



EUROPE

SOUTH
AMERICA

Ulster
AND
Slavery
The Story from the Archives

Sale of Slave





Foreword

Northern Ireland is particularly fortunate to have a rich and extensive archival heritage. At the

heart of that heritage sits the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland (PRONI), which is an integral division of my Department. It holds millions of individual and unique documents that occupy 54 linear kilometres of shelving housed in environmentally controlled conditions.

Throughout its existence – it opened in 1924 – PRONI has acquired material from a range of sources. The importance of privately owned archives was recognised from the start. The sustained efforts of PRONI and the public spirited generosity of depositors have resulted in the bringing together of what is often simply called ‘the documented community memory’.

The archives – that memory – are the raw materials of history, the evidence of what happened in the past. Their role in supporting a sense of personal identity and of place is now well recognised and not least in television programmes that explore family history or the history of a particular property.

The archives also provide insights into the contribution of people from Northern Ireland to other countries, whether through emigration or trade.

This publication looks at a trade that flourished, produced profits, enriched individuals and brought indescribable misery to those caught up in it – the trade in slaves. This trade in human beings tore them away from their communities, robbed them of their sense of place and individuality and placed on them a price as a commodity to be sold in the market and exploited thereafter.

For some the trade was the means of acquiring great material wealth, social standing and

influence. For others the trade was a matter of conscience that induced in them an overwhelming sense of its immorality and inhumanity. Those who benefited from the trade have passed into the shadows of history. They emerge now only as spectres reminding us of man’s inhumanity to man. Those who were moved to challenge have become the heroes of the age. They provide an example of personal morality, of a sense of duty and self-sacrifice, of the desire to do what was right.

This publication throws light on the dark recesses of the slave trade. It shows its importance as an economic activity and how it worked. It provides an insight into the challenge to the trade within the British Empire (and beyond) and how it was eventually ended.

Ulster and Slavery: The Story from the Archives makes a significant contribution to the commemoration of the bicentenary of the abolition of the slave trade in the British Empire. It is a contribution firmly based on evidence drawn from the archives at PRONI. An appendix brings together PRONI catalogue references for material relevant to the whole issue of slavery and the slave trade. It shows how the tentacles of the trade and the institution of slavery extended across much of the world – North America, Spanish America, the West Indies, North, East and West Africa and India. It also shows how the campaign against the trade took on the same global aspect.

I hope that those who read this publication will be encouraged to go one step further and see the evidence for themselves. In doing so, you will be accessing an extremely important facet of the ‘documented community memory’.

Edwin Poots, MLA

Minister for the Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure



Slavery

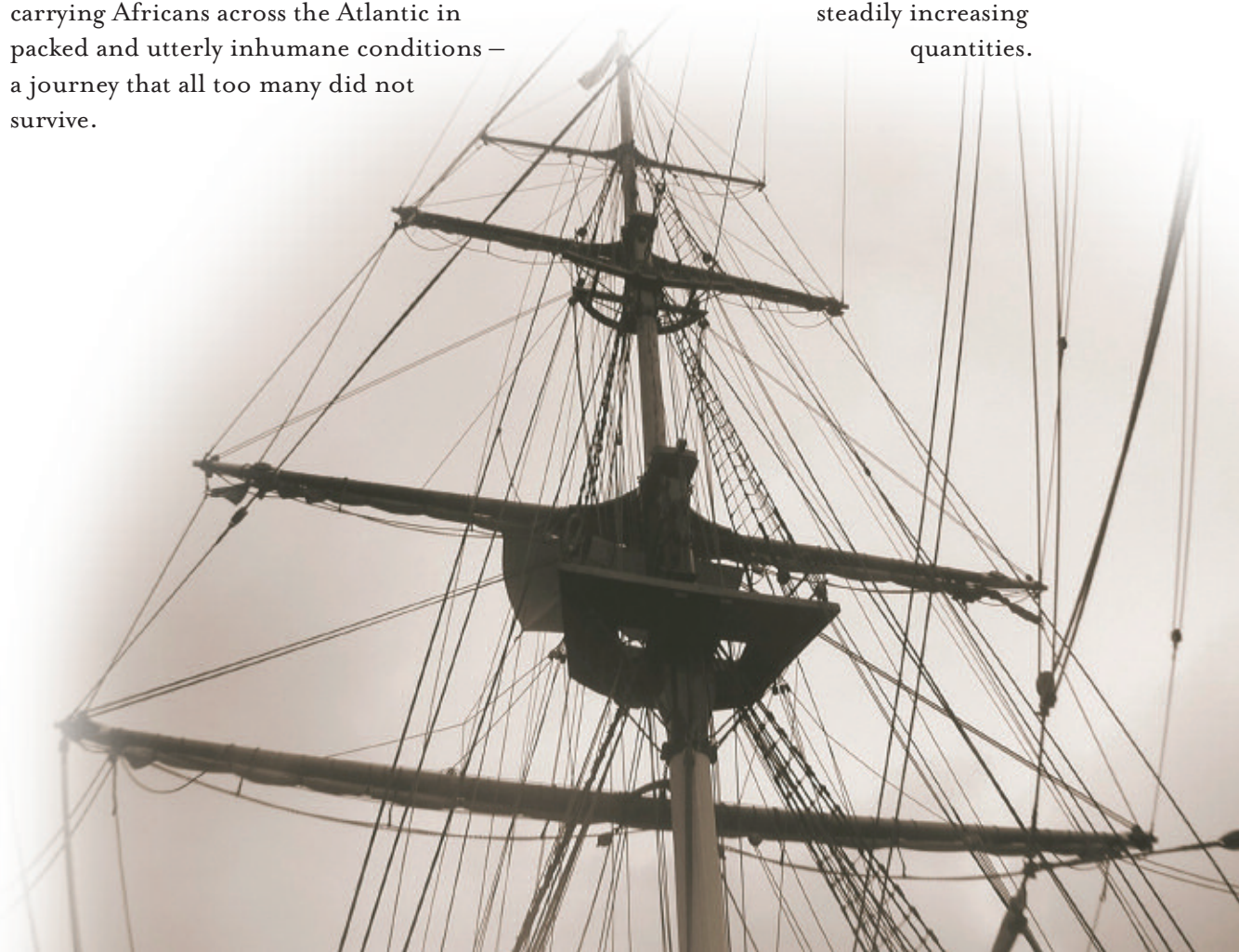
Slavery – the ownership and control of one human being by another, to the point of total obedience – is one of the grimmest phenomena of history, and has been present in many times and places across the globe. People from all ethnic groups have been slaves and slavemasters.

However, today in the West, the main historical example that comes to mind is the Atlantic trade in black slaves between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, with the abiding image of the slave ships carrying Africans across the Atlantic in packed and utterly inhumane conditions – a journey that all too many did not survive.

Rise of the Slave Trade

The Atlantic trade in African slaves began in 1444, when the Portuguese began to ship slaves from West Africa to Europe, and for the next century the main markets for these slaves were in Europe and the Atlantic islands.

