

The background of the image is a historical map of Ulster, Ireland, with various place names like 'FERRY'S TOWN', 'TRELAWNY TOWN', 'BLUEFIELDS BAY', and 'PARKERS' visible. Overlaid on the right side of the map is a sepia-toned image of a statue of a man, likely a historical figure, holding a torch. The title 'ULSTER & SLAVERY' is centered in a large, dark blue, serif font.

ULSTER & SLAVERY

THE STORY FROM THE ARCHIVES

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Fig 1 – Wedgwood dish commemorating 150th anniversary of abolition of slavery in British Empire in 1833. The dish reproduces a classic Anti-Slavery movement image created by Wedgwood c.1787 to call attention to suffering of slaves (OMAFP.2019.1.3.1983, photograph courtesy of National Museums NI, Ulster American Folk Park Collection)

F O R E W O R D

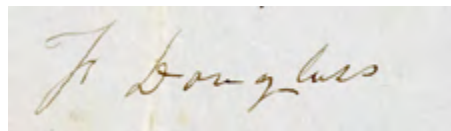
On behalf of my family and our non-profit organization, Frederick Douglass Family Initiatives (FDFI), I am honored to provide words of introduction for this new, expanded, and updated edition of *Ulster and Slavery: the Story from the Archives*. We are delighted to help celebrate the 2023-24 centenary year of The Public Record Office of Northern Ireland (PRONI), the official archive for Northern Ireland with over three million public and private records dating from 1219 onwards in its care.

This updated PRONI guide to archival sources is an essential resource for reflecting on Slavery in the past and influencing the future. These invaluable tools support learning and growth, and they serve as a catalyst to open minds, foster curiosity, and enable exploration for researchers, students, and engaged citizens of all ages and backgrounds.

Frederick Douglass wrote in his first autobiography, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave*, that “knowledge makes a man unfit to be a slave.” My great-great-great-grandfather received no formal education and never spent a day of his long and accomplished life in a classroom. Yet he discerned from a very young age that education was the key to freedom, and he sought out opportunities to learn and teachers who would guide him.

FDFI is particularly excited that PRONI is embarking on a concentrated campaign to promote equal opportunity for all citizens and actively encourage minority

and ethnic communities to deposit records with them. Records, histories, remembrances, and stories are critical to understanding communities and cultures and shaping who we are.

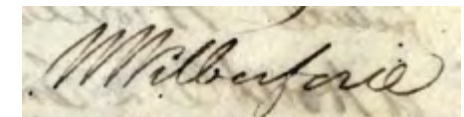
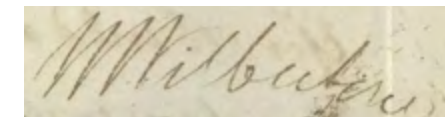


Signature of Frederick Douglass
(PRONI, D2930/3/8/7)

Our histories are incomplete without participation from all, and we are thrilled that PRONI will seek contributions from underrepresented communities that do not traditionally engage with archives. We are also thrilled to learn that PRONI has at least two letters from my great ancestor in its archives. The updated Guide contains more information about his travels to Northern Ireland in 1845-46, which significantly influenced his philosophy and future work. We are excited that this important resource continues to be available for citizens of Northern Ireland and worldwide.

In Freedom, Kenneth B. Morris, Jr.

Great-great-great-grandson of Frederick Douglass
Co-Founder & President, Frederick Douglass Family Initiatives



Signatures of William Wilberforce (PRONI, D207/37/1, 2)

INTRODUCTION

Slavery is one of the most brutal ways in which people have treated others in recorded history. It is a disturbing reality that there seem to have been very few pre-modern cultures formally opposed to the practice. Warrior tribes everywhere took captives into forced labour. The Pharaonic Egyptian and classical worlds were largely at ease with slavery. Vikings operated an extensive slave trade in eastern and western Europe, selling Russians and Slavic prisoners in vast markets in the cities of the southern Mediterranean: for a time in the eleventh century Dublin was one of the largest centres of this trade. The Islamic world in the Middle-East and North Africa made a practice of the purchase of slaves, in the millions, from Africa and eastern Europe, from the 600s to as late as the mid-1800s. Slavery has been present in every historical age and all around the globe. People from all ethnic groups have been slaves and slave-masters. The character of enslavement varied from culture to culture, sometimes moderated by religious ideals or specific cultural norms.

But the main historical example of slavery that comes to mind is the Atlantic trade in black slaves carried on between the 1500s and the 1830s, with the abiding image of slave ships carrying African men, women and children across the Atlantic, in packed and utterly inhumane conditions, a journey that many did not survive. The nature of slavery under the Atlantic system was exceptionally terrible, driven as it was by colonial expansion, industrial commodity production using new technology, designed to serve expanding consumer economies in Europe, the creation of Plantation economies and a dehumanising racism towards African and indigenous victims of the trade and those industries sustained by the use of slaves.

The majority of those records on deposit in PRONI, relevant to the study of slavery, arise from British and Irish economic trading interests with the Plantation economies of the West Indies and North and South America, during the 18th and 19th centuries. Although there are some records throwing light on aspects of the colonial societies

of India and parts of South-East Asia where indentured servitude among the native populations lasted to the 1930s.

Though these records evidence British and Irish activity in the exploitation of slave economies they also manifest the complex set of interactions and inter-relationships between British trade and the trade and settlement activity of other European nations. This includes records detailing conflict and war between Britain and the Dutch, Spanish and French. Broadly, the history of slavery as it relates to PRONI archives is the history of the economy and society of the British West Indies, British Guiana, Virginia and Louisiana with some references to observation of slavery in the Southern United States, the exploration of Africa and the use of indentured or forced labour in the East.

THE START OF THE ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE

The Atlantic trade in African slaves began in the 1440s when Portuguese mariners began to ship slaves to islands off the coast of Africa and to the Kingdom of Castile (first as Christianised domestic slaves, primarily luxury status symbols), building on systems of internal trade already in place to furnish Islamic societies. Numbers increased as ways developed in which to exploit for gain these ‘servants’, as a transition occurred in Europe away from subsistence agriculture with tributes in support of Court luxury, towards a wider consumption economy and migration of the dependent poor to towns and cities.

A range of non-essential stimulant commodities such as sugar, tobacco (later tea), spices and other goods, by the 1500s and 1600s, became the mainstay of the colonial slave economies, generating wealth in Europe and assisting in the transfer of rural populations into urban industry. These plantation economies were at their

strongest in tropical and warm climates (such as Brazil and central America and the southern United States and tropical Asia). It was first the European monarchies and aristocracies that benefited from the staggering commodity profits and the use of resources of early colonial slavery and then afterwards the merchant adventurer and middling classes. Eventually, every class in European countries, poor and rich, developed an interest in or reliance on the dynamics of colonial settlement, largely grounded in some form of plantation economy and labour coercion.

The first experiments in plantation agriculture (primarily in sugar-cane) seem to have taken place in Madeira under the Portuguese and in the Canaries under Spanish control, between 1470 and 1480. This became the model for slave plantation economy for the next four hundred years. Indigenous peoples on these islands (the Guanches and others) were worked to death or driven into hiding to escape exploitation. From the 1480s native tribes ceased to be of use in these ventures and merchants began to seek out black African slaves bought from African traders (Europeans fearing to travel into the interior due to the virulence of prevalent diseases unknown to Europe).

The most dramatic change in this emerging system came in the 1490s when Europeans rediscovered the Americas on their own account. The expedition of Christopher Columbus (1451-1506) in 1492, financed by Queen Isabella of Castile (1451-1504), and followed up by three later ventures, was motivated explicitly by the pursuit of sources of wealth in a 'new world' as much as by objective search for new shorter trade routes to Asia (the 'Indies'). It is also the case that Columbus had participated in slave trading off the African coast during the 1480s and was aware of the Madeira and Canaries plantations.

The attractions of mineral resources (mainly gold) and the commercial potential of a subjugated non-Christian population were highlighted immediately by Columbus



and his peers in letters back to Castile. As governor of the first European settlement in the Americas Columbus noted eagerly for the sake of his royal sponsors the gentleness and naivety of the indigenous peoples and the potential for making use of them as slaves. The second expedition of Columbus in 1493 brought sugar cane from the Canaries. The administration of government by Columbus between then and 1500 was noted for atrocity and destructiveness. Having laid waste to the population of Taino/Arawak 'Indians' by the early 1500s Spanish settlers began in 1501 to import African slaves as replacement labour.

Fig. 3 – Wooden mask painted white (Nigeria). This somewhat sinister mask is thought to represent African views of European colonists (BELUM.C141.B.1940 – photograph courtesy of National Museums NI, Ulster Museum Collection)

Trade in slaves went hand in hand with the settlement of different parts of the Americas by the Spanish and Portuguese (that is, the West Indies, Florida, Brazil, Mexico and Central America). The 'sugar islands' held by Spain in the 16th century comprised Hispaniola (Haiti & the Dominican Republic), Cuba, Jamaica, Puerto Rico, Guadalupe and the Cayman Islands. In most cases the native 'Indian' population was used as labour in different schemes until replaced by black Africans.

Frequently the portrayal of native peoples as savage and cannibal was used to justify enslavement and their treatment with ferocious inhumanity: the word 'Carib' was made synonymous with intractable barbarism.

Catholic missionary critics bitterly attacked the slave-holding regimes growing up between 1495 and the 1530s but may have initially perceived the use of black African labour as preferable to the abuse of native peoples converted to Christianity. The Spanish monarchy struggled with the ethics of trade in slaves and banned it in 1542 (the first European country to legislate in these terms). However, plantation economies could not run profitably (or at all) without a continuous supply of enslaved labour, so between the 1540s and the 1680s, when the Spanish and Portuguese empires rapidly lost ground to their European rivals (France, Britain and Holland primarily) slaves were purchased from licensed foreign traders (mostly Portuguese) under complicated and morally dubious arrangements. From the 1540s Portugal commenced to enslave members of Asian populations, initially Japanese. Slavery in different forms spread to the Pacific and Indian Oceans.

The first phase of the Atlantic slave trade comprised the period from about 1520 to the 1640s. In this period about 20% of Africans enslaved in the European trade were sent to the Americas (2.5 million put on board ship and 2.14 million disembarked). It is accepted that the first regular traffic began in 1526 when Portuguese merchants transported slaves to Brazil.

Fig 4 - New map of East Florida (1766) dedicated to the 1st Earl of Hillsborough (Wills Hill), First Lord Commissioner of Trade and Plantations. (PRONI, D671/M/11/8)



THE EMERGENCE OF BRITISH SLAVE TRADING

It is reckoned that the first British involvement in the slave trade occurred in the 1550s and 1560s when Sir John Hawkins of Plymouth (1532-95), backed by Elizabeth 1st (1533-1603) undertook the sale of about 1500 African slaves in the West Indies in competition with Spanish and Portuguese imperial interests. There was little effort to establish a British overseas empire until the 1580s and 1590s, a hundred years after Spain and Portugal and decades after France had begun to explore and colonise parts of North America. Humphrey Gilbert (d.1583) laid claim to Newfoundland in 1583 and his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh (1552-1618, who had sailed with Hawkins), took the first steps towards British settlement in central America, briefly setting up the ill-fated Roanoke colony in North Carolina in 1584 (which may have included black slaves).

In the early 1600s there were failed efforts to begin colonies in Guiana (1604-1606), St Lucia (1605) and Grenada (1609). The first colonists in Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607, had little economic strategy and suffered accordingly. But the second wave of colonists commencing in 1610 and 1612 planned an export trade in sweet tobacco grown on plantations and settled successfully along the James River. The first '20 and odd' slaves documented entering Virginia came on the White Lion in 1619. British settlement on the islands of St Kitts (1624), Barbados (1627) and Nevis (1628) and Antigua (1632) took root but did not flourish economically until sugar plantations were set up in the 1640s. Slaves in the British colonies of New England (Plymouth, Maryland, Rhode Island and Connecticut, 1520-1539) were employed in households rather than on large economic enterprises. Between 1640 and 1660 two-thirds of British emigrants went to the West Indies rather than to New England or the Chesapeake.



Fig 5 – Pair of handcuffs and looped leg fetter, similar in type to those used in detention and control of enslaved people (BELUM.C101.1925 & BELUM.C100.1925, photograph courtesy of National Museums NI, Ulster Museum Collection)

It seems that the work-force ministering to the first sugar plantations on these islands was composed of indentured labourers from Ireland, England and Scotland. Though conditions were harsh this form of servitude was not of indefinite duration and could result ultimately in full freedom and the award of lots of land and some economic and social opportunity. During the early 1650s this labour force was augmented by the transportation of perhaps 10,000 military prisoners from the

Cromwellian Wars. The academic consensus is that it is unrealistic to describe the indentured labourers or the military prisoners undergoing forced labour as 'slaves' in the sense familiar to our understanding of the black African slave experience.

In the late 1630s the population of Barbados stood at about 6000, including 2000 indentured servants and about 200 African slaves. By 1655 the population had risen to about 43,000, of which about 20,000 were slaves of African descent and 8-10,000 British and Irish indentured servants (1000 of whom had become 'freemen', having completed their term of servitude). Slavery was integral to the British Plantation economy in sugar and tobacco from the 1640s. In the 1620s and 1630s African slaves may have worked under a notional but very inferior form of indenture. By the 1650s, however, white and black labour had ceased to work side-by-side on the British sugar plantations. And the Barbados Slave Act of 1661 (passed by the island legislature) instituted, on a legal basis, under the guise of codifying statutory protection for African slaves, the radical distinction between ordinary white labour (indentured or non-indentured) and black slaves as 'goods and chattels'.

In the 1620s and 1630s Britain was picking up scraps of territory in the West Indies deserted by Spain which, until the late nineteenth century, held control of the largest islands in the Caribbean. The annexation of Jamaica in 1655 after invasion by Cromwellian forces served to boost British landownership considerably. Though Britain added Trinidad after its capture in 1797 from the Spanish and then British Guiana which came into British possession from the Dutch (and French) temporarily in 1796 and then from 1803 till the end of imperial claims in the 1950s. Though militarily in decline from the 1700s the Spanish empire held off British and other predatory incursions on Cuba and Santo Domingo/Dominican Republic (the eastern part of Hispaniola) through to the mid-19th century. Irish and Ulster merchants and traders held ramifying economic and social relationships with the different islands of the British

West Indies and Guiana from the 1650s to the 1920s, dependent on the successful functioning of the Plantation economy.

With the inauguration of the British Sugar Plantations in the 1640s together with the growth of French plantations set up in Haiti, Guadelupe and Martinique the second phase of the Atlantic slave trade began (lasting from the 1660s to the 1800s). During this period 80% of the twelve and a half million African slaves taken from the continent were carried to the Americas, principally to the Caribbean islands of Jamaica, Barbados, Haiti and Martinique and to Charleston and New Orleans both for local exploitation and for sale to Plantations elsewhere round the Caribbean. The passage of slaves was administered as a monopoly under the British crown by the Royal Africa Company from 1660 to 1708 by which time private merchants registered in England and Scotland were allowed to trade in slaves under license.

By the 1690s English vessels were carrying most of the slaves coming from West Africa to America. This remained the case for much of the rest of the 18th century: more than half of the Atlantic slave trade was carried out in that century. The export peaked in the 1780s when about 78,000 slaves were transported annually, half on British vessels. The largest proportion (about 85%) of British slaves ended up in the Caribbean, rather than in North American colonial states such as Carolina or Virginia or the states of New England. Because slavery endured till the 1860s in the southern United States the modern western image of slavery tends to be pieced together from our knowledge of southern cotton plantations. But the Caribbean was for centuries the centre of African slavery in the Americas.

It has been estimated that of approximately 27,000 slave voyages of which there is knowledge, about 12,000 were British or British colonial and of those some 6,000 sailed from Liverpool. The ports of Bristol, London and Southampton were

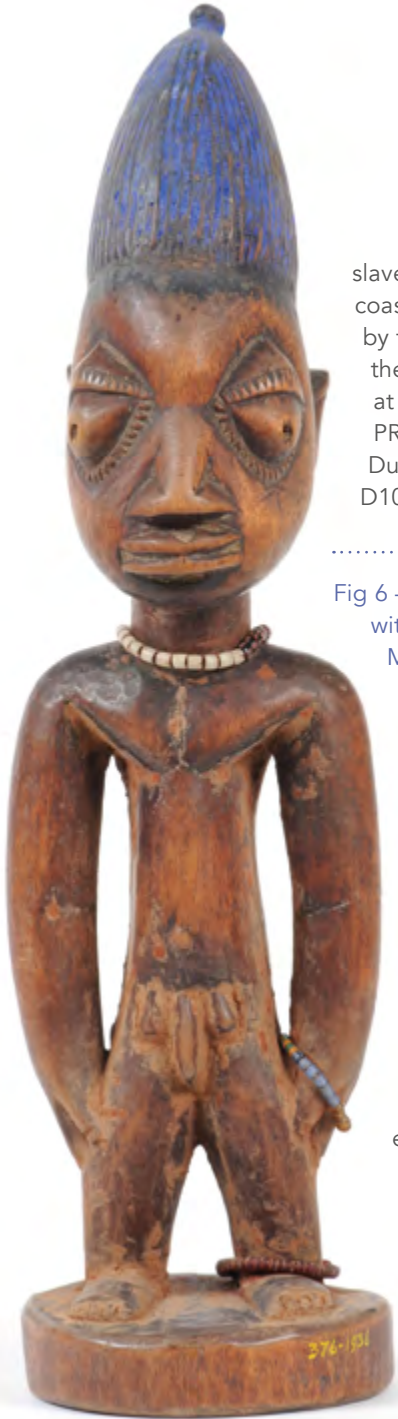
also heavily involved. By the 1780s it has been estimated that one slave ship was leaving Britain every other day. (See Earl Macartney papers, 1770 - PRONI reference D572/3/4,3; Abercorn papers, 1774 —PRONI reference D623; Blair family papers, 1785-1790 —PRONI reference D717/20. Knox family papers, 1795 -1799 - PRONI reference D1125/5].

THE ‘TRIANGULAR’ SYSTEM

The slave-trading voyages were described by contemporaries as ‘triangular’ in the sense that ships maximised the commercial efficiency of the trade by first picking up slaves in Africa (side one) taking them to the Caribbean (side two) and finally carrying American exports on order back to Britain (the third side of the triangle). Sir John Hawkins was said to have been the first to devise the system in the 1560s. Some ships were constructed on specialist designs to carry slaves.

Having set up orders in America and in Britain, trading vessels sailed first from Britain to West Africa (the ‘Guinea’ coast) laden with manufactured goods such as firearms, gunpowder, alcohol, beads, mirrors, knives and metals, and printed textiles, among other things, which the African slave-traders did not possess. The goods were exchanged for prisoners who had been captured in tribal wars or simply kidnapped from their villages specially for the trade. Household slavery had not been uncommon in African kingdoms but the trade was accelerated by European demand.

A large proportion came from lands around the Gulf of Guinea (now Ghana, Togo, Nigeria, Cameroon) and from west-central Africa (broadly now Angola). The prisoners were held in captivity at the coast by African slave-masters until a



slave-trader came along to bargain for them. The points of exchange on the coast were marked by forts, going back to the 1600s, built for the purpose by the Royal African Company. It was often the ship’s surgeon who oversaw the selection of able-bodied captives while those without ‘commodity value’ at this point were often summarily killed (See Castlereagh papers, 1814 — PRONI reference D3030/4179, D3030/4130, D3030/5023 and letter to Lord Dufferin, 1872, with reference to East African slave trade — PRONI reference D1071/H/B/C/590]

Fig 6 – Yoruba Ibeji wooden figure (Nigeria) (focal point for spiritual energy within families) (BELUM.C376.1936, photograph courtesy of National Museums NI, Ulster Museum Collection)

When the full cargo of slaves had been acquired the ships sailed on to the New World, a voyage known as the ‘Middle Passage’ (the second side of the ‘triangle’). This part of the trade took between 60 and 90 days. Slaves were loaded onto the ships shackled together in wretched conditions and packed into spaces too small to allow them to turn about and received barely enough food, water and air to keep them alive. Diseases such as typhus and dysentery were endemic, so that, apart from the trauma of the voyage, on average 10-15% of the imprisoned men, women and children died.

If conditions were particularly bad at sea the death-toll could rise to thirty per cent. Something of the callousness of the treatment experienced by African slaves and the ruthlessness of the commercial



Fig 7 – Extract from map of Jamaica, 1763, showing Port Royal and harbour of Kingston (PRONI, D671/M/11/1)

imperative was broadcast to the British public during the trial of Captain Luke Collingwood of the *Zong* in 1783 for having thrown nearly 200 slaves overboard to save provisions on a Jamaica voyage and to enable later claims for insurance against the contractual loss to be validated. These actions were not infrequent and many more had passed without such wide exposure.



When the (British) ships reached the great slave markets of Kingston, Jamaica or Bridgetown, Barbados the 'human cargo' was disembarked and arrayed for appraisal and sale to British and Irish planters and to purchasers from French, Spanish or Portuguese estates. As profits rose in the sugar and tobacco industries the market-value and price of slaves increased, from about £7 per person in 1650 to £20 in 1700 and to £40-50 per person in 1800. When slaves were delivered and sold the trading vessels took on consignments of sugar, rum, molasses, indigo, cotton, coffee or tobacco for the merchant houses of Liverpool, Bristol or London. Sometimes ships carried specialised goods for North American distribution and it was not unusual to take on products in New England for domestic import. The North American colonies supported the West Indies by the sale of fish, meat, flour and timber.

THE PLANTATION ECONOMY (SUGAR)

The first settlers in the West Indies had attempted to set up a smallholding society. By the 1680s agriculture had become structured in Jamaica and in the other colonial territories, large and small, around large plantations and monocultures such as tobacco, sugar cane, cotton or rice. The widespread use of indentured service had waned partly as news spread in Britain of the hazards of the tropics to immigrants and partly as the superior profitability of mass cultivation and processing based on use of slaves was realised.

Equipping a plantation was extremely expensive. It was reckoned in 1650 that such a project would require £1000 to buy sufficient land, raise the buildings and pay for a slave work-force. These costs rose to £3-8000 by the early 18th century, partly as profits soared. The 'sugar works' consisted, at their simplest, of a mill, boiling house, curing house, managerial houses and offices and warehouses for

D1584/12/1

the processed sugar and rum, 'trash houses' for the dried sugar-cane and stables for animals working on the plantation. Slaves were assigned space nearby for village huts and supervised by foremen and 'masters', white and African. Many of the plantations in Jamaica were over 300 acres in size. Cane takes 14-18 months to mature and is cut (by hand, using machetes) in the dry season, between January and May. Any delay in processing the cane was likely to result in the crop going off so there was a rush at this period to work the mills 'incessantly' (night and day). Wood or metal rollers crushed the cane to produce sugar juice. These machines were extremely dangerous and injured or killed many of the exhausted slaves.

During the 18th century the use of animals to power the mills was supplemented often by windmills. By the 1800s steam engines came into use. The juice was clarified by skilled workers (slaves) in pans in the Curing House to the point where the sugar crystallised and molasses was drained off. By the 1670s distilleries began to be erected by the wealthier planters to make rum for export. Huge profits were made from slave plantations through to the later 18th century when the American war of independence temporarily disrupted the set of commodity transfers taking place across the Atlantic. By that stage plantation owners had begun to purchase landed estates in England and Ireland and to relinquish direct control of their Indies estates to agents and factors. While it was notorious that mortality from tropical diseases and infections in the West Indies was high (much of the PRONI correspondence relates the decease of immigrant friends and cousins at an early age and there was speculation that certain temperaments staved off infection better than others), it was clear that members at every level of settler society were much more affluent than their equivalents at home in Britain and Ireland. It has been estimated that the disparity might rise to as high as a ratio of fifty times more than home income. But Plantation society was also decadent and humanly corrupt and affected by the demand for short-term advancement among many newcomers keen to get back home.



Fig.8 – Governor-General's Residence, Demerara (British Guiana), c.1840 (PRONI D1584/12/1)

Life for the enslaved in the West Indies was frightening and brutal. Work-discipline was severe to the point of being murderous as the population of slaves dwarfed the free white population on each of the 'sugar islands' creating chronic anxiety and paranoia among the British settlements (every able-bodied male was armed and belonged to local militias). In Jamaica by 1800 there was a population of 300,000 black slaves of African descent living next to a white settler population of about 40,000, many of whom were transient. White and black overseers viciously



Fig 9 – Map of Charleston, South Carolina, c.1781 showing military operations. Charleston was one of the most important slave markets in North America: about 40% of the 400,000 African slaves that came into the United States were sold there. In 1779-82 after the offer of emancipation for slaves fighting for Britain thousands fought under the Union Jack (PRONI D671/M/11/3)

drove male and female slaves engaged in planting seed and in saving ripened sugar cane and doing the delicate but hazardous work in the sugar factories. Sexual abuse was rife. Mortality among the black population was about twice that among settlers.

It is believed that the average survival rate among Africans brought to the West Indies was about seven to ten years so plantations could not do without a continuous re-supply of new purchases. Food for slaves was poor. Slave owners often preferred to import corn, salt herrings, beef and bread biscuit from Britain and Ireland rather than to cede land on their estates for slave cultivation. During the 18th century there was little impulse to evangelise among the slave population (this was more common on Spanish and Portuguese estates) but a custom existed of granting a day off for the plantation force each Sunday.

It was not really a system that could reform itself or come over time to a stable negotiated social equilibrium since the source of rapid profit was itself an export crop in which costs of production were kept to an absolute minimum by slave labour subordinated to military force and virtually without rights. Settler horizons were short-term. This remained the case though slave rebellions broke out regularly every decade (or sooner) from the 1680s and ‘Maroon’ populations of escaped slaves formed free villages in the mountains of Jamaica, ironically providing a kind of ex-slave police under a ‘Maroon superintendant’, acting against the enslaved (Maroon’, meaning ‘untamed’, was the name used for those slaves who broke free over time). Thus, although Amelioration Acts were passed in 1798 in the different island Assemblies, these did little to improve the nature of relationships on slave estates. It took the resolve of a new kind of missionary, primarily Methodist, determined to bring Christian salvation to slaves, that broke the deadlock during the early 1800s.

IRELAND, ULSTER AND THE PLANTATION ECONOMY, 1650s-1830s

Daniel O'Connell (1775-1847), consistently, from the early 1800s, repudiated slavery in the most passionate terms, refusing to visit the United States, for instance, in case going there was seen as approval for the claim of ownership over fellow human beings. He spoke proudly of Ireland never having dealt in the trade in slaves (not knowing that there had been two slaving voyages from ships registered in Dublin in 1716 and one from Limerick in 1718, though, in fairness, these were rare exceptions due to the standing British legislative prohibition on Irish involvement). But arguably Ireland (and Ulster) was more extensively compromised in the business of slavery than he supposed, given that the agricultural backbone of the Irish 17th and 18th century economy together with the burgeoning trade in linen and textiles directly sustained and prospered on direct and indirect export to the West Indies plantations. The remunerative provisions trade (barrelled beef, butter and salmon), grounded in interconnected regional pastoral economies all over Ireland, was aimed largely at the supply of the American colonies and the Caribbean plantations. As early as the 1660s there were two Belfast merchants sending beef and fish to Barbados, as well as to Spain and France: George Macartney (1626-91, sovereign of Belfast) and his cousin, 'Black' George Macartney (1603-1702, the nickname was a reminiscence of the original family home in Blacket, Scotland). It is notable that at least half of the food imported to the British West Indies in 1680 came from Ireland.

This export trade was enlarged during the 18th century by the introduction of the sale of salted herring to the Americas: plantation estates found it more advantageous to feed slaves cheaply on such provisions than to give up land that could grow sugar-cane. Belfast specialised in the sale of herring to the Caribbean.



