

FREDERICK DOUGLASS' PAPER is published at 35 Buffalo Street (opposite the Arcade) by FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

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Single copy, one year	\$ 2.00
Three copies, one year	3.00
Five copies, one year	5.00
Ten copies, one year	15.00
Twenty copies, six months	1.00
Two copies, six months	3.00
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FREDERICK DOUGLASS' PAPER.

For Frederick Douglass' Paper.

DIALOGUE BETWEEN A SLAVEHOLDER AND THE BIBLE.

Slaveholder.—I have taken you up, my friend, to find out what you really decide on the subject, so much controverted, and of so much importance to myself. Is there anything you can honestly find fault with in this institution, as exhibited on my plantation, for instance? I take care of my slaves, as they were my own children. I feed and clothe them well; I look after their welfare in every respect, up to the best of my ability; see that their houses are dry, clean and comfortable; I work them less than any of my neighbors, so much so that they threaten to leave me with compliance with existing customs, and even talk of legislative interference; their health is carefully attended to; I hear the gospel every Sabbath, and have meetings among themselves, as often as they please out of working hours. I do not say these things to praise myself, for I know it is my duty to look after their welfare to the utmost of my ability. In short, I seek to carry out towards them, or to all men, the golden rule, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." For you, my friend, have taught me to consider them as such—Now answer my question, put in other words, Do you condemn Slavery absolutely, and without reason?

Bible.—Thou shalt not steal."

Slaveholder.—I abhor the thought! Steal! what do you mean? Ah, I know; you refer to the abolitionist doctrine, that a slaveholder as such, is a thief, a man-stealer. But let me tell you, my good friend, that I have nothing to do with the slave-trader. Twenty of my slaves were left me by my father's will. My hand needed more hands, and I paid handsomely (my neighbors said I gave too much for all but one) for the fifteen I have added to them during the last five years. This money is generally considered a fair equivalent for their labor, and what dishonesty is there in such a transaction as this?

Bible.—Be not partaker of other men's sins."

—1 Tim. v. 22

Slaveholder.—I thought that belonged to minors. I see, however, that it is a principle binding on all Christians. But how does it apply to me, and such as me? You seem to mean me to consider for myself. Ah, you point back to the trade, and say I sanction it, by receiving, as the abolitionists would say, *wicked men*. I confess, that if the trade were as bad as they represented it, the charge would be just. But they are benefited by the exchange of countries. They were, to sum up all their miseries in one, ignorant of the gospel in their own land. Here they hear of the Saviour, and many are saved by faith in Him.

Bible.—As some affirm that we say, Let us do evil, that good may come, whose damnation is just!—Rom. iii. 8.

Slaveholder.—You mean me to acknowledge that the Jesus principle, "The end sanctifies the means," is false and wicked; and that however much we desire to benefit our fellowmen, we must use holy and righteous means, and those only, to accomplish this object—I have thought, that, in consideration of the advantages according to the African population, the chief of which I have alluded to, our forefathers were justified in carrying them from their native land with a friendly violence, to benefit them in our own.

Bible.—The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty, through God, to the pulling down of strong holds." For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against . . . spiritual wickedness (or wicked spirits) in heavenly places!—2 Cor. x. 4. Eph. vi. 10.

Slaveholder.—I admit that violence has, at least, the appearance of coming under "carnal weapons." But is it more than the appearance? For many good men have used, and do use violence.

Bible.—I say unto you, that ye resist not evil; for, "Bender to no man evil for evil."

"The son of man is not come to destroy man's life, but to save them."—Matt. v. 39. Rom. xiii. 17. Luke ix. 56.

Slaveholder.—These are strong passages—

Do you mean me to admit the non-resistant doctrine? I always looked on that as the refuge of weak minds. Why, it is rejected, unless I am much mistaken, by the great majority of Christians, at least from the days of Constantine to ours.

Bible.—The time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine; they shall turn away their ears from the truth!—2 Tim. iii.

"Even heretics were ye called; because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example that you should follow his steps; who . . . when he was buffeted, he threatened not, but commended himself unto His judgment righteously!"—1 Pet. ii. 20, . . . 24.

Slaveholder.—Ho! No too fast, good friend—That last passage of yours I thought belonged particularly to our slaves; it looks very much as if it was their peculiar property taking it altogether, the context preceding, with your quotation.

Bible.—There is neither Jew nor Greek,

there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus!—Gal. iii. 28.

Slaveholder.—You mean to say that Christ was my

example in suffering, as much as my servant's, and this I cannot deny. But your connection of the use of violent means by Christians with the passage foretelling their refusal to hear sound doctrine, is something quite novel to me. What authority have you

for passing so severe a judgment on a large majority of professing christians—on such men as Washington and Cromwell, to name no more individuals?

Bible.—"I am . . . the truth." "Thy word is truth."—John xiv. 6. xvii. 17.

Slaveholder.—But these Christians attach a different meaning to the passages in question.—They argue that it is not the action, but the spirit, of resistance, which the Savior forbids; and that the apostle disclaims a carnal handling of the ordinary weapons in use among men.

Bible.—"Why do ye transgress the commandments of God by your tradition? . . . Thus have we made the commandments of God of none effect by your tradition." "In vain do ye worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men."—Matt. xv. 1 . . . 9.

S.—You are severe on the many distinguished and excellent divines who have so numerously upheld the views I mentioned. Is it not presumptuous in me to set my private judgment against the opinion of so many wise men of God?

Bible.—Though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed.—Gal. i. 8. "I have laid the foundation, and another buildeth thereon. . . If any man build upon this foundation gold, silver, &c., . . . the fire shall try every man's work. If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss; but he, himself, shall be saved; yet so by fire."—1 Cor. iii. 15. "Let God be true, but every man is a liar."—Rom. iii. 4. "Who then is Paul or Apollos, but ministers by whom ye believed . . . Therefore let no man glory in men."—1 Cor. iii. 5, 21. "Not that we are sufficient to think anything as of ourselves but our sufficiency is of God."—2 Cor. iii. 5.