However, the discovery of the Americas in 1492, led to the creation of new colonies with a great need for cheap labour and from the mid sixteenth century European ships were carrying African slaves to Brazil, the Caribbean and North America in steadily increasing quantities.



Deed of Sale of Slave. PRONI reference: D/1918/3/3

Initially the Portuguese were the main participants in the trade but by the second half of the seventeenth century the countries of north-west Europe were also becoming involved. In 1663, the Royal Africa Company was established in Britain and between 1672, and 1689, was responsible for transporting nearly 90,000 slaves.

By the eighteenth century Britain had become one of the foremost slave trading powers alongside the French, Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish all of whom had colonies in the New World. (See *Earl Macartney papers, 1770.* PRONI reference D/572/3/43. *Abercorn papers, 1774.* PRONI reference D/623. *Blair family papers, 1785-1790.* PRONI reference D/717/20. *Knox family papers, 1795-1799.* PRONI reference D/1125/5). It has been estimated that of the approximate 27,000 slave voyages of which there is knowledge, about 12,000 were British or British colonial and of those 6,000 sailed from Liverpool. 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. Estimates put the total number of Africans transported across the Atlantic between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries at 12 million.

The Triangle

The slave trading voyage was 'triangular' in that the ships sailed from Britain to West Africa laden down with manufactured goods such as firearms, gunpowder, alcohol, beads, mirrors, knives, metals etc, items which the African slave traders did not possess and which were exchanged for

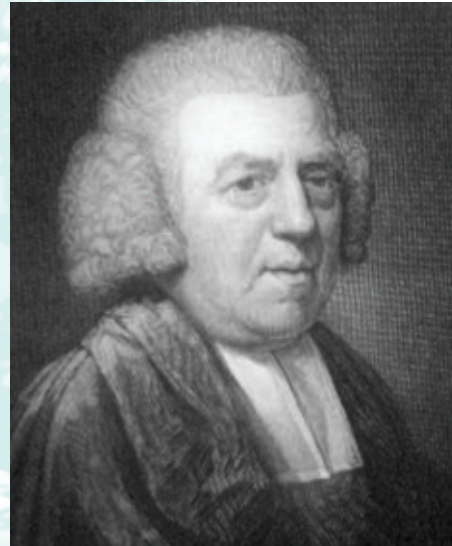
State of North Carolina. Now all men by these presents
Cumberland County - That whereas Letters of Administr-
-ation on the Estate of Miss Jane Sutherland dec'd were grant-
& Quarter Septem of the County of Cumberland aforesaid at
June Term 1730. And whereas an order of the Court was made
at the same time authorizing Samuel Sutherland administrator
aforesaid to sell certain Negro Slaves belonging to the estate aforesaid
specified in the order for the purpose of a division & the said
Samuel Sutherland after advertising according to law the
sale of the same did cause to be exposed to Public Auction at
the Town House in Fayetteville on this 10th July 1730. One neg-
ro boy named William about 10 or 12 years old. When where
Samuel Ferguson of the Town aforesaid became the last
& highest bidder at the sum of Two hundred & forty five
dollars - Now have ye that I Samuel Sutherland adminis-
-trator aforesaid for & in consideration of the premises & forty twelve
consideration of the said sum of Two hundred & forty five dollars
to me in hand paid the receipt whereof is hereby acknow-
-ledged - Have bargained & sold by these presents do bargain
& sell release & conform unto the said Samuel Ferguson the
above described slave to have & to hold to him the said Ferguson
& his heirs - And I the said Samuel Sutherland hereby for-
-myself give leave & agree to & with the said Ferguson
that I will warrant & defend the said slave to the said
Ferguson against the lawful claims of all persons what-
-soever so far as I can or may as administrator aforesaid &
no further - In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand
& affixed my seal this 10th day of July A. D. 1730

Samuel Sutherland
Administrator

Samuel Ferguson
of the Town of Fayetteville

slaves who had been captured in tribal wars or simply kidnapped from their villages especially for the trade. These slaves were held in captivity at the coast by the African slavemasters until a slavetrader came along to bargain for them. (See *Castlereagh papers, 1814.* PRONI reference D/3030/4179, D/3030/4180, D/3030/5023 and letter to Lord Dufferin, 1872, with reference to East African slave trade. PRONI reference D/1071/H/B/C/590). When a full cargo of slaves had been acquired the ships sailed on to the New World, a voyage known as the 'Middle Passage'. The slaves were then sold and the proceeds used to buy new cargoes of sugar,

*John Newton Portrait,
courtesy of Cowper & Newton Museum, Olney, Bucks.*



cotton, indigo, rice, tobacco or molasses which were brought back to Britain where they spawned industries of their own and helped fuel the Industrial Revolution.

On being sold the slaves were loaded onto the ships shackled together in wretched conditions and packed into spaces too small to allow them to turn, with barely enough food, drink and air to keep them alive. It has been estimated that on average ten percent of slaves died on the voyage and that if conditions at sea were particularly bad the figure could rise to thirty percent.

Work as slaves on the colonial plantations in the West Indies, where sugar was the principal crop, and on the plantations in the southern states of America, was so strenuous and labour intensive, and the regime so brutal that many died. Therefore there was always a market for new workers which continued to fuel the trade, made vast fortunes for some and gave the British economy an extra source of capital. (See *Roden family papers, 1755. PRONI reference MIC/147/9*).

John Newton 1725-1807

John Newton 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, beeswax and dyer's wood (an ingredient used in the dyeing industry).

In 1748, once again on board the 'Greyhound' on its way across the Atlantic from Brazil back to Liverpool, Newton and most of the rest of 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 towards 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 him to write one of the most popular hymns in the English language – 'Amazing Grace'.



North America

In North America the first African slaves were landed at Jamestown, Virginia in 1619. These first slaves were subjected to limited servitude and had the status of indentured labourers but as their numbers increased they lost this status. (See emigrant

letter from J. N. Houston, New Orleans, 1836, to his sister in Larne, Co. Antrim in which he tells of women slaves being 'sold like...cattle'. PRONI reference T/2581/8).

By the time the first American census was taken in 1790, African Americans numbered about 760,000 or nineteen percent 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 employed on plantations in the southern states labouring on the production of cotton, tobacco and rice. (See emigrant letter, dated 1855, from South Carolina regarding an emigrant from Co. Antrim whose 'negro property is worth \$6,000'. PRONI reference T/1830/3).

The Abolitionist Movement

Following the American Declaration of Independence eminent statesmen such as George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, John Jay and Alexander Hamilton declared slavery to be evil and inconsistent with the principles of the American Declaration of Independence. The Quakers (The Religious Society of Friends) began to agitate against slavery both in America and in Britain and in 1783, set up a committee to obtain and publish 'such information as may lead to the abolition of the slave trade'. (See emigrant letters from Andrew Greenless, Ohio, 1854, in which he expresses his desire to see the abolition of slavery and in 1862 he tells the great news of the abolition of slavery. PRONI references T/2046/5, T/2046/10 and T/2046/12).

