

Digitized by the Internet Archive in 2010 with funding from Associates of the Boston Public Library / The Boston Foundation

http://www.archive.org/details/shortsketchofevi1792craf

SHORT SKETCH

0 F

THE EVIDENCE

FOR THE

ABOLITION

OF THE

SLAVE TRADE,

Delivered before a Committee of the House of Commons.

TO WHICH IS ADDED, A

Recommendation of the Subject

TO THE

SERIOUS ATTENTION

OF

PEOPLE IN GENERAL.

ARTAR ARTAR

" ALL THINGS WHATSOEVER YE WOULD THAT MEN SHOULD DO TO YOU, DO YE EVEN SO TO THEM." Matt. chap. vii. ver. 12.

The the the the the

LONDON, PRINTED, PHILADELPHIA: RE-PRINTED BY DANIEL LAWRENCE. M.DCC.XCII.

٨

ADVERTISEMENT.

4 10 P # 13

SITUDE

A BOLLTION

XH .710

SKEUCH

The Defign of the following SHORT SKETCH is not to fuperfede, in any Degree, MORE IMPORTANT PUB-LICATIONS, but, on the Conirary, to extend their Circulation, and promote their Influence.

the state of the second of the

and the state to be to

SHORT SKETCH, &c.

A

- . .

TIRTUE, fay moralifts, is fo transcendently beautiful, that the need but be feen, to be univerfally admired : and is not vICE fo hateful, that the more its features are viewed, the more it will be avoided ? The traffic in the human fpecies, particularly as carried on by the Europeans on the coaft of Africa, has fo horrible an afpect, that nothing, one should think, but the MASK, under which it has been concealed, could have prevented all the civilized nations in the world uniting to drive the detefted Monfter from the face of the earth. This MASK is, however, at length taken away, and the traffic stands exposed in all its real, unalterable deformity. The PEOPLE are now called upon to behold, to feel, and judge for themfelves. The reprefentations of former writers on this fubject were roundly denied; the facts they stated were not only contradicted, but deemed impossible, and the authors themselves were accused of flander. Now we have a body of EVIDENCE to which to appeal; of evidence, poffeffing every effential of credibility. The witneffes have declared before the Select Committee of the Houfe of Commons, what they themfelves faw : they had the best opportunities of observation, and they are difinterested. And now it appears, that one half of the tale of human mifery hath not been told; and that every principle, that can bind a man

of honour and confcience,* loudly calls for the prohibition of the iniquitous traffic. Hard indeed must those hearts be, and inacceffible those understandings; + which fuch evidence cannot reach !

The Evidence delivered before the Select Committee of the House of Commons is very voluminous, occupying two thousand pages in folio. But a judicious Abstract and Arrangement of the Evidence, on the Part of the Petitioners for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, thas been published, and in a short compase, contains the evidence of well informed perfons on that subject.

In the PREFACE to this important volume of evidence we read of rewards offered for taking run-away negroes alive or dead—of laws being required to be made to prevent the practice of cutting off ears, nofes, and tongues—of breaking limbs and putting cut eyes—to prevent diffempered, maimed, and worn out negroes from infecting towns—to prevent aged and infirm negroes being driven from the plantations to farve. We meet alfo with fuch kind of PREAM-BLEs to acts as the following, viz.

'Whereas the extreme cruelty and inhumanity of the managers, overfeers, and book-keepers of effates, have frequently driven flaves into the woods, and occafioned rebellions, internal infurrections, &c. And whereas alfo it frequently happens, that flaves come to their deaths by hafty and fevere blows and other improper treatment of overfeers and book-keepers, in the heat of paffion; and when fuch accidents dohappen, the victims are entered in the plantation-

* Speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the the Houfe of Commons.

+ Fox's ditto.

+ Printed by J. Phillips, George-Yard, Lombard Street.

books, as having died of convultions, fits, or other caufes not to be accounted for; and to conceal the real truth of the caufe of the death of fuch flave. or flaves, he or they is or are immediately put under ground, &c. Other preambles of a fimilar complexion, refpecting the lodging, food, and clothes of negroes, are here to be met with. We alfo find that run-away negroes, when advertifed, are defcribed by the various brands upon their fhoulders, breafts, cheeks, and foreheads. A woman is defcribed with a wooden leg; a man as having both his ears cropt, and another by his nofe and ears being cut off.' Cornwall Chronicle, Nov. 7, 1789. Other inflances occur within the year 1791.

The FIRST CHAPTER contains an account of the Enormities committed by the Natives of Africa on the perfons of one another, to procure flaves for the Europeans, proved by the teftimony of fuch as have vifited that continent—and confirmed by accounts from the flaves themfelves, after their arrival in the Weft-Indies.