S.—You lead me a great deal farther than I meant to go; however, I wish to be thorough in the matter. I should be a trifler if I did not. And I confess I find it very interesting to follow you in this examination of principles, though I have to struggle hard to maintain my own. And I have come to the full determination that none shall be borned to my own, but those that can bear the test of truth. From the string of passages you have poured upon me, I conclude that you would have me place no confidence in any, even the most holy, class of men, as men. What am I to do? Where shall I go for authority on all these "controverted points?"

Bible.—"To the law and to the testimony; if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them."—Is. viii. 20.

S.—In other words, you are the authority.

Bible.—"All Scripture (is) given by inspiration of God, and is, profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works."—2 Tim. iii. 16, 17.

S.—Very good, very good. And they say you explain yourself. I accept your authority, but how interpret passages which may be taken in different senses, if I may not accept any man as my final interpreter of your meaning? How I defend, on my own judgment, if I cannot on that of others?—What guarantees have I of coming to correct conclusions?

Bible.—"Ye have uncton from the Holy One, and ye know all things."—1 John iii. 20. "The spirit of truth . . . will guide you into all truth."—John xvi. 13.

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fluences which operate on the mind of the slaveholders, have been those very slaveholders themselves—the whole system of whose social economy they do well in denouncing, and in laboring to extirpate from the face of the earth; yet, would they often sin notwithstanding, both against truth and charity, if, by a sweeping and universal charge, they were to denounce all who partake of this system, nay, live upon the profits of it, as individually void of humanity and honor, or void of Christian principle. There are various methods, various lines of procedure and policy, on which philanthropists and patriots might enter, and join their forces for the abolition of slavery. The most unjustifiable, and, let me add, the most unwise and least effectual of these, were to pronounce a wholesale anathema, by which to unchristianize, or to pass a general sentence of excommunication on slaveholders.

2. In this paragraph, the Dr. makes a distinction between the master and his slaves—condemning the one, but sparing the other. This is a most unchristian commandment. It is strange reasoning in a Divinity Professor, to argue that being reared under the system, and being fanning with its atrocities, under the light of the Gospel, and after being warned of it, etc. The Abolitionists should never, had this, contrary to Scripturc, yet asserts that we ask too much from a man, when we bid him renounce that all that belongs to him. This is plainly admitting man's right of property in his fellow-men. Abolitionists think that he has a better right to what is stolen than has the slave-owner to the body of his fellow-creature.

3. We deny not the existing tendency of slavery on the parts, and the characters of all who are engaged in it; and let us concede, that in virtue of these, a greater number—if an inventory could be taken of them—of inhuman and licentious, of barbarous and brutalized men, are to be found in the middle and upper classes of society, throughout the slaveholding States of America, than throughout those other States which have so nobly rid themselves of this enormous evil. Now, what effect ought this admission to have upon the question? Not that slaveholding shall simply, and *per se*, infer exclusion from the ordinances of the gospel, but that, as many of the vices which slaveholding tends to generate and to multiply in that exclusive, there will, and because of these vices, be a more frequent call for ecclesiastical discipline in the slaveholding congregations. The Apostle tells us not to keep company—not to hold Christian fellowship, if “any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an adulterer, or a rater, or a drunkard, or an extortioner.” Should any such, then, present himself for admission to the table of the Lord, there is a clear scriptural warrant for his debarment from this, and all the other privileges of Church membership; *not however, on the ground of his being a slaveholder*, but on the ground of one or other of those vices which exist, it is to be feared, in greatest force and frequency, wherever there exist the habits and the temptations of slaveholding. The magnitude of the temptation can never be held an alleviation of the crime, so as to exempt the slaveholder, who has fallen into it from the proper and the prescribed discipline, else there is an end of all Christian morality. Far less can the magnitude of the temptation to laxity of discipline, or to pass over the delinquencies of a wealthy and influential slaveholder, exempt any Christian Church from the duty of an impartial and pure, and righteous government over all its members,—else not only may that Church present a hideous mass of corruption, but every other Church in Christendom, which connotes at it, contracts thereby a blemish and a deformity, which must and which ought to injure its otherwise fair reputation.

Let every man, be he a slaveholder or not, be cast out from the brotherhood of the Christian ordinances, who falls into any of the vices which are here enumerated; and let the brotherhood of every Church be disowned which is found to tolerate these vices in its members, be they high or low—Nay, should it be found in any instance that the wealthy oppressor meets with an indulgence which is not shown to the humbler delinquents of the congregation—let the church be all the more indignantly denounced as unworthy of fellowship, or recognition, and its brotherhood be disowned by the other Churches of Christ. When we have got thus far into the argument, we come within sight of a clear principle,—a comfort which we did not enjoy so long as the demand was made upon us for the excommunication of all slaveholders, or for the wholesale excommunication of all Christians who were found to have the names of slaveholders on the roll of their communicants. Our understanding of Christianity is, that it deals not with civil or political institutions, but that it deals with persons and with ecclesiastical institutions, and that the object of these last is to operate directly and proximately with the most wholesome effect on the consciences and the character of persons. In entire sympathy with this view, a purely and rightly administered Church will exclude from the ordinances, *not any man as a slaveholder*, but every man, whether slaveholder or not, as licentious, as intemperate as dishonest, as avaricious, as improvident, as dishonest as dishonest. Should any single American Church be found to have acted otherwise, let it, while the imputation rests upon it, and it remains uncorrected, be treated as an outcast from all other Churches. Nay, should the proceeding be carried up by appeal to an American Presbytery, and be sanctioned or tolerated there, let all contention and communion with such a Presbytery be suspended. Last of all, let the Supreme Court,—the General Assembly of the American Presbyterian Church,—be convicted of having perverted a corrupt sentence, which arises in the principle, and brings along with it the practice, of a toleration for undoubted moral delinquencies—and then the only correspondence, we trust, which the Free Church of Scotland would consent to hold with the Presbyterian body of America, would be that of grave and solemn remonstrance because of the dishonor done by them to our common Lord.

