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Hidden connections ulster and slavery

The 'Hidden Connections' exhibition is at the centre of a wider programme to mark the bicentenary of the abolition of the slave trade in the British Empire in 1807. It is little wonder that William Wilberforce, the principal parliamentary architect of that victory, was reduced to tears by the praise of speaker after speaker as eventual success came after twenty years of parliamentary struggle.

Slavery had existed throughout the world, and in Ireland, in previous eras. The modern slave trade developed on a new and massive scale following the discovery by colonists that the Caribbean climate was particularly suited to sugarcane cultivation, also a labour intensive crop.

This opened the floodgates to an insatiable demand for African slaves to work the plantations. A notorious triangular trade developed in which ships from Britain and Europe carried goods to West Africa, exchanged them for slaves, who were then shipped in appalling conditions to the West Indies, with the ships then returning home laden with sugar and other plantation produce.

This is a history in which Ulstermen and women played a distinguished part in the campaign against slavery. It is also one in which others owned slaves and plantations, and the rising prosperity of Belfast (including that of antislavers), even though it did not involve directly trading in slaves, depended substantially on trade with the slave colonies.

This exhibition explores slavery after 1807. The institution was not finally abolished in the British Empire until later in the nineteenth century, and in the United States until later still. Even today slavery emerges in new forms.

'Hidden Connections' is concerned with honest exploration of Ulster's links with this trajectory. As with so many aspects of our history, there are difficulties and complexities to be addressed, but in this case they run across our conventional divisions. Evangelical zeal and biblical endorsement was central to the antislavery impetus, but supporters of slavery also found biblical justification. Daniel O'Connell was a determined opponent of slavery, while his 'radical' Young Ireland rival, John Mitchel, was a leading advocate of the institution.

Our journey has been made possible by the generous support of the Heritage Lottery Fund. 'Hidden Connections' has depended on a major partnership between the Linen Hall Library and the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland. Thanks to a further partnership with Culture Northern Ireland the exhibition is also available in

virtual form at www.culturenorthernireland.org
Thanks are also due to a wide range of other
institutions and individuals for the loan of items
and images including: Armagh County Museum,
Belfast City Council, the Bridgeman Art Gallery,
the Cowper and Newton Museum, Gerry
McLoughlin, Gordon Flanagan, the National
Library of Ireland, Nini Rodgers, Trinity College,
the Ulster Museum, and Wilberforce House.

Grace McGrath Curator November 2007



Exhibition Panels (1-20)



PANEL 1

'Hibernia attended by her Brave Volunteers, exhibiting her commercial freedom. (William Hincks, 1780, National Library of Ireland)

This lithograph celebrates the removal in 1779 of trade regulations which had restricted Ireland's trading with the West Indies and Africa. A scantily clad and muscular slave offers some of the benefits to Ireland, and free trade did give Ireland the right to enter the slave trade directly.



PANEL 2

Catholic Emancipation and slavery

The anti-slavery movement in Britain and America coincided with the campaign in Ireland for Catholic Emancipation which in the nineteenth century was led by Daniel O'Connell. O'Connell was recruited by William Lloyd Garrison to speak in favour of the cause of American abolitionism, likening slavery to the status of the disenfranchised Irish.

Portrait of Daniel O'Connell

Painted by T Carrick (date unknown) PRONI Reference T3973/1/14/4

Illustration showing Daniel O'Connell and his followers. (Artist and date unknown) PRONI Reference T/3973/1/24/1



PANEL 3

William Wilberforce aged 29, by John Rising. (Wilberforce House, Hull City Museums and Art Galleries/Bridgeman Art Gallery.)

Letter from John Mitchell, to his sister Matilda in Ireland, April 1859

Writing from Washington D.C, two years before the American Civil War, he informs his sister that 'We are rapidly advancing here to the accomplishment of our great measure the revival of the African Slave-trade. Wm. O'Brien, though he seems well content with the institution of slavery, hesitates as yet about the actual importation. He will be properly indoctrinated however'

PRONI Reference D/1078/M/7A

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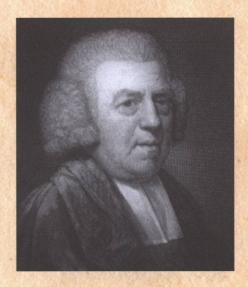


PANEL 4

A cartoon reflecting the sugar boycott of 1791. It shows King George III, his wife and daughters (apparently) supporting the campaign and drinking tea without sugar. It was well known that the royal family disapproved of the abolitionists and that George III saw the slave trade as essential to Britain's national interest.

