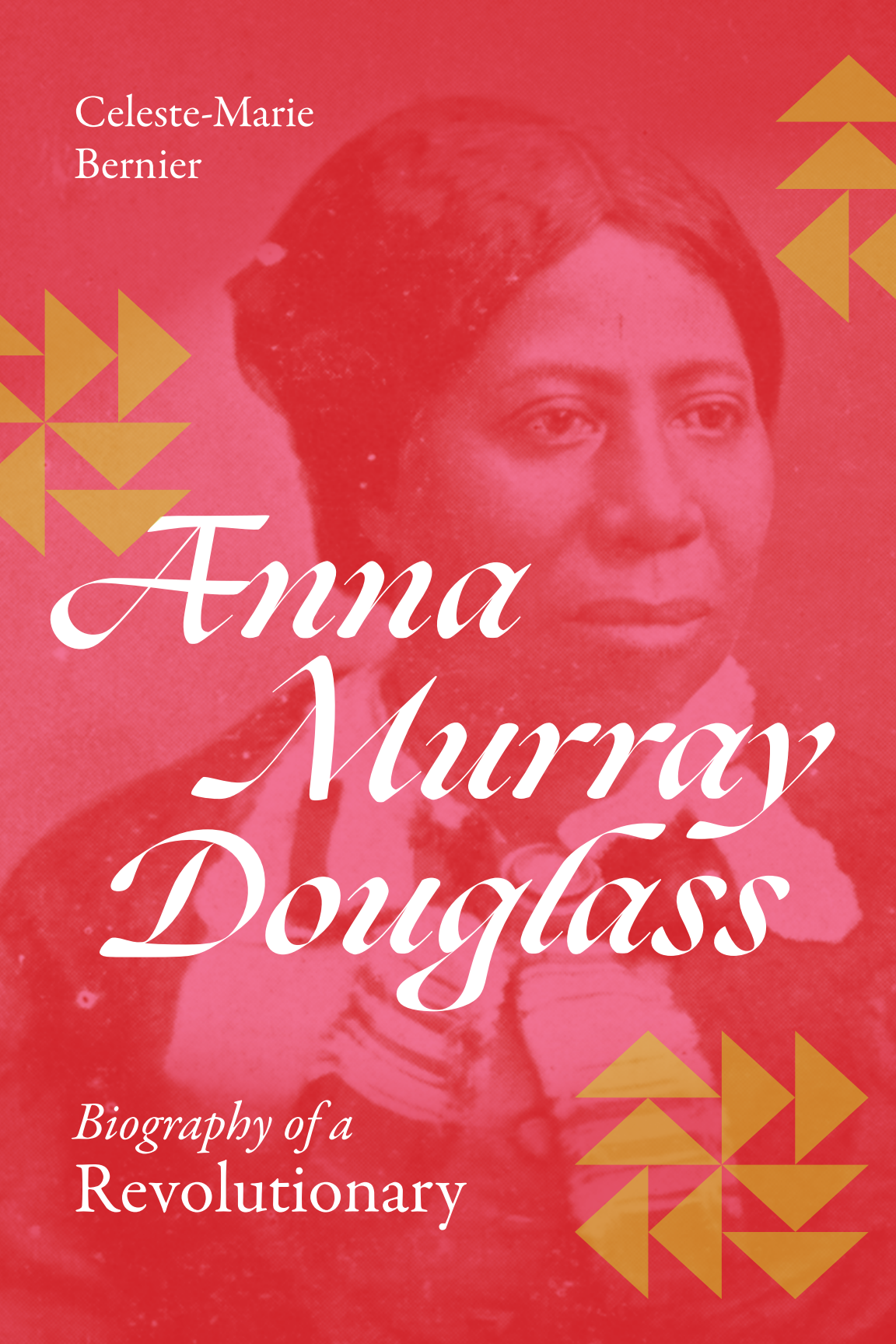


Celeste-Marie
Bernier



Anna Murray Douglass

*Biography of a
Revolutionary*

*Anna
Murray
Douglass*

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Anna Murray Douglass: Biography of a Revolutionary
The Anna Murray and Frederick Douglass Family Selected Writings: A Reader