Under this head, we learn that Kidnapping, or as the natives call it, Panyaring, is very common, that war is made on purpofe to procure flaves. The king's foldiers fet fire to villages in the night, and feize the wretched inhabitants as they attempt to efcape from the flames, and many perifh, either by the fire or fword, in the execution of this horrid purpofe. A Boy, who was carried away in the night from his father's houfe, fays, he believes both his parents were killed, he is fure that one was, and that many others were killed and fome taken. Various inftances are mentioned of confummate treachery employed in making captives. Kidnapping is profefionally followed; large parties go up the country three

A 2

hundred miles to drive down captives-they go a wood-ranging, and pick up every one they meet, and strip them naked. The purchasers generally fay, they do not care how the fellers come by their flaves. Many are fold for crimes falfely imputed; the Judges participate the profits of the fale, and are therefore ftrongly induced to condemn the innocent. Crimes are invented and multiplied for the purpofe of traffic. The great men drefs up and employ women, to entice young men to be connected with them, that they may be convicted of adultery and fold. The flaves are feparated without the leaft regard to tics of confanguinity, or the pathetic expostulations and remonstrances of nature. When flave-flips are on the Coast the natives go armed, but are no where faie. The man, invited to drink with his neighbour, on rifing to go, is feized by two of them and a large dog : and this mode of feizure is common.

By the Second Chapter it appears that the Europeans, by means of the trade in flaves, are the occafion of the before-mentioned enormities; that they fometimes ufe additional means to excite the natives to practife them, often attempt themfelves to fleat the natives, and fucceed, force trade as they pleafe, and are guilty of injuftice in their dealings. In proof of this charge, we learn from the evidence, that Africans receive European goods in exchange for flaves that they declare when fhips ceafe to come (as in times of war) flaves ceafe to be taken. African dealers make the Princes drunk, in order to overcome their averfion to unprovoked war: they furnifh the natives with arms and ammunition and excite them to pillage.

The term war, in Africa, is used in general to fignify pillage; and when many towns are feen bla(7) zing in the night, the natives fay war is carrying on.

The Traders' advance goods to Chiefs to induce them to feize their subjects or neighbours. Capt. Patterson fet two villages at variance, and brought prifoners from both fides." It is not uncommon to make the natives drunk, and then buy them. General Rooke fays, that it was proposed to him by three English captains of ships, to kidnap a hundred, or a hundred, and fifty men, women, and children, king Damel's fubjects, who had come to Goree in confequence of the friendly intercourse between him and Damel: He refused and was much shocked by the proposition. They faid fuch things had been done by a former governor. Two men, black traders, were invited on board, intoxicated, and captured when afleep. The Gregfon's people, in running down the coaft, kidnapped thirty-two of the natives. The Dobfon's boat of Liverpool had ftolen a man and woman ;- the captain on the remonstrance of Capt. Briggs, who told him, there would be no more trade if he did not deliver up his two captives, reftored them; upon which the natives loaded a boat with yams, goate, fowls, honey, and palm wine, and would take nothing for them,-a ftriking inftance of forgivenefs of injuries, and of unmerited kindnefs !

We then meet with as opposite an exhibition of character as can possibly be conceived : three or four hundred Africans cruelly massace or carried off, by means of the treacherous contrivance of fix English captains in Old Calabar River. But let us " turn our eyes for relief to fome ordinary wickednefs"* : Some confider frauds as a necessary part of the traffic; they put false heads into powder cashs, cut off two or three yards from the middle of a piece of

. Wilberforce's Speech in the Houfe of Commons

cloth, adulterate fpirits, and fieab back articles given. Befides thefe, there are others who pay in bottles, which hold but half the contents of the famples fhewn; use false ficel-yards and weights, and fell fuch guns as burst on firing; fo that many of the natives of the windward coast, are without their fingers and thumbs on this account, and it has become a faying that these guns kill more out of the butt than the muzzle.

The Third Chapter contains an account of the tranfactions of the enflaved Africans, and of the method of confining, airing, feeding, and exercifing them; incidents on the paffage, and the manner of felling them when arrived at their defined ports; the deplorable fituation of the refufe or fickly flaves; feparation of relations and friends; mortality on the paffage, and frequently after fale; and the caufes of this mortality.

On being brought on board, fays Dr. Trotter, they fhew figns of extreme diffress and defpair, from a feeling of their fituation, and regret at being torn from their friends and connexions. They fometimes dream of being in their own country, and when they awake fhew their defpair by howling and fhrieking in a most dreadful manner. The women go into fits. In the course of the voyage, the flaves are chained to the deck every day from eight in the motning to four o'clock in the afternoon. They are fed twice a day with rice, yams, and horfe-beans, and now and then a little beef and bread : after each of these two meals they are allowed half a pint of water; and are forced to jump in their irons, which, by the flave dealers, is called making them dance. This exercise frequently occasions the fetters to excoriate their limbs; and, when it is very painful to move at all, they are compelled to dance by a cat-of-nine-tails. The captains order them to fing, and they fing fongs of forrow, the fubject of which are their wretched fituation, and the idea of never returning home : the witnefs remembers the very words upon thefe occasions.

