A CAUTION AND WARNING TO GREAT BRITAIN AND HER COLONIES,

IN

A SHORT REPRESENTATION

OF THE

CALAMITOUS STATE

OF THE

ENSLAVED NEGROES

in the BRITISH DOMINIONS.

Collected from various AUTHORS, and ſubmitted to the SERIOUS CONSIDERATION of ALL, more eſpecially of THOSE in POWER.

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A
CAUTION AND WARNING &c.

AT a time when the general rights and liberties of mankind, and the preſervation of thoſe valuable privileges tranſmitted to us from our anceſtors, are become ſo much the ſubjects of univerſal conſideration; can it be an inquiry indifferent to any, how many of thoſe who diſtinguiſh themſelves as the Advocates of Liberty, remain inſenſible and inattentive to the treatment of thouſands and tens of thouſands of our fellow-men, who, from motives of avarice, and the inexorable degree of tyrant cuſtom, are at this very time kept in the moſt deplorable ſtate of ſlavery, in many parts of the Britiſh Dominions.

The intent of publiſhing the following ſheets, is more fully to make known the aggravated iniquity attending the practice of the Slave-Trade; whereby many thouſands of our fellow-creatures, as free as ourſelves by nature, and equally with us the ſubjects of Chriſt's redeeming grace, are yearly brought into inextricable and barbarous bondage; and many, very many, to miſerable and untimely ends.

The truth of this lamentable complaint is ſo obvious to perſons of candour, under whoſe notice it hath fallen, that ſeveral have lately publiſhed their ſentiments thereon; as a matter which calls for the moſt ſerious conſideration of all who are concerned for the civil or religious welfare of their country. How an evil of ſo deep a dye, hath ſo long, not only paſſed uninterrupted by Thoſe in Power, but hath even had

their countenance, is, indeed, surprising, and, charity would suppose, must, in a great measure, have arisen from this, that many persons in government, both of the Clergy and Laity, in whose power it hath been to put a stop to the Trade, have been unacquainted with the corrupt motives which gives life to it; and the groans, the dying groans, which daily ascend to God, the common Father of mankind, from the broken hearts of those his deeply oppressed creatures; otherwise the powers of the earth would not, I think I may venture to say, could not, have so long authorised a practice so inconsistent with every idea of liberty and justice, which, as the learned James Foster says, *Bids that God, which is the God and Father of the Gentiles, an convert to Christianity, most daring and bold defiance; and spurns at all the principles both of natural and revealed Religion.*

Much might justly be said of the temporal evils which attend this practice, as it is destructive of the welfare of human society, and of the peace and prosperity of every country, in proportion as it prevails. It might be also shewn, that it destroys the bonds of natural affection and interest, whereby mankind in general are united; that it introduces idleness, discourages marriage, corrupts the youth, ruins and debauches morals, excites continual apprehensions of dangers, and frequent alarms, to which the Whites are necessarily exposed from so great an encrease of a people, that, by their bondage and oppressions, become natural enemies, yet, at the same time, are filling the places and eating the bread of those who would be the support and security of the country. But as these and many more reflections of the same kind, may occur to a considerate mind, I shall only endeavour to shew, from the nature of the

Trade,

Trade, the plenty which Guinea affords its inhabitants, the barbarous treatment of the Negroes, and the obſervations made thereon by authors of note, that it is inconſiſtent with the plaineſt precepts of the goſpel, the dictates of reaſon, and every common ſentiment of humanity.

In an account of the European Setttlements in America, printed in London, 1757, the author ſpeaking on this ſubject, ſays: 'The Negroes in our Colonies 'endure a ſlavery more compleat and attended with far 'worſe circumſtances than what any people in their 'condition ſuffer in any other part of the world, or 'have ſuffered in any other period of time: proofs of 'this are not wanting. The prodigious waſte which 'we experience in this unhappy part of our ſpecies, is 'a full and melancholy evidence of this truth. The 'Iſland of Barbados, (the Negroes upon which do 'not amount to eighty thouſand) notwithſtanding all 'the means which they uſe to encreaſe them by pro-'pagation, and that the climate is in every reſpect '(except that of being more wholeſome) exactly re-'ſembling the climate from whence they come; not-'withſtanding all this, Barbados lies under a neceſ-'ſity of an annual recruit of five thouſand ſlaves, to 'keep up the ſtock at the number I have mentioned. 'This prodigious failure, which is at leaſt in the ſame 'proportion in all our Iſlands, ſhews demonſtratively 'that ſome uncommon and unſupportable hardſhip 'lies upon the Negroes, which wears them down in 'ſuch a ſurpriſing manner; and this, I imagine, is 'principally the exceſſive labour which they undergo.' In an account of part of North-America, publiſhed by Thomas Jeffery, printed 1761, ſpeaking of the uſage the Negroes receive in the Weſt-India Iſlands, thus

expreſſes

expreſſes himſelf: 'It's impoſſible for a human heart 'to reflect upon the ſervitude of theſe dregs of man-'kind, without in ſome meaſure feeling for their mi-'ſery, which ends but with their lives.——Nothing 'can be more wretched than the condition of this 'people. One would imagine, they were framed to 'be the diſgrace of the human ſpecies, baniſhed from 'their country, and deprived of that bleſſing Liber-'ty, on which all other nations ſet the greateſt value, 'they are in a manner reduced to the condition of 'beaſts of burden: In general a few roots, potatoes 'eſpecially, are their food, and two rags, which neither 'ſcreen them from the heat of the day, nor the extra-'ordinary coolneſs of the night, all their covering; 'their ſleep very ſhort; their labour almoſt continual, 'they receive no wages, but have twenty laſhes for 'the ſmalleſt fault.'

