Dred Scott v. Sandford /
Frederick Douglass Speech Analysis—Answer Key

Frederick Douglass’ background: Frederick Douglass escaped enslavement and became active in the abolitionist movement. He became well known for giving fiery anti-slavery speeches. His biography, Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave describes his own experience as a slave and is one of the most famous narratives of an enslaved person.

Below are excerpts from the speech he gave in May 1857 which directly addressed Chief Justice Roger B. Taney’s Dred Scott decision, slavery, and the possibility of civil war. Read the speech and answer the questions that follow.

Excerpt of Speech by Frederick Douglass, May 1857

By all the laws of nature, civilization, and of progress, slavery is a doomed system. Not all the skill of politicians, North and South, not all the sophistries of Judges, not all the fulminations of a corrupt press, not all the hypocritical prayers, or the hypocritical refusals to pray of a hollow-hearted priesthood, not all the devices of sin and Satan, can save the vile thing from extermination.

Already a gleam of hope breaks upon us from the southwest. One Southern city has grieved and astonished the whole South by a preference for freedom. The wedge has entered. Dred Scott, of Missouri, goes into slavery, but St. Louis declares for freedom. The judgment of Taney is not the judgment of St. Louis…

Come what will, I hold it to be morally certain that, sooner or later, by fair means or foul means, in quiet or in tumult, in peace or in blood, in judgment or in mercy, slavery is doomed to cease out of this otherwise goodly land, and liberty is destined to become the settled law of this Republic.

I base my sense of the certain overthrow of slavery, in part, upon the nature of the American Government, the Constitution, the tendencies of the age, and the character of the American people; and this, notwithstanding the important decision of Judge Taney. I know of no soil better adapted to the growth of reform than American soil. I know of no country where the conditions for affecting great changes in the settled order of things, for the development of right ideas of liberty and humanity, are more favorable than here in these United States.

1 Source: https://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/speech-on-the-dred-scott-decision-2/
The very groundwork of this government is a good repository of Christian civilization. The Constitution, as well as the Declaration of Independence, and the sentiments of the founders of the Republic, give us a platform broad enough, and strong enough, to support the most comprehensive plans for the freedom and elevation of all the people of this country, without regard to color, class, or clime.

There is nothing in the present aspect of the anti-slavery question which should drive us into the extravagance and nonsense of advocating a dissolution of the American Union as a means of overthrowing slavery, or freeing the North from the malign influence of slavery upon the morals of the Northern people. While the press is at liberty, and speech is free, and the ballot-box is open to the people of the sixteen free States; while the slaveholders are but four hundred thousand in number, and we are fourteen millions; while the mental and moral power of the nation is with us; while we are really the strong and they are the weak, it would look worse than cowardly to retreat from the Union...

Those who seek slavery in the Union, and who are everlastingly dealing blows upon the Union, in the belief that they are killing slavery, are most woefully mistaken. They are fighting a dead form instead of a living and powerful reality. It is clearly not because of the peculiar character of our Constitution that we have slavery, but the wicked pride, love of power, and selfish perverseness of the American people.

Slavery lives in this country not because of any paper Constitution, but in the moral blindness of the American people, who persuade themselves that they are safe, though the rights of others may be struck down.

Besides, I think it would be difficult to hit upon any plan less likely to abolish slavery than the dissolution of the Union. The most devoted advocates of slavery, those who make the interests of slavery their constant study, seek a dissolution of the Union as their final plan for preserving slavery from Abolition, and their ground is well taken. Slavery lives and flourishes best in the absence of civilization; a dissolution of the Union would shut up the system in its own congenial barbarism.

The dissolution of the Union would not give the North one single additional advantage over slavery to the people of the North, but would manifestly take from them many which they now certainly possess.

Within the Union we have a firm basis of anti-slavery operation. National welfare, national prosperity, national reputation and honor, and national scrutiny; common rights, common duties, and common country, are so many bridges over which we can march to the destruction of slavery. To fling away these advantages because James Buchanan is President, or Judge Taney gives a lying decision in favor of slavery, does not enter into my notion of common sense.
Questions to Consider

1. How does Douglass appeal to logic?
   Douglass appeals to logic by arguing that by the laws of nature, slavery is a doomed system.

2. How does Douglass appeal to emotion and religious ideas?
   Douglass appeals to emotion and religious ideas by stating that not all the devices of sin and Satan can save the vile thing (slavery) from extermination.

3. How is conflict within our federal system of government (division of authority between state and national governments) reflected in his speech?
   In his speech Douglass states that the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States (Chief Justice Taney) does not reflect the decision of St. Louis (Missouri).

4. Douglass states, “liberty is destined to become the settled law of this Republic.” How does he support this claim?
   He states that, “I base my sense of the certain overthrow of slavery, in part, upon the nature of the American Government, the Constitution, the tendencies of the age, and the character of the American people.” The laws of the United States and Christianity within the United States will lead to the eventual abolition of slavery.

5. What role does Douglass believe the Constitution has in the debate about slavery?
   Douglass believes that, “The Constitution, as well as the Declaration of Independence, and the sentiments of the founders of the Republic, give us a platform broad enough, and strong enough, to support the most comprehensive plans for the freedom and elevation of all the people of this country, without regard to color, class, or clime.”
   He states, “It is clearly not because of the peculiar character of our Constitution that we have slavery, but the wicked pride, love of power, and selfish perverseness of the American people.”
   “Slavery lives in this country not because of any paper Constitution, but in the moral blindness of the American people, who persuade themselves that they are safe, though the rights of others may be struck down.”

6. In this speech, what does Douglass warn about a possible civil war?
   Several examples can be given. He talks about the “nonsense of advocating a dissolution of the American Union” and “it would look worse than cowardly to retreat from the Union” and, “The dissolution of the Union would not give the North one single additional advantage over slavery to the people of the North, but would manifestly take from them many which they now certainly possess.”

7. Based on your reading of this speech, to what extent do you believe the Dred Scott case contributed to outbreak of the Civil War?
   Student answers will vary.