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### The British Isles

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## CHAPTER 2

### *The British Isles*

*Hannah-Rose Murray*

During a speech in Northampton, England, in April 1847, Frederick Douglass – radical activist and survivor of slavery – recounted the horrors of the “peculiar institution” as he had witnessed them. While he admitted that there were many evils in the world that demanded the audience’s attention, Douglass argued that American slavery “towered above ordinary crimes” and was a “solitary horror.” According to the local newspaper correspondent,

his lecture was of exceeding length and interest, and to the effect of its sterling truth and unexaggerated manner, the tears of human sympathy trickling down the cheeks of many of the listeners, bore conclusive evidence. . . . Apart, however, from his oratorical attractions (and these must not be quitted without advertence to his copious vocabulary, his tasteful selection of phraseology, his appropriate imagery, his acquaintance with the poets and other classical writers, and his altogether refined elocution) Mr. Douglass possesses personal advantages which are no mean auxiliaries to the effect which he produces. His figure is commanding, his eyes and entire countenance animated and expressive, his voice at once sonorous and musical; and with perfect self-possession he unites equal modesty of manner.

Impressed with his oratorical performance, the correspondent described Douglass and his speaking talents in lavish terms, convinced that few others were equal to the majesty of his skill. His ability to inject pathos, emotion, and humor into a speech was unrivaled; his “refined elocution” was evidently surprising for a black man who had recently escaped slavery. While the correspondent betrayed a fascination with Douglass that aligned with a white racist schema, he could not deny that Douglass electrified his audience and had destroyed their ignorance about American slavery.<sup>1</sup>

Reflecting on his first sojourn in the British Isles in his autobiography, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (1881, 1892), Douglass remarked that “my visit to England did much for me [in] every way” (*LT* 182). He was

not the first formerly enslaved African American activist to visit the British Isles, nor was he the last, but his journey across the Atlantic between 1845 and 1847 became one of the most successful tours of any abolitionist.<sup>2</sup> In town halls, churches, taverns, and private parlor rooms across the country, Douglass spoke to hundreds of thousands of people, sparking a wave of transatlantic abolition that had a deep impact on the British landscape. Hundreds of pounds were raised for the antislavery cause, new societies were formed, and international debates raged in the immediate wake of Douglass's visit.

According to Celeste-Marie Bernier, Douglass was a “virtuoso of the antislavery circuit, endlessly pushing the boundaries of acceptable discourse by providing experimental and original performances in which he not only narrated the horrors of slavery but also recreated, re-enacted and revisualized the depths of its enormity to elicit a profound emotional engagement from his audiences.”<sup>3</sup> Douglass's lectures in the British Isles reveal new dimensions to such performances, and to the development of his political career as a whole. His first visit led to the purchase of his legal freedom, allowing him to return to the United States in 1847 a free man. Additionally, the unparalleled opportunity he possessed in Britain and Ireland to develop his oratorical style catapulted him to fame on both sides of the Atlantic; the friendships and networks he created during such trips would also sustain both his public and private work for the rest of his life. This chapter focuses on Douglass's sojourns in the British Isles, from his first visit in 1845–47, to his later visits in 1859–60 and 1886–87. It charts how his international missions were an essential part of his antislavery activism.

Douglass's visits have received meaningful scholarly attention only in the last thirty years. R. J. M. Blackett's groundbreaking *Building an Antislavery Wall: Black Americans in the Atlantic Abolitionist Movement, 1830–1860* (1983) was the first monograph to provide a detailed examination of African American abolitionists' – including Douglass's – activism in the British Isles. Published a decade and a half later, Alan Rice and Martin Crawford's *Liberating Sojourn: Frederick Douglass and Transatlantic Reform* (1999) consisted of a series of comprehensive essays focusing, among other topics, on the Free Church of Scotland campaign, Douglass's relationship with the Chartist movement, and his antislavery networks. In 2007, Fionnghuala Sweeney's *Frederick Douglass and the Atlantic World* examined Douglass's textual and performative strategies in Ireland and Europe more generally. The year 2018, which marked the bicentennial of Douglass's birth, saw the publication of