The slave ship Brookes, built in Liverpool to carry 600 slaves.

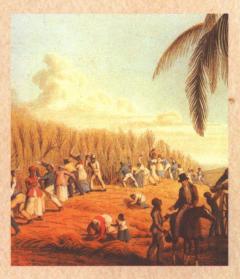
(From Thomas Clarkson, Parliamentary History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, London 1808) This diagram was reproduced by the abolitionists to show the horrifying efficiency of the slave trade.



PANEL 5
Portrait of John Newton
(Courtesy of the Cowper and Newton Museum,
Olney, Buckinghamshire)
John Newton (1725 – 1807), a one time slaver,
underwent religious conversion, and conversion
to the anti-slavery cause. His near shipwreck
on the Greyhound which found refuge in
Londonderry in 1748 plaved a part in this

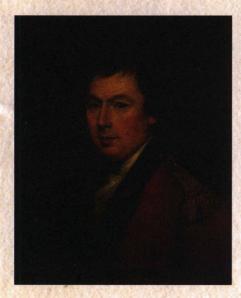
process. He went on to write 'Amazing Grace'.

A stained glass window depicting John Newton's ship the Greyhound from the church in Olney, Buckinghamshire. (Photograph courtesy of Gordon Flanagan)



PANEL 6
Slaves cutting sugar cane, 1823
From William Clark, *Ten Views on Antigua*, 1823.
The plantation on Antigua was owned by the Delaps, a Presbyterian family from Donegal.

Sugar production was a vital driving force behind the slave trade. At one end of the chain there was growing European demand for this once luxury tropical product. At the other, the very arduous conditions of sugar plantation labour now required an expanding work force which could no longer be supplied through indentured labourers.



PANEL 7
Portrait of Captain Waddell Cunningham, 1730-1797.

(Robert Home c1786: Courtesy of Ulster Museum.) Waddell Cunningham (1729-1797), wealthy Belfast merchant, Presbyterian, leading member of the Volunteer movement, and a radical but eventual opponent of the United Irishmen. He made his fortune in New York actively trading with slave colonies, and owned plantations in Dominica. He was the leading proponent in 1784 of a Belfast based slave trading company.

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William Drennan letter to Martha McTier, 17 May 1806

Drennan discusses Waddell Cunningham's plan to carry on the slave trade in Belfast 'which Tom [Thomas McCabe] had knocked up completely.'

This letter provides the crucial relatively contemporary evidence of the confrontation between McCabe and Cunningham. PRONI Reference D/591/1250

J.W. Carey's envisaging of the Belfast slave company meeting at the Assembly Rooms in 1784

Carey's drawing was undertaken in 1895 as an illustration for R.M Young's Historical Notices of Old Belfast (1896). Here Thomas McCabe the self-styled 'Irish slave' and future United Irishman, denounces the plan of Waddell Cunningham and others to form a Belfast-based slave trading company. McCabe wrote, 'May God eternally damn the soul of the man who subscribes the first guinea'.

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Knox family account book, Barbados 1796-1797

The entries refer to the purchase of rum, cotton and negroes all dealt with as commodities.

The entry for 23 May 1797 shows that 'sundry amounts [were] drawn to Lambert Blair and Co, negro adventure for expenses on negroes' included the sum of £187.0.0 for 'freight of 17 negroes to Barbados', and '£50.0.0 for 25 gallons of rum'. The Lambert Blair Company was owned by a family who had emigrated from Ulster in the eighteenth century.

PRONI Reference D/1125/5



She was harboured fome time past, at a Penn in Liginnea, but was feen about two months ago at Port-Henderson, big with child. Wheever harbours her, will be
prosecuted according to law, but wheever apprehends her
and will give information to WALTER POLLOCK, on
faid Plantation, or to THOMAS BELL in this town,
shall be handlomely rewarded.