In 1787, a committee of twelve including six members of the Quakers was appointed

to agitate for abolition. Two members of the committee were Thomas Clarkson and Granville Sharp who went to great lengths to collect evidence, finding out precisely how little space was allotted to slaves on the ships and other details. They began to publish pamphlets to stir public opinion against the trade. (See *Pike family papers, 1827, Anti-Slavery Reporter Pamphlets*. PRONI reference D/3491/3).

In Parliament both Charles James Fox and Pitt the Younger agreed with the aims of the committee but were opposed by some of the most powerful economic interests of the day. Consequently the committee had to concern itself with direct political action.

Since Quakers were barred from becoming Members of Parliament until after 1828, their spokesman in Parliament became the Evangelical William Wilberforce, author of *Practical Christianity*, one of the century's most widely read devotional works.

Wilberforce began his campaign to abolish the slave trade in 1798, and was rewarded for his efforts in 1807, when the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act was passed outlawing the British Atlantic slave trade and making it illegal to carry slaves on British ships. While trade in slaves was forbidden, the practice of slavery continued as did the trade despite the fact that 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 being captured by the Royal Navy unscrupulous captains simply ordered the slaves to be thrown overboard. 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 be piracy, a crime punishable by death. (See *Castlereagh papers, 1814, letter from William Wilberforce to Castlereagh commenting on the increase in British trade since the abolition of slavery*. PRONI reference D/3030/4176).

In 1808, the United States of America also passed legislation banning the slave trade but not outlawing slavery itself.

In Britain the campaign for the abolition of slavery intensified and many anti-slavery groups were formed, principal among them the Anti Slavery Society whose members included Wilberforce, Thomas Clarkson and Henry Brougham. They campaigned for better conditions for slaves in the West Indies and for the abolition of slavery.

Finally, in August 1833, three days before Wilberforce died, the Slavery Abolition Act was passed, coming into law on 1 August 1834, when slavery was abolished throughout British possessions abroad and all slaves in the British colonies were emancipated.

Freedom, however, was only partial. All children under the age of six were free immediately but all of the others were required to enter into an 'apprenticeship' whereby they had to continue to work for their former owners for upwards of forty hours a week for a period of six years – for no pay. To further soften the blow for the plantation owners the government agreed to pay compensation to them depending on the number of slaves each owned. This resulted in a total payout of £20 million the equivalent of £1,220 million today.



The United States

In the early 1800s in the United States slavery appeared to be declining but Whitney's invention of the cotton gin made it possible to harvest more cotton more quickly and the need for slaves increased again so that by 1860, in the south there were four million slaves and in some states there were as many slaves as there were free people. (See letter referring to slave trade and slavery in America, 1836. PRONI reference D/856/D/48).

Meanwhile, particularly in the northern states the campaign to abolish slavery intensified from the 1830s onwards with northerners taking the view that slavery was immoral and that one person should not be allowed to own another. (See deed of sale of Negro slave at Fayetteville, North Carolina, 1830. PRONI reference D/1918/3/3).

The southerners on the other hand argued that slavery was an economic necessity and that they could not afford to grow enough cotton to meet the demand without the use of slave labour. They also argued that their use of slaves was similar to the system of paying low wages to workers in northern factories, and also that as well as being provided with food shelter and clothing the slaves were allowed to become Christians. (See original account book of Lambert Blair and Co, Barbados for details of trade in coffee, cotton and slaves. PRONI reference D/1125/5).

In the presidential election of 1860, Abraham Lincoln ran on stopping the spread of slavery while his principal opponent Stephen Douglas ran on the issue of popular sovereignty. The opposition vote was split and Lincoln became the 16th President of the United States.

The south had threatened to secede if Lincoln were elected and shortly thereafter the South Carolina legislature voted to leave the Union. Nine other states soon followed and by February 1862, a new nation was declared, the Confederate States of America, and the American Civil War began.

Following four years of conflict the Confederacy surrendered and in 1865, Congress passed the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution forbidding slavery in the United States or any other place where it had jurisdiction. (See letter from William Hill, Abbeville, South Carolina describing the end of the civil war and the freeing of slaves, 1865. PRONI reference T/2305/38).

The effect of this long-term economic exploitation of millions of black slaves has had a profound effect on the history of the New World. Most fundamentally it produced deep social divisions between the rich white and poor black communities, the consequences of which still haunt American society today, many years after emancipation. (See Orr correspondence, 1848-1860, including letter expressing John Orr's antipathy towards American Negroes. PRONI reference D/2908).



The division was reinforced by the determination to segregate black and white communities and discourage inter-marriage, and by the reluctance to liberate black people from slavery from one generation to the next.

Catholic Emancipation

The anti-slavery movement in Britain and America coincided with the campaign in Ireland for Catholic Emancipation, that is, the admission of Catholics to positions from which they were still excluded such as the right to hold senior government office, become members of the Privy Council (the main executive and administrative organ of state in Ireland between 1534-1800), become a judge, a king's counsel, a sheriff of a county, or to sit in parliament.

The campaign for Catholic Emancipation was led by Daniel O'Connell, a prominent barrister who had become a popular Catholic champion by the early 1820s. He had succeeded in his crusade and was recruited by William Lloyd Garrison, a renowned American abolitionist who, in the 1830s, called for 'the immediate and complete emancipation of all slaves'. Garrison persuaded O'Connell to speak in favour of the cause of American abolitionism, likening slavery to the status of the disenfranchised Irish.

However, O'Connell's sentiments were not matched by those of many of his contemporaries in the Repeal Associations* in the United States who took a largely pro-slavery stance. This may have been because in many cases the Irish were competing with black people for jobs,

or objected to having the same arguments used for Irish and for black freedom.

Radical Irish nationalists, who disagreed with O'Connell's non-violent approach to the overthrow of British rule in Ireland, had differing opinions about slavery. John Mitchell, who had lived in America, was passionately in favour of slavery – three of his sons fought for the Confederacy in the American Civil War. On the other hand, his former close associate Thomas Francis Meagher, served as a brigadier general on the Union side in the same conflict. (See PRONI references D/207/16; D/2092/1/3; T/3075; T/3030/8; CR/4/1; D/2151/2).

Slavery and Belfast

Belfast in the 1790s was a small industrial city no more than a large market town. It was predominantly Presbyterian with Catholics making up only eight per cent of the total population of 18,320. It was a thriving well-built town dominated by a tight-knit entrepreneurial class. Volunteers, Whig club members and United Irishmen mixed socially and attended the same meeting houses. Cotton was the main textile being manufactured although linen manufacturing was expanding to the extent that Belfast would soon replace Dublin as the main linen exporter.



Portrait of Captain Waddell Cunningham 1730-97 (c.1786) by Robert Home (1752-1834), courtesy of the Ulster Museum.