Fig 10 – Linen market with a linen-stall and vegetable seller in the West Indies (c.1780), by Agostino Brunias (1728-96) (Public Domain)

Equally, the coarse linen cloth exported in vast quantities from Ulster in the mid-to-late 18th century, though directed initially to markets in Manchester and London, catered to a great extent to the clothing needs of plantation labour. As in Britain, many of the Anglo-Irish aristocratic demesnes, great houses and lifestyles were financed by ownership of West Indian estates. There is no question also that Catholic and Protestant Irishmen at lower levels of society tried in considerable numbers to make a living or make fortunes in the plantation economies: many were slaveholders in a minor way. And many became officials in colonial society. The poet and archivist, Samuel Ferguson (1810-1886), sadly recalled losing sight of one of his closest friends about 1829 when he departed Belfast for British Guiana as a twenty-year old (this individual disappeared without trace and likely died soon after getting there).

Widespread consumption of sugar (perhaps the quintessential slave product) was the focus of anti-slavery indignation in Ulster and Ireland in the late 18th century. But sugar had risen to an addiction in Ireland as in Britain between the 1730s and the 1790s, though it landed from Britain rather than directly from the West Indies. After the Townshend Viceroyalty (1767-72) the taxation of rum, imported straight from the West Indies, turned into a major source of government income. The Volunteer Movement of the late 1770s, which ran on 'Free Trade' slogans and secured a measure of legislative independence for the Irish Parliament in 1780, was concerned among other things to protect the interests of Irish sugar refiners or 'Sugar Bakers' who had multiplied in number in the cities of Ulster, Leinster and Munster (some of the largest were Edward Byrne of Dublin and Robert Thompson of Belfast). Legislative independence in 1782 was widely understood among members of Irish merchant communities as a token of release from the ban on Irish participation in slave-trading.

The town of Belfast had its own citizen plantation owners, principally Waddell Cunningham (c.1729-1797) and Dr William Haliday (1763-1836, physician to the

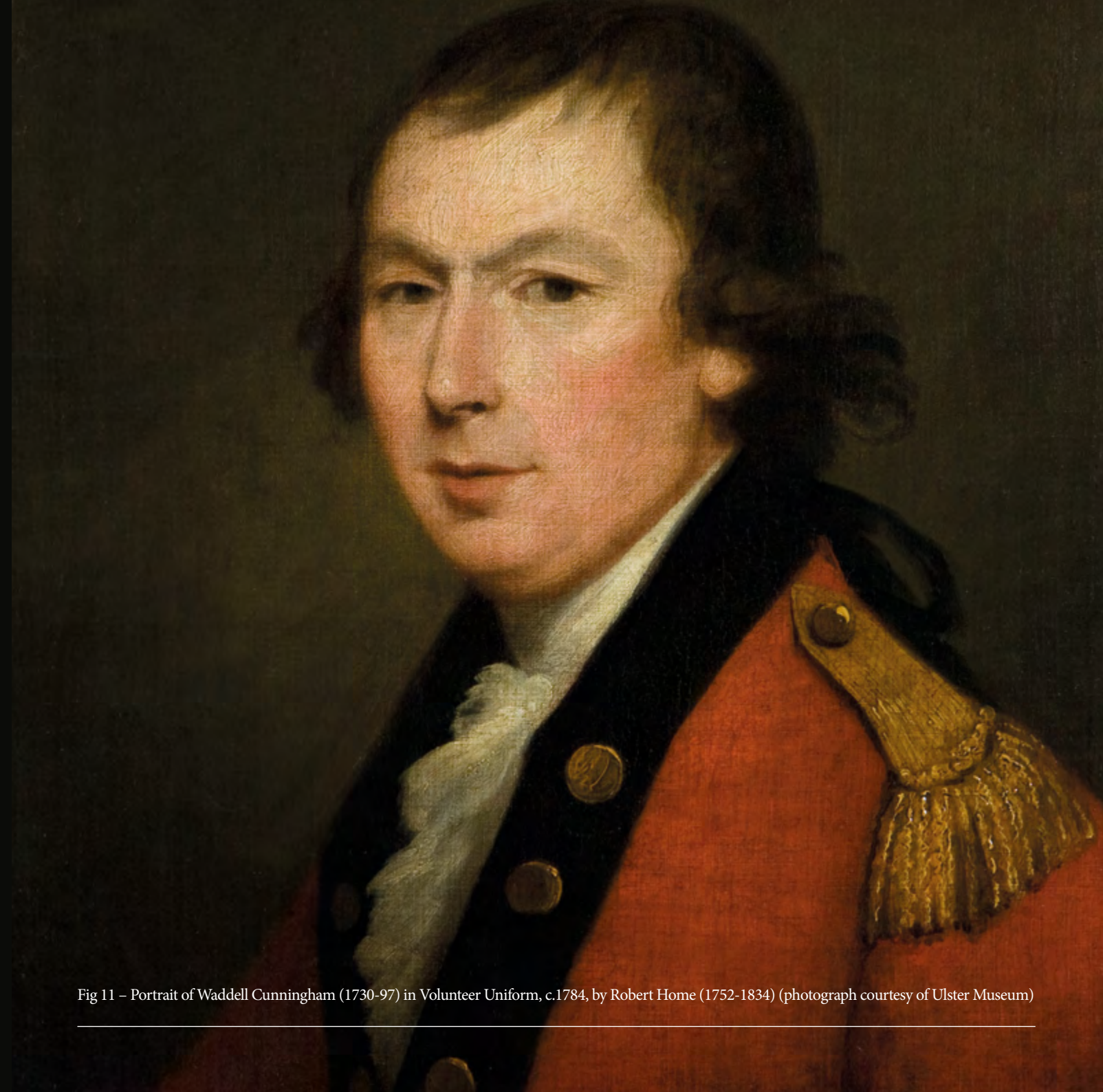


Fig 11 – Portrait of Waddell Cunningham (1730-97) in Volunteer Uniform, c.1784, by Robert Home (1752-1834) (photograph courtesy of Ulster Museum)

Belfast Poor-house), respectively the established commercial and intellectual leaders. Both men owned estates on the island of Dominica and Cunningham was reputedly the richest man in Belfast. Cunningham (from Killead, Co Antrim) was a serving sea captain in his early twenties, learning from the family export trade and from the early 1750s oversaw a merchant venture carrying linen clothing and salted provisions from Belfast direct to the West Indies, taking sugar, wood and rum to Baltimore, Maryland and returning with flaxseed and sugar from New England for the Ulster industry. This was his own version of the triangular trade, cutting out the purchase and sale of slaves.

Like other Irish merchants, however, it appears that Cunningham took part in the transport of slaves around the Caribbean. He seems to have operated a Sugar House in Belfast (the 'Old Sugar House', leasing it out in the 1760s and 1770s). Commercial restrictions on Irish trade meant that there were strict limits on the volume of direct trade and necessitated emphasis on inter-colonial trade for some years and a move to North America. He teamed up with Thomas Greg (d.1796), a Presbyterian merchant of North Street Belfast, in the later 1750s, and took advantage of commercial opportunities presented by the turmoil of the Seven Years War (1756-63) to develop one of the largest merchant shipping companies in New York. Greg and Cunningham bought their own plantation in Dominica out of the dividends from this endeavour, calling it 'Belfast'. Greg remained there for the next twenty years and Cunningham's brother managed the estate and was appointed King's Commissioner on the island in 1764.

Fig 12 – Accounts of Fort Stewart plantation, June 1738 to March 1751. Inventory of goods, chattles etc of the Hon. John Stewart and the heirs of Alexander Stewart, 20th October 1748. Details purchase in 1740 of 'a negro named Quasheba...ten negroes 6 boys & 5 girls...a negro named Taylor etc (PRONI D162/39a)

Fort Stewart Plantation to the Hon ^{ble} John Stewart Esq ^r D ^y			
1738			
June 13	To a Negroe named Quasheba	50	"
August 3	To 6 Young Males at £22 p head	132	"
	To a fine Mare & a Filly	8	"
Novem ^r 11	To 6 Mares at £5 p head	45	"
	To 2 Min Boy's each £4 and 10 at £35 each	70	"
	To a sack of	40	"
Jan 7 17	To 11 New Negroes 6 Boys & 5 Girls at £21.10.33	130	10
	To a Negroe named Taylor	40	"
March 2	To 5 New Negroe Boys at £25	125	"
	To a Negroe named Woolrich	40	"
1739	To a Negroe Winch named Betty Papa	15	"
June 3	To 2 Creole Negroe Goats viz ^t 1 Saddle & 1 brs	120	"
July 1	To 10 New Negroes at £32	320	"
1740	To 2 Negroe Men	68	"
May 11	To 4 Young Mares at £4 p	16	"
	To a Mare with a Young Male	12	"
	To 2 Creole Women named Benibar & Yolta at £40 each	80	"
	To a Negroe Child named Jimmy	6	"
	To a Mare	5	"
	To 2 Young Mares at £5 p	10	"
	To a Young Male br ^d from Coll ^d Roach	25	"
June 9	To a little Girl named Hannah	7	"
	To a Negroe Man named Furreen each	35	"
	To a Negroe Boy named Quasheba	25	"
	To 4 Young Negroes at £8 each	32	"
1741	To a Mare with a Young Filly	6	"
June 25	To 6 New Negroe Men Boys at £29	174	"
October 8	To 3 Creole Young Males at £21 each	63	"
	To 3 Spanish Males 2 at £21 & 1 at £19	61	"
Novem ^r 14	To a Creole Mule	15	"
	To a Young Mare	5	"
Decem ^r 1	To a Mare	5	"
	To 3 Horses at £5 each	15	"
	To a Creole named Mulla Johnny Brichlayer & Copper smith	100	"
	To a Negroe named Charles	45	"
	To a Negroe named Blackwall	35	"
	To a Negroe Woman named Bepi Quail	45	"
	To a D ^y named Phillis	50	"
	To a Winch named Betty	10	"
		220416	

Coming back to Belfast in the mid-1760s to evade prosecution in New York, Cunningham threw himself into work on the infrastructure of the port and hinterland, investing in the Lagan Navigation, new docks and quays on the Lagan and was involved in the making of the White Linen Hall in 1785 and in several important charitable and philanthropic enterprises in the growing town. His repertoire of commercial interests also included general merchandising, land speculation, ship insurance, banking and also, perhaps, a little smuggling on the side. His Caribbean interests did not abate both as partner in a sugar refinery and in the export of mules and coarse linen to the West Indies.

Other Belfast families, notably those engaged in the wine trade, such as the Macartneys, Mussendens and Blacks, occasionally sent ships to the Caribbean and in the case of the Blacks, who had a long established business based in Belfast and Bordeaux, the connection expanded into the ownership of plantations as they bought estates in Grenada and Trinidad. The Valentine Jones (d.1805) dynasty, wine merchants and rum and sugar importers in Belfast, had established a thriving agency in Barbados, buying and selling to the planters and in the same period the Ewing and Thompson families also ran merchant houses on this and other islands. They were joined in the 1760s by the families of Cunningham, Whitla and Barbour, all of whom, as it happens, also came from Waddell Cunningham’s home village of Killead, Co. Antrim.

At every level of Ulster and Irish society there were men who benefited and continued to benefit from the expanding slave economy and the nature of plantation trade in Belfast adapted to changing conditions over time. In fact, trade between Belfast and the West Indies was more important in the late 18th century than trade with continental Europe and the reality that the voyages of greatest duration leaving Belfast were to the Caribbean meant that it was a very important support to the employment of local seamen and ship repair. Offshoots of the

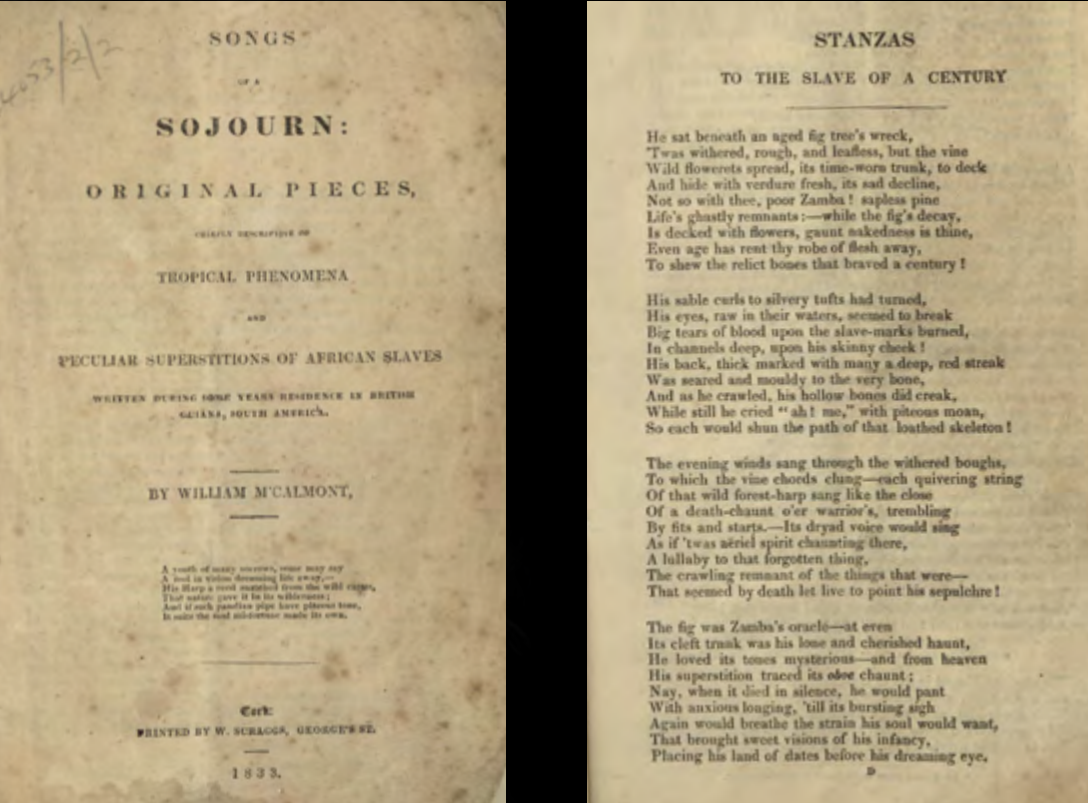


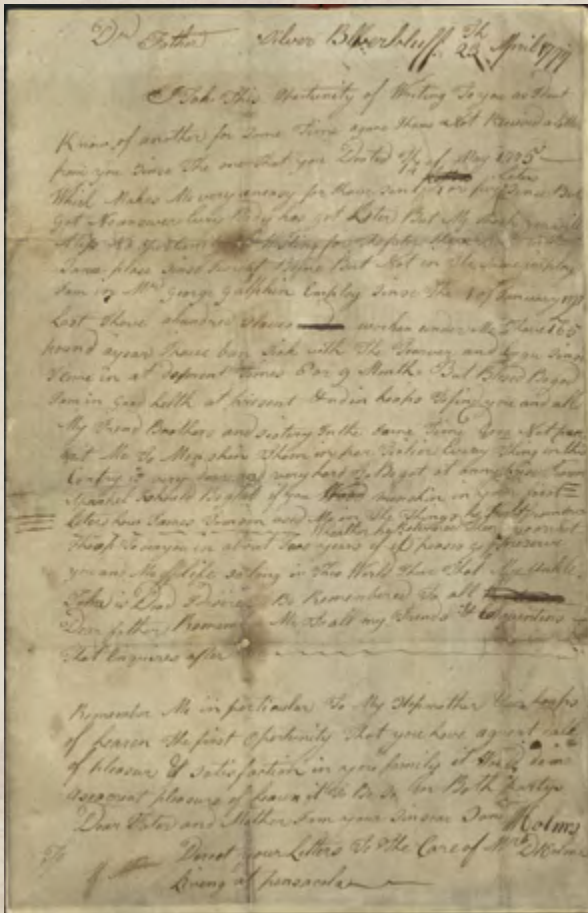
Fig 13 – Volume of poems, sketches and descriptions written by William McCalmont of Larne while working in British Guiana from c.1814. Published in Cork, 1833 (PRONI D4053/2/2)

nautical trade such as rope and sail manufacture flourished as a result. Chandlers provided soap and candles for the Caribbean market and there was an abundance of export work for shoe-makers who turned out quantities of broad-fitting clogs for slaves. In 1783 there were around 224 shoemakers in Belfast but this had increased by 1791 to 312. Only linen weaving employed more craft workers in the town.

A couple of decades after Cunningham came back to live in Belfast he was interviewed by a Commons Select Committee investigating the slave trade and the workings of the Caribbean slave plantations, professing that ‘negroes’ in the West Indies enjoyed a much happier and contented existence than ‘the lower class’ of people in England and Ireland. Whatever this implied as to the privations suffered by the urban and rural poor in Ireland and Britain (shocking Douglass in the mid-1840s), such moral complacency no longer went unchallenged in his home town by the 1780s.

THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT IN BRITAIN AND IRELAND TO 1807

The relatively slow growth in Britain of vocal resistance to slavery and the slave trade from the 1600s seems puzzling unless attitudes were broadly affected by the fact that Britain was late to the imperial project (compared to Spain and Portugal) and focussed on overtaking its rivals in an enterprise which had already become widely established as a social practice by European powers. The Spanish Empire had developed its own set of double standards after pondering the nature of slavery within decades of starting the purchase and sale of slaves in the 1490s: it did not permit trade in slaves but was content to approve of the plantation and household ownership of slaves replenished by foreign traders licensed to the Spanish crown. British culture developed



its own form of double-think, on the basis that nobody living in Britain, ‘land of the freeborn’, could be reduced to the legal condition of slave, while silently tolerating the existence of British slave economies on the other side of the world. In truth there were many household slaves in wealthy British residences, as is now becoming clear. The assertion of William Cowper (1731-1800) that ‘slaves cannot breathe in England; if their lungs receive our air, that moment they are free’ could be made to sound as if slavery in the British empire was an un-British anomaly.

Fig 14 – Letter home, William Holmes of Pensacola (Florida) to Wm Holmes, Tullygoney, Co. Tyrone (23rd April 1777), ‘I am in Mr George Gaphin employ sinse the 1 of January 1777 last. I have a hundred slaves worken under me. I have £165 pound a year’ (PRONI D1782/2)

The Anglican Church did not show a great deal of concern about the practice of slavery till the later 18th century. It was the persecuted Religious Society of Friends (or 'Quakers'), founded by George Fox (1624-91) in 1652, that insisted that Christian spirituality was inherently in opposition to the idea of property rights in other human beings. In the 1730s the eccentric philanthropic landlord and politician, James Oglethorpe (1696-1785), briefly a Director of the Royal African Company, persuaded Parliament to underwrite the creation of a non-slave American state (to be called 'Georgia'), as a refuge for debtors and reformed prisoners. Under the influence of his friends, Granville Sharp (1735-1813, a lawyer fired by ideas of natural enlightened justice) and the evangelical writer, Hannah More (1745-1833), these concerns turned by the 1750s into the germ of a movement against slavery.

John Wesley (1703-1791) preached against slavery to poor congregations flocking to his sermons in the 1740s and 1750s, having tested his beliefs in missionary work with the Indians on a visit to Georgia in the 1730s. Several leading figures in this religious revival, including the poet William Cowper and the preacher, John Newton (1725-1807) turned passionately against slavery in this period.

Newton, a close friend of Cowper's, had his crucial conversion experience in Ulster. He was born in Wapping, London. He was sent away to school which proved to be an unhappy experience for him. By the age of eleven he was serving on his father's ship sailing to the Mediterranean. Later he was press-ganged onto HMS Harwich eventually being exchanged for a merchant seaman. He resumed life in the maritime trade working on the West African coast buying slaves. For a time he was enslaved himself and forced to work on a plantation. In 1747 he was rescued and returned to England on a ship called the 'Greyhound'. The 'Greyhound' traded on gold, ivory and beeswax. In 1748, once again on board the 'Greyhound' on its way across the Atlantic from Brazil back to Liverpool, Newton and most of

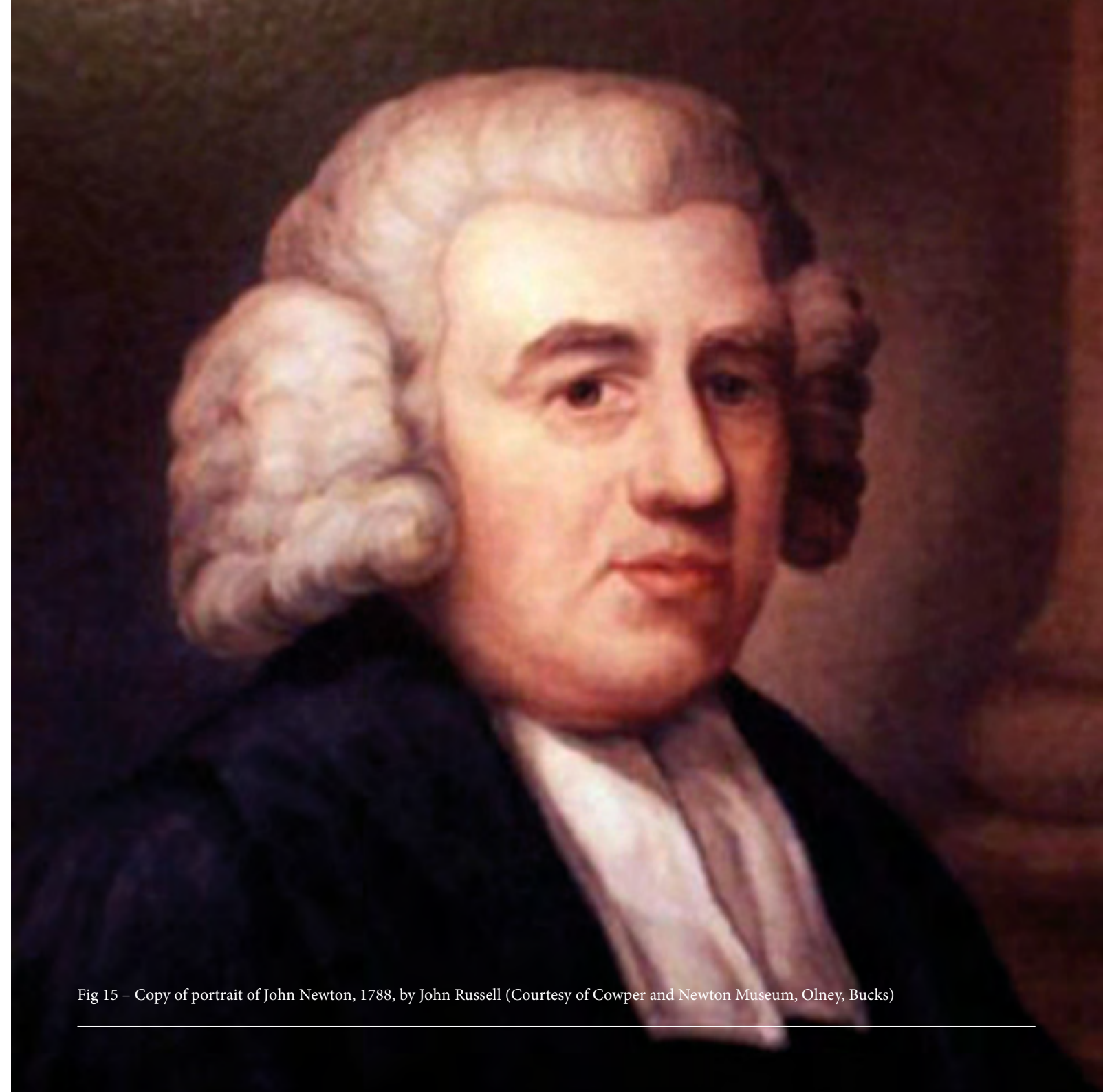


Fig 15 – Copy of portrait of John Newton, 1788, by John Russell (Courtesy of Cowper and Newton Museum, Olney, Bucks)

In the Name of God, Amen.

I James Smyth being in my perfect Senses do leave & bequeath this my last Will and Testament. My Body I commit to the Good and after having paid all my Worldly Debts, I bequeath one fourth of the Remainder to my Sister Peggy, Ann Smyth, now of Belfast in the County of Antrim. The Remaining three fourths to be put to Interests which to be divided equally between my Father, Mother, and Brother for their Use & for the Education of my Child, and after the Demise of my Father and Mother the above three fourths to go to my Daughter Rachel Smyth, my Sister and my Brother to be divided equally among them, share and share alike, And I do hereby cause my aforesaid Father, Mother, Brother, and Sister to observe, that unless they pay the greatest attention to the bringing up of my above mentioned Child Rachel Smyth (whom my Executors, as will be hereafter named, shall cause to be sent to Europe) they are by no means to be considered as the legatees above mentioned, And I hereby leave and bequeath the whole of my Property both Public, and private to Messrs Hickman and Bewicke (whom I appoint my lawfull Executors) to be by them divided in the manner above mentioned. And I hope that in Consideration of the Friendship of their departed Friends they will take Care of her Infant Daughter, and bring her up in the fear of God, untill such time as she shall be of a fit Age to be sent to her Father's Relations in Europe, and I beg the above mentioned Gentlemen Messrs Hickman & Bewicke will accept of £10 each to buy a Mourning Ring, which they will preserve as the last memorial of Affection for their departed Friend. For each of my Wenches I leave 10^{oz} of Gold and a good Cloth, and for each of my Boys I allow their Wages to be paid in full, my Boy Cajor to have besides 2 oz of Gold, my Boy Mulattoe Joe 10^{oz} and my Boy Affery to have 8^{oz} Gold. In Witness whereof I subscribe to this, and affix my Seal thereto this 8th day of Apr 1790

signed, sealed & delivered }
in the presence of: } signed J^{as} Smyth (Seal)


signed M^r Parker, J^r Buddell, J^r L^{aw}son } signed J^r L^{aw}son (signature)

Fig 16 – Copy of will of James Smyth, born Carnmoney, transcribed by Shoolbred, African Office, 8th Sept 1790, ‘for each of my wenchies I leave 10 oz of gold and a good cloth. And for each of my boys I allow their wages to be paid in full, my boy Cajor to have besides 2 oz of gold, my boy Mulattoe Joe to have 10 oz and my boy Aferry to have 8 oz’ (PRONI D852/1b)

the crew survived a terrible storm at sea which lasted from the 10 March until 8 April. During this ordeal he prayed, for the first time since childhood, to be saved. Commentators believe that this ‘re-awakening of his faith’ ultimately led to his evangelism. The ship sustained severe storm damage over a two-week period and was blown further off course toward the North of Ireland. Almost miraculously the storm abated long enough for them to put down anchor in Lough Swilly where they had no choice but to wait for the vessel to be made sea-worthy.

Before very long John Newton was to experience yet another brush with death. He was invited by the Lord Mayor of Londonderry to be his guest at a shooting party during which his own fowling piece accidentally discharged destroying his hat and not his head. This second near-death experience convinced Newton that God was watching over him and during the remainder of his time in Londonderry while he waited for the ‘Greyhound’ to be repaired he is said to have prayed twice daily in St Columb’s Cathedral, which may even have inspired John Newton to write one of the most popular hymns in the English language - ‘Amazing Grace.’ Newton was spiritual guide to William Wilberforce (1759-1833) during the key spiritual crisis of 1785 that led him to campaign against slavery.