The flaves are fo crouded below, that it is impoffible to walk among them without treading upon them. Dr. Trotter has feen the flaves drawing their breath with all those laborious and anxious efforts for life, which are obferved in expiring animals, fubjected by experiment to foul air, or in the exhausted receiver of an air pump : they cry out --- ' we are dying,' and many are irrecoverably loft by fuffocation, having had no previous figns of indisposition. They are closely wedged together, and have not fo much room as a man in his coffin, either in length or breadth. They fometimes go down well at night, and are found dead in the morning. Alexander Falconbridge was never among them for ten minutes together below, but his thirt was as wet as if dipped in water. Sometimes the dead and living are found fhackled together. They lie on the bare blanks, and the prominent parts of their bones, about the fhoulder-blade and knees, have frequently been feen bare. No fituation can be conceived fo dreadful and difgusting as that of flaves when ill of the flux. In the Alexander (A. Falconbridge fays) the deck was covered with blood and mucus, and refembled a flaughter-houfe ; the flench and foul air were intolerable. The flaves, flackled together, frequently quarrel, and make a great, diffurbance. Some refuse food and medicine, and declare they want to die. In fuch cafes compulsion is used. The fhips are fo fitted up as to prevent, by net-work, the flaves jumping overboard ; notwithstanding which they often attempt it, and fometimes fucceed, fhew-

ing figns of exultation in the very jaws of death. Some employ other means to deftroy themfelves, and others go mad. Some refolve to ftarve, and means are ineffectually used to wrench open their teeth: they perfift in their refolution, and effect their purpofe, in fpite of the utmost pains to prevent it. When feverely chastifed for not taking their food, they, have looked up with a fmile and faid, " prefently we fhail be no more." The thumbfcrew is an inftrument of torture, the application of it fometimes occasions mortifications, of which the negroes die. An inftance occurs of the cruelty of a captain to an infant only nine months old, which one would suppose too fhocking to be true, were it not corroborated by other fpecimens of as great cruelty in various parts of the evidence. After a feries of tortures the infant expired, and its favage murderer, not yet fatiated, would fuffer none of the people on deck to throw the body overboard, but called the Mother, the wretched Mother, to perform this laft fad office to her murdered child. Unwilling as it might naturally be fuppofed the was, to comply, " he beat her," regardless of the indignant murmurs of her fettered countrymen, whom in the barbarous plenitude of fecure tyranny, he permitted to be fpectators of this horrible fcene-" he beat her, until he made her take up the child and carry it to the fide of the vefiel, and then fhe dropped it into the fea, turning her head another way, that the might not fee it !"* Another instance occurs in this chapter, not perhaps of more cruelty, though of greater magnitude. Tiele a

10)

A fhip from Africa, with about four hundred flaves on board, ftruck upon fome fhoals, called the Morant Keys, diftant eleven leagues, S. S. E. off the

* Speech by W. Smith in the Houfe of Commons.

east end of Jamaica. The officers and feamen of the thip landed in their boats, carrying with them arms and provisions. The flaves were left on board in their irons and fhackles. This happened in the night time. When morning came, it was discovered that the negroes had got out of their irons, and were bufy making rafts, upon which they placed the women and children ; the men, who were capable of fwiming, attended upon the rafts, whilft they drifted before the wind towards the island where the feamen had landed. From an apprelienfion that the negroes would confume the water and provisions which the feamen had landed, they came to the refolution of deftroying them, by means of their fire-arms and other weapons. As the poor wretches approached the thore they actually deftroyed between three and four hundred of them. Out of the whole cargo only thirty three or thirty four were faved and brought to Kingfton, where they were fold at public vendue.

When the fhips arrive at their defined ports, the cargo of flaves is fold, either by fcramble or vendue. -The fale by fcramble is defcribed :---** A great number of people come on board with tallies in their hands (the fhip being firft darkened with fails and covered round; the men flaves placed on the main deck, and the women on the quarter deck) and rufh through the barricado door with the ferocity of brutes. Some have three or four handkerchiefs tied together, to encircle as many as they think fit for their purpofe. This is a very general mode of fale, and fo terrifies the poor negroes, that forty or fifty at a time have leaped into the fea; thefe, however, the witnefs believes, have been taken up again : the women have got away, and ron about the town as if they were mad. The flaves fold by public auction or ven-