*Repeal of the Act of Union

Up until 1781, there was dissatisfaction at the fact that British commercial regulations hindered direct trade with the American colonies and Africa. In that year Irish 'free trade' was finally allowed and in 1786, a group of Belfast merchants considered launching a slave trading venture but abandoned the idea in the face of local criticism. The freed slave Olaudah Equiano, a professional abolitionist had in fact visited the city in 1791, as the guest of the United Irishmen among whose members were several fervent anti-slavery supporters.

In Britain the campaign against slavery was gathering pace and coincided with the campaign for political reform in Ireland where the Dublin legislature was subordinate to the Westminster parliament. Encouraged by the success of the French Revolution the principal agitators likened the situation in Ireland vis a vis Britain as a form of slavery and in 1791, the United Irishmen, an alliance of Catholics and Presbyterians was established to agitate for reform.

This analogy with slavery presented some with a dilemma as Belfast had its own plantation owners, principally Waddell Cunningham and Dr Haliday respectively the established commercial and intellectual leaders in Belfast. Both men owned sugar estates on the island of Dominica and Waddell Cunningham was reputedly the richest man in Belfast. He had gone to America in the 1750s and with a Belfast-based partner, Thomas Gregg, established a firm which by 1775, had become the largest shipping company in New York. However, direct trade between Belfast and New York necessitated the use of only two ships per year and as a result the firm's activities spread to the

Caribbean where they brought rum, sugar and log wood to the colonies and traded between the islands with slaves featuring among the merchandise.

Cunningham made a fortune and purchased an estate in the Ceded Islands² which he called Belfast. His partner and brother was appointed King's Commissioner in the Ceded Islands in 1764, and spent the next twenty years in the West Indies. Later, back in Britain he gave evidence to a parliamentary committee investigating the slave trade, declaring that the negroes in the West Indies enjoyed a much happier existence than the lower class of people in England.

Other Belfast firms, particularly 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 plantation owning as they purchased plantations in Grenada and Trinidad.

The Valentine Jones 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 there. They were soon joined by the families of Cunningham, Whitla and Barbour - all of whom came from Waddell Cunningham's native village of Killead in Co Antrim.

Waddell Cunningham's mausoleum, in Knockbreda Church of Ireland graveyard.



When Waddell Cunningham returned from America in 1766, he expanded his repertoire of interests to include general merchandising, land speculation, ship insurance, banking and even smuggling. While he also traded in Europe his Caribbean interests continued to develop and he became a partner in a sugar refinery and exported mules and coarse linen to the West Indies.

At every level of society there were men who had benefited, and continued to benefit, from the expanding slave economy and throughout the eighteenth century Belfast's Caribbean trade adapted to changing conditions. When 'free trade' arrived in 1781, Belfast was able to import directly slave produce which previously had to be imported through Britain.

Belfast's trade with the West Indies was more important than its trade with continental Europe and the fact that the longest voyages leaving from Belfast were to the Caribbean meant that it was an important employer of local seamen and as the West Indies offered little in the way of ship repairing Belfast established itself in that arena as well. Offshoots of this industry such as rope and sail manufacture flourished as a result.

Chandlers also provided soap and candles for the Caribbean market and there was an abundance of work for shoe makers producing especially broad fitting shoes for slaves. In 1783, there were around 224 shoemakers in Belfast and by 1791, this number had increased to 312. Only linen weaving employed more craft workers in the town.

Britain outlawed slavery in 1833, but then became involved in the opium trade – another lucrative business and no less reprehensible.

1. *Mary Ann McCracken, sister of Henry Joy McCracken, leader of the United Irishmen, was an ardent abolitionist and founder member of Belfast's Women's Anti-Slavery Society.*

2 *Granada, Tobago, St Vincent and Dominica.*

Sugar

Sugar was first produced in Britain in the 14th century. To begin with it was a luxury food which only the wealthy could afford. At that time all production was from sugar cane which grew only in those countries with a tropical climate. Nowadays thirty percent of production is from sugar beet, a root crop, which grows mostly in the temperate northern areas of the globe.

By the mid 1600s over 7,000 tons of sugar produced from sugar cane was being imported into Britain every year. By 1700 this figure had risen to 10,000 tons and by the beginning of the nineteenth century British people were consuming over 70,000 tons of sugar each year and Britain and France were vying with each other for control of the trade.

Harvesting sugar from cane is very labour intensive and it was inevitable that sugar production and the slave trade should become inextricably linked.

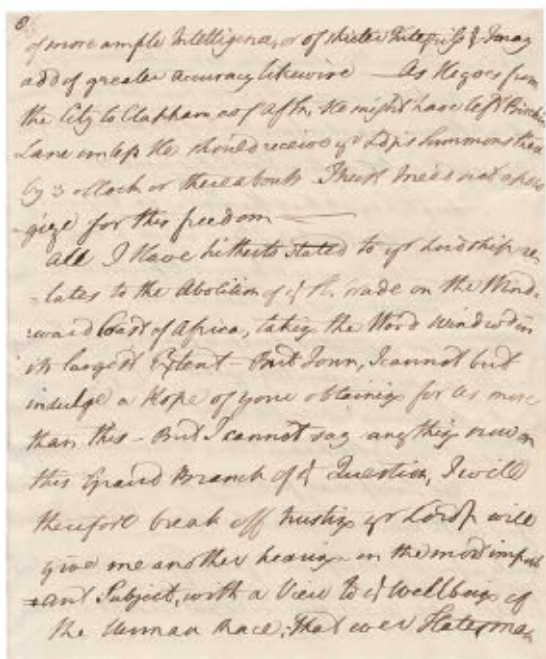
The process involved the extraction, by crushing, of the juice from the sugar cane.

The juice was collected then boiled to evaporate the water, leaving the sugar behind.

This process was extremely hazardous and it was common for slaves to be scalded or even boiled alive if they were unfortunate enough to fall into a vat of boiling liquid.

SLAVERY AND THE ARCHIVES AT PRONI

The Public Record Office of Northern Ireland (PRONI) in Belfast holds great quantities of historical documents and historians and students who wish to research and write about the important events in history make sure that they examine these documents in considerable detail in order to shed light on their topic of research. Slavery and its eventual abolition is one such topic and careful research will reveal a wealth of information on the subject, mostly in the personal papers of people who lived at that time and whose documents are held in PRONI. (For a full list of PRONI archives relating to slavery please see Appendix).



At the present time the process is carried out mechanically.

Today sugar is produced in 121 countries. Brazil is the largest producer, India is the second largest, the European Union is third, China comes fourth and the United States of America is the fifth largest.

Government Officials and Diplomats

For example, among the Castlereagh Papers (PRONI reference D/3030) you will find documents relating to Viscount Castlereagh's term as Secretary of State for War in the Colonies in 1807 and as Foreign Secretary in 1812 in which references to slavery and the slave trade proliferate. In this same archive there are even letters to Castlereagh from William Wilberforce, Member of Parliament for Hull, who, along with Thomas Clarkson and Granville Sharpe, spearheaded the anti-slavery movement in Britain. (PRONI reference D/3030).

