Is slavery history? Slavery in historic and contemporary societies

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Abstract: 2007 marks the bicentenary of the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act of 1807. While it was a landmark act, it did not bring an end to the institution of slavery which continued to flourish in the Americas for another half-century. This article gives an overview of historical slavery, from the slavery of ancient societies to the commerce in enslaved Africans that contributed to European prosperity from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. It examines the role of Ireland and the Irish in this trade and looks at the development of the abolitionist movement. The persistence of slavery as part of today’s globalised economy is discussed and some suggestions are made to facilitate the exploration of this topic with students.

Historic Slavery

Amazing grace! How sweet the sound
That saved a wretch like me!
I once was lost, but now am found;
Was blind, but now I see.

Written in 1772 by John Newton, former slave trader and slave-ship master, Amazing Grace captures the ideological and moral revolution he experienced in his later years when his religious conversion forced him to confront the reality of slavery. Newton’s epiphany occurred at a period when the role of slavery in the generation of economic prosperity was relatively unquestioned. 2007 is the bicentenary of the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act of 1807. This act, which was the culmination of over a decade of parliamentary effort by abolitionists such as William Wilberforce M.P., was modest in its re

Historians differ as to the extent of slavery in early Irish society but the consensus is that while slavery may have been significant aspect of Irish life, Ireland did not have a central to the economy, slaves were seen as units of currency with a higher value than cattle. The majority of slaves were female and cumal, the term used for a female slave, in time became a unit for measuring the value of land. Multiples of seven cumals were used to measure the level of compensation for a range of crimes, depending on the seriousness of the crime or the status of the person against whom the crime was committed. Seven cumals, for example, was the honour price for the lowest grade of king, while a provincial king attracted an honour price of fourteen cumals. Female slaves fulfilled a range of functions such as care of animals, milking, butter-making and grinding grain with a stone quern, a task that was seen as too laborious for free women. Male slaves were not considered as valuable as their female counterparts and could be seen as a threat. The term for a male slave was a mug. Although the slave was a non-person in terms of early Irish law, some slaves and children of slaves did achieve high status. The mother of St. Brigid, for example, was a cumal. St. Patrick recounted his experience as a slave in his
Confessio and went on to challenge the practice of slavery in his Letter to Coroticus.

Patrick’s opposition to slavery, however, was based on his concern about the contradictions between slavery and Christianity, particularly in relation to sexual slavery, rather than a rejection of the idea of slavery per se (Rodgers. 2007: 16). While church unease contributed to a gradual diminution in the practice of slavery, this trend was reversed between the eighth and the eleventh centuries by the arrival of the Vikings. By the eleventh century, there is evidence of an organised commerce in slaves and of Irish and Anglo-Saxon complicity. The Dublin slave market had become the hub of a trade which saw warring Irish kings sell prisoners of war into slavery (Holm. 1986). With the coming of the Normans, however, slavery was replaced by the bonded labour of the feudal system.

By the early-modern period slavery had disappeared in Western Europe: certainly, serfdom survived, but there were important differences in the legal status of both groups. Within British common law the concept of slavery was unknown, but the English possessed well-defined notions of slavery based upon knowledge of the ancient world and biblical precedents in particular. Central to their understanding was a sense that this status was reserved for strangers: servitude was part of British life, but the notion that English men could lose their liberties and be enslaved was inconceivable (Wood. 1997: 9-19). No people were as ‘strange’ as the Africans and from the 1570s a growing literature described the people, animals and climate of the ‘dark continent’ in ways which accentuated this difference (Walvin, 1973: 20).

This, of course, is not to suggest that the British decision to enslave Africans was based on racist arguments. As Eric Williams (1944) observed, the origins of modern slavery were economic not racial: it was not about the colour of the labourer, but the cheapness of his labour. Neither is it true that the English established their first colonies in America with ambitions of slavery in mind: that development was due to the absence of alternative labour to satisfy an insatiable demand. In the first instance, the English followed the Spanish example and enslaved ‘Indians’, but their supply was limited and their productivity low. Similarly, the large numbers of white indentured labourers, from Britain and Ireland, were insufficient to meet the demands of the ‘Sugar Revolution’.