3. In this paragraph, Dr. Chalmers totally forgets himself—he forgets that slavery is the parent sin, which he would spare, while he would punish the numerous family, that it is the fruitful tree, which he would not cut down, but merely prune, and thin out. We see a conflict of personal character, morals, and discipline, that churches are entreated to deal with slavery, and not as a civil or political institution.

We hope that our Free Church will never deviate to the right or the left from the path of undoubted principle. But we hope, on the other hand, that she will not be frightened from her propriety, or forced by clamor of any sort, to outrun her own convictions, so as to adopt, at the bidding of other parties, a new and factitious principle of administration, for which she can see no authority in Scripture, and of which she can gather no trace in the history or practice of the Christian Church. The whole essence of the inquiry consists in the question—what is slavery in itself?—whether it is not a curse, and entailing all others in solitary horror, and enveloping them all, then there runs a falacy through this letter, unworthy of its author. If it be not a grant dishonesty to claim and treat a man as property, which cannot be done without every man stealing the name of God, and thus causing infinite damage to the eighth commandment.

The thief that steel, it is not a giant heinousness to hold three millions of human beings in a state of confinement, we do not understand the seventh commandment.

It is a question of personal character, morals, and discipline, that churches are entreated to deal with slavery, and not as a civil or political institution.

4. In the month of the unworthy appeal to the price of the Free Church, not to set at the bidding of a foreign party, our best answer to the statement of Dr. C. that to exclude slaveholders is a new factitious, and unconstitutional principle is to repeat the following sentence from the address of the Sociey, written in 1841, by the Rev. James Morgan:

“The Christians of Britain have felt themselves called on to enter into a solemn compact to reform their country, to make it a nation of slaves, who will be the instruments in the crime of slavery, either by practising it themselves, or conniving at it in others.”

Whether to the public to believe Dr. C., when he says that to exclude the slave owners is a unconstitutional, or Mr. Morgan, when he says that to receive them is unconstitutional—a determination comes to either Dr. C. or not among the Christians who have come to this determination?

5. Would the Abolitionists, then, have their eye on such cases, and hold them forth in authentic exhibition to the world, so that the Churches of distant lands may be made to know what the laxity of discipline is which obtains throughout the Churches and Church Courts of America. Let them verify the instances, and tell us of them in detail, in their author, in his dealings with slavery.

what the particular Churches are where men are recognised as members, and live in the undisputed possession of church privileges, notwithstanding their concubinage, or their cruelty, or the gross violence and villainy of any sort, which might not only be condemned upon, but have been actually made good against them; and then we shall know, and in the light of clearest scriptural principle, how to guide our proceedings, both with the Churches which sanction such enormities by their forbearance, and with Church Courts which, by their corrupt judicial sentences, may be well said to frame these iniquities by law. These were a far more likely process whereby to augment the moral force of that opposition to slavery, which as one of its most determined and implacable enemies, we hope is growing and gathering every day,—not by *forcing upon us a new principle*, and requiring at our hands an altogether new practice, unknown to the Churches of other days—even that slaveholding is in itself that sort of ecclesiastical felony which must be visited by a sentence of exile for shorter or longer periods from the ecclesiastical community. There are other felonies of which we have never doubted—vices which ought, by the precedents of all ages, to be dealt and proceeded with; and if these vices do follow in the train of slaveholding with greater frequency than in the train of any other occupation, let this, by the exercise of a virtuous Church discipline, be made palpable to all, and another powerful blow will thus be inflicted on the system,—another telling argument be added to the successive strokes of that catapult which is at length to bring down this monster evil, with all its horrors and teeming abominations. It is thus that the title of a pamphlet, which I lately saw, might be reversed: and the American Churches, instead of the props, as they are represented, of American Slavery, might be the pioneers to undermine its foundations, and bring it to its final overthrow,—not by aggression from without, but by the force of sentiment and principle from within—a force which, to the immortal honor of the Free States of America, has already told spontaneously, yet with full effect, on more than half the provinces of the Union. But I must repeat my conviction, that slavery will not be at all shaken,—it will be strengthened and stand its ground,—if assailed through the medium of that most questionable and ambiguous principle which the Abolitionists are now laboring to force upon our acceptance, even that slaveholding is, in itself, a ground of exclusion from the Christian sacraments,—instead of being assailed through the medium of such other and obvious principles as come home to the hearts and the consciences of all men.

5. Dr. Chalmers here, as if in ignorance of all that has been done, asks of the abolitionists the furnishing of a history of the thing, anything relating to it, for the last forty years, and for which Dr. Cunningham calls them men without sense or sanity. Besides, when ministers, and elders, and communions hold slaves, the difficulty of exercising discipline on the sins springing out of slavery is increased—rendered almost impossible.

If these vices do follow, says the Dr. in the train of slaveholding, with greater frequency than in the train of any other occupation. Does Dr. Chalmers, a preacher of the gospel, venture to assert that slaveholding is an evil, which may not be paralleled like other occupations, and which only differs from others by presenting greater temptations to sin? The meaning here, also, is so plain, that he who runs may read.—Notwithstanding the severe things which he writes against slavery, he here plainly admits that it is an evil, which we have more attention in its train than any other calling in which men may engage.

6. There is one reformation about which, for ourselves, we feel no difficulty, and that is, how to proceed against slaveholding ministers, or ministers who hold slaves, not as masters of a household, who must have them for domestic servants, but as masters who combine this worldly with their sacred or professional occupation. In our own Churches we should liyan interdict on our ministers here against their holding any secular trade or employment, lest it should secularize them; and *a fortiori*, we would lay an interdict on ministers there from holding slaves for profit, lest it should brutalize them. We must be forgiven the harshness of this expression. We do not say that this is the invariable effect of slaveholding in America, and therefore it is that we resist the proposed excommunication of all slaveholders. But we say, that if not the universal effect, it is at least the tendency of the system: and we hold it the bounden duty of every Church to restrain its ministers from all which might put to hazard either their characters or reputations, and so to keep all vitiating tendencies and temptations away from them.

