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‘Send back the money!’

Frederick Douglass’s Anti-Slavery Speeches in Scotland and the Emergence of African American Internationalism

Three millions of people are at this moment writhing under the tortures of the lash, weeping in bondage, clanking their chains, and calling upon Britons to aid them in their emancipation. I have come here because slavery is such a gigantic system that one nation is not fit to cope with it—a system so deeply imbedded in the constitution of America, so firmly rooted in her churches, so entwined about the hearts of the whole people that it requires a moral force from without as well as within. I am anxious to have a remonstrance from Britain. America may boast of her abilities to build forts to stand the fire of the enemy, but she shall never be able to drive back that moral force which shall send slavery tottering to its grave.

Frederick Douglass, ‘International Moral Force Can Destroy Slavery’, in Paisley, Scotland, 17 March 1846

Beyond of the realm of violence, Frederick Douglass believed that ‘moral suasion’ was the most formidable weapon Great Britain could wield against chattel slavery in the United States. A doctrine of the American abolitionist movement, moral suasion pitted righteousness against bondage, and the Christian ideal of benevolence against the greed of ‘man-stealing’, as Douglass called it. Douglass made his most forceful arguments against slavery while touring Great Britain between 1846 and 1848. Seeking to exert moral pressure on the United States, Douglass looked to Great Britain, which had outlawed the slave trade in the early nineteenth century and slavery in the British West Indies in 1833. But Douglass’s speeches reached their pinnacle in Scotland. Discovering Scotland ‘in a blaze of anti-slavery agitation,’ Douglass linked the questionable fundraising methods of the Free Church of Scotland to the continuing enslavement of American black slaves.¹ Moral suasion, manifested in the phrase ‘send back the money’, became the vehicle by which Douglass roused his Scottish audience to recognize the humanity of black slaves. When Douglass spoke before an eager crowd in Paisley, Scotland, and called upon them ‘to aid [black slaves] in their emancipation’, Douglass had achieved what only a few African Americans had done before him—he had widened the horizons of sympathetic white support for abolition, and he had addressed his international supporters as if they had a personal duty to liberate African American bondsmen of the American South.

Similarly, his travels to Great Britain and the controversy with the Free Church in Scotland left an indelible impression on Douglass’s consciousness as a free person. The principle of moral suasion put Douglass on the path toward a personal

transformation from American slave to world citizen. By the time he left Scotland in July 1846, Douglass stood at the forefront of African American international activism. Not only had his lecture series throughout Great Britain been exceedingly successfully, he emerged from the experience a free man and a cosmopolitan statesman.

This essay explores Douglass's success in Scotland particularly, following the road of international activism paved by Douglass in the 1840s. While he was not the first African American to travel abroad in support of the anti-slavery movement, Douglass's success in the Scotland and other parts of Great Britain opened many doors to African Americans in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Later activists and writers, including William Wells Brown, Harriet Jacobs, and Ida B. Wells-Barnett, also sought to focus international spotlight on American racism.² Slavery linked Scotland to the Americas, yet Frederick Douglass constructed a social and political discourse that interwove Scotland with an emergent new African American consciousness in the United States.

Douglass was born a slave in 1817 or 1818 on the Aaron Anthony plantation in Maryland. He never offered an exact date or month of his birth, since exact birth dates for slaves rarely were recorded by slave-owners. In fact, as Douglass explained in the opening sentences of his autobiography, *The Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, slaves were fortunate if they knew their birth year, let alone birth months or days. 'They seldom come nearer to it than planting-time, harvest-time, cherry-time, spring-time, or fall-time', he added, and by his own admission, Douglass spent the rest of his life obsessed with ascertaining the circumstances of his birth and of his parentage.³ Early in his writing, an outraged Douglass protested how black American slaves were deliberately kept in ignorance. Until he escaped, Douglass counted himself among the masses of chattel slaves who did not know who they were, where they were, nor how to form their identities outside of the boundaries of the master-slave relationship.

