

A SHORT
ACCOUNT

Of that PART of

Jam.
AFRICA,

Inhabited by the

NEGROES;

With Respect to the *Fertility* of the Country; the *good Disposition* of many of the *Natives*, and the *Manner* by which the SLAVE TRADE is carried on.

Extracted from several Authors, in order to shew the *Iniquity* of that TRADE, and the *Falsity* of the ARGUMENTS usually advanced in its *Vindication*.

With a Quotation from GEORGE WALLIS'S *System of the Laws, &c.* and a large Extract from a Pamphlet, lately published in *London*, on the Subject of the SLAVE TRADE.

ACTS xvii. 24, 26. GOD that made the World—— hath made of one Blood all Nations of Men, for to dwell on all the Face of the Earth, and hath determined the Times before appointed, and the Bounds of their Habitation.

EZEKIEL xxii. 29. The People of the Land have used Oppression, and exercised Robbery, and have vexed the Poor and Needy; yea, they have oppressed the Stranger wrongfully.

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A S H O R T
A C C O U N T
O F T H E
Slave - Trade, &c.

IT is a Truth, as sorrowful as obvious, that Mankind too generally are actuated by false Motives, and substitute an imaginary Interest in the Room of that which is real and permanent: And it must be acknowledged by every Man, who is sincerely desirous of becoming acquainted with himself, and impartially inspects his own Heart, that Weakness and inbred Corruption attends human Nature; which cannot be restored to its original Purity, but through the Efficacy of the Blood of JESUS CHRIST, our blessed Saviour. So that notwithstanding the imagined moral Rectitude pleaded for, and the boasted Pretences of the present Age to refined Conceptions of Things beyond our Forefathers, ~~all~~ this Divine Help is embraced, the bent of ~~the~~ Heart of Man will remain corrupt, and its Power of distinguishing between Good and Evil liable to be obscured by Prejudice, Passion and Interest.

Interest. Covetousness and Pride have introduced many iniquitous Practices into Civil Society, some of which being established by Custom, and adapted to flatter our Favourite Passions, tho' odious in themselves, and most pernicious in their Consequences, yet, through the Influence of Example and Use, become familiar to us, and our depraved Reason has Recourse to plausible Excuses, to cover and palliate the most atrocious Crimes; so that by Degrees we silence the Dictates of Conscience, and reconcile ourselves in the Perpetration of such Things which, when first proposed to our unprejudiced Minds, would strike us with Amazement and Horror.

A lamentable and shocking Instance of the Influence which the Love of Gain has upon the Minds of those who yield to its Allurements, even when contrary to the Dictates of Reason, and the common Feelings of Humanity, appears in the Prosecution of the *Negro Trade*, in which the *English* Nation has long been deeply concerned, and some in this Province have also lately engaged. An Evil of so deep a Dye, and attended with such dreadful Consequences to all that are concerned in it, that no well-disposed Person, anxious for the Welfare of himself, his Country, or Posterity, who knows the Tyranny, Oppression and Cruelty with which this iniquitous Trade is carried on, can be a silent and innocent Spectator. How many Thousands of our harmless Fellow Creatures have, for a long Course of Years, fallen a Sacrifice to that selfish Avarice, which gives Life to this complicated Wickedness.

The

The Iniquity of being so deeply engaged in a Trade, by which so great a Number of innocent People are yearly destroyed, in so untimely and miserable a Manner, is greatly aggravated from the Consideration that we, as a Nation, have been peculiarly favoured with the bright Beams of the Gospel; that Revelation of Divine Love, which the Angels introduced to the World, by a Declaration of Peace on Earth, and Good Will to Men——of every Nation, Kindred, Tongue and People: How miserable then must be our Condition, if, for filthy Lucre, we should continue to act so contrary to the Nature of this Divine Call, the Purpose of which is to introduce an universal and affectionate Brotherhood in the whole human Species; by removing from the Heart of every Individual, who submits to its Operation, the Darkness and Corruption of Nature, and transforming the selfish, wrathful, proud Spirit, into Meekness, Purity and Love: For this End the Son of God became Man, suffered, and died; and the whole Tenor of the Gospel declares, that for those who refuse, or neglect, the Offers of this great Salvation, the Son of God has suffered in vain.

The End proposed by this Essay, is to lay before the candid Reader the Depth of Evil which attends this iniquitous Practice, in the Prosecution of which, our Duty to God, the common Father of the Family of the whole Earth, and our Duty of Love to our Fellow Creatures, is totally disregarded; all social Connection and tender Ties of Nature being broken, and Desolation

and Bloodshed continually fomented in those unhappy People's Country. It is also intended to invalidate some false Arguments, which are frequently advanced, for the Palliation thereof, in Hopes it may be some Inducement to those who are not defiled with this Trade, to keep themselves clear ; and to lay before such as have unwarily engaged in it, the Danger they are in of totally losing that tender Sensibility to the Sufferings of their Fellow Creatures, the Want whereof sets Men beneath the Brute Creation, which must unavoidably be the State of every one that continues to partake of the Profits arising from this wicked Traffick : A Trade by which so many Thousands of innocent People are brought under the greatest Anxiety and Suffering, being violently rent from their Native Country, in the most cruel Manner, and brought to our Colonies, to be employed in hard Labour, either in Northern Climates, unsuited to their Nature, or in a State of the most tyrannick and barbarous Slavery, subject to the Humours and inhuman Lash of some of the most hard hearted and inconsiderate of Mankind, without any Hopes of ever returning to their Native Land, or seeing an End to their Misery : Nor must we omit, in this dismal Account, the Weight of Blood which lies on the Promoters of this Trade, from the great Numbers that are yearly butchered in the Incursions and Battles which happen between the *Negroes*, in order to procure the Number delivered to the *Europeans* ; and the many of these poor Creatures whose Hearts are broken, and who

who perish, through Misery and Grief, on the Passage. Heaven preserve the Inhabitants of *Pennsylvania* from being further defiled by a Trade, which is entered upon from such sensual Motives, and carried on by such devilish Means. And although these Scenes of Horror are acted in Places far remote, and out of the Sight of those who are the most enriched thereby; whose Senses being usually exercised only by present Objects, are little affected with the distant Sufferings of their Fellow Creatures; yet every Mind, which is not so hardened with the Love of Wealth as to be void of feeling, must, upon serious Consideration of this inhuman Practice, be impressed with Surprize and Terror, from a Sense that there is a righteous God, and a State of Retribution, which must last for ever. It is frequently alledged, in Excuse for this Trade, that the *Negroes* sold in our Plantations, are mostly Persons who have been taken Prisoners in those Wars which arise amongst themselves, from their mutual Animosities; and that these Prisoners would be sacrificed, to the Resentment of those who have taken them Captives. if they were not purchased and brought away by the *Europeans*. It is also represented, that the *Negroes* are generally a stupid savage People, whose Situation in their own Country is necessitous and unhappy, which has induced many to believe, that the bringing the *Africans* from their Native Land is to them rather a Kindness than an Injury.

To confute these false Representations, the following Extracts are proposed, to the candid

Reader's Consideration ; they are taken from the Writings of the principal Officers, not only in the *English*, but also in the *French* and *Dutch* Factories or Settlements in *Guiney*, some of whom have lived many Years in those Countries, and have been Eye Witnessses to those Transactions, and whose Station in the Factories will not admit of any Doubt of the Truth of what they relate ; by which it will appear, that the *Negroes* are generally sensible, humane and sociable, and that their Capacity is as good, and as capable of Improvement, as that of the White People : That their Country, though unfriendly to the *Europeans*, yet appears peculiarly agreeable, and well adapted to the Nature of the *Blacks*, and so fruitful, as to furnish its Inhabitants plentifully with the Necessaries of Life, with much less Labour than is necessary in our more Northern Countries. And as to the common Argument, alledged in Defence of the Trade, *viz.* That the Slaves sold to the *Europeans* are Captives taken in War, who would be destroyed by their Conquerors, if not thus purchased, it is without Foundation, it being made clearly to appear, from the forementioned Testimonies, that the Wars and Incurfions made by the *Negroes*, one upon another, are mostly at the Solicitation of the *Europeans*, who instigate them by every Method, even the most iniquitous and cruel, to procure Slaves to load their Vessels, which they freely purchase, without any Regard to the Precepts of the Gospel, the feelings of Humanity, or the common Dictates of Reason and Equity.

For though it is scarce to be doubted, but that there were Wars amongst some of the *Negroes*, before the *Europeans* began to trade with them, yet certain it is, that these Calamities are not only since that Time prodigiously encreased, and the *Europeans*, by encouraging them thereto, and gladly purchasing the Captives they take, are become not only Parties with them therein, but the sole Cause of that Encrease. This is plainly inferred from the Account given by *N. Brue*, Director of the *French Factory* at *Senegal*, who lived Twenty-seven Years in that Country, who says, “ That the *Europeans* are far from desiring
 “ to act as Peace Makers amongst the *Negroes*,
 “ which would be acting contrary to their In-
 “ terest, since the greater the Wars, the more
 “ Slaves are procured.”