two essential volumes. David Blight's major new biography, *Frederick Douglass: Prophet of Freedom*, shone a light on Douglass's nineteen-month tour of the British Isles through two detailed chapters, while Alasdair Pettinger's *Frederick Douglass and Scotland, 1846: Living an Antislavery Life* concentrated on Douglass's visit to Scotland.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, a large body of work currently focuses on Douglass's visit to Ireland, partly because the Dublin editions of his 1845 *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave* represented his growing independence from white abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, and his Irish visit was thus the starting point for dramatic changes in his self-fashioning.<sup>5</sup> Douglass's trip to Britain and Ireland also inspired contemporary novelists such as Richard Bradbury (*Riversmeet*, 2007) and Colum McCann (*TransAtlantic*, 2013).

On August 16, 1845, Douglass set sail for England on the steamship *Cambria*. The voyage was far from smooth, as a group of enslavers and proslavery defenders threatened to throw him overboard when he was invited onto the deck to speak. Douglass relished the chance to tell this story, particularly in Ireland, since he emphasized that a kind Irishman had stood up to the enslavers on his behalf. Within the first few days of his arrival, Douglass exploited, created, and strengthened antislavery networks; his allegiance to Garrison and the American Anti-Slavery Society provided access to Garrisonian contacts across the country. This pulsating network led to a transatlantic conversation about slavery through the constant circulation of letters and newspapers. The following map (Figure 2.1) attempts to visualize some of Douglass's networks. For example, Edinburgh was the home of Jane Wigham; Richard D. Webb held the city of Dublin; John Murray and William Smeal formed a Garrisonian society in Glasgow; and the Estlin family in Bristol influenced much of western England. In Cork, Douglass worked with the Jennings family, who had connections to the Richardson family in Newcastle. When Douglass met Ellen Richardson in August 1846, she introduced him to her cousins Eliza Nicholson and Jane Carr, and to her sister-in-law Anna; as kinfolk and as Quakers, the Richardsons had extensive relations across the country.<sup>6</sup> Garrison's physical arrival in the British Isles in 1846 led to further meetings, connections, and newly formed networks. Such contacts enabled Douglass to maximize his antislavery campaign and ensured he had numerous homes in which to stay. From large industrial towns to small fishing villages on the coast, he canvassed the British Isles via train, coach, and omnibus. When he returned to the United States, Douglass reflected that he had "made use of all the various means of conveyance, by land and sea, from town to town, and city to city" and traveled the length and breadth of the country (*C* 1:203).