His mother, Harriet, was a slave, but Douglass was fathered by a white man. Rampant, persistent rumours suggested that the man who owned Douglass, Harriet, and his grandmother Betsy was in fact Douglass's own father. Still, in his *Narrative*, Douglass wrote that his young childhood was mostly happy, 'spirited, joyous, and uproarious', due primarily to the guidance of his maternal grandmother, Betsy Bailey. But he also witnessed his share of loss as a slave. His mother died when he was just seven, although he wrote in his *Narrative* that 'my mother and I were separated when I was but an infant—before I knew her as my mother. It is a common custom, in the part of Maryland from which I ran away, to part children from their mothers at a very early age'.⁴ Douglass felt closest to grandmother Betsy, and this relationship probably saved young Frederick from the worst injuries of slavery. In the care of his Betsy, 'Frederick could scarcely have experienced the formalities of American chattel slavery', wrote historian William McFeely, in the biography, *Frederick Douglass*.⁵ Despite his relatively happy childhood, the opening pages of his *Narrative* indicated two subtle, yet striking conditions—slavery had separated Douglass from his mother, a rupture which left a deep scar on his psyche, but Douglass had escaped, or separated himself from slavery, to commemorate his mother in his future writings.

After nearly ten years of brutal treatment by his second master, Captain Thomas Auld, and a number of overseers employed by Captain Auld, including Mr. Severe and Mr. Covey, Douglass escaped in 1838, with his life, a few belongings, and vitally important skills as a shipyard worker. Massachusetts was a natural destination for Douglass. The state was close enough to Maryland to reach on foot within three weeks of escaping, but it was far enough away from Maryland to confound his captors seeking to re-enslave him. Massachusetts housed several port cities in need of skilled labourers to work on ships. Most significantly, Massachusetts was the site of a vocal abolition movement. William Lloyd Garrison, editor of the anti-slavery newspaper *The Liberator*, frequently travelled to Boston, while the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society developed a passionate African American following. Douglass easily found work as a ship caulker in New Bedford, and he worked steadily between 1838 and 1841. Attracted to the abolition movement and encouraged by former slaves to join, Douglass signed on as a speaker for a series of tours organized by Garrison and the American Anti-Slavery Society (AASS).

The publication of *The Narrative of Frederick Douglass* catapulted its author into spotlight. Printed in 1845, Douglass's *Narrative* sold nearly 30,000 copies in five years. Its vivid account of slave life captivated his American audience so completely that sceptics doubted the book's authenticity and Douglass's ability to write it, instead suggesting the *Narrative* was actually the work of a sympathetic abolitionist.⁶ The book's popularity also worried Douglass's abolitionist supporters, including Garrison. Captain Thomas Auld, Douglass's master, continued his pursuit of Douglass, despite the time and distance since Douglass's escape. Since 1838, Douglass had been living as a free man. He had a wife, Anna, and four young children. But he still was a slave, albeit a runaway with a successful lecturing career. According to the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793, Captain Auld had the right to take possession of Douglass, even if Douglass had escaped and now lived in a free state. Douglass could not live anywhere in the United States without the threat of recapture from his former master. Recognizing the dilemma, a delegation of AASS decided to send Douglass to Great Britain. His two-year trip would serve two purposes—to keep him out of the reach of Auld, and to spread the message among anti-slavery advocates in Ireland, Scotland, and England. By the time Douglass reached the shores of Great Britain, he had discarded the consciousness of a downtrodden slave. He replaced it with his identity as an American black man deeply wounded by chattel slavery, but determined to think himself as a free black American citizen.

Douglass set sail to England in September 1845. As in the United States, he employed the doctrine of moral suasion to underscore the corrosive influence of slavery on American society and culture. Tall, dark, handsome, and articulate, Douglass was an instant success in Ireland, the first leg of his tour. His popularity in Ireland and Scotland was due in part to his exotic good looks, and Douglass considered the possibility that his African features served as an advantage overseas. In America, Douglass's dark features marked him as a slave or a descendant of slaves, but in Great Britain, Douglass praised 'no insults to encounter here—no prejudice to encounter, but all is smooth—I am treated as a man and an equal brother'.⁷ While historian Nat Huggins partly ascribed the fascination with Douglass to his physical attractiveness, Huggins explained that Douglass's most effective rhetorical asset was his engagingness; that is, his ability to put a human face on the problems of distant

peoples. Huggins added, ‘He had a gift for making white men and women sense a common humanity with him, and through him, with the slave’.⁸

While in Ireland, Douglass was in nearly top form. He drew hundreds of people to his lectures, as well as generating publicity from the *Cork Southern Reporter*, the *Limerick Reporter*, and the *Belfast News Letter*. At nearly every occasion, Douglass preached a veritable sermon each night to his audience, claiming no person could claim a deep faith in Christianity and accept the existence of slavery. Furthermore, Douglass urged his listeners in Ireland neither to apologize for nor give countenance to Christian slave owners, interweaving his forceful arguments with the poignancy of actual slave experiences. In Cork, Douglass explained in graphic detail the consequences awaiting slaves who disobeyed their masters or who erred in carrying out their masters’ orders:

