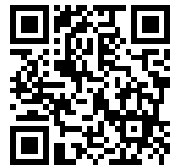

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Am I not a Man? and a Brother?

SINCE the abominable traffick in the Human Species, or according to the common term, The Slave Trade; hath become a Subject of general conversation and enquiry, many sensible productions have appeared from the press, demonstrating the enormity of this practice, considered with respect to the Rights of Humanity, the Rules of Morality, and the Spirit of the Christian Dispensation. On all these points it plainly appears that nothing can be said to any effect in defence of this horrid iniquity. But to the eternal disgrace of this nation having received the sanction of *Law*, one author*, in a discourse delivered before the University of Cambridge, has ventured to attack it on this ground, and maintained that even in this view it is not defensible. I freely declare myself of the same opinion. No human institution whatsoever can make it justifiable. *Law*, by certain permissions, or by its sanctions may procure and may establish, but cannot justify the commission of evil. To make *Human Law* properly valid, its foundation and object must be in conformity with the

* Dr. Peckard.

A

Commands

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Commands of God, and the Common Rights of Human Nature : but the Traffick in the Human Species is destructive of the one, and contradictory to the other, and therefore is not justifiable by any Human Institution.

The advocates for this traffick finding that their proceedings are contrary to the dictates of Humanity, of Morality, and of Religion, and indefensible even under the Sanction of Human Law, have shifted their ground, and taken up a different mode of defence. They say that neither Religion, Morality, nor Humanity is concerned in transactions with Beings that are not of the Human race. This too, is indeed a grievous error; for even supposing the Negroes to be Brutes, the benevolent spirit of religion teaches us that a truly righteous man is merciful to his beast, and that they are entitled even in this view to a treatment far different from that which they receive at our hands.

The opinion now industriously propagated, for what reason I am unwilling to say, is that the native inhabitants of Africa are not of the Human Species; that they are Animals of an inferior class; or if they have any relationship to the human race, they are some spurious brood, arising from some impure mixture (no one knows when or where) and are so far debased as to have lost all title to Humanity. That they have no idea of *Civil Government*, no idea of *Moral distinctions*, no idea of *Religion*, no idea of a *God*, or a *future state* of existence. These are bold assertions, and unwarrantable opinions, which on examination will not be found agreeable to Truth. They are equally contrary to sound sense, to true philosophy,



phy, and to historical fact. Nor indeed would it be worth while to refute them, were they not taken up and maintained in a dogmatizing manner, by some persons whose positions and declarations, notwithstanding their falsehood, will have an extensive, and pernicious influence*.

When men of high rank and esteem, men of liberal education, of fine parts, and great erudition, men regularly trained in the study of Law, and Politics, whose opinions and judgment in difficult matters of State have been anxiously requested, and much depended upon—when men so qualified, are nevertheless so prejudiced, and so hardened in heart, as with unbecoming vehemence to maintain and spread these false and humiliating opinions of their Natural Brethren: what but the worst of bad consequences must follow? a continuance of the most detestable of all crimes, the traffick in Human Blood.

I will begin then with the first of these favourite doctrines, that which states the Negroes to be a spurious brood arising from some impure mixture; which, we are given to understand, “may be presumed, from the concupiscence expressed by the Males of an inferior race of animals for Connection with the Black Women.”

The instances of unnatural concupiscence either amongst the Negroes themselves, or from other

* I do not know that any of these advocates for Slavery have, on the points just mentioned, in form given their opinions to the public; it may be they are ashamed to do it; but this I know, that too many are both earnest and artful in this unworthy work; having not only been present at debates of this sort, but been a witness also to their unhappy effect: in which, ideas of imaginary policy have been of a power superior to the Precepts of Religion, and the Dictates of Humanity.

animals, if urged as proofs that Negroes are not of the Human race, seem to me indeed very inconclusive. Let us suppose, for argument sake, that the species of Ape, called the Ourang Outang, may have shewn an appetite, or even (as is asserted) a preference for the Black Women over the females of his own species; does it therefore follow that the Black Women are not of the Human race? This is but loose reasoning. Does not history inform us that this animal has sometimes made lascivious attempts upon Women of a white complexion? Are they also to be degraded from the dignity of Human Nature because One of the Brute Creation is unnaturally lascivious? Or if it should be urged that either Negroe Men or Women have at any time shewn a similar impurity of Appetite, is any one in this enlightened age so uninformed as to suppose that from any unnatural mixture a third class of Beings can be produced that shall be prolific? But the Negroes are prolific; they are therefore not descended from an impure connection, but stand regularly in the place that God has been pleased to allot them in the scale of created Beings, namely, in the rank of Men.

