Hingham and Boston,
Together with
His Testimony Before the Harper's Ferry Committee
of the Senate, in Relation to
John Brown, of Ornate.

Also
The Republican Platform
And Other Matters.

Published by Order of the Republican State Committee.

Reception at Hingham.

John A. Andrew, among His Town's People.

A Cordial "Welcome Home."

Photographically Reported for the Traveller by J. M. W. Territor.

John A. Andrew, Esq., the Republican nominee for Governor, resides, during the summer months, in the fine old town of Hingham, down by the sea-shore, where he has made his home for some years. On Saturday, he returned there from the most effective and noble service in the canvass now so energetically prosecuted in Maine, and his fellow-townsmen, irrespective of party affiliation, determined to give him a reception which should testify their admiration and love for the man, and their conviction that his nomination by the Republican party, as their candidate for the chief office in the gift of the Commonwealth, was one eminently "fit to be made."

The time fixed was Monday evening, Sept. 3d, and notwithstanding the brief notice that could be given (for the preparations were, almost literally, the work of an hour), the demonstration was not only large in point of numbers, but most hearty and enthusiastic in its character, and must have been exceedingly gratifying to the grasp and warm-hearted gentleman in whose honor it was conceived and carried out.

At eight o'clock, several hundred people gathered in front of Loring's Hall, where they were marshalled in procession, and preceded by the North Weymouth Band, marched through the streets of the beautiful and ancient town, the way being illuminated by the blaze of blue lights and the flash of rockets, and the air stirred with the frequent cheer of the rejoicing multitude. The good people of Hingham seemed to be all astir, and balcony, door-way and window were thronged with eager and happy faces, while groups were gathered in the streets at the most available positions, who greeted the procession as it passed with cheers and shouts. Many buildings were illuminated, and everything was lively and animated as upon a holiday.

About nine o'clock, the march ended, for the time, in front of Mr. Andrew's house, where a large company had similarly assembled, in anticipation of the arrival of the procession. Among the number, were many gentlemen of Mr. Andrew's household of political faith, who took part in the festivities of the occasion with heartiness and zeal. About the ladies of the town were present, in large numbers, and danced the garden in front of the house, giving an added liveliness to the scene.

Arrived at the house, the band played "Hail to the Chief," after which the company made the walk in a ring with three skips, led by Mr. Andrew, A. D. W.
Mr. Rowse, Esq., then addressed the assembly as follows:

**Speech of Mr. Rowse, Esq.**

Mr. Rowse, and Friends and Neighbors of the goodly and ancient town of Hingham—This is one of these occasions which occur so often in the course of all our lives, when no poor form of human expression is adequate to the feeling of pride and joy and thankfulness that we all feel in the gladness of the hour. I confess to you, my old friends and neighbors, associates and kinsmen of the people of Hingham, that I could better speak by tears than by voice or word to-night. From the centre of my being, from the bottom of my heart, for this occasion, all my feelings are merged into the gladness of the hour. I confess to you, my old friends and neighbors, associates and kinsmen of the people of Hingham, that I could better speak by tears than by voice or word to-night. From the centre of my being, from the bottom of my heart, for this occasion, all my feelings are merged into the gladness of the hour. I confess to you, my old friends and neighbors, associates and kinsmen of the people of Hingham, that I could better speak by tears than by voice or word to-night. From the centre of my being, from the bottom of my heart, for this occasion, all my feelings are merged into the gladness of the hour. I confess to you, my old friends and neighbors, associates and kinsmen of the people of Hingham, that I could better speak by tears than by voice or word to-night. From the centre of my being, from the bottom of my heart, for this occasion, all my feelings are merged into the gladness of the hour.
believe that the men who shall speak their minds have not yet died out iningham, (applause) and I believe that they will continue to be "the last able of recorded time."

All that I have, friends, to say is, hear upon the political virtues of is to, that I hope all the gentlemen in the room will agree with me and that you will speak your minds. (Cheers.)

I know not, fellow citizens, as yet, nor do you, who the gentlemen are, to be selected as the standard bearers of the opposing parties to that Republic organisation of which I am the unworthy, and in which I shall probably be one of the three parties, each with creed or purpose separate from, independent of, and opposed to, and opposed to each other. In their ranks they number honest, intelligent, patriotic and able men, and I am glad to think they will speak their minds, and that one, according to the form of its own organization, and according to the proprieties which, in their best judgment, believe the occasion, will select their candidates. Their candidates, all of them, will be before you. From them all you will select.

I hope I may venture to call a word bearing upon the besetting method for the conduct, not of this campaign only, but of all political campaigns. I speak to my political associates as well as to those who may oppose my party at the polls. My speech this day is not to be presented to you in the form of a story. Once, in celebration, an Arab chieflain owned a beautiful Arabian mare. She was the pet of his household and the joy of his eyes; fleet as the wind, nimble as the breezes, and fair (so said the Arab story) as the moon. A neighboring chieflain coveted her steed, but money would not win from his tent nor from his hand the horse he loved. By and by, full of craft, as well as selfishness, the disappointed chieflain covered himself with rage, bent down as it broken by age and grief, and, crouching by the wayside as the overgrown ruffian, and his mouth creased along upon his proud and prancing steed, he held out his hand, and, with faint and pitiful accents, besought him, that, for the love of God, he would take up a poor worn and weary and sickened wayfarer, and carry him to some place of rest, where he might spend in ease and repose, all aloft, and putting spurs to the flanks of the mare, he cried aloud, in accents of defiant taunt, "I have won your mare at last," and passed away. Soon the owner met the robber, and accosted him. Said he, "I have not told to any man the story of my loss, I will never tell you, nor seek to avenge my wrong at the hand of human law. I only ask that you may never tell the tale to any other man. I took you in what I supposed to be the want and grief and pain of your poor humanity, for the love of God and from the love of my fellow-man. I do not ask that you may tell that tale to human ears, and so unobjectionable a thing should get abroad among our countrymen, some poor stricken son of sorrow, who may, in honest grief and poverty, extend his hand for help and ass, and seek the aid of his fellow, may be suspected and treated with contempt, and the hope that any human sympathy should be gone unspent, or any human want or sorrow pass unrelieved, by reason of your craft and wickedness weakening the faith of man in his brother." In any one of those who may be candidates for your political party, there is not one, I hope, who will not believe that the faith of man in his brother shall be justified by the actions and the words of those who speak in your behalf.

The final beef of mankind is humanity. Help not you by suspension of any one whose error, if error he has committed, shall have been due to indulgence and not to his legs. Where are, in the very way of our country, in the blood and sin and corruption of a capital and a country, the wise and just, the men who shall, if they have the strength of mind and the strength of body to lead us away from and make us forget what we owe to the heart itself, what we owe to the decent, sweet impulse of a common human love. Judges all men, if you will, by the strictest standard of intellectual fitness, but always pardon every one who shows a disposition to forget and to forgive. It is that, only loved God's poor just too well.

