SYNOPSIS

In 1839, on a stormy night off the coast of Cuba, fifty-three Africans were held captive on the slave ship 'La Amistad'. Led by Cinque (Djimon Hounsou) they break free of their shackles, arm themselves and take control of the ship reclaiming their freedom. They have one goal: to return to Africa.

The Africans rely on the two surviving members of the crew to navigate them home. However, after two months the 'Amistad' is captured off the coast of Connecticut by an American naval ship.

The Africans are put on trial for the murder of the crew but the case becomes the symbol of a nation divided. The Africans are championed by abolitionists Theodore Joadson (Morgan Freeman) and Lewis Tappan (Stellan Skarsgård) and a young real estate attorney Roger Baldwin (Matthew McConaughey). Seeking reelection, pro-slavery President Martin Van Buren (Nigel Hawthorne) is willing to sacrifice the Africans to appease the South as well as Queen Isabella of Spain (Anna Paquin). However, Van Buren's will is challenged by former President John Quincy Adams (Anthony Hopkins) who comes out of retirement to fight the Africans' cause in the United States' Supreme Court.

This case challenges the very foundation of a legal system. For the African captives on trial it is not a clash of politics or ideologies but a fight for the basic right of all mankind...freedom.

Director Steven Spielberg UK release date February 27, 1998 Certificate 15 Running time 155 mins

SLAVERY IN THE ANCIENT WORLD



The Appian Way in the Time of Augustus Boularger

Getty Images



Aristotle 384-322 BC Ann Ronan/Image Select

Slavery was a widely accepted institution in the ancient world with some societies seeing it as an economic necessity. Probably the earliest example of institutional slavery can be found in the legal codes of Sumer, which date from 4000 BC. In 1800 BC the code of Hammarabi, King of Babylonia, provided many detailed laws for the treatment of slaves. The Hammarabic code was a code of morality and many scholars believe that the Ten Commandments were based on this code. The ancient Israelites were enslaved by the Egyptians around 1500 BC and from as early as 1200 BC slavery was an integral part of Greek civilisation. Greek philosophers such as Aristotle and Plato, on whose ideas much of western civilisation is based, justified the use of slaves in a well-structured society. During the period of the Roman Empire (264 BC-565 AD), the Carthaginian. Punic, and Gaelic wars, amongst others, yielded a slave population that far exceeded any in earlier times. Within all ancient societies slaves were almost always of a different ethnic group, race, or religion to that of their masters.

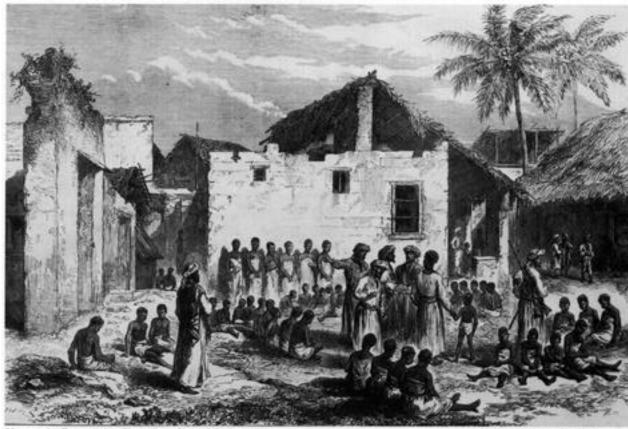
Slavery as an institution was sanctioned by all three of the monotheistic religions. Judaism, Christianity and Islam. They laid down careful rules about how slaves were to be treated by their owners. The Old Testament stipulates that slaves should be obedient to their masters and masters are to be kind to their slaves. Islam, which developed in the seventh century AD, accepted the institution of slavery, and like Christianity. urged Muslim owners to be kind to their slaves. The emancipation, or freeing, of a slave was considered praiseworthy.

TASKS

- Find examples of slave holding societies throughout history. How did these societies treat their slaves and how integral were they to the economy?
- Look at the treatment of slaves by the three monotheistic religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam. How did these religions treat slaves? Find examples for the justification of slavery within these religions.