In the seventeenth century, Irish speaking men and women of the labouring class travelled to the Caribbean islands and the mainland colonies of North America as indentured labour. Kinsale became an important stopping-off point for recruitment. While the Cromwellian period saw the forced deportation of Irish prisoners as bonded labour to the Caribbean, much of the traffic was voluntary. For the poor of Munster, if they could survive the unhealthy conditions of the colonies, voluntary entry into servitude offered some hope of future prosperity. Indentured servants had the prospect of upward mobility and land ownership when their indenture expired. In a social context where European women were scarce, female servants could even aspire to a good marriage (Rodgers, 2007). The shift to sugar cultivation in the colonies, however, saw a concomitant shift from indentured to slave labour. At this point British settlers turned to Africa for labour, but as James Walvin (1999: 12) has noted, by the time they established themselves in the Atlantic slave trade. some 630,000 Africans had already been shipped to the Americas by their Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch rivals.

Slavery was not new to Africa, indeed the continent had been raided by Romans, Persians and Byzantines in search of slaves. More recently, from the beginning of the Islamic period in the eighth century. Africans had been victims of the trans-Saharan slave trade in which as many as 10,000 slaves a year, mostly females, were carried across the desert to serve masters in North Africa and the Middle East (Wright. 2007). In West Africa, too, an indigenous slave system was widespread and well established. a reality which would be seized upon by Europeans in their subsequent attempts to justify their trade. European intervention brought this traffic to unimagined levels in which as many

Figure 1: Former enslaved African and prominent abolitionist, Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa (c.1745-1797), who visited Ireland in 1791 to promote his autobiography.

Source: Portrait of Olaudah Equiano. 1780s. (previously attributed to Joshua Reynolds) by English School (18th century) Courtesy of Royal Albert Memorial Museum. Exeter. Devon (EX17052)
as 100,000 people were being traded each year by the end of the eighteenth century. In total it is estimated that, in the four centuries before the 1860s, as many as ten and a half million Africans were brought to the Americas, while millions more died in transit.

With the advent of commercial slavery in the seventeenth century, Irish involvement could be characterised as opportunistic rather than systematic. Unlike British ports such as Bristol and Liverpool, Irish ports did not become centres of the slave trade. This was largely due to restrictions on the rights of the Irish to trade rather than any unwillingness to engage in such commerce. Irish complicity in the slave trade, therefore, remained at an individual rather than a societal level. Nonetheless, there is ample evidence of Irish involvement at every level of the trade. Irish entrepreneurs and adventurers were early entrants into the race for land and wealth in the colonies. Around 1612 Philip and James Purcell founded an early Irish tobacco colony on the north bank of the Amazon which traded tobacco with the Dutch for provisions, firearms and (by the 1620s) enslaved Africans from Angola. This colony had been established in an area claimed by Portugal and when it ultimately fell under Portuguese control, the Irish adventurers turned their attention to the British colony established in the Caribbean by Sir Thomas Warner. Sectarian tensions in the wake of the 1641 Rebellion saw Catholics dispatched to the island of Montserrat, earning it the synonym, the 'Irish island'. A census taken on Montserrat in the 1670s found that sixty-nine per cent of the population, made up of planters and free and bonded servants, was Irish (Rodgers, 2007).

While penal laws continued to restrict catholic civic involvement, they did not impinge on property rights or the ability to accumulate wealth. Thus, families such as the Galways of County Cork, who lost land in the 1641 rebellion, became wealthy plantation owners in Monserrat. Not all of those Irish who ventured westward went as either servants or planters. Over the period of the slave trade, there was a small but consistent flow of young Irishmen to take up jobs in provisioning, management and administration in the towns and plantations of the West Indies. In the eighteenth century, for example, Presbyterians from Ulster set up as agents in Caribbean ports, dealing in provisions and, in some cases, slaves. Impoverished gentry sought to improve their fortunes by working as overseers on the plantations. Others worked as book keepers and government officials (Rodgers, 2007).