7. But the Liberty Party is in the

train of slaveholding, with greater frequency than in the train of any other occupation. Does Dr. Chalmers, a preacher of the gospel, venture to assert that slaveholding is an evil, which may not be paralleled like other occupations, and which only differs from others by presenting greater temptations to sin? The meaning here, also, is so plain, that he who runs may read.—Notwithstanding the severe things which he writes against slavery, he here plainly admits that it is an evil, which we have more attention in its train than any other calling in which men may engage.

7. In this paragraph, the high ground is taken, that refuse to receive a slaveholder to the Sacrament, not only wants Scripturc authority, but is unable to give it. That is, if we refuse the Sacrament to a slaveholder, we are keeping fellow-creatures without education and without marriage, for no man can keep slaves and grant them the rights of men—if the Sacrament be refused to them, then we are opposing the Holy Word of God. Here, the sentiments here expressed from those of the Rev. Mr. Morgan, writing the address of the Belfast Anti-Slavery Society, to the Church in the United States. Dr. Chalmers thinks that all which is demanded in that address should be refused—and, indeed, it has been refused.

Jacob J. Gurney visited the societies of Friends or Quakers in America, of which he is a minister, and as they neither have nor can have slaves, it would have been useless for him to have been urging them to do what they had already done, that is, refuse to admit slaveholders to their church and fellowship.

Not to allow slaves, namely, slavery, lest it awaken prejudice against another topic, namely, the gospel, is strange advice to give a minister—advice on which the operation from the Free Church to the Presbyterians of America certainly rested. They were told by Mr. Gurney, in his speech, that the Free Church has voted on this side of the slaveholder, and received his money and his thanks; and voted against the slave, and received his indignation and his ears.

It is not melancholy, that when slavery has been denounced, it will be said in all nations of Europe, it should find a refuge in America, and that the Abolitionists, in ministering to Christians, and that the slaves of a man, white, black, or mulatto, are not to be freed.

In conclusion, it may be remarked, that the practical effect of this latter has been to gladden the hearts of slaveholders and depress Abolitionists, both in this country and in Europe—showing clearly that Dr. C. is regarded as the apostle of slavery.

Frederick Douglass' Paper.

ALL RIGHTS FOR ALL!

ROCHESTER, JULY 9, 1852.

TO FISH SUBSCRIBERS.—Please take notice that, from the commencement of the year 1852, Mr. Walker S. Pringle, Bookseller, Newcastle-on-Tyne, will act as agent for our paper, and will receive subscriptions, and donations for the same.

TO THE LIBERTY PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

At your Convention in Buffalo last fall, you nominated Gerrit Smith for President, and Charles Durfee Vice-President; but neither of them were elected, and the election was given to Mr. T. C. Wright. I propose to nominate persons for these offices, and we propose that it be held in Buffalo on Wednesday the 1st day of next September. This Convention should be a large one, and it will be the men and women who love the Liberty Party, feel deeply as they should feel how much they owe to the cause of freedom, that is the speedy success of the principles of that party.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF LIBERTY PARTY.

GEORGE W. JOHNSON, New York.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS, ".

JOHN THOMAS, ".

ELIJAH W. BROWN, ".

ELIJAH ROBERTS, Ohio.

T. B. HUDSON, ".

JAMES H. COLLINS, Illinois.

JAMES CATLIN, Pennsylvania.

SAMUEL AARON, ".

E. B. CROCKER, Indiana.

April 6, 1852.

The following vote of thanks is handed us for publication, by the Rochester Ladies Anti-Slavery Sewing Society.

RESOLVED, That the grateful acknowledgement of this Society be, and are, hereby tendered to Wm. A. Reynolds, Esq., for his many kind offices during our occupancy of Corinthian Hall. Also for a generous donation of six dollars to the treasury of this Society.

MARY G. PORTER, Treasurer.

JULIA GRIFFITHS, Secretary.

The Ladies' Anti-Slavery Sewing Society will meet, on Friday, July 9th, at the house of Mrs. Farley, Holly Farm, corner of St. Paul Street and Ridge Road, at half-past two o'clock.

JULIA GRIFFITHS, Sec'y.

THE CELEBRATION AT CORINTHIAN HALL.

The friends of freedom were highly favored on Monday with excellent weather for this Celebration. Five or six hundred persons notwithstanding the many attractions in other directions, and the noise and confusion without, assembled in Corinthian Hall to celebrate the national anniversary, in what we conceive to be the only appropriate manner in which that anniversary can be celebrated. The meeting was called to order by JAMES SPERRY, Esq., a veteran in the cause of impartial liberty.

LINDLEY MURRAY MOORE, Esq., was unanimously called to the Chair, to preside.

After briefly stating the objects for which the meeting had assembled, the throne of Grace was reverently addressed by the REV. S. OTTMAN of Rush.

The President then called on the REV. ROBERT R. RADCLIFFE of Syracuse, to read “The Declaration of Independence.” That gentleman came forward, and was greeted with evident pleasure, by those who recollect his thrilling speech in the same Hall, at the Anti-Slavery Festival on the 19th of March. Dr. Raymond was not less happy on this occasion than on that. His remarks were beautifully appropriate, as an introduction to the immortal “Declaration,” and the reading itself was eloquent and admirable, eliciting much applause throughout.