Emancipatory and evangelical principles were sufficiently distinct and unusual to mean that activists coalesced in the 1780s to make up the evangelical London Clapham Sect dedicated to the end of slavery, among other things. Their most famous member was William Wilberforce. Under the Mansfield judgement of 1772 it was determined by the Court of Kings Bench that a baptised escaped slave could not be returned to slavery or repossessed by his former ‘owner’ into the ‘odious’ ‘state of slavery’ (Mansfield became a thoroughgoing emancipationist). This was interpreted as meaning that slavery was illegal under British Common Law. Such issues were complicated (especially in Ireland) by the rhetoric of radical



Enlightenment Republicanism demanding universal equality which alarmed established opinion in a divided country. The first draft of the American Declaration of Independence (strongly influenced by the benevolent ethics of the County Down philosopher, Frances Hutcheson, 1694-1746) roundly denounced slavery but this wording had been deleted by the time it was published (by John Dunlap, Ulster immigrant printer) on 4th July 1776. The signatories, George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, John Jay and Alexander Hamilton included a number of slaveholders. The rhetoric of the American Declaration of Independence announcing that ‘all men are created equal’ was accordingly undercut by pragmatic acceptance of slavery among its adherents. The contradictions were incisively laid out in July 1852 by Frederick Douglass in Rochester, New York, in one of his uncompromising speeches, ‘The meaning of July Fourth for the Slave’:

This fourth of July is yours, not mine. You may rejoice, I must mourn...Your fourth of July is a sham. Your boasted liberty an unholy license for enslaving blacks...your shouts of liberty and equality a hollow mockery

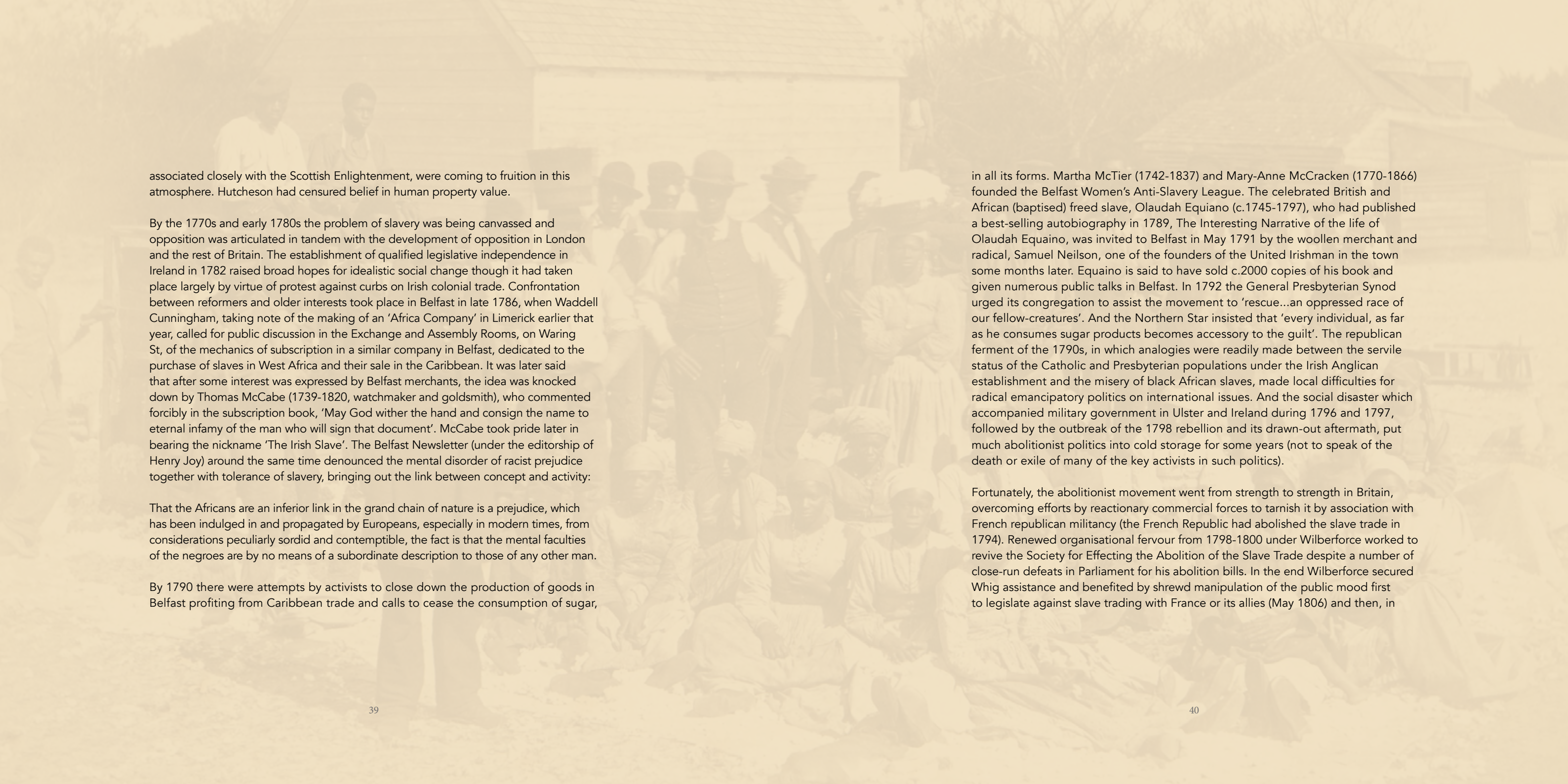
The case of the Zong in 1783 (see earlier) electrified British public opinion on behalf of slaves, particularly among evangelicals. Later that year the Society of Friends began formally to organise against slavery, setting up a committee to obtain and publish ‘such information as may lead to the abolition of the slave trade’. (See Anti-Slavery Reporter pamphlets, Pike Family Papers, PRONI D3491/1). A petition was sent by the Society to parliament calling for an end to slavery. The Church of England began to review direct and indirect involvement in activities condoning slavery. The Quaker spearhead of religious opposition could make little legislative headway against commercial inertia without access to Parliament: until 1828 Quakers were excluded by law from election to the House of Commons.



Public life in this sphere was stirred profoundly after 1787 when a second non-denominational organisation against slavery was set up by Quakers and evangelical sympathisers in the cause and the powerful voice of William Wilberforce (1759-1833), MP for Kingston-upon-Hull, was drawn into the campaign.

Wilberforce had an independent income derived from business in Baltic trade, untainted therefore by any slave connexions. Having close friendships within the higher echelons of the British ruling class (with both William Pitt and William Grenville, for instance, British Prime Ministers between from 1783 to 1801, 1804-1806 and 1806-7) Wilberforce unusually combined the strictest Christian conscience (upon conversion in the mid-1780s) with worldly understanding, humour and charm, at a time when ‘enthusiasm’ was frowned upon among the ruling class and evangelical ‘enthusiasts’ were firmly regarded as social outsiders. The sense of divine mission mixed with sympathetic tact was transformative: Wilberforce was mentored by John Newton. The extraordinarily popular devotional tract, ‘Practical Christianity’, published in 1797, which pulled no punches about the evils of slavery, gave immense social and religious authority to the movement for abolition.

During the late 18th century Belfast politics was intensely local. It was a small industrial town, predominately Presbyterian with Catholics making up only eight per cent of a population of about 16-18,000. It was a thriving well-built port dominated by a tightly-knit entrepreneurial class in close touch with the latest thinking in Britain and Europe. Presbyterian culture tended to the radical and subversive, given the penal exclusions suffered under Anglican government in Ireland. Volunteers, Whig Club members and (by the 1790s) members of the Republican United Irishmen mixed socially and attended the same meeting-houses. It could be said that the humanitarian and egalitarian values of the philosopher, Francis Hutcheson (born Saintfield, Co. Down, died Dublin),



associated closely with the Scottish Enlightenment, were coming to fruition in this atmosphere. Hutcheson had censured belief in human property value.

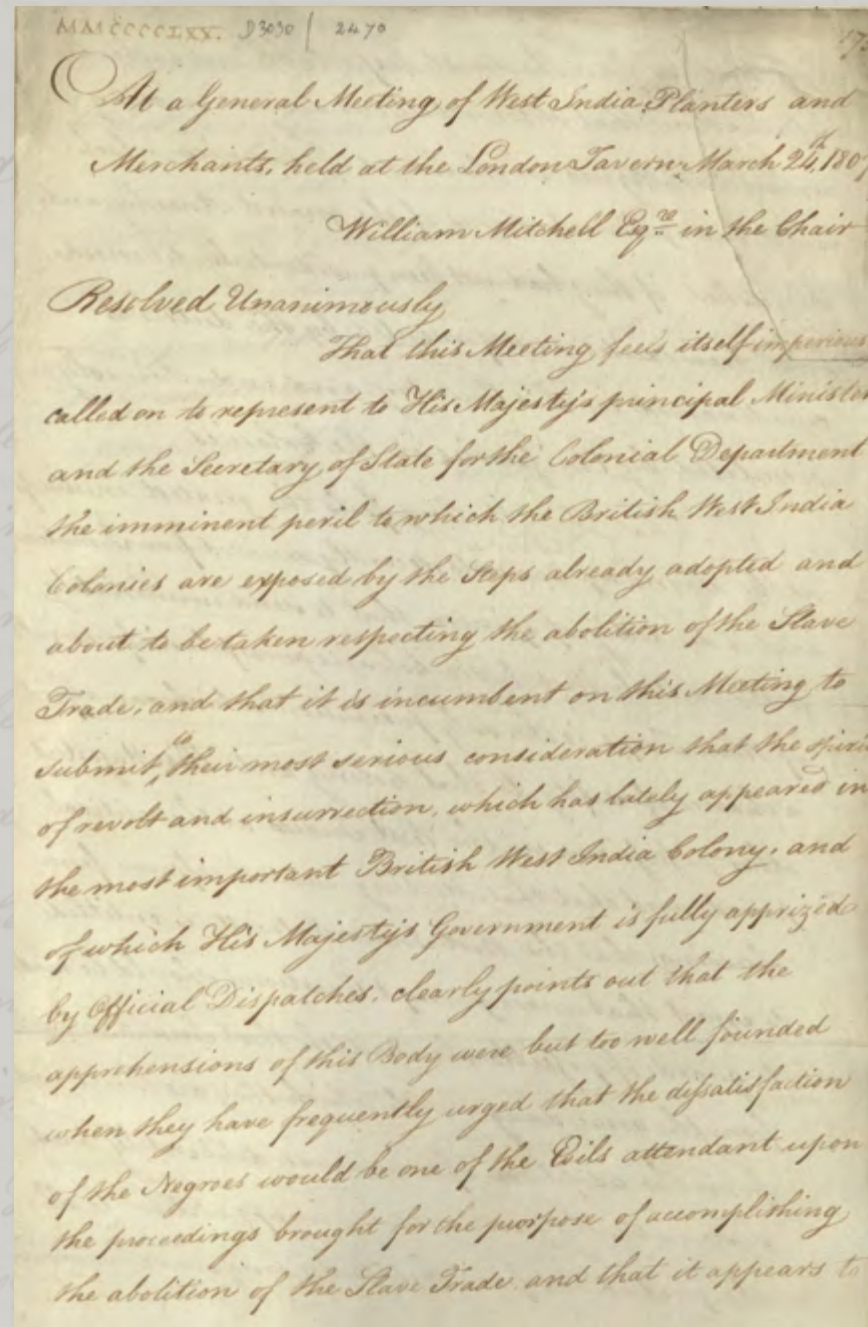
By the 1770s and early 1780s the problem of slavery was being canvassed and opposition was articulated in tandem with the development of opposition in London and the rest of Britain. The establishment of qualified legislative independence in Ireland in 1782 raised broad hopes for idealistic social change though it had taken place largely by virtue of protest against curbs on Irish colonial trade. Confrontation between reformers and older interests took place in Belfast in late 1786, when Waddell Cunningham, taking note of the making of an 'Africa Company' in Limerick earlier that year, called for public discussion in the Exchange and Assembly Rooms, on Waring St, of the mechanics of subscription in a similar company in Belfast, dedicated to the purchase of slaves in West Africa and their sale in the Caribbean. It was later said that after some interest was expressed by Belfast merchants, the idea was knocked down by Thomas McCabe (1739-1820, watchmaker and goldsmith), who commented forcibly in the subscription book, 'May God wither the hand and consign the name to eternal infamy of the man who will sign that document'. McCabe took pride later in bearing the nickname 'The Irish Slave'. The Belfast Newsletter (under the editorship of Henry Joy) around the same time denounced the mental disorder of racist prejudice together with tolerance of slavery, bringing out the link between concept and activity:

That the Africans are an inferior link in the grand chain of nature is a prejudice, which has been indulged in and propagated by Europeans, especially in modern times, from considerations peculiarly sordid and contemptible, the fact is that the mental faculties of the negroes are by no means of a subordinate description to those of any other man.

By 1790 there were attempts by activists to close down the production of goods in Belfast profiting from Caribbean trade and calls to cease the consumption of sugar,

in all its forms. Martha McTier (1742-1837) and Mary-Anne McCracken (1770-1866) founded the Belfast Women's Anti-Slavery League. The celebrated British and African (baptised) freed slave, Olaudah Equiano (c.1745-1797), who had published a best-selling autobiography in 1789, *The Interesting Narrative of the life of Olaudah Equiano*, was invited to Belfast in May 1791 by the woollen merchant and radical, Samuel Neilson, one of the founders of the United Irishman in the town some months later. Equiano is said to have sold c.2000 copies of his book and given numerous public talks in Belfast. In 1792 the General Presbyterian Synod urged its congregation to assist the movement to 'rescue...an oppressed race of our fellow-creatures'. And the Northern Star insisted that 'every individual, as far as he consumes sugar products becomes accessory to the guilt'. The republican ferment of the 1790s, in which analogies were readily made between the servile status of the Catholic and Presbyterian populations under the Irish Anglican establishment and the misery of black African slaves, made local difficulties for radical emancipatory politics on international issues. And the social disaster which accompanied military government in Ulster and Ireland during 1796 and 1797, followed by the outbreak of the 1798 rebellion and its drawn-out aftermath, put much abolitionist politics into cold storage for some years (not to speak of the death or exile of many of the key activists in such politics).

Fortunately, the abolitionist movement went from strength to strength in Britain, overcoming efforts by reactionary commercial forces to tarnish it by association with French republican militancy (the French Republic had abolished the slave trade in 1794). Renewed organisational fervour from 1798-1800 under Wilberforce worked to revive the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade despite a number of close-run defeats in Parliament for his abolition bills. In the end Wilberforce secured Whig assistance and benefited by shrewd manipulation of the public mood first to legislate against slave trading with France or its allies (May 1806) and then, in



February/March 1807, to carry abolition of trading in slaves in the British Empire. This success was partly attained by abandonment of the immediate goal of ending slavery entirely, as Wilberforce reluctantly accepted at the time. The belief was that once trading ended slavery would 'wither away'.

SLAVERY 1807 TO 1833

Under the Slave Trade Act, which came into force on 1st May 1807 the British Atlantic slave trade was outlawed and it was made illegal to carry slaves for any reason on British ships. However, the practice of slavery continued to exist in the Caribbean and elsewhere. And the trade continued secretly, even though any British captain caught transporting slaves was to be fined £100 for each slave found on board ship. In such cases, where there was a possibility of capture by the Royal Navy, it was not uncommon for unscrupulous captains to throw slaves overboard. Within the next decade Britain had assumed a police role on the oceans of the world leading against the slave trade. The Slave Trade Felony Act of 1811 made punishments for infringement more severe in respect of British subjects wherever they resided. In 1819 the Royal Navy posted a squadron off the West African coast to enforce the ban and in 1827 Britain declared slave trading to amount to piracy, a crime punishable by death (see Castlereagh Papers, 1814,

Fig 17 - Resolutions passed at a meeting in London of West Indies planters and merchants on the proposed abolition of the slave trade, 24th March 1807, on 'the imminent peril to which the British West India colonies are exposed...respecting the abolition of the slave trade...spirit of revolt and insurrection has lately appeared...the apprehensions of this body were but too well founded' (PRONI D3030/2470)

[illegible]

Fig 18 – Table from Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter (no.31 Series No.7, vol.ii), for Dec 1827, showing progress of measures of amelioration for conditions of slavery across Crown Colonies and Chartered Colonies in British Caribbean (PRONI D3491/5/1/A (b2))

work, as far as they go, of the Government at home; and to what a small extent they have hitherto operated, may be seen in the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. XIII. *passim*, and in No. XXX. p. 133—136. What we particularly intend by exhibiting this clause as unfulfilled, is that no new *legislative* measures whatever have been taken either by the Crown or by the Colonial legislatures for promoting the education and instruction of the slaves. The efforts of Methodists and Moravians are not to be ascribed to the Colonial authorities, by whom indeed in Jamaica they have been hindered. And while Sweden continues to be

In March 1807 the United States matched the legislative innovation being carried out in Britain with its own Congressional Act prohibiting the importation of slaves into the country. However the internal 'coast-wise' and interior trade in the sale of slaves was not terminated. By 1804 all the Northern states had abolished slavery and there was an assumption that the southern plantation economy would dwindle of its own accord. Developments in the processing of cotton together with massive increase in international demand for cotton garments during the industrial revolution meant that the profitable exploitation of slavery was intensified in the United States between the 1790s and the 1850s. When the first American census was taken in 1790, African-Americans numbered about 760,000 or about a fifth of the total population. By 1860, just before the start of the American Civil War, the African-American population had increased to 4.4 million, the vast majority of them slaves labouring on plantations in the southern states in the production of cotton, tobacco and rice (see emigrant letter, dated 1855, from South Carolina, regarding an emigrant from Co. Antrim, whose 'negro property' was calculated at \$6,000).

In some of the southern states there were as many slaves as there were free white people. The invention of the 'cotton gin' (meaning 'engine') by Eli Whitney in Georgia in 1793 immediately made the processing of short-staple cotton, the principal inland crop in the southern states, fifty times faster than previously. The chore of separating sticky seeds from one pound of harvested cotton fibre took a day per slave in the 1780: the 'cotton gin' speeded up the process so much that fifty pounds of fibre could be cleaned per day. This effectively made factory-produced cotton garments (often turned out in the Northern states) much cheaper, driving popular demand, as an urban industrial population in Britain, America and Europe began to increase in size. Plantations expanded massively, in number and in size, over the southern states and the ownership of slaves became more entrenched.

1			2		
92			93		
County of Cornwall.			Proprietors, &c.		
PARISH OF ST. ELIZABETH.			Properties, &c.		
ACRES OF LAND, 206,458.			Slaves. Stock.		
Proprietors, &c.	Properties, &c.	Slaves. Stock.	Proprietors, &c.	Properties, &c.	Slaves. Stock.
ADLAM, William	Upper Warminster	908	Bennett, Thomas	Spring-Garden	21 3
Alexander, Elizabeth	Lower Warminster	99 309	Bent, Ann R.		7
Alexander, Jane		7	Bent, Henry	Cherry-Mole	6 4
Alexander, Lilly		8	Bent, James, for F. E. Wil-		8
Alexander, Mary		14	son and George Powell	Cotton-Tree Hill	8 99
Allen, Hon. Isaac, dec.	Breadnut-Valley	12 128	Bent, John Benj.		4
Allen, Isabella		9	Bent, Margaret Powell	Tryall	12
Allen, Patrick and M. J.		6	Bent, Nicholas	Mango-Hill	3 7
Allen, Rebecca		13	Bent, Stephen		17
Allison, Cecilia		7	Bent, Susanna F.		6 3
Allison, Charles A.		6 5	Bergel, Carolino		4
Allison, Elizabeth		4	Berry, Jane		7
Anderson, Thomas, dec.	Fort-Anderson	21 25	Berry, Rachael C.	Springfield	24 46
Armstrong, William		4 4	Biggs, George	Hopeton	16
Ashman, Richard	Balbie	23 30	Binns, Edward C.		13 10
Austin, Ruth		20 20	Black, William		18
Ball, Thomas	Top-Hill	16 32	Blair, James and M'Gregor		6 2
Ballantine, William, dec.		7	Blake, Frederick Wm.		16 1
Bannister, Elizabeth	Richmond	10 4	Blake, Joseph	Content	17
Banton, Judith Ann		6 3	Blake, Mary	Mole-Hill	49 16
Banton, Mary		4	Blake, William	Wilton	8 28
Banton, Timothy	Lodge	31 18	Boncher, Hon. Richard		13
Banton, William Benj.		4 13	Bowes, Susanna	Long-Wood	14 33
Barham, Joseph Foster	The Island	188 153	Bowers, John, dec.		9
Barnes, Cicely, dec.	Windsor	183 253	Box, Sarah		19 17
Barnes, John, admor.		20	Bromfield, John F.	Southfield	78
Bayet, Bertrand	Crawford's Pen	29 232	Bromfield, Mary		7 19
Baylis, John Cannon	Yardly-Chace	79 140	Bromfield, Sophia Ann		13
Beaver, Mary		5	Brooks, Amelia		2
Bell, Rachael		2	Brooks, Charles	Cottage	15 2
Bell, Sarah		3	Brooks, D. F.	Retreat	13 4
Bennett, Dorothy		38 5	Brooks, Edward, sen. dec.		10
Bennett, Frances A. estate of Montrose		41 30	Brooks, George, estate of	Exeter	12
Bennett, Joseph	Spring-Garden	44 12	Brooks, James, estate of	Airy-Hall	17
			Brooks, Priscilla		6
			Brown, Eleanor		18
			Bruce, Jeremiah, estate of		25 3
			Bruce, John and Alex.		5
			Burton, Catherine	Content	7
			Burton, Elizabeth T.		77 5
			Burton, Elizabeth		16 3
			Burton, Frances		6 7
			Burton, John	Mount-Providence	2
			Burton, John	Paisly	14 2
			Byrne, Andrew	Carlsbrook	99 386
			Cameron, Donald		9
			Campbell, John D.		8
			Campbell, Myra D.		

Fig 19 – Alphabetical list of landowners (A-B), estates and slaves in parish of St Elizabeth, Jamaica, 1822, extracted from Jamaica Almanac 1822. The Jamaica Almanac was published from 1672 to 1880 (one of the earliest in the British Empire) and, for commercial reasons, provided lists of properties and slave-holders, by parish, from 1811 (See also freepages.rootsweb.com) (PRONI T2107/3a).

It is a paradox that for a time the Slave Trade Act took some of the urgency out of the domestic British movement for the abolition of slavery itself. There were as many slaves in grinding employment on British West Indies plantations in 1810 as there were in the southern United States. The Indies remained for decades an outlet for ambitious (and desperate) males in Britain and Ireland seeking careers in colonial administration or in plantation business, overseers for the uneducated and book-keepers and estate managers for the educated. The indulgence afforded to aggressive conduct by those in power under colonial legal systems and according to local norms and conventions degraded over centuries meant that disturbing abuses were commonplace in the islands of Jamaica, Antigua and elsewhere. Increasingly, the plantation elites, especially those



Fig 20 – Cover of Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter, Dec 1827 (issue 31, series no.7 vol.ii). The A.S.M. Reporter was first published London, 1825, by Zachary Macaulay for the Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery, maintaining consciousness of slavery issues by keeping up unwavering scrutiny of treatment of the powerless around the world. It continues in publication today (PRONI D3491/5/1/A/b1)

in the different Houses of Assembly perceived themselves as embattled by the effects of progressive legislative change and to have become outsiders to metropolitan values. Philanthropic organisation gathered pace again in Britain in the early 1820s but after ill-health obliged Wilberforce to withdraw from direct involvement in the movement in 1823, the short-term objective of anti-slavery tended to amelioration of abuses rather than outright abolition. This played into the hands of West Indies estate management which saw the possibility of prolonging the legal existence of the slave plantation almost indefinitely, by stringing out a series of minor ethical adjustments entered into colonial legislation, subjected to limited scrutiny.

The enslaved populations had a far more sophisticated understanding of their plight than their overseers and owners supposed. Revolts took place almost every decade during the 18th century on most of the plantation islands. Escaped slaves formed free communities in remote areas which could not be dislodged. British estate owners were astonished and made fearful by the successful achievement of independence by Haitian slaves in 1802 when Touissant L'Ouverture (1743-1803) defeated the French military. On Barbados in 1816 heroic leadership of a force of 400 enslaved men and women by 'General Bussa', a former plantation ranger, threw island settlers into confusion. On the usual pattern, though one or two white settlers were killed there were 144 enslaved persons executed under martial law. In Demerara (later British Guiana) in 1823 the stubborn dismissal by the House of Assembly of plans for improving slave conditions set off a series of riots and protests by the enslaved. A handful of settlers lost their lives but in the usual manner several hundred of the enslaved were shot or hanged and many were flogged. Plantation owners in Jamaica

found that news of the revolt in Demerara had spread there as it was happening and that organisation and planning for revolt was going on. The final slave revolt in the West Indies took place in Jamaica in December 1831 and January 1832 and it was arguably this event that concentrated minds in Parliament and led to abandonment of the policy of 'amelioration' and the abolition of slavery in the British Empire. Probably the key lever of change during this period was the determination of Methodist and Baptist missionaries to 'Christianise' the enslaved population. In effect this provided an opening for increased literacy and conscious organisation among slaves on the plantations. It was difficult for Planters to halt though they were suspicious both of the motives of missionaries and of converts. It may be that Christian belief mingled with African 'Obeah' (spell-casting and healing traditions) proved a powerful liberating ideology. The Baptist missionary William Knibb (1803-45) initiated a programme of conversion on Jamaica in 1825 convinced that the island was a place 'where Satan reigns with awful power'. Bible reading lessons brought about literacy and the free exercise of church authority by converted Deacons. Between 1828 and 1831 Samuel Sharpe (1804-32), a charismatic 'house slave' from the parish of St James, used the statement that 'no man can serve two masters' to communicate a divine mandate to the enslaved population to rise up and reject the 'mastery' of white settlers over against divine authority. Planning of 'the business' was highly secret but continuously aware of metropolitan and local thinking and developments, particularly of Assembly resistance to improvements and also of metropolitan sympathy for emancipation. The revolt took place two days after Christmas 1831 and lasted for two months, in which the island found itself overwhelmed by the protest and resistance of 60,000 of the enslaved. A vast amount of estate property was deliberately destroyed in riotous protest but there were few killings of settlers. However, 300 of the enslaved were hanged.

