Frederick Douglass' Paper.

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VOL. VIII.---NO. 33. ROCHESTER, N. Y., AUGUST 3, 1855. WHOLE NO. 397.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS' PAPER is Published at No. 25, Buffalo Street, (opposite the Arcade,) every Friday morning, by FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.

Single copy, one year,	$2 00
Three copies, " "	5 00
Five copies, " "	8 00
Ten copies, " "	15 00
Single copy, six months,	1 00
Ten copies, " "	8 00

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FREDERICK DOUGLASS,
Rochester, New York.

WILLIAM OLIVER, PRINTER.

THE KANSAS SWINDLE.

As the public attention is just now alive to the tricks of the gang of ruffians claiming to act in the capacity of a Legislature for the Territory of Kansas, we present such facts about them as come to hand, though necessarily repeating many things previously stated by telegraph or in other forms.

SPEAKER STRINGFELLOW'S SPEECH.

When elected speaker, Dr. Stringfellow addressed the House of Representatives as follows:

"GENTLEMEN—I need not say to you that I am proud of the distinction you have conferred upon me, and that from my heart I thank you; to do so would convey but a feeble idea of the feelings which animate me on this occasion.—You have to-day, gentlemen, conferred on me an honor which I prize more highly than any other gift of the House or the people—the honor of presiding over the first House of Representatives in Kansas Territory. To have intimated one year ago that such a result would be wrought out, one would have been called a visionary—to have predicted that to-day a Legislature would assemble, almost unanimously Pro-Slavery, and with myself for Speaker, I would have been thought mad. For these reasons, and because of the fact that the destinies of our glorious Union hang upon our actions—because the eyes of the world are upon us—the eyes of fanatical and malignant enemies are closely watching us—the eyes of sympathizing friends are anxious fixed upon us—for these reasons, and feeling that it is a high and responsible trust you have confided to me, I feel both proud and most grateful.

In conclusion, allow me to hope, gentlemen, that in our deliberations, courtesy and candor may mark our course, so that nothing unpleasant may interrupt that harmony which I hope will ever subsist among us."

There are various opinions as to what constitutes honor. John A. Murrell no doubt thought it an honor when he was chosen chief of a similar body of men whose seat of government was in the great Arkansas Swamp. As to the destinies of the Union hanging on the actions of Dr. Stringfellow and his followers, we submit that the predicate is far more likely to apply to the Doctor himself than to our destinies.

REPUDIATION OF THE RUFFIANS BY THE GOVERNOR.

Correspondence of the Indianapolis Journal.

PAWNEE, (Kansas Territory,) July 7, 1855.

MESSRS. EDITORS: You will no doubt be astonished at the new light thrown upon legislation, constitutional law and the powers of Congress by the Legislature of Kansas, which adjourned from this place yesterday after a session of five days. The first bill introduced after the House was organized was to adjourn the Legislature from this place to the Shawnee Mission, or Manual Labor School, located about two miles from Missouri, near Westport.

Mr. Hutchinson, a Free State member, made a speech against it, arguing that the organic act authorized the Governor to locate the first Legislature and determine the place of holding its sessions—that they had no power to order the Governor to move his office and locate permanently at the Indian school—that the Government had been at the expense of fitting up a very large two-story stone building, sixty feet long by thirty wide, with suitable desks, &c., and that the citizens had been at much expense in preparing for their accomodation, and that the officers of Fort Riley had generously offered them whatever they should ask in the town with a carriage at their servise, free of expense to take them to and from their place of meeting. He though it unwise, unnecessary, and contrary to the organic act making it a Territory, &c.—The Speaker, Mr. Stringfellow, said there was no use in spending time to discuss this bill.—They had determined what course to pursue two months ago. They had told Gov. Reeder what to expect, &c. The bill finally passed.—The Governor vetoed it. It was then passed with a two-third majority. A committee was appointed to wait on the Governor and tell him the result. He replied that by that act they had dissolved themselves; that he should not follow them nor take any further notice of their proceedings. They were no longer a Legislature.

Early the first or second day of the session a resolution was introduced appointing a Committee on Contested Election, with instruction to examine persons and papers. No seat was contested. No person was sent for; but on the second day after their appointment the Committee reported that they had a large bundle of papers put into their hands by the Governor concerning election frauds, &c., but they had not opened them. They had also concluded not to examine the persons elected at the May election and holding seats by authority of the Governor's certificates, as they had determined before they came here how to dispose of this matter. They would therefore recommend that all persons elected at the first election of March 31st, in Kansas, whether in the opinion of the Governor they were elected legally or illegally, should be entitled to their seats, and that all those elected at the second election should retire. This report was adopted. And the members holding Free State principles were expelled without trial or examination.

One of them (Mr. Jesse) said, as he had not been heard before the Committee, he would state to the House that he was Clerk of the first election in the Third Representative District. That early on the day of election, before many of the settlers had come in, a body of armed men from Missouri, numbering about three hundred, came to the polls and took violent possession of the ballot-box. They drove away the officers appointed by the Governor and put in some of their own number. They then proceeded to vote in a Pro-Slavery Delegation from the District. The people repudiated it, and the Governor set the election aside as illegal, and ordered a new one. The result was, that at the next election the Free-Soil ticket was elected by an overpowering majority. And had no doubt but that three-fourths of the voters in Kansas were for making it a Free State.