By the eighteenth century Britain led the international trade in slaves. While Irish ports were precluded from trading in slaves by law, the Irish did participate in the African trade as slave ship captains and as crew sailing out of the British ports of Liverpool and Bristol, The French triangular trade also attracted Irish participation, particularly from the migrant community established by Irish tradesmen and merchants who migrated to France in the seventeenth century Antoine Walsh, for example, became one of the most important armateurs in the French slave trade. a role that was analogous to the British merchant. Remembered for his involvement in the Jacobite uprising of 1745 when he sailed with 'Bonnie Prince Charlie' to Scotland, Walsh was a second generation emigrant whose father Philip was also involved in the slave trade. Walsh captained slave ships before becoming an armateur and between 1730 and 1743 he outfitted fourteen slave ships. He retired to his property in St. Domingue where he died in 1763, having been responsible for the purchase of over 12,000 enslaved Africans. While he was by far the most successful Irish armateur, he was not alone. The Roche and Rirdan families among the Irish community also had successful careers as armateurs.

Irish participation in the modern slave trade was at an opportunistic and individualised level. While anti-slavery ideas were taken up by a small coterie of reformist and philanthropic campaigners, and while anti-slavery found its Irish champion in Daniel O'Connell, the relatively low level of Irish involvement in the transatlantic slave trade cannot be attributed to any principled stand but rather to the restrictions place on Irish trade by Westminster. Understanding historic slavery requires a rigorous examination of the social, political and economic context in which it grew and thrived, as well as the ideological revolution brought about by abolitionists.

It is essential, for example, to recognise the extent of African
collaboration in the slave trade and the development of a moral economy between natives and European traders. Recent historians such as Herbert Klein and David Eltis have challenged many of the clichés about the complex relationships between Europeans and Africans, arguing that the slave trade was essentially 'a hard-driven bargain among equals, slave traders and African elites' (Kraay, 2004: 182). Yet, while this may be so, the consequences for Africa were catastrophic: in Joseph Inkori's view: the ultimate result of the export slave trade was 'the expansion of internal slavery, increased social tensions, political conflict... war and economic underdevelopment' (Inkori, 1982: 51).

In the 'New World', too, the pervasive effects of slavery distorted human relationships. In the British Caribbean islands this was most apparent where a legal code developed which divided society into two classes, white masters and black slaves. In the Barbados Slave Code (1661), which became the model for British American colonies, the African slave was defined as a chattel and treated as conveyable property. Moreover, the laws legitimised a state of constant war between the master and his slaves and represented an unparalleled institutionalization of slavery in the foundation of 'slave societies'. Within this context the African suffered what Orlando Patterson (1982) has called 'social death'.

Yet, if the slave trade had survived by the reduction of Africans to the status of a 'non-person', the campaign for its abolition was based upon the restoration of his human dignity. In Walvin's expression, 'the most important claim of the abolition movement on behalf of the slave was the simple question: am I not a man and a brother?' (Walvin, 1973: 97). The campaign for the abolition of the slave trade in Britain is best remembered for the part played by individuals like Thomas Clarkson and William Wilberforce, celebrated most recently in the film Amazing Grace, but the move towards the eradication of slavery was rooted in the Enlightenment, the rise of religious non-conformity and the ascendancy of 'free trade' economics in England. Marxists argue that slavery was abolished when it was no longer profitable, but this was not evident in the protests of the slavery lobby which pointed to the wealth which flowed into Britain from the slave plantations. The French Revolution, too, and the subsequent slave rebellion in St. Domingue (1791) jeopardized the abolitionist campaign. Fortunately the end of Pitt's administration, and a lull in the war with France facilitated the introduction of abolition legislation in 1806. Significantly, too, the arrival of sympathetic Irish members at Westminster, following the Act of Union (1800), facilitated this process and in the following year the British ended the 'trade'. Yet while this year, 2007, has been marked by extravagant celebrations of the bicentenary of Abolition, it would be thirty-one years before freedom was granted to slaves in British colonies (1838) and it would take a civil war to extend that liberty in the United States of America.

In her detailed study of Irish involvement in slavery and anti-slavery, Nini Rodgers (2007: 277) argues that 'Ireland's greatest contribution to the anti-slavery movement in the nineteenth century was Daniel O'Connell.' While O'Connell played a visible and public role, anti-slavery also attracted less well known but equally committed activists. In the late 1820s anti-slavery societies were formed in Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Belfast, Waterford and Youghal. In 1837 the Hibernian Anti-Slavery Society was formed in Dublin. Two of its three leading members were Quakers, the draper Richard Allen and printer and bookseller Richard Davis Webb. The third leading member, James Houghton was a Unitarian (from a Quaker background) and a flour miller. Houghton. Allen and Webb actively campaigned against slavery and against the apprentice system that replaced it following the Abolition of Slavery Act in 1833. Petitions were collected and brought to Westminster, public meetings were organised and books and pamphlets published.