SLAVERY IN AFRICA

West African society had slaves as artisans, as agricultural labourers, and as porters for the trading caravans. In many societies they were even government officials. Thus slavery within Africa was of an entirely different nature to the chattel slavery of the transatlantic trade.



Slavery in East Africa/Zanzibar Slave Market

Mary Evans Picture Library

In practice, the enslavement of Africans by Africans bore very little resemblance to the image that we have of slavery today. Domestic slaves were more like servants than slaves. They were rarely sold as they were seen as an extension of the household. Slaves had legal rights and frequently gained positions of prominence in their own societies. Unlike the American economies the African economies did not depend upon slave labour as prior to the arrival of the European traders the number of people enslaved in Africa was small. There was a small trade in slaves across the Sahara from West Africa and to the Indian Ocean from East Africa. There were also European slaves all of whom were sold on the Mediterranean markets. However, the entry of the European powers transformed both the nature and the scale of the slave trade.

ORIGINS OF THE SLAVE TRADE

Although the origins of the transatlantic slave trade go back to the fifteenth century. it was not until the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries that the trade reached its peak. The Europeans had enslaved the

native populations of the Americas to extract precious metals from the land. Enslavement, together with diseases that were indigenous to Europe, succeeded in destroying a large part of the native American populations. As the plantation system developed in the seventeenth century to satisfy the European demand for sugar, there was a need to look elsewhere for more labour. In 1620 the first slaves arrived in the English colonies in America. From this point the population of Africa was increasingly used as a source of slave labour.

AFRICAN CIVILISATION

Before the arrival of the European slavers, Africa could boast a large variety of political structures, including kingdoms and city-states, each of which had their own languages and cultures. Perhaps one of the most advanced and celebrated societies in African history was that of the great Songhai Empire which flourished during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Its government had ministries of finance, justice, home affairs, agriculture and forests. The intellectual centre of the empire was Timbuktu where its famous university taught law, rhetoric, grammar, literature, and theology.

Those who took part in the slave trade and advocated slavery created and spread an image of Africans as inferior, savage and barbaric. The idea of Africa as 'the dark continent' reflected the European view at the end of the Middle Ages (they had heard of Africa but knew very little about it). Yet many of those who were transported into slavery had been citizens and even royalty of the great empires of the western Sudan.

The story of the 'Amistad' begins in the region of West Africa now occupied by the country of Sierra Leone in the heart of Mende land. Mende culture was flourishing in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with their political and military influence expanding over an ever increasing area. They fiercely resisted any encroachment from outsiders and had never been conquered by a foreign invader. The Mende economy was based on farming. They had a secular political system with advancement based on merit. By the early nineteenth century their judicial system was highly developed and included a set of individual rights for the population, similar to the United States Constitution's Bill of Rights.

THE EFFECTS OF SLAVERY ON AFRICAN SOCIETY

With the arrival of African captives at the coast, captains of the slave ships who frequently offered gifts or paid taxes to local African leaders for the right to trade, would barter goods for slaves. These goods included firearms, gunpowder, textiles and alcohol. By providing firearms Europeans increased warfare and political instability in West Africa. African states such as Asante and Dahomey, which were strong enough to become middlemen or suppliers, profited from the trade at the expense of the weaker societies who suffered from it. Many Africans were killed in slaving wars or remained enslaved in Africa. Millions were forced from their homes, with towns and villages deserted.

- In what ways did slavery within Africa differ from that of the transatlantic slave trade of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries?
- What effect did the slave trade within Africa have on the social and economic development of the countries of East and West Africa?

THE SLAVE TRADE

THE TRANSATLANIC SLAVE TRADE

The origins of the transatlantic slave trade began in the 1440's when Portuguese explorers brought back seventy African captives from an expedition in search of African wealth. The transatlantic slave trade however was not established on a large scale for another two hundred years flourishing between the mid-seventeenth and the mid-nineteenth century.

The slave trade brought great wealth to slave traders and the plantation owners whose crops of cotton, sugar, rice and tobacco were produced by slave labour. Slave labour did not require wages. It was cheaper to import a young adult slave than to raise one born in slavery on a plantation. This required continuous fresh shipments of enslaved Africans. The slave traders made huge profits, as did the Africans who sold their fellow countrymen to the slave traders.