If more than seven slaves are found together in any road, without a white person—*twenty lashes* a piece. For visiting a plantation without a written pass—*ten lashes*. For letting loose a boat from where it is made fast—*thirty nine lashes*; and for the second offence, shall have his ear cut off. For having an article for sale without a ticket from his master—*ten lashes*. For being on horseback without the written permission of his master—*twenty five lashes*. [emphasis in text]⁹

While some abolitionists preferred to dwell on the ethical and religious failures of slave-owning, Douglass captivated audiences with his vibrant, graphic language. Yet, even when his audience already had sided with the abolitionists, they still packed lecture halls eager to hear the narratives of oppression and redemption woven by America’s foremost public speaker.

Douglass gave some of his best anti-slavery speeches in Ireland, but he also encountered moments of unease in the five months he spent there. The 1840s were high time for many reform issues competing for national attention in Ireland, including temperance, home rule, and the increasing number of Irish migrants to America.¹⁰ The terrible impact of the potato famine struck Douglass as soon as he landed in Cork, and it continued to deeply affect him throughout his lecture tour. While he was heartened by the fervent responses to abolitionism, Douglass was equally disturbed at the inattentiveness to the victims of the potato famine lining the streets of Wexford, Waterford, and Cork.¹¹ In Ireland, Douglass found great hospitality and ample practice for his lectures, but the presence of equally compelling social issues dampened the impact of his discourse. He sought a lightning rod issue to personify slavery, in the same fashion the famine embodied the social and economic dislocation in Ireland. Douglass also strove for greater freedom to construct an identity that incorporated his personal knowledge of slavery and his more recent exposure to freedom.

It was the Free Church of Scotland that presented Douglass with the extraordinary opportunity to change the direction of his anti-slavery lectures in Great Britain, and to change his life. The controversy the Free Church of Scotland erupted in mid 1845, just a few months before Douglass set sail for Great Britain. Due to differences in religious interpretation and concerns about the working class in Scotland, the Free Church of Scotland broke away from the Established Scottish

Church in 1843. Dr. Thomas Chalmers and his congregation initiated the split and sought to relocate the Free Church to Canada. Chalmers's commitment to the spiritual life of the Scotland's downtrodden made reform-minded Americans sympathetic to the Free Church. In fact, Chalmers and Douglass shared the same dedication to uplifting oppressed groups, and Douglass might have supported the Free Church's frustration with the Established Church. However, the possibility of any good relations was doomed when a deputation (or delegation) of Free Church representatives travelled to the American South in 1845 on a fund-raising mission. Since the American Presbyterian Church stood as one of the most popular congregations in the slave states and an ally of the Free Church, the Free Church received monetary gifts primarily from American slave owners. The deputation gladly accepted the donations, a sum totalling about £3000.¹²

It was a bitter irony, and a perfect weakness open for exploitation by the advocates of moral suasion. Douglass unleashed a relentless stream of criticism of the Free Church as soon as he reached Scotland in January 1846. At a meeting in Arbroath in February 1846, Douglass declared, 'The Free church is now wallowing in the filth and mire of slavery'. With his rhetorical skills sharply honed, Douglass engaged the captive audience further.

Good God! What a system! A system of blood and pollution; of infidelity and atheism; of wholesale plunder and murder... It is with such a [coalition] that the Free Church of Scotland is linked, and interlinked in Christian fellowship. It is such a [coalition] that the Free Church of Scotland are trying to palm off upon the world as being a Christian Church.¹³

In Douglass's view, the Church was hypocritical to consider itself Christian and accept money from slaveholders. On a mission to deliver all humanity from bondage, Douglass was ready to enlist the people of 'Scotland, England, Ireland, Canada, Mexico, and even the red Indians [to join] with us and against slavery'.¹⁴ The vivid images of suffering and duplicity further agitated the Scottish audiences. In Ayr on March 24, Douglass declared that by taking the money, the Free Church linked itself to villainy. 'They took [the slave owner's] money—money wrung from the groans, the sweat, the tears, and the blood of the slave, and now they are home quietly enjoying the cursed thing'.¹⁵ Douglass adeptly drew from his individual experience, putting a human face on the Free Church's mishandling the controversy. In Glasgow he insisted:

I verily believe, that, had I been at the South, and had I been a slave, as I have been a slave—and I am a slave still by the laws of the United States—had I been there, and that deputation come into my neighborhood, and my master had sold me on the auction block, and given the produce of my body and soul to them, they would have pocketed it, and brought it to Scotland to build their churches, and pay their ministers.¹⁶

The Free Church's short-sightedness and desperation for funds became the rallying point around which Douglass's anti-slavery speeches were centred.