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Anna Murray Douglass: A Revolutionary Family Biography and Life in Documents
Rosetta Douglass Sprague: A Revolutionary Family Biography
Rosetta Douglass Sprague: A Revolutionary Family Life in Documents
Lewis Henry Douglass: A Revolutionary Family Biography and Life in Documents:
Antislavery Activism and Civil War Combat Heroism
Lewis Henry Douglass: A Revolutionary Family Biography and Life in Documents:
Civil Rights Campaigns and Liberation Labors
Frederick Douglass Jr.: A Revolutionary Family Biography and Life in Documents
Charles Remond Douglass: A Revolutionary Family Biography and Life in Documents
Annie Douglass and the Grandchildren: A Revolutionary Family Biography
and Life in Documents

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Anna Murray Douglass

BIOGRAPHY OF A REVOLUTIONARY

Celeste-Marie Bernier

IN COLLABORATION WITH

Frederick Douglass Family Initiatives
Dr. Walter O. and Linda Evans Foundation
Frederick Douglass Honor Society

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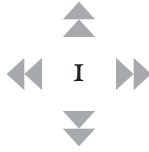
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FIGURE 1.1. Benjamin F. Powelson, *Anna Murray Douglass*, [early 1860s]. National Park Service, Frederick Douglass National Historic Site, Washington, DC. FRDO 3906.

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A Revolutionary's Heroic Life

“Why not I endure hardship that my race may be free?”¹ These powerful words belong to Anna Murray Douglass, a Black revolutionary liberator, heroine, and freedom fighter.

A rallying cry, an emotional appeal, and a powerful declaration of independence, her words live on over the centuries and shine a spotlight on her heroic life and liberatory legacies. She dedicated all that she had, including her person, her time, her health, her well-being, her genius, her leadership, her expertise, her knowledge and, above all, her family, to her undying war for the liberation of “my people.”

Anna Murray Douglass and her husband, Frederick Douglass; their daughters, Rosetta Douglass Sprague and Annie Douglass; their sons, Lewis Henry Douglass, Frederick Douglass Jr., and Charles Remond Douglass; and all their grandchildren and descendants lived lives of individual and united struggle, suffering, sacrifice, and survival. In the Douglass family world, the work of the liberation of “our people” must always come first.

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Freedom fighter. Underground Railroad liberator. Human rights activist. Anti-slavery and anti-human trafficking agitator. Civil rights protester. Educator. Radical campaigner. Revolutionary strategist. Family builder.² Household manager. Financial adviser. Business leader. Laborer. Orator. Political philosopher. Gardener. Foodways specialist. Hospitalities manager. Dressmaker. Quiltmaker. Fashion designer. Textile artist. Guardian. Carer. Lover. Healer. Community organizer. Daughter. Sister. Wife. Mother. Grandmother.

Anna Murray Douglass changed US history.

A leader and liberator in her own right, Anna Murray Douglass did not labor in the path of world renown like Frederick Douglass, her husband of over forty-four years. He had experienced enslavement in Talbot County, Maryland, as Frederick Augustus Washington Bailey and had fought for and secured his self-liberation in a new life as Frederick Douglass.³ He became the most famous human rights author, orator, philosopher, and freedom fighter in US and world history.

Anna Murray Douglass was the love of his life, his human rights colaborer, his emotional confidante, his intellectual equal, his political adviser, his inspiration, his protector, his lifelong collaborator, and his co-freedom fighter in arms.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS HIMSELF was the first historian of Anna Murray Douglass's heroism. He repeatedly shared his heartfelt conviction that "it was this woman, his first love, who was responsible for his life."⁴ Anna Murray and Frederick Douglass worked together with their daughters and sons in the family's united intergenerational fight for the liberation of "our people."

Anna Murray Douglass herself experienced and saw firsthand the physical and emotional pain her husband endured in fighting to exist, let alone to live. Frederick Douglass fought a daily war to "suffer and be strong."⁵ He dedicated his life to human rights activism in a world dominated by white supremacist persecutors as well as by white supporters who talked of equality but practiced injustice.

Anna Murray Douglass fought to live her life not as a public icon, as her husband did, but as a private protector, defender, and advocate of equality and human rights for all. She labored on all fronts to end the "hottest hell of unending slavery" and the "loathsome disease" of "black-phobia" in the war against white supremacy by any means necessary.⁶

When Frederick Douglass wrote of the heroism of Harriet Tubman, a Black freedom fighter, Underground Railroad liberator, antislavery and anti-human trafficking agitator, Civil War military commander, medical expert and nurse, educator, community organizer, and orator, and one of Anna Murray Douglass's and the family's lifelong friends, confidantes, and collaborators, he could have been speaking of the heroism of his wife.