PANEL 8

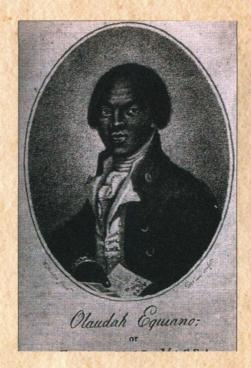
Runaway notices

Notices relating to the sale and purchase of slaves and the return of 'runaways' which appeared in West Indian newspapers in 1778, 1789 and 1790, and are fairly typical of the type of advertisements placed by slave owners.

A notice which appeared in the *Belfast News-Letter*, 5 November 1780, describes a runaway slave who, on the previous night, ran away from his owner, Thomas Bond of Bond's Glen, Londonderry.

Amicable Society of Belfast

A notice in the *Belfast News-Letter*, 15 December 1780, in which members of the Amicable Society offer sanctuary to the runaway slave owned by Thomas Bond. This is the first available evidence of an organisation in Belfast resisting slavery.



PANEL 9 Olaudah Equiano

Olaudah Equiano's portrait from the frontispiece of his autobiography, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equaino: or Gustavus Vassa the African* (first published London, 1789).

Equiano stayed in Belfast from December 1791 to February 1792 where he received a warm welcome. The Dublin edition of his book sold a massive 1,900 copies.



Samuel Neilson

(From a miniature by Byrne: Date unknown). Samuel Neilson, editor of the United Irish Northern Star, an abolitionist and one of Equiano's principal hosts during his time in Belfast.

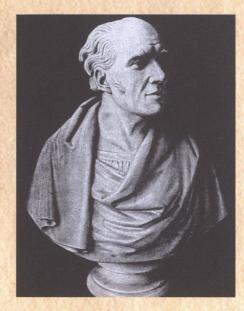
Advertisement for Equiano's autobiography. Belfast News-Letter, 20 December 1791.





PANEL 10
Thomas Russell, portrait
(from Richard R. Madden, The United
Irishmen, Their Lives and Times. 3rd series.
2nd edition. 1860)

Russell, a leading United Irishman, was Librarian of the Belfast Library and Society for Promoting Knowledge (later the Linen Hall Library) from 1794-1796, His Letter to the People of Ireland on the Present Situation of the Country was printed at the Northern Star press in 1796 and included a denunciation of slavery. He was arrested in the Library shortly after publication, and executed in 1803.



Bust of Dr James MacDonnell (Ulster Museum)

Dr James MacDonnell, pioneer Belfast doctor, radical sympathiser, but ultimately not involved in the United Irishmen. At the Belfast town meetings on reform in 1792 he made the most eloquent linkage between the call for the abolition of slavery and that for Catholic emancipation.



PANEL 11 Brave black boy rescuing a white boy from a bull.

An illustration from Thomas Day's, *The History of Sandford and Merton* (1789 edition), showing a brave black boy rescuing an English lad from being gored by a bull.





PANEL 12 Wilberforce letters To Lord Liverpool, 11 April 1814

Discussing the abolition of the slave trade and asking Lord Liverpool to raise the issue of the 'serfs in Russia' with the Tsar. PRONI Reference D/3030/4011

To Lord Liverpool, 12 April 1814 Urging him to make the abolition of the

Urging him to make the abolition of the French slave trade a condition of the Treaty [of Paris]. PRONI Reference D/3030/3973

To Lord Castlereagh, 12 August 1814

Commenting on the increase in British trade since the abolition of the slave trade in 1807. Wilberforce praises [Zachary] Macaulay's work in Africa. Macaulay regularly visited Sierra Leone and in 1799, brought back forty African children to be educated in England. Along with others he formed an Anti-Slavery Society in 1823. PRONI Reference D/3030/4176

From Lord Castlereagh, 11 November 1814 Enclosing gift of a book which concludes that abolition was 'not ruinous' to trade. Castlereagh observes that this will appeal to many who are 'deaf to the moral appeal' [of abolition]. PRONI Reference D/3030/4328



PANEL 13

Mary Ann McCracken, photograph

She was a sister of the United Irish leader, Henry Joy McCracken, who was executed in 1798. She was a determined revolutionary, pioneer feminist, and social reformer in her own right and an enthusiast for the anti-slavery cause throughout.