due, are generally the refuse, or fickly flaves. Thefe are in fuch a ftate of health, that they fell greatly under price. They have been known to be fold for five dollars, a guinea, and even a fingle dollar each. Some that are deemed not worth buying are left to expire in the place of fale, for nobody gives them any thing to eat or drink, and fome of them live three days in that fituation ! In the fale no care is taken to prevent the feparation of relations; they are feparated (fays the evidence) like fheep and lambs by the butcher. Making the flaves walk the plank, is a term ufed for throwing them overboard when provisions are scarce. Sometimes the fhips lofe more than half their cargoes by the fmall-pox; at others they bury a quarter or one-third on the paffage, owing to various other caufes of mortality : and it is confessed by the planters,* that half the flaves die in the featoning, after arrival in the West-Indies. Surgeon Wilfon fays, that of the death of two-thirds of those who died in his ship, the primary caufe was melancho'y. The diforders which carry off the flaves in fuch numbers, are afcribed by Falconbridge to a difeafed mind, fudden transitions from heat to cold, a putrid atmosphere, wallowing in their own excrements, and being fhackled together. The captains, furgeons, &c. who have quitted the African flave-trade, uniformly declare the reafon to have been, that they could not confcientioufly continue in it : they fay, that it is an unnatural, iniquitous, and villainous trade, founded on injustice and treachery; manifeftly carried on by oppreffion and cruelty, and not unfrequently terminating ia murder. Capt. Hall fays, he quitted it (in opposi-tion to lucrative offers) from a conviction that it was perfectly illegal, and founded in blood.

(12)

* See Stanley's Speech in the Houle of Commons.

The Fourth Chapter gives an account of the general effimation and treatment of the flaves in the Weft-Indies. Dr. Jackfon fays, that the negroes are generally effecemed a fpecies of inferior beings, whom the right of purchafe gives the owner a power of using at his will. T. Woolrich fays, he never knew the best mafter in the Weft-Indies use his flaves fo well, as the worft mafter his fervants in England : that their flate is inconceivable--that a fight of a gang would convince more than all words.

Slaves are either Field Slaves, or in or out Door Slaves. The field-flaves begin their work at break of day. They work in rows, without exception under the whip of drivers, and the weak are made to keep up with the ftrong. They continue their labour (with two intermiffions, half an hour during the morning, and two hours at noon) till fun fet. In the intervals they are made to pick grafs for the cattle. 'Cook has known pregnant women worked and flogged a' few days before their delivery. Some, however, are a little-indulged when in that flate After the month they work with the children on their backs. In the cropfeafon the labour is of much longer duration*. The flaves fometimes work fo long that they cannot help fleeping, and then it not unfrequently happens, that their arms are caught in the mill and torn off. They are faid to be allowed one day in seven for rest, but this time is neceffarily employed in raifing food for the other days, and gathering grafs for their maflers The best allowance of food is at Barbadoes, cattle. which is a pint of grain for twenty four hours, and half a rotten herring when to be had. When the

* In fome effates it is ufual to dig a hole in the ground, which they put the bellies of pregnant women, while they whip them, that they may not excufe punifhment, nor yet endanger the life of the woman or child. B

herrings are unfit for the whites, they are bought up by planters for the flaves. Some allow nine pints of corn a week, and about one pound offalt fifh, which is the greatest allowance mentioned in the whole courfe of the evidence. Some have no provision but what they raife themfelves, and they are frequently fo fatigued by the labour of the reft of the week, as fcarcely to be able to work for their own fupport on the Sunday. And the land allotted them for this purpole is often at the diftance of three miles from their houses; it would, however, be quite ample for their fupport, were they allowed time fufficient for its cultivation. Sometimes when they have been at the pains of clearing their land, their mafters take it for canes, and give them wood land inftead of it. This hardfhip fome have fo taken to heart as to die. Putrid carcafes are burnt ; if they were buried, the flaves would dig them up and eat them, which would breed diffempers among them. They are fometimes driven by extreme hunger to fteal at the hazard of their lives. They are badly clothed; one half of them go almost naked. The flaves in general have no bed or bedding at all. Their houfes are built with four poles and thatched. They have little or no property. All the evidence (to whom the queftion has been proposed) agree in answering, that they never knew or heard of a field-flave ever amaffing fuch a fum, as enabled him to purchase his own freedom. The artificers, fuch as house carpenters, coopers, mafons, the drivers and head flaves, are better off. The owners of women let them out for proflitution, and flog them, if they do not bring home full wages.

The negroes, when whipped, are fuspended by the arms, with weights at their feet. They are first whipped with a whip made of cow-skin (which cuts out the flefh, whereas the military whips cut only the fkin,) and afterwards with ebony bushes (which are more prickly than thorn bushes in this country,) in order to let out the congealed blood. Dr. Harrifon thinks the whipping too fevere to be inflicted on any human being : he could lay two or three fingers into the wounds of a man whipped for not coming when he was called. Many receive from one hundred and fifty to two hundred lashes at a time; and in two or three days this is repeated : they walh the raw parts with pickle; this appears from the convultions it occations, more cruel than whipping; but it is done to prevent mortification. After fevere whipping, they are worked all day without food, except what their friends may give them out of their own poor pittance. They are returned to the flocks at night, and worked next day as before. This cruel treatment has made many commit fuicide. Cook has known fourteen flaves, who, in confequence thereof, ran into the woods and cut their throats together. These severe punishments are frequent. The fcars made by whipping laft to old age. T. Woolrich has feen their backs one undiftinguished mais of lumps, holes, and furrows. They fometimes die of mortification of the wounds. A planter flogged his driver to death, and boafted of having fo done.