After this part of the ceremony had been completed, FREDERICK DOUGLASS came forward, and spoke as follows:

Mr. President, Friends and Fellow-Citizens:

He who could address this audience without a quailing sensation, has stronger nerves than I have. I do not remember ever to have appeared as a speaker before any assembly more shrinking, nor with greater distrust of my ability, than I do this day. A feeling has crept over me, quite unfavorable to a regard to our safety, trust, reverence, to pursue the object with undivided zeal, and not to turn aside from it, or mix any other concern with it. And we still think that the Lord of missions, and the Savior of the world, will approve of this deliberate purpose of ours, and most especially, to declare the iniquity of the system, and that the funds contributed to our treasury are obtained in a proper manner, and contributed from upright motives; and it is very manifest that we cannot properly examine into the motives of those who sustain our operations, and that the attempt to do this would be marked with absurdity, and would plunge us in difficulties from which we could not possibly be extricated. It will not, we trust, be overlooked, that in reply to previous petitions, the Board has repeatedly and very frankly declared, that they can sustain no relation to slavery, which implies approbation of the system, and as a Board, can have no connection or sympathy with it,—plainly intimating that it may fairly be presumed, that the funds contributed to our treasury are obtained in a proper manner, and contributed from upright motives; and it is very manifest that we cannot properly examine into the motives of those who sustain our operations, and that the attempt to do this would be marked with absurdity, and would plunge us in difficulties from which we could not possibly be extricated. 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FREDERICK DOUGLASS' PAPER.

to perpetuate slavery—the great sin and shame of America! "I will not equivocate; I will not excuse;" I will use the severest language I can command; and yet not one word shall escape me that any man, whose judgment is not blinded by prejudice, or who is not at heart a slaveholder, shall not confess to be right and just.

But I fancy I hear some one of my audience say, it is just in this circumstance that you and your brother abolitionists fail to make a favorable impression on the public mind. Would you argue more, and denounce less, would you persuade more, and rebuke less, your cause would be much more likely to succeed. But, I answer, where all is plain there is nothing to be argued. What point in the anti-slavery creed would you have me argue? On what branch of the subject do the people of this country need light? Must I undertake to prove that the slave is a man? That point is conceded already. Nobody doubts it. The slaveholders themselves acknowledge it in the enactment of laws for their government. They acknowledge it when they punish disobedience on the part of the slave. There are seventy-two crimes in the State of Virginia, which, if committed by a black man (no matter how ignorant he be,) subject him to the punishment of death; while only two of the same crimes will subject a white man to the like punishment. What is this but the acknowledgement that the slave is a moral, intellectual and responsible being. The manhood of the slave is conceded. It is admitted in the fact that Southern statute books are covered with enactments forbidding, under severe fines and penalties, the teaching of the slave to read or to write. When you can point to any such laws, in reference to the beasts of the field, then I may consent to argue the manhood of the slave. When the dogs in your streets, when the fowls of the air, when the cattle on your hills, when the fish of the sea, and the reptiles that crawl, shall be unable to distinguish the slave from a brute, then will I argue with you that the slave is a man!

For the present, it is enough to affirm the equal manhood of the negro race. Is it not astonishing that, while we are plowing, planting and reaping, using all kinds of mechanical tools, erecting houses, constructing bridges, building ships, working in metals of brass, iron, copper, silver and gold; that, while we are reading, writing and ciphering, acting as clerks, merchants and secretaries, having among us lawyers, doctors, ministers, poets, authors, editors, orators and teachers; that, while we are engaged in all manner of enterprises common to other men, digging gold in California, capturing the whale in the Pacific, feeding sheep and cattle on the hill-side, living, moving, acting, thinking, planning, living in families as husbands, wives and children and, above all, confessing and worshiping the Christian's God, and looking hopefully for life and immortality beyond the grave, we are called up to prove that we are men!

Would you have me argue, that man is entitled to liberty? that he is the rightful owner of his own body? You have already declared it. Must I argue the wrongfulness of slavery? Is that a question for Republicans? Is it to be settled by the ruler of logic and argumentation, as a matter best with great difficulty, involving a doubtful application of the principle of justice, hard to be understood? How should I look to-day, in the presence of Americans, dividing, and subdividing a discourse, to show that men have a natural right to freedom? speaking of it relatively, and positively, negatively, and affirmatively. To do so, would be to make myself ridiculous, and to offer an insult to your understanding. There is not a man beneath the canopy of heaven, that does not know that slavery is wrong for him.

What am I to argue that it is wrong to make men brutes, to rob them of their liberty, to work them without wages, to keep them ignorant of their relations to their fellow-men, to beat them with sticks, to flay their flesh with the lash, to load their limbs with irons, to hunt them with dogs, to sell them at auction, to sunder their families, to knock out their teeth, to burn their flesh, to starve them into obedience and submission to their masters? Must I argue that a system thus marked with blood, and stained with pollution, is *wrong*? No! I will not—I have better employment for my time and strength, than such arguments would imply.

What, then, remains to be argued? Is it that slavery is not divine; that God did not establish it; that our doctors of divinity are mistaken? There is blasphemy in the thought. That which is inhuman, cannot be divine! Who can reason on such a proposition? They that can, may; I cannot. The time for such argument is past.

At a time like this, scorning irony, not convincing argument, is needed. O! had I the ability, and could reach the nation's ear, I would, to-day, deal out biting ridicule, blistering rebuke, withering sarcasm, and stern rebuke. For it is not light that is needed, but fire; it is not the gentle shower, but thunder. We need the storm, the whirlwind, and the earthquake. The feeling of the nation must be quickened; the conscience of the nation must be roused; the propriety of the nation must be startled; the hypocrisy of the nation must be exposed; and its crimes against God and man must be proclaimed and denounced.

What, to the American slave, is your 4th of July? I answer; a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him, your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty, an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciations of tyrants, brash fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious parades, and solemnity, are to him, mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypocrisy—a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages. There is not a nation on the earth guilty of practices, more shocking and bloody, than are the people of these United States, at this very hour.

Go where you may, search where you will, roam through all the monarchies and despots of the old world, travel through South America, search out every abuse, and when you have found the last, lay your facts by the side of the every day practices of this nation, and you will say with me, that for revolting barbarity and shameless hypocrisy, America reigns without a rival.