Unnatural lusts, wheresoever they exist, though for a time they counteract, and in some degree disturb the order of Creation, yet they cannot subvert it, or make one Kind break in upon another. These infamous sensualities prove indeed a great degree of Moral Depravity, which has even from the earliest times infatuated mankind. The history of Lot, and the destruction of Sodom is a dreadful example of its prevalence in that distant age. Moses also (Lev. xviii.) has given

given particular prohibitions against the enormities arising from this depravity, and tells the Israelites that all the enumerated "*abominations have the men of the Land done, who were before you, and the Land is defiled.*" The authors generally denominated the Profane, both in prose and poetry give ample testimony of the same wretched depravity in every age. St. Paul, addressing himself to the people of the first empire in the world, then in a state of high refinement, makes the same charge against them. Our laws make these offences capital, which supposes their existence; and in the last century one even of Episcopal order (Atherton) was brought to an ignominious death for the commission of a crime against nature.

This moral depravity then hath held its unnatural dominion over men in every age, and in every part of the world; and yet, as far as we are able to judge, the order, and regularity of Nature continues as it was from the beginning. From hence I conclude that no irregularity of men can introduce an irregularity into the works of God: that they cannot introduce any permanent race of animals that was not created by him: that God hath given to every *Kind* of Beings bounds which cannot be passed. *Sorts* indeed may intermix, and produce new *Sorts*; but *Kinds* will be for ever kept distinct. And this is a law which subsists even in the vegetable as well as the animal world; otherwise the order of creation might soon be thrown into confusion. A total chaos would ensue; that would require a new Creation. Negroes therefore, being able to produce their offspring, are not a spurious brood

from any unnatural mixture, but are of the race of Men originally created by God. And as black men connected with white women, and black women connected with white men produce offspring, which offspring respectively is prolific, I therefore maintain that Black and White men, though different in *Sort* are the same in *Kind*, and consequently that Negroes are Men.— But too much of this already; common delicacy, and common modesty forbid any farther attention to so preposterous a topic.

Having here made use of the terms *Kind* and *Sort*, with some deviation from logical precision, I must offer a short explanation of my meaning, by way of apology. I have considered *Man* as a *Kind*, using *Kind* as the Generic term, and Black, White, &c. as the different *Sorts*, or Species of Men. This I confess is not strictly according to rule, because in the division of *Being*, *Animal* is the Generic term, and *Man*, *Beast*, &c. is only a Species of that Genus. But as that *One* term, which may with truth be asserted of *Many*, that which, as Logicians express it, is *Unum aptum predicari de multis*, may with some degree of propriety be called a Genus, or *Kind*, and as the term *Man* may with truth be asserted of *Many*, of the white, the black, the tawny, the olive complexioned, and the copper, I therefore hope to be pardoned for the liberty of classing *Man* as a Genus, or *Kind*, and the differently complexioned individuals as so many species or *Sorts* of men.

But other arguments of a different nature have been produced in defence of this favourite opinion, that seem to me not more conclusive than that already considered. There are doubtless many

many circumstances of constitutional difference amongst the Individuals of the Human race. The most striking perhaps is that of Colour. But as the cause of this difference is not determined, as it is "acknowledged to be unknown whether it resides in the reticular membrane between the skin and scarf skin, or in the scarf skin itself, whether it proceeds from the colour of the blood, the colour of the bile, or from that of some other secretion," it seems to me to be rather too hasty a step, from this circumstance publickly acknowledged to be as to its nature, its origin, and its seat unknown, to form a positive conclusion of such importance as that the Negroes are not Men. Besides, where are we to draw the line of distinction? how are we to determine with precision who is or is not black? There are many gradations in human complexions. And if they are to be denominated black who are not white, and all who are black are to be struck out of the Human race, we shall unhumanize at least nine tenths of the inhabitants of this world.