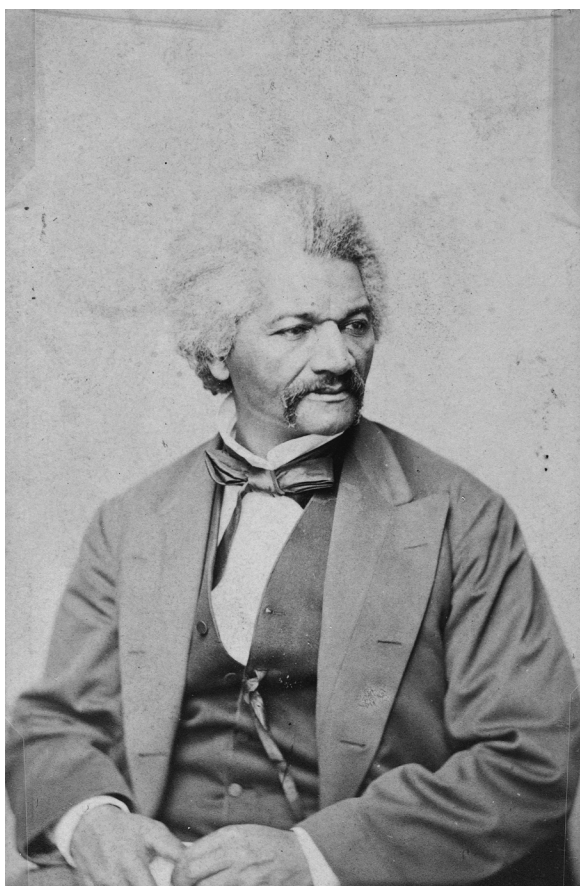


FIGURE 1.2. George Francis Schreiber, *Frederick Douglass*, 1870. Albumen silver print. Image/sheet: 9.4. × 5.9 cm (3¹¹/₁₆ × 2⁵/₁₆ in.). National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC; gift of Donald R. Simpson. NPG.82.145.

Frederick Douglass's public letter to Harriet Tubman, which was included in her biography, *Scenes in the Life of Harriet Tubman* (1869), makes for powerful reading.⁷ He could just as easily and as accurately have addressed this letter to Anna Murray Douglass.

"The difference between us is very marked," he declares. "Most that I have done and suffered in the service of our cause has been in public, and I have received much encouragement at every step of the way. You on the other hand have labored in a private way. I have wrought in the day—you in the night."

He concedes, "I have had the applause of the crowd and the satisfaction that comes of being approved by the multitude, while the most that you have done has been witnessed by a few trembling, scarred, and foot-sore bondmen and women, whom you have led out of the house of bondage, and whose heartfelt 'God bless you' has been

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FIGURE 1.3.
Benjamin F. Powelson,
Harriet Tubman, 1868
or 1869. Auburn, NY.
Albumen print on
card mount; mount
10 × 16 cm. Prints and
Photographs Division,
Library of Congress,
Washington, DC.



your only reward.” He is heartbreakingly aware that “the midnight sky and the silent stars have been the witnesses of your devotion to freedom and of your heroism.”⁸

Like Harriet Tubman, whose labors as an Underground Railroad liberator are legendary, Anna Murray Douglass worked for over four decades as the fearless and tireless liberator of untold numbers of enslaved people risking their lives by traveling on their “networks to freedom.”⁹

From the 1830s through the early 1860s, Anna Murray Douglass was the far-famed leader of numerous Underground Railroad stations she operated from her family homes and business addresses in the cities of Baltimore, Lynn, and Rochester. During these decades, she offered vital counsel on survival strategies, practical aid, emotional support, and psychological healing to Black people of all genders and ages. She was their advocate, sponsor, protector, adviser, and friend during

their courageous, death-defying journeys from their enslavement in the southern United States to their new lives fighting for all their liberties in the white racist persecutory and prejudicial northern states and Canada.

Frederick Douglass's acknowledgment that Harriet Tubman "labored in a private way" has proved revelatory and prophetic regarding the difficulties and challenges we face in the urgent work of commemorating Anna Murray Douglass's lifelong "devotion to freedom" and heroism to this day. Her life has not had the "applause of the crowd," nor has she had the satisfaction of being "approved by the multitude." As he writes of Harriet Tubman, one of her beloved sister-friends and collaborators in the work of liberation, her courageous labors have "been witnessed by a few trembling, scarred, and foot-sore bondmen and women."