By the time he reached Edinburgh in April 1846, Douglass's criticism of the Free Church of Scotland had reached a high point. The phrase, 'Send Back the Money!' followed him throughout Scotland. 'The Free Church must SEND BACK THE MONEY. Let this be the theme in every town in Scotland', declared Douglass to a full audience.¹⁷ The phrase greeted him in nearly every city that held a meeting for him. In Arbroath, he observed a woman hired to wash 'send back the money' from a city wall, but the letters remained after several scrubblings. Whenever Douglass called out, 'send back the money!' his audience chanted it back to him. The Free Church controversy neared a favourable conclusion, in Douglass's perspective, at the end of April 1846. 'The Free Church is in a terrible stew', Douglass wrote to his friend William Lloyd Garrison, sensing that Chalmers and the Church were near capitulation. 'Its leaders thought to get the slaveholders' money and escape censure. They had no idea that they would be followed and exposed'.¹⁸ Douglass's lecture series expanded to several Scottish cities that were active in radical anti-slavery sentiment, including stops in Kilmarnock, Greenock, Bonhill, Galashiels, Kelso, Glasgow, and Edinburgh.¹⁹

For its part, the Free Church vigorously denied any direct involvement in slavery. Attempting to distinguish slave-owners from slavery itself, Chalmers insisted that a distinction had to be made between the 'character of the system and the character of the person'. He agreed with Douglass that slavery was a damaging and vicious enterprise. However, the ill effects of slavery were the same as the ravages of war. 'Yet, destructive and demoralizing as both are, and inimical as Christianity is to all violence', Chalmers continued, 'it follows not that there may not be a Christian soldier, and neither does it follow that there may not be a Christian slave-holder'.²⁰ Instead, it was the abolitionists and Frederick Douglass who were wrong-headed about slavery and the Free Church. The American Anti-Slavery Society had behaved no better than the Jacobins, or 'the infidels and the anarchists of the French Revolution', in Chalmers's opinion.²¹ In the end, he justified slave-owning as an example of loving the sinner but hating the sin.

Other supporters of the Free Church chastised Douglass, claiming that he did not possess the moral authority to criticize Dr. Chalmers or the Free Church. Similar to rumours in America that Douglass had not written his autobiography, stories circulated in Scotland that Douglass was being paid to denounce the church. Douglass protested how one newspaper, *The [Kelso] Warder*, accused rival denominations of instigating the controversy and remunerating Douglass for his efforts. In Arbroath, Douglass responded:

As far as the charge is brought against me, I pronounce it an unblushing falsehood. I am here to speak for those who cannot speak for themselves ... and [to] obtain the aid and cooperation of the good people of Scotland in behalf of I believe is a righteous cause—the breaking of every yoke, the undoing of heavy burdens, and letting the oppressed go free.²²

On rare occasions, opponents of antislavery also attacked Douglass during his tour. At the start of the 'send back the money' campaign, he repeated the slogan to an audience in Belfast. In response, he found the phrase, 'send back the nigger' printed over advertising bills outside the lecture hall.²³ Ultimately, Douglass's orations barely

changed the course of the Free Church controversy. The church never gave back the money. In fact, Chalmers used the funds collected in the American South, combined with other monies raised after the split with the Established Church, and relocated his congregation to Canada in the late 1840s.

Notwithstanding the infrequent racial slurs and the unmoving position of the Free Church, Douglass was incredibly gratified by the warm receptions in Scotland. As historian Nat Huggins explained, Douglass felt himself accepted as a man for the first time in his life, nothing more or less.²⁴ He even contemplated permanently settling in Edinburgh with his wife and four children. While the move to Scotland never came to pass, Scotland always held a special place in Douglass's heart. Of Scotland's cultural centre, Edinburgh, Douglass wrote to his friend, William White, 'You will perceive that I am now in Edinburgh. It is the capital of Scotland, and is justly regarded as one of the most beautiful cities in Europe. . . I enjoy every thing here which may be enjoyed by those of a paler hue—no distinction here'.²⁵ He felt safer in Scotland than he had at any point previous in his adult life. The success of his lecture tour played an immense role in his comfort and security. But, to a greater extent, the recognition of his humanity and the praise for his oratorical skills crafted a new identity for him. He would not return to America an escaped slave, masquerading as a shipyard worker.