We have, my friends, a grand, a beautiful, and glorious heritage——consecrated, by our father's blood and our mother's prayers, by the fidelity and industry and patriotism of our children, to your God to God, "You have a Sinner—woe to him and preserve it." This is your gift—this broad, far hand. These teeming fields, these healthy airs, these skies, which almost "rain down fatness," these institutions, where the freedom of human labor gives to every man an opportunity, to every woman the chance, to every child the promise of an independent, honest, happy existence. You have here no man with power to hold the mystery over here, vote, judgment, or voice. It is all yours—all mine. Without which were those "precious blood's souls" and "wages" which we may seek up rights. Stand by, friends and fellow citizens, according to the measure and method of your faith and conviction, stand by these grand, historic, venerable and consecrated institutions of Massachusetts! Hold all your political parties up to the rules and principles of our fathers, to the institutions which have made you happy, wealthy, independent, and your children free! We have a State, and we have a confederated Union. You and I are loyal to one and the other and both. We believe in the jus and equal rights of man, as the self-evident truth our fathers wrote it down to be in the immortal Declaration of our National Independence. (Applause.) We all mean, for whatever names we vote, to preserve and to work for a Union to us the best, subordinating the Union of this country, of this Union, of this Union, and of this Union to the Constitution of our Union. We mean to perpetuate Liberty to the latest time and to the last posterity. (Great cheering.) And we mean to do it, through the forms, social and political, through the organization of the people through the exalt, not being radical in the sense of destructiveness, but radical in the honest sense of preserving, conserving and perpetuating the good and the true. (Renewed cheering.) Other men, elsewhere, may prophecy evil; other men may foresee evil days and times and actions to come, which shall threaten our institutions, which shall threaten to weaken our government, or to weaken our love for it; but we know better. (Enthusiastic applause.) Our hearts are firmly anchored here. We believe in the right, we are not for compromise. We believe in the success of self-government—a government by the people. We are Democrats of the old school; Democrats in the blood, in the bone, in the heart; by the convictions of our judgment, and by the experiences of ourselves and of our fathers, and our children, who are and shall be the solders of the Revolution, who were post by Col. Horr, at an amen point of danger, who cried out to his commander, "Captain, I am shot."

"No matter—stand!" Again he cried out, "Cap-
you might all come in. I bid you welcome here. Come, those who can; and those who cannot find an entrance now beneath my roof, come another time. Come when you will; I am here, and my latch string is out! (Enthusiastic and prolonged cheering.)

Now, with an affectionate and hearty "Good night," I seek only the satisfaction of shaking hands with as many of you as I may.

Nine hearty cheers were given for Mr. Andrew, at the conclusion of his speech, the band playing a lively air, and the blast of numerous rockets adding brilliancy and beauty to the joyous scene.

The procession then re-formed, and again marched through the street, to the unceasing music of the band, cheering enthusiastically at various points, and, later in the evening, returning to Mr. Andrew's house, where refreshments had been bountifully provided, again greeted their friend, and partook of his cheer. The occasion, altogether, was one most gratifying and delightful, and will doubtless be long remembered with pleasure by all who participated in it. The number present when Mr. Andrew spoke must have been somewhere between two and three thousand, who were enthusiastic in their demonstrations of affectionate regard. Well may the Republican candidate be proud of his friends and neighbors; well, too, may they be proud of him.

SERENADE TO JOHN A. ANDREW.

GREAT GATHERING IN CHARLES STREET.

SPEECH OF MR. ANDREW.

Last evening the Republican nominee for Governor was serenaded at the residence of Daniel Davis, Esq., No. 68 Charles street. The street in front of the house was thronged with people of all classes, and among them were many old friends who patiently waited until half past ten o'clock - the arrival of the procession from Bowdoin square. At that hour the Lincoln Guard No. 1 escorted to the place the Rail Splitter Battery, together with a large number of people who had assembled at the head-quarters of the battery. The Chelsea Brass Band headed the procession, and as it marched down Beacon street the lanterns and torches presented a fine appearance.

Upon their arrival the band played "Hail Columbia" and the "Star Spangled Banner," and after nine enthusiastic cheers for Mr. Andrew, that gentleman appeared at the window, accompanied by Charles D. Hall, Esq., who introduced him briefly, claiming that Mr. Andrew was entitled to the offices of Governor, for his dignified and honorable bearing upon all occasions; public and private—for his integrity and honesty of purpose; his unquestionable ability, and accomplished moral character. Whence, said Mr. Hall, such claims are presented to the consideration of this Commonwealth, they must and will be responded to by a ten to one majority; and over all opposition.

Mr. Andrew then stepped upon the platform, and was received with the string of rockets, music by the band, and loud cheers from the assembled throngs. Silence being restored, he delivered the following speech: We quote from the transcript report in the
Advertiscm, which has since been careeedly corrected for insertion in the Traveller—

J.N. "Ambridge Spokesman

Fellow-Citizens and other Republicans of Boston:

The grand enthusiastic welcome with which this town and this State received the Lincoln-_Hayes victory, has been pleased to greet my humble presence here to-night, fills me with emotions strange and engraving, struggling with each other for utterance and expres-siveness. My thanks and greetings to the people in general, to this great gathering, to the many thousands to which no poor words or voice of mine can utter. I can only, gentlemen Republicans of Boston, in feeble accents and with pathetic heart, in simple phrase say: "Colleagues, fellow-republicans, let us togeth-er while they cry out, I thank you, friends and brother republicans. (Cathartic cheering) Now, I come to the point. I come to say to that great Republican cause, that great and conquering cause of THE PEOPLE, inaugurated for the year 1880 at the Chicago Convention, which is now advancing, with victory in its train, towards the consummation of its aims; let us be convinced that the people, the right of the people, the power of the people, which is the issue in your speech, is the issue in the battle for liberty. (Applause.) Out of the Egypt of a long bondage are you now emerging, ("good" and not so good) and now ever in ever years more feeble and feeble accents struggling to speak the trumpet note of victory. It leaps with one consent from the unanimous lips of a vast majority of the American people. (Great and mighty voice of the people.) (Cathartic cheering) Long may Lincoln's, and Linn's, and Lincoln and Hamlin's, and the courage of Hannibal, (renewed cheering) Republicanism be bound to conquer, (cheering) Your fellow-republicans, I have been moved by mind and heart, running from the sounding shores of Maine, across the Alleghanies, over the broad and rolling prairies of the West, and back to the Connecticut, down into the valley of the Potomac, and reaching at last those last outposts of civilization upon the shores of the Pacific sea. (A voice, "Glory to Vermont.") Meine and Grecian, the easternmost and westernmost States of this great confederacy of free, will be found enrolling their electoral votes for Lincoln and Hamlin. (Cheers. Vermont has spoken already, and then followed the cheers of the State of Edward Bates and Frank Blair, by the voice of the Speaker of St. Louis, in the four holding Common-wealths, has begun to exhibit the evidence that Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania have been the first in this country to the cause of freedom. No longer can the Republican party be assailed by the taunts of opponents charging its organi-zation, faction, its principle and its future defeat. Their trumpets are heard here, and the song of "sectionalism," "sectionalism," "sectionalism." In Mary-land, in Virginia, in Kentucky, in Missouri, in New York, in Ohio, in Indiana, in Illinois, in Chicago, you have your representatives and your men. (Applause.) This, fellow-citizens, is the inauguration of your movement, which will go on with increasing success, and which, I think, is the full purpose of purpose, until you shall see yourselves in possession of the high place of power.