But Frederick Douglass, and their daughters, and sons, Rosetta Douglass Sprague, Annie Douglass, Lewis Henry Douglass, Frederick Douglass Jr., and Charles Remond Douglass, were also witnesses to Anna Murray Douglass's heroism. All their lives, they and their descendants have taken it upon themselves to remember, honor, and respect her labors for liberation.

Frederick Douglass understood that Harriet Tubman's heroism was inspired by collaborative action, and this same commitment to shared activism also defines the united labors of Anna Murray Douglass and every member of their family. Working together, they all endorsed a practice of self-sacrificial heroism in their commitment to the struggle for liberty as a collective rather than isolated quest. Their "devotion to freedom" was rooted in private as well as public networks, affiliations, and alliances that were integral to safeguarding the survival strategies and equal rights of "all our people."

But the work of respecting and remembering the momentous events and epic feats in Anna Murray Douglass's revolutionary life and revolutionary legacy, even after decades of research across hundreds of private and public archives in the United States and United Kingdom, is far from finished.

It is only just beginning.

NEARLY FIFTY YEARS AGO, Sylvia Lyons Render, a pioneering historian, asked two questions that are still shockingly valid today: "How many people know anything more about Anna Murray Douglass than that she was the great Frederick Douglass's first wife? How many have ever stopped to reflect upon how important her role was in creating the conditions favorable for Douglass's development into a great personality and a powerful force in American life?"¹⁰

Decades later, trailblazing scholars Michelle Nzadi Keita and James Jones testify to the unjust reality that Anna Murray Douglass is "rarely remembered" as Frederick Douglass's "partner in abolitionist work," let alone in her own right.¹¹

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In 2022, groundbreaking historian Daina Ramey Berry published an important article titled “Searching for Anna Douglass in the Archives.” In these pages, she bears witness to the dishonor that has been perpetrated against the life and work of Anna Murray Douglass. “We see her at flashpoints in her husband’s political and very public career and get glimpses of her private life through family and foe,” she writes. She exposes the injustice that “Douglass’s biographers mention but never dwell on her.” Ultimately, she asks, “Who was Anna Murray Douglass?”¹²

To this day, there are very few people who are dedicated to the work of remembering Anna Murray Douglass or who can even begin to answer Berry’s important question.

And not many of the people who have heard of Anna Murray Douglass are familiar with anything about her life beyond the fact that she was married to Frederick Douglass. It is a terrible truth that there are very few people who have stopped to reflect on her transformative role in “creating the conditions” that made it possible for Frederick Douglass to become a world-famous human rights author, orator, philosopher, and activist. And even fewer have recognized her as a freedom fighter, a “great personality,” and a “powerful force” in US history in her own right.

Earnestine L. Jenkins, a brilliant scholar, testifies to a heartbreaking reality: “Anna’s everyday activism was concealed behind Frederick Douglass’s celebrated status as a living icon of freedom.” She memorializes the many untold stories of Anna Murray Douglass’s “longing desire for freedom,” by testifying to the important truth that “like many black women, Anna functioned within the more private realm of home, family, and community.”¹³

“This is a woman who was an activist before she met Frederick Douglass,” Jenkins reminds us regarding Anna Murray Douglass’s untold decades’ long history of working as a respected freedom fighter in her own right. One of the very few scholars to celebrate Anna Murray Douglass’s artistry, creativity, and intellectualism, Jenkins honors the truth of her life by stating that she “is the one who loved music, is reading, writing, and is a seamstress.” She also highlights Anna Murray Douglass’s Black female liberation networks, emphasizing that “she is the one who has already had a relationship with women who are interested in activist work.”¹⁴ For Anna Murray Douglass, every arena was a battleground in her fight for Black liberation and her war against white supremacy.

Another trailblazing scholar of Anna Murray Douglass’s heroic life and revolutionary legacy is Ernest J. Quarles. He writes, “As acclaimed as Frederick Douglass had become, Anna was, for me, the true icon—for it was this free Black woman who enabled Frederick to realize true freedom.” But he is painfully aware that “her heroism was not framed in this manner, allowing her deeds to be effectively erased from our history and the conscious memory of white historians.”¹⁵

The history of this erasure is a history of the violence upon violence that has been committed against the heroism of Anna Murray Douglass and her entire family and their descendants over centuries.