William Bosman, Factor for the *Dutch*, at *Delmina*, where he resided sixteen Years, relates,
 “ That one of the former Commanders hired an
 “ Army of the *Negroes*, of *Jafferia* and *Cabe-*
 “ *steria*, for a large Sum of Money, to fight the
 “ *Negroes* of *Commany*, which occasioned a Bat-
 “ tle, which was more bloody than the Wars of
 “ the *Negroes* usually are : And that another
 “ Commander gave, at one time, *Five Hundred*
 “ *Pounds*, and at another time *Eight Hundred*
 “ *Pounds*, to two other *Negroe* Nations, to in-
 “ duce them to take up Arms against their Coun-
 “ try People.” This is confirmed by *Barbot*, A-
 gent General of the *French African Company*,
 who says ; “ The *Hollanders*, a People very zealous
 “ for their Commerce at the Coast, were very
 “ studious

“ studious to have the War carried on amongst
 “ the *Blacks*, to distract, as long as possible, the
 “ Trade of the other *Europeans* ; and to that Ef-
 “ fect were very ready to assist upon all Occasions
 “ the *Blacks*, their Allies, that they might beat
 “ their Enemies, and so the Commerce fall into
 “ their Hands.” But nothing shews more plain-
 ly, that the *Europeans* are the chief Instruments in
 inciting the *Negroes* to the Perpetration of those
 unnatural Wars, by which they are kept in conti-
 nual Alarms, their Country laid waste, and such
 great Numbers carried into Captivity, than the
 Account given by *William Smith*, who was sent
 by the *African Company* to visit their Settle-
 ments in the Year 1726, from the Information
 he received of one of the Factors, who had re-
 sided ten Years in that Country, *viz.* “ That
 “ the discerning Natives account it their greatest
 “ Unhappiness that they were ever visited by the
 “ *Europeans* :—That we Christians introduced
 “ the Traffick of Slaves, and that before our
 “ coming they lived in Peace ; but, say they, it
 “ is observable, that wherever Christianity comes,
 “ there comes with it a Sword, a Gun, Powder
 “ and Ball.”

As to the Account of the natural Disposition of
 many of the *Negroes*, and of the Fruitfulness of
 their Country, the forementioned Authors, as
 well as many others, have wrote largely upon it.
M. Adanson, in his Account of the Country and
 Natives of *Goree*, where he was so lately as the
 Year 1754, after giving an Account of the de-
 lightful Aspect of the Country, says ; “ The Sim-
 “ plicity

“ plicity of the Natives, their Dress and Man-
 “ ners, revived in my Mind the Idea of our first
 “ Parents ; and I seemed to contemplate the
 “ World in its primitive State ;——they (the *Ne-*
 “ *groes*) are generally speaking, very good na-
 “ tured, sociable and obliging. I was not a lit-
 “ tle pleased (says he) with this my first Recep-
 “ tion ;——it convinced me, that there ought to
 “ be a considerable Abatement made in the Ac-
 “ counts I had read and heard every where of
 “ the savage Character of the *Africans*.——I
 “ observed, both in *Negroes* and *Moors*, great
 “ Humanity and Sociableness, which gave me
 “ strong Hopes that I should be very safe amongst
 “ them, and meet with the Success I desired in
 “ my Enquiries after the Curiosities of the Coun-
 “ try.”

Bosman, speaking of the *Negroes* of that Part
Guiney where he then was, says ; “ They are ge-
 “ nerally a good Sort of People, honest in their
 “ Dealings ; others he describes as being gene-
 “ rally friendly to Strangers, of a mild Conver-
 “ sation, courteous, affable, and easy to be over-
 “ come with Reason ; in Conversation they dis-
 “ cover a great Quickness of Parts and Under-
 “ standing.” He adds, “ That some *Negroes*,
 “ who have had an agreeable Education, have
 “ manifested a Brightness of Understanding equal
 “ to any of us.”

William Smith's Account of the Natives is,
 “ That he found them a civil good natured
 “ People, industrious to the last Degree, and
 “ their Country exceeding Fertile.——It is easy
 (says

“ (says he) to perceive what happy Memories
 “ they are blessed with, and how great Progress
 “ they would make in the Sciences; in case their
 “ Genius was cultivated with Study: They ex-
 “ plain themselves in choice Terms, their Ex-
 “ pressions noble, and Manners polite;—this
 “ (he adds) is to be understood of the People
 “ of Distinction, as Officers, Merchantmen, and
 “ the like; for Peasants, Workmen and Shep-
 “ herds, are as ignorant in these Parts as else-
 “ where.”

Barbot says, “ The Inhabitants of *Oedo* are,
 “ for the Generality, very civil, good natured
 “ People, easy to be dealt with, condescending
 “ to what the *Europeans* require of them, in a
 “ civil Way; but if treated with Haughtiness
 “ and rudely, they are stiff and high, and will
 “ not yield on any Account.”

Some Writers have represented the Natives of
Cape Mesurado as faithless and cruel; but it is
 very likely this Representation of their Disposi-
 tion was occasioned by the Resentment they had
 shewn for the ill Usage received from the *Euro-
 peans*; for Captain *Philips* declared them to be ci-
 vil and courteous. And *Snoek* says, “ He found
 “ them a civil good-natur’d People; but that the
 “ late Injury they had received from the *English*,
 “ who had carried off some of their People, had so
 “ exasperated them, that it was to be feared some
 “ *English* People they had in their Power, would
 “ fall a Sacrifice to their Resentment.”

Although the extream Heat in many Parts of
Guiney, is such as is neither agreeable nor healthy to

to the *Europeans*, yet it is well suited to the Constitution of the *Negroes*: And it is to these Heats that they are indebted for the Fertility of their Land, which in most Places is so great, that with little Labour Grain and Fruit will grow in the greatest Plenty.

Brue, in his Account of the Fertility of the Country, and Industry of the Natives, says; “ He was surprized to see the Land so well cultivated, as he observed it to be, in one of his Journies; scarce a Spot lay unimproved; the low Grounds, divided by small Canals, were all sowed with Rice; the higher Grounds planted with *Indian* Corn and Millet, and Pease of different Sorts, Beef and Mutton very cheap, as well as all other Necessaries of Life.”

Bosman says, “ The *Indian* and *Guiney* Corn is here sown and reaped twice every Year; the first Harvest is in *August*, and the other the latter End of the Year, though but small; Corn grows with little Trouble, very speedily taking Root, so that one or two Men can manure and plow as much Land as one Plow can turn up in *Holland*. *Indian* Corn grows in the upper Lands, in prodigious Quantities, and where Corn won't grow, there Rice encreases in Abundance, and Yamms and Potatoes are in the greatest Plenty.”

Speaking of the Kingdom of *Fida*, he says, “ The Country was very populous, many large Villages, besides innumerable small Ones, through the whole Country, plentifully provided with Corn, Potatoes and Fruit, which
grew

“ grew close to each other; in some Places a
 “ Foot Path is the only Ground that is not co-
 “ vered with them, the *Negroes* leaving no
 “ Place, which is thought fertile, uncultivated,
 “ even within the Hedges which inclose their
 “ Villages: And the very next Day after they
 “ have reaped they are sure to sow again. This
 “ fine Country is now very much depopulated,
 “ which, it is likely, was owing to the Incur-
 “ sions made upon them by their Neighbours,
 “ in order to get Slaves to sell to the *Europeans*.”

For the same *Bosman*, speaking of the neigh-
 bouring Nation of *Pope*, says; “ They depend on
 “ Plunder and the Slave Trade, in which they
 “ exceed some of their Neighbours.”

Other Parts of the Country he describes, as
 “ being full of Towns and Villages; the Soil
 “ very rich, and so well cultivated, as to look like
 “ an entire Garden, abounding in Rice, Corn,
 “ Oxen, Goats and Poultry; and the *Negroes* to
 “ be laborious.”

W. Smith gives much the same Account of the
 Country of *Delmina*, and *Cape Corse*, &c. for
 Beauty and Goodness; and adds, “ The more
 “ you come downward towards that Part called
 “ the *Slave Coast* (I suppose because the most
 “ Slaves are brought from thence) the more de-
 “ lightful and rich the Soil appears.”

Barbot says, “ The Inland People employ
 “ themselves in Tillage and Trade, and supply
 “ the Markets with Corn, Fruit and Palm Wine;
 “ the Country producing such vast Plenty of *In-*
 “ *dian* Wheat, that Abundance is daily export-
 ed,

“ ed, as well by *Europeans* as *Blacks*, resorting
 “ thither from other Parts.” He adds, “ That
 “ the Country of *Delmina*, which was formerly
 “ very powerful and populous, though now so
 “ much drained of its Inhabitants, by the inte-
 “ stine Wars fomented amongst the *Negroes* by
 “ the *Dutch*, that there does not remain enough
 “ Inhabitants to till the Country ; abounded
 “ with fine well-built and populous Towns,
 “ enriched with vast Fields of Corn, Cattle,
 “ Palm Wine and Oil. The Inhabitants all
 “ applying themselves, without Distinction, to
 “ Agriculture, sowing Corn, pressing Oil, and
 “ drawing Wine from Palm Trees, with both of
 “ which it is plentifully stored ; others to fishing,
 “ and boiling Salt, and other Trades, on their
 “ own Account, or as Brokers for the Inland
 “ Blacks.”