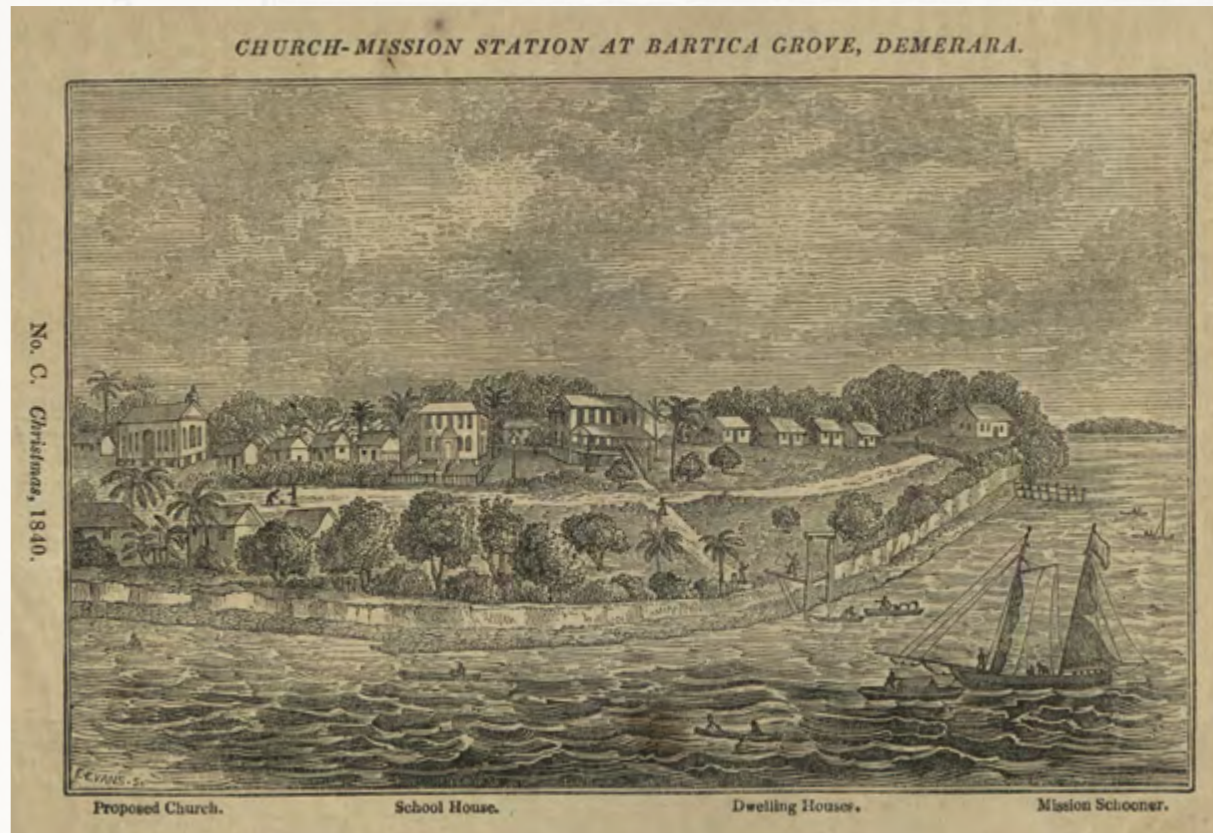


Fig 21 – Sketch of Church Mission Station, Bartica Grove, Demerara (British Guiana), established on the Essequibo River, in 1829, during a gold rush, as one of the first Anglican missions in the colony (PRONI D1584/12/1)

PRONI holds some key archives that illuminate plantation society in Jamaica during the late 1820s and early 1830s and also the impact of the Sharpe Rebellion, principally the papers of Somerset Lowry-Corry, the 2nd Earl of Belmore (1774-1841) (PRONI D3007). Belmore was appointed Governor of Jamaica in August 1828 with a brief to bring Plantation society and the Jamaica House of Assembly to a sense of the need for radical legislative and social change. It was to prove their last chance. Belmore encountered formidable patterns of corruption and intransigence which could not be overcome without decisive change within the Colonial Office and in the metropolis. In the event he was recalled in May 1832, due it seems to internal conflict in Whitehall and to political in-fighting about the impending reconstitution of the British franchise under the Reform Act. The PRONI archive contains official despatches from the Colonial Office to Lord Belmore and a royal proclamation denying false reports that slaves in the West Indies were about to be emancipated. In addition, there is the correspondence of Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton (1783-1860), commander of the forces in Jamaica and a proclamation from Belmore offering pardon to rebellious slaves who had given themselves up or returned peacefully to their estates.

The shock of the Jamaica rebellion profoundly changed attitudes in Britain. A Commons Committee in mid-1832 heard numerous direct reports of the brutalities of plantation society, many by missionaries strongly on the side of the enslaved. The momentum towards abolition was renewed within Parliament and finally on 28th August 1833 the Slavery Abolition Act was passed, providing for the emancipation of slaves within the British Empire (except for India) from the 1st August 1834. Freedom, however, was only partial. Children under the age of six were made free immediately on 1st August 1834 but every enslaved person over the age of

six were required instead to enter into an ‘apprenticeship’ (meaning indentured labour) whereby they had to continue to work without charge for their former owners for upwards of forty hours weekly for another six years. Mitigating further against the impact on Plantation owners, the Government under the Slave Compensation Act of 1837 agreed to pay compensation to owners depending on the number of slaves of whose labour they were going to be deprived. This resulted in a total payout of £20 million in sterling (the equivalent of £1,220 million in today’s money) and consisting of over 40% of national tax receipts that year.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS AND THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES

The hopes of abolitionists in the United States during the early 1800s were thwarted by the unexpected profitability of cotton in the Atlantic world after the close of the Napoleonic Wars. Though slaves were no longer traded from Africa numbers rose to the enormous figure of at least four and a half millions (14% of the total population) by 1860. Through the 1830s and 1840s this stubborn and dreadful reality seemed almost unbreakable, despite the efforts of abolitionists in the Northern States and calls for abolition from campaigners in Britain and Ireland.

It was argued brutally in the Southern States that slavery was an economic necessity and that the demand for cotton could not be met without the use of slave labour. Arguments were also cynically made that the use of people as slaves was not essentially different to the system of paying minimal wages to industrial workers in the Northern textile factories and that plantations offered benign recompense for labour in the form of payment in kind, in food, shelter and clothing. But it is beyond dispute that plantation slavery rested

plantation in Louisiana (an Irishman from Tipperary) who works about 150 negroes, & wants plenty more from Ashantee – We have some admirable acquaintances here – the most intimate of them being Dr. Tuttle, who has a very nice wife and family. Also Genl. Shields, who is lodging here, out on Capitol Hill, without working any of them. He is a very singular & quite able & accomplished man but suffers a good deal from the effect of his wounds when he happened to take Cuba. While Congress was in session at the time was crowded with the friends of Congressmen we saw a little of the excessively fast Washington life. But independent of the Congressional people there is a large population in the city & they seem to me very good looking people. I have not seen any mother, or any father for 10 months, nor Mary Ann since her visit to Ireland. She seems to have enjoyed

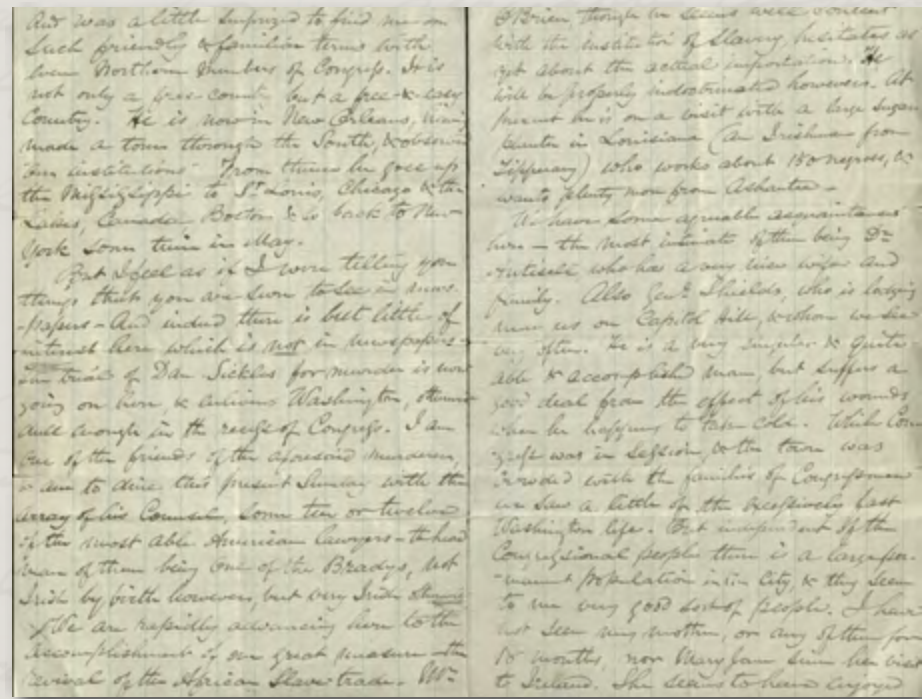


Fig 22 – John Mitchel to Matilda Mitchel (his sister) in Newry, Co Down, 10th April 1859, describing visit of former Young Irelander, William Smith-O’Brien (1803-64), ‘he seems well content with the institution of slavery’ but hesitates about ‘our great measure, the revival of the African Slave Trade’. Mitchel (1815-75), former Young Irelander and member of the Irish Confederation, and supporter of American Confederate States, espoused re-commencement of trade in slaves (PRONI D1078/M/7a)

on pervasive racism and a complacent conviction that the 'slave states' had the power to do as they pleased due to their convenient monopoly in cotton production – 'King Cotton'.

It was easy also to point to hypocritical racist sentiment within the Northern population. In the presidential election of 1860, Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865) ran for the Republican Party on halting the spread of slavery ('the monstrous injustice of slavery') while his principal opponent, Stephen Douglas, ran on the issue of popular sovereignty and 'state rights' (a euphemism for the right to retain slavery in the southern states). The opposition vote split and Lincoln became the 16th President of the United States (1861-1865). The 'South' had threatened to secede if Lincoln was elected and shortly after he took the Presidency the South Carolina legislature voted to leave the Union. Nine other southern states followed closely and by February 1861 formed a new nation, calling itself the Confederate States of America. The American Civil War began. After four years of bitter conflict the Confederacy surrendered and in 1865 Congress passed the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution prohibiting slavery in the United States or in any other place where United States law had jurisdiction (see letter from William Hill, Abbeville, South Carolina, describing the end of the Civil War and the freeing of slaves, 1865, PRONI T2305/38). The long-term exploitation of black slaves produced deep social divisions between comfortable white and poor black communities, the consequences of which still haunt modern American society. These divisions were reinforced by a post-civil war Southern backlash against the verdict of emancipation which succeeded by the 1870s in the segregation of black and white communities, the exclusion of black Americans from access to power in multiple ways and the prevention of inter-marriage. Many of these deep-seated problems only began to be addressed from the 1960s.

Frederick Douglass was one of the foremost in a series of heroic figures, in America and elsewhere, who emerged from enslavement in different ways to

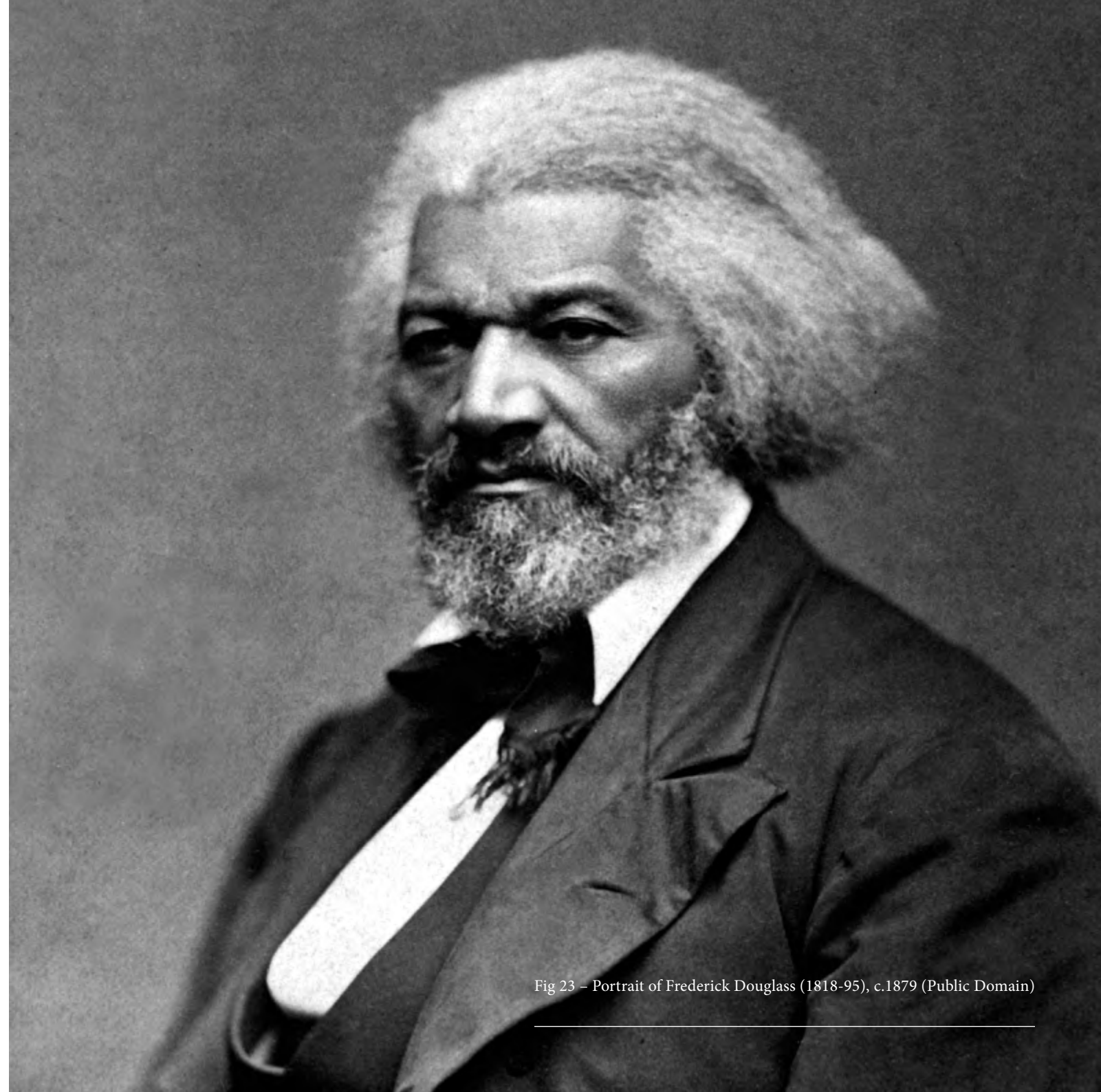
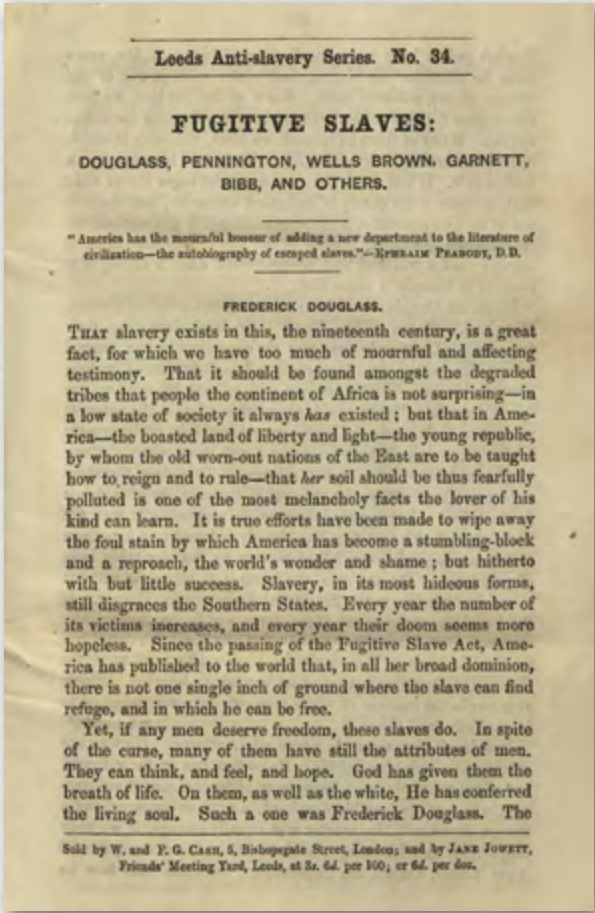


Fig 23 – Portrait of Frederick Douglass (1818-95), c.1879 (Public Domain)

speak powerfully and with majestic eloquence and insight into the about the tormenting imprisonment of the slave condition. Born Frederick Bailey in late 1817 or early 1818 (his date of birth was not recorded), to Harriet Bailey (died 1823) of Holme Hill farm, Chesapeake Bay, Maryland, he never discovered the name of his father but believed that it was the white master on the farm. Separated from his mother at the age of three he was raised by his

Fig 24 – Copy of Leeds Anti-Slavery pamphlet no.33, one of a series of 82 anti-slavery tracts (in a run of 500,000 in total), for distribution in the United States, produced in the late 1850s by the Leeds Anti-Slavery Association (founded 1853) (PRONI D2930/3/8/7)



grandmother for a couple of years. In 1823 he was sent to work in the household of Hugh Auld in Baltimore where, by good fortune, he found himself treated with some kindness. However, efforts at self-cultivation were soon harshly discouraged and he formed in adversity one of his foundational maxims, ‘knowledge unfits a child to be a slave’, resolving to overcome every barrier of ignorance to a life of freedom. As a child he devoured knowledge by secretly picking over spelling dictionaries, and gleaning information by ceaseless observation. Converting to Christianity about 1830 he found himself uplifted to confront injustice with a kind of compassionate fury, ‘I loved all mankind, slaveholders not excepted, though I abhorred slavery more than ever’. This may have sustained his lifelong awareness of the ambiguity of the human condition and his ability on that account to deal idealistically with the complexities of injustice in the American social landscape: ‘I would unite with anybody to do right and with nobody to do wrong’. Judging by the admiration he showed in the 1840s for the radical critics, Feuerbach and Strauss, his Christianity was likely as progressive as it was fervent. Suffering a brutal work-regime under a poor white farmer about 1833-34 he confessed himself ‘broken’ until he physically stood up to the abuse. Falling in love with a free African-American woman, Anna Murray, he was helped by her to abscond in Sept 1838. Taking false papers and dressed in sailor’s uniform he boarded train to Wilmington, Delaware then crossed the Delaware River to freedom in Pennsylvania. After marriage to Murray the couple settled first in New Bedford then in Lynn, Massachusetts. To make recapture more difficult he dropped the surname Bailey in favour of ‘Douglass’ (hero of the Scott poem, ‘Lady of the Lake’). Thereafter he was known as Frederick Douglass. Offended by the segregation practised by the various Methodist churches, he eventually found welcome in an independent African-American Church. By 1841 Douglass was a licensed preacher and had begun to campaign as a lecturing agent on behalf of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, finding his first calling as a forthright, brilliant and captivating speaker. In late 1843,

Victoria Hotel 8th Jan. (Belfast)

My Dear Friend - Your note containing that
of Dr Drew came to hand yesterday
just as I was going out to drive, I
should have acknowledged the receipt
immediately but for my haste.
Let me renew my thanks for
your consistent promptness
in the discharge of your official
duties - as well as thank you for
eliciting from the Dr this valuable
certificate as to the character
of my humble narrative

Yours Always
F Douglass

D2903/3/8/7 1 of 2

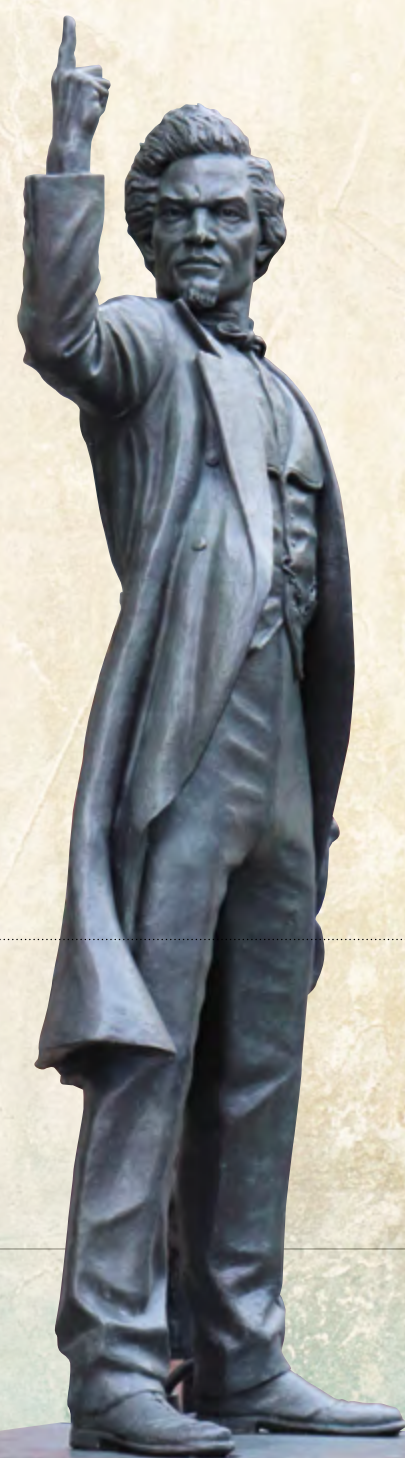
Fig 25 – Frederick Douglass (Victoria Hotel, Belfast) to James Standfield, 8th June 1846, 'Dear Friend, your note containing that of Dr Drew came to hand yesterday just as I was going out to drive, I should have acknowledged the receipt immediately, but for my haste. Let me renew my thanks for your consistent promptness in the discharge of your official duties – as well as thank you for eliciting from the Dr this valuable certificate as to the character of my humble narrative' (D2930/3/8/7)

during a tempestuous lecture tour he was badly beaten by a mob in Pendleton, Indiana and his badly set right hand never fully recovered. To face down critics who refused to accept the truth of his self-education and background Douglass determined in late 1844 to publish an account of his life-story. The Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave came out in April 1845, to acclaim and wide interest, selling 5000 copies in a few months. This very success was the rationale for his voyage to Ireland in August 1845, as Douglass and his friends were fearful that drawing popular attention would tempt Auld into an attempt at recapture. But the visit proved 'transformative' (his word).

Landing in Dublin 31st Aug 1845, Douglass was overjoyed to find general indifference to the colour of his skin and felt unburdened of the chronic self-consciousness African-Americans experienced in racist American society: 'I gaze around in vain for someone who will question my equal humanity, claim me as a slave or offer me an insult'. Touring Ireland, to great applause, with the aid of the Quaker community and small groups of abolitionists, he spoke with Daniel O'Connell in Dublin and with Fr Theobald Mathew in Cork and dined and stayed with every class of society. Reaching Belfast on 5th December 1845, intending a short stay, he lingered for a month, provided with rooms in the Victoria Hotel, Waring Street and preaching for abolition seven times in different Protestant churches. The anti-slavery society in the city was represented by James Standfield (c.1809-1861), Presbyterian grocer and the Rev Isaac Nelson (1809-1888, later a Home Rule MP). The first talk (5th Dec 1845) and several others were held at the Independent Meeting-House, Donegall Street. One was chaired by Andrew Mulholland (1791-1866), Lord Mayor of Belfast and another by Sharman Crawford MP (1780-1861). Though there was some pro-slavery criticism of the lectures, it was said that they had such an effect in the city that 'there was scarcely a lady in Belfast who would not be anxious to join in any means calculated to promote the

enfranchisement of the deeply injured Africans’. Douglass never forgot Belfast or Ireland and wrote in early January 1846 that he had ‘spent some of the happiest moments of my life since landing in this country...I live a new life. The warm and generous co-operation extended to me by the friends of my despised race...the glorious enthusiasm with which thousands have flocked to hear the cruel wrongs...the deep sympathy for the slave...the entire absence of

Fig 26 – Statue of Frederick Douglass (by Alan Beattie Herriot & Hector Guest), Rosemary St, Belfast, commissioned by Belfast City Council. The statue was unveiled 24th July 2023 and is the first in Europe to honour Douglass (PRONI, photograph by Sarah Wilkinson)



everything that looked like prejudice against me on account of the colour of my skin...lol! the chattel becomes a man’

Back in Belfast and Ireland several times in 1846 (speaking once in Bangor), Douglass left for the United States in early 1847. In 1882, after a lifetime of strenuous activism, as writer and newspaper editor, highlighting the oppression of African-Americans and also working to support equal rights for women and for every subject community, he came back to Ireland for a visit in 1882. Sad to find that most of his old friends were dead (he had been a young man in 1846), Douglass spoke elegiacally about his tour, writing up his Irish memories in 1886.

CONCLUSION

Though slavery was formally abolished in the British Empire in 1833 (extended to the territories under the control of the East India Company in 1858), in the French colonies in 1848, in respect of Dutch colonies in 1862, by the United States in 1865 and in the Spanish West Indies in 1870, there persisted, for over a century, many efforts to replace slavery with multiple forms of indentured labour, in the various plantation economies that existed, in the different colonial states, governed by these and other nations. The carve-up of the African continent by Imperial European powers in 1890 was given purported justification by the mission to end slave trading but of course led to dreadful servitude human rights abuses for the next half-century or more. The campaign against human trafficking worldwide continues to this day.