Mr. Wattles said that as his days of legislation were drawing to a close, he must express his admiration to the House for the frankness and openness which had characterized all their proceedings. He then thanked the Chairman of the Committee on contested elections for his frankness in disclosing to the House and the North this new and unheard-of method of dealing with persons holding contested seats. He also thanked the speaker for his candor in stating that discussion on these questions was of no use, as they were determined on by the Pro-Slavery party two months ago, and they had told Gov. Reeder so. He also thanked the House for expelling him from it as a member. They had fairly come out and made the issue. He was ready to take it up as they had laid it down, untrammeled and unembarrassed by any other question. Shall Kansas be a Free State or a Slave State? Let the sovereign squatters of Kansas determine this.

It is to such a place as this that they want to go, where they can intimate and overawe by violence the legislation of the country.

This Fall will be the time for emigrants from Free States to roll in. Bring clothing, sheeting, &c., and send plows. The question will soon be settled. Indiana can settle it alone.

KICKING OUT THE FREE-SOILERS.

Correspondence of the Boston Journal.

LAWRENCE, K. T., July 9, 1855.

I must hasten to another topic, not without interest at this moment—that is, our, or rather *Missouri's* Legislature. This may be your first information, except telegraphic—therefore I will give a few of the distressing particulars, just gathered from Pawnee. All the members chosen at both elections were present, except a few (I think two) Free State men, who are now East, and Mr. Conway, Free State Councilman in the Pawnee District. Mr. Conway rather stands alone in repudiating, in toto, the whole organization as well as their acts; therefore he would not answer to his name. The other Free-State men were admitted to their seats in the temporary organization of both houses; but on Wednesday, the third day, being also the anniversary of the nation, they were expelled, the Slavery propagandists taking the field wholly to themselves. About this time the Legislature adjourned to the Shawnee Mission—alias Westport, Missouri—but at our time of writing the Governor had not signed the act, he being determined to hold it three days, as allowed him by the rule, when he will probably veto it. They will then only have to pass it by a two-thirds vote, and then go nearer the home of their old master, whisky.

The whole farce, thus far, has been a burlesque on legislation, and we only expect the remainder will be more so. They opened by choosing Stringfellow, of "squatter sovereignty" notoriety, Speaker of the House, and the Rev. (?) Thomas Johnson, the infamous slave-mongering Missionary, who is paid for doing the dirty work of slaveholders and preaching the Gospel to the heathen, was elected President of the Senate. Stringfellow was so overjoyed at his election that he soon adjourned, and invited all his compeers to meet him to the groggery. Of course they obeyed with one or two exceptions; they drank very freely of whisky, and a friend has just remarked to me that if they don't get out of "rations," we shall not be troubled with any of their laws.

While the Free State men were with them they did all they could by argument of persuasion to retain their seats, but it was like rowing up a cataract. Stringfellow & Co., would arbitrarily vote down their propositions, then within half an hour pass others of the same nature precisely, only coming from their own men. Still worse they violated all precedent by refusing to allow the protest of the Free State men, who had duly authenticated certificates of their election, to appear on the published journal of the House.

We could hardly believe beforehand that they would have the effrontery and impudence to expel those elected at our last election; but they dare and did defy everything, even the salvation of themselves and party. They are far more rabid than our men expected to find them. Even "old stagers" in their own party were there from several states as lobby members, hoping to control them with the party rod, but they found more than their match. These lobby advisers told them that unless they conformed to a more moderate policy they would drive themselves, the party and the whole country to the devil; but they were defiant, and the outsiders have despaired of ever making them what they should be—sober legislators.

Such is our dilemma, without either law or law-makers, that we recognize as such. God knows, and all Christendom shall know, that while we live we will never, never obey or recognize one law that comes from such a beastly assemblage. If it leads us to bloodshed you of the North, or first the Executive, should rush to the rescue. I have faith that the coming Congress will set the whole farcical game aside and restore us to our just rights. What less can they do?

I am sorry to say that many of our Free-State friends are losing confidence in Gov. Reeder. In the main his course has been high-minded and independent, indicating that he was at heart a Free-state man. But his Message is not satisfactory to us. He only squints at the daring invasion we have just suffered, and then turns truant by saying it was all incurred or induced by the Abolitionists alone. This is impudence and insult combined, and I am now frank to avow that I believe it totally impossible for any man to hang upon the skirts of this defunct Administration and be any nearer a man than a large mouse. I can account for Gov. Reeder's course in no other way; and even now it is rumored that he has not redeemed himself in the eyes of the higher powers, but that he has received letters of removal, and that the above described Johnson is to be made King over us. If so, what next? I pause for a reply.

RANDOLPH.

CAPT. FORD ON THE STUMP!

At a Republican ratification meeting at Mansfield, Ohio, speeches were made by Hon. JOHN SHERMAN, Mr. BRINKERHOFF, and others. The following is a sketch of Capt. FORD's speech:

Mr. Ford expressed himself as extremely gratified with his nomination, coming, as it did, unsought and entirely unsolicited. Of course he now *wished to be elected*, and he meant to use every honorable means for that purpose.—Mr. Sherman had alluded to his Philadelphia speech, but he had not felt flattered by the numerous compliments his speech had received until he went to Columbus and was grasped by the hand by aged veterans, who thanked him for his course, and declared they were ready to vote for him for any post on the State ticket.

He said he deserved no more credit for his course, than did Mr. Martin, Gov. Johnston, of Pennsylvania, and many others who said he *must* go forward. With such men to back him who could not speak fearlessly to the Southern men in plain terms, such as they had never heard before?