Many more Accounts could be given of the
 good Disposition of the Generality of the *Ne-
 groes*, and of the Plenty their Country affords,
 in which it, perhaps, exceeds most Counties in
 the World ; but this is sufficient to shew that
 they might have lived happily, more especially if
 the *Europeans* had not only bore the Name, but
 had acted the Part of Christians, in using their
 Endeavours, by Example as well as Precept, to
 make the *Negroes* acquainted with the glad Ti-
 dings of the Gospel, and with that Change of
 Heart, and Redemption from Sin, which Chri-
 stianity proposes ; this, if attended to, would
 have necessarily been productive of the peaceable
 Fruits of Righteousness ; Innocency and Love
 would

would have prevailed, and nothing would have been wanting to compleat these poor *Africans* Happiness. But the Reverse has happened ; the *Europeans*, forgetful of their Profession and Duty as Men and Christians, have conducted in so iniquitous a Manner, as must necessarily raise in the Minds of the thoughtful and well-disposed *Negroes* the utmost Scorn and Detestation of the very Name of Christians. They have made all other Considerations give Way to an insatiable Desire of Gain, and are become the principal and moving Cause of the most iniquitous and dreadful Scene that was, perhaps, ever acted upon this Globe : Instead of making use of their superior Knowledge to stir up the Principle of Peace and Good-will in the Breasts of the simple unwary *Negroes*, they have acted as Agents for the great Enemy of the Happiness of Mankind, and have stirred up and strengthened the earthly Principle of Craft and Covetousness in the poor *Africans*, who have thereby been induced to captivate and sell their unhappy Countrymen ; every Thing, even the Power of their Kings, has been made subservient to answer this wicked Purpose ; instead of being Protectors of their Subjects, these Rulers, allured by the tempting Baits laid before them by the Factors, &c. have invaded the Liberties of their unhappy Subjects, and are become their Oppressors ; as is fully evidenced by the following Account, *viz.*

Francis Moore, Factor to the *African* Company in 1730, tells his Reader, “ That when the
 “ King of *Barsalli* wants Goods or Brandy, he
 “ sends

“ sends a Messenger to the *English* Governor at
 “ *James’s* Fort, to desire he would send up a Sloop
 “ with a Cargoe of Goods, which, says the Au-
 “ thor, the Governor never fails to do: Against
 “ the Time the Vessel arrives, the King plunders
 “ some of his Enemies Towns, selling the Peo-
 “ ple for such Goods as he wants, which com-
 “ monly is Brandy or Rum, Gunpowder, Ball,
 “ Fire-arms, Pistols and Cutlasses for his Sol-
 “ diers, &c. and Coral and Silver for his Wives
 “ and Mistresses.—If he is at War with no
 “ neighbouring King, he falls upon one of his
 “ own Towns, and makes bold to sell his own
 “ miserable Subjects. He often goes with some
 “ of his Troops by a Town in the Day-time,
 “ and returns in the Night, and sets Fire to
 “ three Parts of it, placing Guards at the Fourth,
 “ to seize the People that run out of the Fire,
 “ then ties their Arms behind them, and marches
 “ them to *Joar* or *Kobonc*, where he sells them.”

Brue, the *French* Factor before-mentioned,
 says, “ That having received Goods, he wrote to
 “ the King, that if he had a sufficient Number
 “ of Slaves, he was ready to trade with him;
 “ this Prince, says that Author, as well as the
 “ other *Negroe* Monarchs, have always a sure
 “ Way of supplying his Deficiencies, by selling
 “ their own Subjects, for which they seldom
 “ want Pretensions of some Kind or other, to
 “ justify their Rapine.” These *Negroe* Kings,
 thus seeking Pretences to cover their Crimes,
 shews they are not quite void of Shame, and in-
 sensible that Covetousness induces them to act a

Part so inconsistent with their Duty ; but here they may plead the Example and Solicitation of the more knowing *Europeans*. “ The King had Recourse to this Method, by seizing Three Hundred of his own People, and sent Word to *Brue*, that he had the Slaves ready to deliver for the Goods.” The same Author further adds, “ That some of the Natives are, on all Occasions, endeavouring to surprize and carry off their Country People ; they land (says he) without Noise, and if they find any lone Cottage, without Defence, they surround it, and carry off all the People and Effects to their Boat : The Slaves are sold to the *Europeans*, unless they be Persons of some Rank, whose Friends can redcem them, by paying two Slaves, or five or six Oxen.

John Barbot says, “ The Slaves sold by the *Negroes* are for the most Part Prisoners of War, or taken in the Incurfions they make into their Enemies Territories ; others are stolen away by their own Countrymen. Abundance of little *Blacks*, of both Sexes, are stolen away by their Neighbours, when found abroad, on the Roads, or in the Woods, or else in the Corn Fields, at the Time of the Year when their Parents keep them there all Day, to scare away the devouring small Birds.”

Francis Moore, the *English* Factor, says, “ That captivating the People is, by Custom, become so familiar, that when the King of *Kayor* wants to make a Present to the Factor, for what he has received of him, he sends to have two or
“ three

“ three Slaves taken up at the nearest Village.
 “ Unhappy (says that Author) are they, who
 “ at that Time fall into the Hands of his Guards;
 “ for they stay to make no Choice.” And he
 further says, “ That in Battle they spare the
 “ Enemies as much as possible, but it is only that
 “ they may have the more Slaves ; from which
 “ even Persons of Quality, taken Prisoners, are
 “ not exempted : That the Merchants bring
 “ down some Years, to that Factory, to the
 “ Amount of Two Thousand Slaves ; which,
 “ they say, are taken Prisoners in War: These
 “ they buy from the different Princes who take
 “ them ; many of them come from a great Way
 “ In-land. Their Way of bringing them, is
 “ tying them by the Neck with Leather Thongs,
 “ at about a Yard Distance from each other, hav-
 “ ing generally a Bundle of Corn, or Elephants
 “ Teeth, on each of their Heads, Thirty
 “ or Forty in a String.” The Author judges,
 “ That the Number of Merchants who followed
 “ this Trade were about an Hundred.” Some
 Authors say; “ They go Six or Seven Hundred
 “ Miles up the Country, with Goods bought
 “ from the *English*, with which they purchase
 “ these Slaves, and Ivory : Besides those Slaves,
 “ there are many bought along the River ; these
 “ are either taken in War, as the former, or
 “ Men condemned for Crimes, or Persons stolen,
 “ which is very frequently. Since the Slave
 “ Trade has been introduced, all Punishments are
 “ commuted in this ; and they strain hard for
 “ Crimes, in order to have the Benefit of selling

“ the Criminal ; so that not only great Crimes
 “ but even trifling ones, are at present punished
 “ with Slavery.”

Bosman says, That being in the Kingdom of *Pope*, who depend on Plunder and the Slaves Trade, in which they exceed some of their Neighbours, because, being endued with a much larger Share of Courage, they rob more successfully, they assured him, that if he would have Patience for three Days, they would be able to deliver him One or Two Hundred Slaves, and that their Incurfions succeeded so well, they returned with about Two Hundred Slaves. That the Inhabitants of *Arda* were so diligent in the Slave Trade, that they were able to deliver a Thousand Slaves every Month; and that if there happened to be no Stock of Slaves when the Vessels arrived, they would sometimes send their Commodities Two Hundred Miles deep in the Country (a later Author says, they have now carried the Trade Five Hundred Miles farther, going now Seven Hundred Miles back into the Country) where Markets of Men were kept in the same Manner as those of Beasts with us. Most of the Slaves are Prisoners of War, which are sold by the Victors as their Booty. When these Slaves come to *Fida*, they are put in Prison altogether; and when (says he) we treat concerning buying them, they are all brought out together in a large Plain, where, by our Surgeons, they are thoroughly examined, and that naked too, both Men and Women, without the least Distinction or Modesty. Those which are approved

proved as good, are set on one Side ; in the mean while a burning Iron, with the Arms or Name of the Companies, lies in the Fire, with which ours are marked on the Breast. When we have agreed with the Owners of the Slaves, they are returned to their Prisons, where, from that Time forward, they are kept at our Charge, cost us *Two-pence* a Day a Slave, which serves to subsist them like our Criminals on Bread and Water ; so that, to save Charges, we send them on board our Ships with the very first Opportunity ; before which, their Masters strip them of all they have on their Backs, so that they come on board stark naked, as well Women as Men : In which Condition they are obliged to continue, if the Master of the Ship is not so charitable (which he commonly is) as to bestow something on them to cover their Nakedness.—Six or Seven Hundred are sometimes put on board a Vessel, where they lie as close together as possible for them to be crowded.—I doubt not, says the same Author, but this Trade seems very barbarous to you, but, since it is followed by meer Necessity, it must go on. What Necessity does the Author mean, no other Necessity appears but that arising from the Desire of amassing Riches ; a Necessity laid on worldly Men by their hard Task-master the Devil ? Many more Examples might be given to shew the arbitrary and tyrannick Oppression with which this Trade is carried on, and the Devastation and Bloodshed it occasions in those unhappy People's Country ; but I trust this is sufficient to convince the candid, considerate Reader of the