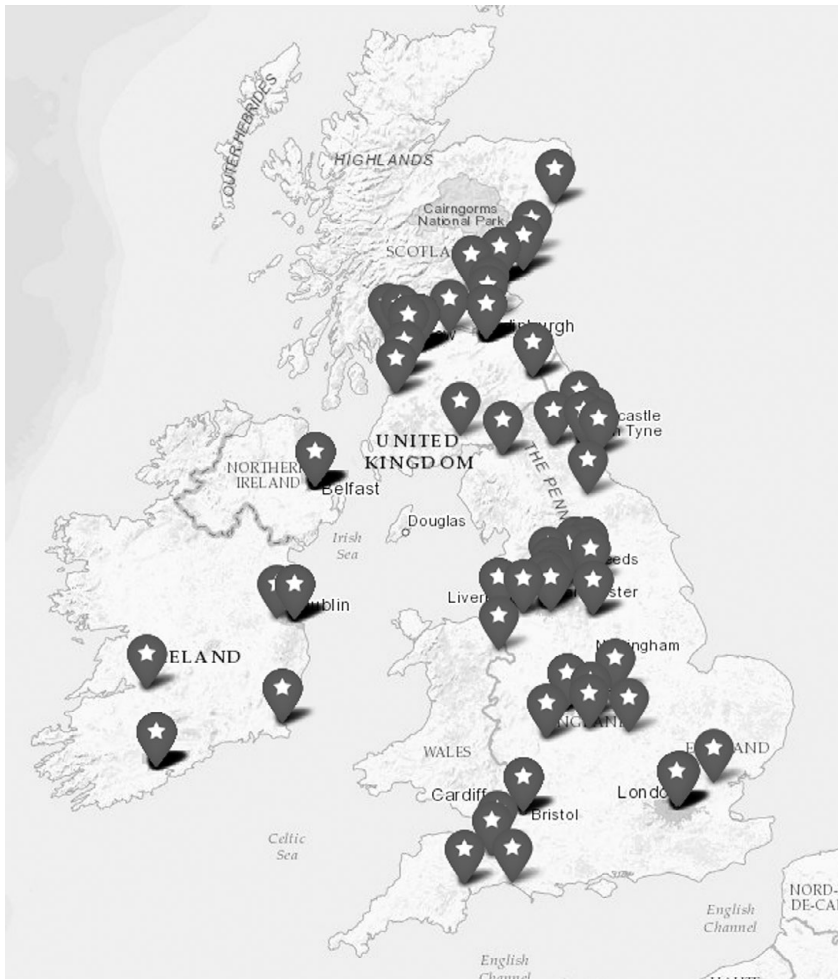


Figure 2.1 Frederick Douglass's speaking locations in the British Isles.  
 Courtesy of Hannah-Rose Murray

Douglass also used these networks to distribute copies of his *Narrative*. He enlisted Garrisonian abolitionist Richard D. Webb to print copies from his base in Dublin. In September 1845, Webb published a first edition of two thousand copies that were sold after Douglass's meetings. The work sold so well that after one lecture in Belfast, Douglass exclaimed to Webb, "Well all my Books went last night at one blow. I want more[.]

I want more" (C 1:69–70). Webb continued to print more copies. A second edition of two thousand copies came out in early 1846. Garrisonian friends helped disseminate the Dublin editions of the *Narrative*. Before Douglass's first meeting in Bristol, for instance, John B. Estlin and his daughter Mary Anne sold more than 150 copies to "ensure him a welcome and a numerous audience."<sup>7</sup>

The British eagerly consumed Douglass's work, which provided him with a surplus income and encouraged his independence from the Garrisonian branch of the abolition movement. As Robert Levine notes, the sale of the *Narrative* "allowed him to live abroad without feeling overly indebted to a particular antislavery organization, which further contributed to his ongoing development as an independent thinker, speaker, and antislavery leader."<sup>8</sup> Douglass's growing fame put him at odds with several white abolitionists who occasionally displayed authoritarian and paternalistic tendencies. For example, Douglass was forced to defend himself against insinuations from Webb and Boston-based abolitionist Maria Weston Chapman that he would forsake the antislavery cause for financial gain. Douglass resented abolitionist meddling, believing he could control the sale and profit of his *Narrative* by himself. He grew tired of abolitionists watching his every move and felt that Chapman's lack of trust was a "great injustice" to him (C 1:99).

The purchase of Douglass's freedom also spoke to this complicated relationship with white abolitionist networks. During his trip, Douglass became very close to the Richardson family, who helped raise money to buy his freedom from his former enslaver, Hugh Auld. The decision ruffled Garrisonian abolitionist feathers on both sides of the Atlantic as it was, in the words of Catherine Paton of Glasgow, a "compromising of principle" that appeared to give sanction to the idea that human beings were property.<sup>9</sup> Douglass completed the transaction to protect himself and his family. As a formerly enslaved individual and now a celebrity, the legal purchase of his freedom offered him some security; he could not operate by sheer principle alone. Such an incident highlighted the large gulf between white and black abolitionists, as well as how the Garrisonians could not control him in the way they perhaps wanted.