Slavery North America c.1860

Mary Evans Picture Library

Slaves were brought down to the coasts of Africa where European slave traders bought them from their African sellers. The Europeans befriended African rulers and powerful men and gave them gifts to entice them to sell their slaves willingly.

As the scale of the slave trade increased European nations constructed large fortresses called barracoons on the African coast to serve as storage for slaves. They appointed agents who negotiated their purchases and paid the African sellers in European commodities.

The main destinations of the Africans were the West Indies and the Americas where they were put to work on the vast sugar and cotton plantations.

Britain, France, Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands, Denmark and Sweden were the main European nations involved in slave trading. The trade was taken extremely seriously because it was vital to each country's economy. They therefore modified their slave ships from the mid-seventeenth century in order to hold the largest number of captives. Britain had begun slaving on a large scale in the 1640's. By the 1730's the port of Liverpool began to outstrip her rivals in London and Bristol. Liverpool dominated the European slave trade in the number of ships sent to Africa until the abolition of the British slave trade in 1807.

It has been estimated that by 1792 the value of British incomes derived from the 'Triangular Trade' was four times greater than the value of British incomes derived from the slave trade with the rest of the world.

Historians still debate the number of Africans who landed alive in the Americas. Earlier estimates put the figure at between fifteen and thirty million. More recent surveys suggest that the estimate falls somewhere between eleven and forty million. Any further revisions of the estimate are likely to be upward rather than downward. The truth, however, is that the actual figure may never be known.

Of the figures available male slaves outnumbered females by two to one. Between 1811 and 1870 children accounted for some forty-one per cent of the slave trade.

THE TRIANGULAR TRADE

The transatlantic slave trade by which European slavers took away Africans to the Americas. including the West Indies. was the base of a huge 'Triangular Trade' with its apex in Europe. The first leg of the triangle consisted of European ships setting out for the west coast of Africa with a cargo of varied exports, such as rum, whisky, iron bars, woollen and cotton goods, and most importantly, firearms and gunpowder. On arrival the ships traded up and down the coast selling their wares and buying slaves. This trading often took six to eight months.

The 'Middle Passage', took the purchased slaves from Africa on a two to three month sea voyage to the West Indies and North America. Here the slaves were sold, usually by auction, to plantation owners.

The triangle was completed when the ships arrived back in Europe loaded with highly valued plantation produce such as sugar, tobacco and cotton from the West Indies and the southern United States. This was a very lucrative trade because the slavers made triple profits on commodities brought from Europe to Africa. on slaves brought from Africa to the New World and on commodities brought from the New World back to Europe.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

The time spent by Africans in slave ships during the crossing of the Atlantic was commonly referred to as the 'Middle Passage'. The slaves were stripped naked and shaved clean before being herded onto the ships like animals. On some ships, where the slaves were the property of many different owners, they would be branded to identify them.

The average number of Africans taken across the Atlantic on a single boat seems to have been about three hundred although the figure could be as high as eight hundred. They were kept in slave holds which were between two feet six inches and five feet high at the most (77cm x 154cm) which made it impossible to stand erect. The slaves were made to lie on their backs with their knees bent, or they were packed spoonways. one beside the other. Alternatively, the slaves had to sit between each others' legs unable to change their position. Literally, they were packed like sardines in a tin. Dr Alexander Falconbridge, a slave ship surgeon wrote that "they had not so much room as a man in his coffin's (See Appendix I, pages 21 and 22)

The captives were fed twice a day, once in the morning and once in the afternoon. Crew members or slave monitors supervised the feeding and if the slaves did not eat properly they were flogged. The slaves were only taken on deck if the weather, and the whim of the captain, permitted it.

Deaths occurred before, during and after the 'Middle Passage'. They also occurred during the original enslavement in Africa, during the long marches to the coast, and in the horrific conditions spent in slave barracoons on the African coast whilst waiting for the ships to sail. Starvation caused many of the captives to perish before even boarding the slave ships.

Mortality during the 'Middle Passage' was due to a number of highly infectious diseases, such as dysentery. smallpox and measles. Prior to 1700, the mortality rate during the crossing was about twenty per cent. After 1700 the mortality rate fell to ten per cent, falling to five per cent by the last quarter of the century. The fall in the mortality rate after 1700 was due to the recognition of the economic

importance of the slave trade and the accommodations made to preserve the human cargo, such as, providing the slave holds with more light and ventilation.