"The respectability of the people—no other popular representa-tion of the people—as an organized, or, if you please, unorganized body, but still a popular representa-tion of the people. You will permit me, perhaps, to say a word to you. I have ventured to call this the cause of the people. Sometimes men call it the cause of a section, or the cause of a race, or the cause of the people. (Cheering and cries of "Good.") We have in the nation to-day three or four-garies—I hardly know which—contending for the pres-idency and I will hazard the opinion of the representatives from the Richmond Enquirer, the representa-tives press of Breckenridge in Virginia, a threat to hang Judge Douglas of Illinois, who is the representa-tive of a section. There seems to be an under tone of a shout of "he ought to be hung." You have also the party of Bell and Everett, called by the same machinery as the establishment party,package of "The Constitutional Union party." They are sitting on a platform, it is said, which no man has ever read or even seen. (Laughter.) It declares itself to be no geographical party—knowing to North, South, East, West, no anywhere, and to nothing. (Laughter and cheering.) It proceeds for its creed, the Union, Con-stitution, and the enforcement of the laws. (In voice,

"Shivoo, I know, nobody told us this was discovered, and certainly that there is a Constitu-tion, that there is a Union, and that we express ourselves by written laws. But what interpretation of the Constitution and of the Union, the perpetuation of liberty, what interpretation of the laws or what system of enforcement of the laws do you all say you will not do us to understand, nor even to guess.

I had supposed, fellow-citizens, that this was a gov-ernment of the people, and I take exception to the notion that they call their platform, or any other platform of any party, the "enforcement of the laws." (Applause.)"
Gentlemen, reflect a moment on this trip of the Bell, the following of this pernicious delusion, and you will judge that you have together, not calling them by barbarous terms, of pacific, or of martial name; not even calling them by scattered conventions in the ball, but by a true and patriotic name of cannon (laughter)—this "scatting bell," causing it false charges under our windows! Sir, it is no complacency to the fact that the speeches of the African people, to evade the accusation of disloyalty, opinion. No platform, or creed, or doctrine, is prescribed by that great Bell-Everett organization today. The Bell-Everett party and the Garrisonians say the price of the existence of this government human slavery shall go into all the Territories, and the abolition of human slavery in the Territories shall be but the preparation of the re-opening of the African slave trade; and that they are entitled to the privilege of burying their dead on the African continent, in the cheapest markets. Judge Douglas declares that he does not care whether the extension of slavery is voted up or voted down; and the Bell-Everett party declares that he does not care what it costs, and that whatever whatsoever upon the subject. But still the controversy goes on. Sell the war is raging in the front of the Union and the Union will be divided, thick. It exists between the constitutional and the sectional, and the sectional and the sectional. It is no middle ground between the two. Judge Douglas professes to discover a middle ground, and that he "does not care," and when he reaches the Presidency, he "will be compelled to care," because he will find himself forced in with practical duty. Mr. Bell, should he become the President, must be "sectional" as Beecherism on the question of slavery. He must be, or else as sectional as Lincoln on the other. There is no middle ground between the two. Judge Douglas professes to discover a middle ground, and that he "does not care," and when he reaches the Presidency, he "will be compelled to care," because he will find himself forced in with practical duty. Mr. Bell, should he become the President, must be "sectional" as Beecherism on the question of slavery. He must be, or else as sectional as Lincoln on the other.

This great question between republicans and all adversaries will continue pending until it is intelligible between the hands of a legible hand, it will be settled; it will be debated. It is of no pretense that by mere talk on the part of a particular Presidential candidate during the campaign, the debate to be held in all the Territories, will be forced by its abridgment on its face to pretend that by any policy either of ascendency, indifference or ignorance, you can ever reach a peace. You will have to meet this question completely, as measures or, else as measures. Who will pretend to legislate from these columns? Who will pretend to legislate from these columns? We wish for the Federal government. Squatter Sovereignty. Judge Douglas has told us, will establish liberty; and yet Judge Douglas, the author of the author of the Squatter Sovereignty, in New Mexico, has carried slavery a degree and a half further North than it ever went before, or ever had the power to go. You tried to say now to free white laborers in Boston who may do the honor to listen to my words tonight. You found Texas a free territory resting to the jurisdiction of the Federal government. The same old black code is published by the mother country. By American arms, by American spoils and legations, Texas was freed from the laws of South Carolina, and the ordinances of liberty there as Judge Douglas and his friends regarded the Missouri restriction of 1850.
You attained a bound land, larger than France, more fertile and more beautiful than she. Your equal, speaking of the magnificent resources which the power, exercised the privilege, of writing whatever they pleased upon the blank paper which contained in constitution and code of laws, and the means to protect and promote the interests of the people. You do not reside in the State to-day, and has been from the start. For popular sovereignty exists in the State, and the people are sovereign, the people are sovereign.

Look at the laws of Texas as they stand now upon the statute book. It is a small State in population, but it stands on the same principles of sovereignty; and yet early in the history of its law, it is written that no white man shall call in question, in the presence or hearing of any other person, the right of any member of the society to own a bondwoman, or a slave. It is the right of the State to own a bondwoman, under the pressure of three years imprisonment in the penitentiary. (Cite of "slaves.")

Such a law as this, of which you have heard, that has been secured by the application of Judge Douglas's principle in Texas! Go to every other slaveholding State, and the same description of law prevails. Whenever you see a field, in this territory, where the men who own the slave own the land. By owning the slaves they crowd out and drive away, discourage and put down, all the efforts of the poor white for the slave. For the labor and owing the land, they subsidize the press, they silence the pulpit, they control the elections and hold the votes. They raise duties on and taxes so as to protect slavery and discourage freedom. You will find, gentlemen, if you go there with your son, in the hope of establishing homes for yourself and family, you will find no poor white person and respectable gentleman from Tennessee or South Carolina, who has established himself there with five hundred, or ten hundred, acres of land, on a sandy soil, and established a system of espousal upon the other settlers. All your conduct, every hour of your day, every moment of your night, you are preaching a word to the white people who sing, every prayer you utter to Heaven, is under that constant system of espousal. You recede, free white labor recedes, free white men recede, and all the labor and everything below, is lost to us. (Applause.)