But farther, how does it appear what was the colour of the first man and woman? were they both white, or both black, or one of a light, and the other of a dark complexion? If we may be permitted to form any conclusion from the name of the first man, we may be induced to think that he was of a dark complexion; at least that he was not white, as the word Adam signifies Red, or that which is of the colour of Blood. And from the same authority we may conclude that Eve was of the same complexion, as we are told that in the day that God created Man, Male and Female created he them, and blessed them,

and called *their name* Adam, in the day when they were created. Gen. v. 1, 2. Be this as it may, it is probable that either the White men or Negroes are seminal varieties from the first man and woman, and therefore that they equally partake of Humanity. In the histories of black nations, except my memory fails me, I have read that sometimes a white child has been produced when both the parents were undoubtedly black; and more than one instance of this sort is related in Captain Cook's Voyages*. I have also heard that a white woman has been delivered of a black child, when both the parents were supposed to be white.

These seminal varieties amongst individuals are permitted, perhaps ordained in every class of Beings, but they never proceed so far as to produce any alteration in the Kind to which they belong. The different sorts of Dogs are almost without number, all produced probably from the Dog, Fox, or Wolf, or some intermixture of these, which are of the same *Kind*, and are seminal varieties originally derived from one male, and one female of the same *Sort*. But no connection of any of these with Cat, or Sheep, will produce a Third that shall produce offspring. Not many years since an Animal, which the Author has seen, was brought into the world from the connection of a Buck with a Cow. The two Kinds were plainly visible in the offspring, but this (by information) never could be made Prolific.

The same Law holds good with respect to Ve-

* Mr. Jefferson, I understand, has given a curious account of that Anomaly in nature, the *White Negroe*, of which, instances now and then appear chiefly of the Female Sex.—See Month. Review, May 1788. See also the History of *White Negroes*. Mod. Un. Hist. Vol. xvi.

getables.

getables. The seeds of an Apple will produce Apples, but all perhaps with a considerable degree of difference from those of the original tree, And by engrafting, and other modes of intermixing the various seminal varieties, Sorts in appearance quite new may be produced. The same may be said of Peaches, Nuts, &c. But the seeds of an Apple can never be made to produce a Peach, or Nut. And if by any unnatural mixture of Kinds, a Third Being may be artificially brought forth, that Third never will become Prolific. Kinds then will, according to the appointment of God, be ever preserved and kept distinct from one another. But from Seminal Varieties of Individuals, and different intermixtures of these Varieties, we might easily account for all the differences we perceive in every particular class, or sort of Being. And if we also take into consideration the difference of climate, and its effects, with the manner of Education, and many other local circumstances, we may by the same mode of reasoning account for every difference of appearance which we perceive in the Individuals of the Human Race, with respect to Colour, Magnitude, Bodily Form, or Mental Ability, from the Samoyede to the Patagonian, and from the woolly, and, as we contemptuously think, stupid Negro, to the fairest and most sprightly European.

The author of these imperfect observations had once an opportunity of seeing four generations descended from a Negroe married to a white woman: in which the gradations from black to white, and the change of other characteristic circumstances was very visible, till at length the difference of the fourth generation from the white children

children of the country was scarcely perceptible. It is said that the Spaniards after three generations from an intermixture of Spaniard and Peruvian, consider the offspring of that connection as Spanish*.

It seems to be an impropriety in terms to speak of *White* Negroes, but such persons there are, more properly denominated by the Portuguese, Albinos. Of which we are informed that there are great numbers in different parts of Africa. Nor can this variation in complexion be, as hath sometimes been conjectured, the effect of disease, because they are found at least equally robust, if not more so, than the black Natives. And on this presumption the Portuguese have sent some of them to work in their mines in America, but find them so strong in mind as well as body, and so resolute that they starve themselves to death, rather than submit to Slavery. These Albinos are all descended from *black* parents, but have the other particularities of the Negro form. There is therefore very little stress to be laid upon the tincture of the skin as an argument to prove that the Native Africans are not of the *Human* race, since the Africans are sometimes found to possess the European Tincture.

There was a time when a new and shocking sort of the Human Kind might possibly have been introduced into the world. About some fifty years since a poor creature was exhibited as a public spectacle. His body was covered with

* Upon the subject of Colour see Mr. Clarkson's excellent Essay on the Slav. and Comm. of the Hum. Spec. part 3. ch. 9. &c. also Mod. Un. Hist. of Loango, Congo, and Angola, vol. xvi.

morbid

morbid excrescencies that were thought something like the quills upon the porcupine. It was said, I remember, at the time, that this unfortunate Man married, and had a son very like to himself; but what afterwards became of either father or son, the author never was informed. These observations might be much enlarged and varied, but these may be sufficient to shew that we ought to be very cautious how we peremptorily pronounce any one *Not* of the Human race merely from different circumstances of external appearance.