Despite these tensions, Douglass's oratorical performances captivated British audiences. Douglass employed several distinct rhetorical strategies abroad, the most important of which centered on his use of Anglophilia. He played to Britain's moral superiority and jingoistic pride when he stated Britain had a unique and powerful influence on America, since the state of freedom was synonymous with the nation.<sup>10</sup> His invocation of

British freedom was a common performative strategy both for himself and numerous other African Americans. When he first arrived in 1845, he remarked at the differences he experienced compared to the United States: “I am seated beside white people – I reach the hotel – I enter the same door – I am shown into the same parlor – I dine at the same table – and no one is offended” (C 1:74). Although Douglass did experience racism on British soil, he exposed the hypocrisy of a US nation that fought for freedom in the American Revolution but consistently denied it to thousands of African Americans. This “strategic Anglophilia” (a term used by historian Alan Rice) allowed Douglass and other African Americans to systematically discredit white American mainstream society while at the same time garnering support in Britain via their appeals to British patriotism.<sup>11</sup>

In another rhetorical strategy, Douglass lambasted religion in the southern states and, in particular, accused slaveholding ministers of being “devils dressed in angels’ robes.”<sup>12</sup> A minister could not truly be a Christian if he preached to a congregation on Sunday, only to return to his enslaved population afterward. During a meeting in Leicester, Douglass elaborated on this, as well as slavery’s brutality:

If Slavery had no other cause for condemnation – if they [his audience] could not speak of whips, and thumb-screws, and bloodhounds, and manacles – this one simple fact ought to be enough to rouse this nation to raise its voice against American Slavery – that it morally and intellectually deadened all those who were brought within its influence. If you spoke to them, it was as though you spoke to the dead. The slaveholder came over there, and, in canting tone, spoke of the kindness with which the slaves were treated; – but there was no voice from the slave population heard in reply. They could hold no public meetings, pass no resolutions, tell no tale of their wrongs.<sup>13</sup>

Enslavers, slave drivers, auctioneers, or slaveholding ministers were intellectually and morally “deadened” by slavery, an unnatural and unholy institution that corrupted the hearts of Americans and all those who came in contact with it. What was worse, Douglass argued, was the sheer number of Americans poisoned by the disease of slavery who traveled to the British Isles and attempted to infect the minds and souls of the British people. To address the urgency of the situation, Douglass framed his speech to state that only *his audience* could lead the charge against such influences. Deliberately and purposefully, he extended an intimate invitation to everyone then in front of him to challenge slavery. It was impossible for them to listen to a formerly enslaved individual and support



enslavers or the “devils dressed in angels’ robes”; additionally, their status as “Englishmen” or “Englishwomen” meant that they were antislavery in body, mind, and spirit because of their nation’s antislavery history. At the same time, Douglass was at pains to point out that his privileged, largely white audience could never know what it felt like to be enslaved, with no voice, freedom, or means of redress. His cause was urgent: unlike the moral and metaphorical death of white enslavers and ministers he described above, black women, men, and children were quite literally dying across the United States at that very moment.

Douglass’s oratorical skill led to several controversies on British soil. For example, Douglass angered US ministers when he took to the stage at the World’s Temperance Convention, held in London in 1846, to protest against the exclusion or segregation of black individuals within US temperance societies. Another controversy concerned the Free Church of Scotland, which was formed in 1843. Seeking financial support to keep the burgeoning organization afloat, ministers went to the United States to raise donations for the cause. Their mission raised ten thousand pounds, one-third of which came from southern enslavers, angering abolitionists on both sides of the Atlantic.<sup>14</sup> Douglass used his status as a formerly enslaved individual and exposed the hypocrisy of a *Free Church* taking money from slaveholders in the South. He urged his audiences to attack the institution. Taking the slogan “Send back the money!” as his mantra, Douglass demanded that the Scottish people pressurize the church into returning the “blood-stained” gold (*SDI* 1:243). He took it upon himself to be the leader for the campaign, since his oratory and charisma made a strong impact in Scotland. The debates over the Free Church demonstrated that slavery was not confined to the American political or social arena. As Douglass had stated, its poisonous influence could spread across the Atlantic and directly influence British society.