Unlawfulness and Iniquity of the Trade. And indeed what Distress can we conceive equal to the Alarms, the Anxiety and Wrath, which must succeed one another in the Breasts of the tender Parents, or affectionate Children, in continual Danger of being torn one from another, and dragged into a State of cruel Bondage; Reader, if the Impressions of Grace, or even the common Feelings of Humanity, are not suppressed in thy Heart by the Love of Gain, compare what thou hast read with the Equity, the Sympathy, the Tenderness and affectionate Love which is the Life of Christianity, and then say, what Concord or Affinity can these Fruits have one with the other. May not this Trade be truly said to be the most iniquitous and cruelest Act of Violence and Rapine, when considered in all its Circumstances, that, to our Knowledge, is perpetrated in any Part of the World, and that therefore it behoves every one who is desirous to maintain the Testimony of a good Conscience, and enjoy Rest and Peace in Time and Eternity, to avoid being, in any Respect, defiled by the Gain resulting therefrom. And Thanks be to the Great Father of the Family of the whole Earth, that it is not alone in *America* that some are raised to bear their Testimony against this mighty Evil, but that a noble Indignation is also raised in the Breasts of some in our Mother Country, zealously to declare against so unparalleled Invasion upon the Rights and Liberties of Mankind, particularly *George Wallis*, a Gentleman of the Law, in a Book wrote by him, intituled, *A System*

stem of the Principles of the Law of Scotland; in which, speaking of the Slavery of the *Negroes* in our Colonies, he says; “ We all know that “ they (the *Negroes*) are purchased from their “ Princes, who pretend to have a Right to dis- “ pose of them, and that they are, like other “ Commodities, transported by the Merchants, “ who have bought them, into *America*, in or- “ der to be exposed to Sale. If this Trade ad- “ mits of a moral or a rational Justification, “ every Crime, even the most atrocious, may be “ justified. Government was instituted for the “ Good of Mankind; Kings, Princes, Gover- “ nors, are not Proprietors of those who are sub- “ ject to their Authority; they have not a Right “ to make them miserable. On the contrary, “ their Authority is vested in them, that they “ may, by the just Exercise of it, promote the “ Happiness of their People. Of Course, they “ they have not a Right to dispose of their Li- “ berty, and to sell them for Slaves. Besides, “ no Man has a Right to acquire or to purchase “ them; Men and their Liberty are not (*in Com- “ mercio*) they are not either saleable or pur- “ chaseable. One, therefore, has no body but “ himself to blame, in case he shall find himself “ deprived of a Man, whom he thought he had, “ by buying for a Price, made his own; for he “ dealt in a Trade which was illicit, and was “ prohibited by the most obvious Dictates of Hu- “ manity. For these Reasons every one of those “ unfortunate Men, who are pretended to be “ Slaves, has a Right to be declared to be free,

“ for he never lost his Liberty ; he could not
 “ lose it ; his Prince had no Power to dispose
 “ of him. Of Course the Sale was *ipso Jure*
 “ void. This Right he carries about with him,
 “ and is entitled every where to get it declared.
 “ As soon, therefore, as he comes into a Coun-
 “ try in which the Judges are not forgetful of
 “ their own Humanity, it is their Duty to re-
 “ member that he is a Man, and to declare him
 “ to be free. I know it has been said, that Que-
 “ stions concerning the State of Persons ought
 “ to be determined by the Law of the Country
 “ to which they belong ; and that, therefore,
 “ one who would be declared to be a Slave in
 “ *America*, ought, in case he should happen to
 “ be imported into *Britain*, to be adjudged ac-
 “ cording to the Law of *America* to be a Slave ;
 “ a Doctrine than which nothing can be more
 “ barbarous. Ought the Judges of any Coun-
 “ try, out of Respect to the Law of another, to
 “ shew no Respect to their Kind, and to Huma-
 “ nity. Out of Respect to a Law, which is in
 “ no Sort obligatory upon them, ought they to
 “ disregard the Law of Nature, which is obli-
 “ gatory on all Men at all Times, and in all
 “ Places : Are any Laws so binding as the eter-
 “ nal Laws of Justice ? Is it doubtful, whether
 “ a Judge ought to pay greater Regard to them,
 “ than to those arbitrary and inhuman Usages
 “ which prevail in a distant Land ? Aye, but
 “ our Colonies would be ruined, if Slavery was
 “ abolished. Be it so ; would it not from thence
 “ follow, that the Bulk of Mankind ought to be
 “ abused,

“ abused, that our Pockets may be filled with
 “ Money, or our Mouths with Delicacies ? The
 “ Purses of Highwaymen would be empty in
 “ case Robberies were totally abolished ; but
 “ have Men a Right to acquire Money by going
 “ out to the Highway ? Have Men a Right to
 “ acquire it by rendering their Fellow Creatures
 “ miserable ? Is it lawful to abuse Mankind, that
 “ the Avarice, the Vanity, or the Passions of a
 “ few may be gratified ? No ! there is such a
 “ Thing as Justice, to which the most sacred
 “ Regard is due. It ought to be inviolably ob-
 “ served. Have not these unhappy Men a better
 “ Right to their Liberty, and to their Happiness,
 “ than our *American* Merchants have to the Pro-
 “ fits which they make by torturing their Kind ?
 “ Let therefore our Colonies be ruined, but let
 “ us not render so many Men miserable. Would
 “ not any of us, who should——be snatched by
 “ Pyrates from his native Land, think himself
 “ cruelly abused, and at all Times intitled to be
 “ free. Have not these unfortunate *Africans*,
 “ who meet with the same cruel Fate, the same
 “ Right ? Are not they Men as well as we, and
 “ have they not the same Sensibility ? Let us not,
 “ therefore, defend or support a Usage which is
 “ contrary to all the Laws of Humanity.

“ But it is false, that either we or our Colonies
 “ would be ruined by the Abolition of Slavery.
 “ It might occasion a Stagnation of Business for
 “ a short Time. Every great Alteration pro-
 “ duces that Effect ; because Mankind cannot,
 “ on a sudden, find Ways of disposing of them-

“ selves,

“ selves, and of their Affairs : But it would pro-
 “ duce many happy Effects. It is the Slavery
 “ which is permitted in *America* that has hindered
 “ it from becoming so soon populous, as it would
 “ otherwise have done. Let the *Negroes* free,
 “ and, in a few Generations, this vast and fertile
 “ Continent would be crowded with Inhabitants ;
 “ Learning, Arts, and every Thing would flou-
 “ rish amongst them ; instead of being inhabited
 “ by wild Beasts, and by Savages, it would be
 “ peopled by Philosophers, and by Men.”——

Thus far this honest and noble spirited *Briton*.

And now Reader, if from the Example of others, and without a sufficient Knowledge of the deplorable Consequences attendant on this Trade, thou hast inadvertently engaged therein, let me beseech thee, by the Mercies of CHRIST JESUS our LORD (those Mercies which, perhaps, e'er long, thou and I shall desire to fly to as our only Refuge) that thou wouldst refrain a Practice so inconsistent with thy Duty, both as a Christian and a Man. Remember, the first and chief Commandment is, *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy Heart*. And that the Second like unto it is, *Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thyself*. That our blessed Redeemer has enjoined us to *do unto others as we would they should do unto us* ; and that it will be those who have been *righteous and merciful* to their Fellow Creatures, that will be intitled to the Mercy of the Great Judge of Heaven and Earth, before whom we must all appear, to give an Account of the Deeds done in the Body.

And

And as for those who confess themselves now, convinced of the Iniquity of this Trade, and the Injustice of buying and selling their Fellow Creatures, and yet continue to keep those *Negroes* they are possessed of in Bondage, for the Sake of the Profit arising from their Labour, it behoves them seriously to consider their Motives for such a Conduct; whether the Distinction they make between buying a *Negroe*, and keeping the same *Negroe*, or his Offspring, in perpetual Bondage, is not a Plea founded more in Words than supported by Truth; for it must be obvious to every Person, who is not blinded by the Desire of Gain, that the Right by which these Men hold the *Negroes* in Bondage, is no other than what is derived from those who stole them, or received them from the Thief, who having no other Title, but that which Robbers have over their Prey, could not convey any better to the Purchaser; and that therefore to continue to hold them in Bondage, for worldly Advantage, by no other Right than that which those guilty Men gave them, is consenting to, and partaking of their Guilt. Instances may fall out, where Men of Candour may be concerned in the Purchase of *Negroes*, purely from a Principle of Charity; and there are also many of the *Blacks*, amongst us, whose Dispositions, Infirmities or Age, render them unfit for Freedom; but in the Case before-mentioned, where Persons declare themselves convinced of the Injustice and Iniquity of this Trade, and are possessed of *Negroes* who are capable of managing for themselves, and have sufficiently

ficiently paid, by their Labour, for their Purchase or bringing up, besides the Profit some Families have reaped, during a long Course of Years, from the Labour of their Progenitors; it is the undoubted Duty of their Possessors to restore to them that Liberty, of which they, or their Parents, have been unjustly deprived; and they ought also to use all reasonable Endeavours, to enable them to procure a comfortable Living, not only as an Act of Justice to the Individuals, but as a Debt due to them, on Account of the Oppression and Injustice perpetrated on them, or their Ancestors; and as the best Means in their Power, to avert the Judgments of God, which it is to be feared will fall on Families and Countries, in Proportion as they have, more or less, defiled themselves with this iniquitous Traffick.