We were in danger all of us not long since of being degraded from our natural dignity by a very ingenious, a very learned, and a very worthy man, well known in the literary world. It seems that he had an acquaintance in the highlands of Scotland, who to the other members of the human body had the addition of a tail, which was imagined to be not unlike that of a Monkey. This circumstance occasioned a doubt whether Man might not be of the Monkey race. But surely this doubt attributed rather too much to this preternatural elongation of the *Os Coccygis*. I remember many years since to have seen in the Museum at Oxford, a Horn which grew upon the head of a woman. It is very much like that of a ram, or that with which Jupiter Ammon is generally represented. If we say that Men are Monkeys on account of this anomalous tail of a Highlander, might we not with equal justice say on account of this horn that women are of the race of Rams, or are descended all from Jupiter Ammon?

To those who may be influenced by arguments
of

of this sort I would take the liberty to recommend an attention to the venerable, but now neglected authority of Burgerſdicius, Crackenthorpius, and various other names equally melodious. Here they might find in logical definition what Man really is; namely, that he is *Animal riſibile, rationale, bipes et implume*; a riſible, rational, two-footed, unfeathered animal: that all animals who poſſeſs theſe diſtinguiſhing qualities are men, notwithstanding that a præternatural tail or horn may occaſion ſometimes a little demur. But the Negroes poſſeſs theſe diſtinguiſhing qualities, therefore, &c.

On this point indeed a conceſſion is neceſſary. Since their acquaintance with the European dealers in Human blood, it is true that they have never been known actually to laugh, becauſe laughter is an exertion expreſſive of joy and happineſs. But on Anatomical Inveſtigation it would appear that they are nevertheleſs poſſeſſed of the fifth pair of Nerves, and the communication between the Plexus Nervofus, and the Diaphragmatic nerves in equal perfection with the Europeans*. They have therefore the power of laughter from nature, and ſo far as this proof goes they are Men. Nay, they have in fact, by our *wholeſome* and *neceſſary* diſcipline continually impreſſed upon their countenance the *Sardonian* laugh, or that which expreſſes the excruciating agonies of Death reſulting from intolerable torture. I ſuppoſe farther, that it will be allowed that they are not feathered, and that they have two feet. They are poſſeſſed then of three out

* Theſe have been repreſented by ſome Anato miſts as the immediate Organ of Laughter.

of

of the four Logical particulars that constitute a Man.

The reader, it is hoped, will pardon all that looks like levity in the preceding passages: for gross absurdity eludes the force of regular argument, and seems fittest to be answered by ridicule or even Satyrical pleasantry. I also earnestly entreat his indulgence for any asperity of expression into which I may inadvertently have fallen: for the indignation I feel at such inhuman barbarities may probably have led me beyond the bounds of strict moderation.

The remaining article, or their Rationality, shall be more seriously considered, after a few words bestowed on some other Anatomical marks of difference said to exist between these unfortunate creatures, and their European Tormentors.

The Negroes then, it is urged, "have thick lips, and woolly hair: they have also less hair on the face and body than Europeans. They secrete less by the Kidneys, and more by the skin, which gives them a disagreeable odour." The discoveries relative to the Pulmonary Apparatus, said by Mr. Jefferson to have been made by Mr. Crawford, an ingenious Anatomist, refer, I apprehend, to these points of Anatomy: but surely from these circumstances we shall not be justified in concluding that Negroes are not of the Human Race. But then "they require less sleep than Europeans." A Black, it is said, after hard labour through the day, will be induced by the slightest amusement to sit up till midnight, though he must return to his severe labours with the dawn of the morning. Poor Creature! and must this circumstance, which shews his resignation, his
humility,

humility, his patience, his contentment under his unmerited and cruel fate, must this be a reason for degrading him from his rank in the creation? It is acknowledged that the Negroes, are at least as brave, and more adventurous than the white men. They are, it is said, more ardent after their females, but that Love seems with them to arise more from Appetite than Sentiment. Alas! where should they learn that delicacy of Sentiment which is to be found only in refined and polished Society? And if all who are void of these delicate sentiments are to be degraded from the rank of men, I fear that even in refined and polished Society the argument would have a more extensive operation than they who make use of it would wish. "Comparing the Negroes, it is said, with Europeans, by their faculties of Memory, Reason and Imagination, it appears that in Memory they are equal to the Whites; in reason much inferior, as scarce any could be found capable of tracing and comprehending the Investigations of Euclid." But even in this land of learned improvement, might we not produce many a moping rustic, and many a modern fine Gentleman who labour under the same incapacity?