You speak of health. You say, as health recedes before the pestilence. Try it! A slaveholder from Maryland told me but a few weeks ago that he could look out of the windows of his house and for miles around him see no land that was not owned by aristocratic landholders, by men of wealth. "Upon my own plantation," said he, "I have hatted divers fers white American-born families, too poor to obtain the means of living or buying a residence of their own, and who would not be permitted to be considered as citizens. In fact, they are citizens of both countries and decades of life, they are far below the colored slaves whom I myself own." That is the story of a slaveholder in Maryland, and Maryland is the State of the United States, under which free commonwealth, and a commonwealth to which our friend Mr. Thayer of Worcester, in a recent address to his constituents, pointed out as which illustrates the power of free labor to drive out slavery. I know fellow-citizens, that one day slavery will be excluded from Maryland, no matter what system of laws may be framed, everywhere stronger than the consulates of men. It will die out there, because it will ultimately vanish from the face of the earth. It will be exterminated there, because the power of the people, wherever the bondwoman shall become one upon a solidified earth, as it assuredly shall be in a glorified Heaven. (Enthusiastic applause.) But I do not mean to wait. I, as one hundred and fifty others, we implore you to wait for the providence of God by miracle or otherwise to work the wonders assigned to human instrumentality. I confident I have no political power to act directly or indirectly upon any institution or practice peculiar to any other Commonwealth than Massachusetts. But I have a constitutional political power to open the eyes of the world, to touch the lives of all peoples, and perpetuation of any institution of which the government can take cognizance within any territory over which the American flag floats, and to which the nation is subject to be declared illegal. (Four cheers and "that's the talk") Up to the full extent of whatever political power, as a rich, as a radical, as a conservative, as an independent, I must go. (Hearty applause and cries of "good") Just up to that and no further. I sympathize with Hungary, bound down and trampled beneath the hoofs of the war-horses of Austria. My heart bleeds for pooroppressed and enduring Italy to-night. Every throbbing and pulsation of this breathing frame leaps out joyous and jubilant notes from every heart and every brain. (Round of applause.) Yes, (Cheers of Garibaldini. Great enthusiasm.) I hope to see the day when the people of France, no longer sitting in solemn council beneath the orderly despotism of a bond, will be on their knees before Jesus the Messianic and intelligent浣man, and establish a liberty as grand, as certain, as brilliant and as lasting as that which you the French have achieved. (Applause.) (Cheers.)

I know that we have no power politically, by voice or vote to lift from Ireland any institutions or practices of the British System which they are in. I am well aware that the legislature of Massachusetts, that the Congress of the United States, have no power to do it. But the Congress of the United States, and I would as soon think of proposing such a vote before that respectable body of my fellow-citizens—almost every one of whom I know—in the town hall, as I would before the grand representative assembly of the whole American Confederacy, and I should as soon think of being strait that the mulatto slave in Louisiana, as that the law of peace of this Congress would abolish the slave in South Carolina.

Sirs, this old appeal to your fears is just about worn out. I have always noticed that the first step toward making a man aascal is, to make him afraid. I argue from a practical application which I beg leave to make of that remark, is, that in 1856, although every doctrine and principle of freedom had been emphatically endorsed by the Constitution of that year and of the present, was substantially admitted by the Whig State Committee of Massachusetts, yet those gentlemen, practicing under their fears, made the Constitution, which they professed, and I hope honestly entertained, allowed themselves to be diverted from the support of the gallant Frencmon, allowed themselves to be deterred from pursuing their purposes of establishing a similar organization in aid of Mr. Fillmore in the State of Pennsylvania, and by that means co-operated in the re-establishment of that to-night, those very gentlemen, that very class of Optimists and Quietists—gentlemen of the very highest social and political position—those very gentlemen who were able to bring forward brilliant powers and acquisitions of intelligence, are laying the foundation for the accomplishment (If it is possible) of the same scene of liberty that now is sought to be established, and that has been practised once with such success can be accomplished again. (A voice, "It can't be done.") I think it cannot be done. (Applause.)

But I cannot vote for Mr. Buchanan in 1856, when her voice for James Buchanan in 1856, is alive. From the northern boundary to the Ohio river the Danubian liberty that now sustains the Union, and which is just emerging from the bosom of the administration of the Commonwealth of Ohio, has just seen the largest gathering of the people of Indiana that ever came together for any purposes either political or otherwise, and the same gentleman who is now in the West, that State, upon my conscience, I believe to be a. (Great enthusiasm.)

The representatives of Pennsylvania, stands in New England that with Abraham Lincoln as the standard-bearer of the republican party, Pennsylvania was secure. Eventfully felting the momentum of the Constitution, and it does not matter whether the support of Massachusetts and of every intelligent Freeman of Massachusetts shall be given to this cause—this cause, which is for the establishment of the Constitution, for the establishment of the Constitution and the immortality of the Constitution. They will recall us on every side; they will meet us at every turn. But who cares for votes of life, or of death? Who cares for the assiduity of friend or foe, the malignity of party presses, the trembling of weakened friends, the interceptions of those who are always on the look out to entrap your votes, and stir up the war of elements and the shock of worlds, if he knows he is right? (Cheers.)

Gentlemen, it was not my purpose to detain you; it was my purpose to help you to make this evening call. (Loud shouts of "go on!") I wish, fellow-citizens, it was in my power to address you upon several topics connected with the campaign, under
EPIGRAM

JOHN A. ANDREW, ESQ.

At the Meeting held in the Tremont Temple, Dec. 18th, 1859, for the Relief of the Family of John Brown.

At the conclusion of Rev. Dr. Neal's prayer, Mr. Andrew said:

Ladies and Gentlemen,—Obeying the command of the gentleman who arranged the meeting on this occasion, I am here present to occupy the simple and unostentatious duties of chairman. They do not appose me the offices of speech, and I have seen it consistent with the proprieties of the position I hold. It simply is incumbent upon me to say a simple word by way of explanation, of the order and arrangement and principles of this meeting, and to present to you the distinguished and eloquent friends who have consented with the invitation of the committee, and are here present to address this audience. Many hearts were touched by the words of John Brown, in a recent letter to Lydia Maria Child:

"I have at home a wife and three young daughters, the youngest but little over five years old, the eldest nearly sixteen. I also have two daughters-in-law, whose husbands have both fallen near me here. There is also another widow, Mrs. Thompson, whose husband fell here. Whether she is a mother or not, I cannot say. I have a middle-aged son, who has been, in some degree, a cripple from his childhood, who would have as much as he could well do to earn a living. He has not enough to clothe himself for the winter comfortably."

John Brown and his companions in the conflict at Harper's Ferry, those who fell there and those who are to suffer upon the scaffold, are victims or martyrs to an idea. There is an irresistible conflict (great applause) between freedom and slavery; as old and as immortal as the irresistible conflict between right and wrong. They are among the martyrs of that conflict.