Mr. Ford said that since his return from Columbus he had received letters from Pensylvania and Illinois, showing that these States endorsed fully the protest he presented. He was glad to hear it. It was the feeling which should animate the whole North. Let us speak as a North should, and slavery shall not be recognized except by the municipal authorities of the States. The South will kick up; will kick high; but she never will kick out of the traces; she will always light back in her old tracks. Our country demands it. Our country, look at her! But a few years since, when one of our statesmen predicted that she would soon reach from shore to shore, we were incredulous. But already does she extend from the rocky shores of the Atlantic to the Pacific's Golden Gate. For her sake let us do our duty. It is easier to do now than hereafter. This is, and for the last fifty years has been, the first question with the South. Every motion in Congress is calculated with direct reference to its furtherance of the "peculiar institution," and thus the Ship of State has been driven southward with sixty pounds to the square inch. Let her be turned to the northward with a pressure of one hundred and twenty; there is no danger of an explosion, and let our freemen, such as Mr. Sherman, fear not to roll up his sleeves, and even with begrimed face and sooty hands crowd in the combustibles.

Mr. Ford spoke of the contempt with which every Southern man regarded Northern doughfaces, exhorted us to forget our prejudices and place Ohio right upon the record, for the West looks to Ohio.

No man would hesitate between the nominee who sustains our corrupt administration and S. P. Chase, who stood up in the darkest hour for the rights of Freedom.

Let us then fight for our principles till no darkness draws its curtain over the soul-crushed bondman, and no morn shall wake to unrequited toil a single slave.

Mr. Ford took his seat amid great cheering, and Mr. Brinkerhoff was called out with hearty greeting.

POLICY OF RESTORING THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.

We have had an interview with Mr. Starr, late Missionary of the American Home Missionary Society, in Missouri. Mr. Starr calls himself a colonizationist, and is far from being an abolitionist, in the ordinary acceptation of the word. He says he was obliged to leave Missouri, not because he had agitated the slavery question, (which he had no desire to do,) but because, being a northerner, he had failed to espouse, warmly, the pro-slavery propagandism of Stringfellow and his associates.

On one point of great importance, the testimony of Mr. Starr is note-worthy, and should be pondered. He says, *the repeal of the Missouri compromise is already working mischief to the interests of the slavery party in the south-west; and that it is a great mistake in the opponents of slavery, in the middle and eastern States, to seek or desire its restoration. The opponents of slavery in the south-west view the matter in a very different light.* They perceive that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise opens the door for the introduction of freedom into Missouri, Texas, and indeed, all the south-western States. A large influx of German emigrants is shaking the foundations of slavery in Texas. There are strong tendencies to emancipation in some parts of Tennessee, and the whole system trembles in equipoise in Missouri. All this, Mr. Starr says, was understood by Messrs. Bell, of Tennessee; Houston, of Texas; and Benton, of Missouri. And this, he adds, is the well-known reason of the opposition of those gentlemen to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. They were more sharp-sighted and prudent than the *majority* of the slaveholders, though they were sustained by respectable *minorities* of them. In Missouri the blunder of Toombs and Douglas is coming to be understood and deplored. It is seen, too, that the error cannot be retrieved. And now, in a fit of desperation, the Missourians follow such reckless leaders as Stringfellow, believing that there is no way of maintaining slavery in Missouri, but by forcing it upon Kansas. And, on the other side, it is beginning to be seen that the defense of freedom in Kansas is suspended upon the liberation of Missouri; so that the contest is, in a manner, a defensive one on both sides; and the friends of freedom, in Kansas, should make it aggressive on both sides, in some way. A Yankee emigration in Missouri would, perhaps, be quite as effective as one into Kansas. During the Missouri Compromise, the thought of introducing free culture, *south* of the stipulated line, was not dreamed of, but now it arrests general attention.

Such, in substance, are the facts and impressions communicated to us by Mr. Starr, without the lead of any questioning on our part, and altogether in advance of any particular information received by us. We had, indeed, on principle, opposed the restoration of the Missouri Compromise. And we knew that the *principles* which control the moral world, lie at the bottom of all political causes and effects. But here we have a justification of our political advice from one who has observed only the *passing facts*, but without any comprehension of our philosophy, or any sympathy with our principles. It is always in accordance with fixed principles that events take place. Why will not men study and confide in them?—*Radical Abolitionist.*

FUTURE POLITICAL EVENTS.—The Buffalo *Republican*, generally a pretty free spoken journal, but which avows his preference for the old party organization mis-called "democratic," glances at the future with a good degree of candor:

"But the 'Republican Party'—what is to be its destiny? This must depend on the wisdom of the democratic party in regard to slavery.—If, on this subject, the democratic party fearlessly do right, and resist the efforts of the slavery propagandists with the same firmness and steadiness with which they resisted the abolitionists, the 'republican party' can have no permanent foundation. But if the democratic party makes now, and perpetuates, the mistake of supposing that it is in reality what its opponents used to charge it with being—a pro-slavery party—if it fail to protect freedom, the people of these United States will lay hold of some political organization that *will* protect freedom; and in that event, the 'republican party' may rise to enduring strength and power."