Take the American slave-trade, which we are told by the papers, is especially prosperous just now. Mr. Benton tells us that the price of men was never higher than now. This trade is one of the po-

ularities of American institutions. It is carried on in all the large towns and cities in one half of this confederacy; and millions are pocketed every year, by dealers in this horrid traffic. In several states, this trade is a chief source of wealth. It is called (in contradistinction to the foreign slave-trade) "the internal slave trade." It is, probably, called so, too, in order to divert it from the horror with which the foreign slave-trade is contemplated. That trade has long since been denounced by this government, as piracy. It has been denounced with burning words, from the high places of the nation, as an execrable traffic. To arrest it, to put an end to it, this nation keeps a squadron, at immense cost, on the coast of Africa. Everywhere, in this country, it is safe to speak of this foreign slave-trade, as a most inhuman traffic, opposed alike to the laws of God and man. The duty to extirpate and destroy it, is admitted even by our Doctors of Divinity. In order to put an end to it, some of these last have consented that their colored brethren (nominally free) should leave this country, and establish themselves on the western coast of Africa!—It is, however, a notable fact, that while so much execration is poured out by Americans, upon those engaged in the foreign slave-trade, the men engaged in the slave-trade between the states pass without condemnation, and their business is deemed honorable.

Behold the practical operation of this internal slave-trade, the American slave-trade, sustained by American politics and American religion. Here you will see men and women reared like swine for the market. You know what is a swine-drover. I will show you a man-drover. They inhabit all our Southern States. They perambulate the country, and crowd the highways of the nation, with droves of human stock. You will see one of these human flesh-jibbers, armed with pistol, whip and bowie-knife, driving a company of a hundred men, women, and children, from the Patomac to the slave-market, at New Orleans. These wretched people are to be sold singly, or in lots, to suit purchasers. They are food for the cotton-field, and the deadly sugar-mill. Mark the sad procession, as it moves wearily along, and the inhuman writh who drives them. Hear his savage yell, and his blood-chilling oath, as he hurries his affrighted captives! There, see the old man, with locks thinned and gray. Cast one glance, if you please, upon that young mother, whose shoulders are bare to the scorching sun, her briny tears falling on the brow of the babe in her arms. See, too, that girl of thirteen, weeping, yes! weeping, as she thinks of the mother from whom she has been torn! The drove moves tardily. Heat and sorrow have nearly consumed their strength; suddenly you hear a quick snap, like the discharge of a rifle; the fetters clank, and the chain rattles, simultaneously; your ears are saluted with a scream, that seems to have torn its way to the centre of your soul! The crack you heard, was the sound of the slave-whip; the scream you heard, was from the woman you saw with the babe. Her speed had faltered under the weight of her child and her chains! that gash on her shoulder tells her to move on. Follow this drove to New Orleans. Attend the auction; see men examined like horses; see the forms of women rudely and brutally exposed to the shocking gaze of American slave-buyers. See this drove sold and separated for ever; and never forget the deep, sad soals that arose from that scattered multitude. Tell me where, under the sun, you can witness a spectacle more fiendish and shocking. Yet this is but a glance at the American slave-trade, as it exists, at this moment, in the ruling part of the United States.

I was born amid such sights and scenes.—To me, the American slave-trade is a reality. When a child, my soul was often pierced with a sense of its horrors. I lived on Philpot Street, Fell's Point, Baltimore, and have watched from the wharves, the slave-ships in the Basin, anchored from the shore, with their cargoes of human flesh, waiting for favorable winds to waft them down the Chesapeake. There was, at that time, a grand slave mart kept at the head of Pratt Street, by Austin Wolfson. His agents were sent into every town and county in Maryland, announcing their arrival, through the papers, and on flaming "hand-bills," headed CASH FOR NEGROES. These men were generally well dressed men, and very captivating in their manners. Ever ready to drink, to treat, and to gamble. The fate of many a slave has depended upon the turn of a single card; and many a child has been snatched from the arms of its mother, by bargain arranged in a state of brutal drunkenness.

The flesh-mongers gather up their victims by dozens, and drive them, chained, to the general depot, at Baltimore. When a sufficient number have been collected here, a ship is chartered, for the purpose of conveying the forlorn crew to Mobile, or to New Orleans. From the slave prison to the ship, they are usually driven in the darkness of night; for since the anti-slavery agitation, a certain caution is observed.

In the deep, still darkness of midnight, I have been often aroused by the dead, heavy, footstep, and the pitious cries of the chained gangs that passed our door. The anguish of my boyish heart was intense; and I was often console, when speaking to my mistress in the morning, to hear her say that the custom was very wicked; that she hated to hear the rattle of the chains, and the heart-rending cries. I was glad to find one who sympathised with me in my horror.

Follow-citizens, this murderous traffic is, to-day, in active operation in this boasted republic. In the solitude of my spirit, I see clouds of dust raised on the highways of the South; I see the bleeding footstep; I hear the dolorful wail of fettered humanity, on the way to the slave-markets, where they are to be sold like horses, sheep, and swine, knocked off to the highest bidder. There I see the tender ties ruthlessly broken, to gratify the lust, caprice and rapacity of the buyers and sellers of men. My soul sickens at sight.

"Is this the land your Fathers loved, The freedom which they toiled to win? Is this the earth wherein they moved?"

Are these the graves they slumber in?"

But a still more inhuman, disgraceful, and scandalous state of things remains to be presented.

