured of good treatment, because, in case he got the worst of it in the fight, the possession of us would be of service in procuring good terms; we could exercise great influence with our fellow-citizens, and as for me, he knew if I was out I should do my duty, and, in my position as aid to the Governor, I should be a most dangerous foe. Then we were taken into the engine-house and closely confined. Two of our number went backward and forward repeatedly to confer with citizens during the negotiations, and finally remained out altogether, leaving the eight who were inside when the building was assaulted and captured by the marines. During Monday various terms of capitulation were proposed and refused, and at night we requested our friends to cease firing during the night, as the place should be stormed in the dark, friends and foes would have to share alike. In the morning Capt. Summs of Frederick, announced the arrival of the United States Marines. During the night he had brought in Dr. Taylor of Frederick, to look at the wounds of old Brown's son. The surgeon looked at the man, and promised to attend him again in the morning if practicable, but about the time he was expected hostilities had commenced.

"Col. Lee, who commanded the United States forces, sent up Lt. Stuart to assure Brown that the only terms he would offer for surrender were, that he and his men should be taken to a place of safety and kept un molested until the will of the President could be ascertained. Brown's reply was to the effect that he could expect no leniency, and he would sell his life as dearly as possible. A few minutes later the place was assaulted and taken. In justice to Brown, I will say that he advised the prisoners to keep well under shelter during the firing, and at no time did he threaten to massacre us or place us in front in case of assault. It was evident he did not expect the attack so soon. There was no cry of 'surrender' by his party except from one young man, and then Brown said, 'Only one surrenders.' This fellow, after he saw the marines, said he would prefer to take his chance of a trial at Washington. He had taken his position, and fired one or two shots, when he cried 'surrender.' There were four of Brown's party able to fight when the marines attacked, besides a negro, making five in all. This negro was very bold at first, but when the assault was made, he took off his accoutrements, and tried to mingle with the prisoners, and pass himself off as one of them. I handed him over to the marines at once, saying he was a prisoner at all events.

"Gov. WISE ARRIVED AT RICHMOND—AN INTERESTING SPEECH.

From *The Richmond Daily*, Oct. 22.

Gov. Henry A. Wise returned from Harper's Ferry yesterday, in the 2 o'clock train from Aquia Creek, and was received at the depot on Broad street by Company E, Capt. Cary, and a large concourse of citizens. He was conducted to a carriage, and thus conveyed to the Governor's mansion, Company E acting as escort. The multitude followed the carriage until it approached the City Hall, when a general rush was made for the Governor's grounds. The portico of the house and the enclosure in front were soon filled with citizens eager to hear a speech from his Excellency. Presently the Governor and his escort entered, and, room being made for them, the Governor alighted from his carriage, entered his dwelling, and exchanged brief greetings with his family.

He then came forward, and was received with arms presented by Company E—the Armory Band playing the "Star Spangled Banner." At the conclusion of these ceremonies, the Governor proceeded to address the military and the assembled crowd of civilians. He spoke forty-five minutes, and was several times interrupted with loud applause and cheering. His address is a summary of his remarks, which is unavoidably condensed and imperfect, and for convenience sake, we use the first portion singular.

CAPT. CARY, CAPTAIN E, AND FELLOW CITIZENS: If you and I never had a fellow-feeling before, we have it now. Rumors of an insurrection, of an invasion, of robberies and murders by ruffians, on our borders, called for the protection of the State and her people. You, fellow-citizens and citizen-soldiers, were ready to start on the path of duty at any moment. I thank you—as your Commander-in-chief, I thank you from my heart. I thank you not only for being ready to start, but in due to you to say that I know you were ready to do your duty. I kept my eye upon the men, and though they met rumor upon rumor, telegraph upon telegraph, that there was still fighting at Harper's Ferry, they went through with bayonet fixed.