On reaching the plantations as many as one third of all slaves died within three years. This was due to their extreme demoralisation, harsh punishments. insufficient rations and the unbearably exacting work they were forced to carry out.

In the late seventeenth century slaves could be purchased on the Guinea coast for roughly US\$4-5 per head, and sold for US\$24-26 in the West Indies - the price of a ton of sugar. By the late eighteenth century the price had risen to US\$60-75 in Jamaica which was the main American market. It has been estimated by some historians that by the mid-nineteenth century healthy black men and women could fetch in the region of \$2,000. At the time of Cinque and the 'Amistad' captives, slaves bought in Africa for US\$20-30 were sold for US\$450 each in the Americas. This trade in human beings was so lucrative that shareholders of the Royal African Company earned dividends amounting to three hundred per cent.

Do you think that African slaves had a problem of identity in the Americas? It is important to note that many were kidnapped and enslaved in Africa whilst they were still children, and those with common languages and cultures were often split up. What do you think the effect of this might have been?

TASKS

- Find out as much as you can about the culture and aspirations of slaves in the Americas.
- ➤ Using a map of the 'Triangular Trade' draw a map to show the sea journey that the 'Amistad' captives had made from Africa via Cuba to the coast of Long Island in the United States of America,
- Look at Appendix I, pages 21 and 22. In what ways do you think these images would have been useful to the filmmakers of 'Amistad'? What do they tell us about the life of the slaves in the 'Middle Passage'?

VENTURE SMITH (c.1729-1805)

Venture Smith was originally named Broteer, and was the son of a Prince of the Dukandarra people. He was captured at the age of six, sold to an American slave trader, renamed, and taken to Connecticut. He was eventually permitted to purchase his freedom. In 1798 he published his autobiography.

The following extract is Venture Smith's account of his capture and sale on the Gold Coast in Africa.

"All the march I had very hard tasks imposed on me, which I must perform on pain of punishment I was obliged to carry on my head a large flat stone for grinding our corn, weighing as I should suppose, as much as twenty-five pounds; besides victuals, mat and cooking utensils. Though I was pretty large and stout for my age, yet these burdens were very grievous to me, being only six years and a half old.... All of us were put into the castle, and kept for market. On a certain time I and other prisoners were put on board a canoe, under our master, and rowed away to a vessel belonging to Rhode Island, commanded by Captain Collingwood, and the mate Thomas Mumford. While we were going to the vessel, our master told us all to appear to the best possible advantage for sale. I was bought on board by one Robertson Mumford, steward of said vessel, for four gallons of rum, and a piece of calico, and called VENTURE, on account of his having purchased me with his own private venture..., All the slaves that were bought for that vessel's cargo, were two hundred and sixty"

TASKS

- Explain why there was such a demand for slave labour in America between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries.
- What effects did the 'Triangular Trade' have on all those who participated in it?
- ➤ Describe what you know of the slave trade on the African continent. Give details of what happened from the time slave traders negotiated with the African kings to the time that a group of slaves were placed on board ship.

RESISTANCE

The revolt on board the ship 'La Amistad' presents only **one** example of resistance by African captives to their enslavement. Resistance by Africans occurred at every stage of their ordeal; during their initial capture in Africa, the long marches to the coast, the notorious 'Middle Passage' and once in the Americas on the plantations.

Resistance at sea could mean anything from refusing to eat, to physically 'rising up' against their captors as the captives of the 'Amistad' did.

RESISTANCE ON THE PLANTATIONS

Slave resistance on the plantations was manifested in a number of different ways. It included anything from day-to-day resistance such as shirking, stealing, the spoiling of crops, slow-downs, deliberate forms of sabotage, deception and evasion.

Slaves would often attempt to escape to Canada which was anti-slavery. The Underground Railroad was the most effective route to freedom for the slaves who risked escape. This was neither a railroad nor was it physically under the ground. It was a secret line of 'safe houses' started in the 1780's, but it did not achieve distinction until the 1830's. Most of the fugitives came from the South. Family escapes were rare, and the fugitives were usually young adult males who would travel at night to avoid detection.