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SELECT GUIDE TO
MANUSCRIPT AND OTHER SOURCES IN PRONI
RELATING TO SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE,
1680s-1890s

(PRONI reference number and description of source)

Fig 27 - Sunderland Lustreware Jug decorated with Anti-Slavery Poem, c.1800 (OMAFP.2019.1.1 – Photograph Courtesy of National Museums NI, Ulster American Folk Park Collection)

D162/76	D162/76 - Jonathan Ever, London to C.R. Dobbs Carrickfergus, with regard to administration of Fort Stewart estate, Jamaica (export of cargoes of sugar) – (Oct 1758) ‘...as you have heretofore had a good opinion of my actings in your Jamaica affairs, it will I hope return into that channel, having by our Last packet recevd a Letter from Sr Simon Clarke to make Insurance on twelve hds of sugar that were shipped upon the Susanna Capt. Robt Mitchell for your accounts and Mr Waite and Overseer has informed me that Twenty five hhds of sugar is shipped on board the Auracabessa Capt James Miller (twelve of which I apprehend will only belong to you) which ships were to sail the middle of last month, and shall take care to order Insurance; and as this alteration seems to restore me to the Management of the plantation that I had upwards of thirty years past...’ (14th Oct 1758)
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D199/4	Waddell Cunningham, Belfast to Joseph Egger, Belfast. Lease for 3 lives or 93 years of parcel of ground on South side of High Street, Belfast. Rent £9 18s.0d. Duties 2.0 Heriot 10.0 (12th Feb 1770)
D207/20/110	(Massereene papers) – Printed ‘Case of Miss Thralfall and her Slaves ...’ (May 1827)
D207/37/1	Letter from William Wilberforce, Broomfield House, to Jn Foster. Seeking his assistance on behalf of a Huddersfield firm, Messrs Atkinson, finding difficulties in the way of setting up a thread factory at Newbridge, Co Kildare without penal charges of duty (14th Jan 1806)
D207/37/2	Letter from William Wilberforce, Kensington Gore, to Jn Foster. Arranging a meeting with Foster for himself and ‘a Yorkshire friend of mine’, to discuss ‘carpets and blankets’. (19th Jan 1810)
D207/37/3	Letter from William Wilberforce near London to Jn Foster on imposition of duties in Dublin on importations of blankets from West Riding, Yorkshire (3rd Aug 1810)

D270/6	Deed of Co-partnership. Business as merchants to be carried on in New York under the style of Gregg, Cunningham & Co., by Hamilton Young and Robert Ross Waddell. Term: 7 years. Consideration: Young & Waddell to invest £10,000 each in the business - Thomas Gregg, Belfast, Merchant and Waddell Cunningham, New York, Merchant and Hamilton Young and Robert Ross Waddell, New York, Merchants. (1st May 1761)
D298/56	Deed of co-partnership of members of the Glass House Co. Thomas Greg Waddell Cunningham, John Campbell, Robert Thomson, William Brown, Thomas McCabe, Charles Brett, James Stevenson, Robert Bradshaw, James Trail Kennedy, John Cunningham Alexander Sutherland and John Smylie, Belfast. (12th April 1785) See also D298/66, 71, 72, 98 for Cunningham deeds (& D300/2/1/5/19)
D300/3/2/25	Agreement for erection of Almshouses near Larne. Robert Henry Fulton, Cambridge Street, Belfast, with Charles McGarel, Belgrave Square, London, 17 August 1872.
D354/440	Instruction from William Auyon, master of the Endeavour of Liverpool, to George Macartney, Collector at Belfast, to pay the portage bill of the Endeavour, recently arrived in Belfast from Barbados, to Daniel Mussenden. (1720)
D354/486	Invoice for sugar shipped on board the Princess Anne for Bristol, John Young, master, for the account of Daniel Mussenden, Jones and Co., Belfast, consigned to Mr James Macartney in Bristol. There is also an invoice for muscavado sugar shipped on the Isaac for Charlestown, S. Carolina, for the account of Daniel Mussenden, an invoice for rum shipped on the Isaac for S. Carolina for the account of Daniel Mussenden and the statement of account current of Daniel Mussenden and Co., the owners concerned in the Isaac’s cargo to Barbados and Carolina, to Edward McCormick [master of the Isaac.] (1733-34)
D354/491	Invoice of goods shipped on the Isaac of Belfast, for the account of Daniel Mussenden and Co., Belfast, from Charlestown, South Carolina, and a number of invoices in March and April 1734 for molasses, pitch, rice, silver, rum and sugar, quoting prices. (April 1734)

D354/701	Letter from Valentine Jones, Barbados, to Daniel Mussenden, acknowledging his gratitude to Mussenden for helping him in setting up in Barbados and expressing his hopes that, as he and his partners are ending their partnership, Mussenden and he will continue to deal with each other. (8th June 1756)
D354/754	Printed bill of loading for sugar shipped on the Britannia, Capt. Archibald Landin, master, at Kingston, Jamaica, by William Stewart, to Allen and Marlar for the account of Daniel Mussenden (19th June 1755)
D354/978	Letter from Rocquette & Van Teylingen, Rotterdam, to Daniel Mussenden, enclosing an invoice for three casks of powder blue, ordered by Mussenden and shipped on the Loyal James, Robert Hammond, master, bound for Dublin, to the house of Marsden and Benson, and referring to the account for it. They quote the exchange rate and discuss insurance in connection with the Seven Years War. ‘... Should you incline to speculate on any of the articles which are now to be sold out of the French prizes and please to make trial of this market we do not doubt, but you’ll find a very good account by it as sugar, coffee and indigo will be good prices and be in great demand; the very great influence you have with some very good houses as well in England as Ireland, makes us beg of you to remember us also to your friends ...’. (25th May 1756)
D501/1	(Mrs Lenox-Conynam papers) - Letter book of a Belfast merchant (Issac McCartney) 1704-1707
D509/203	Counterpart rebuilding lease for three lives or 99 years - Rent: £20 p.a. plus fees of Rt Hon. Arthur, Earl of Donegall to Waddell Cunningham, Belfast relating to High Street, Belfast. (20th July 1767) (see also D509/552, 599, 600, 691, 826, 827, 8290, 894, 835, 840, 895)
D562	(Foster-Massereene papers) - 1623-1857.
D562/8429 a & b	Rough notes in John Foster’s handwriting on sugar - calculations, notes on speeches by Yelverton and Grattan, a History of the sugar duties down to 1785, etc. (c.1780-85)
D562/8605	A paper endorsed by Foster, “Regulations for Slaves in St. Helens by Governor Brook” (1791)
D562/8444	A letter from Waddell Cunningham in Belfast to John Foster about the effects of the Navigation Act on trade with the West Indies. He suggests that “... an alteration might be made in the Fishery Act, that would increase the numbers of Seamen very much ...” (8th Sept 1784)

D562/8447	A letter from Waddell Cunningham to John Foster about the charges for freight to America. (14th Nov 1784) (See also D562/8479, 8481, 8482, 8544, 8571, 8572a & b, 9543 – 1783-85 – Copy letter from [Waddell Cunningham?] to [Mr. Frere?] giving him the thanks and comments of the Committee of Ulster Volunteers and discussing exports to Portugal. A letter from Waddell Cunningham in Belfast to [John Foster] about Tobacco and Linen, and warning him that Belfast may petition Parliament for legislation to prevent further emigration. A letter from Waddell Cunningham in Belfast to John Foster at Collon enclosing D562/8480 and giving him information about the export of Roll Tobaccos. A letter from Waddell Cunningham in Belfast to [John Foster] about the Linen Trade. He discusses the question of fixing a duty on Tobacco which would increase the revenue and at the same time prevent smuggling. A letter from Waddell Cunningham in Belfast to J. Foster enclosing D562/8545. “... I assure [you], upon my word, no Merchant can import here a Cask Brandy, and pay the Duty, and again sell without 8d. to 10d. p gallon loss ...”
D572/3/43	(Earl Macartney papers) - Letter regarding insolvent debtors sold as slaves in America (6 March 1770)
D572/17/178	Sir Gilbert Elliott, Bastia, to John Udny, Leghorn. Copy letter stating that Mr. North had settled differences with Algiers, that Corsican slaves had been liberated and that the trade and corral of Barbary laid open to the industry of Corsica (17th Jan 1796)
D607/G/159	‘J.W.’ to [Lord Downshire] about the state of the country, the rejection of the Maynooth grant, etc and rumours that convicted United Irishmen to be sent as slave labour to Prussia, ‘It is universally reported and implicitly believed that the persons sent, and to be sent, to the King of Prussia are intended for slaves to work in the quicksilver mines’ (17th April 1799)
D623/A/78/126	Marquess of Abercorn to William Wilberforce (22nd July 1794). Refusing to make any application to Pitt in support of legislation towards abolition of slavery, ‘I am sorry you should seem to apologise for writing to me on any subject. Time was when we were not so formal, and I am one who do [sic] not like to forget old times and old friends. But that is not the case with others; and all I can say upon the subject of applications to Pitt or Government is, that after the very good reason I have now long had to know and feel, not only that I am very little likely to be attended to, but that the best title to attention is that of not having been an old and steady friend, God forbid it should ever be necessary for me to make any application of any sort’.

D623/A/82/33	Marquess of Abercorn, to William Wilberforce (17th June 1804). About the slave trade. ‘Though you ‘Lordship’ me a little more than necessary, I trust you do not forget (any more than I) that in old times we were rather less ceremonious towards each other, and therefore need lose no time in apologies on either side. My principles, which I believe are just what they were upon all subjects, are upon none the more steady than upon the slave trade, and I flatter myself I am quite as little like Mr Windham as ever. But feeling it a duty to God and man to hold in abomination the principles trafficking in human blood and misery, I hardly see how I can consistently condescend to argue upon rum, sugar and tonnage. But I should much like to converse a little viva voce with you upon the subject, and wish you may see no more reason than I do against your taking a dinner and bed at the Priory any day most convenient to yourself’
D623/A/82/33	(Abercorn papers) - Letter from James, Earl of Abercorn, London, to Mr William Anderson commenting on the ‘proposed enlargement of the colliers and salters’ and in which he expresses his views on slavery (17th Feb 1774)
D623/A/89/48	(Abercorn papers) - letter from the Marquess of Abercorn, to William Wilberforce about the slave trade (17th June to 21st June 1804).
D623/A/227/1	Major William Gomm, Grenada, to Marquess of Abercorn. Explaining that he never expected Abercorn to sacrifice other friends in an effort to obtain promotion for Gomm, and discussing the recent prospect of a war with Spain. ‘... I never expected that a war would take place against the Spaniards, until Admiral Cornish's squadron and the 13th and 15th Regiments arrived in this country, and that General Mathew had received orders to collect a force at Barbados and be ready to commence hostilities on the shortest notice’ (8th June 1791)
D623?A/233/76a	(Abercorn papers) - Draft for a speech on the abolition of the slave trade (1806)

D623/A/247/10	(Abercorn papers) – Letter from Lord Beresford, Lisbon to the Marquess of Abercorn. Includes reference to the slave trade in ‘Spanish America’ (8th June 1817) ‘The Spanish colonies have in general few slaves, and they are only employed in the mines or as household servants. The former is [sic] much apart from the general population, and the latter are used as well as any other servants, and are extremely few in number. The great body of the population through all Spanish America (excepting their West India islands, are Creoles, or descendants of the Spaniards, and consequently have not to fear the consequences that result from differences of colour and the still worse that result from the distinction of free and slaves, such as occurred at St Domingo. This is exactly the state of all the Portuguese settlements in the Brazils. All the labourers are slaves, and of the latter there are probably on an average seven or eight to one white, and as the slaves are the great property, and in which in fact consists [sic] the fortunes of the whites, the latter must expect, if that the flag of freedom and independence shall be once elevated, their slaves may think they have a right to the same banner, and as they must suppose the mother country will not give up the claim [to?] dominion without a struggle, they must be alarmed that during this the slaves will not be idle spectators who, however unwillingly, submitted to their conditions. This is a strong hold on the people of Brazil, and a great incentive to loyalty; and what I most fear on the present occasion of Pernambuco is that the rebels there, if they find themselves the weakest or unable to repel the attacks of the King's forces, that [sic] they will call in the blacks to their assistance, and thus begin the scenes of St Domingo. People desperate will have recourse to desperate measures, and their object being their immediate personal security, they will little care for or little look to future consequences. We are about to send a force from here of 3,000 men, and vessels are already gone to block the port’
D687/9	David Lindsay from Barbados to Mrs Lindsay (his Mother), Rathfriland, stating he is in perfect health and holds the same position as assistant in the Secretary's office receiving 1/6 extra per day. “I have experienced from Major Myers every attention and friendship”, Major Myers being secretary to Sir Wm. Myers, Commander of the Forces? Line. (14th May 1805)
D717/1-27	(Blair family papers) - (1785-1790)
D717/17	John Blair, Newry to Messrs. James & Lambert Blair, St. Thomas's (25th Nov 1783) - I am now married to Sarah Ashmu...Rum from the W. Indies would have sold for a high price here lately. “I suppose we have had £600 from England, Herrings can be made up here to advantage in a few months was there encouragement. Charles Forrest going out in a Brig called the America of which he was part owner was stab’d mortally with a bayonet by a passenger whom he offended.”
D719	(Black Family Papers) - The Black family of Bordeaux, Belfast and Isle of Man had plantations in Grenada by 1779 and another in Trinidad by the turn of the century (1739-1766)

D719/40	John Black to his son Alexander Black (16th Jan 1791) – ‘Our West India trade now so well purged of its gross humours, seems to recover some of its former vigour; there’s a list of above 180 sale at present belonging to this city from 100 to 550 tons bound to Guinea or directly to Martinique St. Domingo etc. where it’s still said the English smuggle furnish them cheaper slaves than it’s possible for their large expensive ships to do. It’s to be wished your new English treaty has it’s desired affect and that from a barren wilderness, your neighbourhood by the late rains become a Goshen; your uncle has no doubt told you of the new partnership betwixt sons John and James under the name of J. B. & Co. in which they shall have a proper encouragement and the best advice from me” .
D719/76	John Black to his sons Alexander and James Black (25th Feb 1765), “My dear ‘Allick’ and James Black referring you to the contents of my letters of 12th ult. in answer to those received lately from you both relating chiefly to the scheme you and friends had formed of purchasing a good plantation in the Leeward Island of Grenada in America of which and its situation and product you soon expected to receive a true report and estimate my means of our friend Mr. Alexander gone thither to be overseer and manager of the like concern there for another of the family at Edinburgh wherein I heartly wish them good success and that what he informs you of in your own concern may fully answer your expectations and encourage you and friends in a prudent and discreet well considered manner to proceed to the making a sure bargain; having lately been here in conversation with some friends who deal and have shipping employed in that and the sugar island trade I could not avoid taking notice of the paragraph in a letter lately come from London from one of these American adventurers whose name if I mistake not is Delap, who thinking it a prudent step to be taken by him and partners in case they had a view of buying possessions in those Islands lately by the piece ceded to Great Britain to apply to and get encouragement consent and patronage from my Lord Hillsborough as being the First Lord of Trade and being well recommended to him by certificate from some of His Lordship’s acquaintance here he readily told them they had done well in letting him know their intention therein, assuring them that no purchase in these ceded French Islands would be sure or valid in law or equity until they applied to and got the consent of the English Ministry and Board of Great Britain’s Admiralty, which hint I thought might be necessary to acquaint you with to take your measures accordingly’
D852	(Carnmoney Parish church papers) - Will of James Smyth, Belfast and Gold Coast (1790)

D856/D/48	(Sharman Crawford papers) - Letter referring to slave trade and slavery in America (28th April 1836) - Letter from John S. Crawford, Baltimore, United States of America to Mrs. M. S. Crawford, Crawfordsburn, Co. Down re his impressions of United States and outlining his itinerary – “You can have no idea of the enterprise of the people - the improvements of the Cities which are at present going on. You can go nowhere but this is evident. All it wants is population. Nothing can stop the march of improvements North or West. One thing alone - the South - the Slave Institution and as sure as Christmas is coming this Slavery, if measures of Emancipation be not speedily taken, will place the Southern States in a desperate situation and will throw it back for a time - but to arise higher than ever, when this curse of the land shall have ceased to exist. If you hate slavery my Dear Mother, not having seen the effects of it, whether on the wretches themselves, on the country, and above all its demoralising effects on their masters, the Whites, how much more if you had seen it as I have. But immediate abolition cannot or should not take place - it would be injurious to the best interests of the slaves themselves” .
D906/276	Letter. Robert Brereton, St Thomas’s in Africa, on the coast of Guinea, to Bruster Laughlin Esq., Collector of Dublin. On way to West Indies, sickness on board ship of 28 officers only ten are still alive due to yellow fever among Negro slaves in a Pirate vessel which had been captured. (20th March 1749-50)
D923/4	(Printed letter, James Emerson Tennant) - Letter (published) in which James Emerson Tennent, Whig candidate in Belfast Election, outlines views regarding the abolition of slavery (1832)
D955/49a	Letter from William Wyllly to his Aunt, thanking her for news of the family in England, and giving her family news from America. Letter from New Providence (30th March 1799), ‘At the conclusion of the American war in which both my brother and myself served in the King’s army, and obtained Companies, we found ourselves stripped almost of everything, and reduced to our Captain’s half-pay...My mother went to Jamaica with a few slaves, whom we had saved from the wreck of our property in Georgia. She afterwards spent three or four years in England...My brother, who is Speaker of the House of Assembly [Bahamas], has some valuable appointments. My own place of Chief Justice is worth between £900 and a thousand a year, and we have all cotton plantations. You mention that one of your sons is disposed to come abroad, but do not say in what line of life he would wish to move. Many fortunes have been made here during the present war, in trade, by privateering, and at the Bar. So that we do not yet understand the allure of cotton, the only [letter badly damaged] for which our lands seem calculated, nor is there any other good fields for a young man here

D955/51	Letter from Alexander C Wyllly to Rev. G V Sampson, Garvagh, Co. Londonderry (26th Feb 1816), former British officer made good in Americas after being banished from the American state and having his property confiscated with news about the wider family, 'Richard Wyllly died about 12 years ago, he left 3 sons and a daughter...The daughter is married to a Mr. Woodbridge, a merchant in Savannah. The surviving son is a planter. My aunt Habersham died about 4 years ago and left 3 sons and a daughter who are all now living, and respectably settled in Georgia and Carolina. My father Alexander Wyllly died in the 1780's. He left my brother William Wyllly, who is now Her Majesty's Attorney General in the Bahama Islands...My wife and daughters are in Georgia on my plantation. I served during the American Revolutionary War. I went on half pay as a captain at the peace of 1782, since which for five and twenty years I have filled various highly respectable appointments...The island on which I resided, St. Simons, was taken possession of by a detachment of Her Majesty's Forces in January last, and under a proclamation of the Commander in Chief inviting slaves to put themselves under the protection of His Majesty's arms a very large number of my negroes were carried off...My real loss may be estimated at about £5,000, but less than ten thousand would not return me to the situation in which I was'
D955/63	Thos. Lawrence, Junr., Liverpool, to Charles Lawrence, Brother, C/o W. Huey, Esq., Vere Estate Vere, Jamaica. Left home in June to attend a sale of Little's property, has since been doing the books for W. Brand, L'pool, had received an invitation from his Uncle Thomas of St. Domingo, to go out and try his luck, with his help, so Thos. proposed visiting the family in Ireland before starting. Discussion on Charles' work, health and the value of Rum and sugar being transported, freight, etc., more about the Mill failure, Little's debt, the Bank and Arthur Sampson (15th Aug 1827)
D971/42/A/8/5-6	(Papers of L'Estrange & Brett, solicitors) - Conveyances of property in Jamaica listing slaves by name (1793-1794)
D977/1	Ledger [Cowan & Co., flax spinners, Whiteabbey], which includes accounts with Thomas Atkins in Barbados, and Lyness & Co., and Thomas Imlach in Demerara, British Guiana. (1858-70)
D1044/339	Samuel and John Morton, Philadelphia to Thomas Greer, Dungannon. 'We sent a Bill of Exchange for £200, but have not heard if you received it. Sale of linen here very slack, we will keep the linen a little longer and hope the market will improve. Brother Samuel has returned from Barbados (8th June 1772)

D1044/778	Alexander Stewart, Lancaster to Thomas Greer, Dungannon, (16th Oct 1790), 'I was recommended to Mr. Thomas Rawlinson and Barrow & Sons and the former will take my produce if the report from his correspondent in Grenada is favourable, he expects to hear from him about the end of this month. I will embark in a Packet for Newry as soon as an agreement is reached. Mr. Rawlinson has three vessels that trade from here to Grenada and plantation stores and other materials are better and cheaper here than in Glasgow where I formerly traded with John Campbell. The property I have in Grenada is a Sugar Estate and when I first bought it I shipped 170 heavy hogsheads of sugar in a year, but of late it has diminished to half this quantity. This years crop has neted me after paying all expenses £2,000 and I hope next years crop will bring £1,000 more than this if things go moderately well for three years I will pay off the debt of £7,000 on my property. In the year 1756 I went into the Army as a Surgeon's mate to a Regiment and in 1757 I embarked with it to America on the expedition to Louisbourg and stayed there during the war. Afterwards I went to New York, Martinico and Grenada'
D1071/H/B/B/343/1-13	(Dufferin and Ava papers) - Letters from Colonel H. Bernard. Nassau, "Toronto and London. to Dufferin which include reference to Canadian and West Indian political news, their mutual interest in water-colour painting including a gift from Bernard to Dufferin of an amateur artist's water-colour interior of a negro yard in Nassau (1873-78)
D1071/H/B/C/95/61	(Dufferin and Ava papers) - Letter from Argyll, London, to Dufferin. Includes reference to the East African slave trade (13th October 1872)
D1071/H/B/C/590	(Dufferin and Ava papers) - Letter from William Alexander Coote, Secretary to the papers the National Vigilance Association, High Holborn London, to Lord Dufferin discussing the 'white slave traffic' (23rd April 1900)
D1071/H/B/H/357/1-5	(Dufferin and Ava papers) – 5 Letters from the Honourable Charles Heneage, MP, London, to Lord Dufferin concerning the alleged diplomatic involvement in the slave trade in Morocco (1889-1900)- the correspondence is infused with righteous anger at the activities of an allegedly 'slave dealing diplomatist representing HM The Queen at Fez'. This man, he alleges, shot dead a fleeing slave '...under most revolting circumstances' and, had he not been a British official, 'would have been amenable to Moorish law for the murder'. Heneage also alleges that diplomatic officials make '...large fortunes directly, and indirectly, out of the sale of slaves, 'with the full knowledge of the Foreign Office and with the full protection of the Foreign Office'.
D1071/H/L/2/A/80	(Dufferin and Ava papers) - Paper by Sir Bartle Frere on the slave trade in India and Egypt. (c.1883)

D1078/M/7B	(Pinkerton papers) - Letter from John Mitchel, Washington D.C., U.S.A. to his sister Matilda, Co. Down, discussing William Smith O’Brien’s visit to the U.S.A - “he seems well content with the institution of slavery but hesitates about our great measure, the revival of the African slave trade” (10th April 1854)
D1080/5/24	Counterpart of Lease from Alexander Legg, Malone, [Belfast], and others to Alexander George Stewart of Ballydrain, Co. Antrim, concerning the Old Sugar House, Belfast. (22nd Feb 1777) (see also D1080/5/26, 90, 96, 114 & D1184/1a)
D1108/A/9	(Cunningham and Clarke manuscripts) - Includes letters from Samuel Cunningham, Saint Pierre, Martinique and William Cunningham, St. Vincent (1792-1851) -- Samuel Cunningham, Saint Pierre, Martinique, West Indies. Copy of last will and testament of Sam. Cunningham, made before his departure for Europe. Legatees:- His brothers, John, William, James, Thomas, Joshua and Barber; his sisters Mary and Betsy; his father and mother; Sally Barber’s children; James Campbell of St. Vincents (Clerk) Madmoiselle Mariet Le Duff of St. Pierre; the poor of the Parish of Killead, Co. Antrim and the poor house of Belfast.Executors:- His father, his Uncle James Barber and Messrs. Thomas Brown and John Cunningham (Merchants of Belfast).Total legacy £8,500 but may be more than £10,000 when “landed property, house slaves” etc., are sold. (4th Oct 1796)
D1108/A/18	William Cunningham, St. Vincent, to James Barber (his Uncle), British, Co. Antrim about sale of bankrupted plantation company, ‘Sam had won a good reputation here “where all sorts of vices are carried on”. Though the books are not settled yet it appears that Sam greatly overestimated his wealth - bad debts and accounting mistakes reduce the first estimation of the profits. The new company have bought all the salable goods of the old at a cheap rate; public auction would have brought far more especially for the four slaves who had learned to be sailors and would sell very high these times. “They are making no attempt to pay the debts of the old company with the money and produce now coming in. There is an Act pending which would exempt planters from paying old debts for the space of 3 years and this may affect a settlement. (12th – 24th March 1797)
D1125/5	(Knox Family papers) - Original account book of Lambert Blair and Co, General Merchants, Barbados, giving details of trade in coffee, cotton and slaves (1795-1799) (see also D717 Blair family papers)

D1364/1/20	Rowland Redmond New York to ‘Dear Willie’ (William Young, Ballymena, Co. Antrim((14th Dec 1863) - Letter relating to family and financial affairs and the American Civil War. ‘the backbone of the Rebellion...is now beyond all doubt broken...Six or at most twelve months must see its armies marching in triumph over the Rebellion states, and the people of those states on their knees [suing] for mercy - And to my view they have reason to hope that they will in time - how long - succeed in breaking down the military power of the south - I can offer no explanation but that of weakness at the south for the result before Chattanooga and Knoxville and I consider the loss of those two places to the south of more damage than any other losses the south has sustained....If a true vote could be taken in the Free States I believe that 7/8 would vote against the abolition of slavery and yet the Government, and it knows this, having the power has openly declared no peace but on abolition in the States and parts of States where Lincoln’s proclamation made the slaves free. The great power which the Government has is the knowledge that if the party opposed to it undertake anything it is revolution at home and it knows that the north does not desire a revolution at home. Poor Sambo he is free in the federal lines, but he is despised there is neglected and left to die through cold hunger and disease even the radical papers acknowledge this. But he is free!! If the negro be freed in my opinion ten years afterwards one half of them will have [perished]. It is unhuman to free them suddenly - it is the general impression that no army movement of magnitude will be undertaken before March’
D1364/G/	(Young family papers) - John, James and Wm. Young, Ballymena, Co. Antrim. Invoice and out letter book, re shipment of linen to Jamaica. Account Book, includes accounts for “Adventure to Jamaica” (1776-c.1900)
D1401	(Papers of the Stewart family) - Includes correspondence from John Black, Trinidad in family, in which he describes an incident where his ‘negro houses’ are lost in a fire on his sugar plantation.
D1401/9	Letter from John Black to his brother George “by the Minerva to Glasgow...a sugar estate no doubt yields a considerable revenue but the expenses are also immense and we are exposed to such a number of accidents that any sum of liquid revenue is never to be depended on. For instance our revenue the present year will in gross reach £6,000 sterlg. But I have had my windmill stripped of her vanes in a squall; the cane cylinder dismounted, a new set of sugar boilers in copper to mount and all my Negro houses to the no. of 31 destroyed by fire and here is an unexpected expense of £2,000 sterg. extraordinary besides our current expenses, so that you see the revenues of sugar although apparently immense are reduced to a small sum when the expenses are deducted (1st March 1799)

D1401/11	<p>Typescript copy of letter from John Black in Trinidad to “My Dearest Brother George” (1st Aug 1802), ‘it is my serious intention that they (my children) shall embark on or before the 20 June next either direct for Belfast or via Glasgow in which trade we have several excellent ships well appointed and equipped and it is even possible I may for a small additional sum prevail on one of them to drop the family at Carrickfergus or the Whitehouse Road of all which you shall be duly advised. The empechements that have presented themselves this year are Primo, the very discouraging state of the sugar market and increased price of slaves, provisions, plantation utensils and every thing requisite for a plantation all which we are paying for at present at the highest prices of the War Establishment in so much that so great is the disproportion between the charges and revenues that it requires an uncommon degree of economy to make the two ends meet and unless the price of sugars increases or that Govt. come to the relief of the West India planter by a reduction of the duties, we must be inevitably ruined and this is a fact not to be denied...</p> <p>...the price of sugar is the source of many inconveniences. I have received sales of 60 hogsheads remitted last year which after remaining nine months in store ... me 12s. 6d. a hod.”I think it however impossible that this crisis can long exist...I have also laid out a large sum of money in slaves and lands within these two years, say nearly £8,000 ster. which however my ensuing crop will extinguish having 114 acres of remarkable canes the Bourbon quality which to a certainty will yield me 500,000 pounds net sugar and about 20,000 gallons rum. And we are provided in force of every kind to take it off i.e. 180 prime slaves, 60 mules, two compleat setts sugar boilers with a clarifier of 600 gallons, 2-300 gallon stills with 28-300 gallon vatts for liquor and in fine a wind and mule mill of the most approved construction. “We have moreover our fuel houses perfectly stuffed and a great quantity prepared in the woods ready for emergency. Upon the whole I have no doubt of the quantity of sugar I mention being in the field and I have also a certainty of making it barring accidents (for to those we are always exposed) to which end I shall commense crop on the first day of October and not leave until the whole be off. All I look for with certainty is price and so far our London correspondents give us very poor encouragement.</p> <p>...the effects of the yellow fever which has raged in an uncommon degree for six months past in this town by which above 30 fine young men fresh arrived from England have already been carried off and it still continues its ravages.. Not a man has escaped who has been attacked. The physicians confess their inability so that we must depend on domestick medecine in case of necessity and I am convinced it is the only means that offers a chance. You may assure his friends that every thing shall be done that can be done in case of necessity but I cannot answer for the event. Your friend Montgomerie does not risque so much, he has been in Surinam and we observe the deasease only attaches to people fresh from Europe who have never before been in a hot climate.</p> <p>...Park will be able to give you a history of our situation in this respect which has really been melancholy. A fine young man from Larne of the name of Swiney was only a few days landed here when he was carried off almost without suspecting himself sick and many others have gone in the same manner</p>

	<p>...We have lately had here a lad of something of the same stamp and at same time one of the most agreeable companions I have met with, Leeson Blackwood, Cap. in the 7 W.I. regiment in garrison at Antigua. “He came over here on speculation and notwithstanding his etourderie, he made a hit that in the first instance produced him a profit from hand to hand of £1,100 sterling. Aided by that and some more money he drew for on Sir James his brother, he has purchased 600 acres of excellent land in a very eligible seaside situation which will turn out very valuable if he can contrive to settle it, but this will require a large sum, perhaps more than Sir James will be disposed to advance him from his being unacquainted with the unavoidable expense that is requisite to the establishment of a sugar property. Be that as it may, Leeson has made a beginning with about a dozen slaves who are cutting down the wood and making an opening for the building, provisions and pasturage and I expect him from Antigua immediately on the reduction of those regiments which are to be confined to 6 battalions compleat. He talks of selling out and employing his money in planting but this I advise his deferring until he should receive his brother’s opinion on whom he is dependent, for his uncle Leeson’s legacy has gone long ago. He is upon the whole however a very pleasant fellow of uncommon good humour and very much esteemed by every man of respect in this Island....’</p>
D/1405/58	(Steel-Nicholson papers) - Printed Leaflet “Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade and for the Civilization of Africa”. Inst. 1839. President H.R.H. Prince Albert, K.G.
D1449/13/1	<p>Merchant Letterbook David Buttle of Belfast, 1696-1703</p> <p>10 Jan. 1697 -- A letter from David Buttle to William Moore, ‘Over what My Small Part of ye Willm & John of Belfast is I have due 1698 - board sd ship 25 barrlls of Good herrings with Mr Willm Robisone If he proceed to Virginia must leave In your hands ye Produce of wch upon ye first Resonable fraught order In Good [the next word is illegible] to Either Mr Alexr Cairnes of London or Mr Danll Mallon of Brytoll Mr Levinus Hustoun of Leverpoole or Mr Willm FFarris of Whythaven such a small matter Cannot be worth your acceptance butt until somewhat better offer I hope yow will Give yourself this trouble’</p> <p>(No date, c.1700) --- A letter from David Buttle to William Robisone. ‘When It pleaseth God yow araive In ye Island of Barbadoes and yt yow proceed to Virginia leave the 25 barrlls of herring wch I have one board yow over what is Designd for my proportion to purchafe your Cargoe to Virginia In ye hands of Mr Will Moor to whom I write to order ye effects by ye first reasonable fraughts ...’</p>