The Republic evidently hopes for an expression from the Soft Convention which there is very little chance of obtaining. The Administration, through its horde of office holders and subsidized presses, controls the party in this State, and will scarcely permit the passage of resolutions which would condemn its shameless interference in behalf of the Douglas and Atchison scheme repealing the Missouri Compromise and extending Slavery to Kansas. So completely committed is the Administration on this question, that it has refused all protection to the honest bonafide settlers of Kansas, and allowed them to be overborne and driven from the polls by bands of armed ruffians from the State of Missouri. And the Governor sent there has been, if he is not now, in danger of being deposed, because he was suspected of opposition to the Stringfellow plan of subjugating a Free Territory. How well he will hold out remains to be seen.

With these facts, and many more equally alarming, before it, we cannot see upon what the Republic bases its hope that the "democratic party" will free itself from its long existing entanglements with Slavery. The stand taken in 1848 by a portion of the party, has been relinquished. The "corner stone" resolution finds no place in the party organs, and is never mentioned in party meetings. On the contrary, after, pretty much using up the Hards, the Softs have substantially adopted their notions upon the Slavery question, and although thousands of the rank and file are right, the politicians and the office-seekers meekly follow the dictation from Washington.—*Roch. Democrat.*

SLAVERY IN NEBRASKA TERRITORY.—We find in the Nebraska *City News* the following announcement, from which it would seem that slavery is fast spreading in that quarter:

Negroes for Sale at this Place.—We call attention to the advertisement of negroes for sale which appears in another column. A Company of gentlemen from Missouri, who have large interests here, have imported them for the benefit of our young and growing city. Nebraska City is now about twice or three times as large as any other town in the Territory.—Help is much needed and but little to be had; for this reason slave labor is required. We are authorized to state that the same Company have twenty more in Missouri which will be brought to Nebraska City if sufficient inducements are held out.

Cor. of the Cincinnati Gazette.

LIBERTY OR DESPOTISM—A LETTER FROM C. M. CLAY.

JULY 19, 1855.

EDS. GAZETTE:—To-morrow I go to the field of contest, to determine whether the liberty of speech and religious freedom is longer possible in a Slave State! In this unequal struggle, as the result cannot be foreseen, I deem it due my own character and the great issues pending, to say a parting word through a press where *suppression* is impossible. Born and bred in a Slave State, every hour of my experience compels me to avow that the world has not yet begun to conceive the consistent Jesuitism and unfathomable atrocity of the slave *propaganda!* They who stand at the cradle, ignoring the holy sentiments which consecrate the pledges of devoted and mutual love, to catechise God's noblest work, and to stifle the immortal aspirations of a human soul, are not the men to show magnanimity, or indulge in the weakness of justice, mercy and truth!

It is their vocation to dominate over the human mind, and to subject brute power to the superior force of intellect. Gentle, polished, and winning; stern, bullying, and remorselessly cruel—appealing at one time to the sentiments, now to the passions, and then to the fears of men—they must be "cunning in fence" indeed, who can stand up under such odds. No wonder then that they have taken possession of the press, the pulpit, and the government; and that the boasted liberties of the American people lie crushed and bleeding under their iron heel! But despotism is, under whatever name, everywhere the same; and its chief and last resort is *force.* To *that* has the slave power now come. Its organs threaten to drive out the new Congress with arms—renewed violence swells on westward, and cannon and the rifle, and the bowie-knife, overthrow the civil power; and despotism rules supreme in places of vaunted "popular sovereignty"—in the great prairies so often solemnly pledged to Liberty, to Civilization and Christianity.

When Governor Reeder is threatened with a halter, and assaulted with intent to kill, the representative of the American sovereignty and Franklin Pierce, who was very manly in summoning the nation's power to the re-capture of a poor trembling fugitive from slavery, repudiates his own government and plunges the sword of justice into the heart of his own standard bearer, it cannot be expected that I should advance, unopposed, the vanguard of the "Republican" army in the midst of its enemies. I see now—I have long seen the meshes gathering around me. Let no man, therefore, too harshly reprove me if the instincts of self-preservation have caused me to cry out too wildly for the composed ears of a self-deluding nation, against the ever-onward march of Despotism! When Douglas & Co. repealed the Missouri Compromise, how could I refrain from denouncing them as *worthy* of *death?* Not from me—not for me comes the imprecation. I and mine will be forgotten in the great issues of this crime, and my voice will be silenced amid the tears—the blood—the woe which follow in its wake, and the lamentations of the widows and the orphans which it will have made! No, to all America the time has come—Liberty or Despotism!

The *Courier* of Louisville found us quietly at our work. It called upon its myrmidons to imitate the deeds of Atchison and Douglas and Stringfellow. Ready with pistol and bowie-knife, they silence John G. Fee, the fearless, martyr-spirit of our party, in Religion. If a lie had not have followed fast in the footsteps of this execution, this had not been the land of slavery! He is *falsely* accused of distributing tracts to Slaves, and exciting insurrection!—Mr. Fee sends his denial to the *Courier* with the programme of his action, laid down in the annual report of the American Missionary Society. Did he retract his calumny?—did he publish its refutation? No, that would not have been like the mercenary tool of despotism. *Unheard* he is condemned and silenced!

I come to the rescue of my friend, the defender of my cause. Now once more against me, also, unheard, the *Courier* publishes a libellous letter, and Jesuitically invokes bloodshed! The resolutions passed at the Jessamine meeting and published in the Cincinnati *Gazette*, were read at the assemblies at Brush Creek and Scaffold Cave, that there might be no question about our motives and actions. I know too well the scoundrelism of that party to trust myself to their magnanimity. I flatter myself that my name is placed beyond the sphere of calumny, and all my past history gives assurance that my friends may have cause to mourn my fate, but never my principles.