Under the head of Extraordinary Punifhments (for those alreadynamed are reckoned only ordinary,)mention is made of iron collars with hooks*, heavy cat-

* General Tottenham faw a youth, about nineteen, walking in the freets, in a most deplorable fituation, entirely naked, and with an iron collar about his neck, with five long projectig fpikes. His body, before and behind, his breech, belly and thighs, were almost cut to pieces, and with running fores all over them, and you might put your finger in form of the wheals. He could not fit down, owing to his breech being in a flate of mortification, and it was impossible for him to lie down, from the projection of the prongs. The boy came to the general to alk relief. He was fhocked at his appearance, and alked him what he had done to

tle chains, and a half hundred weight fastened to them, which the negroes are forced to drag after them, when working in the field, fufpending by the hands 'till the fingers mortify ; flogging with ebony buthes,'till they are forced to go on all fours, unable to get up, being tied up to the branch of a tree, with a heavy weight round the neck, exposed to the noonday fun--thumb-fcrews; a man was put on the picket, fo long as to occasion a mortification of his foot and hand, on fuspicion of robbing his maffer; a public officer, of a fum of moncy, which it afterwards appeared, the master had taken himfelf. Yet the mafter was privy to the punifhment, and the flave had no compensation. He was punished by order of the master, who did not then chuse to make it known that he himfelf had made use of the money. 4 A girl's ears were nailed to a post, afterwards torn away, and clipt off close to her head, with a pair of large fciffars; befides this, fhe was unmercifully flogged, and all FOR---BREAKING A PLATE, OR SPILLING A CUP OF TEA! A negro, impelled by hunger, had ftolen part of a turkey, his mafter caufed him to be held down; and, with his own hands, took a hammar and punch and knocked out four of his teeth. The hand is cut off if lifted up against a white man, and the leg for running away. A planter fent for a furgeon to cut off the leg of a negro who had run away. On the furgeon's refufing to do it, the planter took an iron bar, and broke the leg in pieces, and then the furgeon took it off. This planter did many fuch-acts of cruelty, and all with impunity. The practice of dropping hot lead upon the negroes, is here mentioned. H. Rofs faw a young female fufpended by her wrifts fuffer fuch a punifirment, and who inflicted it. He faid it was his mafter, who lived about two miles from town, and that as he could not work, he would give him nothing to eat.

(16 -);

to a tree, fwinging to and fro, while her mafter applied a lighted torch to the different parts of her writhing body. It was notorious that Rushie tortured fo many of his negroes to death, that he was obliged to Another planter, in the fame Iflands, fell his estate. destroyed forty flaves out of fixty (in three years) by feverity. The reft of the conduct of this infamous wretch was cancelled by the Committee of the Houfe of Commons, as containing circumstances too horrible to be given to the world. We, however, go on to read of knocking on the head and ftabbing, of a hot iron forced between the teeth, of a flave thrown into the boiling juice, and killed, of a negro fhot and his head cut off. And it appears, that the women, deemed of respectability and rank, not only order and superintend, but fometimes actually inflict with their own hands fevere punishments on their flaves.

The offences for which the before-mentioned punifhments are inflicted are, not coming into the field in time, not picking a fufficient quantity of grafs, not appearing willing to work, when in fact fick and not able; for ftaying too long on an errand, for not coming immediately when called, for not bringing home (the women) the full weekly fum enjoined by their owners; for running away, and for theft, to which they are often driven by hunger.

Under the head of "Fxtraordinary Punifhments," fome appear to have fuffered for running away, or for lifting up a hand against a white man, or for breaking a plate, or spilling a cup of tea, or to extort confession. Others again, in the moments of fudden refentment, and one on a diabolical pretext, which the master held out to the world to conceal his own villany, and which he knew to be false.

> § Jamaica. B 2

The flaves have little or no redrefs againft ill-ufage of any fort; the laws to reftrict punifhment are a mere farce, and univerfally difregarded, or when pretended to be obferved they are in divers ways effectually evaded : befides, the evidence of a Black is in no cafe whatever admitted againft a White Man; which circumftance alone is enough to deprive the negroes of all legal protection whatever, were the laws, in other refpects, ever fo juft and falutary. Lieutenant Davidfon was fo, hurt at the fevere and frequent whippings of one of the women, that he complained to a magistrate, who faid, "he had nothing to do with it."

The particular inflances mentioned in the evidence, of flaves dying in confequence of fevere and cruel treatment from their mafters, were not punifhed, though generally known; nor do the perpetrators of thefe barbaraties appear to have fuffered any difgrace !

If you fpeak to a negro of future punifhments, he fays,----" Why fhould a poor negro be punifhed? he does no wrong? fiery cauldrons, and fuch things, are referved for white people, as punifhments for the oppreffion of flaves."