I pray not now to consider, because it is wholly outside of the duty or the thought of this assembly to-night, whether the enterprise of John Brown and his associates in Virginia was wise or foolish, right or wrong. I do not know that whether the enterprise itself was one or the other, John Brown himself is right. (Applause.) I sympathize with the man. I sympathize with the idea because I

REPUBLICAN SONG BOOK.—Messrs. Thayer & Eldridge, No. 116 Washington Street, Boston, have just published by far the best and cheapest collection of Republican Songs for the campaign of 1860, that has yet been issued. Price, ten cents single, or one dollar a dozen. Sent to any address post paid.
By the Chairman:

Question. Will you please to state where you reside, and what your occupation is?

Answer. My home is Boston, Massachusetts, and I am a practitioner of law in Boston.

Question. Will you state whether you engaged counsel to defend John Brown, who was recently executed in Virginia for offenses against the laws of that State, on his indictment and trial?

Answer. I engaged the Hon. Samuel Chilton of Washington, who assisted in the defence of Capt. John Brown, at Charlestown, and also the Rev. William Green of Richmond, Virginia, who assisted Mr. Chilton in the preparation of the prosecution of a writ of error. The fact of the action of these gentlemen is not personally known to me of my own knowledge; I only know it by correspondence and public report. I never had the pleasure of being in Virginia.

Question. Will you please to state under what circumstances you engaged them as counsel; what led you to do it; what was the reason why you engaged them?

The Witness. The operative motive on my mind?

The Chairman. Any reasons connected with it — employed or engaged you, or why you did it.

Answer. If my motives are deemed —

The Chairman. Not your motives at all. What I want to know is, at whose instance were counsel employed in Virginia, and furnished the compensation to the counsel?

The Witness. As I was about to remark, if it is desired by the committee to know what operated on my mind, and led to the employment of these gentlemen through my intervention, I will state with entire freedom, and I hope the gentlemen of the committee will not regard anything I may say as intended to be disrespectful to them or to Virginia. When the intelligence reached Boston by telegraph that the local court in Jefferson county, Virginia, was proceeding to the trial of John Brown and one of his associates, with which I was so deeply and hurriedly anxious to act in particular as to be unable to render it probable that there was a sufficient opportunity to make a full and complete defence, and under such circumstances as that the physical condition of the men themselves seemed to render it entirely improbable that they could render a defence with propriety, it struck my mind, and the mind of other gentlemen with whom I met in the ordinary course of business in the city, the street, the office, the court rooms, and otherwise, as being a judicial outrage. I certainly felt it to be such. It was wholly unlike anything I had ever known or heard of in my practice as a lawyer. When some persons had been indicted for kidnapping in Massachusetts last September, the court gave General Cushing, their counsel, two or three months after their arraignment before so many gentlemen to file a plea. Vide Boston Advertiser, 18th of December. Now the case is before a Judge of a Circuit Court in Virginia, to whom there is no appeal but to the Supreme Court of Appeals, and I am quite certain that the result will be to send Mr. Chilton to Virginia, who spoke to me, to assume the conduct of this affair, and to do it more than twenty years, of all shades of opinion, might have made that remark; and many persons thought that the circumstances under which this proceeding was going on in Virginia were such as to tend to increase rather than to diminish the ill feeling that the men who composed the committee already excited. I said to others, and said to myself, "If I should go to Virginia, I, a Republican lawyer and a Massachusetts man, should be before a court and jury so little in sympathy with myself that I should be quite as much on trial as my client would be. Besides that, I am a stranger to the local jurisprudence and practice of Virginia," (although I was somewhat familiar with the reports, and not unfamiliar with some books, particularly I remember Mr. Robinson's practice, which I read with a great deal of pleasure,) knowing nobody sufficiently well to take the liberty with his knowledge that Mr. Blair of Washington, I at once wrote to him a letter, of which I think I kept no copy — I feel very sure I did not— stating to him how I felt about it and how other gentlemen felt, and I think I also suggested that I thought if Captain Brown was in Virginia, and was not on trial, and could not, not only have a long time given to him to enable his friends to examine into the state of his mind, with a view to testing its sanity, but that it did seem to me an investigation would result in finding testimony, all the way from Boston to Kansas, which would be appropriate for the suggestion I made in the letter, and I made it merely as the result of an inference, not as the result of any facts of which I had personal knowledge. I also said that if Judge Blair would himself go to Virginia, undertake the cause, and see that Captain Brown had a complete and appropriate defence, according to the laws of the jurisdiction where he was indicted, raising whatever questions of law ought to be raised, and having them heard before the tribunal of ultimate resort, I would guarantee to him a proper and honorable compensation; or if he was no opinion of that he was not to go, I should adopt his selection of any other gentleman of the bar, and would guarantee his compensation; that I desired a gentleman familiar with the institutions, practice, and jurisprudence of Virginia, and whose personal presence would not prejudice his client; the result was the employment of Mr. Chilton. After Mr. Chilton had retired from the court, either in consequence of a letter written by himself to me, or a letter written on his behalf by somebody else, I was led to offer, in the same feeling, and with the same general view and purpose, a fee of $300 (fixing it in my own mind, because the case was the last and the only case about it) to any gentleman from Richmond whom Mr. Chilton should himself select as an associate. Mr. Daniel of Richmond and Mr. Green were both spoken of. Mr. Daniel declined, on account of his other engagements, and his letter was sent to me. He recommended Mr. Green. Mr. Green refused the retainer at first, but finally agreed to the amount of Mr. Chilton's fee of $300, and Mr. Green's fee of $300. In undertaking to retain and pay these gentlemen, I acted self-moved, except in so far as my own opinion and judgment was influenced by the general remarks of which I have spoken, made to me by friends and fellow-citizens of Boston, of Virginia's proceedings and opinions. In my letter to Judge
Blair, I had made this application to you in behalf of Mr. Brown. In the first place, Mr. Brown is a man of the highest character and standing. I had been unable to make the presentation; because I cannot easily call on any one who desired a fair trial—and of whom you had, for a long time, been the favorite and most friendly, Mr. Blair, you have no excuse for a certain deficiency in accepting the retainer, coming from a brother lawyer, influenced only by public or benevolent considerations. I adopted phraseology, therefore, which would seem clear of that deficiency of relation which a direct statement of my proceedings have shown.

Question. Will you state how this money was furnished, and by whom furnished? If you can, give the names.

Answer. Without regard to my being in full possession of the facts when I accepted the drafts as they were drawn on me, and the money was furnished by A., B., & C., whom I might happen to meet in business, or in pleasure, or at church.

Question. Was the money furnished at your request, or was it voluntarily furnished?