Two letters from Mary Ann McCracken to R R Madden, 1859

She expresses her disappointment that the people of Belfast are now devoted to 'filthy lucre'and fail to live up to the idealism of an earlier generation. The anti-slavery cause is left to a group of elderly women.

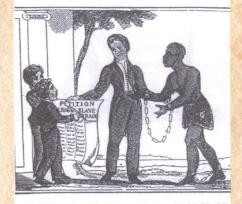
Trinity College Dublin, Madden Papers

The Negro Mother's Appeal (1838)

This woodcut shows a white mistress rejecting the appeal of the slave mother, who seeks to prevent the sale of her child. The ill treatment of women and children was a central issue in the debate about the wrongs inflicted by slavery. Women played a key role in organising the antislavery movement in Britain and the USA.

THE

BLACK MAN'S LAMENT.



THE PETITION FOR ABOLISHING THE SLAVE-TRADE.

PANEL 14

The Black Man's Lament

'The Black Man's Lament or How to Make Sugar'. This illustration, published in the 1820s, was the frontispiece for a poem 'Amelia Opie' published in support of the campaign to emancipate the slaves within the British Empire. Like Stafford and Merton more than 30 years earlier it was aimed at producing juvenile abolitionists.

Mex Mez



PANEL 15

Thomas Allen letter to [George] Macartney, 6 March 1770

The letter includes details of American insolvent debtors being sold as slaves. Macartney, who was born in Lissanoure, Co Antrim, became Chief Secretary for Ireland in 1796, and had served as Governor of the Caribbean Islands in 1775. *PRONI Reference D/572/3/43*

Deed of Sale

A deed of sale of a Negro slave named William, aged 10 or 12 years who was sold for \$245 to the highest bidder, Samuel Ferguson (originally from Ulster), at a public auction in Fayetteville, North Carolina, USA, on 10 July 1830. PRONI Reference D/1918/3/3

J. B. Hamilton diary, 1859

Extracts from a diary written by J B Hamilton, Ballymoney, Co Antrim, in which he describes his journey to America and his stay on his uncle's plantation in North Carolina. He witnessed the working and living conditions of his uncle's slaves and records his observations in the diary. *PRONI Reference D/1518/1/5*

for about the relationship to a second the et al. THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER OCTOBER 20, 1830. [Vol. iii. No. 21 L-STATE OF SOCIETY AND MANNERS IN BARBADOES ILLUS-IL-STATE OF LAW AND MANNERS IN JAMAICA ILLUSTRATED 1. ST. GEORGE'S COUNCIL OF PROTECTION; -2. THE CASE OF MR. BETTY AND HENRY WILLIAMS; -3. THE POLICE OF KINGSTON; -4. THE VERE QUARTER SESSIONS; -5. THE DEFENCE OF THE REV. MR. III.-JAMAICA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY PROPOSED. IV .- ANTI-SLAVERY MEETINGS ;-IPSWICH-MR. ORTON .- COLCHESTER -Me. BLYTS.

V.—ANTI-SLAVERY SERMONS—REV. S. C. WILKS.

VI.—MAURITIUS REGISTRY AND SLAVE TRADE.

VII.—THE SLAVE TRADE AND COLONIES OF FRANCE. II.ON FRAMING PETITIONS TO PARLIAMENT. L-STATE OF SOCIETY AND MANNERS IN BARBADOES ILLUSTRATED. WE continue our extracts, on this subject, from the notes of a traveller who visited Barbadoes early in the present year .- (See our last Number, p. 422-424.)

Letter to Vere Foster from [William] Dilworth, 23 January 1855

Vere Foster, philanthropist and advocate of emigration as a likely solution to nineteenth century Irish economic problems was seeking employment opportunities for Irish female servants in Florida. Dilworth informs him that 'all our domestic servants are African slaves... [a] system that is truly paternalistic.'