Douglass's personal journey to freedom found a happy ending in Great Britain. The success of his speaking tour and his close ties to the members of the British abolition movement motivated his supporters in the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society [BFASS] to initiate a campaign to manumit Douglass. In the summer of 1846, the BFASS contacted Thomas Auld about Douglass's freedom, and Auld set the manumission price at £150 sterling. The subject of Douglass's freedom caused a brief stir among anti-slavery advocates. Some feared that by buying Douglass's freedom, the BFASS actually rewarded slave-owning. The voices arguing for Douglass's freedom won over the dissenters, and Thomas Auld officially freed Douglass on December 12, 1846.²⁶ Though transformed in body and spirit, Douglass actually remained in England another five months. He returned to America on April 4, 1847 with a renewed sense of purpose and a program for greater activism.

Wherever their travels took them, African American writers and intellectuals have remarked on the absence of the psychological torment of American racism. Clearly, racism and other forms of oppression plague disenfranchised peoples across the globe. Yet, African Americans in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries consistently have commented how American racial prejudice and racial segregation rarely followed them outside of American borders. Frederick Douglass felt genuinely unencumbered by racial discrimination. Other black activists echoed the same sentiment. Upon their return to America, many American blacks felt a divided loyalty, which pulled them between their *home* country of the United States and their *host* countries of Scotland, Ireland, England, and, in the twentieth century, France. Mary Church Terrell, an African American woman who came of age in the late 1880s, identified the disjuncture as the distinction between fatherland and motherland. A

prominent civil rights worker of the early twentieth century and a member of the intellectual elite, Terrell related her experience to the country of France, writing:

Goethe says that everybody was born and reared to have a fatherland and a motherland. The country in which I was born and reared and lived is my fatherland, of course, and I love it genuinely, but my motherland is dear, broadminded France in which people with dark complexions are not discriminated against on account of color.²⁷

Harriet Jacobs, an escaped slave working as a nanny, illustrated the sense of divided loyalty best while on a trip to London in 1845. She declared, 'I remained abroad ten months, which was much longer than I had anticipated. During all that time, I never saw the slightest symptoms of prejudice against color. Indeed, I entirely forgot it, till the time come for us to return to America'.²⁸ The act of visiting a foreign country, a privilege taken for granted by many white Americans, backed African American travellers into a corner. Furthermore, the controversy surrounding the Free Church also indicated a less hopeful truth. Douglass found that speaking about racial prejudice and discrimination might have embarrassed the United States in the short run, but the shame his lectures provoked did not compel the United States change its racial politics in the long run.

So why return? Douglass realized he had much work to do in the United States. Prior to the American Civil War, his efforts centred on freeing American black slaves. After the end of the war in 1865, he devoted the rest of his life to other antiracist activities, since African Americans were plagued by inequality on several levels, including economic, educational, legal, and democratic. During his lecture tour in Scotland, Douglas was counselled to leave America altogether, but he explained that he could never relocate, 'unless it shall be absolutely necessary for my personal freedom'.²⁹ As for Mary Church Terrell, she wrote in her autobiography, *A Colored Woman in a White World*, that she was sorely tempted to stay in Europe. 'Would such an existence appeal to me?' she pondered. And what of her fear that she would be shirking her responsibility to uplift poverty-stricken African Americans? 'I knew I would be much happier trying to promote the welfare of my race in my native land, working under certain hard conditions, than I would be living in a foreign land where I could enjoy freedom from prejudice, but where I would make no effort to do the work which I then believed it was my duty to do'.³⁰ Like Terrell, if Douglass's obligations to uplifting black Americans were to be fulfilled, he had to return to America, in order to assist the country realize its promise of freedom for every person.

Yet, Douglass inspired many African Americans to explore new cultures and find new outlets for their creativity. The political agenda of African American international activism, begun in the 1840s, extended far into the twentieth century. There were African Americans reformers, such as Ida B. Wells, who were invigorated by the absence of segregation in their travels abroad, and used these experiences to bolster their activism upon their return. Other African American intellectuals, including W.E.B. Du Bois, James Baldwin, and Malcolm X, came to rely upon the international experience to shape their ideologies and intellectualism. In 1846, the trip to Great Britain was important and impressive, and Douglass illustrated that African Americans could embark upon their own form of internationalism, inspiring future

generations of activists to utilize these same tools for social justice within the United States.

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NOTES

¹ Frederick Douglass [LETTER], Glasgow, to William Lloyd Garrison, 16 April 1846, in *The Life and Writings of Frederick: The Early Years, 1818 to 1849, Volume 1*, ed. Philip Foner (New York: International Publishers, 1950), 149.