A conſiderate young perſon who was late in one of our Weſt-India Illands, where he obſerved the miſe-rable ſituation of the Negroes, makes the following re-marks, 'I meet with daily exerciſe, to ſee the treatment 'which theſe miſerable wretches meet with from their 'maſters, with but few exceptions. They whip them 'moſt unmercifully, on ſmall occaſions. They beat 'them with thick clubs, and you will ſee their bodies 'all whaled and ſcarred; in ſhort, they ſeem to ſet no 'other value on their lives than as they coſt them 'ſo much money; and are not reſtrained from kill-'ing them, when angry, by a worthier conſideration 'than that they loſe ſo much. They act as tho' they 'did not look upon them as a race of human crea-'tures, who have reaſon, and remembrance of miſ-'fortunes, but as beaſts, like oxen, who are ſtubborn, 'hardy and ſenſeleſs; fit for burdens, and deſigned to

'bear

'bear them. They won't allow them to have any claim 'to human privileges, or ſcarce, indeed, to be regarded 'as the work of God. Tho' it was conſiſtent with the 'juſtice of our Maker to pronounce the ſentence on our 'common parent, and thro' him on all ſucceeding ge-'nerations, *That he and they ſhould eat their bread by 'the ſweat of their brow*; yet, does it not ſtand record-'ed by the ſame eternal truth, *That the Labourer is 'worthy of his hire?* It cannot be allowed in natural 'juſtice that there ſhould be a ſervitude without con-'dition: A cruel endleſs ſervitude. It cannot be re-'conceileable to natural juſtice, that whole nations; 'nay whole continents of men, ſhould be devoted to 'do the drudgery of life for others, be dragged away 'from their attachments of relations and ſocieties; 'and made to ſerve the appetites and pleaſures of a 'race of men whoſe ſuperiority has been obtained by 'an illegal force.'

A particular account of the treatment theſe unhappy Africans receive in the Weſt-Indies, was lately publiſhed, which even by thoſe who, blinded by intereſt, ſeek excuſes for the Trade, and endeavour to palliate the cruelty exerciſed upon them, is allowed to be a true, tho' rather too favourable repreſentation of the uſage they receive, which is as follows, viz. 'The iniquity of the Slave-trade is greatly aggra-'vated by the inhumanity with which the Negroes 'are treated in the Plantations, as well with reſpect to 'food and cloathing, as from the unreaſonable labour 'which is commonly exacted from them. To which 'may be added the cruel chaſtiſements they frequently 'ſuffer, without any other bounds than the will and 'wrath of their hard taſk-maſters. In Barbados, and 'ſome other of the Iſlands, ſix pints of Indian corn

'and

'and three herrings are reckoned a full week's allow-
'ance for a working ſlave, and in the Syſtem of Geo-
'graphy it is ſaid, *That in Jamaica the owners of the*
'*Negroe-ſlaves, ſet aſide for each a parcel of ground, and*
'*allow them Sundays to manure it, the produce of which,*
'with ſometimes a few herrings, or other ſalt-fiſh, *is*
'*all that is allowed for their ſupport.* Their allowance
'for cloathing in the Iſlands is ſeldom more than ſix
'yards of oſenbrigs each year: and in the more
'northern Colonies, where the piercing weſterly winds
'are long and ſenſibly felt, theſe poor Africans ſuffer
'much for want of ſufficient cloathing, indeed ſome
'have none till they are able to pay for it by their
'labour. The time that the Negroes work in the
'Weſt-Indies, is from day-break till noon; then again
'from two o'clock till duſk: (during which time
'they are attended by overſeers, who ſeverely ſcourge
'thoſe who appear to them dilatory) and before
'they are ſuffered to go to their quarters, they have
'ſtill ſomething to do, as collecting of herbage for
'the horſes, gathering fuel for the boilers, &c. ſo that
'it is often half paſt twelve before they can get home,
'when they have ſcarce time to grind and boil their
'Indian corn; whereby it often happens that they are
'called again to labour before they can ſatisfy their
'hunger: and here no delay or excuſe will avail, for
'if they are not in the field immediately upon the
'uſual notice, they muſt expect to feel the overſeers
'laſh. In crop-time (which laſts many months) they
'are obliged (by turns) to work moſt of the night in
'the boiling-houſe. Thus their owners, from a deſire
'of making the greateſt gain by the labour of their
'ſlaves, lay heavy burdens on them, and yet feed and
'clothe them very ſparingly, and ſome ſcarce feed or

'clothe

'clothe them at all, ſo that the poor creatures are 'obliged to ſhift for their living in the beſt manner 'they can, which occaſions their being often killed 'in the neighbouring lands, ſtealing potatoes, or 'other food, to ſatisfy their hunger. And if they take 'any thing from the plantation they belong to, tho' 'under ſuch preſſing want, their owners will correct 'them ſeverely, for taking a little of what they have 'ſo hardly laboured for, whilſt they themſelves riot 'in the greateſt luxury and exceſs.—It is a matter of 'aſtoniſhment, how a people who, as a nation, are 'looked upon as generous and humane, and ſo much 'value themſelves for their uncommon ſenſe of the 'benefit of Liberty, can live in the practice of ſuch 'extreme oppreſſion and inhumanity, without ſeeing 'the inconſiſtency of ſuch conduct, and without feel-'ing great remorſe: Nor is it leſs amazing to hear 'theſe men calmly making calculations about the 'ſtrength and lives of their fellow-men; in Jamaica, 'if ſix in ten, of the new imported Negroes ſurvive 'the ſeaſoning, it is looked upon as a gaining purchaſe: 'And in moſt of the other plantations, if the Negroes 'live eight or nine years, their labour is reckoned a 'ſufficient compenſation for their coſt.——If calcu-'lations of this ſort were made upon the ſtrength and 'labour of beaſts of burden it would not appear ſo 'ſtrange, but even then a merciful man would cer-'tainly uſe his beaſt with more mercy than is uſually 'ſhewn to the poor Negroes.—Will not the groans 'of this deeply afflicted and oppreſſed people reach 'heaven, and when the cup of iniquity is full, muſt 'not the inevitable conſequence be pouring forth of 'the judgments of God upon their oppreſſors. But, 'alas! is it not too manifeſt that this oppreſſion has

'already long been the object of the divine displeasure; 'for what heavier judgment, what greater calamity 'can befall any people, than to become a prey to that 'hardness of heart, that forgetfulness of God, and 'insenbility to every religious impression; as well as 'that general depravation of manners, which so much 'prevails in the Colonies, in proportion as they have 'more or less enriched themselves, at the expence 'of the blood and bondage of the Negroes.'