I call your attention once more to my letter to the New York *Tribune*, after the Nebraska crime. I ask of you the favor of its republication. I am cheered that I find myself in sympathy with the great minds and heroic hearts of the Nation. Thank God for this foretaste of "the good time coming!" All hail, Ohio!—all hail, the North!—all hail, the REPUBLICAN PARTY!

Go on, then, with the sentiments of the 13th of July inscribed on your banners—July the 4th and July the 13th; may they both be eras to be ever remembered among men!—When the aspirations of the great Jefferson shall be fulfilled, and the revolution begun in '76 shall commence being completed in '55!

But we shall not have a peaceful triumph.—Deity vindicates and expiates the violation of His eternal laws. Blood consecrates ever the remorse of great wrong. Standing here under the acknowledged responsibilities of home and country, which no man can at will put on or off, I calmly look destiny, whatever it be, in the face; but, living or dying, my aspiration shall be immortal—*may our country yet be free!*

Your obedient servant,

C. M. CLAY.

CASSIUS M. CLAY TRIUMPHANT!—The citizens of Rockcastle county, at a meeting held on on the 11th of July, resolved as our readers are already aware, "that Cassius M. Clay, John G. Fee, and all other Abolition speakers, must desist from speaking in that county." C. M. Clay's answer to the committee who were appointed to give him notice of that resolution, was that he and Mr. Fee should both speak at Scaffold Cave, in that county, on Saturday last.

They kept that appointment and were heard. There was some difficulty about getting the church, as there was an appointment by the Baptist clergyman in the morning. It was, however, surrendered to Mr. Clay at the close of the service, and at 12 o'clock John G. Fee commenced speaking. He concluded his remarks without interruption and was followed by Mr. Clay. Both speakers were listened to attentively and no violence was offered nor talked of.

The object of all these threats, it seems now difficult to conceive. The people of Rockcastle county certainly knew Mr. Clay too well to suppose they could intimidate him. The only conclusion we can come to is, that they meant at the time the threats were made to keep them, but have yielded to the superior physical and moral courage of Mr. Clay.

But Mr. Clay is achieving greater results than mere triumphs over physical force. He is effecting slowly, but surely a change, in popular opinion in Kentucky. There is an intense excitement on this question throughout all that part of the State. Excitement begets debate, and debate elicits thought; and all help on the cause of truth. Free speech triumphed on Saturday; may it ever triumph in Kentucky, and in all the world beside!—*Cincinnati Gazette.*

THE LEMMON CASE.—Gov. Clark has appointed Joseph Blunt and Erastus D. Culver, Esq., as Counsel to be associated with the Attorney-General in the trial of the Lemmon Slave Case, on an appeal prosecution by the State of Virginia, in the United States Supreme Court.

COLORED DOCTORS OF DIVINITY.

It has been supposed that colored Doctors of Divinity are as rare in this country as black swans. But the N. Y. *Observer* finds the reverse to be true. Rev. Jos. Walker, Cor. Sec. of the Southern Baptist, gives in the last number of the *Home and Foreign Journal*, an account of a visit to the Baptist churches in Savannah, Ga. We copy his remarks in reference to the colored churches, in which allusion is made to an amusing custom among them of conferring degrees upon their ministers. Our colored brethren are a little in advance of us in this matter, though apprehensions seem to be entertained that "white folks" at the north, are rapidly adopting the same style.

The colored Baptist churches attracted our particular notice, chiefly because of the excellent order they maintain during public worship, and their high standard of intelligence. They are decidedly superior, in many respect, to most colored churches we have ever known, and this is saying a great deal, as we have had a very extensive acquaintance with that class of people. The entire confidence reposed in them by the municipal authorities allows them preachers of their own color, all of whom are men of good sense and no small degree of cultivation. It is a noteworthy fact, too, that they are all *doctors*—whether M. D's. or D. D's., we could not learn, but presume that the latter is meant. They speak of each other as Dr. Cox, Dr. Marshall, or Dr. Frasher; just as white folks say Dr. Jeter, Dr. Howell, Dr. Fuller, or Dr. Talbird. And what is better still, they have somehow conceived the notion that every preacher is, ex-officio, a doctor; for when we had closed the services in the pulpit of our worthy colored *Dr.* Cox, he arose and made the very respectful announcement, that the Rev. *Dr.* Walker would preach in the Rev. *Dr.* Marshall's church in the evening. We did not learn at what particular college or university these honors were obtained, but we question much if they were ever more worthily bestowed, or worn with greater humility and dignity. Dr. Marshall is ninety-nine years of age, physically infirm, and has a crown of snow-like glory on his head. He has been a man of capacious understanding, and still retains much of his mental vigor. Having travelled over many States as the servant of a public man, he has acquired the manners of a refined gentleman, has a bland address, and an easy, fascinating elocution. He is justly revered by his brethren, and counsels them as his children.

Dr. Frasher is a much younger man—probably not much over fifty—and a minister, we should judge of solid worth. He reads out his hymns with becoming gravity, while his deep toned voice commands instant attention. He is no ordinary man.

Dr. Cox is the youngest of the three, and a young man, not probably more than thirty-five He is in his prime and evidently the Apollos of the colored churches. His house will hold twelve hundred persons, perhaps 1,500, and is usually densely crowded. A bright career of usefulness is before him.

COLORED SCHOOL EXAMINATIONS IN NEW HAVEN.