D1518/1/5	<p>(Papers of J B Hamilton) - Comments on slavery in diary kept by J B Hamilton, recording journey from Belfast to USA. (Oct 1859-March 1860)</p> <p>‘...Walking about in the woods and over for tea in the evening had Mr. Harris. Going there we had rather a picturesque mode of progression. Jack the negro boy leading the way with a lighted candle which cast a lurid glare in the tall pine trees around and served to make one at all nervous fancy the stumps or sticks something worse than the reality...Saw one of the native Africans which were landed last summer from the Wanderer near Savannah. He is a great deal better looking than those raised here and I am told they are more trustworthy</p> <p>...’[30 November 1859] Had a drive of 16 miles after breakfast and the usual walk after dinner. By torch light saw the negroes get their weekly allowance of bacon and meal. An old negro could point out on a side of bacon 6, 8 or 10 lbs. as might be required and another cut it with an axe as clean and straight as with a knife.</p> <p>[1 December 1859]. ‘Drove after breakfast to saw-mill; found the proprietor in bed. I expect he was a good sample of young American plantation life. He told us of a slave which he had sold the day before for \$1,500. He had run away twice ... was put in jail, was sold out of it ...After tea and while sitting reading alone heard some loud words and then the sound of a whip. It did not take much reasoning to find out it was a negro flogging. I can scarcely write down what were my feelings, certain that I felt my own flesh creep. Was told it was for throwing bad potatoes into the waggon after being told not to do so. [2 December 1859]. Heard today of a man who was suspected to be inciting the negroes to insubordination in Savannah having his head shaved and being tarred and cottoned. [3 December 1859]</p>
D1556/18/4/1	<p>Letters and receipts of J.W. Maxwell Senior from his close Waring and Maxwell relations (his Maxwell relations on both the Falkland and Finnebrogue side), as follows: letters from his mother, Mrs Sarah Waring, and sister; Mary Waring, particularly during the time that he was a serving soldier in the 55th Regiment on St Christopher’s, Antigua and Barbadoes, 1780-2, both discussing family events and finances (and Mary Waring criticising their mother’s financial management), with passing references to the Volunteers letters from his uncles (on the Falkland side), Colonel John Maxwell, Governor of the Bahamas, and William, the Governor’s brother, also about family finances, with particular reference to Maxwell’s inheritance of almost all the Governor’s property, a copy of the Governor’s will, and letters from correspondents in New Providence and Barbados relating to the inheritance (1777-1832)</p>
D1571	<p>(Notebooks of Professor Charles Ryle) - Includes a handwritten notebook containing detailed transcripts of correspondence relating to South American trade in the period, 1808-39 and papers detailing various issues relating to foreign trade in early 19th century Britain.</p>

D1584/6/1	<p>Fifteen letters from Sir Lionel Smith, 1st Bart. mainly to his daughter, Isabella. (From 1833 Colonel Smith was stationed at Barbados as Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Windward and Leeward Islands. From 1836-1839 he was Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of Jamaica. He was appointed a lieutenant-general in 1837, knighted in 1838 and in 1840 became Governor of Mauritius, where he died in 1842). (1828-39)</p>
D1584/7	<p>(Papers of the Pottinger family) - Material relating to Sir Lionel Smith, 1st Bart. (From 1833 1795-c.1960 Colonel Smith was stationed at Barbados as Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Windward and Leeward Islands. From 1836-1839 he was Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of Jamaica. He was appointed a lieutenant-general in 1837, Knighted in 1838 and in 1840 became Governor of Mauritius, where he died in 1842). Includes letter (in Arabic, with accompanying translation) from a grateful, 90-year old, released slave to Sir Lionel Smith, Governor of Jamaica and Hymn of thanksgiving for deliverance from slavery, composed and dedicated to Sir Lionel Smith, by the organist of Spanish Town Cathedral, Jamaica. Also includes photographs of Mauritius, the monument of Sir Lionel Smith erected there and a view from the governors’ house, Jamaica. (1795-c.1960)</p>
D1584/12/1	<p>(Papers of the Pottinger family) - c.30 documents including 2 large sketches by I[sabella?] S[mith?], 1841, of the governor’s residence in Reduit, Mauritius and the view of the garden from the drawing-room veranda (c.1840-1884)</p>



Fig 29 – View of garden from verandah, Governor-General’s Residence, British Guiana (PRONI D1584/12/1a)

D1728	(Papers deposited by Richard Graves Johnston) - Letters of John Campbell, discussing the anti-slavery movement (1828)
D1728/2/6	Letter from John Campbell to Miss H. Kiernan, Dublin (16th May 1828), requesting her to set up a feeling against slavery among the ladies in Ireland. Refers to the several ladies’ societies in England campaigning for the abolition of slavery. He asks her to ‘...introduce the subject at tea-parties - circulate tracts upon it. Speak of the miseries your own sex are suffering in the West Indies, Colony of Cape of Good Hope and Isle of France’. He also describes some of the conditions the slaves have to endure and expresses his own opinion on the abolition of slavery.

D1728/9/8	Letter from Harriet Kiernan to Sophia and Isabella Hamilton, refers to slavery ‘... I have been occupied with the business of the poor slaves...I had a letter last week from Mrs Samuel Lloyd and I am happy to tell you that in Jamaica they have abolished branding the slaves with a hot iron’. Refers to Lady Rathdowne and her ten daughters (c.1831)
D1748	(Tennant papers) - Correspondence of the Tennant family including correspondence from Robert Tennant, Jamaica regarding the abolition of slavery (1764-1828)
D1748/B/1/353/1	Copy letters from Whitehouse and Galan, 5 Feb. 1805 Liverpool, and William Dick, Kingston, [Jamaica], to Messrs Montgomery, Tennent and Maxwell, concerning the sugar trade.
D1748/C/1/210/5	Letter from John Tennent to Robert Tennent, Delve Estate, Westmoreland, Jamaica. He has seen Robert’s letter to William dated November 1790 and has deduced from it that Robert has not received any of the letters which he and the rest of the family have sent over the past year or so. In accordance with Robert’s wishes he supplies details on the situation of the family. He himself is working in brother William’s sugar house but does not know how long this will last. Brother James ‘is a very giddy boy’ and William is thinking of sending him to sea ‘in some vessel that trades with Guinea’. (5th March 1791)
D1748/C/1/210/7	Letter from John Tennent, Belfast, to Robert Tennent, Jamaica. He is sending this letter with James who is travelling to Grenada in the company of Thomas Martin. Mr Martin, whom brother William recently took into partnership in the spirit business has had to go to the West Indies due to the detrimental effects of the Irish climate on his increasingly poor health. James is a giddy and inattentive boy. Last year he travelled to Grenada and then to Charlestown, but not liking the seafaring life he returned to Ireland where William employed him in the sugar house (15th June 1793)
D1762/20	(Goff Family correspondence) - Petition urging the “Abolition of Negro Slavery”. “The Inhabitants of Moyallon and its vicinity in the County of Down, Ireland” to “The Right Honourable and Honourable the Knights Citizens and Burgesses of the United Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled” (c.1824)
D1782/2	Letter from (Wm.?) Holmes, c/o Mr D. Holmes, Pensacola, [Florida], America to Mr Wm. Holmes, Tullygoney, Co. Tyrone giving details of his life in America, including his employment, ‘I am in Mr George Galphin Employ sinse The 1 of January 1777 last. I have a hundred slaves worken under Me. I have £165 pound a year’ (23rd April 1777)

D1859	(Correspondence of the Anderson family) - Emigrant correspondence of the Anderson Family, farming in the Pittsburgh area, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana to the Anderson family in Ballinrees, Co Londonderry. Includes occasional references to slavery and the civil war (1832-79)
D1918/3/3	(Papers of the Ferguson and Tate families) - Deed of sale of negro slave at Fayetteville, North Carolina (10th July 1830)
D2004/2/25/4	Draft of a further letter from Ross to Wm Smith O’Brien (19th March 1848), in which he comments critically on O’Brien’s attitude and the attitude of the Confederation [the more ‘advanced’ Young Irelander group]...I must say I regret not only your appeal for sympathy to the oppressor of the Algernine Arabs but also what you say of the United States. My sense of justice makes me repudiate any appeal to nations whose hands are not pure, whose motives admit of question. But I can have no sympathy with a nation whose treatment of slaves fills my soul with indignation. But further you appeal to a nation whose oppression of Mexican nationality called forth even when not so developed as now, called forth one of the most indignant denunciations from Dr [William Ellery] Channing...’.
D2137/1/31	(John Martin papers) - George C. Mahon to John Martin. It contains “Mitchell’s confession of faith on the Slavery question” (22nd Dec 1858)
D2315/4/1	Letter from Sarah Kennedy of Alexandria [Virginia, U.S.A.] to her cousin Miss Martha Wilson of Drumcondra, Dublin (3rd Nov 1797). Family greetings and news regarding the yellow fever. ‘ ...My uncle Mr Henry Pepper died last September in Philadelphia of that destructive sickness, the yellow fever, which has been this summer in that, and almost every principal town in the United States (this excepted...the Virginians are very fond of diverting themselves they are not near so prudent and industrious as the people of the northern states yet they possess a great many slaves who make a point to do as little as ever they can so that one free person can perform the work of two of them. In the environs of Philadelphia there are a great number of free Negroes who have a Church of their own and earn a comfortable sustenance by their labour and I hope the period is not far distant when they will all be emancipated...’
D2431	(Caledon Papers) - Includes correspondence of Zachary Macaulay who writes, among other things, about the slave trade (1810)
D2433/D/1/18	A letter from Sir Basil Keith at Jamaica to [Sir Robert Murray Keith] about the suppression of the insurrection among the slaves on the island. He refers also to the enmity of his first lieutenant (2nd Sept 1776)

D2433/D/1/28	A letter from Anne Keith at St Andrew’s Street to [Sir Robert Murray Keith] at Vienna discussing the insurrection in Jamaica which she agrees is to be blamed on the planters who have been talking about liberty and rights of man in the presence of slaves (20th Nov 1776)
D2587/6/6	Papers of Henry A Macaulay, solicitor, Coleraine including - Benjamin Ireland of London and Benjamin Ireland the younger of Antigua and Mary Hodgson widow of Antigua. Bond for £200 for payment of rent of £16 13s 4d for 21 years on property which includes “Windmill negroe houses, pieces of land, negros slaves, cattle...part of a plantation called Briggins in parish of St John, Antigua. [1785]
D2638	(Kilmorey papers) - Nedam family, Co Down. Robert Nedham held important commands in Ireland during the reign of Elizabeth I. A later Robert Nedham, eldest son of George Nedam married Elizabeth, daughter of William Shirley of Jamaica. He died in 1753 and bequeathed his estate to his estate to his nephew George Ellis (1552-1960)
D2707	(Shannon papers) - 1867-c.1900
D2707/A/2/11/17	Letter from John Brennan, the ‘Lady Nelson’, Demerara, to Shannon (10th Jan 1802), about the voyage he is now making.’ ...I sailed from Liverpool on Sunday, April the 26th, bound to the coast of Africa for slaves. We visited many different parts of Africa until we got our cargo on board, which consisted of three hundred negro slaves and a few tons of ivory, and arrived at this port on the fifth day of December. This is a bad market for slaves at present; we only sold one hundred since we came here, and the captain means to go to Kingston with the rest, but I do not like to go in the ship, for she is very leaky and kept both pumps going during our passage from Africa to this port. ...this [is] a very unhealthy place, not one day comes but there is more or less goes ashore to be interred. There is a ship called the ‘Venerable’ belonging to Liverpool lying very convenient to our ship, and in the course of five days lost fifteen men. This disorder sometimes takes them off in four hours. As yet...we only lost two men and is called [sic] a healthy ship. ...’
D2908	(Correspondence and family papers relating to the Orr and Dunn families) - Includes a letter from John Orr, Steubenville, Ohio, U.S.A., to William Orr, Greyabbey; referring to a relation called John, to an uncle William, to Samuel Orr, Eransville, and to Robert Carmichael, Cincinnati, and expressing contempt for and hostility to negroes; and referring to severe weather and crop failures in his area. (1860)

D2916/1/C/27	<p>Morley S. Dennis, Demerara, [West Indies] to Louis O’Brien Esq [Narrowwater, Warrenpoint] {Cancelled [Lisburn, Ireland]], Ireland (12th July 1838 - Letter vividly discussing health, military duties, replacement of slaves/apprentices with forced labour, with much detail on life in the West Indies.</p> <p>‘My dear O’Brien, many thanks for your long and welcome letter dated at Madeira 21 March which I received when we anchored in the river Demerary on 13 June. I should have answered it long since but had to march for this detachment (Mahaica) 27 miles from headquarters at Gunfire on 14th and did not get any baggage till June 30th by a schooner too late to write by that post.... You have certainly an escape in not coming to this “vile land of rain mud sand flies and myraids of mosquitoes”. The latter at times render life miserable. You can have no idea of what they are here. I killed one evening 16 in as many seconds. They ate [?] ones legs through a lined dressing gown over a pair of duck trousers. My legs were for many days spotted like a plum pudding. The itching at times was maddening but they have not been so bad these three days. They are twice [?] the size of the Barbadoes mosquitoes....’</p> <p>‘I came here with 21 men to reinforce a detachment consisting of the Lt Bobs under Captain Montgomerie in consequence of the near approach of 1 August. However I think there will be no row as the Colonial Government will liberate all the apprentices on that day instead of waiting for August 1840 for the Proedials [?]’</p> <p>‘First you will be sorry I am sure to see poor Melliss’s death in the gazette. He had quite recovered from his mental attack. He was cruelly deceived about going home by Dr Draper I hear. A medical board ordered him home but Dr D[raper] was not there to approve of it and the very day poor M[elliss] found he could not go by the transport (the packet would not take him) he was attacked by fever and died in a few days.....</p> <p>‘...Brevet Lt Colonel Dansey arrived and took command of the regiment early in November I think.’</p> <p>He is a nice little man and has seen a great deal of service in our 88th regiment....I think Fenwick has two of your books viz. Thomas a Kempis and Wilberforce....Poor Collins is gone home in a hopeless state. He had a paralytic stroke a few days after he came here (I believe) and has lost the use of one side and is at times quite childish...</p> <p>...I had a dreadfully severe and dangerous attack of dysentery at Barbadoes in September and did not perfectly recover from the affects of it for 2 months or more. Gardiner says he is quite ashamed of not answering your letters. Considine I hear has returned to Barbadoes. Martin gone home ill...I saw Deverell [67th] in Grenada on his way home. He lost his wife in Demerara. Porter is in Demerara but the rest are in Berbice [?] Pogson and W. J. R. is also in Demerara. Foster is at Grenada and used frequently to dine at our mess there. Ensign Griffin...We expected to remain about 2 months at Grenada but with all the delays of the transport we did not leave Grenada till 30th May. Grenada is a delightfully cool and beautiful island - I believe the most beautiful of all the West Indies. We were very sorry to leave it...</p> <p>‘Our headquarters left Barbadoes on 24th March and reached Georgetown Demerara on 5th April. We left Grenada on May 30th and anchored at Georgetown on June 13th. We passed close to Martinique and Dominique beating between them. We are all enjoying good health here but the sailors in the shipping are dying fast. The country is a perfect flat all reclaimed from the sea....</p>

There are some buck indians here men and women stark naked except an apron of shells. They are not darker than Mulattoes if so dark. Montgomerie desires to be remembered to you. There are some coolies here imported from East Indies to work as the niggers I believe will all be free on 1 August the bill being nearly passed yesterday. I have not yet seen any coolies. I have not seen Pindar for more than 7 months. The left wing 70th regiment from Malta relieved us at Grenada, right wing at Barbadoes. 67th at Barbadoes now from this station. Munn’s 74th is Fort Adj[utan]t here. Evans of ours was Fort Adjutant at Grenada. He left it (on leave) in January. I like him as far as I have seen. My brother James is at Ballincollig Co. Cork...
D2930/3/8/9	Leeds Anti-slavery Series. No. 34. ‘Fugitive Slaves: Douglass, Pennington, Wells Brown, Garnett, Bibb, and others’. One of a series of anti-slavery tracts published by the Leeds Anti-Slavery Association. (1853)
D2930/3/8/7	Letter from Frederick Douglass, Belfast, to James Standfield, Belfast, thanking him for providing a ‘certificate as to the character of my humble narrative’. (8th June 1846)
D2930/3/8/8	Letter from Frederick Douglass, Edinburgh, to James Standfield, Newtownards, advising that he will be leaving the country to return to America (5th June 1846)
D3007	(Belmore Papers)
D3007/G/1/1-100	(1831-32) Correspondence of Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton, commander of the forces in Jamaica, with Belmore and Belmore’s secretary, William initially about routine military matters, but thereafter about the measures to be taken to crush the rebellion among the negro slaves which broke out on 31 December, starting with the military operations against the insurgents and ending with their trial by court martial, excesses of rigour practised on them by the militia (against Cotton’s and Belmore’s orders), etc. Included in this section are many reports by soldiers and civilians of the situation on the ground, enclosed by Cotton to Belmore, and many copies of letters from Belmore to Cotton.
D3007/G/2/1-31	(1832) - Correspondence between Cotton and Belmore about the mopping up of the rebellion - the question of when martial law should be lifted, Belmore’s anxiety about the execution of a woman under martial law, a proposed enquiry into the misconduct of the magistrates, the punishment of militiamen guilty of outrages by court martial, the advisability of Belmore’s commuting the death penalty on various convicted rebels, etc; also, a few letters of March-April about the Horseguards’ approval of Cotton’s handling of the rebellion, Belmore’s refusal to grant Cotton leave of absence and Cotton’s departure on duty to Honduras.

D3007/G/3/1-8	(1832) - Original bundle, endorsed by Nunes, ‘Correspondence respecting Mr [Augustus H.] Beaumont’s wish to have certain temporary militia commissions confirmed [after the lifting of martial law].’ The bundle includes two letters from the temporary Attorney General for Jamaica, Fitzherbert Batty, giving his opinion on this matter, a letter from Cotton to Belmore enclosing Beaumont’s application, and a copy of Belmore’s reply, turning it down.
D3007/G/4/1-16	(1832) - Original bundle, endorsed by Nunes, ‘Papers respecting [Rev.] Mr [Robert] Burchell’s trial at Montego Bay and his departure from the island [without the Governor’s leave].’ Burchell was a Methodist minister accused of inciting some slaves to rebellion.
D3007/G/5/1-23	(1832) - Original bundle, endorsed by Nunes, ‘Papers relative to the trials of slaves for rebellion at Montego Bay.’ The correspondence consists chiefly of copy letters between Nunes and various magistrates on the spot, but includes [D3007/G/23] as an addendum to the original bundle, the draft of a letter from Belmore to ‘Sir’ about the slaves and about [Rev. Robert] Burchell [see D3007/G/4].
D3007/G/6/1-14	(1823-24) - Original bundle, endorsed by Nenes, ‘Papers relating to the insurrection in 1823 and 1824.’ More precisely, these papers consist of the 5th Duke of Manchester’s, Governor of Jamaica, copies of ‘secret’ circular letters sent to West Indian Governors in 1823 by the 3rd Earl Bathurst, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, urging them to have the recent resolutions of the British House of Commons in favour of an amelioration of the condition of the slaves carried through the various colonial Assemblies, and also to prevent the resolutions from evoking riot and insurrection among the slave population. The papers relating to 1824 consist of copies of Manchester’s correspondence with Bathurst about the slave insurrections in Jamaica in February and July of that year. 3007/G/14 is a list of previous slave insurrections in Jamaica from 1684, onwards, and is an addendum to the original bundle.
D3007/G/7/1-5	Original bundle, endorsed by Nunes, ‘Mr Box. Reported in despatch No. 205, dated 2 May 1832.’ These papers relate to the Rev. William Box, a Wesleyan Methodist missionary whose papers had been seized.
D3007/G/8/1-22	(1832) - Original bundle, endorsed by Nunes, ‘Memorials and correspondence respecting the destruction of the Methodist chapels and the missionaries.’ There are also papers relating to Baptist missionaries in the same predicament.

D3007/G/9/1-38	1832 - Original bundle, endorsed by Nunes, ‘Papers referred to in despatch No. 204, 30 April 1832 [see D3007/G/45/27] ...’ This despatch was Belmore’s vindication of his own conduct as Governor, written after the receipt of a letter of 18 February 1832 from Viscount Goderich, Secretary of State for the Colonies, announcing Belmore’s recall. The principal matter at issue between Belmore and the British government was the slave question, Belmore being accused of proceeding too slowly in the direction of emancipation, under pressure from anti-slave interests in Jamaica. The papers in this bundle, which appear to have been brought together in order to provide material for Belmore’s vindication, consist of: letters from the Attorney General for Jamaica, Hugo James, about verdicts against slaves which have earned the displeasure of the British government; letters from James Batty, a magistrate of the parish of St Ann’s (and James’s temporary successor) and from other magistrates justifying themselves against charges of undue severity towards slaves; copies of the proceedings of various slave courts; copies of mainly ‘private and confidential’ correspondence between Belmore and Sir George Murray, Lord Goderich’s predecessor as Secretary of State for the Colonies, on the subject of slavery; correspondence relating to Belmore’s disputes with various missionary organisations, particularly the catechists of the Church Missionary Society, who claimed that they had been refused exemption from militia duty; and copies of letters from the Rev. Isaac Whitehouse, a Wesleyan Methodist missionary, and the Rev. George W. Bridges, an Anglican clergyman accused by Whitehouse of barbarity towards his slaves (in the ensuing row over this accusation, Belmore sided with Bridges, and William Bullock received a sharp reprimand from the Colonial Office for the tone of a letter which he wrote to Whitehouse).
D3007/G/10/1-22	(1828-32) - Original bundle, with some few additions, endorsed by Nunes, ‘Lord Belmore’s correspondence with the Colonial Office on various subjects; not entered in letter-book.’ The correspondence consists of the originals of letters from Sir George Murray, Viscount Goderich, and the Under-Secretaries at the Colonial Office, Horace Twiss and R.W. Hay, to Belmore, with copies of some of Belmore’s replies. The letters are all ‘private’, ‘confidential’ or ‘private and confidential’. Some of them relate to the trivial business of introducing to Belmore distinguished visitors to Jamaica, but most relate to important matters of policy: Belmore’s troubles with the Jamaican Assembly, a row in the Assembly over the collection of the customs, relations between the Island Agent and the Colonial Office, the superintendency of Honduras, the composition of the Jamaican Council, the subsistence of the troops in Jamaica and the removal of a regiment from the island, a law relating to the holding of elections in Jamaica, Belmore’s proxy in the British House of Lords, the packet service to Carthagenaa, a patronage dispute between Belmore and Lord Beresford, Master General of the Ordnance in the United Kingdom, the role which William Bullock played in Belmore’s administration up to the time of his death, and Sir Willoughby Cotton’s disappointment at not being appointed acting Governor after Belmore’s recall.
D3007/G/12/1-5	(1832) - Original bundle containing copies of Belmore’s speech to the Jamaican Council and Assembly, of their addresses to him and of his reply. Belmore’s speech was controversial and important, because in it he declared his opposition to ‘any sudden measures’ of emancipation.

D3007/G/13/1-22	(1832) - Original bundle, with several additions, consisting of Belmore's correspondence with Col H. McLeod about putting down the rebellion, restraining the excesses of the militia and magistrates, the state of the island in the wake of the rebellion and Belmore's proposal, which was accepted but never implemented, that McLeod should leave the army and succeed William Bullock as Belmore's Secretary after Bullock's death in mid-February. The bundle includes one letter from Sir Willoughby Cotton on this last subject.
D3007/G/14/1-4	(1832) Original bundle consisting of memorials from Mr J. J. Stamp to Belmore and Lord Goderich about a Chancery decree which Belmore had made against Stamp in Belmore's capacity as Lord Chancellor of Jamaica.
D3007/G/15/1-8	(1831) - Original bundle, endorsed by Nunes, 'Mr Evelyn's correspondence about the Governor's temporary appointment of Controller.' L.[?H.] Evelyn was Collector of Customs at Savanna La Mar, and the correspondence relates to the eligibility, or otherwise, of one John Brown for the post of Controller of Customs at that port.
D3007/G/16/1-7	(1831) - Original bundle, endorsed by Nunes, 'Papers respecting the complaint of Mr Evelyn relative to a slave named William Madgett afflicted with smallpox.' The papers relate to a court of protection set up at Evelyn's instigation to investigate this matter, and include an opinion of the Attorney General, Hugo James, that no prosecution lies against the magistrates for neglect.
D3007/G/17/1-7	(1830-31) Original bundle consisting of copies of documents about the island of Grand Caymanas, its population, magistracy, resistance to the authority of the Governor of Jamaica, etc.
D3007/G/18/1-14	(1832) - Original bundle with some additions, endorsed by Nunes, 'Miscellaneous.' The bundle consists of letters to Belmore or members of his secretariat from law officers, local magistrates and Wesleyan missionaries about the possible dismissal of one Jackson, custos or chief magistrate of Port Royal, a meeting of parish delegates at Spanish Town, the militia law, the state of the rebellion in Montego Bay in mid-January 1832, measures of lenity for tranquillising the island after the rebellion and a law for preventing rebellion in the future. The correspondents include Hugo James, Fitzherbert Batty, Augustus H. Beaumont, the Rev. Thomas Pennock, Robert Watt and James Guthrie.
D3007/G/19/1-10	(May 1832) - Correspondence between Belmore and Vice-Admiral Sir Griffith Colpoys about finding a ship to take the Belmores on a private trip to New York.