By an act of the American Congress, not yet two years old, slavery has been nationalized in its most horrible and revolting form. By that act, Mason and Dixon's line has been obliterated; New York has become as Virginia; and the power to hold, hunt, and man, women and children, as slaves, remains no longer a mere state institution, but is now an institution of the whole United States. The power is co-extensive with the star-span-

gled banner, and American Christianity.—Where these go, may also go the merciless slave-hunter. Where these are, man is not sacred. By that most foul and fiendish of all human decrees, the liberty and person of every man are put in peril. Your broad republican domain is hunting ground for men. Not for thief and robber, enemies of society, but for men guilty of no crime. Your law-makers have commanded all good citizens to engage in this hellish sport. Your President, your Secretary of State, your lords, nobles, and ecclesiastics, enforce it as a duty you owe to your free and glorious country, and to your God, that you do this accursed thing. Not fewer than forty Americans, have, within the past two years, been hunted down, and, without a moment's warning, hurried away in chains, and consigned to slavery and excruciating torture.—Some of these have had wives and children, dependent on them for bread; but of this, no account was made. The right of the hunter to his prey stands superior to the right of marriage, and to all rights in this republic, the rights of God included. For black men, there are neither law, justice, humanity, nor religion, in this land. The Fugitive Slave Law makes MERCY TO THEM, A CRIME; and bribes the judge who tries them. An AMERICAN JUDGE GETS TEN DOLLARS FOR EVERY VICTIM HE CONSIGNES to slavery, and five, when he fails to do so. The oath of any two villains is sufficient, under this hell-black enactment, to send the most pious and exemplary black man into the remorseless jaws of slavery! His own testimony is nothing. He can bring no witnesses for himself. The minister of American justice is bound, by the law, to hear but one side; and that side, is the side of the oppressor. Let this damning fact be perpetually told. Let it be thundered around the world, that, in tyrant killing, king-hating, people-loving, democratic Christian America, the seats of justice are filled with judges, who hold their offices under an open and palpable bribe, and are bound, in deciding in the case of a man's liberty, to hear only his accusers!

In glaring violation of justice, in shameless disregard of the forms of administering law, in cunning arrangement to entrap the defenceless, and in diabolical intent, this Fugitive Slave Law stands alone in the annals of tyrannical legislation. I doubt if there is another nation on the globe, having the brass and the baseless to put such a law on the statute-book. If any man in this assembly thinks differently from me in this matter, and feels able to disprove my statements, I will gladly confront him at any suitable time and place he may select.

I take this law to be one of the grossest infringements of Christian Liberty, and, if the churches and ministers of our country were not stupidly blind, or most wickedly indifferent, they, too, would so regard it.

At the very moment that they are thanking God for the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, and for the right to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences, they are utterly silent in respect to a law, which robs religion of its chief significance, and makes it utterly worthless to a world lying in wickedness. Did this law concern the "mild, anise and cumin"—abridge the right to sing psalms, to partake of the sacrament, or to engage in any of the ceremonies of religion, it would be smitten by the thunder of a thousand pulpits. A general shout would go up from the church, demanding, repeat, repeat, instant repeal!—And it would go hard with that politician who presumed to solicit the votes of the people without inscribing this motto on his banner. Further, if this demand were not complied with, another Scotland would be added to the history of religious liberty, and the stern old covenanters would be thrown into the shade. A John Knox would be seen at every church door, and heard from every pulpit, and Fillmore would have no more quarter than was shown, by Knox, to the beautiful, but treacherous Queen Mary of Scotland.—The fact that the church of our country, (with fractional exceptions,) does not esteem "the Fugitive Slave Law" as a declaration of war against religious liberty, implies that that church regards religion simply as a form of worship, an empty ceremony, and not a vital principle, requiring active benevolence, justice, love and good will towards man. It esteems sacrifices above mercy; psalm-singing above right doing; solemn meetings above practical righteousness. A worship that can be conducted by persons who refuse to give shelter to the houseless, to give bread to the hungry, clothing to the naked, and who enjoin obedience to a law forbidding these acts of mercy, is a curse, not a blessing to mankind. The Bible addresses all such persons as "scribes, pharisees, hypocrites, who pay tithe of mint, anise and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy and faith."

But the church of this country is not only indifferent to the wrongs of the slave, it actually takes sides with the oppressors. It has made itself the bulwark of American slavery, and your pure Christianity, while the whole political power of the nation, as embodied in the two great political parties, is solemnly pledged to support and perpetuate the enslavement of three millions of your countrymen. You hurl your anathemas at the crowned heads of Russia and Austria, and pride yourself as a slave; that the relation of master and slave is ordained of God; that to send back an escaped bondman to his master is clearly the duty of all the followers of the Lord Jesus Christ; and this horrible blasphemy is palmed off upon the world for Christianity.

For my part, I would say, welcome infidelity! welcome atheism! welcome anything in preference to the gospel, as preached by those *Dicines*. They convert the very name of religion into an engine of tyranny, and barbarous cruelty, and serve to confirm more infidels, in this age, than all the infidel writings of Thomas Paine, Voltaire, and Bolingbroke, put together, have done! These ministers make religion a cold and flinty-hearted thing, having neither principles of right action, nor bowls of compassion. They strip the love of God of its beauty and leave the throne of religion a huge, horrible, repulsive form. It is a religion for oppressors, tyrants, man-stealers, and thugs. It is not that "pure and undefiled religion" which is from above, and which is "first pure, then peaceable, easy to be entered," full of mercy, and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy." But a religion which favors the rich against the poor; which exalts the proud above the humble; which devides mankind into two classes, tyrants and slaves; which says to the man in chains, stay there; and to the oppressor, oppress on; it is a religion which may be professed and enjoyed by all the robbers and enslavers of mankind; it makes God a respecter of persons, denies His fatherhood of the race, and tramples on the dust the great truth of the brotherhood of man.

"Is this the land your Fathers loved, The freedom which they toiled to win? Is this the earth wherein they moved?"

Are these the graves they slumber in?"

But a still more inhuman, disgraceful, and scandalous state of things remains to be presented.