Yesterday afternoon, the highest grade of the school for colored children, was examined in the presence of the committee and a large number of spectators. The improvement in this school has been almost without precedent. From the condition of a mere primary school, in respect to studies, it has risen to a rank approaching nearly to the highest grade of the Webster school. The most perfect order and discipline were observed throughout the afternoon. Indeed in these respects, the school is a model for any other. Yet when it was organized it was in a most discouraging condition, and it was prophesied that nothing worth the cost could be made of it. The scholars were yesterday tested in all the branches required to be taught in the public schools, and the rules of arithmetic, grammar, &c., were rendered eminently practical by their application to matters of every day use and concern. The exercises, in false pronunciation, and false grammar, generally, showed that the scholars had not merely committed the lessons to memory, but had learned with the understanding.

Mr. E. D. Bassett, the accomplished teacher, is a colored man, and a graduate of the Normal School of this State. At the close of the exercises, he presented two handsome volumes to a young Miss, as a mark of his particular approbation for her steady attendance at school, she *not having been absent for a single half day in eighteen months!*

The scholars and parents were addressed in a very appropriate speech by the Rev. Mr. Dutton. They were further addressed by Messrs. J. F. Babcock, of the Committee, Brown and Clark, of the Webster School, and Mr. Wm. Goodwin. Very handsome responses were made by the teacher and by Dea. Lathrop, Messrs. J. P. Anthony, Chas. S. Scott, and J. Castle, on the part of the colored people.—*Hartford Republican.*

"RADICAL—Pertaining to the root of origin; original, fundamental; as a radical truth or error; a radical evil; a radical difference of opinions or systems."—*Webster's Dictionary.*

"In modern politics, a person who advocates a radical reform; or extreme measures in reformation."—*Ib.*

"Radicalism—The doctrine or principle of making radical reform in government, by overturning and changing the present state of things."—*Ib.*

"And, now, also, the axe is laid unto the root of the trees; therefore, every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire."—*John the Baptist, Matt.* 3: 10.

This is the axe of radicalism which should be laid to the root of slavery, the fruits of which are all evil. And this is what we mean by the term, "*Radical Abolitionist.*" We would strike at the root of the mischief, and not waste time in pruning off the branches. We advocate a "fundamental" reformation—a "radical" change—in doing which, we would trace back existing evils to their "origin," and restore the "original" ideas of Civil Government and Civil Law.—Reader! why should you not choose to be, and to be known as a radical reformer, a "radical abolitionist."—*Radical Abolitionist.*

PERILOUS POSITION OF SENATOR SUMNER.—A correspondent of the Boston Telegraph, writing from Chicago, says:—

In going up the Mississippi, on the Iowa side, to take a boat somewhere near Rock Island, Mr. S. hired a man to drive him for some 15 miles in a buggy. The horse was only three years old, the man very careless, and the road almost impassable. In consequence of the breaking of one of the shafts, the horse became unmanageable and broke away at a furious speed. Mr. Sumner had sufficient presence of mind to cling firmly to the buggy, although feeling that a precipitation down an embankment or a collision was unavoidable, and the latter catasthrope really came to pass. The buggy was dashed against a zig-zag fence, with such tremendous force that it whirled some ten or twelve feet into the air, and turning several complete somersets came down upon the ground with Mr. Sumner under its wreck. Fortunately the shock had detached the horse from the buggy, and Mr. Sumner had not attempted to leap. The fall stunned him and it was impossible for him to extricate himself until a party in another vehicle came to his assistance. His leg proved severely bruised and one of his toes very badly crushed. Even now he has not entirely recovered from the injuries. He still walks quite lame. So you see what a narrow escape from leaving his bones to bleach on the bank of the great father of rivers. The spinal region I am happy to inform you, was not at all affected; his "*back-bone*" is as strong and stiff as ever.

A LETTER TO HON. CHAS. SUMNER,

A Senator in Congress from the State of Massachusetts,

OCCASIONED BY HIS ANTI-SLAVERY DISCOURSE IN NIBLO'S THEATRE.

BY REV. R. J. BRECKINRIDGE.

SIR: I have read with great attention a discourse of yours published in the New York *Tribune* of the 18th of May, which, according to the statements of that paper, was pronounced at NIBLO'S Theatre, in the City of New York, a few days before, to an immense and delighted assembly of the people. I will add that it is my habit to read carefully, whatever I find in the newspapers of the day, proceeding from you. For I observe in what falls from you, a more serious conviction, a deeper tincture of scholarship, a larger intelligence, and a more earnest manliness, than I have been able to discover in the utterances of those who seem to enjoy your confidence, and share your labors.—It is no disparagement to you, personally, to add, that representing the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, sitting in the seat of DANIEL WEBSTER, discoursing of the duty of the Northern States on the most dangerous topic of our day, and pleading eloquently for the Necessity, Practicability and Dignity, of an enterprise whose success involves the ruin of the country—your words have, for all considerate men, an interest and an importance which all your high qualities would fail to impart to them, if you spoke as a private citizen. It may be possible, also, that the words of a private person like myself, and a total stranger to you, by connecting themselves with the stirring and dangerous words spoken by you from that great position you have won, may obtain an audience, which, but for that, it were idle to expect for them.—And you will yourself, perhaps, admit, that I have somewhat to say, worthy of serious consideration, and that my life long connection, in many forms, with most of the topics you discuss, entitles me, without undue presumption, to give utterance to some of the thoughts excited by your discourse.