For Quarles and other trailblazing scholars working in the Black feminist radical tradition, there is only one reason that it has been impossible for white historians to recognize, respect, and remember Anna Murray Douglass's heroism: "Their own possessive investment in whiteness and indifference to the similarly biased accounts of their nineteenth-century journalist and historian brethren have imbued them with an arrogance" that greatly hinders "their ability to tell the real story of Anna and the Douglass family."¹⁶

In her own lifetime, Anna Murray Douglass took on the role of human rights educator for all the white people she worked with as part of her integrated work force in her private and public labors. She made it her business to ensure that they had no excuse but to come to their own individual realization regarding their "possessive investment in whiteness."

One revealing incident took place while the family were living in Rochester, New York. There Anna Murray Douglass decided to interview an unnamed white domestic laborer for a position in her family household. In the interview she provided this unnamed worker with a humbling lesson in an intersectional, inclusive, and egalitarian human rights philosophy in practice. "I hope you have no prejudices about color," she tells her. "I have none myself."¹⁷

Anna Murray Douglass's constant vigilance and zero-tolerance policy toward any and all forms of "prejudices about color" as endorsed by anyone, is a human rights education. All her life, she advocated and agitated everyone around her on the moral urgency of rejecting and destroying any and all discriminatory belief systems and prejudicial practices.

THE RESEARCH AND WRITING of this book would not have been possible without the trailblazing labors of her eldest daughter, Rosetta Douglass Sprague. Her own pioneering biography, *Anna Murray Douglass: My Mother As I Recall Her*, a work of over twenty pages she first published in 1900, will forever remain the definitive account of her mother's revolutionary life and work.

In this book, *Anna Murray Douglass: Biography of a Revolutionary*, the untold story of what Rosetta Douglass Sprague described as Anna Murray Douglass's "longing desire for freedom" comes to life across forty-three chapters, just one chapter less than her forty-four-year marriage to Frederick Douglass.¹⁸ In over two hundred images, we see the surviving portraits of Anna Murray Douglass as well as the many photographs and drawings of her family members, her collaborators, her homes, and the cities and streets she lived in across the decades.

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I have researched and written this biography to honor, remember, and recognize Anna Murray Douglass as a revolutionary liberator, freedom fighter, and human rights activist. I rely on contemporary descriptions to remember her pioneering life in honor of Kenneth B. Morris Jr.'s powerful recognition of Anna Murray Douglass as a founding member of an "intergenerational freedom-fighting collective." The life's work of every member of the Douglass family over the generations provides us with human rights lessons, social justice campaigns, and a civil rights education that is a model for today's and tomorrow's activism.

This book honors leading scholar and civil rights attorney Ernest J. Quarles's celebration of Anna Murray Douglass as one of the "female giants who, against all odds, threatened to turn male patriarchy on its head with a message and programmatic plan that combined communal responsibility and activism."¹⁹ All her life, Anna Murray Douglass's social justice labors were undergirded by her commitment to the founding and maintaining of intersectional liberation coalitions. Her activist networks included people of all races, genders, and ages who were dedicated to community organizing for the benefit of all.

Anna Murray Douglass is the first in a multibook series, *Douglass Family Lives*. For this collection I have been working on for over two decades I have researched, written, and annotated additional books on the lives and works of Anna Murray and Frederick Douglass and of all their children and grandchildren. These books all bear the subtitle *A Revolutionary Family Biography and Life in Documents*, and their main titles are *Anna Murray Douglass*, *Rosetta Douglass Sprague* (a two-volume work that includes a full-length biography), *Lewis Henry Douglass* (a two-volume work), *Frederick Douglass Jr.*, *Charles Remond Douglass*, and *Annie Douglass and the Grandchildren*.

Together these volumes visibilize the work and life stories of the Douglass family over the generations through more than three million words and over fifteen hundred images. I have also produced an anthology of all the family's works, *The Anna Murray and Frederick Douglass Family Selected Writings: A Reader*, as an accessible, compact, and essential go-to guide and primary resource. (For a complete list of titles, see p. ii.)