In the Fifth Chapter, it is proved, by fuch as have feen them in their own country, that the natives of Africa are equal to the Europeans in their natural capacities, feelings, affections, and moral character. They manufacture gold and iron, in fome refpects, equal to the European Artifts---alfo cloth and leather with uncommon neatnefs; the former they die blue, yellow, brown and orange. They are fkilled in making indigo and foap, and pottery wares, and prepare falt for their own ufe from the fea water. They alfo make ropes with aloes. With refpect to their moral character, they are very honeft and hofpitable : grateful and affectionate, harmlefs and innocent ; punctual in their dealings, and as capable of virtue as the Whites. They are fulceptible of all the focial virtues: generofity, fidelity, and gratitude, are allowed them by Dr. Stuart. Thefe virtues Dr. Jackfon enumerates, and adds charity to all in diffrefs, and a ftrong attachment on the part of parents to their children. T. Woolrich fays, he never knew of an African, who could express himfelf, that did not believe in the exiftence of a fupreme Being.

19

In the Sixth and Seventh Chapters it appears that the natives poffels industry and a spirit of commerce, fufficient for carrying on a new trade; that their country abounds with, and might easily be made still more productive of, many and various articles of commerce; but that the traffic in flaves is an infuperable impediment to opening a new trade.

In the Eighth Chapter it is inquired, whether the flave trade be not a grave (inftead of a nurfery) of the feamen employed in it

It appears by the multer-rolls of Liverpool and Briftol, that in 350 veffels, 12, 263 men were employed, out of whom 2643 were loft, that is to fay, more than a fifth of the whole number employed, or more than feven in every fingle voyage, befides nearly one half of thofe who go out with the flaips are conftantly left behind.

Capt. Hall (of the merchant's fervice) fays that the crews of the African fhips, when they arrive in the Weft Indies, are the moft miferable objects he ever met with in any country in his life : he doed not know a fingle inftance to the contrary. He has frequently feen them with their toes rotted off, their legs fwelled to the fize of their thighs, and in an ulcerated frate all over, &c. &c. This account is confirmed by Capt-Hall of the navy. Sir W. Young is of opinion, that a trade to Africa in the natural productions of the country, would not be attended with more inconvenience to the health of the feamen employed in it, than the prefent Weft-India Trade.

20)

In the Ninth Chapter we find that the feamen employed in the flave trade are in general barbaroufly used. They are worse fed both in quantity and quality of food than the feamen in other trades. They have little or no shelter night or day from the inclemency of the weather during the whole of the middle paffage. They are inhumanly treated when ill, and subjected to the fury of the impaffioned officers for very trifles. A boy, to avoid the cruel treatment of his officer. jump'd overboard, and was drowned. A man was killed with a hand fpike for being very ill and unable to work. Six men were chained together by their necks, legs; and hands, for making their escape from the veffel; they were allowed only a plantain a day; they all died in their chains; one of them (Thomas Jones a very good feaman) raving mad ! The evidence proves that inftances of wanton cruelty, and inhuman treatment in general, are numerous, various and frequent. One man, with both his legs in irons and his neck in an iron collar, was chained to the boat for three months, and very often most inhumanly beaten for complaining of his fituation, both by the captain and other officers. His allowance of provisions was fo fmall that (after his releafe from the boat, on account of extreme weaknes) he begged fomething to eat, faying that if it were not given him he should die :--- the captain reproached him, beat him, and bid him die and be damned. The man died in the night. This was in the Ship Sally,

on board of which ill-treatment was common. Another man was deliberately, by a feries of fhocking barbarities, murdered.

Sir Geo. Young remarks that a fhip of the line might be prefently manned by the failors who with to efcape from the miferies of African faips. One poor young man, when dying in confequence of the ill treatment he had received from the captain, faid (which were the laft words A. Falconbridge heard him fpeak) "I cannot punifh him (meaning the captain) but God will," The failors when fick are beaten for being lazy, till they die under the blows!

" If this be the real fituation of things, how happens it (the reader may perhaps afk) that the objects of fuch tyranny and opprefilon flould not obtain redrefs, and that our courts of law flould not have to decide upon more cafes of this kind, than they have, at prefent ?" It is anfwered, "thefe objects are generally without friends and money, without which the, injured will feek for juftice but in vain; and becaufe, the peculiarity of their fituation is an impediment to their endeavours for redrefs." Whoever wiftes for a more particular anfwer to this queftion, may meet with it in "Clarkfon's Effay on the Impolicy of the African Slave-Trade," (page 52) from which the, queftion and the above general reply are quoted.

If it thould ftill be afked, " how it happens that feamen enter for flave veffels, when fuch general, ill utage on board of them can hardly fail of being known?" the reply muft be taken from the evidence, " that whereas fome of them enter voluntarily, the greater part of them are trepanned; for that it is the bufinefs of certain landlords to make them intexicated, and get them into debt, after which their only altern ative is a Guineaman or a Goal.