While the majority of Douglass’s speeches focused on slavery, he also addressed audiences on related subjects such as US imperialism. Throughout 1845 and 1846, for instance, Douglass denounced the annexation of Texas. In a letter to William A. White from Edinburgh, he referred to the “atrocious robbery of Mexico” and how the government was “in the piratical grasp of Texas” (*C* 1:148). In a speech he delivered in Paisley, he asked his audience, “Where would the slaveholder go next? The Americans had lately annexed Texas – a country which breathed moral death. They were looking to Texas, that sink of pollution, and to Scotland” (*SDI* 1:229). The arms of imperialist slaveholders had a long reach: Douglass put his audience in full possession of the terrifying fact



that slavery had the potential to infect Scottish soil. Indeed, this had already begun through the actions of the Free Church ministers. In doing so, Douglass also connected the suffering of his enslaved brethren with the imperialist intentions of the United States. As Leslie Elizabeth Eckel states, he painted America “as a malicious giant trampling the ‘heart-strings’ of its slaves underfoot” at the same time as causing “a death blow to the hubris of his nationalist peers.”<sup>15</sup>

Douglass frequently spoke on workers’ rights and British political affairs. He was convinced that “the next great reform will be that of complete suffrage” in England since “aristocratic rule must end . . . When people and not property shall govern, people will cease to be subordinate to property” (C 1:129). Douglass befriended activists such as Richard Cobden and John Bright, founders of the Anti-Corn Law League, and also attended meetings with Chartists Henry Vincent and William Lovett. Douglass and Garrison spent at least one evening at the home of Lovett, accompanied by Vincent. While all four men placed great value on political, moral, and social education, they would have inevitably clashed on Lovett’s opposition to women’s suffrage and Vincent’s strong belief that wage slavery equated to American slavery.<sup>16</sup> In an 1848 edition of the *North Star*, Douglass denounced the “brute force” some Chartists had intended to use against the British government: “When words will accomplish, as they certainly will, all righteous measures, it is wild, irrational and wicked to resort to blows.”<sup>17</sup>

In Ireland, Douglass also made known his support for Irish Repeal and, later, Home Rule. While he experienced great liberty in the Emerald Isle, Douglass, whose first visit coincided with the Great Famine, was truly horrified at the poverty he witnessed there:

The streets were almost literally alive with beggars, displaying the greatest wretchedness – some of them mere stumps of men, without feet, without legs, without hands, without arms – and others still more horribly deformed, with crooked limbs, down upon their hands and knees, their feet lapped around each other, and laid upon their backs, pressing their way through the muddy streets and merciless crowd, casting sad looks to the right and left, in the hope of catching the eye of a passing stranger – the citizens generally having set their faces against giving to beggars. (C 1:95)

As part of his political strategy, Douglass did not mention poverty in his speeches but referred to it in letters that were often published in the *Liberator*. Whether publicly or privately, however, he always maintained that chattel slavery was a condition like no other, and that even the poorest Irishman could count himself free from tyrannical enslavers.

The unprecedented impact of Douglass's tour led to a wave of artistic inspiration. Poems were written both by antislavery activists and new recruits to the cause, often after hearing Douglass lecture. Frances Brown composed a poem in response to reading the *Narrative*, while William Meillar wrote that the "once tortured slave" had traveled to the British Isles to spark freedom in transatlantic hearts.<sup>18</sup> The controversy surrounding the Free Church of Scotland led to numerous songs and ditties that were either composed or revised in light of his campaign to "Send back the money!" While the creation of poetry within the abolition movement was nothing new, the number of creative responses to Douglass's literary, oratorical, or performative presence confirmed that his visit was a success. In response, Douglass used his newly found celebrity to establish himself as a leading force within transatlantic antislavery circles.