The situation of the Negroes in our Southern provinces on the Continent, is also feelingly set forth by George Whitefield, in a letter from Georgia, to the inhabitants of Maryland, Virginia, North- and South-Carolina, printed in the year 1739, of which the following is an extract, 'As I lately passed through your 'provinces, in my way hither, I was sensibly touched 'with a fellow-feeling of the miseries of the poor Ne-'groes. Whether it be lawful for Christians to buy 'slaves, and thereby encourage the nations from 'whom they are bought, to be at perpetual war with 'each other, I shall not take upon me to determine; 'sure I am, it is sinful, when bought, to use them as 'bad, nay worse, than as though they were brutes; 'and whatever particular exception there may be, (as 'I would charitably hope there are some) I fear the 'generality of you, that own Negroes, are liable to 'such a charge; for your slaves, I believe, work as 'hard, if not harder, than the horses whereon you ride. 'These, after they have done their work, are fed and 'taken proper care of; but many Negroes, when wea-'ried with labour, in your plantations, have been 'obliged to grind their own corn, after they return 'home; your dogs are caressed and fondled at your 'tables; but your slaves, who are frequently stiled

'dogs

'dogs or beaſts, have not an equal privilege; they
'are ſcarce permitted to pick up the crumbs which
'fall from their maſter's table.—Not to mention what
'numbers have been given up to the inhuman uſage
'of cruel taſk-maſters, who, by their unrelenting
'ſcourges, have ploughed their backs, and made long
'furrows, and at length brought them even to death.
'When paſſing along, I have viewed your plantations
'cleared and cultivated, many ſpacious houſes built,
'and the owners of them faring ſumptuouſly every
'day, my blood has frequently almoſt run cold with-
'in me, to conſider how many of your ſlaves had
'neither convenient food to eat, or proper raiment to
'put on, notwithſtanding moſt of the comforts you
'enjoy were ſolely owing to their indefatigable la-
'bours.—The Scripture ſays, Thou ſhalt not muzzle
'the ox that treadeth out the corn. Does God take
'care for oxen; and will he not take care of the Ne-
'groes alſo? undoubtedly he will.— Go to now ye
'rich men, weep and howl for your miſeries that
'ſhall come upon you: Behold the proviſion of the
'poor Negroes, who have reaped down your fields,
'which is by you denied them, crieth; and the cries
'of them, which reaped, are entered into the ears of
'the Lord of Sabaoth. We have a remarkable in-
'ſtance of God's taking cognizance of, and avenging
'the quarrel of poor ſlaves, 2 Sam. xxi. 1. There was
'a famine in the days of David, three years, year af-
'ter year; and David enquired of the Lord: And
'the Lord anſwered, It is for Saul, and his bloody
'houſe, becauſe he ſlew the Gibeonites. Two things
'are here very remarkable: Firſt, Theſe Gibeonites
'were only hewers of wood and drawers of water, or
'in other words, ſlaves like yours. Secondly, That

'this plague was ſent by God many years after the 'injury, the cauſe of the plague, was committed. 'And for what end were this and ſuch like examples 'recorded in holy Scriptures, without doubt, for our 'learning.—For God is the ſame to-day, as he was 'yeſterday, and will continue the ſame for ever. He 'does not reject the prayer of the poor and deſtitute; 'nor diſregard the cry of the meaneſt Negro. The 'blood of them ſpilt for theſe many years in your re-'ſpective provinces will aſcend up to heaven againſt 'you.'

Some who have only ſeen Negroes in an abject ſtate of ſlavery, broken-ſpirited and dejected, knowing nothing of their ſituation in their native country, may apprehend, that they are naturally unſenſible of the benefits of Liberty, being deſtitute and miſerable in every reſpect, and that our ſuffering them to live amongſt us (as the Gibeonites of old were permitted to live with the Iſraelites) tho' even on more oppreſſive term, is to them a favour; but theſe are certainly erroneous opinions, with reſpect to far the greateſt part of them: Altho' it is highly probable that in a country which is more than three thouſand miles in extent from north to ſouth, and as much from eaſt to weſt, there will be barren parts, and many inhabitants more uncivilized and barbarous than others; as is the caſe in all other countries: Yet, from the moſt authentic accounts, the inhabitants of Guinea appear, generally ſpeaking, to be an induſtrious, humane, ſociable people, whoſe capacities are naturally as enlarged, and as open to improvement, as thoſe of the Europeans; and that their Country is fruitful, and in many places well improved, abounding in cattle, grain and fruits: And as the earth yields all the year round a freſh ſupply of

food,

food, and but little cloathing is requiſite, by reaſon of the continual warmth of the climate; the neceſſaries of life are much eaſier procured in moſt parts of Africa, than in our more northern climes. This is confirmed by many authors of note, who have reſided there; among others M. Adanſon, in his account of Gorée and Senegal, in the year 1754, ſays, 'Which 'way ſoever I turned my eyes on this pleaſant ſpot, 'I beheld a perfect image of pure nature; an agree-'able ſolitude, bounded on every ſide by charming 'landſcapes, the rural ſituation of cottages in the 'midſt of trees; the eaſe and indolence of the Ne-'groes reclined under the ſhade of their ſpreading 'foliage; the ſimplicity of their dreſs and manners; 'the whole revived in my mind the idea of our firſt 'parents, and I ſeemed to contemplate the world in 'its primitive ſtate: they are, generally ſpeaking, ve-'ry good-natured, ſociable and obliging. I was not 'a little pleaſed with this my firſt reception; it con-'vinced me, that there ought to be a conſiderable 'abatement made in the accounts I had read and heard 'every-where of the ſavage character of the Africans. 'I obſerved, both in Negroes and Moors, great hu-'manity and ſociableneſs, which gave me ſtrong hopes, 'that I ſhould be very ſafe amongſt them, and meet 'with the ſucceſs I deſired, in my inquiries after the 'curioſities of the country.'

William Boſman, a principal factor for the Dutch, who reſided ſixteen years in Guinea, ſpeaking of the natives of that part, where he then was, ſays, 'They 'are generally a good ſort of people, honeſt in their 'dealings;' others he deſcribes as 'being generally 'friendly to ſtrangers, of a mild converſation, affable 'and eaſy to be overcome with reaſon.' He adds,

'That

'That ſome Negroes, who have had an agreeable 'education, have manifeſted a brightneſs of under-'ſtanding equal to any of us.' Speaking of the fruitfulneſs of the country, he ſays, 'It was very populous, 'plentifully provided with corn, potatoes and fruit, 'which grew cloſe to each other; in ſome places a 'foot-path is the only ground that is not covered with 'them; the Negroes leaving no place, which is 'thought fertile, uncultivated; and immediately af-'ter they have reaped, they are ſure to ſow again.' Other parts 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 and poultry, and the inhabitants labo-'rious.'