TASK

Other than the 5lmistad' revolt there are over three hundred further documented instances of slave revolts at sea, although not all were as successful. Thy and find out about one other uprising at sea, and compare both the actual revolt and its outcome to the events that took place on the 'Amistad'

TASK

Find out as much as you can about the Underground Railroad. Who were the main organisers and supporters of the movement? How many people did it carry to freedom? On a map of the United States of America and Canada, draw the different routes taken by those who escaped.

INSURRECTION

Insurrections, or uprisings. on the plantations were not uncommon and occurred both in the Caribbean and the Southern states of America.

TASK 1

Research as many instances of revolt that you can on the plantations of the Southern states and describe them. You may wish to look at men such as Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey, and Nat Turner. Did these uprisings have a marked effect on the abolition of the slavery movement? How far did their outcomes prove detrimental to the slave population?

TASK 2

The revolt in Saint-Domingue, Haiti led by Toussaint L'Ouverture was the most successful slave uprising. Find out as much as you can about this event. Do you think that the character of Toussaint L'Ouverture was instrumental in the success of the revolt? What other factors contributed to its success? Can you think of any reasons why this uprising proved to be more successful than the revolts that you have looked at in the Southern states of America?



SLAVERY AND AMERICAN POLITICS

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

In 1775 Britain's thirteen American colonies revolted against their mother country. On July 4, 1776, independence of the thirteen colonies was proclaimed and a 'Declaration of Independence' issued. It advocated equal rights and freedoms for all men. The Declaration stated: "We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness."

TASK

The 'Declaration of Independence' which advocated the rights and freedoms of all men was issued in 1776 yet slavery was not finally abolished until the end of the American Civil War in 1865. Can you suggest why this may have been? Examine issues such as race and economics.

From the time of the American War of Independence (1775-1783) the question of slavery versus freedom had been a central issue in American politics with both equally represented in Congress. Congress had agreed that slavery was prohibited north of latitude 36o30~. Up until 1820 an even balance was maintained in the Senate by the admission of free and slave states alternately as settlers advanced further West and new territories were claimed.

In 1820 the 'Missouri Compromise' was enacted in an attempt to continue to maintain the balance. Missouri lay almost completely to the North of the dividing line between freedom and slavery. But, in order to maintain the balance between North and South, Missouri was admitted as a slave state.

The Dred Scott case of 1856 was the most famous of all the slavery cases; the judgement of which clearly showed that North and South could not be reconciled.

THE DRED SCOTT CASE

In 1833 Dred Scott. a black slave, had been bought by John Emerson, a US Army surgeon, who was then stationed in Missouri. Emerson later took Scott to Illinois where slavery had been forbidden by the 'Missouri Compromise'. With the help of anti-slavery lawyers Scott sued for freedom on the grounds of having been on free soil. The lower court and the Missouri Supreme Court ruled against him and the case went before the United States' Supreme Court.

Chief Justice Roger Taney, speaking for the Court in a final judgement, declared against Scott's claim for freedom on three grounds:

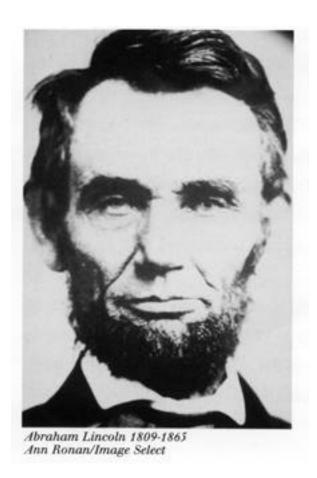
- 1. As a black he could not be a citizen of the United States and therefore had no right to sue in a federal court.
- 2. As a resident of Missouri the laws of Illinois had no effect on his status.
- 3. As a resident north of latitude 36030 he had not been emancipated because Congress had no right to deprive citizens of their property.

Taney also declared that the 'Missouri Compromise' was unconstitutional and that Congress did not have the power to forbid slavery in the territories. The decision led to great controversy and, once again, the issue of slavery made war seem inevitable.

THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR (1861-1865)

The American Civil War was the conflict between the United States of America, known as the Union (the North), and the secessionist Southern states, known as the Confederacy. The Civil War reflected the extensive economic, social, and political differences between the North and the South. The South's economy was overwhelmingly agricultural and its labour force of black slaves formed the largest single investment. It was the right to maintain slavery that eventually led the Southern states to war against the North whose primary concern was to stem any further expansion of slavery.

Abraham Lincoln was elected the sixteenth president of the United States in 1860. Lincoln was well-known for his anti-slavery views, and in a speech of 1854 had argued that there was no reconciling the North and the South. "It is an irrepressible conflict bet ween opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the United States must and will, sooner or later, become entirely a slaveholding nation or entirely a free-labour nation." With the election of Lincoln the resentments between the Northern and Southern states heightened. The Southern states, beginning with South Carolina, seceded from the North, Lincoln becoming the leader of the Union.



4

On September 22, 1862 Lincoln issued the Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation but it was not until 1865 that the eventual victory of the Union army brought freedom to nearly four million black slaves. The American Civil War was decisive in that it ended slavery in the United States once and for all. But the war for black civil liberties was yet to begin.

It is important to note that whilst the Union's victory in the Civil War resulted in the abolition of slavery in America, the war had first and foremost been fought to save the Union and not either to preserve or destroy slavery.

In 1862 Lincoln wrote "If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it; if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that."

CIVIL RIGHTS

The battle for equality began with the 'Amistad' Africans known as the 'Amistad Incident' in the United States which eventually developed into the Civil Rights Movement after the Civil War was finally won'with the passing of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 - over one hundred years after Cinque and his fellow captives were finally freed. Key figures in the Civil Rights Movement, which gathered momentum in the 1940's, were Dr Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X.

TASK

Find out as much as you can about Dr Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X.

How did their methods in the struggle for Civil Rights d(ffer? Whose methods do you think were most effective?

FILM AND HISTORY

REPRESENTING HISTORY

History presents a reconstruction of the past. The view of the past that emerges will depend upon the selection and interpretation of sources and upon the beliefs and values of the historian.

How far have historians been guilty of suppressing other histories which exist? If we look at the transatlantic slave trade we can see one reason why the history of African civilisations was ignored. For Europeans, in trying to justify domination and exploitation of Africans, the pre-existing culture, tradition and histories of those supposedly being 'civilised' must be denied. Such views become so deeply entrenched that they are no longer questioned, even by historians and scholars.

When we examine the history of slavery we need to consider whose history is being told. Too often we are given stories about the efforts of white abolitionists in freeing slaves. Little recognition has been given in the past to the efforts and successes of black people themselves in their resistance to oppression and liberation from slavery.

RE-WRITING HISTORY

In the history of the western world we are used to reading about the ways in which Soviet historians for example, re-wrote history depending on who was in and out of favour with the ruling elite. Sometimes more than just text books were changed. Photographic images or paintings were altered to eliminate those no longer in political favour which would also suppress historical evidence.

RE-CREATING HISTORY

It is important to remember that films do not mirror reality. They re-create reality by presenting images. They are not history lessons.

The history that is being re-created on film must grip the audience as does a factual story. In telling the story the filmmaker must be selective in his choice of historical facts.

- In telling the 'Amistad' story, we are seeing a hey event in the abolition of slavery. Thorn the perspective of a historian we must ask the question how far does the film deal with issues that are not totally filmic?
- What have been the sacrifices of historical fact in favour of an accessible story?

TELLING A STORY

In constructing the filmic narrative of 'Amistad' the filmmakers have had to choose what they consider to be the significant moments in a two and a half year history which will link the mutiny of the Amistadians to their eventual return to Africa.

All stories start with a conflict of some sort. By the end of the film we expect the conflict to be

resolved. In 'Amistad' the conflict is the seizure of the ship Ta Amistad' by Cinque and his compatriots along with their capture and trial. The resolution revolves around the court trial and its final decision.

However, an interesting story challenge for the filmmakers is how to show the earlier conflict of Cinque being kidnapped and torn away from his life in Africa. It is important that this is shown in the film as it underpins his whole moral argument.