The Belmore family papers (PRONI reference D/3007) contain references to the second Earl of Belmore's term as Governor of Jamaica (1828-1832).

Although slave trading had been abolished, slavery itself still existed. This was a turbulent period in the island's history.

Extract from Letter from William Wilberforce to Castlereagh, commenting on the increase in British trade since the abolition of the slave trade.
PRONI reference D/3030/4176.

There were 300,000 slaves in Jamaica owned by a relatively small white population and with a growing movement towards emancipation led by Baptist and Methodist clergymen trouble was inevitable. One group of slaves, believing that emancipation had been granted by the British government but that their owners were obstructing it, rebelled in December 1831. This rebellion is regarded as the most dangerous and destructive in the island's history. The archive contains official dispatches from the Colonial Office to Lord Belmore and a royal proclamation denying false reports that the slaves in the West Indian colonies were about to be emancipated. In addition there is the correspondence of Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton, commander of the forces in Jamaica and a proclamation from Lord Belmore offering pardon to the rebellious slaves who had given themselves up or returned peacefully to their owners.

Among the correspondence relating to slavery in the Abercorn papers (*PRONI reference D/623*) there is a letter from the Marquess of Abercorn to William Wilberforce about the slave trade and the draft of a speech on the abolition of the slave trade. There is also further correspondence relating to the East African slave trade and an alleged diplomatic involvement in the slave trade in Morocco is to be found in

the Dufferin and Ava archive. (*PRONI reference D/1071/H/B/C/95/61*).

Papers of the Eighteenth Century Radicals

Other documents containing references to slavery and its abolition are those relating to Belfast's eighteenth century radical reformers. See, for example, the William Drennan papers, in particular a body of correspondence between William Drennan, a Presbyterian doctor, his sister Martha and her husband Samuel McTier in which they discuss the issue of slavery. (*PRONI reference T/765*).

The voice of the ordinary man and woman is far from silent on this emotive topic. There are numerous letters written by Irish immigrants to America and the West Indies some of whom are witnessing the phenomenon of slavery and slave trading at first hand. Many are sympathetic to the plight of the slaves; others appear to be deeply insensitive describing their own 'gay social life' and the auctioning of slaves in the same breath.

Grace McGrath
August 2007

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7. Simon Schama, Britain, *The Slaves and the American Revolution: Rough Crossings*: BBC Books, BBC Worldwide Ltd, 2005.
8. Sean O'Callaghan, *To Hell or Barbados*: Dingle, Cokerry, Brandon, 2000



Photograph: Grace McGrath

APPENDIX

| PRONI Reference | Archive | Description | Date |
|-----------------------|--|---|--------------------------------|
| D/162/51 | Dobbs papers | Draft letter: Arthur Dobbs to Mathew Gregory regarding the plantation and cash accounts. | c. 1751 |
| D/207/20/110 | Massereene papers | Printed 'Case of Miss Thralfall and her Slaves ...' | May 1827 |
| D/501/1 | Mrs Lenox-Conynam papers | Letter book of a Belfast merchant (Issac MaCartney). (Issac MaCartney, brother of George MaCartney). | 1704-1707 |
| D/562 | Foster-Massereene papers | | 1623-1857 |
| D/572/3/43 | Earl MaCartney papers | Letter regarding insolvent debtors sold as slaves in America. | 6 March 1770 |
| D/623/A/21/79 | 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. | 17 February 1774 |
| D/623/A/82/33 | Abercorn papers | Letter from the Marquess of Abercorn, to William Wilberforce about the slave trade. | 17 June 1804 - 21 June 1804 |
| D/623/A/89/48 | Abercorn papers | Letter from James Hamilton Jnr, to the Marquess of Abercorn. Includes reference to a mulatto slave. | 9 October 1797 |
| D/623/A/233/76A | Abercorn papers | Draft for a speech on the abolition of the slave trade. | 1806 |
| D/623/A/247/10 | Abercorn papers | Letter from Lord Beresford, Lisbon, to the Marquess of Abercorn. Includes reference to the slave trade in "Spanish America". | 8 June 1817 |
| D/717/20 | Blair family papers | | 1785-1790 |
| D/719 | 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 |
| D/852 | Carnmoney Parish Church Papers | Will of James Smyth, Belfast and Gold Coast. | 1790 |
| D/856/D/48 | Sharman Crawford Papers | Letter referring to slave trade and slavery in America. | 28 April 1836 |
| D/923/4 | 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 |
| D/971/42/A/8/5-6 | Papers of L'Estrange & Brett, Belfast Solicitors | Conveyances of property in Jamaica listing slaves by name. | 1793-1794 |
| D/1071/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 |
| D/1071/H/B/C/95/61 | Dufferin and Ava papers | Letter from Argyll, London, to Dufferin. Includes reference to the East African slave trade. | 13 October 1872 |

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| D/1071/H/B/C/590 | Dufferin and Ava papers | Letter from William Alexander Coote, Secretary to the National Vigilance Association, High Holborn London, to Lord Dufferin discussing the 'white slave traffic'. | 23 April 1900 |
| D/1071/H/B/H/357/1-5 | Dufferin and Ava papers | Letters from the Honourable Charles Heneage, MP, London, to Lord Dufferin concerning the alleged diplomatic involvement in the slave trade in Morocco. | 1889-1900 |
| D/1071/H/L/2/A/80 | Dufferin and Ava papers | Paper by Sir Bartle Frere on the slave trade in India and Egypt. | c. 1883 |
| D/1078/M/7B | Pinkerton papers | Letter from John Mitchel, Washington D.C., U.S.A. to his sister Matilda, Co. Down discussing 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". | 10 April 1854 |
| D/1108/A | Cunningham and Clarke manuscripts | Includes letters from Samuel Cunningham, Saint Pierre, Martinique and William Cunningham, St. Vincent. | 1792-1851 |
| D/1125/5 | 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 |
| D/1364/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 |
| D/1401 | Papers of the Stewart family | Includes correspondence from John Black, Trinidad in which he describes an incident where his negro houses are lost in a fire on his sugar plantation. | 1799 |
| D/1405/58 | Steel-Nicholson papers | Printed Leaflet "Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade and for the Civilization of Africa". Inst. 1839. Pres. H.R.H. Prince Albert, K.G. | 1840 |
| D/1518/1/5 | Papers of J B Hamilton | Comments on slavery in diary kept by J B Hamilton recording journey from Belfast to USA. | October 1859 – March 1860 |
| D/1571 | Notebooks of Professor Charles Ryle Fay | 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. | 1930-1960 |
| D/1584/7 | Papers of the Pottinger family | Material relating to Sir Lionel Smith, 1st Bart. 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. The archive includes a 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 |