Answer. I have not the slightest idea of whether or not the money was furnished for one man to speak as to another's motives. I can only speak as to my own; and you have now put a question which embarrasses me to this extent: It is unpleasant for a man to throw the blame of his own virtue, and I am sorry to be the witness of such a man as may be the more benevolent man, if he is otherwise. I can only give you one little circumstance, as an illustration of what I might do under such circumstances. Last year a man was convicted in Boston for piracy, and sentenced to be hanged. I had never spoken to him, in my life; I did not know any person related to him in any way. After other efforts had been made, I devoted some week, at least, to preparation, and came to Washington, at my own expense, without fee or reward, or the hope of any, in order to press upon the Attorney General I deemed proper to be considered in support of the application for executive clemency. The man's life was saved. I never spoke to him until I accompanied Mr. Marshal Freeman to his cell, and assisted in the reading of the President's warrant committing him. I have sometimes done just such things as that on other occasions. I do not profess to be a particularly benevolent man, but I mention that as an illustration of what I might do, even for a stranger.

Question. You have spoken of your opinion that evidence might have been obtained from Boston to Kansas to show that Brown was insane. Will you say whether, as far as you know, it was his general reputation in Massachusetts, that he was insane?

Answer. I cannot answer to that. I took that position in my letter to Judge Blair, in consequence of an inference drawn by myself from circumstances attending the outbreak at Harper's Ferry—the outbreak itself, and the circumstances attending it. It was my own opinion. I am not aware that any man that Captain Brown was insane. I have since been informed that some twenty-five or thirty affidavits were taken in different parts of the country and submitted to the executive of Virginia, in support of some theory of insanity, in behalf of Captain Brown.

Question. Were you aware that a young gentleman named Hoyt had been sent from Virginia as counsel for Brown and his associates?

Answer. I knew that Mr. Hoyt went to Virginia. I personally know Mr. Hoyt. He is a very young man, an excellent young man, a gentleman of talent, but inexperienced as a lawyer, and
In would not regard himself, nor would he do otherwise, as a gentleman of that degree of professional experience to be placed in a position of responsibility on the west coast of Cape Caicos, in the Indian Ocean, under foreign laws.

Question. Were you aware of cognizant of who sent him, who employed him to go, whose instance no went?

Answer. To the extent of my knowledge, I can speak, and I have no doubt that I, substantially, knew the facts. I think Mr. Hoyt was without compensation, and I think his expenses, which of course would be small, were paid by gentlemen whom he knew. It is customary with us, as I suppose it is everywhere, for gentlemen of the bar, particularly youngsters of the bar, to pay out of volunteer counsel in capital causes, and even in other causes, and they may not be able to procure counsel by compensation.

Mr. Hoyt went to Virginia before Mr. Gilston, and when he left Boston I think he had no means of knowing, or suspecting, probably, what I intended to do. He went suddenly, probably upon an impulse. There might have been a little professional irritation, for aught I know, mingling with his motives.

Question. You have spoken of a custom prevailing at Boston, and probably at the bar generally, for junior members of the bar to volunteer in criminal causes where the party is not able to pay counsel; is it customary for them to volunteer to counsel those in capital cases for the State, and to a remote State for that purpose?

Answer. I do not remember any other instance save one, and that occurred in this very case of Mr. Sennot and his associates, in the person of Mr. Sennott, who is a Democrat, and a supporter of the Democratic federal administration.

Question. What did he do?

Answer. He went in the same way. I think Mr. Sennott had no compensation at all when he went to Virginia—that is, no promise of any, and I do not know that he has ever been paid anything. I do not know whether, in his recent visit to Virginia within a few days past to defend Stevens, Mr. Sennott went as a mere volunteer or upon the promise of compensation, but I am very sure that Mr. Sennott and Mr. Hoyt both went to Virginia originally, without any expectation of pecuniary compensation.

Question. How did you derive that information?

Answer. I am very sure that both Mr. Hoyt and Mr. Sennott told me so. It was a case of a great deal of expense, and it was very easy to perceive, or think they perceived in it, an opportunity for some exercise of professional prowess, and that, added to a sentiment of humanity or pity for a man deemed to be in circumstances of hardship and misfortune, would be a sufficient motive to take any part in it.

Question. Will you inform the committee whether, at any time during the years 1858 or 1859, you contributed money in any form to be paid over to John Brown for any purpose? I mean before the Harper's Ferry affair.

Answer. I never saw Mr. Brown until some time in 1858. I have not contributed any money in aid of any purposes of Mr. Brown's whatsoever, unless contributions which I may have made to the Emigrant Aid Society or to the Kansas committee may have indirectly reached him, of which last fact I am, however, wholly without any means of information. But after having been married to Mrs. Brown one evening at a lady's house, where I made a social call with my wife, I sent to him $25 as a present.

Question. Was that in the spring of 1859?

Answer. Yes, sir. I do not know the date, but it was sometime in the spring of 1858. I do not know whether anybody else gave him any money or not. I sent him $25. I did it because I felt

afflicted, and it had been a long time and charged with him, and came within tab rank of the personal inspection, which I said I do very generally and without any constraint or meaning anything directly toward his assistance, as in whom I thought had afflicted and solicited so much for the cause of freedom and of good order and good governments in the Territory of Kansas.

He was, if I may be allowed to say that expression, a very magnetic person, and I felt very much impressed by him. I can hardly conceive how I could have understood the old gentleman fairly, because when I hear a man talk upon great themes, touching which I think he must have deep feeling, in a tone perfectly level, without emphasis and without any exhibition of feeling, I am always ready to suspect that there is something wrong in the man's mind.

I noticed that the old gentleman in conversation scarcely regarded other people, was entirely self-controlled, self-contained, sufficient to himself, and appeared to have no emotion of any sort, but to be entirely absorbed in an idea, which preoccupied him and seemed to put him in a position transcending an ordinary emotion and ordinary reason. I did not regard him as a dangerous man, however. I thought that his sufferings and hardships and bereavements had produced some effect upon him. I sent him $25, and in parting with him, as I heard he was a poor man, I expressed my gratitude to him for having fought for the cause of freedom, and for a moment considered his scienstiousness, while I had been quietly at home earning my money and supporting my family in Boston under my own vine and fig tree, with nobody to make me afraid.

By Mr. Doolittle:

Question. Was the whole amount of money you paid retained by you, or how much were you left out of pocket?

Answer. I have not carefully examined, for I came to Washington without having any information as to the point towards which the examination of the committee would tend. I have not examined my accounts. Perhaps I am out of pocket. If I do not lose more than $50 or $100, besides conducting the correspondence, I am satisfied.

By Mr. Davis:

Question. You state that your sympathy with Brown arose from the useful services rendered by him in Kansas for the preservation of good order and government. Will you state what the character of the service was which you so denominate?

Answer. At a time when, according to the best and all the information which I possessed, there was no law, nor official of the law, to protect, or who did protect, the free-State settlers from Massachusetts and from the South, too, I am led to believe that Brown was, with other men, in the attempt to guard and protect and secure them against unlawful violence from marauders, resident or pretending to be resident in Kansas, and invaders from adjoining slaveholding States.