PRONI Reference D/3618/D/8/8

The Anti-Slavery Reporter, 10 November 1830. This is one of several issues covering the period 1827-1831 that belonged to the Pike family of Dungannon, Co Tyrone, (1734-1831). The Pikes were members of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) who were more generally at the heart of the anti-slavery movement.

PRONI Reference D/3491/5/2/B

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PANEL 16

Slave Rebellion in Jamaica, December 1831 Slaves rose in revolt encouraged by reports that emancipation had been granted by the British Government but was being withheld by the plantation owners. The Second Earl of Belmore was Governor of the island at the time:

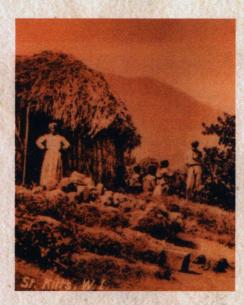
Notebook owned by the Belmore family, listing the names of slaves – and the ringleaders - absent from their estates during the rebellion. Martial law was declared throughout the island. PRONI Reference D/3007/G/1/66

Mont 25000 Negres have struck work in the Sauch of Salames and The interior district of Manore Watmonland and I Elizabeth and it is suffered the Men and about one fifth of that number are in open rebellion . Upwards of forty Ostates Wake have suffered by fire , 30 of which are totally distrayed and Searchy a Littlement or Per buildings but what are burns to the ground a the punter of arms among to there people it is impossible sty. let I do not think fire amen numerous - Bills of marchets of worse the have, but as low their waining close enough ture the loo not believe of

Details of the numbers of slaves in open rebellion on the island of Jamaica in 1831, and the number of 'estate works' destroyed by fires started by them. The cost of the damage came to £667,000. PRONI Reference D/3007/G/1/26

A letter dated 28 December 1831, from Belmore to Sir Willoughby Cotton, Commander of the Forces in Jamaica, proposing military reinforcements.

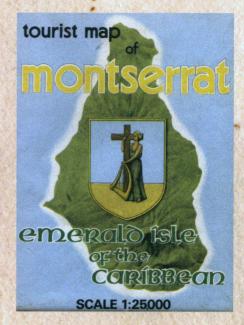
PRONI Reference D/3007/G/1/7



PANEL 17 Plantation workers' huts on the island of Nevis, early 20th century.

William Cowper 'The Negro's Compaint' (1788)





PANEL 18 Map of Montserrat, c.1980's (loaned by Gerry McLoughlin)

The cartouche and accompanying text on this tourist map place what appears to be a bizarrely overblown emphasis on Irish connections and there is no mention of slavery. While many Irish arrived from the 17th century on as indentured labour, and in effect slaves, the Irish became substantial plantation and slave owners. On emanicipation in the 19th century the Irish plantation owners left and many slaves adopted the surnames of their previous owners.

TRICENTENAIRE DU CODE NOIR **ESCLAVAGE** et mémoire nantaise Wanter Contract LE THIANGLE DE NANTES OCT. NOV. 1985

PANEL 19
Poster from Nantes, c.1980's (loaned by Gerry McLoughlin)

Nantes became the premier French slaving port, and the city acknowledges its role in the slave trade on an annual basis as in this poster. Irish 'Wild Geese' and their descendants were at the heart of the trade.

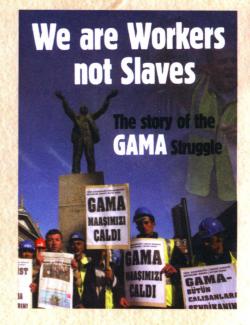




PANEL 20

'Lockout in Belfast', poster 1907

During the 1907 dock strike, Thomas Gallaher was one target. He owned the largest tobacco factory in the world working with what had historically been a slave plantation product, and even for freed slaves conditions had only marginally improved by 1907. The other target was 'blacklegs', a term with obvious racial undertones which originated in the United States in the late nineteenth century and became a prevalent term of abuse for scab labour throughout the labour movement.



'Story of the GAMA Struggle', poster 2005

The migrant Polish building workers involved in this dispute in the Republic, declare in the poster, 'we are workers not slaves.' They were illegally underpaid and exploited by their employer. With the assistance of the Irish trade union movement, they were able to substantially assert their rights.