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| D/1584/12/1 | 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 |
| D/1728 | Papers deposited by Richard Graves Johnston | Letters of John Campbell, discussing the anti-slavery movement. | 1828 |
| D/1748 | Tennant papers | Correspondence of the Tennant family including correspondence from Robert Tennant, Jamaica regarding the abolition of slavery. | 1764-1828 |
| D/1762/20 | 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 |
| D/1782/2 | Papers relating to Co Tyrone | 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 and his slaves. | 23 April 1777 |
| D/1859 | 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. | 1832-1879 |
| D/1918/3/3 | Papers of the Ferguson and Tate families | Deed of sale of negro slave at Fayetteville, North Carolina. | 10 July 1830 |
| D/2137/1/31 | John Martin papers | George C. Mahon to John Martin. It contains "Mitchell's confession of faith on the Slavery question". | 22 December 1858 |
| D/2431 | Caledon Papers | Includes correspondence of Zachary Macaulay who writes, among other things, about the slave trade. | 1810 |
| D/2707 | Shannon papers | | 1867-c.1900 |
| D/2908 | Correspondence and Family papers relating to the Orr and Dunn families | Includes a letter from John Orr, Ohio who expresses at length his views on slavery and his antipathy towards American negroes. | 1848-60 |
| D/3007/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 about the measures to be taken to crush the rebellion among the negro slaves. | August 1831- January 1832 |
| D/3007/G/2/1-31 | Belmore papers | Correspondence between Willoughby Cotton and Belmore about the mopping up of the rebellion. | February 1832- April 1832 |
| D/3007/G/3/1-8 | Belmore papers | Correspondence respecting Mr Beaumont's wish to have certain temporary militia commissions confirmed [after the lifting of martial law]'. | February 1832- March 1832 |

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| D/3007/G/4/1-16 | Belmore papers | Papers respecting Robert Burchell's (a Methodist minister accused of inciting some slaves to rebellion) trial at Montego Bay and his departure from the island. | March 1832- April 1832 |
| D/3007/G/5/1-23 | Belmore papers | Papers relative to the trials of slaves for rebellion at Montego Bay. | February 1832- June 1832 |
| D/3007/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 in respect of the destruction of the Methodist chapels and the missionaries. Includes papers relating to Baptist ministers who had expected to be put on trial for inciting slaves to violence but who were not tried. | 1832 |
| D/3007/G/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. | September 1828-August 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. | January 1832- May 1832 |
| D/3007/G/15/1-7 | Belmore papers | Papers respecting the complaint of Mr Evelyn relative to a slave named William Madgett afflicted with smallpox. | July 1831- August 1831 |
| D/3007/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 leniency for tranquillising the island after the rebellion and a law for preventing rebellion in the future. | June 1831-April 1832 |
| D/3007/G/20/1-9 | Belmore papers | Bundle relating to the execution of a negro slave, William Whittingham, in Hanover, Jamaica, in defiance of attempts to obtain a respite of sentence. | March 1832- May 1832 |
| D/3007/G/23/1-10 | Belmore Papers | Bundle, consisting of Belmore's correspondence with Commodore Arthur Farquhar about naval affairs including the naval side of operations against the slave rebellion. | December 1830 -December 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 |
| D/3007/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. | 23 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. | January 1831- September 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 |

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| D/3007/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. | 15 July 1818, 1829-1932 |
| D/3007/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. | December 1828 - December 1829 |
| D/3007/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. | January 1830 - December 1830 |
| D/3007/G/44/1-83 | Belmore papers | 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. | January 1831 - December 1831 |
| D/3007/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. | January 1832 - April 1832 |
| D/3007/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. | 13 March 1824, 3 February 1832 |
| D/3007/G/49/1-2 | Belmore papers | Two issues of The London Gazette containing official communications about the slave revolt. | 22 February 1832, 10 April 1832 |
| D/3030/882 | Castlereagh papers | Letter from Camden to Castlereagh about Lord Downshire, the 'arrangements', and the slave trade. | July 1799 |
| D/3030/2064 | Castlereagh papers | Copy letter from Castlereagh to Lord Eldon, about the slave trade to the British colonies. | 21 July 1805 |
| D/3030/2470 | Castlereagh papers | Resolutions passed at a meeting of West Indian planters and merchants on the proposed abolition of the slave trade. | 24 March 1807 |
| D/3030/2584 | 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 |
| D/3030/3945A-B | Castlereagh papers | Two documents comprising a letter from William Wilberforce to Castlereagh. | 28 March 1814 |
| D/3030/3972 | Castlereagh papers | Letter from Liverpool to Castlereagh, about a letter he has received from William Wilberforce. | 14 April 1814 |
| D/3030/3973 | Castlereagh papers | Letter from William Wilberforce to Liverpool, urging him to make the abolition of the French slave trade a condition of the treaty. | 12 April 1814 |
| D/3030/4010 | 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. | 23 April 1814 |

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| D/3030/4011 | 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. | 11 April 1814 |
| D/3030/4121 | 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. | 16 May 1814 |
| D/3030/4122 | Castlereagh papers | Printed address of the House of Lords to the Price Regent, on the abolition of the slave trade. | c. May 1814 |
| D/3030/4123 | Castlereagh papers | Printed address of the House of Lords to the Price Regent, on the abolition of the slave trade. | c. May 1814 |
| D/3030/4126 | Castlereagh papers | Letter from Lord Bathurst to Castlereagh enclosing a circular to foreign ministers to press for the abolition of the slave trade. | 17 May 1814 |
| D/3030/4127 | Castlereagh papers | Copy letter from Bathurst to Castlereagh enclosing copies of the parliamentary addresses to the Prince Regent, on the slave trade. | 16 May 1814 |
| D/3030/4162 | Castlereagh papers | Copy letter from Lord Clancarty to Castlereagh, reporting a conversation he had had with the Prince of Orange about the abolition of the slave trade. | 7 July 1814 |
| D/3030/4176 | 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. | 12 August 1814 |
| D/3030/4178 | 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. | 13 August 1814 |
| D/3030/4179 | 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. | 13 August 1814 |
| D/3030/4180 | Castlereagh papers | Copy account of the number of slaves taken by all nations on the western coast of Africa. | c. August 1814 |
| D/3030/4190 | Castlereagh papers | Draft memorandum on the slave trade. | c. August 1814 |
| D/3030/4191 | Castlereagh papers | Copy letter from William Wilberforce to Castlereagh, enclosing a paper on St Domingo by Mr Stephens. | 17 August 1814 |
| D/3030/4211 | 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. | 9 September 1814 |