(21)

In the Tenth Chapter it is proved not to be true, what fome fay, that the natives of Africa are happier in the European colonies than in their own country.⁴ They love their own country, but deftroy themfelves in the colonies, &c. &c. But any comparison between the two fituations is as (H. Rofs fays, tho' on another occasion) " an infult to common fenfe."

The Eleventh, Twelfth, and Thirteenth Chapters are on the fubject of negro population in the colonies, and plainly fhew that the importation of fresh Africans might immediately be superceded, by the introduction of general good treatment, and of ecertain falutary regulations therein suggested.

The Fourteenth Chapter is employed to demonftrate, from the evidence before the committee, that the colonifts would be able to carry on the neceffary cultivation of their lands, without a frefh importation of flaves while the generation immediately fucceeding the regulations proposed, were growing up to fupply the vacancies occasioned by the natural deaths of the flaves of all ages, now in their possefilion.

The Fifteenth Chapter inquires, whether there be not a prevailing opinion in the colonies, that it is cheaper to buy or import flaves than thus to increafe them by population. And whether the very reverfe of this opinion be not true : namely, that it is more profitable to breed than to import. The refult of this inquiry is clearly in favour of the *immediate* Abolition of the African Slave Trade. The fame may be faid of the fixteenth and haft chapter, in which it is confidered. Whether it be more political to extend the cultivation of the colonies by the continuance of the flave-trade, or wait till the rifing generation fhall be capable of performing it.

Having thus taken a general view of the most

friking features of the evidence for the abolition of the traffic in the human fpecies, as carried on by the English on the coast of Africa, it might not be improper to close it with the declaration of a virtuous and wife Senator, whose indefatigable labours on behalf of the oppressed Africans, cannot fail to insure him the unfeigned respect of every lover of freedom and humanity:

"THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE (fays he) is indispensibly required of us, not only by religion and morality, but by every principle of sound policy"."

The noble exordium of another able advocate of the fame righteous caufe, must not however be omitted in this place : The Houfe of Commons being now apprized of the nature of this trade, having received evidence, having had the facts undeniably established, knowing, in fhort, what the Slave-Trade was, he declared, that if they did not, by the vote of that night, mark to all mankind their abhorrence of a practice fo enormous, fo favage, fo repugnant to all laws, human and divine, it would be more fcandalous, and more defaming, in the eyes of the country, and of the world, than any vote which any Houfe of Commons had ever given. He defired them ferioufly to reflect, before they gave their votes, what they were about to do that evening. If they voted that the Slave Trade fhould not be abolished, they would, by their vote that night, give a Parliamentary fanction to RAPINE; ROB-BERY and MURDER; for a fystem of rapine, robbery, and murder, the Slave Trade had now must clearly been proved to bet.

* Speech of W. Wilberforce in the Houfe of Commons. † Speech of C. J. Fox in the Houfe of Commons. Reported by Woodfall. It remains now to recommend, as earneftly and as frongly as poffible, to the inhabitants of this Land of Freedom individually, a particular and ferious attention to THE ABSOLUTE NECESSITY, ON EVERY CONSIDERATION OF MORALITY AND JUSFICE, OF PUTTING AN'END TO A FRACTICE SO PREGNANT WITH CIRCUMSTANCES OF TERROR AND ALARM TO THIS COUNTRY.

Much has been lately done, by the united friends of equitable freedom, in circulating throughout the kingdom important information on this interefting fubject : but much remains yet to be done. The, minds of many have been informed, and their indignation justly kindled by the hiftory of a commerce " written throughout in characters of blood*." : But the underftandings it is to be feard, of a great majority of the people of England, are still unenlightened. Should the foregoing Short Sketch of the Evidence, awaken the feelings, or quicken the attention, of any, in favour of their greatly injured fellow-creatures, the oppreffed Africans, it is much to be wilhed, that they will not haftily difinifs the fubject from their recollection, or fuffer its painful impressions to be made in vain : but feek a further acquaintance, with the evidence, which the more they examine, the ftronger will be their inducements to exert every power and faculty they poffels, for the purpole of procuring the -Abolition of the Slave-Trade. Let no one fay, "my fituation of privacy and obfcurity, precludes all poffibility of ferving the caufe"--- for the greatest numbers confift of units," and the most mighty, exertions of ftates , and empires are but aggregates of individual ability. Next to Members of Parliament, all who have any just influence in the election of them, are parti-

* Speech of W. Wilberforce Efq. in the Houfe of Commons.