EXTRACTS *from a Manuscript, intituled,*
 Two Dialogues on the MAN-TRADE.

Printed in London, in the Year 1760.

THE *African* Blacks are as properly and truly Men, as the *European* Whites; they are both of the same Species, and are originally descended from the same Parents;—they have the same rational Powers as we have; they are free moral Agents, as we are, and many of them have as good natural Genius, as good and as brave a Spirit, as any of those to whom they are made Slaves.

Slaves. To trade in *Blacks*, then, is to trade in Men; the black-skin'd and the white-skin'd being all of the same Species, all of the human Race, are by Nature upon an Equality; one Man in a State of Nature, as we are with Respect to the Inhabitants of *Guiney*, and they with Respect to us, is not superior to another Man, nor has any Authority or Dominion over him, or any Right to lay his Commands upon him: He that made us, made them, and all of the same Clay: We are all the Workmanship of his Hands, and he hath assigned this Globe to the human Race, to dwell upon: He hath given this Earth, in common, to the Children of Men.—God gave to Man Dominion over *the Fish of the Sea, and over the Fowl of the Air, and over the Cattle, and over all the Earth, and over every creeping Thing that creepeth upon the Earth*, Gen. i. 26; but not to any one Man over another: Nor can one Man, on any Supposition whatever, become the Property, or Part of the Goods or Estate, of another Man; as his Horse or his Dog is.

The *European Whites*, and the *African Blacks*, are all under the same Moral Law, the eternal Law of Reason, which God hath written upon the Table of Man's Heart. We and they are Members of one and the same great Society, spread over the Face of the whole Earth, under one and the same Supreme Law-giver and Judge; and are joined together, by the close and strong Ties of human Nature, common to us all; and it is in this Bond of Humanity, that is the Foundation of all other particular Ties and Connections
between

between Men, and gives Strength to them all: —A Patriot, or a Lover of his Country, is a brave Character; but a Lover of Mankind is a braver Character.

Our being Christians does not give us any worldly Superiority, or any Authority whatever, over those who are not Christians. CHRIST'S Kingdom is not of this World; neither does Christianity dissolve or free us from the Obligations of Justice, Equity, and Benevolence towards our Fellow Creatures of the same Species, be they *Jews, Mahometans*, or even black-skin'd *Heathens*, which the Law of Nature lays us under; but, **on** the contrary, greatly strengthens them. The *Jews*, in our Saviour's Time, understood that Precept, *Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thyself*, in a very confined Sense, as relating only to their own Countrymen. But this Precept, as adopted into the Christian Religion, takes in all Mankind. By our Neighbour we are to understand every Individual of the human Species. We are commanded in the Gospel; *to render all their Dues, and to do unto others, as we would they should do unto us, to be kind, merciful and compassionate, to be ready to communicate, and to do Good.* Which Precept, and many others to the same Purpose, are not to be understood, in such a narrow Sense, as if they related only to those who are of the same Religion with ourselves, or whose Skin is of the same Colour with ours, as is evident from other Precepts of the Gospel. We are commanded to *do Good to all, especially to those who are of the Household of Faith,*

Faith, to imitate our *Heavenly Father*, who doeth Good to all, and whose tender Mercies are over all his Works, yea, and to love our *Enemies*. — These Propositions I believe no body would have refused to grant; but though they are so evident that few will expressly deny, or dispute the Truth of them, yet, it is reasonable to suppose, that those who are concerned in the *Man-Trade*, do not allow themselves to think on these Truths impartially, seriously to consider them, and lay them to Heart; but that on the contrary, they have, some how or other, a Kind of confused Imagination, or half formed Thought, in their Minds, that the *Blacks* are hardly of the same Species with the white Men, but are Creatures of a Kind somewhat inferior: I say it is reasonable to suppose so; for I do not know how to think that any white Men could find in their Hearts, that the common Sentiments of Humanity would permit them to treat the black Men in that cruel, barbarous Manner in which they do treat them, did they think and consider that these have rational immortal Souls, that they are made after the Image of God, as well as themselves, and that, being in the same Body, they have the same Passions, Senses and Feelings, as they have, and are as susceptible of Pain and Grief, and upon the same Occasions, as they. — *Man-stealing* is not only unlawful — I think it the most atrocious, detestable Crime. To steal a Horse, or to rob a Man on the Road of his Money, is reckoned, among us, a capital Crime, deserving Death, and is, by Law, punishable with Death. What then

does

does he deserve, what Punishment can be great enough for him, who steals a Man, a Crime, in Comparison with which Horse-stealing or robbing on the Highway is but a little trifling Fault, quite excuseable and venial. Man-stealers were, by the Law of *Moses*, punished with Death. *He that stealeth a Man, or if he be found in his Hand, he shall surely be put to Death, Exod. xxi. 16.* And in the New Testament, *1 Tim. i. 10.* Man-stealers are reckoned amongst the very worst of Men. Can any Thing be more cruel and barbarous, than to seize upon human Creatures, and take them away by Force from their native Country, from their Friends and Relations, for ever; Children from their tender Parents, Parents from their dear Children, Women from their beloved Husbands, and Husbands from their beloved Wives, and drive them, like Hogs, to Market, there to be sold for Slaves for Life? How great must be the Misery those poor Creatures are in, and the Agonies of Mind they feel, when they are thus carried off; so great, that, to relieve themselves, some of them have put an End to their Lives. And how grievous, how distressed, must be the Condition of their Friends and Relations, who are deprived of them, and shall never see their Faces any more? It is horrid, it is shocking to think of such Cruelty and Barbarity. What Monsters in Nature then, destitute of all Humanity and Compassion, must they be, who are guilty of it. The black Men have the same natural Affection for their Kindred, and as strong, as we have.—To sell and buy human Creatures,

tures,

tures, without their Consent, yea and fore against their Will, to trade in Men; as you would in brute Creatures, or any other Commodities, is really impious as well as cruel. Man is a noble Creature, made but a little lower than the Angels, and crowned with Glory and Honour. He is the Offspring of God; therefore thus to debase him, and to bring him down upon a Level with the Brutes, yea with Things inanimate, is great Impiety, it is an high Affront offered to him, who is the kind and merciful Father of us all, who hath made of one Blood all Nations of Men, to dwell on the Face of the Earth, and hath united them all in one Body by the Ties of Nature. It is likewise an Affront put upon Mankind, upon the whole human Race, which should raise a generous Resentment and Indignation in the Breast of every one that partakes of the human Nature, and has any Notion of the Dignity of it, or any Sense of Humanity, which he should express and discover upon all proper Occasions, and in all proper Ways.—And I think the Receiver, in this Case, will appear to be worse, to be more guilty, in some Respects, than the bare Thief, if we fairly consider the Matter.

It is evident, that the *Europeans*, in sending Ships yearly to the Coast of *Africa*, to buy Slaves, without enquiring how those they purchase them of came by them, do encourage those Thieves, and tempt them to make a Practice and Trade of stealing their own Countrymen; for this is the same Thing in Effect, as if they were to tell them in so many Words, “ You get Men ready for us,
C “ how

“ how you can, and we will take them off your
 “ Hands.” Besides, those Men-merchants not only encourage others in this cruel flagitious Practice of Man-stealing, but are really guilty of it themselves. You will observe, that what is done by their Command, and according to their Orders, I consider as done by themselves. As those poor miserable Creatures were stolen, those who did steal them, could not convey any Right in them to others, though these others should give ever so much in Purchase of them, any more than if they had them for nothing. For those Purchasers then to deprive them of their Liberty, and, by Force, keep them in their Possession, in whom they have no Right (supposing one Man could be the Property of another) and who never injured them in the least, nor forfeited their Liberty; to keep them in Bonds, and carry them away Captives, is, properly speaking, Man-stealing. And what aggravates this Crime in the *European* Man-merchants, and renders it much more heinous in them than in the *Africans*, is, that the former enjoy the Light of the Gospel, and profess themselves to be Christians.

Man-stealing is a Kind, and indeed the worst Kind, of Sacrilege, which Consideration farther shews the Impiety of it. Man is sacred, and is, by Nature, devoted to the Service of GOD, to whose Authority alone he is obliged to yield an absolute, unlimited Obedience; for one Man therefore to assault another, and, by meer Force, to make a Captive of him, not for any Crime that he has been guilty of, but to make a *Penny*
 of

of him, considering him as Part of his Possessions or Goods, with which he can do what he pleases, is robbing of GOD, which is Sacrilege.