[Applause] No man blanched until the news came that the victory was won without the aid of their

right arm. When we got there we found the dead and the wounded. When you left you bore the character of gentlemen, when you arrived at Harper's Ferry, then you bore not only the character of gentlemen, but the character of soldiers. Though you were not called upon to pull a trigger, you preserved order, composure, drill, and discipline, in the midst of the highest excitement I have ever witnessed.

Let me also thank the corps who left this city, the next morning, and their commander, Col. August All, all were on the way as prompt as preparation could be made, and steam carry them. We met many on the way, and let me pay an compliment to Capt. Marge of the Alexandria Rifles, who, with the accession of his corps, enabled me to proceed with 91 Virginia soldiers to Harper's Ferry.

I was compelled, at the Relay House, to order the return of the companies which followed me. There were enough without them. The volunteers of Jefferson, and of Berkley were there. The farmers were there with their long guns and rifles. The people were there with arms and without arms. They expected to get arms there, but to the disgrace—not of Virginia—but of somebody who is responsible, fourteen white riflemen and five negroes had taken the Armory—the Thermopylae of Harper's Ferry—at night, where thousands of muskets were kept. The Governor then briefly recapitulated the particulars of the surprise and capture of the place; mentioned the seizure of 1,000 spears, and referred to the disappointment of the invaders in not finding the negroes ready and willing to arm themselves with those weapons. They carried off a few slaves, but one negro escaped from them, and was drowned in an attempt to get back to his master. The fanatic, the "Border Ruffian," the "Chief of Kansas," who had been denouncing the people of Missouri as "Border Ruffians," is now a prisoner of treason. He made a great mistake as to the disposition of the slaves. The Abolitionists cannot comprehend that they are held among us by a patriarchal tenure.

After a brief allusion to the outlaw, Cooke, and the unguarded condition of Harper's Ferry, the Governor said: There ought to be a guard kept there, and as the General Government has not provided one, either military or civil, I, as Governor, proclaim to you that I have put a guard there. I have put Capt. Brown's own Sharpe's rifles into the hands of the people [laughter and applause], and I will not stop until I send an ample supply of Virginia muskets, with flint, percussion, or some sort of a lock, to secure the proper defense of the place. [Cheers.] He would have given his right arm if our Virginia boys had been there to take the ruffians who surprised the town. He was ready to weep when he heard that their force consisted of only twelve men, and that they had taken the town in ten minutes. There was no cowardice in that part of the people there, because their unguarded citizens were prisoners. They loved Washington, they loved Alstead, they loved the operatives who were prisoners. But he (Gov. W.) told them that they had made a mistake; and that if Gen. Washington had been a prisoner, and his life suspended by an attack, he (the Gov.) would have risked his own, and other lives as well, in making that attack without delay. [This is the spirit, and not the exact language, of the Governor's remarks.]

The Governor then proceeded to speak of "Captain Brown," awarding to him credit for bravery, fortitude, and humanity toward his prisoners. He dwelt, with an appropriate air of humor, on the fact that Brown had armed himself with a sword which Frederick the Great had sent to Gen. George Washington! The sword belonged to Mr. Lewis Washington, one of Brown's prisoners. He said that he had a bushel of Brown's correspondence—not all of it. A carpet bag full was taken to Baltimore by the troops of that city, and missed (by publication). The letters in his possession proved that prominent men of the North were implicated in the affair. Whether our sister States of the North will allow such men to remain among them unabashed or unpunished, remains to be seen. If any one should smuggle off Gerrit Smith, some night, and bring him to me, I would read him a moral lecture and then send him back home. The Governor said he remained at Harper's Ferry to prevent anything like "Lynch law" in Virginia. There was no question of jurisdiction to be settled, as he had made up his mind fully, and after determining that the prisoners should be tried in Virginia, he would not have obeyed an order to the contrary from the President of the United States. [Laughter and applause.]

In conclusion, the Governor urged the importance of the organization of the military throughout the State, and the exercise of vigilance to guard against the disgrace of a similar surprise. He thanked the relatives and citizens for the compliment they had paid him, and declared that he had done nothing but his duty in repairing to Harper's Ferry.