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| D/3030/4248 | 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. | 23 September 1814 |
| D/3030/4288 | Castlereagh papers | Copy instructions to the commander of the British forces, about the slaves in Louisiana. | 6 September 1814 |
| D/3030/4292 | 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. | 21 October 1814 |
| D/3030/4328 | Castlereagh papers | Copy letter from Castlereagh to William Wilberforce. | 11 November 1814 |
| D/3030/4396 | Castlereagh papers | Protocol of the first conference of the plenipotentiaries at Vienna, on the abolition of the slave trade. [In French.] | 20 January 1815 |
| D/3030/4402 | Castlereagh papers | Protocol of the second conference of the plenipotentiaries at Vienna, on the abolition of the slave trade. [In French.] | 28 January 1815 |
| D/3030/4423 | 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.] | 4 February 1815 |
| D/3030/4425 | Castlereagh papers | Copy declaration of the plenipotentiaries of Portugal, on the abolition of the slave trade. [In French.] | 6 February 1815 |
| D/3030/4429 | Castlereagh papers | Protocol of the fourth and final conference of the plenipotentiaries at Vienna on the abolition of the slave trade. [In French.] | 8 February 1815 |
| D/3030/4430 | Castlereagh papers | Declaration of the powers on the abolition of the slave trade. [In French.] | 8 February 1815 |
| D/3030/4702B | 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. January 1815 |
| D/3030/4714 | 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 September 1815 |
| D/3030/4899 | 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. | 1 March 1816 |
| D/3030/4986 | Castlereagh papers | Copy letter from Castlereagh to Lord Clancarty, instructing him to make the best arrangement he can concerning the duchies, and discussing the slave trade. | 29 May 1815 |
| D/3030/4911 | Castlereagh papers | Printed account of the proceedings of the House of Assembly of Jamaica, concerning slavery. | February 1816 |
| D/3030/5021 | Castlereagh papers | Extract from cruising orders to the commanders of ships, about the suppression of the slave trade on the Gold Coast. | 1816 |
| D/3030/5023 | Castlereagh papers | Extract from orders to vessels employed on the coast of Africa, about the suppression of the slave trade. | 1816 |

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| D/3030/5185 | Castlereagh papers | Printed Privy Council appeals concerning the slave trade. | 1813 |
| D/3030/5186 | Castlereagh papers | Printed letter from Castlereagh to the Lords of the Admiralty, about the seizure of Portuguese ships engaged in the slave trade. | 6 May 1813 |
| D/3030/5187 | Castlereagh papers | Printed 'Act for rendering more effectual an Act for the abolition of the slave trade'. | 1812 |
| D/3030/5188 | Castlereagh papers | Printed memorial concerning the slave trade. | c. 1811 |
| D/3030/5199 | Castlereagh papers | Draft letter from Castlereagh to Cathcart, commenting on communications on the slave trade. | 10 January 1817 |
| D/3030/5218 | Castlereagh papers | Letter from Sir Henry Wellesley to Castlereagh, about the progress of the negotiations with the Spanish government concerning the slave trade. | 27 January 1817 |
| D/3030/5227 | Castlereagh papers | Letter from Clancarty to Castlereagh, about the negotiations in Holland, Russia and Spain on the slave trade. | 31 January 1817 |
| D/3030/5351 | Castlereagh papers | Letter from Clancarty to Castlereagh, about the Belgian press, negotiations on the slave trade, and the French aliens. [Incomplete.] | 30 May 1817 |
| D/3030/5449 | Castlereagh papers | Letter from Sir Henry Wellesley to Castlereagh, commenting on the negotiations with Spain for the abolition of the slave trade. | 31 August 1817 |
| D/3030/5598 | Castlereagh papers | Copy letter from James Hook to M. de la Boulaye, about the slave trade on the coast of Africa. | 23 March 1818 |
| D/3030/5600 | Castlereagh papers | Letter from M. Fleurian to [?], about the sequestration of the slave ship 'Le Postillion'. [In French.] | 3 May 1818 |
| D/3030/5601 | Castlereagh papers | Letter from Clancarty to Castlereagh, reporting the progress of the slave trade treaty. | 27 March 1818 |
| D/3030/5610 | 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. | 19 June 1818 |
| D/3030/5616 | Castlereagh papers | Letter from James Hook to Thomas Clarkson, informing him that Mr Stockdale and Mr Heddle can supply information on slavery. | 14 August 1818 |
| D/3030/5637 | Castlereagh papers | Letter from Thomas Clarkson to Castlereagh, about the failure of the governor of Senegal to discourage the slave trade there. | 5 October 1818 |
| D/3030/5638 | Castlereagh papers | Letter from Clarkson to Castlereagh, about his interview with the Tsar on the slave trade. | c. October 1818 |
| D/3030/5640 | Castlereagh papers | Letter from Thomas Clarkson to Castlereagh, about his sources of information on the slave trade in Senegal. | 6 October 1818 |

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| D/3030/5973 | 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. | 26 March 1821 |
| D/3165/2 | Malcolm Papers | Journal of John Moore, containing an account of his life in America. Includes discussion regarding slavery. | 1760-1770 |
| D/3477 | Papers of Eason and Son Ltd. | Includes a petition to parliament from the inhabitants of Clones requesting the abolition of slavery. | c. 1820 |
| D/3491/5 | Pike family papers (members of the Religious Society of Friends) | Pamphlets – Anti-Slavery Reporter | December 1827- September 1831 |
| D/3618/D/8/8 | Foster papers | Letter from William Dillworth, Florida to Vere Foster regarding competition for work in USA between Irish immigrants and slaves. | 23 January 1855 |
| D/3618/D/8/9 | Foster papers | Letters to Vere Foster from P Kennedy, Virginia in which he compares slaves in America and the Irish (Catholics). | 19 March 1855 |
| D/3688/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. | 5 December 1838 |
| D4053/2/2 | Papers relating to McCalmont, Magee, Calwell and Willson families | Booklet entitled Songs of a Soujourn in British Guiana by William McCalmont, describing tropical phenomena, the peculiar superstitions of African slaves and including poetry and written accounts relating to African Slaves. | 1833 |
| D/4121/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. | March 1830- December 1830 |
| MIC/45/3 | Cunningham family correspondence | Includes correspondence from family members in the West Indies. | 1727-1935 |
| MIC/135 | Watt family correspondence | Correspondence of Watt family in Jamaica, West Indies. | 1790-1850 |
| MIC/147/9 | Papers of the Roden family | Letter from Samuel Martin, Antigua to "My Lord" [Limerick], referring to slave trade and slavery in Antigua, West Indies. | 6 February 1754 |
| MIC/613 | 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 |
| T/765 (D/591) | Drennan Papers | Correspondence of plantation owners from Belfast – Waddell Cunningham and Dr Halliday. | 1776-1819 |
| T/1035/19 | 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?). | 23 February 1844 |
| T/1060/9/97 | State papers of Ireland | An impartial state of the case between refiners of sugar of Great Britain and those of Ireland. | 30 November 1765 |