D3007/G/21/1-9	(1832) Original bundle, with 4 additions, relating to the execution of a negro slave, William Whittingham, in Hanover, Jamaica, in defiance of attempts to obtain a respite of sentence.
D3007/G/22/1-36	(1828-30) Original bundle, with additions from D3007/G/39 and elsewhere, consisting of Belmore's mostly 'private' correspondence with Sir George Murray, Secretary of State for the Colonies, Horace Twiss, R.W. Hay and Adam Gordon of the Colonial Office, about Belmore's appointment as Governor of Jamaica, the provision of a ship to convey him to the island, the fees payable on the passing of his patent, Murray's desire that Belmore should lose no time in setting out, Belmore's delays caused partly by the weather and partly by his desire to consult his predecessor, the Duke of Manchester, the importance of obtaining leave of absence for the patentee Island Secretary, Charles Greville, etc, etc; included in the bundle [D3007/G/25] is the original of Belmore's instructions, signed by the King and enclosed in one of these letters [the instructions were formerly in D3007/G/45.
D3007/G/23/1-9	(1828-30) Original bundle, consisting of Belmore's correspondence with Sir George Murray, R.B. Dean of the Board of Customs, Joseph Planta, Secretary to the Treasury, and Richard Barrett, about Belmore's recommendation and temporary appointment of Barrett to the office of Collector of Customs at Montego, for which he proved ineligible under Treasury regulations.
D3007/G/24/1-10	(1830) - Original bundle, consisting of Belmore's correspondence with Commodore Arthur Farquhar about naval affairs, particularly Farquhar's journey to give medical aid to the dying Simon Bolivar in Columbia [see also D3007/G/34] and the naval side of the operations against the slave rebellion.
D3007/G/25/1-6	(1831)-32) Original bundle, consisting of Belmore's correspondence with the Rev. George W. Bridges, Hamilton Brown and Wellwood Hyslop about Belmore's recall and his speech to the Assembly in favour of gradual emancipation.
D3007/G/26/1-65	(1828-31) Belmore's correspondence with his Secretary, William Bullock, on all matters of policy and patronage, both major and minor, at times - particularly when Belmore was at his mountain retreat at Highgate and therefore not in personal contact with Bullock - written at the rate of three or four letters a day on each side.
D3007/G/26/63	Bullock, Government Pen, to Belmore about capturing runaway slaves in Trelawney and about a patronage matter. (31st July 1829)

D3007/G/26/65	Bullock, Government Pen, to Belmore about the jurisdiction of slave courts, transportation and various patronage matters, (31st July 1829) - ‘... In regard to your Lordship’s observation relative to the power of life and death, it has always been vested in slave courts. A slave court condemned the man for murder whom your Lordship pardoned in Clarendon, a slave court condemned Young’s father on the evidence of his son, for which evidence he was manumitted by the public; another man for horse-stealing his [sic] now under sentence of death, who was tried at a slave court in Manchester. In the proposed revision of criminal jurisdiction in the colonies, nothing calls more loudly for reform than the mode of trying slaves for capital offences. There is no doubt that, were it not for the delay in bringing offenders to justice, the great loss attending the moving witnesses, etc, the supreme court would be the proper tribunal. But it was intended at one time to establish something of an ambulatory court, over which a judge should preside. ...I think it may be proper to learn from the Colonial Office whether transferring persons sentenced to transportation to the hulks at Bermuda is intended to be confined to any particular description of persons - for instance, able-bodied persons - whether women will be received, whether there will be any distinction as to colour, and in the event of an alteration in the slave law, whether slaves sentenced to death will be received at Bermuda on their punishment being commuted to transportation. It may be proper to state to Sir George Murray the difficulty which attends the transportation of slaves, and still more so that of the banishment of persons of free condition’
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D3007/D/29/48	(28th Oct 1830) - Belmore’s draft dispatch on capital punishment in Jamaica and distinction between Statute Law in England and in Jamaica - ‘In reference to your dispatch of 31st August last relating to the increasing disinclination manifested by his Majesty’s government to permit sentences of capital punishment being carried into execution, I have now the honour to enclose you a list of all convictions where sentence of death has been passed since the day on which I assumed the discharge of government in this island. It is a painful consideration to observe that it has been found necessary in most of these convictions to carry the sentence into effect, but you will also remark that, except for the crime of murder, only one instance of punishment by death has been inflicted. In this case the man who suffered was convicted of horse-stealing. You will perceive that this offence and murder constitute the crimes most frequently committed in this colony. The prisoner was a man of colour, an owner of slaves and a notorious offender. One of his slaves named John Mead had been convicted on a charge of stealing cattle, and sentence of death pronounced on him during the sitting of the court previous to that when the prisoner, Thomas Bent, was convicted. On this trial it appeared that the owner of the prisoner associated himself with his slaves in committing various acts of plunder and rapacity, and having reason to expect that the evidence on which he was subsequently convicted would be established against him, I delayed carrying the sentence passed on the slave, John Mead, into execution, until after the trial of his owner, Thomas Bent, when, the latter being convicted on the clearest testimony, I commuted the sentence of death passed on Mead to banishment from this island, and in the case of Bent the law was allowed to take its course...When a slave is capitally convicted, his owner receives an appraised value for him, and if, under commutation of sentence, the slave be transported, he consequently becomes free. It will therefore, I apprehend, be found impracticable to assimilate the practice of the law in Jamaica to the practice in England, still more so to adopt the recent amendments in the English criminal code, until means be afforded to this colony to substitute the punishment of transportation for death. The law as it now stands enables the judges presiding in criminal tribunals to pass the sentence of transportation, but no means are provided to carry such a sentence into effect, and where judges are found by law to pronounce capital sentences, the Governor possesses no power of mitigating the sentence, except by granting a free pardon or commuting it to the very inadequate punishment of voluntary transportation.’
D3007/G/29/49	(29th Oct 1830) - Bullock to Belmore advising him not to send the above dispatch. ‘You ask me my opinion relative...the law here is at present entirely inoperative, and that they can alone give efficiency to it by furnishing the means of transporting either slaves or free persons, without expense to the colony. If they would consent to receive able-bodied persons, both free and slaves, at Bermuda, it would be a great point gained, because criminals are generally of that description, whilst women, if slaves, may be confined in the workhouses..’ (29th Oct 1830)
D3007/G/30/8	Belmore, Highgate, to Bullock about the appointment of Lord Goderich as Colonial Secretary and about difficulties presenting the Slave Bill to the Jamaica House of Assembly - (21st Jan 1831)

D3007/G/30/10	Bullock to Belmore about a patronage matter, about the question of the subsistence of troops and about Mr Jackson’s (custos of Port Royal), alleged ill-treatment of his slaves (30th Jan 1831)
D3007/G/30/18	Belmore, Constant Spring, to Bullock about Lord Goderich’s complaints of the conduct of the Jamaican magistrates.’...Lord Goderich appears to consider that, because councils of protection are worse than useless, in which opinion I fully concur, in my executive capacity I ought to supply the place of a protector of slaves, and war with the magistracy and planters in all directions. He states something in effect, that I cannot better use my authority than in censuring or removing improper persons from the magistracy, and introducing fit and discreet persons to fill their situations’ (23rd April 1831)
D3007/G/30/46	‘Sunday’ - Bullock to Belmore about ‘... two slaves who have been at several times sentenced to transportation and have returned from thence. ...’ (c.June 1831)
D3007/G/30/48	Bullock to Belmore about emancipation of the slaves (11th Aug 1830) ‘As far as I have been able to feel the pulse of those who are most intelligent, I think the general feeling is decidedly against issuing a proclamation. I believe the truth to be that the idea of emancipation has been disseminated through the country by itinerant vendors of goods, and I know that in 1823 agents were employed as news carriers under the cloak of higgling. I am afraid it will be found that the sectarians have been unusually active, and in one of their conventicles, those persons of colour who had denied the authority of Dr Lushington for making the assertion which he did, were read out of the society. ...’
D3007/G/30/50	Copy of a letter from Bullock to the Attorney General, [Hugo James], about case of Jackson’s abuse of slaves, protection by local courts and proposal to remove him from the magistracy (20th Aug 1831)
D3007/G/30/51	Earl of Belmore to Bullock, Aug 1831, on causes of Jamaica rebellion (in 1823) and allegations of undue lenity and rising crime on the island - ‘I have always been of opinion that no sufficient cause has yet appeared to require me to issue a proclamation. Nevertheless, if such a measure could have served to quiet the alarms of any considerable portion of the community, I should not have objected to do so in the qualified terms you suggested at Phoenix Park...I have no doubt the sectarians have been busy in encouraging the slaves to anticipate speedy emancipation... The only object I contemplated in obtaining the speedy attendance of the Attorney General was, that if it were considered necessary to allow the law to take its course in the case of the prisoners condemned to suffer, no delay should take place to excite unfounded hopes (21st Aug 1831)

D3007/G/30/72	Belmore, Highgate, to Bullock about various minor matters, including the accurate representation drawn up by Mr MacDonald about the state of feeling among the slaves. (2nd Sept 1831)
D3007/G/30/92	Bullock to Belmore about the activities of Mr Knibb, a missionary who has assumed the right to perform marriages between slaves, about the misconduct of Mr Lemonier, a magistrate of Trelawney, and about an improper memorial from the militia officers of that parish (15th Sept 1831)
D3007/G/31/41	Belmore, Montego Bay, to Bullock asking him to submit to the Attorney General libels which have appeared in The Courant, ‘...I have no idea the editor will feel disposed to give up the names of the authors of these letters, but if he did, it would not in my opinion afford sufficient satisfaction. Disgraceful as are the letters, the mischief is accomplished by giving them publication. Had any such proof been adduced that sectarian ministers had instigated the slaves to the crimes they had committed, I have no doubt they would have swung in half an hour after conviction. We have now put down rebellion among the slaves: disorder among the free people must also be repressed with equal firmness and determination.’ (14th Feb 1832)
D3007/G/45/27	18th Feb (-March) 1832 - This reference contains two official letters of exceptional importance, in the first of which Frederick Robinson, 1st Viscount Goderich, Colonial Secretary, Downing St, on 18 Feb. 1832, admonished earl of Belmore for failures in the administration of Jamaica that unjustly supported the local ‘Planter’ governing assembly against British efforts to legislate on behalf of moderating injustices against the slave population and may have led to the ensuing rebellion of 1831-1832 - ‘Your Lordship was informed in my Dispatch of the 10th Decr. that a new Order in Council had been sent to the Crown Colonies, by which it is hoped that a material advance will be made in the improvement of the condition of the slaves in that class of His Majesty’s West India possessions. Your Lordship had also been apprized that the course of policy which His Majesty’s Government are pursuing on the Question of Slavery is intended to ensure at a very early period, the full practical operation of this new Slave Code in the Colonies, having legislative Assemblies... (the cabinet feels that) your views and sentiments on the most important questions involved in the government of Jamaica, so far as they can be judged from your measures, are so much at variance with their own, as to have tended to frustrate their intentions on matters of great moment, and to impede their efforts for the correction of what they have deemed to be evils and abuses’ And in the second of which Belmore sternly defends his conduct pointing out much inaccuracy in these statements, not intentional, I must conclude, but illustrative, in no small degree, of the pains which have been taken to make out the case to which I have now replied’. Belmore was recalled from Governorship of Jamaica in May 1832.
D3007/G/33/4	Copy of a letter from Belmore, Dover Street, to Wellington discussing Belmore’s confrontation with the Colonial Office and the Grey administration - (22nd Aug 1832)

D3007/G/37	Rough draft [in Belmore’s handwriting] for two speeches in the House of Lords on the question of emancipation (c.1833)
D3007/G/1/1-100	(Belmore papers) - Correspondence of Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton, commander of the forces in Jamaica, with Belmore and Belmore’s secretary (Bullock) about the measures to be taken to crush the rebellion among the negro slaves (Aug 1831-Jan 1832)
D3007/0/2/1-31	(Belmore papers) - Correspondence between Willoughby Cotton and Belmore about the mopping up of the rebellion (Feb-April 1832)
D3007/G/3/1-8	(Belmore papers) - Correspondence respecting Mr Beaumont’s wish to have certain temporary militia commissions confirmed [after the March 1832 lifting of martial law]’ (Feb-March 1832)
D3007/G/4/1-16	(Belmore papers) - Papers respecting Robert Burchell’s (a Methodist minister accused of inciting some slaves to rebellion) trail at Montego Bay and his departure from the island (March-April 1832)
D3007/G/5/1-23	(Belmore papers) - Papers relative to the trials of slaves for rebellion at Montego Bay (Feb-June 1832)
D3007/G/6/1-14	(Belmore papers) - Papers relating to the insurrection in 1823 and 1824 (May 1823 - September 1824)
D/3007/G/8/1-11	(Belmore papers) - Memorials and correspondence respecting the destruction of the Methodist chapels and the missionaries. Includes papers relating to Baptist ministers who had expected to be put on trail for inciting slaves to violence but who were not tried (1832)
D/3007/C/9/1-38	(Belmore papers) - Papers’ relating to the issue between Belmore and the British government that Belmore was proceeding too slowly in the direction of emancipation (Sept 1828 – Aug 1831)
D/3007/G/11/1- 5	(Belmore papers) - Papers which include Belmore’s controversial speech to the Jamaican Council and Assembly in which he declared his opposition to ‘any sudden measures’ of emancipation (May 1832)
D/3007/G/12/1-22	(Belmore Papers) - Bundle consisting of Belmore’s correspondence with Col H McLeod about putting down the rebellion (Jan-May 1832)

D3007/G/15/1-7	(Belmore papers) - Papers respecting the complaint of Mr Evelyn relative to a slave named William Madgett afflicted with smallpox (July-August 1831)
D3007/G/17/1-14	(Belmore papers) - Bundle of letters which include reference to the state of rebellion in Montego Bay in mid-January 1832, measures of lenity for tranquillising the island after the rebellion and a law for preventing rebellion in the future (June 1831-April 1832)
D3007/G/2 0/1-9	(Belmore papers) - Bundle relating to the execution of a negro slave, William Whittingham, in Hanover, Jamaica, in defiance of attempts May 1832 to obtain a respite of sentence (March-May 1832)
D3007/G/ 23/1-10	(Belmore Papers) - Bundle, consisting of Belmore’s correspondence with Commodore Arthur Farquhar about naval affairs including -December 1831 the naval side of operations against the slave rebellion (Dec 1830-Dec 1831)
D/3007/G/24/1-6	(Belmore papers) - Bundle of correspondence about Belmore’s recall and his speech to the Assembly in favour of gradual emancipation (May 1832)
D3007/G/25/1	(Belmore papers) - Letter to Belmore from F.B. Zincke on emancipation, suggesting the importance of Chinese labour in order to show the emancipated negroes that labouring work and freedom are not incompatible (23rd May 1832)
D/3007/G/30/1-116	(Belmore papers) - Belmore-Bullock correspondence. Includes reference to Belmore’s attitude to the obstinate refusal of the Jamaican Assembly to reconsider a slave bill (Jan-Sept 1831)
D/3007/G/37/1-5	(Belmore papers) - Rough draft for two speeches in the House of Lords on the question of emancipation (c.1833)
D2007/G/41/1-6	(Belmore papers) – miscellaneous papers concerning administrative matters including a bill for raising a loan to pay off losses incurred in the rebellion (15th July 1818, 1829-1932)
D3007/G/42/1-45	(Belmore papers) – Official despatches from the Colonial Office to Sir John Keane and to Belmore. Includes papers relating to the arguments against the Slave Act by Missionary Societies (Dec 1828-Dec 1829)

D3007/G/43/1-43	(Belmore papers) – Official despatches from the Colonial Office to Sir John Keane and to Belmore. Includes papers relating to the submission of the Slave Act to the Government for approval (Jan-Dec 1830)
D3007/G/44/1-83	Official despatches from the Colonial Office to Sir John Keane and to Belmore. Includes copies of Huskisson's and Goderich's despatches about the Slave Acts (Jan-Dec 1831)
D3007/G/45/1-27	(Belmore papers) - Official despatches from the Colonial Office to Sir John Keane and to Belmore. Includes letter about the slave revolt. (Jan-April 1832)
D3007/G/47/1-2	(Belmore papers) - A royal proclamation denying false reports that the slaves in the West Indian colonies are about to be emancipated; and a proclamation from Belmore offering pardon to slaves in rebellion who had given themselves up or returned peacefully to their homes (13th March 1832 to 3rd Feb 1832)
D3007/G/49/1-2	(Belmore papers) - Two issues of The London Gazette containing official communications about the slave revolt (22nd Feb – 10th April 1832)
D3030/882	(Castlereagh papers) – Letter from Camden to Castlereagh about Lord Downshire on the ‘arrangements’ and the slave trade (July 1799)
D3030/2064	(Castlereagh papers) – Copy letter from Castlereagh to Lord Eldon, about the slave trade to the British colonies (21st July 1805)
D3030/2470	(Castlereagh papers) – Resolutions passed at a meeting of West Indian planter and merchants on the proposed abolition of the slave trade (24th March 1807)
D3030/2584	(Castlereagh papers) – Draft memorandum by Castlereagh for the cabinet, about an order in council for the regulated importation of slaves into the conquered colonies (1807)
D3030/3945a-b	(Castlereagh papers) – Two documents comprising a letter from William Wilberforce to Castlereagh (28th March 1814)
D3030/3972	(Castlereagh papers) – Letter from Liverpool to Castlereagh, about a letter he has received from William Wilberforce (14th April 1814)

D3030/3973	(Castlereagh papers) – Letter from William Wilberforce to Liverpool, urging him to make the abolition of the French slave trade a condition of the treaty (12th April 1814)
D3030/4010	(Castlereagh papers) – Letter from Liverpool to Castlereagh, enclosing a publication on the abolition of the slave trade by William Wilberforce, to be sent to the Tsar (23rd April 1814)
D3030/4011	(Castlereagh papers) – copy letter from William Wilberforce to Liverpool, about the abolition of the slave trade and suggesting that he raise the subject with the Tsar (16th May 1814)
D3030/4121	(Castlereagh papers) - Printed circular letter from Lord Bathurst to Sir Charles Stewart, enclosing copies of parliamentary address and the Prince Regent's answer, about the abolition of the slave trade (11th April 1814)
D3030/4122	(Castlereagh papers) - Printed address of the House of Lords to the Prince Regent, on the abolition of the slave trade (c.May 1814)
D3030/4123	(Castlereagh papers) - Printed address of the House of Lords to the Price Regent, on the abolition of the slave trade (c.May 1814)
D3030/4126	(Castlereagh papers) - Letter from Lord Bathurst to Castlereagh enclosing a circular to foreign ministers to press for the abolition of the slave trade. (17th May 1814)
D3030/4127	(Castlereagh papers) - Copy letter from Bathurst to Castlereagh enclosing copies of the parliamentary addresses to the Prince Regent, on the slave trade (16th May 1814)
D3030/4162	(Castlereagh papers) - Copy letter from Lord Clancarty to Castlereagh, reporting a conversation he has had with the Prince of Orange about the abolition of the slave trade (7th July 1814)
D3030/4176	(Castlereagh papers) - Letter from William Wilberforce to Castlereagh, commenting on the increase in British trade since the abolition of the slave trade, and recommending Zachary Macaulay (12th Aug 1814)

D3030/4178	(Castlereagh papers) - Letter from William Wilberforce to Castlereagh, referring to the fact that the French intend to recapture St Domingo proposing the cession of the Isle de France to encourage them to agree to the immediate abolition of the slave trade in their colonies, expressing the opinion that the Tsar will co-operate, and stating his intention of publishing his views on the subject (13th Aug 1814)
D3030/4179	(Castlereagh papers) - Letter from Zachary Macaulay to Castlereagh, enclosing papers and giving information about the state of the slave trade on the coast of Africa, on which papers and documents have been submitted to Wellington. He also refers to Portuguese and Spanish involvement in the trade (13th Aug 1814)
D3030/4180	(Castlereagh papers) - Copy account of the number of slaves taken by all nations on the western coast of Africa (c.Aug 1814)
D3030/4190	(Castlereagh papers) - Draft memorandum on the slave trade (c.Aug 1814)
D3030/4191	(Castlereagh papers) - Copy letter from William Wilberforce to Castlereagh, enclosing a paper on St Domingo by Mr Stephens (17 Aug 1814)
D3030/4211	(Castlereagh papers) - Copy letter from William Wilberforce to Liverpool (31 August 1814)
D/3030/4218	(Castlereagh papers) - Copy letter from Bathurst to Sir Henry Wellesley, commenting on the Spanish government's attitude to the abolition of the slave trade, and stating that their claim for a subsidy is inadmissible (9th Sept 1814)
D3030/4248	(Castlereagh papers) - Letter from William Hamilton to Castlereagh, about Mr Stephen's draft of the convention on the slave trade, and Sir Charles Stuart's embassy to the Hague (23rd Sept 1814)
D3030/4288	D3030/4288 (Castlereagh papers) - Copy instructions to the commander of the British forces, about the slaves in Louisiana (6th Sept 1814)
D3030/4292	(Castlereagh papers) - Letter from Liverpool to Castlereagh, discussing measures to encourage France to abolish the slave trade, and stating that it will be impossible for France to recover St Domingo (21st Oct 1814)

D3030/4328	(Castlereagh papers) - Copy letter from Castlereagh to William Wilberforce (11th Nov 1814)
D3030/4396	(Castlereagh papers) - Protocol of the first conference of the plenipotentiaries at Vienna, on the abolition of the slave trade. [In French.] (20th Jan 1815)
D3030/4402	(Castlereagh papers) - Protocol of the second conference of the plenipotentiaries at Vienna, on the abolition of the slave trade. [In French.] (28th Jan 1815)
D3030/4423	(Castlereagh papers) - Protocol of the conference of the plenipotentiaries at Vienna on the measures to be adopted for the abolition of the slave trade. [In French.] (4th Feb 1815)
D3030/4425	(Castlereagh papers) - Copy declaration of the plenipotentiaries of Portugal, on the abolition of the slave trade. [In French. (6th Feb 1815)
D3030/4429	(Castlereagh papers) - Protocol of the fourth and final conference of the plenipotentiaries at Vienna on the abolition of the slave trade. [In French.] (8th Feb 1815)
D3030/4430	(Castlereagh papers) - Declaration of the powers on the abolition of the slave trade. [In French.] (8th Feb 1815)
D3030/4702b	(Castlereagh papers) - Copy letter from Thomas Clarkson to Wellington, enclosing pamphlets on the slave trade for distribution, and referring to the introduction of an article in the treaty for abolishing slavery (c.Jan 1815)
D3030/4714	(Castlereagh papers) - Letter from William Wilberforce to Liverpool, commenting on the conduct of the Spanish and Portuguese governments regarding the slave trade, and suggesting that a warship should be sent to the coast of North Africa. [Incomplete.] (25 Sept 1815)
D3030/4899	(Castlereagh papers) - Letter from George Hibbert to Castlereagh, enclosing minutes of the proceedings of the House of Assembly of Jamaica concerning the Slave Registry Bill (1st March 1816)
D3030/4986	(Castlereagh papers) - Copy letter from Castlereagh to Lord Clancarty, instructing hint to make the best arrangement he can concerning the duchies, and discussing the slave trade (29th May 1815)

D3030/4911	(Castlereagh papers) - Printed account of the proceedings of the House of Assembly of Jamaica, concerning slavery (29th May 1815)
D3030/5021	(Castlereagh papers) - Extract from cruising orders to the commanders of ships, about the suppression of the slave trade on the Gold Coast (1816)
D3030/5023	(Castlereagh papers) - Extract from orders to vessels employed on the coast of Africa, about the suppression of the slave trade (1816)
D3030/5185	(Castlereagh papers) - Printed Privy Council appeals concerning the slave trade (1813)
D3030/5186	(Castlereagh papers) - Printed letter from Castlereagh to the Lords of the Admiralty, about the seizure of Portuguese ships engaged in the slave trade (6th May 1813)
D3030/5187	(Castlereagh papers) - Printed 'Act for rendering more effectual an Act for the abolition of the slave trade'. (1812)
D3030/5188	(Castlereagh papers) - Printed memorial concerning the slave trade (c. 1811)
D3030/5199	(Castlereagh papers) Draft letter from Castlereagh to Cathcart, commenting on communications on the slave trade (10th Jan 1817)
D3030/5218	(Castlereagh papers) - Letter from Sir Henry Wellesley to Castlereagh, about the progress of the negotiations with the Spanish government concerning the slave trade (27th Jan 1817)
D3030/5227	(Castlereagh papers) - Letter from Clancarty to Castlereagh, about the negotiations in Holland, Russia and Spain on the slave trade (31st Jan 1817)
D3030/5351	(Castlereagh papers) - Letter from Clancarty to Castlereagh, about the Belgian press, negotiations on the slave trade, and the French aliens. [Incomplete.] (30th May 1817)
D3030/5449	(Castlereagh papers) - Letter from Sir Henry Wellesley to Castlereagh, commenting on the negotiations with Spain for the abolition of the slave trade (31st Aug 1817)

D3030/5598	(Castlereagh papers) - Copy letter from James Hook to M. de la Boulaye, about the slave trade on the coast of Africa (23rd March 1818)
D3030/5600	(Castlereagh papers) - Letter from M. Fleurian to [?], about the sequestration of the slave ship 'Le Postillion'. [In French.] (3rd May 1818)
D3030/5601	(Castlereagh papers) - Letter from Clancarty to Castlereagh, reporting the progress of the slave trade treaty (27th March 1818)
D3030/5610	(Castlereagh papers) - Letter from James Hook to William Allen, about the slave trade at St Louis and Goree. the confiscation of 'Le Postillion', and the activities of the commandant of Senegal (19th June 1818)
D3030/5616	(Castlereagh papers) - Letter from James Hook to Thomas Clarkson, informing him that Mr Stockdale and Mr Heddle can supply information on slavery (14th Aug 1818)
D3030/5637	(Castlereagh papers) - Letter from Thomas Clarkson to Castlereagh, about the failure of the governor of Senegal to discourage the slave trade there (5th Oct 1818)
D3030/5638	(Castlereagh papers) - Letter from Clarkson to Castlereagh, about his interview with the Tsar on the slave trade (c.Oct 1818)
D3030/5640	(Castlereagh papers) - Letter from Thomas Clarkson to Castlereagh, about his sources of information on the slave trade in Senegal (6th Oct 1818)
D3030/5973	(Castlereagh papers) - Copy letter from Clancarty to Baron de Nagell, asking for an answer from the King to the note verbale of 26 February, and for an audience to discuss the slave trade (26th March 1821)

D/3165/2	<p>(Malcolm Papers) – Journal of John Moore, containing an account of his life in America in the 1760s. Includes discussion in letter of 13th Sept 1763 regarding slavery and brutal treatment of native Americans contrasted with what he described as French good sense and humanity – ‘A man that has negro servants (and most families have) will entirely neglect to have them christened or instructed in Christian religion, and they are born, live and die in their families, perfect heathens; and this is the conduct of the most religious people. I never knew an instance of any taking the care they ought to take, if they allow the Negroes to be rational, immortal creatures, it is really astonishing to me their neglect in this particular. If the Negroes were in general taught Christianity when we take upon us to make slaves of them, it would be something to offer in defence of that indefensible iniquitous trade of robbing men of the natural freedom which their creator has given all men who do not forfeit it by breach of the laws of the society of which they are members. I can’t help looking on it as a very impolitic thing, the having negro servants on the continent. There are white people enough in Great Britain and Ireland who do all the work and carry on all the business of America, as well as at home, without being at the expense of men, ships and goods to buy Negroes.</p> <p>In the West Indies indeed, it seems generally allowed that the white people could not stand the cultivation of the sugar cane so well as the Negroes, but there is necessity for them there, they might be taught Christianity and used like Christian servants and not brute beasts and worse than brutes. With respect to our conduct to the Indians, the whole English nation and people are highly to blame in their scandalous neglect of civilizing and converting them to Christianity. Even for political reasons they ought to have done it. The present and most cruel and barbarious war which they are now carrying on against us is a dreadful instance of our neglect...The French, when they possessed Canada, acted on another manner; they made it their study to civilize them, to teach them the Christian religion, caressed them and took all possible methods to gain their affections and they found the benefit of it and we the smart of it during the War. For the whole time it lasted the French never had cause to complain of their Indians’s want of fidelity or vigilance in their cause, which we know to our cost, and by their courteous and insinuating behaviour to them, drew off many of our friendly Indians to their interest and caused many more to act but faintly for us...</p> <p>Numerous tribes of Indians, since we came among them, are quite extinct and others reduced to a handful, in particular the [? Nodridgerock] tribe in N. England, which were some thousands, are now reduced to the small numbers of 12 and have lately joined another tribe. The Mohawks were several thousands strong when we came amongst them, and now they can’t muster above 100 fighting men. Its true there are causes of their decrease not directly owing to the Europeans, such as the women not bearing more than two or three children and their continual wars amongst themselves, but that their decrease is in a great measure owing to the Europeans being amongst them, is plain for this reason; that if they had always decreased as fast as since they came amongst them, at this day there would have been none left. We have lately begun in Connecticut Province to educate young Indians for the Ministry, which is an excellent plan if properly encouraged, but till the Indians have intercourse with better behaved people than the traders and army, I am afraid we shall have but indifferent success. ... [13 September 1763]...</p>

D3477	(Papers of Eason and Son Ltd) – Includes a petition to parliament from the inhabitants of Clones requesting the abolition of slavery (c.1820)
D3491/2	An Address to the People of Great Britain ... on the Utility of Refraining from the Use of West India Sugar & Rum’. (c.1800)
D3491/5	(Pike family papers) – Pamphlets: anti-slavery reporter. The family belonged to Society of Friends (Dec 1827-Sept 1831)
D3531/A/5	(Shirley papers) - Copy of a letter from Goldfrap to George Brudenell [a trustee of the Shirley estate] in which he refers to St. Vincent, Tobago and Grenada etc. ‘... I am well acquainted with those islands, and although I have a letter from Lady Macartney wherein she mentions that her Lord had been indefatigable in fortifying Grenada, I am convinced that island would not hold out a siege of two hours. St Vincent and Tobago are still less able to make an opposition. ...’ (13th Jan 1779)
D3590/G/3	Correspondence, legal papers and accounts (some in French) concerning a sugar plantation at Colmar, Mauritius, in which Charles Henry Higginson had a share. (1869-99)
D3618/D/8/8	(Foster papers) - Letter from William Dillworth, Florida to Vere Foster regarding competition for work in USA between Irish immigrants and slaves (23rd Jan 1855)
D/3618/D/8/9	(Foster papers) - Letter to Vere Foster from P Kennedy, Virginia in which he compares the condition of slaves in America and that of Irish Catholic immigrants (19th March 1855) - The first part of this long letter deals with the employment situation in America, which at this time was bleak for most labourers and tradesmen. He refers to a crusade by protestant preachers from England against Catholics which has caused many Americans to resent all foreigners. The final part of the letter draws a comparison between the slaves in America and the Irish and suggests that the former are much better treated by their masters than the Irish tenants are by their landlords. Responsibility for lack of action in Ireland, he places on the British government.