Allow me, Sir, to utter in one sentence, the substance of my whole thought touching the madness of the times, about this whole question of Negro Slavery. Here we are—a great people, with a glorious mission set before us. More than twenty millions of us—with whose destiny the destiny of three or four millions of blacks is fearfully combined. One way or other, we must solve their destiny, when we solve our own. This is wholly unavoidable. But, the madness is, that every seven white Americans must needs cut each other's throats concerning the fate of one black African! Is there no solution of the problem of their destiny and ours, but that solution which destroys us, without benefiting them? And can statesmen such as I do not see sufficient reason to doubt you are,—and patriots such as I have not the heart to deny you to be,—find no better solution of this terrible problem—no nobler issue of our sublime hopes—than mutual destruction by the men of the North and the men of the South,—for the sake of the African slaves, scattered thinly over the continent? Are we not able to bear through, by our invincible strength, even such a parisite as this black race, carrying them forward far beyond anything they could have reached without us, and yet mounting up ourselves, far beyond anything they may ever reach? Shame upon every American statesman, and every American patriot, who is insensible to the glory of such a result! Infamy to every one who conspires to defeat it!

And yet, Sir, you, an American Senator, speaking in the name of that great Commonwealth in whose bosom stands Bunker Hill,—and sitting in the seat of that great Statesman and Patriot who saw no hope for public liberty, higher than that which rests upon the Union of these States; you, an American Senator, who have studied the past and who fear God, allow yourself to bring the whole force of your character, your position, and your great gifts, to bear directly upon the point at which alone it is possible to wreck the country, and to destroy us all together! The very madness of the times assumes in you, its most frantic aspect; and you openly avow, that Slavery in America, is a wrong so grievous and unquestionable that it should not be allowed to continue,—nay, that it should cease to exist at once,—nay, that a wrong so transcendent, so loathsome, so direful, must be encountered wherever it can be reached, and the battle must be continued without truce or compromise, until the field is entirely won. Such are your words, profoundly eloquent—unspeakably frantic!

Now, Sir, this means, neither more nor less, than the edge of the sword. Lay aside the rhetoric, and the simple sense is, grape and canister, cold steel and stricken battle. Believe me, Mr. SUMNER, when I state two facts, one of which I know better than you do, and the other of which you ought to know, better, perhaps, than I do. The fact, which I know better than you do is, that whenever the very faintest indication of the settled purpose of the men of the North to follow your advice becomes apparent to the men of the fifteen Slave States of this Union—a million of armed men, will be ready to receive you and your followers; and if you come not speedily thereafter to execute your threats, your coming will not be waited for; but they will seek you on the soil where you now vainly suppose no danger will ever come. The fact which you ought to know better than I do is, that after two or three hundred thousand men are arrayed in battle, on each side, it makes no sort of difference as to the probable result, whether one or the other party has the greater reserve of physical force, left out of battle; because, after two or three hundred thousand fighting men, in the present state of the art of war—everything depends merely on brains. The sum of these two facts is very clear; namely, if the North wants to settle the Slavery question by the edge of the sword, the North is in a very fair way to be perfectly gratified; and when she gets what she wants, there is at least an exceeding great probability that the North will see reason to change her mind very materially, as to the wisdom of that method of settling that question.

Moreover, let it not escape your attention, that many circumstances aggravate the conduct of the men of the North, and exasperate the hearts of the men of the South, and this whole business: all of them tending to strengthen us and to weaken you at every stage of the bloody struggle to which you are driving the country. For, in the *first place*, let Slavery be all that you assert it to be,—the time is long past when it was either honest, wise, or patriotic for you to take that ground, even in an argument having merely ordinary political bearings, much less in one looking to bloodshed and conquest. All *that* was settled between us before the old confederation was formed; it was settled again in the common danger and common glory of our great Revolution; it was settled again in the Federal Constitution. I say nothing about the unspeakable folly of arguing as a Statesman, that a Slave State and a Free State cannot tolerate each other in one confederacy, supposing the question to be now for the first time considered. What I say is, that it is no longer possible for the men of the North to open that question, without revolution, and without disloyalty to every national act and movement of our past history; and what I mean is, that they cannot do this without so weakening and disgracing themselves, and so strengthening and ennobling us, that God, posterity, fortune, and the hearts of the combatants must feel the effects of the opposite conduct and position of the parties. To which add, in the *second place*, that this conduct of the men of the North, besides being a base political afterthought, is a deliberate breach of faith, cemented by the blood of our fathers; an ignoble retraction of plighted honor and truth and justice; a calculated sacrifice of those of their own race, and lineage, and house, and blood, for those of a strange kindred and clime—without any new circumstance or additional reason, for so atrocious a perfidy against plighted truth. And again, in the *third place*, the atrocity of that state of heart in which the North presses this bloody arbitrament, under the settled belief that she risks nothing thereby, and that we risk everything; and the fervor of that state of soul, in which the South, roused by so much insult, injustice, and danger, really does risk all, with a sublime purpose, to the last man, to win all. And then, *in the fourth place*, add the sort of conviction, with which the two parties thus mutually range themselves, in that deadly strife; and if you be as wise as you are eloquent—you may comprehend, what as yet you seem to have wholly overlooked—namely, the settled confidence of the entire Slave States, that they are fully able to make the men of the North repent that ever they broke constitutions, and forgot ancestral ties, and outraged national obligations, in order to ruin ten millions of the most elevated race on the face of the earth, upon the hazard—if not the pretext—of benefitting the third part of that number, of one of the most degraded races in the world. You will have battle—and that without truce or compromise—and that whenever you can reach us—and that until the field is entirely won? For my part, Sir, I would gladly shun that battle; gladly give my blood to arrest it, if it were begun. For whoever lives to see that battle fought, will see one more example added to the multitudes which already crowd the annals of mankind, that they who boast themselves when they gird their harness on, are apt enough to wail when they come to put it off.