Webb, Houghton, Allen and Daniel O'Connell were among those who welcomed the famous African-American abolitionist and escaped slave, Frederick Douglass to Ireland in 1845. While in Ireland, Douglass travelled the country, addressing Repeal meetings with O'Connell and delivering well-attended public addresses on the evils of slavery in Dublin, Belfast, Cork and Limerick. Douglass was horrified by the levels of poverty he witnessed in an Ireland on the brink of catastrophic famine and blamed...
intemperance as the root cause of the poor circumstances of the Irish peasantry. He supported the temperance work of R.D. Webb and James Houghton and spent some time in Cork with Fr. Mathew, from whom he took the pledge (Rodgers. 2007).

O’Connell’s championing of the anti-slavery cause was premised on a genuine abhorrence of the institution of slavery. He was a committed member of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and played an active part in the campaign leading up to the 1833 Act. O’Connell rejected the idea of compensation for slave owners and continued to campaign against the institution of slavery throughout the 1830s and up until his death in 1847. O’Connell’s commitment was not without its political cost. His continued public condemnations of slavery in the United States and his refusal to maintain silence on the issue in the interests of sustaining American support for Repeal ultimately resulted in the loss of that support. As historian Oliver McDonagh (1989: 20) notes, ‘from the start to finish he never really deviated from the line that the American Declaration of Independence was a lie before God, while men, women and children were bought and sold, used and looked upon, as chattels’.

Since the first ground-breaking act of 1807, a large number of international agreements addressing the practice of slavery have come into existence. It is estimated that between 1807 and the present day some 300 international agreements have been contracted in the effort to bring an end to slavery. The most recent of these was agreed in 1957. None has been totally effective. While in the popular mind slavery has been consigned to the past where it was the product of a more cruel and less humanitarian epoch, the reality is that it remains a feature of the modern globalised economy. Across the world, it is those living in poverty and those who lack power in society such as migrant workers, women and children who are most vulnerable to exploitation

### Slavery Today

While the exploitation of men, women, and children in the contemporary world is not often referred to as ‘slavery’, the conditions are similar. People are sold like objects, forced to work through mental or physical threat, and their liberty is subject to the control of an ‘employer’. Slavery, then, continues to exist despite its illegality. It survives in many forms including human trafficking and forced labour; the latter affecting at least 12 million people around the world.

Building on the work of the League of Nations, the United Nations worked actively after the Second World War to eradicate slavery. As a result there are now well-established principles of international law that prohibit slavery and its related practices. The International Court of Justice identifies protection from slavery as one of two examples of a state’s obligation to the international community as a whole. It is therefore considered to be a crime against humanity and freedom from slavery is seen as a fundamental human right.

The most recent international legal document which deals with the general issue of slavery is The Supplementary Convention of the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery’ (1956), (the ‘Supplementary Convention’). It includes practices known as ‘servile status’ i.e. serfdom, debt bondage and the transfer of a woman against her will to another person for profit. It also includes the transfer of a child or young person under eighteen years by its parents or guardian to another person, whether for reward or not, with a view to exploiting the child.

![Figure 4: Former child soldiers burn their military uniforms to mark the end of their lives as child soldiers. Bukavu DRC.](Image)

The aforementioned conventions were given further support by the International Bill of Human Rights. which developed from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights:

“No one shall be held in slavery or servitude: slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms” – UDHR Article 4

Fundamentally slavery is a violation of the most basic human rights we all share. These include the right:

- To liberty and security of person
- To be treated with humanity
- Not to be subjected to cruel or degrading treatment