Question. Did you include in those services what is known as the Pottawatomie murders?

Answer. No, sir; for I have always understood that Captain Brown was not present at the Pottawatomie transaction. I, however, have heard that Brown said that he approved the transaction at Pottawatomie as an action of necessary self-defence, though he was not himself personally present. I have been living a life, and am dependent wholly for my opinions on those who have visited Kansas, and who have given me information.

Question. There was another feat of his, that of kidnapping negroes in Missouri, and running them off to Iowa. Was that a part of his services which commanded your sympathy?
The Witness, I am constitutionally perceptive, and by opinion very much of a peace man, and I have very little faith in deeds of violence, and very little sympathy with them except as the extremest and direst necessity. My sympathy, so far as I sympathized with Captain Brown was on account of what I knew of his having been heroic and disinterested services in defence of a good and just cause, and in support of the rights of persons who were treated with unjust aggression.

By Mr. Nitch:
Question. There is a question which, perhaps, would be germane. Without saying to the witness what has, or what has not been in proof here-tofore before the committee, we could put this question to him: suppose that it had been known that Brown had been precipitated as such a thing as he was guilty of in Virginia, for fifteen or twenty years; that he sought this Kansas service for the very purpose of educating himself and those who acted with him for this ulterior object, would the witness and those who sympathized with him, have sympathized with his Kansas operations, with that knowledge?

Answer. I have no reason to suspect that of myself, nor do I believe of any other gentleman with whom I agree or not, that the transactions of Captain Brown at Harper's Ferry would be deemed justifiable, nor would any such attempt made or contemplated, receive our sympathy.

By Mr. Fitch. The answer does not go to the full extent demanded. I intended to ascertain from this witness, whether, if he and those who acted with him, had supposed that Brown had contemplated this Harper's Ferry foray, using the means and men they were placing at his disposal in Kansas for that purpose, they would have given him those means, or encouraged him in his Kansas operations?

The Witness. Of course not. So far as a man can answer hypothetically, I say, of course not.

By Mr. Davis:
Question. You stated when you first saw Brown; will you state when you last saw him?
Answer. I never saw him but once, and I thought it singular that I should not have seen him, for I heard he was frequently in Boston. I was not a member of the Kansas committee or any Kansas association.

Question. Do you know when he was last in Boston?
Answer. I have never heard that Mr. Brown was in Boston since the time when I saw him last spring. He may have been there, though.

By Mr. Collamer:
In the Pottawatomie transaction, which has been taken of, as you understood it was a thing, did you understand that Mr. Brown was participating in it?
Answer. I will say that I never did believe, and from the best information I have ever received, I do not now believe, that Captain Brown was present, and a participator in the transaction. It would be fair for me to say, I think, with regard to other gentlemen who may have contributed towards this money, that I ought not, perhaps, to be taken as a representative of them all, because I may be a very much more ultra man in my opinions than they. I think there were Democrats who contributed towards that money, though I have not a personal knowledge of the fact. The money was handed towards my fund merely for the purpose of securing a fair trial. I am confident that some people gave under the impression that it would be better for the peace of the country to have it more apparent that Captain Brown was well defended.

John A. Andrew.
BOUOON, July 8st, 1860.

My DEAR Sir—I shall not be able to regulate my engagements so as to attend the meeting of the National American Anti-Slavery Society, at the New York Emancipation Hall, on Tuesday, the 7th instant, to which you have invited me.

I should be glad if it were in my power to add emphasis to my declaration of 12th May last, that slavery is the political and philosophic form which compels the Christian people of Great Britain to demand that great measure of justice from their government. It is, in my judgment, a serious moral, a moral and political, as well as a commercial and industrial, as well as national security and tranquillity, requires that the people who inhabit every country shall be free to enjoy their natural rights. The system of negro slavery is a deformity and mutilation of the Western world, is equally good in kind, not equally portable in degree, to justify the maintenance of servitude in Russia, and the degradation of which we are so often accused. And indeed I am well satisfied that nothing—but the existence of universal suffrage in the United States for white men—prevent the frank advocacy of the principle of the freedom of the white laborer in our own country. Had not the ballot, open to every citizen, and the school house, open to every child's go, and the press, open to every subject of the press, indeed, been the means of controlling the majority of the last quarter of the last century, there would, I verily believe, have been a "Dred Scott decision" for whites as well as for blacks.

I do not regard the question of "negro emancipation" precisely as you do. It is, not in any sense, a sectional question. So far as the controversy concerning it now is in a sectional character, it is not by any means decided in either direction. It needs nothing now but a just and honest administration of the National Government to develop throughout the South a sentiment of opposition to the perpetuation of slavery.

At present, few Southern men dare, and fewer still are able, to withstand the combination of their State and Federal Governments in the interest of a class of capitalists. The controversy will not only soon cease to have a sectional form, but it will cease even to be called sectional. It will be recognized in its true character, as the struggle of a class against a class, a national, nor even national, but universal, touching the rights not of a class only, nor of a race, but of the whole human family.

What have we been now, does the iron of slavery in America enter with the bitterest pain and the deepest woe? Not into those of black men who never knew liberty scarcely so much as even by name, either in their own persons or in that of their fathers: but into those of the free, white, native-born Americans to whom it is not permitted, under pain of insult, fine, imprisonment, and even of death, to read the speeches and books often born and educated at the South like themselves, appealing to the patriotism and the interest of the South against the doctrines of the propagators of slavery.

Slaves, just in large numbers, hold black men and oppress white ones in the fifteen slaveholding States. Powerful men, in large numbers, in the eighteen free States, despise theحاول of these white and black men. They affect to treat with indifference the rights of labor everywhere, and the wrongs which it suffers now at the hands of the nation, and with the aggravation of which it is threatened for the future.

If Slavery, embodied by the "Dred Scott decision," shall be made of the "Lemmon case," be decreed and the doctrine of "personal liberty," to all the States; and,—by means of the Breckenridge audacity, the Douglas indifference, and the Bell and Everett igno-ance policies,—gain a new lease of National power, the consequent domination of foreign trade in negro slaves, and the cheapening of human cattle, will at last teach the dullest tongue to cry out, the coldest heart to feel, and the blindest inscription of respectable nonchalance to see, that only remaining inquiry for the American people is,

Whether all poor men shall be slaves, or all shall be made free?

With more particular regard to your invitation to be present on Wednesday at Abingdon, perhaps it is due to a perfectly frank understanding (and I should say, (what I believe you already know), that though I am with you and your friends in sympathy with your noble scheme of the 7th, yet I am not a man, yet I have been so often pruned at the uncutting and I think frequently unjust assaults by persons upon your platform on men whom I greatly respect, that I cannot undertake to give a pledge for my assistance in the national liberty. I highly prize, that I could not fail to enthrall myself an intruder in your midst—unless I should suppose something I might feel urged to call the churches of the country, and the Christian world, to assemble, to put in array and through the instrumentality of it afford, I hope that I ever may remember the lesson of British Emancipation, and apply it wherever I have the right and the privilege to do so.