William Smith, who was ſent by the African Company to viſit their ſettlements on the coaſt of Guinea, in the year 1726, gives much the ſame accout of the country of Delmina and Cape Corſe, &c. for beauty and goodneſs, and adds, 'The more you come down-'ward towards that part, called Slave-Coaſt, the more 'delightful and rich the ſoil appears.' Speaking of their diſpoſition, he ſays, 'They were a civil, good-'natured people, induſtrious to the laſt degree. It is 'eaſy to perceive what happy memories they are 'bleſſed with, and how great progreſs they would 'make in the ſciences, in caſe their genius was culti-'vated with ſtudy.' He adds, from the information he received of one of the Factors, who had reſided ten years in that country, 'That the diſcerning natives 'account it their greateſt unhappineſs, that they were 'ever viſited by the Europeans.—That the Chriſ-'tians introduced the Traffick of Slaves; and that be-'fore our coming they lived in peace.'

Andrew

Andrew Brue, a principal man in the French Factory, in the account he gives of the great river Senegal, which runs many hundred miles up the country, tells his readers, 'The farther you go from the ſea, the 'country on the river ſeems more fruitful and well 'improved. It abounds in Guinea and Indian corn, 'rice, pulſe, tobacco, and indigo. Here are vaſt mea-'dows, which feed large herds of great and ſmall 'cattle; poultry are numerous, as well as wild 'fowl.' The ſame author, in his travels to the ſouth of the river Gambia, expreſſes his ſurprize, 'to 'ſee the land ſo well cultivated; ſcarce a ſpot lay un-'improved; the low grounds, divided by ſmall ca-'nals, were all ſowed with rice; the higher ground 'planted with Indian corn, millet, and peas of diffe-'rent ſorts, beef and mutton very cheap, as well as 'all other neceſſaries of life.' The account this author gives of the diſpoſition of the natives, is, 'That they 'are generally good-natured and civil, and may be 'brought to any thing by fair and ſoft means.' Artus, ſpeaking of the ſame people, ſays, 'They are a 'ſincere, inoffenſive people, and do no injuſtice either 'to one another or ſtrangers.'

From theſe accounts, both of the good diſpoſition of the natives, and the fruitfulneſs of moſt parts of Guinea, which are confirmed by many other authors, it may well be concluded, that their acquaintance with the Europeans would have been a happineſs to them, had thoſe laſt not only bore the name, but indeed been influenced by the ſpirit of Chriſtianity; but, alas! how hath the conduct of the Whites contradicted the precepts and example of Chriſt? Inſtead of promoteing the end of his coming, by preaching the goſpel of peace and good-will to man, they have, by their practices,

tices, contributed to enflame every noxious paſſion of corrupt nature in the Negroes; they have incited them to make war one upon another, and for this purpoſe have furniſhed them with prodigious quantities of ammunition and arms, whereby they have been hurried into confuſion, bloodſhed, and all the extremities of temporal miſery, which muſt neceſſarily beget in their minds ſuch a general deteſtation and ſcorn of the Chriſtian name, as may deeply affect, if not wholly preclude their belief of the great truths of our holy religion. Thus an inſatiable deſire of gain hath become the principal and moving cauſe of the moſt abominable and dreadful ſcene, that was perhaps ever acted upon the face of the earth; even the power of their kings hath been made ſubſervient to anſwer this wicked purpoſe, inſtead of being protectors of their people, theſe rulers, allured by the tempting bait laid before them by the European Factors, &c. have invaded the Liberties of their unhappy ſubjects, and are become their oppreſſors.

Divers accounts have already appeared in print declarative of the ſhocking wickedneſs with which this Trade is carried on; theſe may not have fallen into the hands of ſome of my readers, I ſhall, therefore, for their information, ſelect a few of the moſt remarkable inſtances that I have met with, ſhewing the method by which the Trade is commonly managed all along the African coaſt.

Francis Moor, Factor to the African Company on the river Gambia, relates, 'That when the King of 'Barſalli wants goods, &c. he ſends a meſſenger to 'the Engliſh Governor at James' Fort, to deſire he 'would ſend up a ſloop with a cargo of goods; which '(ſays the author) the Governor never fails to do:

'againſt

'against the time the veſſel arrives, the King plunders 'ſome of his enemies towns, ſelling the people for 'ſuch goods as he wants.—If he is not at war with 'any neighbouring King, he falls upon one of his 'own towns, and makes bold to ſell his own mife-'rable ſubjects.'

N. Brue, in his account of the Trade, &c. writes, 'That having received a quantity of goods, he wrote 'to the King of the country, That if he had a ſufficient 'number of ſlaves, he was ready to trade with him. 'This Prince (ſays that author) as well as other Ne-'groe Monarchs, has always a ſure way of ſupplying 'his deficiencies by ſelling his own ſubjects.—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 miſery and bloodſhed, conſequent of the Slave-Trade, is amply ſet forth by the following extracts of two voyages to the Coaſt of Guinea for ſlaves. The firſt in a veſſel from Liverpool, taken verbatim from the original manuſcript of the Surgeon's journal, viz.

'Seſtro, December the 29th, 1724. No trade to-'day, tho' many Traders come on board, they in-'form us, that the people are gone to war within 'land, and will bring priſoners enough in two or 'three days; in hopes of which we ſtay.

'The 30th. No trade yet, but our Traders came on 'board to-day, and informed us, the people had burnt 'four towns of their enemies, ſo that to-morrow we 'expect ſlaves off. Another large ſhip is come in: 'yeſterday came in a large Londoner.

'The 31ſt. Fair weather, but no trade yet; we 'ſee each night towns burning; but we hear the 'Seſtro men are many of them killed by the inland

'Negroes, ſo that we fear this war will be unſucceſs-
'ful.

'The 2d January. Laſt night we ſaw a prodi-
'gious fire break out about eleven o'clock, and this
'morning ſee the town of Seſtro burnt down to the
'ground, (it contained ſome hundreds of houſes) ſo
'that we find their enemies are too hard for them at
'preſent, and conſequently our trade ſpoiled here;
'ſo that about ſeven o'clock we weigh'd anchor, as
'did likewiſe the three other veſſels to proceed lower
'down.'