Douglass left the British Isles in April 1847 in a flurry of controversy when the first-class berth he had purchased was denied to him by a Cunard representative. Despite having strong connections to both Britain and Ireland, he only returned after the seismic event of John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry in 1859. Implicated in the raid, Douglass fled to Britain for safety and remained there for several months. During his stay in England, he collaborated with firm friend and antislavery activist Julia Griffiths, whom he had met during his first visit to the British Isles. She helped coordinate a lecturing tour. Douglass's popularity showed no signs of abating as audiences once again packed into churches and town halls to hear him speak. In Barnsley in 1860, Douglass "was greeted with deafening bursts of applause, which broke out again and again over all parts of the immense audience," while in Newcastle, a meeting was "crowded to the door by a respectable, intelligent audience" and "many persons were unable to obtain admission to the room."<sup>19</sup>

Douglass's second visit, however, was not as successful as his first. He did not remain in the nation long enough to gather momentum, and his lecturing tour was not as vast or relentless compared to his 1840s sojourn. Douglass also noticed the rise of minstrelsy and racism. He blamed "proslavery ministers" and "that pestiferous nuisance, Ethiopian minstrels" who had "brought here the slang phrases, the contemptuous sneers all originating in the spirit of slavery" (*SDI* 3:336). He was shocked and disappointed to discover that proslavery feeling had seeped into the nation's consciousness: it seemed as if the British public had not heeded his warnings about the "disease" of slavery from a decade before. He made reference to the growing apathy toward abolition in British society, as a doctrine of "non-intervention" had taken root since his last visit.

He wanted to remind the British public that they had a duty to denounce slavery, for “that vile system of blood was an outrage upon all the great principles of justice, liberty, and humanity, principles which belonged alike to all men of whatever country, colour, or clime.”<sup>20</sup> More so than ever before, he targeted the British people for their role in establishing American slavery, insisting that the nation use their influence for abolition. Tragically, the unexpected death of Douglass’s youngest daughter Annie put an abrupt end to his speaking tour as Douglass precipitously returned to the United States in spring 1860.

Despite the fact that Douglass did not set foot on British soil for another quarter of a century, his actions, speeches, and writings were reported on and printed in the British press. This transatlantic literary exchange was often fueled by Douglass’s friends, who received, circulated, and inserted such writings into the local press, if their connections allowed. For example, his 1862 “Slave’s Appeal to Great Britain” was repeated almost verbatim in several leading English newspapers. The stirring address was designed to appeal to the nation’s conscience and persuade Britain not to support the Confederacy. Douglass wrote in blistering language, “Welcome not those brazen human fleshmongers – those brokers in the bodies and souls of men who have dared to knock at your doors for admission into the family of nations. . . . Have no fellowship, I pray you, with these merciless menstealers.” Casting the Confederacy as a manifestation of slavery, as well as stoking British patriotism, Douglass wrote that the nation could not betray its antislavery history and sanction a nation that fought for the sale, rape, torture, and death of black bodies. Although it was unlikely that this appeal had any traction with the governing elite, in the end, Britain narrowly decided not to support the Confederacy.<sup>21</sup>

Douglass visited the British Isles one final time in 1886–87, when both he and his second wife, Helen Pitts Douglass, crossed the Atlantic for a transatlantic honeymoon. First stopping in England to greet old friends, the couple traveled across Europe, and visited France, Italy, Greece, and Egypt, before returning to Britain. While his mission was not overtly political, Douglass never missed an opportunity to organize a lecture on the legacies of slavery or racism. He addressed a small gathering of activists in 1887 in Street, Somerset, where he conversed with the radical Quaker Catherine Impey, who would support Ida B. Wells in her two antilynching tours of Britain in 1893 and 1894.<sup>22</sup>