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| T/1060/9/3868 | State papers of Ireland | Petition of Merchants and traders regarding importing refined sugar. | 30 November 1765 |
| T/1116/32 | Duffin (depositor) papers | Letter from William Brown, New Orleans to Robert Grimshaw, Belfast. Includes outspoken criticism of slavery. | 7 April 1819 |
| T/1143/4 | 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. | 5 September 1851 |
| T/1475/1 | Wightman, Henderson and McNeilly emigrant letters | 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 |
| T/1568/1 | Dr G Gillespie (depositor) 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 |
| T/1585/1 | American Civil War documents | Letter from Private John Thompson, 1st US Artillery, Fort Sumter So. 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. | 14 February 1861 |
| T/1796/1 | Neill emigrant papers | Emigrant letter from Henry Neill, Louisville, Kentucky, to Samuel Neill, Banbridge, Co. Down. Discusses auctioning of negroes. | 1 April 1839 |
| T/1830/2 | Hill and Thompson emigrant 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. | 29 August 1854 |
| T/1830/3 | Hill and Thompson emigrant 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". | 24 January 1855 |
| T/1873/1 | Miss S Boyd (depositor) 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. | 18 November 1808 |
| T/1961/1 | Jamaica Almanac | Pages from the Jamaica Almanac, showing return of Proprietors for the Cos. of Middlesex and Cornwall. | 1821 |
| T/2018/3 | Walker and Lowry Emigrant papers | Letter from Alexander Lowie, Pittsburgh, to his father and mother in which he includes reference to his time spent working in the slave states. | 25 August 1856 |
| T/2046/5 | Aiken McClelland (depositor) papers | An emigrant letter from Andrew Greenless, Ottawa [Ohio] to his brother in which he tells of the fighting for the abolition of slavery. | 10 March 1854 |
| T/2046/10 | Aiken McClelland (depositor) 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. | 9 September 1861 |

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| T/2046/12 | Aiken McClelland (depositor) papers | An emigrant letter from Andrew Greenless, Dayton [Ohio] to his brother. He tells of the great news regarding the abolition of slavery. | 22 November 1862 |
| T/2107/3 | Watt papers | Pages 92-136 of volume "Jamaican Almanac" giving list of land owners in Co. Cornwall, Jamaica with numbers of slaves and amount of stock. | 1822 |
| T/2125/14/4 | PRONI Exhibition papers | Deed of sale of a seven years old slave. (British Museum, Papyrus 229). | 166 |
| T/2305/9 | McDowell papers | Letter from John Keith, Keithfield, S. Carolina to Mrs. Agnes Kirkpatrick, Georgetown, S. Carolina with reference to the selling of negroes. | 26 February 1804 |
| T/2305/38 | 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. | 8 September 1865 |
| T/2345/10 | ERR Green (depositor) papers | Emigrant letters from J Hanly, Nantes [France] to "my dear Anne". Includes reference to Chinese labourers working on South American plantations. | 6 July 1870 |
| T/2349/9 | Crossle papers | Letter in French from Dufour de Villeneuve suggesting that a negro has been falsely arrested. | 2 May 1748 |
| T/2414/6 | McElderry papers | Letter from Robert McElderry, Lynchburg, Virginia which includes reference to the slaves in Virginia. | 11 March 1852 |
| T/2414/12 | McElderry papers | Letter from Robert McElderry, Lynchburg with reference to the hiring season for negroes. | 12 December 1853 |
| T/2414/13 | McElderry papers | Letter from Wm McElderry, Lynchburg. Slavery in Virginia. | 17 December 1853 |
| T/2414/16 | McElderry papers | Letter from Robert McElderry, Lynchburg, Virginia. Defence of slavery. | 31 May 1854 |
| T/2414/18 | McElderry papers | Incomplete letter which includes reference to slaves. | [December 1854?] |
| T/2519/5/2 | 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. | 13 January 1807 |
| T/2552 | 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 |
| T/2581/8 | 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...' | 3 April 1836 |
| T/2593/26 | 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 Guadeloupe. He states that as long as the islands remain under British protection they should not carry on any slave trade. | 29 March 1815 |

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| T/2621/2/50 | 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[?] |
| T/2647/1/51 | Roden papers | David Livingstone, Bombay, to Lady Palmerston condoling with her and paying tribute to Palmerston's part in suppressing the slave trade. | 28 November 1865 |
| T/2717/1/1 | Rose-Cleland family papers | 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. | 26 December 1733 |
| T/2812/11/2/1 | 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. | c. 1740's |
| T/2850/1/5 | Dr George Gillespie (depositor) papers | Letter from Moses Paul Petersburg, Virginia, to John Graham, Magherafelt, Co. Londonderry. | 29 December 1840 |
| T/2874/1 | Quin papers | Journal of Hugh Quin, Junior, from his departure at Portaferry, Co. Down to his arrival at New Orleans, U.S.A. | 9 September 1817 – 6 December 1817 |
| T/2952 | 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 |
| T/3028/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-law's land. | 25 June 1867 |
| T/3030/10/13 | Redesdale Papers | Notes on the proceedings of the House of Commons on that date, particularly on Wilberforce's motion about the slave trade. | 7 February 1805 |
| T/3032/1/1 | RH Elliott (depositor) papers | Letter from Henry Coulter, St. Stephen's New Brunswick to Rev. William Moreland, Portaferry, Co. Down. Includes reference to the abolition of slavery. | 14 June 1820 |
| T/3084/1 | 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. | 17 March 1856 |
| T/3252/2 | Mrs PM Martin (depositor) papers | Letter from John Lawrie, Edinburgh, Scotland to the Rev. Messrs Cooper, Crawford and Mitchell. Includes reference to the abolition of slavery. | 4 August 1826 |
| T/3258/4/10 | American and Canadian emigrant letters | Letter from Minnie [Mary Anderson] Blount Spring, Alabama, to her mother describing the journey from Wichita, Kansas to Birmingham, Alabama, and also the surrounding area and people. | 22 August 1886 |
| T/3459/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. | 20 February 1807 |

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| T/3459/E/122 | Donoughmore papers | Letter from George Walpole, Downing Street, to Lord Hutchinson in which he refers to the abolition of the slave trade. | 7 March 1807 |
| T/3607/3/1 | Irwin / Erwin family documents | Letter from Andrew Erwin, Liverpool, to his parents in Derry Beg, Co Londonderry, regarding trading of slaves. | 31 August 1762 |
| T/3607/3/2 | Irwin / Erwin family documents | Letter from Andrew Erwin, Liverpool, to his parents in Derry Beg, Co Londonderry, regarding trading of slaves. | 10 November 1763 |
| T/3627/2/3 | McAuley, O'Neill and related family documents | 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. | 21 August 1839 |
| D/2638 | Kilmorey papers | Needham (or Nedham) family, Co Down. Robert Needham held important commands in Ireland during the reign of Elizabeth I. A later Robert Needham, eldest son of George 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 |
| D/3531/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. ...' | 13 January 1779 |
| T/618 | Nedham papers | Relates to a tenement, owned by the Needham family, in Sugar Island in Newry. | 1793 |



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