The ſecond relation, alſo taken from the original manuſcript journal of a perſon of credit, who went Surgeon on the ſame account, in a veſſel from New-York to the Coaſt of Guinea, about eighteen years paſt, is as follows, viz. 'Being on the coaſt at a place
'called Baſalia, the Commander of the veſſel, accord-
'ing to cuſtom, ſent a perſon on ſhore with a preſent
'to the King, acquainting him with his arrival, and
'letting him know, they wanted a cargo of ſlaves.
'The King promiſed to furniſh them with ſlaves,
'and in order to do it, ſet out to go to war againſt
'his enemies, deſigning alſo to ſurprize ſome town,
'and take all the people priſoners: Sometime after,
'the King ſent them word, he had not yet met with
'the deſired ſucceſs, having been twice repulſed, in
'attempting to break up two towns; but that he ſtill
'hoped to procure a number of ſlaves for them; and
'in this deſign he perſiſted till he met his enemies in
'the field, where a battle was fought, which laſted
'three days, during which time the engagement was
'ſo bloody, that four thouſand five hundred men
'were ſlain on the ſpot.' The perſon, that wrote the account, beheld the bodies as they lay on the field

of

of battle. 'Think (ſays he in his journal) what a piti-
'able ſight it was, to ſee the widows weeping over
'their loſt huſbands, orphans deploring the loſs of
'their fathers, &c. &c.'

Thoſe, who are acquainted with the Trade, agree, that many Negroes on the ſea-coaſt, who have been corrupted by their intercourſe and converſe with the European Factors, have learnt to ſtick at no act of cruelty for gain. Theſe make it a practice to ſteal abundance of little Blacks of both ſexes, when found on the roads or in the fields, where their parents keep them all day to watch the corn, &c. Some authors ſay, the Negroe Factors go ſix or ſeven hundred miles up the country with goods, bought from the Europeans, where markets of men are kept in the ſame manner as thoſe of beaſts with us; when the poor ſlaves, whether brought from far or near, come to the ſea-ſhore, they are ſtripped naked, and ſtrictly examined by the European Surgeons, both men and women, without the leaſt diſtinction or modeſty; thoſe which are approved as good, are marked with a red-hot iron with the ſhip's mark, after which they are put on board the veſſels, the men being ſhackled with irons two and two together. Reader bring the matter home, and conſider whether any ſituation in life can be more completely miſerable than that of thoſe diſtreſſed captives. When we reflect, that each individual of this number had ſome tender attachment which was broken by this cruel ſeparation; ſome parent or wife, who had not an opportunity of mingling tears in a parting embrace: perhaps ſome infant or aged parent whom his labour was to feed and vigilance protect; themſelves under the dreadful apprehenſion of an unknown perpetual ſlavery; pent up

within the narrow confines of a veſſel, ſometimes ſix or ſeven hundred together, where they lie as cloſe as poſſible. Under theſe complicated diſtreſſes they are often reduced to a ſtate of deſperation, wherein many have leaped into the ſea, and have kept themſelves under water, till they were drowned; others have ſtarved themſelves to death, for the prevention whereof ſome maſters of veſſels have cut off the legs and arms of a number of thoſe poor deſperate creatures, to terrify the reſt. Great numbers have alſo frequently been killed, and ſome deliberately put to death under the greateſt torture, when they have attempted to riſe, in order to free themſelves from their preſent miſery, and the ſlavery deſigned them. An inſtance of the laſt kind appears particularly in an account given by the maſter of a veſſel, who brought a cargo of ſlaves to Barbados; indeed it appears ſo irreconcileable to the common dictates of humanity, that one would doubt the truth of it, had it not been related by a ſerious perſon of undoubted credit, who had it from the captain's own mouth. Upon an inquiry, What had been the ſucceſs of his voyage? He anſwered, 'That he 'had found it a difficult matter to ſet the Negroes a 'fighting with each other, in order to procure the 'number he wanted; but that when he had obtained this 'end, and had got his veſſel filled with ſlaves, a new difficulty aroſe from their refuſal to take food; thoſe 'deſperate creatures chuſing rather to die with hunger, than to be carried from their native country.' Upon a farther inquiry, by what means he had prevailed upon them to forego this deſperate reſolution, he anſwered, 'That he obliged all the Negroes to 'come upon deck, where they perſiſting in their re'ſolution of not taking food, he cauſed his ſailors to

'lay

'lay hold upon one of the moſt obſtinate, and chopt 'the poor creature into ſmall pieces, forcing ſome of 'the others to eat a part of the mangled body; with-'al ſwearing to the ſurvivors, that he would uſe them 'all, one after the other, in the ſame manner, if they 'did not conſent to eat.' This horrid execution he applauded as a good act, it having had the deſired effect, in bringing them to take food.

A ſimilar caſe is mentioned in Aſtley's Collection of Voyages, by John Atkins, Surgeon on board Admiral Ogle's ſquadron, 'Of one Harding, maſter of 'a veſſel, in which ſeveral of the men-ſlaves, and a 'woman-ſlave, had attempted to riſe, in order to re-'cover their liberty; ſome of whom the maſter, of 'his own authority, ſentenced to cruel death; making 'them firſt eat the heart and liver of one of thoſe he 'killed. The woman he hoiſted by the thumbs; 'whipped and ſlaſhed with knives before the other 'ſlaves, till ſhe died.'

As deteſtable and ſhocking as this may appear to ſuch, whoſe hearts are not yet hardened by the practice of that cruelty, which the love of wealth, by degrees, introduceth into the human mind; it will not be ſtrange to thoſe who have been concerned or employed in the Trade. Now here ariſes a neceſſary query to thoſe who hold the ballance and ſword of juſtice; and who muſt account to God for the uſe they have made of it. Since *our Engliſh law is ſo truly valuable for its juſtice*, how can they overlook theſe barbarous deaths of the unhappy Africans without trial, or due proof of their being guilty, of crimes adequate to their puniſhment? Why are thoſe maſters of veſſels (who are often not the moſt tender and conſiderate of men) thus ſuffered to be the ſovereign arbiters of the lives

of

of the miſerable Negroes; and allowed, with impunity, thus to deſtroy, may I not ſay, murder their fellow-creatures, and that by means ſo cruel as cannot be even related but with ſhame and horror.