It is very common in the Countries, where the *Europeans* carry on this Trade, for the petty Kings and Princes, of which there are a great many, to go to War with their Neighbours, not in Defence of their Right, not to get Satisfaction for any Injuries done them, or to repair any Damages they have unjustly suffered by those Neighbours, but purely to get Prisoners against the Time the Ships from *Europe* arrive upon their Coast, that with them they may be able to purchase of the Captains of those Ships the Goods they have on board.

Now here the Injury and Crime is the same in Kind as in the former Case, and indeed greater in the Kind: In both Cases it is stealing Man; but in the latter it is attended with shedding of Blood, with Slaughter and Destruction; which Consideration doth aggravate the Crime of our *Guiney* Merchants, who purchase those Prisoners. CHRIST hath said, that *blessed are the Peacemakers, for they shall be called the Children of GOD.* But how contrary to what our Saviour recommends, the making of Peace among Men, is the Spirit and Practice of those, who, for Lucre Sake, provoke and encourage others to go to War with their Neighbours, and by unjust Force to kill and destroy some, and others of them to make Prisoners.

But let us now suppose,——that the Prisoners, which are bought, were even engaged in an un-

just War, that they were the first Invaders or Aggressors——When one King or Prince goes to War with another, the common Men are not capable of judging of the Merits of the Cause, which Party has or has not Right of their Side ; but, laying aside this Consideration, they are forced to go whithersoever their King or Captain leads them ; they are obliged to obey his Commands, and to desert would be Death to them : Therefore I think it would be unjust and cruel, in him who comes off Conqueror, though he had Right of his Side, and was engaged in a just War, to deprive those common Men, who are taken Prisoners, of their Liberty, after the War is over, or at any Time to sell them for Slaves for Life, either by Way of Punishment or Retribution, unless they be supposed to be answerable for whatever Damage or Injury is done by their King, or that they are his Goods or Property ; both which are absurd, and the latter a Supposition unworthy of human Nature, and shocking to the human Mind ; consequently, the buying of them for such, must be altogether as criminal in the *Europeans*.

It is reckoned we have now in this Kingdom Thirty Thousand *French* Prisoners, or more ; and we say, that in the War we are carrying on against *France*, we have Right on our Side ; that we entered into it for the Recovery and Defence of our Territories, invaded by them ; but though it be true (as I believe it is) that our Cause is good, yet would it not be cruel and inhuman in us, to sell these Prisoners into Slavery for Life,
and

and in any other Nation, as the *Spaniards*, for Instance, to buy them of us, in order to send them to work in their Mines in *Peru*, as long as they live? And would not all the other Nations of *Europe* exclaim against us, and the *Spaniards*, as inhuman, barbarous People, for so doing? If it be replied, that such a Thing would be contrary to Custom, and to the Law of Nations in *Europe*, whereas in *Guiney* and *Negroeland* it is a common Custom, to sell for Slaves the Prisoners they take in War; there they make a Trade of it. I own——that may be one Reason, among others, why such a Thing practised in those Countries is not looked upon, by us here, with so much Abhorrence and Detestation, as it would be if it were to be practised in *Europe*: But this makes no Difference, as to the Nature of the Thing in itself; for as I have shewn before, the Man-trade in this last mentioned Case, wherein the Men who are sold, are supposed to be Prisoners, that were engaged in an unjust War, is in itself wicked and inhuman, contrary to the Law of Nature, the Obligations of which are eternal and unchangeable, not to be altered or disannulled by Use or Custom, be it ever so ancient or universal; they are the same all over the World, the same in *Guiney*, or *Jamaica*, as in *England*.

The Captain of the *Guiney* Ship, when he has finished his Marketing, when he has bought as many reasonable Creatures as he wants, and is full freighted, having on board (we will say) Two Hundred of them, coupled in Irons, and

closely crammed up in a Ship of about One Hundred Tons Burthen, he sets out for one of our Plantations,——and may be two or three Months on the Voyage ; during which Time, from the Filth and Stench that must be among them, occasioned by their being put down under Deck, and penn'd together in so little Room,---Distempers break out among them, and carry off a great many, a Fifth, or Fourth, yea, sometimes a third Part of them ; and it is reasonable to suppose, that some of them have their Hearts broke, and die with Grief and Anguish, to think that they shall never more set Foot on their Native Soil, and that the Eye that hath seen them, shall see them no more. I remember I read an Account in one of the News-Papers last Year ; a Ship, belonging to *Liverpool*, that had a Hundred and Ninety Slaves on board, Eighty of whom died on the Voyage, which is more than two Fifths——Taking all the Slaves together, that are brought on board our Ships yearly, from the Coast of *Africa*, where they are bought by our *Guiney* Merchants, I think one may venture to affirm, that, at least, a Tenth Part of them die on the Voyage ;——the Merchants are certainly chargeable with taking away the Lives of as many of those poor Creatures, as come by their Death by being so confined and treated, and are guilty of Murder ; for to take away a Man's Life, unjustly, is Murder ; whether it be done in two or three Minutes, or two or three Months, that makes no Difference.——I do not think it necessary, in order to convict a Man of Murder,

to make it appear that he had an Intention to commit Murder: Whoever does, by unjust Force and Violence, deprive another of his Liberty, and, while he has him in his Power, reduces him to such a Condition, and gives him such Treatment, as evidently endangers his Life, and, in the Event, do actually deprive him of his Life, is guilty of Murder.—By the Account given in the second Volume of the *Compleat System of Geography*, the Number of *Negroes* brought away by the *English*, in the Year 1725, appeared to be about Fifty Thousand.—We will suppose that the Number of *Negroes* purchased by our *Guiney* Merchants, one Year with another, are no more than Thirty-five Thousand: Now, in the Account given by that Author of the *Negroes* in our Plantations, it is said, that, in the Island of *Jamaica*, almost Half of the new imported *Negroes* die in the Seasoning, and that, in *Barbados*, it is reckoned that a fourth Part die in Seasoning; and, according to the same Account, there are twice as many imported into these two Islands, as into all our other Islands in the *West-Indies*, and all our Colonies in *North-America*. At a moderate Computation, therefore, it may be reckoned, that of all those who are purchased by our *African* Merchants in a Year, Twelve Thousand die upon the Voyage, and in the Seasoning.

What a sad dreadful Affair then is this Man-Trade, whereby so many Thousands of our Fellow rational Creatures lose their Lives, are, truly and properly speaking, murdered every Year; I do not think there is an Instance of so great Bar-

barity and Cruelty carried on in any Part of the World, as is this, Year after Year. It is enough to make one tremble, to think what a Load of Guilt lies upon this Nation, on this Account, and that the Blood of Thousands of poor innocent Creatures, murdered every Year, in carrying on this cursed Trade, cry aloud to Heaven for Vengeance. Were we to hear or read of any other Nation in the World that did destroy every Year, in some other Way, or on some other Account, as many human Creatures as are destroyed by this Trade, we should look upon them as a very bloody, cruel, barbarous People. We, to this Day, exclaim against the Cruelty of the *Spaniards*, in destroying so many of the Inhabitants of *Mexico* and *Peru*, when they unjustly invaded those Countries, though it is a Question, whether the *English* have not destroyed as many of the Inhabitants of *Africa*, since the Commencement of this villainous Man-Trade among us, and of our Popish **Queen Mary**, whose Reign is looked upon as the most cruel and inhuman of any in all the *English* History, though there were not above Three Hundred burnt, for Heresy, in the five Years of her Reign, and you know that the Papists believe, or profess to believe, that they ought to put Hereticks to Death, at least they did then: Whereas the *English* have, for many Years past, put to Death Ten or Twelve Thousand a Year, in carrying on this Trade, which they still continue for the Sake of getting Money, and furnishing themselves with the Superfluities of Life, which shews a greater Degree of Barbarity; and many of those
 poor

poor Wretches have endured more Pain, before they died, than those Hereticks did in being burnt. There is nothing that shews the Degeneracy of Mankind more, that casts a greater Blemish on human Nature, or exposes it in a more disadvantageous Light, than this Consideration, that whole Nations, Christians as well as Heathens, profess to believe the greatest Absurdities and Contradictions, and justify the most wicked and vilest Practices.—If it be said that I charge the Legislature—because they have encouraged, and still do encourage, this Trade, —what I have asserted, I think I can defend. —No Legislature on Earth, which is the Supreme Power in every civil Society, can alter the Nature of Things, or make that to be lawful which is contrary to the Law of God, the Supreme Legislator and Governor of the World. Mischief may be framed, and established by a Law, but if it be, it is Mischief still, as much so as it was before it was established, though its being so may make Men insensible of their Guilt, or bold and fearless in the Perpetration of it; for too many, among Christians, are, contrary to CHRIST'S Exhortation, more influenced by the Fear of Man, than by the Fear of God.—It is really a serious Subject, and I own it raises a serious Concern in my Mind, that such Barbarity should be suffered in Christian Nations. It is enough to make a Man's Heart ach, unless he has lost all Love and Regard to his Kind, to think that so many Thousands of the human

Race

Race should be sacrificed every Year to that greedy voracious God *Mammon*.