Freestanding on staircase/landing



Two Plaster Figurines (Loaned by Michael and Augusta Nicholson.) 'Taking the Oath and Drawing the Rations'. Patented January 30 1866, John Rogers, New York.

'The Wounded Scout Found in the Swamp'. Patented June 26 1866.

Bust of Mary Ann McCracken (Loaned by Belfast City Council)



Staffordshire Pottery Figurine of
Uncle Tom and Little Eva
(Ulster Folk Museum Collections.)
When Harriet Beecher Stowe's book Uncle
Tom's Cabin was published in 1852, it caused
a sensation. Despite being banned in the
Southern United States, it sold 10,000 copies in
the North and by 1854 it had been translated
into 60 different languages. In 1853 Mrs Stowe
travelled to England and through Europe rallying
abolitionists everywhere. This Staffordshire
figure was made probably in 1854 or 1855.





Exhibition cases (A-E)

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Russell, Thomas, A Letter to the People of Ireland. 2nd ed. Belfast: Northern Star. 1796. This includes Russell's attack on the 'horrid traffic' of the slave trade. It is bound with the 1796 edition of Paddy's Resource, the United Irish song book, which includes 'The Captive Negro'.

The Microscope (August 1799)

This Belfast magazine published an extract from Coleridge's 'Fears in Solitude' dating from April 1798, although it is wrongly or alternatively titled 'Tears in Solitude' here. Generally an anti-war poem, it specifically condemns those who have 'gone forth and borne to distant tribes slavery and pangs'.



Nelson, Rev. Isaac, The American War in Relation to Slavery. A lecture delivered to the Presbyterian Young Men's Society, Belfast; Alex Mayne, 1863

Nelson was a long-standing abolitionist and had been active in the Belfast Anti-Slavery Society as far back as 1845. He records here an anti-slavery meeting held in the Music Hall in February 1863, when considerable scepticism was voiced about the North's conversion to abolition as a weapon against the Confederate States in the American Civil War, scepticism shared by Nelson:

Who put forth this claim to be the vanguard of humanity in the battle against Tyranny and oppression? Is it John Brown, the martyr of Harper's Ferry?....Oh no, it is only the proslavery clergy, merchants, and lawyers of New York, with Abraham Lincoln at their head.



Thomas Allen letter to George Macartney, 6 March 1770 PRONI Reference D/572/3/43

John Mitchell letter to his sister Matilda in Ireland, April 1859 PRONI Reference D/1078/M/7A

William Wilberforce letter to Lord Castlereagh, 12 August 1814 PRONI Reference D/3030/4176

Purchase of



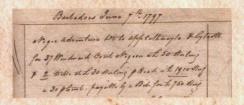
Leg Irons, Ballinderry, Co Antrim, Late Medieval

(Ulster Museum Collections)

As St Patrick knew to his cost, slavery was an institution in medieval Ireland. The agricultural economy depended on slavery and the cumal or female slave was a unit of currency equal to three cows.

Kings held hostages as security, and an elaborate slave chain and collar are known from a royal crannog or lake dwelling at Lagore, Co Meath. The Ballinderry irons are less elaborate but come from a crannog near Lough Neagh, Co Antrim, and clearly had a similar function.





CASE B

[Henry Joy and William Bruce], Belfast Politics: or, a Collection of the Debates, Resolutions, and other proceedings of that Town, in the Years 1792 and 1793. Belfast: H. Joy, 1794 Includes reports of the town meetings on reform in 1792.

Pekin, Henry. An Essay on the Slave Trade. Belfast: T. Mairs, 1819. (inscribed 'James Barber's book Coleraine').

Pekin was a militant abolitionist and evangelical for a new colonial future for Africa.

We frequently read of conspiracies which they [the slaves] form against you; are not their motives just, and their cause glorious?

Plant colonies among them; send artisans among them, traders, schoolmasters, husbandmen, and faithful ministers of the everlasting gospel...Let Sunday schools be kept up with unremitting alacrity, and the laws of the regulation be clear, concise, and forcibly expressed. ...Thus in a few years, the various productions of that extensive coast, would diffuse treasures of wealth over all the European nations.