When the veſſels arrive at their deſtined port in the Colonies, the poor Negroes are to be diſpoſed of to the planters, and here they are again expoſed naked, without any diſtinction of ſexes, to the brutal examination of their purchaſers; and this, it may well be judged is to many of them another occaſion of deep diſtreſs, eſpecially to the females: Add to this, that near connections muſt now again be ſeparated, to go with their ſeveral purchaſers: In this melancholy ſcene mothers are ſeen hanging over their daughters, bedewing their naked breaſts with tears, and daughters clinging to their parents; not knowing what new ſtage of diſtreſs muſt follow their ſeparation; or if ever they ſhall meet again; and here what ſympathy, what commiſeration are they to expect; why indeed, if they will not ſeparate as readily as their owners think proper, the whipper is called for, and the laſh exerciſed upon their naked bodies, till obliged to part.

Can any human heart, that retains a fellow-feeling for the ſufferings of mankind, be unconcerned at relations of ſuch grievous affliction, to which this oppreſſed part of our ſpecies are ſubjected: God gave to man dominion over the fiſh of the ſea, and over the fowls of the air, and over the cattle, &c. but impoſed no involuntary ſubjection of one man to another.

The truth of this poſition, has of late been clearly ſet forth by perſons of reputation and ability, particularly George Wallis, in his Syſtem of the Laws of Scotland, whoſe ſentiments are ſo worthy the notice of all conſiderate perſons, that I ſhall here repeat a part of what

he

he has not long ſince publiſhed, concerning the African Trade, viz. ‘ If this trade admits of a moral or a ‘ rational juſtification, every crime, even the moſt ‘ atrocious, may be juſtified: Government was inſti- ‘ tuted for the good of mankind. Kings, Princes, Go- ‘ vernors are not proprietors of thoſe who are ſub- ‘ jected to their authority, they have not a right to ‘ make them miſerable. On the contrary, their au- ‘ thority is veſted in them, that they may by the juſt ‘ exerciſe of it, promote the happineſs of their peo- ‘ ple: Of courſe, they have not a right to diſpoſe of ‘ their Liberty, and to ſell them for ſlaves: Beſides, no ‘ man has a right to acquire or to purchaſe them; ‘ men and their Liberty are not either ſaleable or ‘ purchaſable, 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 humanity. 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 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 country, in ‘ which the judges are not forgetful of their own hu- ‘ manity, it is their duty to remember that he is a ‘ man, and to declare him to be free.—This is the law ‘ of nature, which is obligatory on all men, at all ‘ times, and in all places.—Would not any of us, ‘ who ſhould be ſnatched by pirates from his native ‘ land, think himſelf cruelly abuſed, and at all times in-

‘ titled

'titled 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.'

Francis Hutchison, also in his System of Moral Philosophy, speaking on the subject of Slavery, says, 'He who detains another by force in slavery, is always bound to prove his title. The slave sold or carried away into a distant country, must not be obliged to prove a negative, That he never forfeited his Liberty. The violent possessor must, in all cases, shew his title, especially where the old proprietor is well known. In this case each man is the original proprietor of his own Liberty: The proof of his losing it must be incumbent on those, who deprived him of it by force. Strange, (says the same author) that in any nation, where a sense of Liberty prevails, where the Christian religion is professed, custom and high prospect of gain can so stupify the consciences of men, and all sense of natural justice, that they can hear such computation made about the value of their fellow-men and their liberty, without abhorence and indignation.'

The noted Baron Montesquieu gives it, as his opinion, in his *Spirit of Law*, page 348, 'That nothing more assimilates a man to a beast than living amongst freemen, himself a slave, such people as these are the natural enemies of society, and their number must always be dangerous.'

The author of a pamphlet, lately printed in London, entituled, *An Essay in Vindication of the Continental Colonies of America*, writes, 'That the bondage

'we

'we have impoſed on the Africans, is abſolutely re-
'pugnant to juſtice. That it is highly inconſiſtent with
'civil policy: Firſt, as it tends to ſuppreſs all im-
'provements in arts and ſciences; without which it
'is morally impoſſible that any nation ſhould be
'happy or powerful. Secondly, as it may deprave the
'minds of the freemen; ſteeling their hearts againſt
'the laudable feelings of virtue and humanity. And,
'laſtly, as it endangers the community by the de-
'ſtructive effects of civil commotions, need I add to
'theſe, (ſays that author) what every heart, which is
'not callous to all tender feelings, will readily ſug-
'geſt; that it is ſhocking to humanity, violative of
'every generous ſentiment, abhorrent utterly from
'the Chriſtian religion; for as Monteſquieu very juſt-
'ly obſerves, *We muſt ſuppoſe them not to be men, or*
'*a ſuſpicion would follow that we ourſelves are not*
'*Chriſtians.*—There cannot be a more dangerous
'maxim, than that neceſſity is a plea for injuſtice. For
'who ſhall fix the degree of this neceſſity? What
'villain ſo atrocious, who may not urge this excuſe;
'or, as Milton has happly expreſſed it,

'————————*And with neceſſity*
'*The tyrant's plea, excuſe his dev'liſh deed?*

'That our Colonies want people, is a very weak argu-
'ment for ſo inhuman a violation of juſtice.—Shall
'a civilized, a Chriſtian nation encourage ſlavery; be-
'cauſe the barbarous, ſavage, lawleſs African hath
'done it? Monſtrous thought! To what end do we
'profeſs a religion whoſe dictates we ſo flagrantly vio-
'late? Wherefore have we that pattern of goodneſs
'and humanity, if we refuſe to follow it? How long
'ſhall we continue a practice, which policy rejects,
'juſtice condemns, and piety diſſuades? Shall the

'Americans perſiſt in a conduct, which cannot be juſ-
'tified; or perſevere in oppreſſion from which their
'hearts muſt recoil? If the barbarous Africans ſhall
'continue to enſlave each other let the dæmon ſlave-
'ry remain among them, that their crime may in-
'clude its own puniſhment. Let not Chriſtians, by
'adminiſtring to their wickedneſs, confeſs their re-
'ligion to be a uſeleſs refinement, their profeſſion vain,
'and themſelves as inhuman as the ſavages they deteſt.'