From 1845 to 1887, Douglass’s international travels to the British Isles led to the legal purchase of his freedom, incomparable opportunities to hone his oratorical skills, and the ability to create and sustain antislavery or

reformist networks that would support him for the rest of his life. In 1847, Garrisonian abolitionists had encouraged Douglass to make a permanent home in Britain, but as he stated in his farewell speech in London, he needed to reside in America so he could “glory in the conflict” in the hope he would “hereafter exult in the victory” (*SDI* 2:51). Douglass could not challenge white supremacy and achieve expansive and radical change in American society from three thousand miles away. While Douglass only traveled across the Atlantic three times, his British friends shaped, supported, and sustained his public antislavery work in the United States, and many, including Julia Griffiths and Ellen Richardson, remained devoted to him and the antislavery cause. Such friendships, together with his transformative experiences in the British Isles, shaped Douglass’s life and political career until he breathed his last. He always honored the people he had met in Britain. As he summarized in *Life and Times*, their “benevolent actions towards me are ineffaceably stamped upon my memory, and warmly treasured in my heart” (*LT* 199).<sup>23</sup>

### Notes

- 1 “Mr. Frederick Douglass, the Escaped Slave, at Northampton,” *Northampton Mercury*, April 3, 1847.
- 2 Other nineteenth-century African American activists who visited the British Isles included William Wells Brown, Josiah Henson, Charles Lenox Remond, Sarah Parker Remond, and Ida B. Wells, among many others. See Hannah-Rose Murray, *Advocates of Freedom: African American Transatlantic Abolitionism in the British Isles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).
- 3 Celeste-Marie Bernier, “From Fugitive Slave to Fugitive Abolitionist: The Oratory of Frederick Douglass and the Emerging Heroic Slave Tradition,” *Atlantic Studies* 3.2 (2006): 203.
- 4 R. J. M. Blackett, *Building an Antislavery Wall: Black Americans in the Atlantic Abolitionist Movement, 1830–1860* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983); Alan J. Rice and Martin Crawford, eds., *Liberating Sojourn: Frederick Douglass and Transatlantic Reform* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999); Fionnghuala Sweeney, *Frederick Douglass and the Atlantic World* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007); David W. Blight, *Frederick Douglass: Prophet of Freedom* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2018), 138–77; Alasdair Pettinger, *Frederick Douglass and Scotland, 1846: Living an Antislavery Life* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018). See also Gerald Fulkerson, “Exile as Emergence: Frederick Douglass in Great Britain, 1845–1847,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 60.1 (1974): 69–82; Alan Rice, “Transatlantic Portrayals of Frederick Douglass and His Liberating Sojourn in Music and Visual Arts, 1845–2015,” in *Pictures and Power: Imaging and Imagining*