So far then you may perceive, that according to the fixed and unanimous conviction of the fifteen Commonwealths you propose to conquer, your whole North, if it were united as one man, could no more do that deed than it could make a world; and that, unless it were utterly lost to every glorious inspiration of the past and every sacred impulse struggling for birth in all true hearts, the North would no more think of making such an attempt upon such pretexts as you array,—even if those pretexts were all true and real,—than it would think of parricide followed by self-murder. But Sir, I beg you to consider what I shall add to show that those pretexts are neither true nor real.

The very foundation of your discourse, as you distinctly state, is the grand principle, universal, as you assert, in the law of Slavery, that man, created in the image of God, is divested of his human character, and declared to be a mere chattel. Now, Mr. SUMNER, you cannot fail to be aware that both parts of this statement are absolutely untrue, and by consequence your whole plea for our conquest is based on a double, perfidious quibble. There is not a single Slave State in the Union whose laws divest the slave of his human character. There is not a single one whose laws declare a slave to be a *mere* chattel. No doubt many of the rights which I believe with you to be inherent in human nature, are wholly incompatible with any state of Slavery. No doubt if slavery exists at all, the right of property thus recognized by the law may be made analogous to the right one has to a chattel, just as it may be to the right one has to reality. But you have far too much sense and knowledge not to know, that these are widely different truths, from the abominable untruths upon which your whole discourse proceeds. Do you not perfectly understand, that every Slave State in this Union shapes its entire Slave code, upon the grand truths that a slave *is not a mere* chattel, and that his human character is *not* divested? Do you not know, that by the universal law of Slavery, the slave is held to innumerable accountabilities, overriding all claim of his master; and that he is protected, not as a chattel but as a man, at the peril and profit even of his master's life? And yet, upon precisely opposite allegations, you construct an argument whose logical issue is the subversion of our National Union; and upon that argument you construct a code of morals, whose highest is civil war!—Sir, whatever may be my opinion of the fairness of such reasoning, I easily perceive its dialectic skill. But for your sweeping allegations, your argument had nothing on which to rest; for if the relation of master and slave be once admitted to be generically a relation of power and subjection analogous to those of ruler and subject, guardian and ward, parent and child,—then it demands far higher powers than yours, to show that as a mere relation it has any more quality at all; and then your duty of murder on account of it, comes straightway to an end.—Slavery, Mr. SUMNER, is not a thing, which, even in its fundamental nature, much less in its more revolting aspects, I have any purpose to defend. But it is not, either in its nature or its manifestations, the thing you pronounce it to be; and this you could hardly fail to know. How then can I avoid saying, that the pretexts on which you counsel such insane proceedings are neither true nor real?

What you say on the two vital objections, as you call them, to what you style the Anti-Slavery Enterprise, is not equal to the level of your ordinary thoughts. The *distinction of race*, as an obstacle to indiscriminate abolition, and the *sanction of Christians* to the institution of Slavery, as a plea for its toleration, do unquestionably require to be put aside more thoroughly than you have succeeded in doing, before the terrible necessity of adopting your principles and following your counsel can be said to be obligatory on the conscience of the North. I will venture to suggest somewhat on both topics, which seems to have escaped your notice.

For my part, Sir, I wish well to every country in the world, and to every race on the face of the earth. But frankly admit, that I love my own country out of all comparison with every other; that I cherish my own race, with a fervor far beyond that with which I regard all others. Some people call this bigotry,—some call it fanaticism,—some call it narrow-mindedness,—and the like. I call it, an exalted duty, both of natural morality and of revealed religion,—whose neglect is incompatible with a pure heart or a right spirit in man. It has pleased God to create and to establish great diversities of race amongst men; diversities, which, if we could obliterate them completely, would, there can be no doubt, be re-established under the course of Divine Providence, whose grand designs in that, as in all things else, we neither fully comprehend, nor are able to defeat. This diversity of race, extending apparently to the utmost limit compatible with its generic unity, has been one of the most conspicuous elements in the destiny of mankind—and is so still. I beg you to consider that in all recorded time, but two methods have been found, whereby it was possible to solve that great problem of the general mixture of races in one community, on equal terms. It can be done—where all have a common master; that under a form which indiscriminately enslaves all. Or it can be done, by means of the toleration of Polygamy; that is, under a form where the civil equality is preceded and coerced by one blood and household. Except by one or other of these means, or by both of them combined, the fundamental demand of your abolition hypothesis, after innumerable attempts upon every race of men, under every form of civilization,—has encountered only universal shipwreck. Your Anti-Slavery enterprise, therefore, as soon as it encounters the question of mixed race dwelling together, must demand that equality which is produced by that indiscriminate servitude of all; or it must demand the toleration of polygamy; or it must succumb before the irresistible course of Providence and the invincible laws of human nature, as both are attested by the universal experience of mankind. That is, we must renounce our freedom and our actual civilization, to reach one solution of this problem; or we must renounce our Christianity, to reach the other solution of it; or we must resist your Anti-Slavery enterprise, with its fundamental clause of equality of races, as tantamount to the utter disorganization of