James Foſter, in *his Diſcourſes on Natural Religion and Social Virtue*, alſo ſhews his juſt indignation at this wicked practice, which he declares to be *a criminal and outrageous violation of the natural right of mankind.* At page 156, 2 vol. he ſays, 'Should we have read
'concerning the Greeks or Romans of old, that they
'traded, with view to make ſlaves of their own ſpe-
'cies, whom they certainly knew that this would in-
'volve in ſchemes of blood and murder, of deſtroying
'or enſlaving each other, that they even fomented wars,
'and engaged whole nations and tribes in open hoſti-
'lities, for their own private advantage; that they
'had no deteſtation of the violence and cruelty; but
'only feared the ill ſucceſs of their inhuman enter-
'priſes; that they carried men like themſelves, their
'brethren, and the off-ſpring of the ſame common
'parent, to be ſold like beaſts of prey, or beaſts of
'burden, and put them to the ſame reproachful trial,
'of their ſoundneſs, ſtrength and capacity for greater
'bodily ſervice; that quite forgetting and renounce-
'ing the original dignity of human nature, commu-
'nicated to all, they treated them with more ſeveri-
'ty and ruder diſcipline, than even the ox or the aſs,
'who are void of underſtanding,—ſhould we not, if
'this had been the caſe, have naturally been led to

'deſpiſe

'despise all their *pretended refinements of morality*; 'and to have concluded, that as they were not nations 'destitute of politeness, they must have been *entire* '*strangers to virtue and benevolence.*

'But, notwithstanding this, we ourselves (who pro- 'fess to be Christians, and boast of the peculiar ad- 'vantage we enjoy, by means of an express revelation 'of our duty from heaven) are in effect, these very 'untaught and rude heathen countries. With all our 'superior light, we instil into those, whom we call 'savage and barbarous, the most despicable opinion 'of human nature. We, to the utmost of our power, 'weaken and dissolve the universal tie, that binds 'and unites mankind. We practice what we should 'exclaim against, as the utmost excess of cruelty and 'tyranny, if nations of the world, differing in colour, 'and form of government from ourselves, were so 'possessed of empire, as to be able to reduce us to a 'state of unmerited and brutish servitude. Of conse- 'quence, we sacrifice our reason, our humanity, our 'Christianity, to an unnatural sordid gain. We teach 'other nations to despise and trample under foot, all 'the obligations of social virtue. We take the most 'effectual method to prevent the propagation of the 'gospel by representing it as a scheme of power and 'barbarous oppression, and an enemy to the natural 'privileges and rights of men.

'Perhaps all, that I have now offered, may be of 'very little weight to restrain this enormity, this ag- 'gravated iniquity. However, I shall still have the sa- 'tisfaction, of having entered my private protest 'against a practice which, in my opinion, bids that 'God, who is the God and Father of the gentiles, un- 'converted to Christianity, most daring and bold

'defiance, and ſpurns at all the principles, both of na-
'tural and revealed religion.'

How the Britiſh nation firſt came to be concerned in a practice, by which the rights and liberties of mankind are ſo violently infringed, and which is ſo oppoſite to the apprehenſions Engliſhmen have always had of what natural juſtice requires, is indeed ſurpriſing. It was about the year 1563, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, that the Engliſh firſt engaged in the Guinea Trade; when it appears, from an account in Hill's Naval Hiſtory, page 293, That when Captain Hawkins returned from his firſt voyage to Africa, that generous ſpirited Princeſs, attentive to the intereſt of her ſubjects, ſent for the Commander, to whom ſhe expreſſed her concern leſt any of the African Negroes ſhould be carried off without their free conſent, *declaring it would be deteſtable, and call down the vengeance of heaven upon the undertakers.* Captain Hawkins promiſed to comply with the Queen's injunction: nevertheleſs, we find in the account, given in the ſame Hiſtory, of Hawkins' ſecond voyage, the author uſing theſe remarkable words, *Here began the horrid practice of forcing the Africans into ſlavery.*

Labat, a Roman Miſſionary, in his account of the Iſles of America, at page 114, of the 4th vol. mentions, that Lewis the 13th, father to the preſent French King's grand father, was extremely uneaſy at a law by which all the Negroes of his Colonies were to be made ſlaves; but it being ſtrongly urged to him, as the readieſt means for their converſion to Chriſtianity, he acquieſced therewith.

And altho' we have not many accounts of the impreſſions which this piratical invaſion of the rights of mankind, gave to ſerious minded people, when firſt

engaged

engaged in; yet it did not escape the notice of some, who might be esteemed in a peculiar manner as watchmen in their day to the different societies of Christians, whereunto they belonged. Richard Baxter, an eminent preacher amongst the Nonconformists, in the last century, well known and particularly esteemed by most of the serious Presbyterians and Independents, in his Christian Directory mostly, wrote about an hundred years ago, fully shews his detestation of this practice in the following words, 'Do you not mark 'how God hath followed you with plagues, and may 'not conscience tell you, that it is for your inhuma-'nity to the souls and bodies of men.——To go as 'pirates and catch up poor Negroes, or people of an-'other land that never forfeited life or liberty, and to 'make them slaves, and sell them, is one of the worst 'kind of thievery in the world, and such persons are 'to be taken for the common enemies of mankind; 'and they that buy them, and use them as beasts, for 'their meer commodity, and betray, or destroy, or 'neglect their souls, are fitter to be called devils than 'Christians. It is an heinous sin to buy them, unless 'it be in charity to deliver them.—— Undoubtedly 'they are presently bound to deliver them; because 'by right the man is his own; therefore no man else 'can have a just title to him.'

We also find George Fox, a man of exemplary piety, who was the principal instrument in gathering the religious society of people, called Quakers, expressing his concern and fellow-feeling for the bondage of the Negroes: In a discourse taken from his mouth, in Barbados, in the year 1671, says, 'Consider with your-'selves, if you were in the same condition as the Blacks 'are,—who came strangers to you, and were sold to you

'as

'as ſlaves. I ſay, if this ſhould be the condition of 'you or yours, you would think it hard meaſure. Yea, 'and very great bondage and cruelty. And, there-'fore, conſider ſeriously of this, and do you for and 'to them, as you would willingly have them, or any 'other, to do unto you, were you in the like ſlaviſh 'condition; and bring them to know the Lord Chriſt.' And in his journal, page 431, ſpeaking of the advice he gave his friends at Barbados, he ſays, 'I deſired 'alſo, that they would cauſe their overſeers to deal 'mildly and gently with their Negroes, and not to 'uſe cruelty towards them, as the manner of ſome 'had been, and that after certain years of ſervitude 'they ſhould make them free."