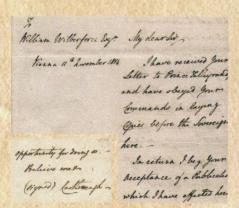
Knox family account book, Barbados, 1796-1797
PRONI Reference D/1125/5

Stuart, C., Is Slavery defensible from Scripture? Belfast: 1831

This author concluded that it was not, but there were many others who found justification for slavery in the Bible.

William Wilberforce letter to Lord Liverpool, 12 April 1814 PRONI Reference D/3030/3973

Lord Castlereagh letter to William Wilberforce, 11 November 1814 PRONI Reference D/3030/4328



Shell Leg Ornament

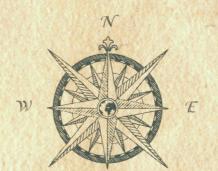
(Ulster Museum Collections)

In 1831 William Wilberforce's further anti-slavery Bill was passed. The British ship HMS Pelorus, under captain Richard Meredith, became part of the Royal Navy anti-slavery squadron, arresting slave-trading ships off the coast of Africa. The Ulster traveller Gordon Augustus Thompson was invited by Captain Meredith for a 'cruise' in African waters. In March 1832, the Pelorus captured a notorious Spanish slaver the Segunda Teresa which was carrying slaves on their way to the sugar plantations in Havana. The slaves were released on the island of Fernando Po. now called Bioko, off the coast of Southern Nigeria. Spain had used this as a slaving station but from 1827-1834, Britain used it as an anti-slavery base. Thompson collected this shell leg ornament from one of the released slaves. It is made from strings of roundels of conch shells which have been plaited together. This type of shell ornament was used as currency in Angola.



A poem entitled 'To a Slave of the Century' From a collection entitled Songs of Sojourn: Original Pieces Chiefly Descriptive of Tropical Phenomena and Peculiar Superstitions of American Slaves.

William M'Calmont, Larne, Co Antrim. 1833. PRONI Reference D/4053/2/2





CASE C

The Belfast Mercury, 24th December 1784
The original proposal for a Belfast slave trading company. This suggests that for an outlay of £4,000 income of £20,000 could be earned within a year. Apart from the planned shipment of 500-600 slaves from Africa to the West Indies, the proposal shows detailed knowledge of other commodities that could be traded to advantage en route.

Letter from William Drennan to Martha McTier, 17 May 1806 PRONI Reference D/591/1250

Manacles And Leg-Irons

(Ulster Museum)

Iron manacles and leg irons collected in Sierra Leone c1900. In 1787 British abolitionists established the province of Freetown for those who had escaped slavery. In 1808 Freetown became a British Colony and over the succeeding years it is estimated that the Royal Navy antislavery squadron freed 40,000 slaves who settled there. Freetown is now the capital of Sierra Leone.



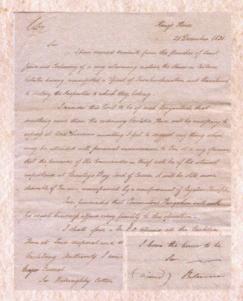
CASE D Anti-Slavery Medal, Birmingham (Armagh County Museum)

White metal anti-slavery medal made by Davis, Birmingham. The obverse shows a slave freed from his shackles with the inscription, 'This is the lord's doing, it is marvellous in our eyes, Psalm 118, v.3/Jubilee, Augt. 1831. The reverse has the inscription 'In Commemoration of the extinction of Colonial Slavery throughout the British Dominions in the reign of William 1V Aug. 1 1834'.

Pro-Slavery Pamphlet

(Ulster Museum)

Gov. Hammond's , was referred to Robert J. Tennent, Belfast, by John Boyle Milliken in 1845. It seeks to defend 'domestic slavery... to be not only an inexorable necessity for the present but a moral humane institution, productive of the greatest political and social advantages.' However, the author hastens to add that 'I do not propose to defend the African Slave Trade. That is no longer a question.'