(25)

cularly concerned to confider, how far the attainment of the great end we have in view may depend upon their conduct. We may certainly conclude, that whoever is not a friend to the liberty of the meanest fubject, is not fit to be entrusted with that of the state : and even those who have no vote, are nevertheles comprehended in our idea of the public mind, --- nor is any man of fense and virtue, let his fituation in a free country be what it may, to be deemed of no ac-Upon his judgment, his voice (if not his count. vote, his example, much may depend. The difcovery of truth, the communication of ufeful knowledge, and the exemplary recommendation of virtuous conduct, may dignify a plebeian, as well as add luftre to a crown. Even a negro flave, amidst the horrors of a middle paffage, and debafed by every external circumftance of degradation and mifery that the imagination can conceive, shall divide his meagre morfel ± with the inhuman monfter in diftrefs, who stole him from his native country, and his nearest connexions, thereby returning all the GOOD in his power, for all the EVIL his mercilefs enemy could inflict, and giving an example of true benevolence of heart and real greatpels of mind, unfurpaffed in the hiftory of civilized nations, and worthy of the beft and pureft of all religions :--- " if thine enemy hunger, feed him ; if he thirst, give him drink "." Let no one, therefore, think too meanly of himfelf when called upon to affift in a good cause, feeing, that from the most abject state of human wretchedness a lesson may fometimes be learnt, and an influence imparted which the proudeft philosophy need not blush to own. The abolition

‡ In one of the fhips we find the flaves privately and voluntarily feeding the hungry failors with a part of their own feanty allowance.

|| Rom. xii. chap. 20. ver.

of the flave trade is an object of fuch high importance, and fo nearly concerns every one who has a mind to comprehend, and a heart to feel, that no communication or affiftance is too *fmall*, nor any too great, to be exerted upon this occasion.

Some people feem inclined to lend an ear to tales of human woe, and feel a certain gratification in beholding the exhibitions of tragedy, or in the perufal of pathetic poetry, and the like. Even the cafe of the oppressed Africans, when represented by their favourite bards, or appearing in the form of the " Dying Slave," or the " Negro's Complaint," feem to poffels, if not charms to pleafe, at least powers forcibly to attract their willing attention, and to win their fympathetic regard. Yet the evidence delivered before the House of Commons, containing a true and faithful account of the miferies and wickedness attendant upon the traffic in their fellow-creatures, unembellished by flourishes of rhetoric, undecorated with the fplendid habiliments of poetry, is almost in vain recommended to their notice. Should they be prevailed upon to caft their eye over a few pages of the fhocking hiftory, they prefently flut up the book --it makes them shudder --- they have read enough --fuch horrid barbarities, fuch complicated fufferings, are not to be endured even in imagination ! But let fuch remember --- " that humanity confifts not in a fqueamish ear --- it confists not in a starting or shrinking at fuch tales as thefe, but in a difposition of heart to relieve mifery, and to prevent the repetition of cruelty :--- Humanity appertains rather to the mind than to the nerves, and prompts men to real, difinterefted endeavours to give happinefs to their fellow-creaturess." It is therefore to be wifhed that no affection

- § Fox's Speech in the Houfe of Commons.

of extreme fenfibility, or real effininacy of manners, may difincline, or difqualify, for the fervice of humanity. That extreme DELICACY which deprives us, if not of the difpofition, yet of the ability to encounter fuffering for the fake of, and in order to help our brethren in affliction, and under the fevereft oppeffion, is detrimental to its poffeffor, and injurious to the community; it renders compaffion a painful, ufelefs thing, and makes beneficence fruitlefs.

To the bufy and the gay " a great book is a great evil." Two THOUSAND PAGES IN FOLIO, written (like Ezekiel's roll) within and without, --- lamentations, mourning and woe, ftand but little chance of obtaining their notice --- even THE ABSTRACT OF THE EVIDENCE, would detain fome of them too long. from their eager pursuits of business, or their favourite fchemes of pleafure. This HASTY SKETCH will not, however, it may be prefumed, encroach too much upon their time; and well rewarded will the compiler of it be, if it should prove a stimulus to further investigation of the Evidence. No one knows what opportunities he may have, or how far his influence may extend, to affift the endeavours now ufing for the abolition of a trade, the continued carrying on of which, after being fo fully apprized of its dreadful enormity, may be expected (without the fmallest tincture of fuperstious fear) to expose this nation to the just punishment of PROVIDENCE.

Three nations, Juvan, Tubal, and Meshech, are mentioned in Scripture || as having their principal trade at Tyre in the *felling of men*. This circumflance has been appealed to in vindication of the African Slave-Trade :---but mark the fequel. In the following chapter, verse 18, the Prophet address || Ezek. xxvii, 13. the Prince of Tyre thus :---" Thou hast defiled thy fanctuaries by the multitude of thine iniquities, by the iniquity of thy traffic : *therefore* will I bring forth a fire from the midst of thee, it shall devour thee, and I will bring thee to ashes upon the earth." A prophecy which has been remarkably fulfilled.

The great leader in the Debates of the Houfe of Commons on this momentous fubject has declared----"That interefted as he may be fuppofed to be in the final event of the quefiion, he was comparatively indifferent as to the then decifion of the Houfe. Wtatever they might do, the people of Great Britain, he was confident, would abolifh the flave-trade, when, as would now foon happen, its injuftice and cruelty fhould be fairly laid before them. It was (faid he) a neft of ferpents, which would never have endured fo long, but for the darknefs in which they lay hid. The light of day would now be let in upon them, and they would vanish from the fight."

W. B. C.