In this instance, the filmmakers have decided to open 'Amistad' with the drama of the mutiny and to show Cinque's life in Africa in flashback as he reveals it to John Quincy Adams and thus to the cinema-going audience.

One of the key aims of the filmmakers is to ensure that whilst they entertain the cinema-going audience with the story of 'Amistad' the drama does not overwhelm the moral aspect of the film.

THE IMPORTANCE OF 'AMISTAD'

'Amistad' is a film which attempts to examine the most infamous episode of American history - slavery - and to show that episode from the point of view of both black and white.

The prejudiced representation of 'blacks' in Hollywood films has long been criticised. 'Blacks' were often used in film in order to create a sense of the exotic. In films set in America their roles were often of either the loyal servant or else the rebellious slave who needed to be repressed. This stereotype continued well into the 1980's.

TASK

Has the film 'Amistad' accurately represented history or has it represented the events as a western mode of storytelling? Whose history has been represented?

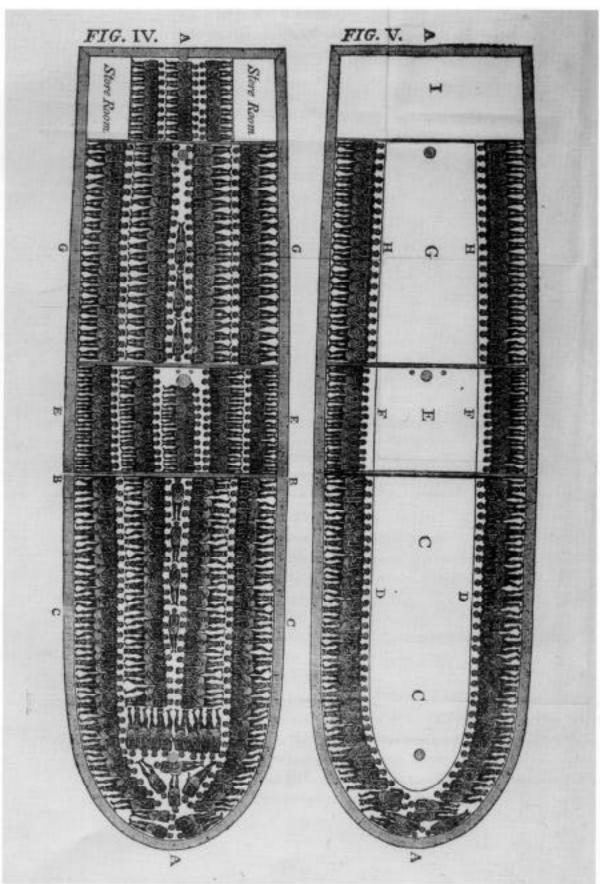
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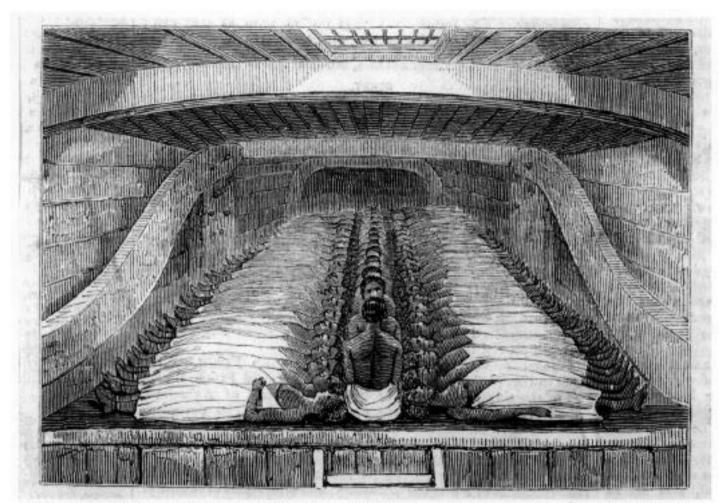
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APPENDIX I



c.1791 The stowage of slaves on the 'Brookes' slaver of Liverpool as reported by Captain Parrey (Evidence of the petitioners for the Abalilion of the Slave Trade)
Mary Evans Picture Library

APPENDIX I (CONT)



c.1843 Interior of a slave ship showing how neatly the slaves were stowed in the hold

Mary Evans Picture Library