The experience of slavery can deprive people of their identity, often stripping them of their name, language and/or religion. Moreover, as debts can be passed on from one generation to another, enslavement itself can be inherited. In the modern world, slavery has become a more complex issue: it can manifest itself in many different ways and because it is illegal its practice is generally hidden. Serfdom, forced labour, debt bondage, trafficking, Prostitution, forced marriage and child labour are modern manifestations of slavery.
According to Anti Slavery International, bonded labour - or debt bondage - is probably the least known form of slavery today, and yet it is the most widely used method of enslaving people. This affects millions of adults and children in their own countries and migrant workers. A person becomes a bonded labourer when his or her labour is demanded as a means of repayment for a loan. The person is then tricked or trapped into working for very little or no pay, often for seven days a week. The value of their work is invariably greater than the original sum of money borrowed. Millions of people are held in bonded labour around the world. The International Labour Organization (ILO) has denounced the practice of debt bondage, in particular as it relates to children. The ILO 'Convention for the Elimination of the worst forms of Child Labour', (1999) includes debt bondage among those ‘worst forms’.

One difficulty in bringing modern day slavery to an end is the range of strategies employed by those who profit from slavery. These strategies are devised to meet the specific vulnerabilities of various groups. For example, in the case of migrant workers, the confiscation of passports is a common tactic, especially with domestic workers, effectively keeping them in captivity. Attempts to end such practices are dealt with in The International Convention for the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families’ (1990). To date, no European Union country has signed this convention.

Despite the anniversary celebrations, even the slave trade itself has its modern day equivalent in the form of trafficking. There are no universally agreed estimates available that accurately reflect the numbers of trafficked people. The 2006 United States Department of State

![Figure 5: Lee Yong-soo and Shine Hei-soo Castillon from South Korea were used as 'comfort women' by the Japanese Army in World War II.](source: courtesy of Amnesty International.)

**Trafficking in Persons Report** estimated that 600,000 to 800,000 men, women, and children are trafficked across international borders each year, of whom approximately 80 percent are women and girls, and up to 50 percent are minors. It concluded that the majority of transnational victims were trafficked into commercial sexual exploitation. These numbers do not include millions of victims around the world who are trafficked within their own national borders. According to some estimates, 500,000 women from over the world are trafficked each year into Western Europe alone. A large proportion of these come from the former Soviet Union countries. Little is known about the trafficking situation in Ireland. The organisation Ruhama has recorded over 200 women trafficked into Ireland over recent years. Overall, however, it is difficult for governments to know the extent of trafficking. Reasons for this include the clandestine nature and illegality of the trafficking business and the lack of a precise definition of trafficking. As is the case with other forms of violence against women, victims are often reluctant to report or make the fact of the violence known publicly.

While types of slavery may vary from country to country, slavery is a global phenomenon. Although legislation addressing the various forms of slavery needs a continuous process of improvement and updating, there is already an impressive body of national and international law banning the practice. What is most urgently needed, however, is the commitment of resources at national and international level to ensure that slavery is finally brought to an end. One of the most effective weapons for modern day abolitionists is education. In the end, the abolition of slavery will require a second ideological revolution and the development of a moral, social and economic order at national and global level, where it is unacceptable to buy economic prosperity at the expense of human suffering.

**Teaching about slavery**

The bicentenary year of the 1807 Abolition Act, 2007 provides a good opportunity for teachers and students to explore historical and contemporary manifestations of slavery. The development of historical empathy should be a central part of that exploration. Historical empathy is premised on the idea that the institutions practices and actions of people in the past should be examined in the light of the world views that prevailed at that time. This is sometimes colloquially explained as ‘walking in the shoes of people in the past’. Historical empathy, however, is a complex idea which is sometimes reduced to identification with people in the past and sympathy with their plight. More frequently, students are prompted to project into the experiences of past peoples, to ‘imagine’ themselves in the place of others. All of these approaches, however, either overly simplify or distort the idea of historical empathy. Historical empathy involves the recognition that while there are shared human characteristics, the activities. Relationships, motivations and experiences of people in the past may not have the same meaning as they do today. If we are to understand the past, we need to understand the
Box I: Points to Consider when Teaching about Slavery

• Place the African slave trade in the context of previous and contemporary manifestations of slavery.
• Explore the 'triangular trade' which provided the economic base of historic slavery and the link between European wealth and slave economies.
• Give due emphasis to the agency of enslaved Africans in the fight against slavery
• Use the written and recorded memories of enslaved Africans to explore the experience of slavery.
• Recognise the role of women in the abolitionist movement and the influence of abolitionism in the politicisation of women.
• Explore the Irish experience of slavery and Irish involvement in the development of slave economies and in the campaign to abolish slavery
• Examine the consequences of the Atlantic slave trade and its legacy of discrimination, racism and continuing poverty.
• Recognise the continued existence of labour practices (bonded and indentured labour, child labour) and criminal activities (human trafficking for bonded labour and for the sex trade) that are based on the practice of slavery.
• Empower students to recognise their own agency in helping to bring these practices to an end through consumer awareness and choice and through social and political lobbying and campaigning.