² Scholars of cultural and literary studies increasingly look to the African Diaspora and the Black Atlantic for linkages between, on one side of the Atlantic, the United States, Caribbean, Latin America, to on the other side, Ireland, Scotland, England, and Europe. See Alasdair Pettinger, *Always, Elsewhere: Travels of the Black Atlantic* (New York: Cassell, 1998), for excerpts from the memoirs of international travels by William Wells Brown and Ida B. Wells-Barnett. See also the chapter entitled, 'A Visit to England,' in Harriet Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (Norton Critical Edition) (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2001).

³ Frederick Douglass, *The Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave* (New York: Doubleday Books edition, 1973), 1.

⁴ Douglass, *Narrative*, 2. William Mc Feely writes that in Douglass's later autobiographical works, *My Bondage and My Freedom* and *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, the image of his mother became more sentimental. As Douglass aged, he developed a deeper fondness for the image he maintained of his mother, at one point imagining her as having features similar to Egyptian queens. William S. McFeely, *Frederick Douglass* (New York: Touchstone, 1991), 6–7.

⁵ McFeely, *Douglass*, 5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 115, 117.

⁷ Frederick Douglass, [LETTER], to Amy Post, 28 April, 1846, in McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*, 132.

⁸ Nat Huggins, *Slave and Citizen: The Life of Frederick Douglass* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1980), 26, 27–37.

⁹ Frederick Douglass, 'I Am Here to Spread Light on American Slavery: An address Delivered in Cork, Ireland, on 14 October 1845,' *The Frederick Douglass Speeches, 1841–1846*, reprint for Gilder Lehrman Center for the Study of Slavery, Resistance, and Abolition, Yale University, in Source Documents website (<http://www.yale.edu/glc/archive/1014.htm>).

¹⁰ Frederick Douglass [LETTER], Dublin, to William Lloyd Garrison, 29 September 1845, in Foner, *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass*, 120; Huggins, *Slave and Citizen*, 25.

¹¹ McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*, 126.

¹² Huggins, *Slave and Citizen*, 28–29; McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*, 128–30. Stewart Brown offers a well-researched and insightful monograph on the growth of the Free Church after the split from the Established Church of Scotland. While it gives few details of the fund-raising controversy, the text describes Chalmers commitment to Scottish working class and urban poor. See Stewart J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth in Scotland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 282–379.

¹³ Frederick Douglass, 'The Free Church Connection With the Slave Church: An Address Delivered in Arbroath, Scotland, on February 12, 1846,' in *The Frederick Douglass Papers: Series One—Speeches, Debates, and Interviews*, John Blassingame, et al., eds. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 156 [hereafter cited as *The Frederick Douglass Papers: Series One*, followed by page number].

¹⁴ Frederick Douglass, 'Send Back the Blood-Stained Money: An Address Delivered in Paisley, Scotland, on April 25, 1846,' in *The Frederick Douglass Papers: Series One*, 240.

¹⁵ Frederick Douglass, 'A Few Facts and Personal Observations of Slavery: An Address Delivered in Ayr, Scotland on March 24, 1846,' in *The Frederick Douglass Papers: Series One*, 195.

¹⁶ Huggins, *Slave and Citizen*, 29.

¹⁷ Douglass, 'Send Back the Blood-Stained Money,' 240.

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- ¹⁸ Douglass to Garrison, 16 April 1846, in Foner, *Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass*, 149.
- ¹⁹ McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*, 132.
- ²⁰ Douglass, 'The Free Church Connection with the Slave Church,' 156.
- ²¹ Foner, *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass*, 65, 62–75.
- ²² Douglass, 'The Free Church Connection With the Slave Church,' 156.
- ²³ McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*, 133.
- ²⁴ Huggins, *Slave and Citizen*, 24.
- ²⁵ Frederick Douglass to William White, 30 July, 1846, in Foner, *Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass*, 181. cited in McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*, 132.
- ²⁶ McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*, 144.
- ²⁷ Mary Church Terrell, *A Colored Woman in a White World* ((New York: G.K. Hall, 1996), 91, reprint in Pettinger, *Always, Elsewhere: Travels of the Black Atlantic*, xvii.
- ²⁸ Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, 143–44.
- ²⁹ Douglass to Garrison, 16 April 1846, in Foner, *Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass*, 149.
- ³⁰ Terrell, *A Colored Woman in a White World*, 99.