Anna Murray Douglass: A Revolutionary Family Biography and Life in Documents is a book in its own right but is also a companion to this one.²⁰ To my knowledge *Anna Murray Douglass: A Revolutionary Family Biography and Life in Documents* is the first-ever annotated and edited collection of the hundred-plus surviving letters, essays, speeches, biographies, and memorials created by and dedicated to Anna Murray Douglass and her family. This book begins with a biographical history sharing Douglass family stories and includes chapters honoring the trailblazing scholarship in Frederick Douglass studies and Black family histories, memories,

and narratives over the centuries. In these pages, I share with audiences that I am working in and forever indebted to the radical intellectual tradition established by pioneering researchers, editors, and archivists committed to honoring Black feminist lives across the generations. My purpose in remembering Anna Murray Douglass's relationships with Black feminist networks, coalitions, communities, and icons is to honor the powerful reality that she developed her liberation strategies not in isolation from but in close relation to many of her nineteenth-century contemporaries while inspiring many of her future twentieth-century descendants: all trailblazing liberators, activists, intellectuals, and philosophers in their own right.

Douglass Family Lives begins with this volume and *Anna Murray Douglass: A Revolutionary Family Biography and Life in Documents* for the purpose of sharing Anna Murray Douglass's life and life stories as the creator, protector, and defender of this intergenerational freedom-fighting family of liberators. Both books memorialize her revolutionary heroism.

All the books in the *Douglass Family Lives* series work to right the wrongs of an unjust reality. As the world-renowned scholar, author, philosopher, theorist, and activist Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw declares, “Black women’s intersectional experiences of racism and sexism have long been forgotten.”

Crenshaw also bears witness to a radical way to resist, defy, and defeat this terrible reality. “We must begin to tell Black women’s stories, because without them, we cannot tell the story of Black men, White men, White women or anyone else in this country,” she urges. Crenshaw issues a powerful warning: “The story of Black women is critical because those who don’t know their history, are doomed to repeat it.”²¹

In these books, and in those I dedicate to her children and her grandchildren, I work to tell the story of Anna Murray Douglass, a Black woman’s story that is inarguably also the story of “Black men, White men, White women” and everyone who over the centuries has fought for equal human rights in a white supremacist nation.

ANNA MURRAY DOUGLASS and her family lived their lives by their united conviction, expressed over a hundred years later by George Lipsitz, that “it is one thing to talk about suffering but quite another to do something about it.” They were all adamant in this shared belief: “It is not enough to craft eloquent or indignant descriptions of injustice, to wallow in the affects of alienation and despair, or to savor the peculiar pleasures of cynicism and resignation, to decry and condemn exploitation but not try to stop it.”²²

Every member of the Douglass family was a tireless worker in the liberation movement for all. They courageously transformed their personal suffering into their platform for antislavery and antiracist agitation. They were human rights

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campaigners and social justice activists who committed their lives to doing everything they could to end suffering and injustice. They were all too conscious of the fact that, as Lipsitz later explained, “racism is not a text, an ideology, or a secret oath. It is a set of uneven yet fully linked concrete practices and processes. The racial order gets made and remade every day. We all have meaningful work to do.”²³

Anna Murray Douglass and every member of her family lived their lives by their individual and collective resolution that we “all have meaningful work to do.” I recognize that I have my own “meaningful work to do” as a white author who is “already part of the problem.” My responsibilities require me not only to face my own privileges, biases, and failings but to do all I can to contribute to a new way of remembering, recognizing, and respecting “the real story of Anna and the Douglass family.”

As I write in the series introduction I include in all the books in the series except this one, every day of my life I must live with and hold myself morally accountable to the painful truth that I received my own education in white supremacist Western institutions in which I was trained to research and write according to white Western academic practices and within a white racist scholarly tradition. As a result, there is no question that I am myself a part of the problem as a white thinker and writer complicit in, unquestioning of, and undoubtedly guilty of perpetuating many instances of ignorance and inaccuracy.

I am deeply aware that in researching and writing this book and the other volumes in *Douglass Family Lives*, I am drawing on and working with archival materials that are structured in white supremacist dominance and white racist persecution. I am especially mindful of and accountable to the traumatizing reality that writing about Black people of all genders and ages whose lives have been dismissed, invisibilized, violated, abused, and destroyed in the Western archival record structured in white supremacist dominance presents serious challenges, difficulties, and painful realities.

Over the years and decades of my collaborations with Douglass family descendants, descendants’ organizations, civil rights leaders, academic activists, community organizers, artists, and public educators, I have worked to transform my own practices as a scholar, author, and educator. My one and only priority is to resist, reject, interrogate, and defeat white supremacist practices and philosophies in order to follow Black British artist Donald Rodney’s determination to safeguard, honor, and remember Black histories, Black memories, and Black lives by developing a new “lexicon of liberation.”²⁴

Working with and recognizing my own failures every day of my life, I dedicate my research, scholarship, and teaching to working in mutually respectful, caring, and loving partnership, relationship, and solidarity with the Douglass family over the generations, including their descendants working for equal human rights and social justice today.