By an act of the American Congress, not yet two years old, slavery has been nationalized in its most horrible and revolting form. By that act, Mason and Dixon's line has been obliterated; New York has become as Virginia; and the power to hold, hunt, and man, women and children, as slaves, remains no longer a mere state institution, but is now an institution of the whole United States. The power is co-extensive with the star-span-

gled banner, and American Christianity.—Where these go, may also go the merciless slave-hunter. Where these are, man is not sacred. By that most foul and fiendish of all human decrees, the liberty and person of every man are put in peril. Your broad republican domain is hunting ground for men. Not for thief and robber, enemies of society, but for men guilty of no crime. Your law-makers have commanded all good citizens to engage in this hellish sport. Your President, your Secretary of State, your lords, nobles, and ecclesiastics, enforce it as a duty you owe to your free and glorious country, and to your God, that you do this accursed thing. Not fewer than forty Americans, have, within the past two years, been hunted down, and, without a moment's warning, hurried away in chains, and consigned to slavery and excruciating torture.—Some of these have had wives and children, dependent on them for bread; but of this, no account was made. The right of the hunter to his prey stands superior to the right of marriage, and to all rights in this republic, the rights of God included. For black men, there are neither law, justice, humanity, nor religion, in this land. The Fugitive Slave Law makes MERCY TO THEM, A CRIME; and bribes the judge who tries them. An AMERICAN JUDGE GETS TEN DOLLARS FOR EVERY VICTIM HE CONSIGNES to slavery, and five, when he fails to do so. The oath of any two villains is sufficient, under this hell-black enactment, to send the most pious and exemplary black man into the remorseless jaws of slavery! His own testimony is nothing. He can bring no witnesses for himself. The minister of American justice is bound, by the law, to hear but one side; and that side, is the side of the oppressor.

Allow me to say, in conclusion, notwithstanding the dark picture I have this day presented, of the state of the nation, I do not despair of this country. There are forces in operation, which must, inevitably, work the downfall of slavery. "The arm of the Lord is not shortened," and the doom of slavery is certain. I, therefore, leave off at the mention of liberty for France or for Ireland; but are as cold as an iceberg at the thought of liberty for the enslaved of America. You discourse eloquently on the dignity of labor; yet, you sustain a system which, in its very essence, casts a stigma upon labor. You bear your bosom to the storms of British artillery, to throw off a treacherous tax on tea; and yet wring the last hard earned farthing from the grasp of the black laborers of your country. You profess to believe that of one blood, God made all nations of

men to dwell on the face of all the "earth," and hath commanded all men, everywhere to love one another; yet you notoriously hate, (and glory in your hatred,) all men whose skins are not colored like your own. You declare, before the world, and are understood by the world to declare, that you "hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; and that, among these are, life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness;" and yet, you appointed feasts my soul bathes. They are a trouble to me; I am weary to bear them; and when ye spread forth your hands I will hide mine eyes from you. Yea! when ye make many prayers, I will not hear. YOUR HANDS ARE FULL OF BLOOD; cease to do evil; learn to do well; seek judgment; relieve the oppressed; judge the fatherless; plead for the widow."

The American church is guilty, when viewed in connection with what it is doing to uphold slavery; but it is superlatively guilty when viewed in connection with its ability to abolish slavery.

The sin of which it is guilty is one of omission as well as of commission. Albert Barnes but uttered what the common sense of every man at all observant of the actual state of the case will receive as truth, when he declared that "if slavery were not sustained in the church, there was no power in the land that could uphold it for six months."

Let the religious press, the pulpit, the Sunday school, the conference meeting, the great ecclesiastical, missionary, biblical and the tract associations of the land array their innumerable powers against slavery, slaveholding; and the whole system of crime and blood would be scattered to the winds, and they do not do this involves them in the most awful responsibility of which the mind can conceive.

In prosecuting the anti-slavery enterprise, we have been asked to spare the church, to spare the ministry; but how, we ask, could such a thing be done? We are met on the threshold of our efforts for the redemption of the slave, by the church and ministry of the country, in battle arrayed against us; and we are compelled to fight or flee. From what quarter, I beg to know, has proceeded a fire so deadly upon our ranks, during the last two years, as from the Northern pulpit? As the champions of oppression, the chosen men of American theology have appeared—men honored for their so-called piety, and their real learning.—The Lords of Buffalo, the Springs of New York, the Lathers of Auburn, the Coxes of Brooklyn, the Gannett and Sharpes of Boston, the Deweys of Washington, and other great, religious lights of the land, have proceeded with the authority of Him, by whom they professed to be called to the ministry, deliberately taught us, against the example of the Hebrews, and against the remonstrance of the apostles, that "we ought to obey man's law before the law of God."

My spirit wearies of this blasphemy; and how such men can be supported, as the standing types representatives of Jesus Christ, is a mystery which I leave others to penetrate. In speaking of the American church, however, let it be distinctly understood that I mean the great mass of the religious organizations of our land. There are veriest imposters that ever practised on mankind. This is the inevitable conclusion, and from it there is no escape; but I differ from those who charge this baseness on the framers of the Constitution of the United States. It is a slander upon their memory, at least, so I believe. There is not time now to argue the constitutional question at length; nor have I the ability to discuss it at all. To the contrary, I have no doubt that Government is bound to be just in all directions and at all times, they will feel themselves to be at home. That party, which holds that Government is bound to protect its subjects, as well from dragnet ships and land-monopoly, as from slavery, they will find to be their own party.

The Liberty Party holds, not only, that every enactment and provision for slavery is null and void; but that the right to the soil is as natural and equal as the right to the light and the air; and that there is no clearer obligation resting on Civil Government, to protect its subjects from the drain-shop manufacture of paupers and madmen.

The Liberty Party, in a word, espouses all political truths, and goes impartially for men of all classes and conditions. Why, then, should not every just man go for it?

TO THE PUBLIC.

We see the Call for a Convention of the Liberty Party to be held in Buffalo, the first day of next September, to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency. We are glad to see it: for never was there more need than now of maintaining the organization of the Liberty Party; never more need than now of incalculating its