Yours, respectfully and faithfully,

JOHN A. ANDREW.

From the Boston Traveler.

John Brown and John A. Andrew.

The organ of the "Constitutional Union Party" assails Mr. Andrew, the Republican candidate for Governor, in very violent style. We give a few specimens of its manner of conducting the war against this gentleman:

"We shall also ask our readers to recall the history of John Brown's murder at Harper's Ferry. As God's work at Mr. John A. Andrew and Mr. Dwight Foster, we purely, think there was something divine in the bloody deeds done in that unsuspecting Virginia village, on that Sabbath morning, October 16, 1860." [Here follows a recapitulation of Brown's exploits, and then the Courier continues] :

"Here we have a record of five men murdered at Harper's Ferry, by John Brown; and Mr. John A. Andrew, the Republican candidate for Governor, tells you the murderer was right." [Yesterday's issue brought out the following]:

"If the thousands of business men of Boston, who aided Mr. John Brown in the plot of Harper's Ferry in December last, were in earnest—if the many more thousands of Massachusetts men who publicly responded to that call were sincere in their opposition to the abolitionists, the colored vote, and the abolitionist were deliberately endorsed by John A. Andrew—this is the time and occasion for action." And after another summary of Brown's actions we are told that—

"These are the deeds of blood, unprecedented in this country, among a peaceful community, which the Abolitionists of Massachusetts, by their action of last Sabbath, tell us were right, and which we ought to sustain and to approve by a deliberate vote."

Then follows an appeal to the people to unite in the prayer that no such spectacle of horror shall be again witnessed. And, adds the Courier:

"That it may not be, let us at once record every name that those men are elected to the chief offices of Massachusetts who supplied John Brown with the weapons of midnight murder, and afterwards mourned over
These quotations, which we have picked out of a mass of similar highly accented reading, not only charge Mr. Andrew with approving of John Brown's fury, but, substantially, with furnishing him with the weapons of his midnight murder! We should be loath to think that this language and this mode of assailing Mr. Andrew were approved by or, at least, of the editors of the Courier, and still more loath to believe that the "conservative republicans" to whom that paper appeals could be influenced by such frantic, extravagant and one-sided language. The simple truth is that Mr. Andrew not only did not furnish weapons and money for the Harper's Ferry invasion, and did not approve of that invasion; but that he expressly and in the plainest terms, in his testimony before the Senatorial Committee, stated his entire disapprobation of the enterprise. Mr. Andrew's position as indicated in his testimony, and in his speech at the Tremont Temple, needs no explanation or apology; it only needs to be made known. It would do well for the Courier to recollect that it is two months before the election, and that our Massachusetts people are not in the habit of making up their minds in a hurry, when they have plenty of time for examination and thought. Its attempt to entrap voters into a hasty condemnation of Mr. Andrew by such unscrupulous means as these we have noted, will certainly fail. The great mass of the supporters of Bell and Everett, and of the "conservative Republicans," who, it is hoped, may be influenced by these appeals, are intelligent and honest men, who will not only deal fairly with all candidates presented for their suffrages, but who will surely disapprove all attempts to forestall public opinion by unfair means.

This is what Mr. Andrew did in relation to John Brown:

He presided at a meeting held at the Tremont Temple for the relief of the family of Brown; a meeting at which Rev. Dr. Rollin H. Neale offered prayer, and Rev. Mr. Manning, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Wendell Phillips spoke.

He employed Mr. Chilton of Washington, and Mr. Green of Richmond, to defend Brown in the Charlestown Court, and present his case before the Court of Errors; guaranteeing to them $1300 as fees, and raising the money by the aid of friends and by his own exertions.

What he said may be found at length in the Harper's Ferry Report, and in the report of the John Brown meeting. In his evidence before the Senatorial Committee he states with admirable frankness not only his proceedings in behalf of Brown, but the motives which governed him, viz: sympathy for a man who had done good service in Kansas, and a desire that "a judicial outrage" should not be perpetrated by hurrying him to trial without affording him a fair chance for a defence. If he had supposed that Brown and his associates were in the way of having a fair trial, he would not have interfered, for he says "I had no symp-
tion, which it is the imperative duty of a lib- niente people strongly to resist and destroy.

4. That the interference insupportable against the right of the 5. That the present Democratic administration has was, if he was a highwayman, a sedu- for our own worst approximations, and to its own quick and unanswerable. In asserting to the balance of power on which the preservation and the end of our political faith depends; and no- tice of its avowed designs on the Territory or State, no matter under what pretext, are among the gravest of science.

6. That the people jointly view with alarum the reckless

expenditure which pervades every department of the federal government, that it is ruinous to the economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the systematized plunder of the public treasury.

One word more. We respectfully suggest to the conservative citizens of Boston that the policy of representing to the people of the South that the party which has nominated Mr. Andrew, and which will surely elect him, is a party which approves of murder and pillage and border warfare, is a very questionable one, to say the least, for our material interests. We put it to the merchants of Boston, in all seriousness, whether such representations as to the hostile intentions of a great number of our citizens, are well calculated to restore harmony between the North and the South, or to advance in any essential degree our business interests. It strikes us that this is a matter worth thinking of.

Resolved. That we, the delegates and representatives of the Republican party of the United States, in convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declaration:

1. That the history of the nation, during the last four years, has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are prevalent in their nature and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph.

2. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution, that "all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions and the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States must and shall be preserved.

3. That to the Union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population, its surprising growth of manufactures, its rapid augmentation of wealth, its happiness and its honor abroad; and we hold in abeyance all schemes for division, come from whatever source they may, and against the wishes of the Union of the States, and all our national territory, ordained that "no person who should be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; it is beyond our power, by legislative, whenever legislation is necessary to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, or of any legislature, or of any law or ordinance to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States.

9. That we brand the recent reopening of the African slave trade, under the cover of our national flag, an act of hostility against our country and the cause of humanity and a burning shame to our country and age; and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final abolition of this diabolical traffic.

10. That in the recent veto by their federal governors of the acts of the Legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska, prohibiting slavery in these territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted democratic principles of the party in power, and a violation of those principles to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we commend that policy of partial exchanges which seeks to reduce congressmen's liberal wages to agriculture reporting budgets; to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise; and the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

11. That we protest against any sale or alienation of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the homestead policy, which would tend to diminish or curtail the public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the House.
The following is the reply of John A. Andrew to an invitation to present at the Myrtle's Grove Republican mass-meeting, on the 15th inst.:—

Boston, Sept. 6, 1859.

To Messrs. Jonathan Daniels, Jr., E. Thornton, Jr., Warren Ladd, and other Republicans of New Hampshire.

Gentlemen,—Without a moment's delay I hasten to accept your invitation. I cannot hope to add any.

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