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ANNA MURRAY DOUGLASS IS her family's founding freedom fighter. During their lifetimes, she was widely revered among the family's Black collaborators and allies as the founder member of their freedom-fighting collective. John Edward Bruce, a Black journalist and close family friend, honored her memory as a respected leader "with a vision so clear that it almost amounted to prophecy."²⁵ Anna Murray Douglass's inspirational vision, brilliant political acumen, and all-encompassing egalitarianism safeguarded her historical importance and living memory as a prophet for all ages.

Thelma Murray Nichols and Glenda Murray Nichols, Anna Murray Douglass's proud descendants, still live in her hometown of Denton, Caroline County, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. In May 2023, they remembered, honored, and celebrated their legendary ancestor and her revolutionary life, declaring, "Anna Murray Douglass is where we got our strength."²⁶

Working tirelessly as human rights campaigners today, Anna Murray Douglass's great-great-granddaughter, Nettie Washington Douglass, and great-great-grandson, Kenneth B. Morris Jr., dedicate their lives to honoring her heroic life and legacy. At the start of *Douglass Family Lives*, Nettie Washington Douglass educates us all on a powerful lesson: "The story of Anna Murray Douglass is incredibly important and deserves the recognition it is finally receiving." She is clear about Anna Murray Douglass's world-changing accomplishments: "Had it not been for my great-great-grandmother, the world may never have known Frederick Douglass."

Kenneth B. Morris Jr. is adamant that "the contributions of women like Anna Murray Douglass deserve to be taught, remembered, and celebrated every day, ensuring that we never forget their impact." He lives his life morally and politically accountable to his human rights conviction that "their legacies are not just history but lasting lessons that inspire and shape our present and future."²⁷

Every day of their lives, every Douglass family member took moral, physical, emotional, and political strength from one another. Anna Murray Douglass was the preeminent family builder, creator, and defender of her own life and work as well as those of her husband and children. She made colossal sacrifices and shared everything she had to safeguard their survival over the generations.

Anna Murray Douglass's trailblazing life, her legendary work as a freedom fighter and family builder, is nothing less than a tool kit of revolution. Learning about her dedication to human rights liberation offers us all a way to avoid repeating the inequalities, injustices, violences, and abuses of history.

Why not commit ourselves to a life of labor in respect and honor of Anna Murray Douglass's revolutionary heroism?

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FOREWORD

1. The *Douglass Family Lives* Edinburgh University Press books reproduce a section not included in this book, titled “All Things Douglass: Bearing Witness” and consisting of these two essays: Bill E. Lawson, “All Things Douglass: Listening, Witnessing, and Carrying On,” and Gabriella Beckles-Raymond, “Reflections on Centring Women and Family: A Revolution in Research Methodology and Intersectional Psychology.”

I. A REVOLUTIONARY’S HEROIC LIFE

1. R. S. S. [Reuben S. Smith], “National Capital.”
2. Joseph L. Douglas Jr. is the pioneering historian of the Douglass family’s lives as family builders “committed to family building.” See J. L. Douglas Jr., *Frederick Douglass*, 157.
3. Frederick Douglass’s published literary autobiographies are *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave; My Bondage and My Freedom*; and *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass Written by Himself*. The bibliography lists modern editions of each.
4. Frederick Douglass quoted in Anthony, “Heroic Struggle.”
5. Frederick Douglass to Nathaniel Hawkins Sprague, [Port-au-Prince], [May 14, 1891], in Bernier, *Rosetta Douglass Sprague*.
6. F. Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* (1845 ed.), 64; F.D. [Frederick Douglass], “Black-Phobia in Rochester.” Here and below, unless otherwise specified, citations to *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* refer to this 1845 edition.
7. Tubman, *Scenes in the Life of Harriet Tubman*.
8. “Letter from Frederick Douglass,” in Tubman, *Scenes in the Life of Harriet Tubman*, 7.
9. National Park Service, “National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom.”
10. Render, “Afro-American Women,” 307.
11. Keita and Jones, “Murray-Douglass, Anna (1813–1882),” 124.
12. Berry, “Searching for Anna Douglass in the Archives.”
13. R. Douglass Sprague, *Anna Murray Douglass*; Jenkins, “Anna Murray Douglass,” 102.
14. E. L. Jenkins quoted in Parisa Urquhart, dir., *Strike for Freedom: Frederick Douglass in Scotland* (film), 15 mins. (Urquhart Media, 2019), <https://www.urquhartmedia.com/frederickDouglassinScotland>.
15. E. J. Quarles, “Framing Frederick Douglass,” 90.
16. E. J. Quarles, “Framing Frederick Douglass,” 90.
17. Holland, *Frederick Douglass*.
18. R. Douglass Sprague, *Anna Murray Douglass*.
19. E. J. Quarles, “Framing Frederick Douglass,” 96.
20. See Bernier, *Anna Murray Douglass*.
21. Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw quoted in E. J. Quarles, “Framing Frederick Douglass,” 96.
22. Lipsitz, *Possessive Investment in Whiteness*, xxix.
23. Lipsitz, *Possessive Investment in Whiteness*, xxix.
24. Donald Rodney quoted in Bernier, *Stick to the Skin*, xi.
25. John Edward Bruce, “Noted Race Women I Have Known and Met,” September 5, 1923, in Bernier, *Anna Murray Douglass*.