In a book printed in Liverpool, called *The Liverpool Memorandum-book*, which contains, among other things, an account of the trade of that port, there is an exact liſt of the veſſels employed in the Guinea trade, and of the number of Slaves imported in each veſſel, by which it appears, that in the year 1753, the number imported to America, by veſſels belonging to that port, amounted to upwards of thirty thouſand; and from the number of veſſels employed by the African Company in London and Briſtol, we may, with ſome degree of certainty, conclude, there is, at leaſt, One Hundred Thouſand Negoes purchaſed and brought on board our ſhips yearly from the coaſt of Africa, on their account. This is confirmed in Anderſon's Hiſtory of Trade and Commerce, printed the year before laſt, where it is ſaid, at page 68 of the Appendix, '*That England ſupplies her American Co-'lonies with Negro-ſlaves, amounting in number to 'above One Hundred Thouſand every year.*' When the veſſels are full freighted with ſlaves, they ſet out for

our

our plantations in America, and may be two or three months on the voyage, during which time, from the filth and ſtench that is among them, diſtempers frequently break out, which carry off a great many, a fifth, a fourth, yea ſometimes a third of them; ſo that taking all the ſlaves together that are brought on board our ſhips yearly, one may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that at leaſt ten thouſand of them die on the voyage. And in a printed account of the State of the Negroes in our plantations, it is ſuppoſed that a fourth part, more or leſs, die at the different Iſlands, in what is called the ſeaſoning. Hence it may be preſumed, that, at a moderate computation of the ſlaves, who are purchaſed by our African merchants in a year, near thirty thouſands die upon the voyage and in the ſeaſoning. Add to this, the prodigious number who are killed in the incurſions and inteſtine wars, by which the Negroes procure the number of ſlaves wanted to load the veſſels: How dreadful then is this Slave-Trade, whereby ſo many thouſands of our fellow-creatures, free by nature, endued with the ſame rational faculties, and called to be heirs of the ſame ſalvation with us, loſe their lives, and are truly, and properly ſpeaking, murdered every year. For it is not 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 or violence, deprive another of his Liberty; and, while he has him in his power, reduces him, by cruel treatment, to ſuch a condition as evidently endangers his life; and the event occaſions his death, is actually guilty of murder. It is no leſs ſhocking to read the accounts given by Sir Hans Sloan, and others, of the inhuman and unmerciful treatment thoſe Blacks meet with, who ſurvive the ſeaſoning in the Iſlands,

often

often for transgressions, to which the punishment they receive bears no proportion. 'And the horrid execu-
'tions, which are frequently made there upon disco-
'very of the plots laid by the blacks, for the recovery
'of their liberty; of some they break the bones, whilst
'alive, on a wheel; others they burn or rather roast
'to death; others they starve to death, with a loaf
'hanging before their mouths.' Thus they are brought to expire, with frightful agonies, in the most horrid tortures. For negligence only they are unmercifully whipped, till their backs are raw, and than pepper and salt is scattered on the wounds to heighten the pain and prevent mortification. Is it not a cause of much sorrow and lamentation, that so many poor creatures should be thus rack'd with excruciating tortures, for crimes which often their tormentors have occasioned: Must not even the common feelings of human nature have suffered some grievous change in those men, to be capable of such horrid cruelty, towards their fellow-men? If they deserve death, ought not their judges, in the death decreed them, always to remember that these their hapless fellow-creatures are men, and themselves professing Christians. The Mosaic law teaches us our duty in these cases, in the merciful provision it made in the punishment of transgressors, Deuter. xxv. 2. *And it shall be, if the wicked man be worthy to be beaten, that the judge shall cause him to lie down, and to be beaten before his face, according to his fault, by a certain number, Forty stripes he may give him and not exceed.* And the reason rendered is out of respect to human nature, viz. *Lest if he should exceed, and beat him above these, with many stripes, then thy brother should seem vile unto thee.* Britons boast themselves to be a generous, humane people, who have a true

sense

ſenſe of the importance of Liberty; but is this a true character, whilſt that barbarous, ſavage Slave-Trade, with all its attendant horrors, receives countenance and protection from the Legiſlature, whereby ſo many thouſand lives are yearly ſacrificed. Do we indeed believe the truths declared in the goſpel? Are we perſuaded that the threatnings, as well as the promiſes therein contained, will have their accompliſhment? If indeed we do, muſt we not tremble to think what a load of guilt lies upon our Nation generally and individually, ſo far as we in any degree abet or countenance this aggravated iniquity.

We have a memorable inſtance in hiſtory, which may be fruitful of inſtruction, if timely and properly applied; it is a quotation made by Sir John Temple, in his hiſtory of the Iriſh rebellion, being an obſervation out of Giraldus Cambrenſis, a noted author, who lived about ſix hundred years ago, concerning the cauſes of the proſperity of the Engliſh undertakeings in Ireland, when they conquered that Iſland, he ſaith, 'That a ſynod, or council of the Clergy, being 'then aſſembled at Armagh, and that point fully de-'bated, it was unanimously agreed, that the ſins of 'the people were the occaſion of that heavy judgment 'then fallen upon their nation; and that eſpecially 'their buying of Engliſhmen from merchants and pi-'rates, and detaining them under a moſt miſerable 'hard bondage, had cauſed the Lord, by way of juſt 'retaliation, to leave them to be reduced, by the 'Engliſh, to the ſame ſtate of ſlavery. Whereupon 'they made a public act in that council, that all the 'Engliſh, held in captivity throughout the whole 'land, ſhould be preſently reſtored to their former 'Liberty.'

I ſhall now conclude with an extract from an addreſs of a late author to the merchants, and others, who are concerned in carrying on the Guinea Trade: Which alſo, in a great meaſure, is applicable to others, who, for the love of gain, are in any way concerned in promoting or maintaining the captivity of the Negroes.

'As the buſineſs, you are publicly carrying on 'before the world, has a bad aſpect, and you are ſen-'ſible moſt men make objection againſt it, you ought 'to juſtify it to the world, upon principles of reaſon, 'equity and humanity; to make it appear, that it is 'no unjuſt invaſion of the perſons, or encroachments 'on the rights of men; or for ever to lay it aſide.— 'But laying aſide the reſentment of men, which is 'but of little or no moment in compariſon with that 'of the Almighty, think of a future reckoning: con-'ſider how you ſhall come off in the great and awful 'day of accompt: 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, un-'der all that load of blood-guiltineſs, that now lies 'upon your ſouls? The goſpel 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, de-

'liberate

liberate practice of which you now live? 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 grosly 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 loved 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 sensible of your guilt, and repent in time.'

FINIS.