Nor is it less shocking to hear or read the Accounts we have of the barbarous Treatment that those black Men, who stand and survive the Seasoning, as it is called, meet with. According to the Accounts in the forementioned Author, it is inhuman and unmerciful.

Sir *Hans Sloan*, in his History of *Jamaica*, says; “ That a rebellious *Negro*, or he that twice
 “ strikes a white Man, is condemned to the
 “ Flames ; being chained flat on his Belly, at the
 “ Place of Execution, and his Arms and Legs
 “ extended, Fire is then set to his Feet, and he
 “ is burnt gradually up to his Head. They
 “ starve others to Death, with a Loaf hanging
 “ before their Mouths, so that some gnaw the
 “ very Flesh off their own Shoulders, and expire
 “ with all the frightful Agonies, expressing the
 “ most horrid Tortures. For Crimes of a less
 “ Nature, they geld the Offender, and chop off
 “ Half of his Foot with an Ax ; for Negligence
 “ only, they whip him till his Back is raw, and
 “ then scatter Pepper and Salt on his Wounds,
 “ to heighten the Smart ; and some Planters
 “ will drop melted Wax on their Skins, which
 “ puts them to intolerable Pain.” Now must
 not the human Nature, in those People, be
 changed into the Devilish, who can put these
 poor Creatures to such Torments?—It is ob-
 served by the same Author, that “ Some excuse
 “ these Severities by telling us, that the *Blacks*,
 “ being so perverse, sullen, and mischievous a
 “ Genera-

“ Generation, deserve such Treatment, and that
 “ milder Usage would not reclaim them.”——
 It is no Wonder they are sullen ; would not white
 Men be so, were they in their Condition, and
 treated as they are ? No Doubt but they would.
 But the *Blacks*, though they be unjustly deprived
 of their Liberty, banished from their native Coun-
 try, from all their Friends and Relations, and
 made Captives and Slaves for Life, though they
 are treated worse than Dogs, and made to work
 harder than Horses, yet they ought to be plea-
 sant, good humoured, and obliging to them that
 do thus treat them ; and, if they be not, they
 should be put to Pain and Torment. And they
 are, it seems, a mischievous Generation, apt to
 mutiny and rebel ; that is, in Truth, they want
 to recover their Liberty, and would attempt to
 do it, if they were not kept in Awe by hard Usage,
 and severe Discipline. In the Account of *Jamaica*,
 we are told that the *Negroes*, when first
 brought thither from *Guinea*, are very simple, in-
 nocent Creatures, but soon turn roguish, and
 when they come to be whipp'd, urge the Exam-
 ple of the Whites for their Excuse. Whereas,
 in that of *Barbados*, the same Author says, “ That
 “ the Masters of the *Negroes* are obliged to treat
 “ them very severely, not only because of the
 “ stubborn, treacherous Temper, which is so
 “ peculiar to all of their Complexion and Coun-
 “ try, but because they are three times the Num-
 “ ber of the Whites in this Island, and have
 “ made frequent Attempts to get the Mastery ;”
 that is, their Liberty, or to deliver themselves out

of the miserable Slavery they are in.——But how come they to be three times the Number of the Whites in this Island? Is it not owing to the white Inhabitants, to their purchasing them, and keeping them in Bondage? How weak then is this Excuse? Where is the Sense of assigning this Majority, which is of their own procuring, as a Reason for their treating the *Blacks* with such Severity?——We have also an Account from ~~the~~ Author, of those Plots laid by the *Blacks* in *Antigua*, but which were discovered by the Whites, before they could be brought to bear, and of the horrid Executions which followed upon the Discovery. “The King, that is, he who was to have been King of the *Blacks*, had the Plot succeeded, and his two Generals, with two others, were all broke on a Wheel (that is, their Bones were broke with an Iron Bar whilst alive.) Four more of the principal Conspirators were burnt the same Day; as were Seven on the next Day. Six were hung alive in Chains on Gibbets, and starved to Death; after which their Heads were cut off, and their Bodies burnt; and Fifty-eight others were, at several Times, chained to Stakes, and burnt alive.” Now, was not this a lamentable Affair (and there have been several Instances of such Cruelty in our Plantations) that so many poor Creatures should be put to the greatest Tortures, and be made to suffer the most painful Deaths. Some of the *French* Prisoners in *England*, whose Condition is far preferable to that of most of the Slaves in our Colonies, have attempted to break out of Prison, but, be
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ing discovered in Time, failed in their Attempt. Now should not we have been reckoned, by all the World, a cruel barbarous People, if the Government had ordered some of them to be broke on the Wheel, some to be burnt alive, and others to be starved to Death, though the *French* are our Enemies, and are engaged in an unjust War against us; whereas those Slaves had never done any Hurt or Injury to those who torture them to Death.—We reckon ourselves to be a brave, generous, humane, civilized People;—but is this a true Character, while that barbarous, savage Man-Trade, in the carrying on of which so many Thousand Lives are sacrificed every Year, is not only winked at, but countenanced and encouraged amongst us.—There are other Nations in *Europe*, besides ours, concerned in this Trade, but that does not lessen the Guilt in our People, though it may keep them in Countenance; but the *English* are now more concerned, I believe, than all the other Nations in *Europe*, taken together, in this abominable Trade, which is the greatest Scandal and Reproach that lies upon this Nation; the removing of which, by proclaiming Liberty to those Captives now in our Plantations, making them Freemen, and prohibiting for ever, upon the severest Penalties, the Man-Trade throughout all His Majesty's Dominions, and thereby leading the Way, and giving a good Example to the other Nations in *Europe*, concerned in the Man-Trade, would be much to the Honour of our Government, and I am sure would give great Pleasure to all who are Lovers
of

of Mankind, and have a Regard for the Honour, Safety, and Prosperity of their Country.——It is objected, that if the *English* were to drop this Trade entirely, it would be immediately thereupon carried on by other Nations, to a much greater Degree than it now is.——Perhaps that might be the Consequence, and if it should, they must be answerable for that, the Guilt and Scandal would lie upon them. But if it were certain that this would be the Case, this Consideration cannot be a just Reason for our continuing to carry on such a wicked Trade. If we should not carry on this Trade others would, therefore we may, would be a strange Way of reasoning.

And as this Slave-Trade has been encouraged by the Government, for many Reigns back, it is queried, whether the present Government, in case they were to set those *Negroes* in our Colonies at Liberty, should not make good that Loss to their Masters; but I shall not take upon me to determine that Point; our Governors are best Judges of that, only I think they had better do so, though it should require some Millions to do it, than suffer those poor Creatures to continue in the miserable State of Slavery they are now in. There is one Consequence more which, some People fear, would follow upon prohibiting of the *Negro* Trade, and that is, that such a Prohibition would greatly lessen, if not utterly ruin, some other considerable Branches of our Commerce, especially the Sugar and the Tobacco Trades, because of the Difficulty of getting Hands enough, in the Room of the *Blacks*, to work
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and labour in those Plantations, where these Commodities are produced ; but this can be no real Objection against what I have asserted, or in Justification of the Man-Trade ; for if this Trade be in itself one continued Scene of such Cruelty and Barbarity, as it hath been represented to be, it must be allowed, that it ought to be strictly prohibited, let the Consequences of such a Prohibition be what they will, that none should be suffered to go on, tormenting and murdering their Fellow-creatures, Year after Year, though we were never any more to see an Ounce of Tobacco or Sugar in *Great-Britain*. The Inconveniences, or worldly Disadvantages arising from adhering to our Duty, and acting according to the moral Obligations we are under, let them be ever so great, are of no Consideration at all in the Eye of Reason, nor can they have any Weight with, or Influence upon an honest, virtuous Mind, when set against these Obligations.

The Author of the Dialogues on the Man-Trade, concludes with the following Address to the Guiney Merchants in England.

SIRS,

AS the Business you are concerned in, and carry on openly and publickly before the World, has a bad Aspect, and you are sensible that most Men make Objections against it, and blame you for engaging in it, you are obliged to justify it to the World, upon the Principles of Reason, Equity and Humanity, to make it appear,

pear, that it is no unjust Invasion of the Persons, or Incroachment on the Rights of Men; or for ever to lay it aside. And this is what every one, not only of your Fellow Subjects in *England*, but of your Fellow Men upon the Face of the Earth, who are no Way concerned in the same Business, have a Right to insist upon, and demand from you; and ought, in a proper Manner to resent it, if you will do neither the one nor the other.