26. Glenda Murray Nichols and Thelma Murray Nichols in conversation with Harriette Lowery, Brenda Wooden, and the author, Denton, Caroline County, MD, May 2023.

27. Kenneth B. Morris Jr., “Celebrating Anna Murray Douglass on Her Birthday. A Legacy of Strength, Resistance, and Equality in the Fight for Freedom,” *History, Human Rights and the Power of One*, Substack, March 8, 2025, https://substack.com/home/post/p-158667867?utm_campaign=post&utm_medium=web.

2. A REVOLUTIONARY FAMILY’S HEROIC LIVES

1. R. Douglass Sprague, *Anna Murray Douglass*.

2. R. Douglass Sprague, *Anna Murray Douglass*.

3. Rosetta Douglass to Frederick Douglass, April 4, 1862, in Bernier, *Rosetta Douglass Sprague*.

4. L. H. Douglass, “Synopsis of Remarks.”

5. Frederick Douglass Jr., “The Sunday School Corner,” *Christian Index*, May 1881, in Bernier, *Frederick Douglass Jr.*

6. Charles Remond Douglass, “Suggestive Police Figures,” *Washington Post*, November 6, 1889, in Bernier, *Charles Remond Douglass*.

7. Annie Douglass to Frederick Douglass, December 7, 1859, in Bernier, *Annie Douglass and the Grandchildren*.

8. Frederick Douglass to Nathaniel Hawkins Sprague, [Port-au-Prince], [May 14, 1891], in Bernier, *Rosetta Douglass Sprague*.

9. I transcribe, annotate, and edit all these known documents for the first time across the *Douglass Family Lives* collection.

10. Frederick Douglass Family Initiatives, <https://fdfi.org>.

11. Hall, “Afterword,” 769.

12. Anna Murray Douglass quoted in R. S. S. [Reuben S. Smith], “National Capital.”

13. Cooper, *Voice from the South*, 121–22. Ernest J. Quarles discusses Cooper’s work in relation to Anna Murray Douglass’s activism in his article “Framing Frederick Douglass.”

14. Joseph L. Douglas Jr. is the pioneering historian of the Douglass family’s lives as family builders “committed to family building.” See J. L. Douglas Jr., *Frederick Douglass*, 157.

15. R. Douglass Sprague, *Anna Murray Douglass*.

16. R. Douglass Sprague, *Anna Murray Douglass*.

17. Joseph L. Douglas Jr. states that Harriet Bailey’s children, in addition to Frederick Douglass, are “Perry Bailey a.k.a. Downs,” “Sarah Bailey,” “Eliza Bailey Mitchell,” “Kitty Bailey/Wilson/Barret,” and “Arianna Bailey.” See J. L. Douglas Jr., “Holme Hill Slave Community,” 477. He also publishes an article presenting information that Harriet Bailey’s family “may have included a seventh child, who was Harriet Bailey’s namesake.” See J. L. Douglas Jr., “Harriet Bailey,” 1. Dickson J. Preston shares this conviction. He writes that Harriet Bailey was the mother to “at least five other children in addition to” Frederick Douglass: “Perry, Sarah, and Eliza, older than he was, and Kitty and Ariana, younger sisters.” He adds that there is the possibility that there was a daughter named Harriet Bailey who was also “a child of Harriet Bailey (hence the name) who was born shortly before her mother’s death.” See Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass*, 9, 223–24.

18. F. Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, 64.