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at 8 A. M.  
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at 8 A. M.  
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**W RAILROAD**  
 SHIPS, all built  
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 direction.

**The Daily Picayune.**

**WHERE IS THE RESPONSIBILITY?**

The mails are just beginning to bring us the details, as published in the Northern journals, by hourly despatches from the scene of conflict, of the outbreak at Harper's Ferry, the sudden rising and the instant suppression of that incomprehensible revolt.

They are very copious, but they add little to our knowledge of the extent of the conspiracy or the degree of the order which it had from other quarters. Much remains unexplained and mysterious, especially the possession of arms and ammunition, which, if they are correctly described, must have cost large sums, and been transported from a considerable distance. Report speaks of discoveries of correspondence with noted abolitionists and proofs of concert with notorious men in the Northern and Western States. This is, however, for the most part speculation, at least it is not yet confirmed by such evidence as is sufficient to satisfy the mind, and in such grave matters we are not to rest anything involving turpitude so monstrous upon suspicion or rumor. There is enough in the ascertained facts to make us cautious about receiving none against individuals without full proof, and we do not doubt that the investigation will be prosecuted with zeal, and a thorough determination to find out the guilty and hold them up to the reprobation they merit, and all the punishment with which an outraged country can reach them.

That there has been collusion with, or at least a guilty knowledge of the intended insurrection, among persons in various parts of the country, is apparent, but the number and station of the confederates, their weight in society and their power over public opinion, are difficult matters, in regard to which the evidence is very slight, and we must deal with presumptions and probabilities.

The attempt was so rash in all its aspects; the place was so ill adapted to success, where an overwhelming force could be brought against any possible number of insurgents in the shortest possible time; the means provided were so absurdly inadequate to any possible results, and the whole conduct was so imbecile, that it is difficult to believe the revolt to have been part of a conspiracy, countenanced by rational men anywhere, or anything more than the freak of hot-brained individuals of disordered minds, desperate fortunes and revengeful passions. The anti-slavery party of the North, while it breeds such men, and furnishes the alimant which strengthens, and the stimulants which excite them, is too wise in its generation to link itself with proceedings which are so foolish, so certain to fail, and so sure to rouse the conservative feeling of the country, North and South, against the excesses to which fanaticism leads, and against the men and the theories, which, involuntarily or not, beget such pupils and such fruits. We are, therefore, slow to credit the report that any considerable number of responsible, or influential persons in the Northern States, can be found to have been identified, as consenting or advising parties to this insurrectionary movement.

Enthusiasts and desperadoes may brave the popular indignation by proclaiming their sympathy with the revolters and their purpose, but these will be few, and they will be repudiated by the honest sentiments of the masses of all parties. Even the policy of the anti-slavery leaders will prompt them to repudiate as an inexcusable folly, what they will not join in denouncing as a crime against virtue, humanity and justice—against society and government. And in this point of view, in presenting to the Northern eye a vivid picture of the effects upon the ignorant, the deluded and the wicked, of the preachings and theories, which, designed merely to catch a pau-

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C. W. RAILROAD  
..... \$15

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Square, at 7 1/2  
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Improved Grounds  
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POWER & CO.,  
St. Charles street

The only genuine,  
Lather, a lasting and  
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er's Celebrated Muck,  
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Tooth and Gums, and  
and fancy soaps in the  
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New York

HOYSTON, Agent.

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ries, which, designed merely to catch a popu-  
lar current, and thereby reach power and  
office, lead to sedition, social conflicts, hopeless  
insurrection and bloody retribution—it is to  
be hoped that eventual good may come out of  
a great and frightful calamity.

The insurgents at Harper's Ferry may be  
repudiated as madmen or fools, but who made  
them insane? What misled them, if they  
were misled? or inspired them with such ab-  
surd expectations and frantic hopes, if they  
really had thoughts of overthrowing the in-  
stitutions of a great State by such feeble means,  
and with such wretched implements?

The insurgent leader—Brown—appears to  
have been a desperado in Kansas; one who  
had learned in the conflicts, stimulated by  
Northern rapacity for power in that distracted  
Territory, an intense hatred of Southern men  
and Southern institutions, beyond what was  
intended by his backers; and, filled with  
these passions, to have bent his whole mind  
to the object of continuing, in every imagina-  
ble way, the war on the South, which was  
commenced in Kansas. Some confederates  
and sympathisers he doubtless found, for the  
fever of fanaticism is contagious; and to a  
mind once set in the pursuit of an object, in  
which the passions were deeply interested,  
aliment for his hopes was easily found in the  
frantic tone of the Northern anti-slavery  
presses, and the proclamation by the leaders of  
a great political party of "an irrepressible  
conflict" between the North and the South,  
to which he felt himself called, as a leader of  
the vanguard. Perhaps he believed himself  
a chief, to whom the great multitudes who  
cheer so tumultuously the political orators of  
the North, when they meet and proclaim in  
such fervent tones the moral duty of incessant  
warfare against the South, would rally and  
make him the Peter of a new crusade, more  
fortunate than his prototype. Whether in-  
flamed to unreasoning madness, or deluded by  
false hopes, who is responsible for the frenzy  
of such as he?

Now this is the very serious question,  
which the men of the North who are not  
incurably touched with the same madness—  
and these constitute, we believe, a large  
numerical majority—will be apt to put to  
themselves and to each other, when they  
read of such things as have transpired at  
Harper's Ferry. These wanton disturbances  
of the peace of a great community, fearfully  
aggravated by the uncertainties which thicken  
with unimagined terrors, about a subject in  
which so many of the tenderest interests of  
life are concerned; these scenes of disorder  
suddenly provoked, and crushed out with  
such stern necessity of bloodshed; these cruel  
seductions of the victims of a false philan-  
thropy into suffering and punishment for the  
guilty, and increased rigors for the whole  
race; the incitement, the cause, and the con-  
sequences, are but the legitimate growth of  
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# Picayune.

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gain such an ascendancy over the minds of the Northern people, and have been made more powerful and more dangerous by being used as the means by which aspiring politicians and selfish demagogues seek to ride into power and office. The fools that became the criminals and have perished in their folly, as all such will do when they fling themselves against the ramparts with which the South can protect itself against this incendi- arism, are themselves victims of those false teachers, who are themselves morally guilty of the very offences they will repudiate en- tirely, and responsible for the consequences they may affect to deplore. They are guilty of all the mischief done by the firebrands with which they have armed the heedless and the wicked.

There is no apprehension in the Southern States that the designs of their enemies can be accomplished by such means as those of which the Harper's Ferry revolt is an exam- ple. Forewarned, they are capable of perfect self-protection against this species of assault. But they are unwilling to be put to the uni- versal necessity of the rigorous measures of precaution which this state of things, if con- tinued and extended, would require, and they are anxious to live in peace with their North- ern countrymen, instead of being entrenched against them as natural enemies. If we are to live together in kindness, the temper and practices which have incited the disorders must be changed, and those who indulge in them or countenance them, and to whose rash teachings the insane excesses are distinctly traceable as their sources, must be rebuked by public opinion, in that way in which a rebuke will be most keenly felt, in the overthrow of their political fortunes, and their banishment from station, as the exponents of Northern opinions.

If such a consummation is ever to be ef- fected, and we have our hopes that it is within the reach of a full, earnest and honest strug- gle, by the constitutional men of the North acting together, it must be rapidly advanced by such developments as those in Virginia, of the tendencies of the doctrines which are taught in the journals of the extreme partisan press, and proclaimed by the anti-slavery press; and thus out of the present evil may be plucked the germ of a great good.

Telegraphed to the New Orleans Picayune

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