- Frederick Douglass, 1818–2018*, ed. Celeste-Marie Bernier and Bill E. Lawson (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2017), 167–88; Laurence Fenton, “*I Was Transformed*”: *Frederick Douglass, an American Slave in Victorian Britain* (Stroud: Amberley, 2018).
- 5 See Tom Chaffin, *Giant’s Causeway: Frederick Douglass’s Irish Odyssey and the Making of an American Visionary* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2014); Christine Kinealy, ed., *Frederick Douglass and Ireland: In His Own Words*, 2 vols. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018); Christine Kinealy, *Black Abolitionists in Ireland* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020); John F. Quinn, “‘Safe in Old Ireland’: Frederick Douglass’s Tour, 1845–1846,” *The Historian* 64.3 (2002): 535–50; Jeffrey R. Kerr-Ritchie, “Black Abolitionists, Irish Supporters, and the Brotherhood of Man,” *Slavery & Abolition* 37.3 (2016): 599–621; Daniel Ritchie, “‘The Stone in the Sling’: Frederick Douglass and Belfast Abolitionism,” *American Nineteenth Century History* 18.3 (2017): 245–72.
  - 6 C. Peter Ripley, ed., *The Black Abolitionist Papers*, vol. 1, *The British Isles, 1830–1865* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 6–18; Leigh Fought, *Women in the World of Frederick Douglass* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 84–90.
  - 7 Mary Anne Estlin to Maria Weston Chapman, March 1, 1846, Anti-Slavery Collection, Boston Public Library. See Patricia J. Ferreira, “Frederick Douglass in Ireland: The Dublin Edition of His *Narrative*,” *New Hibernia Review* 5.1 (2001): 53–67; Michaël Roy, “Cheap Editions, Little Books, and Handsome Duodecimos: A Book History Approach to Antebellum Slave Narratives,” *MELUS: Multi-Ethnic Literature of the United States* 40.3 (2015): 75–80; Robert S. Levine, *The Lives of Frederick Douglass* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), 75–118.
  - 8 Levine, *Lives of Frederick Douglass*, 108–9.
  - 9 Quoted in Fought, *Women*, 91.
  - 10 Richard Huzzey, *Freedom Burning: Anti-Slavery and Empire in Victorian Britain* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012), 37–39, 80–82.
  - 11 Alan Rice, *Radical Narratives of the Black Atlantic* (London: Continuum, 2003), 172–87. See also Audrey A. Fisch, *American Slaves in Victorian England: Abolitionist Politics in Popular Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Tom F. Wright, *Lecturing the Atlantic: Speech, Print, and an Anglo-American Commons, 1830–1870* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 49–80.
  - 12 “Lecture on American Slavery,” *Newcastle Guardian*, August 8, 1846. The phrase originally appears in *NL* 82.
  - 13 “Frederick Douglass in Leicester,” *Leicestershire Mercury*, March 6, 1847.
  - 14 See Iain Whyte, “*Send Back the Money!*”: *The Free Church of Scotland and American Slavery* (Cambridge: James Clarke, 2012).
  - 15 Leslie Elizabeth Eckel, *Atlantic Citizens: Nineteenth-Century American Writers at Work in the World* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 87.
  - 16 Richard Bradbury, “Frederick Douglass and the Chartists,” in Rice and Crawford, *Liberating Sojourn*, 169–86.

- 17 Frederick Douglass, "Chartists of England," *North Star*, May 5, 1848.
- 18 *Belfast Commercial Chronicle*, January 10, 1846; *Caledonian Mercury*, August 19, 1865.
- 19 "Great Anti-Slavery Meeting in Wakefield," *Barnsley Chronicle*, January 14, 1860; "Mr. Frederick Douglass in Newcastle," *Daily Chronicle and Northern Counties Advertiser*, February 20, 1860. See R. J. M. Blackett, "Cracks in the Antislavery Wall: Frederick Douglass's Second Visit to England (1859–1860) and the Coming of the Civil War," in Rice and Crawford, *Liberating Sojourn*, 187–206.
- 20 "Mr. Frederick Douglass on Non-Intervention in Regard to American Slavery," *Leeds Mercury*, December 10, 1859.
- 21 "The Slave's Appeal to Great Britain," *Daily News*, November 26, 1862. The speech was printed several times in northern England and Scotland, including in the *Dundee Advertiser*, December 1, 1862; *Hull Packet and East Riding Times*, December 5, 1862; *York Herald*, December 13, 1862.
- 22 Linda O. McMurry, *To Keep the Waters Troubled: The Life of Ida B. Wells* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 186–90; Caroline Bressey, *Empire, Race and the Politics of Anti-Caste* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 25–35.
- 23 See the Frederick Douglass Papers in the Library of Congress for various letters from Richardson and Griffiths, who wrote to Douglass between 1890 and 1895 offering friendship, advice, and support.