D3688/F/27	(Brown family papers) - Letter from Robert Brown, Cape of Good Hope, to James Brown, Upper Arthur Street, Belfast. Includes reference to the emancipation of slaves from ‘apprenticeship’ under Act of 1833 (5th Dec 1838) - explains help provided in the Cape after his ship was wrecked, ‘I have met with the most friendly people here I ever saw. A gentleman of the name of Dekenah brought down to the beach, tea, coffee, gin, brandy, bread, butter and beef which he gave to the passengers as the came ashore. He had his slaves there also lighting fires for the purpose of warming them and drove Capt Giffney, Mrs Giffney and I to his own house in his carriage and there treats us like kings. Had [it] not been for his kindness God only knows what I would have done... Had it not been for them I must have been left an object of pity in this foreign land amongst the Hotentots not understanding a single word they say. Beside[s] the slaves have been emancipated on the 1st of Dec and the whole country is in awe of them, but as yet they have been pretty quiet.....’
D3994/2/1	Letter from Samuel Travers and Joseph Travers in London to John Browne, merchant in Liverpool, pointing out that 2 hogsheads of sugar from Barbados come in ‘ye Cleiveland’ were not for John Browne of Liverpool but ‘one Mr Joseph Browne of Belfast’ (25th Sept 1715)
D4053/2/2	(Papers relating to McCalmont, Magee, Calwell and Willson families) - Booklet entitled Songs of a Sojourn in British Guiana by William McCalmont of Larne, describing tropical phenomena, peculiar superstitions of African slaves in British Guiana and including poetry and written accounts relating to African Slaves (1833)
D4121/A/1	(Papers of Alexander Greer and Lowry families, Co Tyrone) - Account book for a vinegar and chemical works in Dublin which includes a subscription to the Peace and Anti-Slavery Association (Mar-Dec 1830)
D4672/2/1/1	Copy of the will and probate of Margaret Bustard (née Radford) (1852). Margaret was the widow of George Bustard, sister of George and John Radford and aunt of Ebenezer and John Bustard. Margaret had made this will just before a trip back to Ireland. She appoints her nephew, Ebenezer, as the sole executor. After releasing any slaves held at the time of her death, she bequeaths everything to her family. Article 3 of the will reads: ‘I direct any slaves I may have at the time of my death shall be entitled to their freedom and that my executor shall pay out of my estate the necessary charges of removing them to a state or country where they can be set free and enjoy their liberty’ (1st June 1852)

D4794/2/2/1	Notebook on work of agent & book-keeper, James Reid of Ramelton, Co Donegal, at Pleasant Hill (plantation), Port Morant, Jamaica, 1825-1828, accounting for daily amounts delivered by the slaves. Depositor notes: - ‘Under the overseer’s control and direction were the bookkeepers. The bookkeeper’s task had little to do with accounting. His job was to directly supervise the agricultural labourers [i.e. slaves] in the field. It was the least enviable position in the early nineteenth century. Paid a paltry salary, he could barely support himself and wear decent clothes. Some estates would fire a bookkeeper who married, as his salary would not properly support a family. There seemed to be no objection to his maintaining a coloured female companion and their children’
DIORC/1/11/B/2	Extracts from diary of Dr James Donnelly (later Bishop of Clogher) on fund-raising trip for Cath University of Ireland (late 1852) – ie 17 October 1852 - Fennelly a very intelligent man. Received great information from [him] on many priests, treatment and life of slaves in Kentucky and Tennessee and lives in journeys of priests in that country...’
DIORC/1/11/B/3	(extracts from diary of Bishop Donnelly)... ‘31 August 1853 Arrive at Charleston 4 am 170 miles from Wilmington. An old settled stagnant city; no going ahead. lot of slaves on board; way Irishman spoke of them “fine lot” “look at wrists” for auction.1 September 1853, At 5 am to cathedral; celebrated mass there. Grand church nearly finished. Dr Lynch kind simple man How deceived I was in him! Took me round city in-carriage; saw machinery of rice mills and whipping post still used and stocks. No slaves auctioned today; disappointed...little slaves in Bishop’s house so funny and frisky... ...14 September 1853 Confessed Pupils at Academy. Present to Courtney of pencil and...Dined at decent farmer’s. C[ourtney] got sick call 17 miles away; went on horseback. Home to Tennison’s. Dr Briscoe queer man. nigger huts and patches of tobacco and sweet potatoes White potatoes called Irish. Yams sort of sweet potatoes; saw some waffle bread “bonnie clabber” dish of thick milk served out in saucers with molasses’
MIC45/3	(Cunningham family correspondence) - Includes correspondence from family members in the West Indies (1727-1935)
MIC135	(Watt family correspondence) - Correspondence of Watt family in Jamaica, West Indies (1790-1850)
MIC/135/1	Correspondence of Watt family of Ramelton, Co Donegal (especially Samuel Watt, Jamaica Plantation agent), regarding trade interests in Barbados, Jamaica and Demerara (British Guiana), 1800s –

	<p>‘30 November 1802, Barbadoes. Samuel Watt to James Watt Junior “The fellow ‘Sheales’ that I once mentioned to you as being troublesome is still here; he came from Africa in a ship that was there for slaves; part of the crew mutinied in the absence of the captain, murdered the chief mate and carried the ship to sea; she was brought in here by a King’s ship. Three of them have been executed for piracy; he is now free to go where he pleases; he has of late been more civil and I am sorry to say more intemperate. David Hall fortunately saved him from drowning; he was in the water; some negroes had brought him out half drowned and left him to expire on the beach when he, passing in company with a doctor found him in that situation; he was recovered by much difficulty and attention; it has however made no change; I wish he was in Ramelton again or anywhere from here. There is also another Ramelton man here; he is a son of old Alexander Bell’</p> <p>...27 December 1802, Barbadoes. Samuel Watt to James [Watt]“My dear James...the slaves themselves have every Sunday but the book keeper or more properly called the turnkey (for some of them never put pen to paper) is...</p> <p>...27 July 1803, Barbados. Samuel Watt to James Watt, “My dear James a few days ago I did myself the pleasure to write you a few lines under care of Mr. David Hall who sailed from hence on the 21st instant in the ship Columbus for Dublin with convoy to touch at the Leeward Islands for the rest of the trade and in all probability you will receive this, ten days or a fortnight sooner as it goes by an armed running ship direct for Liverpool.</p> <p>20 Sept. 1804, Barbadoes. Samuel Watt to James Watt, Junior, “My dear brother...I will make a few remarks on what you say respecting the abolition of the slave trade. The planters in the old settled islands (especially Barbadoes) would be benefited by it as the cultivation of the southern continent and new settlements will be put to a stand and very soon a rapid decline; consequently the products of the former would command better prices and in the end the British consumer will suffer more than the planter and there you will come in for your share. Our forefathers who were more religious than ourselves established this trade which was certainly then an improper one but now for the sake of humanity alone we ought to continue it; it is a well known fact that all the negroes that are imported from Africa have either been slaves to their lords and masters or prisoners taken in their country wars who would be put to death if there was not a prospect left them of selling them to the European trader; thus in this instance alone do we save the lives of many of these wretched creatures, nor have I ever known an instance of one of them wishing to return; the fact is they are much more comfortable than in their native country and I assure you much happier than the labourers and lower order of people in our part of Ireland; their cares are fewer; they have never to think for tomorrow for the proprietor is obliged by the laws of the country to maintain them to the last. The representations in Parliament of our treatment towards our slaves is in many instances false and in all exaggerated and so long as other powers continue the trade it would be bad policy in Britain to leave it off for wherever there is a market for them neutrals will carry them (chiefly the Americans) and supply them underhandedly at an advance price; I could add much [more] on this subject but I fear I have already tired you....</p>
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	<p>20 June 1807, Barbadoes. Samuel Watt to James Watt, Junior, “...although this is the crop time of the year and a good deal of business doing; never was there in the West Indies such times for collections. If something is not done to relieve the planters they will be all ruined; some of their shipments, sugar in particular bring them actually in debt owing to the enormous duties and expenses attending them and relief I think they can hardly expect after the convincing proof they have lately had of ministers inclination to distress the West India colonies by the total abolition of the slave trade; this I will grant is a humane good law but it is as the planters say, a damned impolitic one and one that I have a notion will be repealed as soon as the Exchequer begins to feel the want of the immense revenue arriving therefrom; they should have waited until there was an end to the war before they attempted to curtail their means of supporting it and still there will, I fancy, be ways and means found out of bringing the slaves from Africa to the West Indies and indeed for the sake of humanity I hope so for I understand some well informed persons who have been there that the moment their savage princes find this mode of disposing of their captives at an end they will turn to and butcher them all; this a gradual abolition would have obviated; therefore I think the advisers of the late abolition have done as little for humanity as the first instigators of the trade; they are a set of hypocrites...’</p> <p>...7 May 1809, Kingston, Jamaica. Samuel Watt to James Watt, “ Trade has not been so brisk here for some weeks past as usual, still there is no great reason to complain; low priced Irish linens of all descriptions (especially 4/4 from 12d. at 2/6) have been in uncommon steady demand since my arrival. I sold a lot of my own the other day (purchased in London in January) at a profit of 25% and I think linens of this description likely to continue to do well, when shipped by a running vessel’</p> <p>10 October 1825, Kingston, Jamaica. John Watt to Samuel Watt, ‘Dear Uncle...This goes by a small vessel of Mulholland’s loaded I understand chiefly with wood; indeed there is nothing else here now to load any vessel and what little sugar and rum is in the market is barely sufficient to supply the retailers. Rum brings readily 3/- per gallon and sugar from 40/- to 46/8; what we shipped in the Andromache cost seven dollars. We have good prospects for an abundant crop of both sugar and coffee next season as we have had plenty of rain latterly but no bad weather...I am sorry it is not in my power to advise of having sold any more of the negroes although I am doing my best and hope you will think so; however they pay wages regularly...’</p>
MIC138/1	<p>Joseph Lough, Baltimore to Miss E. Lough, Cairncastle, c/o Messrs. J. & T. Gardner, Belfast (26th Aug 1833) - ‘The desolating tracks of the cholera in the west and particularly at Maryville where we had contemplated establishing ourselves...it also visited Madison where Mr. McClean’s son-in-law Mr. Anderson who had arrived but a few days to commence business with William fell one of the first victims, the savages have been very great from New Orleans along the rivers in many instances the loss of slaves exceeded ½ on the Mississippi plantations, Kentucky suffered severely, but it has been less fatal in Ohio, a few cases reached Pittsburg, but has not spread’</p>

MIC144/1	John Kerr New Orleans, to uncle, 1st Feb 1850 comparing slaves to immigrant Irish and commenting on conduct of Irish-Americans towards slaves – ‘...Immigrants from Europe are coming now at the rate of 300,000 a year formerly only 100,000 a year, and it is thought immigration will increase for next 3 or 4 years rather than decrease. Those who have come the last 2 years have been in general better off than the immigrants of former years. A great many of them had capital. A few of them however from Ireland appeared when they landed here to be in the most destitute condition. I saw some come from the ship who appeared to have been starved for a year before and who had hardly enough clothes to cover their nakedness. I never saw such melancholy specimens of humanity. Why they were far more ragged, torn, and emaciated looking than the soldiers when they returned from Mexico after a hard campaign. They bore evidence of cruel bondage - grinding oppression. The People of Ireland talk, in the most horrified term of negro slavery in this country, but these same slaves present an appearance of comfort, happiness, and content, a hundred per cent greater than the poor Irish, and they are more comfortable and happy. I don’t mean to defend the slavery here, but I say that it is not half so bad so grinding oppressive as in Ireland. Why, an American however absolute his power never exercises such tyranny as do Irishmen. They treat their “Niggers” with kindness and with some consideration, no consideration would induce them however great the gain might be to starve them, an Irish landlord would see all his tenants expire in the agonies of hunger to gratify his vanity, or increase his rent roll. I think there is no country in the world, where they may be found so many human beings lost to all sense of humanity as in Ireland, the one half of them are Hanans. They treat their slaves worse here than the men of any other nation that come here’
MIC147/9	(Papers of the Roden family) - Letter from Samuel Martin. Antigua to “My Lord [Limerick], referring to slave trade and slavery in Antigua, West Indies (6th Feb 1754)
MIC597/4	(letters of Blane and Law families USA, late 1820s) - Included are a number of letters from Thomas Law, Washington, to William Blane, Winkfield Park. One such (16 April 1826), comments: ‘Cotton is [so] low that 1,500 slaves in New Orleans cannot be sold. ...The current of population has set latterly towards the states where cotton and sugar are produced. Kentucky also is without money. Loans for the city even for 30 days and without any risk are made at 24 per cent, viz. 2 per cent for 60 days... Property is unsaleable. ...’
M1C613	(Jameson Collection) - Letters and papers of Henry Dodwell of Golden Square, his wife/widow, Dulcibella. Includes letters from Henry Browne, the agent at Kingstown regarding the American War of Independence and the slave labour force of Jamaica (1778-1884)

MIC639/1	(Maurice Fitzgerald papers) - Duplicated document entitled ‘A brief narrative of the proceedings of the Rev. James Curtin during his ministry in Antigua from 1799 to 1827 inclusive, under the incorporated society for the conversion, etc, of negro slaves’, together with manuscript copies of letters to Curtin from W[illiam Howley, archbishop of Canterbury], then bishop of London, and from Thomas Porteus, secretary to the incorporated society, in January 1817 and December 1818. [19 March 1831]
T618	(Nedham papers) - Relates to a tenement, owned by the Nedham family, in Sugar Island in Newry (1793)
T765 (D/591)	(Drennan Papers) - Correspondence of plantation owners from Belfast, William Cunningham and Dr Halliday (1776-1819)
T808/499	Papers of Armstrong family of Co. Limerick, Cavan, Leitrim, Monaghan, Kings County, etc; typescript, including extracts from the will of Martin Armstrong St Johns Parish Middlesex Jamaica (1789). Bequests to the sons of his brother William Armstrong Co Leitrim namely Martin and Lancelot £300 each when they reach the age of 21; to his kinsman Captain Robert Armstrong of Ireland, his gold watch and silver hilted sword; to the eldest daughter of the said Captain Robert Armstrong £300 at age 21; “to my reputed mulatto son George Burgoyne Armstrong all the farmlands known as Rogerson’s farm, and a certain slaves etc when he shall have reached the age of 21 years.”My estate known as the Retreat plantation and all the rest of my personal and real property to my nephew Martin Armstrong son of my deceased brother Lancelot Armstrong, gentleman now of Summerhill Co Cavan and to each of the brothers and sisters of the said Martin the sum of £500”.
T1035/19	(Smyth family papers) - Thomas J. Smyth, Lieut., R.N.,H.M.S., Ferrett off Gallinas (Sierra Leone) to Commander J. Oake of same. Report of encounter with a Portuguese Ship (Slave ship?) (23rd Feb 1844)
T1060/9/97	(State papers of Ireland) - An impartial state of the case between refiners of sugar of Great Britain and those of Ireland (30th Nov 1765)
T1060/9/3868	(State papers of Ireland) - Petition of Merchants and traders regarding importing refined sugar (30th Nov 1765)
T1116/32	(Duffin papers)- Letter from William Brown, New Orleans to Robert Grimshaw, Belfast. Includes outspoken criticism of slavery (7th April 1819)

T1143/4	(Charles Gavan Duffy correspondence) - Letter from James McKnight, Belfast, to Charles Gavan Duffy, Irish Nationalist M.P in which reference is made to an evening spent in the company of a Mr Garnett, a runaway Negro slave (5th Sept 1851)
T1475/1	(Wightman, Henderson & McNeilly papers) - Includes letters from John Simpson, Florence. Alabama in which he discusses the death of one of his negroes, which cost him \$525, and his uncle's plantation where there are "about 100 negroes employed" (1810-1884)
T1568/1	(Dr G. Gillespie documents) - Letter from Moses Paul, Virginia, to John Graham, Magherafelt, Co Londonderry, describing his 'gay social life' and giving details of the market in slaves (1840)
T1585/1	(American Civil War documents) - Letter from Private John Thompson, 1st US Artillery, Fort Sumter, Carolina to his father in which reference is made to the dissatisfaction which has prevailed in the slave states and the rebellion of South Carolina (14th Feb 1861)
T1796/1	(Neill emigrant papers) - Emigrant letter from Henry Neill, Louisville, Kentucky, to Samuel Neill, Banbridge, Co. Down. Discusses auctioning of negroes (1st April 1839)
T1830/2	(Hill and Thompson papers) - Emigrant letter from David Thomson. Charleston. S. Carolina, U.S.A. to His cousin [Hill]. Ballynure, Co. Antrim. Discusses three Negroes who were to be hung for killing their overseers (29th Aug 1854)
T1830/3	(Hill and Thompson papers) - Emigrant letter from Wm. [Hill], Abbeville, S. Carolina, U.S.A. to David Hill, [Ballynure, Co. Antrim] regarding family news. He has bought a house etc., [in Abbeville] which cost him 1,250 dollars and his "negro property is worth 6,000 dollars" (24th Jan 1855)
T1873/1	(Miss S Boyd papers) - Emigrant letter from B. Boyd, Charleston, U.S.A. to his (Brother, John Boyd, Strabane with some reference to the slave trade in Savannah, Georgia (18th Nov 1808)
T1961/1	(Jamaica Almanac) - Pages from the Jamaica Almanac, showing return of Proprietors for the Cos. of Middlesex and Cornwall (1821)

T2018/3	(Walker & Lowry papers) - Letter from Alexander Lowie, Pittsburgh, to his father and mother (25th Aug 1856) in which he includes reference to his time spent working in the slave states 'I was away from home all winter; I was down south blacksmithing all down through the slave states. I was hired in Pittsburg at 50 dollars per month and my board. I was six months away; I had a very pleasant trip; I was working on a flat boat all the time; I had a chance to see the cotton and sugar growing, all the work done by slaves, 'negrows' and mules'
T2046/5	(Aiken McClelland papers) - An Emigrant letter from Andrew Greenless, Ottawa [Ohio] 10 March 1854 to his brother in which he tells of the fighting for the abolition of slavery (10th March 1854)
T2046/10	(Aiken McClelland papers) - An Emigrant letter from [Andrew Greenless], Grand Rapids [Michigan] to his brother. He shows a great desire to see the abolition of slavery and he asks his brother to pray for his cause (9th Sept 1861)
T2046/12	(Aiken McClelland papers) – An emigrant letter from Andrew Greenless, Dayton (Ohio) to his brother. He tells of the great news regarding the abolition of slavery (22nd Nov 1862)
T2107/3	(Watt papers) - Pages 92-136 of volume 'Jamaican Almanac' giving list of landowners in Co. Cornwall, Jamaica, with numbers of slaves and amount of stock (1822)
T2125/14/4	(PRONI Exhibition) - Deed of sale of a seven-years old slave. (British Museum Papyrus 229) (166)
T2305/9	(McDowell papers) - Letter from John Keith, Keithfield. South Carolina to Mrs. Agnes Kirkpatrick, Georgetown, South Carolina, with reference 1804 to the selling of negroes (24th Feb 1804)
T2305/38	(McDowell papers) - Letter from William Hill, Abbeville, South Carolina to his brother David describing the end of the civil war and the freeing of the slaves (8th Sept 1865)
T2345/10	(E.R.R. Green papers) - Emigrant letters from,] Hanly, Nantes [France] to "my dear Anne". Includes reference to Chinese labourers working on South American plantations (6th July 1870)
T2349/9	(Crossle papers) - Letter in French from Dufour de Villeneuve suggesting that a negro has been falsely arrested (2nd May 1748)

T2414/6	(McElderry papers) - Letter from Robert McElderry, Lynchburg, Virginia which includes reference to the slaves in Virginia (11th Mar 1852)
T2414/12	(McElderry papers) - Letter from Robert McElderry. Lynchburg with reference to the hiring season for negroes (12th Dec 1853)
T2414/13	(McElderry papers) - Letter from Wm McElderry. Lynchburg on Slavery in Virginia (17th Dec 1853)
T2414/16	(McElderry papers) - Letter from Robert McElderry, Lynchburg, Virginia, defence of slavery (31st May 1854)
T2414/18	(McElderry papers) - Incomplete letter from W.M. on ‘Uncle Moores troubles’, which includes reference to slaves [December 1854?] – The wheat and corn crops; work at the mill. Slaves. Mitchel's paper, ‘will not pay and he cannot change opinions so sudden as to write a paper that will pay’
T2519/5/2	(Foster-Massereene papers) - A letter from Lord Aberdeen at the Priory to Augustus [Foster] in Washington, America. He refers to the slave trade and to the state of affairs in the European war (13th Jan 1807)
T2552	(Robert Fausett papers) Abstracts and copy letters, of Robert Fausset, Silver Hill, Enniskillen. Co Fermanagh. a retired sugar planter from the West Indies (1799-1820)
T2581/8	(Linn/McKean papers) - Letter from J. N. Houston. New Orleans to Matilda Houston, Larne, Co. Antrim which includes reference to woman slaves who are ‘sold like other cattle in the streets...(3rd April 1836)
T2593/26	(1st/2nd earl of Liverpool papers) - Letter from [Nicholas] Vansittart, Blackheath, to Lord Liverpool concerning arrangements for regulating the trade of the islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe. He states that as long as the islands remain under British protection they should not carry on any slave trade (29th March 1815)
T2621/2/50	(Rothwell papers) - Letter from [Dr.] S.D. Howe [Director of the Institute for the Blind in Boston] to Richard Rothwell, concerning slavery in his country (1852?)

T2647/1/51	(Roden papers) - David Livingstone, Bombay, to Lady Palmerston condoling with her and paying tribute to Palmerston's part in suppressing the slave trade (28th Nov 1865)
T2717/1/1	(Rose-Cleland family) - Copy of letter from Thomas Rose, [North America] to his brother Richard Rose [Abington, Berkshire] concerning the disposal of the estate of their father, which includes property and negroes (26th Dec 1733)
T2812/11/2/1	(O'Hara of Sligo papers) - Draft petition from the Royal African Company to the Commons complaining of a high loss of slave trade to the French and the resulting high price in British plantations (1740s)
T2850/1/5	(Dr George Gillespie) - Letter from Moses Paul Petersburg, Virginia, to John Graham, Magherafelt, Co. Londonderry (29th Dec 1840)
T2874/1	(Quin papers) - Journal of Hugh Quinn, Junior, from his departure at Portaferry, Co. Down to his arrival at New Orleans, U.S.A (9th Sept - 6 Dec 1817)
T2952	(Martin, Leslie and Shaw papers) - Volume of copy out-letters of ‘R.H’. a Cork merchant. They deal mainly with bills of exchange with occasional comments on trade in herring, pork, slaves etc. (1771-2)
T3028/B/11	(Redford papers) - Letter from James A Reford, Bloomfield, New Jersey, USA, to his brothers and sisters [Antrim?], N. Ireland in which he makes reference to negroes who work his son-in-laws land (25th June 1867)
T3030/10/13	(Redesdale Papers) - Notes on the proceedings of the House of Commons on that date, particularly on Wilberforce's motion about the slave trade (7th Feb 1805)
T3032/1/1	(RH Elliott papers) - Letter from Henry Coulter, St. Stephen's New Brunswick to Rev. William Moreland, Portaferry, Co. Down. Includes reference to the abolition of slavery (14th June 1820)
T3084/1	(Allen emigrant papers) - Emigrant letter from Henry Allen, Iowa City, to his cousin Rev. Robert Allen, Dublin. Its deals mainly with family and religious matters, but includes comments on the institution of slavery and civil war (17th March 1856)

T3252/2	(Mrs P.M. Martin papers) - Letter from John Lawrie, Edinburgh, Scotland to the Rev. Messrs Cooper, Crawford and Mitchell. Includes reference to the abolition of slavery (4th Aug 1826)
T3258/4/10	(American and Canadian emigrant letters) - Letter from Minnie [Mary Anderson] Blount Spring, Alabama, to his mother describing the journey from Wichita, Kansas to Birmingham, Alabama, and also the surrounding area and people (22nd Aug 1886)
T3459/E/112	(Donoughmore papers) - Letter from Lord Howick, Downing Street, to Lord Hutchinson discussing the passing of the Bill for the abolition of the slave trade (20th Feb 1807)
T3607/3/1	(Irwin/Erwin family papers) - Letter from Andrew Erwin. Liverpool, to his parents in Derry Beg, Co Londonderry. regarding trading of slaves (31st Aug 1762)
T3607/3/2	(Irwin/Erwin family papers) - Letter from Andrew Erwin, Liverpool, to his parents in Derry Beg, Co Londonderry, regarding trading of slaves (10th Nov 1763)
T3627/3/2	(McAuley, O'Neill and related family papers) - Typescript copy of a letter from John McKenty, Bonny, Africa, to his mother in Glenarm, Co. Antrim, describing trading with the natives - their cargo consisting of silk and cotton goods, beads, iron bars, guns. cutlery, beads, salt, tobacco and gunpowder. and their taking on board supplies of palm oil (21st Aug 1839)

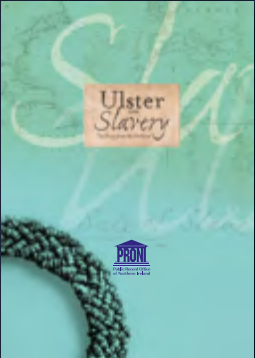


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FRONT COVER ILLUSTRATIONS:
Map of Jamaica, 1763 (PRONI D671/M/11/1)
Statue of Frederick Douglass, Rosemary St, Belfast, 2024 (PRONI, photograph by Sarah Wilkinson)

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