But, laying aside the Resentment of Man, which is but of little or no Moment, in Comparison with that of the ALMIGHTY, of the Supreme Law-giver and Judge of Mankind, think of a future Reckoning. Consider how you shall come off in the great and awful Day of Account. You now heap up Riches, and live in Pleasure; but oh! what will you do in the End thereof? and that is not far off. What if Death should seize upon you, and hurry you out of this World, under all that Load of Blood-guiltiness, that now lies upon your Souls. The Gospel (I suppose I am now speaking to professed Christians) expressly declares, *that Thieves and Murderers shall not inherit the Kingdom of God.* Consider that at the same Time, and by the same Means you now treasure up worldly Riches, you *are treasuring up to yourselves Wrath, against the Day of Wrath, and Vengeance that shall come upon the Workers of Iniquity*, unless prevented, by a timely Repentance. And what greater Iniquity, what Crime that is more heinous, that carries in it more complicated Guilt, can you name, than that in the habitual deliberate Practice of which you now live?

live? Good God! How can you, as some of you do, go to the Sacrament of the LORD'S Supper? How can you lift up your guilty Eyes to Heaven? How can you pray for Mercy to him that made you, or hope for any Favour from him that formed you, while you go on thus grossly and openly to dishonour him, in debasing and destroying the noblest Workmanship of his Hands, in this lower World? He is the Father of Men; and do you think he will not resent such Treatment of his Offspring, *whom he hath so loved, as to give his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him, might not perish, but have everlasting Life?* This ~~Love of~~ GOD to Man, revealed in the Gospel, is a ~~great~~ Aggravation of your Guilt; for *if God so love us, we ought also to love one another.* You remember the Fate of the Servant, who took Hold of his Fellow Servant, who was in his Debt, by the Throat, and cast him into Prison: Think then, and tremble to think, what will be your Fate, who take your Fellow Servants by the Throat, that owe you not a Penny, and make them Prisoners for Life.

Give yourselves Leave to reflect impartially upon, and consider the Nature of, this Man-Trade, which, if you do, your Hearts must needs relent, if you have not lost all Sense of Humanity, all Pity and Compassion towards those of your own Kind, to think what Calamities, what Havock and Destruction among them, you have been the Authors of, for filthy Lucre's Sake.

GOD grant you may be made sensible of your Guilt, and repent in Time. And as this is my
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heartly and earnest Prayer to God for you, I hope you will excuse the Plainness and Freedom of this Address in your sincere Friend, who would be glad to do you any Good that lies in his Power.

J. PHILMORE.

POSTSCRIPT.

POSTSCRIPT.

AS Doubts may arise in the Minds of some, whether the foregoing Accounts, relating to the *Disposition* and good *Disposition* of many of the *Inhabitants* of *Guiney*, and of the violent *Abuses* they appear to be torn from their *Country* is sufficiently founded on Truth, *Persons* who are brought to us are seldom *seen* to complain, and do not manifest that *Docility* and *Quickness* of *Parts* which might be expected from this Account; *Persons* who may make these *Objections*, are desired impartially to consider whether the *Reason* of these *Objections* are not owing to the many *Discouragements* these poor *Africans* labour under, though in an enlightened *Christian* *Country*, and the little *Opportunity* they have of exerting and improving their natural *Talents*. They are constantly employed in servile *Labour*, and the abject *Condition* in which we see them, from our *Childhood*, has a natural *Tendency* to create in us an *Idea* of a *Superiority* over them, which induces most *People* to look upon them as an ignorant and contemptible *Part* of *Mankind*; add to this, that they have but little *Opportunity*

of freely conversing with such of the Whites as might impart Instruction to them, the endeavouring of which would, indeed, by most, be accounted Presumption. A Fondness for Wealth, or for gaining Esteem and Honour, is what prompts most Men in the Desire of excelling others, but these Motives for the Exertion and Improvement of their Faculties can have but little or no Influence upon the Minds of the *Negroes*, few of them having Hopes of attaining to any Condition but that of Slavery; so that tho' the *Industry* of many of them was ever so good, they have no Inducement or Opportunity to apply it to any Advantage, which naturally expresses their Minds, and sink their Spirits into a State of Idleness and Sloth, which they would, in all Likelihood, have been free from, had they stood upon an equal Footing with the white People: Nevertheless it may, with Truth, be said, that amongst those who have obtained their Freedom, as well as those who remain in Servitude, some have manifested as much Sagacity and Uprightness of Heart as could have been expected from the Whites, under the like Circumstances; and if all the free *Negroes* have not done the same, is it a Matter of Surprize? Have we not Reason to make the same Complaint with Respect to many of our white Servants, when from under our Care, tho' most of them have had much greater Advantages than the Blacks; who, even when free, still labour under the Difficulties before-mentioned, having but little Access to, and Intercourse with, the white People;

ple ; whereby it happens, that, tho' free, they yet remained confined within the former Limits of Conversation with those of their own Colour, and consequently have but little more Opportunity of Knowledge and Improvement than when in Slavery.

And if they seldom complain of the unjust and cruel Usage they have received, in being forced from their native Country, it is not to be wondered at ; for a short Time after their Arrival, though they can speak our Language, and are able to express themselves, but observe, from the Behaviour of others, that little or no Notice would be given to their Complaints ; yet let any Person who had attained the Age of Reason, and were brought from their native Country, and he shall hear such Relations as, if not to the common Feelings of Humanity, will sensibly affect his Heart. The Case of a poor *Negro*, not long since brought from *Guiney*, is a recent Instance of this Kind. From his first Arrival he appeared thoughtful and dejected, the Cause of which was not known till he was able to speak *English*, when the Account he gave of himself was, that he had a Wife and Children in his own Country, that some of them being sick and thirsty, he went, in the Night-time, to fetch Water for them at a Spring, where he was violently seized, and carried away by some Persons who lay in Wait to catch Men, whence he was transported to *America* ; the Remembrance of his Family,

Family, Friends, and other Connections left behind, which he never expected to see any more, were the principal Causes of his Dejection and Grief. Can any compassionate Heart hear this Relation without being affected with Sympathy and Sorrow? And doubtless the Case of many of these unhappy people would, upon Enquiry, appear attended with Circumstances equally tragical and ~~unhappy~~. ~~How~~, you that have studied ~~the~~ ~~Law~~, and those that are leagu'd ~~with~~ ~~you~~ say to this deplorable ~~Case~~, has this Man forfeited his Liberty? Does not Justice loudly call for his ~~Redemption~~ him? Has he not the same Reason as any of us should have, if he were suddenly snatched by Pirates from our ~~Coast~~? Where Instances of this Kind ~~frum~~ occur, and are neither enquired into nor ~~redress'd~~ by those whose Duty it is to seek Judgment, and relieve the Oppressed, what can be expected, but that the Groans and Cries of these Sufferers will reach Heaven; and *what shall ye do when GOD riseth up, and when he visiteth, what shall ye answer him? Did not he that made them make us, and did not one fashion us in the Womb?*

To conclude; I earnestly entreat that those who desire to maintain a Conscience void of Offence towards GOD and towards Man, do keep themselves clear from touching or handling this enormous Evil; which every serious Person, who candidly considers the Matter, must acknowledge is marked with the clearest Signature of the Di-
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vine Displeasure, as well from its own Nature, as from its woful Effects in every Country where it prevails : In its Nature, as it is a high Infringement of both the Divine and moral Laws ; and in its Effects, in several Respects, particularly from the destructive Consequences ensuing to Tradesmen and labouring People, whose Situation calls for the particular Care and Concern of every well-governed Country. In those where Slave-keeping prevails, their Plantations being supplied by the Negroes, who themselves slighted and abused, are robbed of the natural Liberty which is common in other Countries, and their Families are often reduced to Poverty and Want ; besides the great Quantity of Money given to many poor People, who are bred in our Mother Country, who, if not prevented, on Account of the great Number of Negroes, would be likely to come over into these Colonies, where they might, with Ease procure themselves a more comfortable Living than at Home. Another direful Effect arises from the fearful Apprehensions and Terrors which often seize the Minds of the People ; for the Suppression of which, the most cruel Methods are pursued, such as are indeed a Reproach to Christianity, and will necessarily harden the Hearts of those who are active therein into such an Obduracy, as must, by Degrees, deprive them of that Tenderness and sympathetic Love which make the Happiness, and is the Glory of intelligent Beings : And as for the Possessors of the Negroes themselves, though the Sump-

Sumptuousness and Ease in which they live, and the Attendance and Obsequiousness of their Slaves, may raise in their Minds an imagined Apprehension of their being Persons more happy, and of greater Importance than others, who do not live in the like Affluence and State; yet it would be Matter of Joy to such as wish well to Mankind, if these People could see how greatly they are mistaken, and seriously consider the Case of poor *Lazarus*, the rich Man, mentioned by our Saviour. They might plainly perceive, that their Misery is not because of their Power and Plenty, but because they have rather Occasion to be merciful to others, than their Children, and their Servants. The Effect of their Situation is, as has been repeatedly observed

“ to fill Men with Cruelty, Tyranny, Luxury
 “ and Barbarity, corrupting the Minds, and de-
 “ basing the Morals of their Children, to the un-
 “ speakable Prejudice of Religion and Virtue, and
 “ the Exclusion of that holy Spirit of universal
 “ Love, Meekness and Charity, which is the un-
 “ changeable Nature and Glory of true Christianity.”

The E N D.

E R R A T U M.

Page 28, For EXTRACTS from a Manuscript,
 read, EXTRACTS from a Pamphlet.