Slave rebellion in Jamaica in 1831 Second Earl of Belmore papers. PRONI Reference D/3007/G/1/66 PRONI Reference D/3007/G/1/26 PRONI Reference D/3007/G/1/7

and on our wind cours to ve expected to Proble . Section at the From Stoate in Fretbootle on this 10th July 135 Common boy named William about 16 or 12 years old . When swhere Samuel Forguson of the Jour afacest became the last I highest bidder at the sam of Jos hundred thouty fires dellard - Now Kurwaye that I Sand Sulledand almin is trade apostaid for I'm consideration of the premises & forthe with consideration of the land sum of Two hundred & forty his dollars to me in hand paid the month whereof is hereby acknow - ledged - Have bargamed & sold the these presents de bayain Vsell release & confirm ante the said Samuel Hergason the above described Stare to heart to held to him the de Fergue What heirs - wheel I the It Smeet Sutherlandele hereby for my self lung heirs fromise & rome to South the of Juguson that Sull warrant & defend the It Slave to the I'd Forguson against the lawful alarms of all persons what Activer to far as I can or may as administrator afordaid & in fronther - In witness whereof Shave hereunte det my band & affixed my seal this 10th day of July A. S. 1830 Dan Sutherland (Sies

Deed of Sale

A deed of sale of a Negro slave named William, aged 10 or 12 years who was sold for \$245 to the highest bidder, Samuel Ferguson (originally from Ulster), at a public auction in Fayetteville, North Carolina, USA, on 10 July 1830. PRONI Reference D/1918/3/3

J. B. Hamilton's diary,1859 PRONI Reference D/1518/1/5

Letter to Vere Foster from [W] Dilworth, 23 January 1855 PRONI Reference D/3618/D/8/8

William Wilberforce letter to Lord Liverpool, 11 April 1814 PRONI Reference D/3030/4011

The Modern Debate

R.M. Young, Historical Notices of Old Belfast and Its Vicinity (Belfast, 1896)

The identification of Waddell Cunningham as the principal slave-ship projector of 1784, and of Thomas McCabe's role in scotching the plan was first highlighted by Young He almost certainly commissioned J.W. Carey's illustration envisaging the confrontation at the Assembly Rooms for this book.

Millin, Samuel Shannon, Was Waddell Cunningham, Belfast Merchant, "a Slave-ship Projector"? An Historic Enquiry (Belfast, 1926). Millin argued strongly, and in particular with his contemporary, Francis Joseph Bigger, that there was no evidence for this.

Sabine Wichert [ed.], From the United Irishmen to Twentieth Century Unionism - a Festschrift for A.T.Q. Stewart (Dublin, 2004). Nini Rodgers in her essay here, 'Making history in Belfast: the tale of Francis Joseph Bigger, Samuel Shannon Millin, and Waddell Cunningham', notes that R.M Young had private access to the Drennan letters which provided crucial evidence of the Cunningham McCabe confrontation.

Rodgers, *Nini, Ireland, Slavery and Anti-Slavery:* 1612-1865 (Basingstoke, 2007). 'An invaluable platform for future studies of Ireland and the black Atlantic,' Irish Times 20 October 2007.

Rodgers, Nini, Equiano and Anti-slavery in Eighteenth Century Belfast (Belfast, 2000)

Rolston, Bill and Michael Shannon, Encounters: How Racism Came to Ireland (Belfast, 2002)

Leaflet published by the Afro-Community Support Organisation (ACSONI) advertising an event to mark the bicentenary of abolition at the King's Hall, Belfast, on 20th October 2007.

Photograph of William Wilberforce, direct descendant of William Wilberforce MP, at the Linen Hall Library on 18th October 2007. He is displaying an ornamental iron tobacco box made from melted down shackles and presented to his ancestor by freed slaves.

Grace McGrath (compiler), *Ulster and Slavery:*the Story from the Archives (Belfast: Public
Record Office of Northern Ireland, 2007)

Dangers

District of

District

enterguen, musucem matin which you were to obliging as load tow less to lay fore you should be hut into whenty before ye depor ture, has not made me too lander in communical it - But as too often suffered then bet about my work, that I have more to do, than Than Supported by
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