Perspectives of people who lived in the past and take on board the different social, economic and belief systems under which they operated. The most effective way of achieving this is through the use of contemporary writings, images and accounts, i.e. through the use of primary sources. In learning about slavery, then, students should have access to evidence such as written and oral accounts of the experiences of enslaved peoples as well as documents and images which present evidence of trade and commerce in slaves. If a study of historical slavery is to have current relevance, students of slavery need to make the connection between the institution of slavery and its economic base. Why did slavery make sense to the owner of the Lancashire cotton mill, the habitué of the tea and coffee shops of London or the pipe smoker of Skibbereen? And why and how, in the midst of this normalisation of human suffering and exploitation, did the ideas of liberty and equality take root in the minds of a few?

Understanding the perspective of people in the past, however, does not jettison the need to make moral choices. Historical empathy was famously explained by the Schools' Council History Project as ‘understanding without approbation’. In their seminal work Teaching History for the Common Good, Keith Barton and Linda Levstik make the distinction between cognitive empathy and emotional empathy, arguing the case for both. Cognitive empathy is defined as perspective recognition, the ability to recognise the perspective of the ‘other’ and to realise that the perspectives of past peoples made sense within their own social, economic and political contexts. It also involves a recognition that the perspectives of today are themselves historically situated and, as in the past, there is no one representative perspective but rather a multiplicity of world views. Barton and Levstik argue however, that in understanding why people made the choices they did, we must also examine the outcomes of those choices, the consequences of events, actions and systems. They posit, therefore, the idea of historical empathy as caring - caring about the past, caring that injustice occurred, caring for the experiences of the past through engaging with one’s own response, and caring to apply what is learned from the past to the contemporary world. Teaching about slavery, then, involves not only an examination of slavery from the cognitive perspective, but also a recognition of its meaning in terms of human experience and emotion, an engagement with the issues of equality and justice it raises and a preparedness to apply those ideas and understandings to the contemporary world.
Links and Resources

**www.spd.dcu.ie/chrce** Centre for Human Rights and Citizenship Education. St. Patrick’s College, Drumcondra. Provides online resources for teaching about slavery.

**www.anti-slavery.org** Website of Anti-Slavery International


**http://web.amnesty.org/library/Index/ENGPOL330062006**

**www.amnesty.ie** Amnesty International, Irish Section


**www.state.gov/g/tip/** US State Department, Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons

Note on Images Used

Figure 3 is taken from an engraved coloured print by George Cruikshank, captioned, 'The Abolition of the Slave Trade, Or the inhumanity of dealers in human flesh exemplified in Captn. Kimber's treatment of a young Negro girl of 15 for her virjen [sic] modesty.' It shows John Kimber (left) with a whip in his hand, young African girl suspended by her ankle from a rope over a pulley. This anti-slave trade cartoon reflected an important incident in the British campaign against the slave trade. John Kimber was the captain of a slave ship, the 'Recovery' owned by Bristol merchants, which had left New Calabar bound for the West Indies in 1791. In a speech before the House of Commons in 1792, Wilberforce accused Kimber of having caused the death of the girl by inflicting injuries on her because she had refused to dance naked on the deck of his ship. As a result of Wilberforce's speech, Kimber was arrested and tried before the High Court of Admiralty in 1792. He was ultimately acquitted, the jury having concluded that the girl had died of disease, and not maltreatment. See Peter Marshall, The Anti Slave Trade Movement in Bristol', in Patrick McGrath (ed.), Bristol in the Eighteenth Century (Newton Abbot. 1972), pp206-207. Details relating to 'the voyage of this ship can be found in D. Eltis, S. Behrendt, D. Richardson and H. Klein, “The Transatlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM” (Cambridge University Press. 1999), VOYAGEID 18115.

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