But they are charged with being vicious, sensual, given up to meer appetite and passion, without any check or controul from reason. Are they therefore not Men? Good God! how many are there in the highest ranks of polished society who exceed the lowest Negroes in these enormities, who to a blind and desperate indulgence of sensual appetite, and inordinate passion, without any check or controul from reason, and even with the advantages of a liberal education, sacrifice health,

health, property, independence, family, friends, Country! We must not therefore from the low and irrational gratifications that *may* be found amongst the Negroes conclude that they are not Men, lest we should involve under that character many who now hold the most distinguished place in polite assemblies.

I will now proceed to the proof of their Rationality, the fourth logical quality that tends to denominate them Men. This proof I shall deduce from four Topics, their skill in Music, in Medicine, in Poetry, in Moral Writing; to which might indeed be added their singular ingenuity in many mechanical arts; as also their great skill in imitating Gold by some Chymical process to such a degree of Accuracy as frequently to deceive the European Traders. A few words will be sufficient on each.

They have given then plain demonstration of a turn and power for composition in Music. They have been found capable of composing a Catch; no mean effort in that delightful Science, honoured amongst us by the protection of the Great, and encouraged by annual rewards. They have also various African instruments of Music; one in its construction nearly allied to the Guitar; another called the Balafo, composed of several pipes of hard wood set in order, which diminish by little and little in length, and thus produce the different notes of the Gamut †. “ Their abilities in music are such as to have been generally noticed. They play frequently upon a variety of Instruments without any other assistance than their own ingenuity. They have tunes of

† See Gennes Voy. Collect. vol. viii. p. 954.

their

their own composition. Some of these have been imported among us, are now in use, and are admired for their sprightliness and ease, though the ungenerous and prejudiced importer has concealed their original *."

Several of these instruments they accompany with the voice, and produce a delicate and most enchanting harmony. In the year 1670 the French sent some ships to Ardrah under the command of Commodore D'Elbee. Two days after his arrival, The Prince Royal and The Captain of Commerce came to the Sea Side to conduct him to Court. Different companies of Blacks approached with drums beating, and colours flying and various instruments of Musick, which in Military Processions are also attended by Bards who animate the men by singing the valorous actions of their ancestors. The Master of Horse walked on foot, richly dressed, and bearing on his Shoulder the Sword of State. Several Grandees followed, and the procession was closed by above 10,000 Blacks. The Prince was about 30, of a large stature, his face handsome, his eyes fine, his teeth regular and white, his countenance smiling, and his whole manner agreeable. He wore an European hat, with red and white feathers, a robe of Taffety, that flowed loose and long behind, a broad Taffety Scarf and red Morocco Slippers. He ordered dinner in the Tent, which consisted of Beef, Wild Boar, Goats Flesh, Pulletts, and other Fowls with ragouts made of Palm-oil. He was served on the knee, and fanned all the while by officers with scented fans. Water for washing was served in Crystal Cups, with

* Clarkson on Slav. and Comm. p. 119.

napkins

napkins neatly folded, after the last course; when Palm Wine, Sack, Port, and Claret, were set upon the Table in the fashion and with all the politeness of the most refined Luxury of Europe.

After this the Commodore was introduced with great formalities to the King, who was about seventy, tall and robust with large and lively eyes; penetration and wisdom appeared in his countenance. He was dressed very richly in the Persian fashion, and wore a crown of finely polished Ebony. The King proposed to the Commodore a Visit to the Prince, who received them in his Audience Chamber, which was spacious and handsome; and the floor was covered with a rich Turkey Carpet.

This visit being ended Mons. D'Elbee supped, by invitation with the High Priest. The finest Mats were spread for Table Cloths on a Turkey Carpet. Satin and Taffety Cushions were brought for the Guests to sit on, while China Plates, with fine Napkins were served round, and the repast consisted of Ragouts, boiled, and roasted meats, with divers sorts of Wines.

Music enlivened the entertainment, and voices were heard like those of children at a distance, which corresponded, like the Echo of the stronger voices, and were accompanied with the ringing of small bells. The Priest, perceiving the Commodore's attention, asked his opinion, who expressed his astonishment and delight in the singing of the Children. They are my Wives, the Priest replied, who afford you this amusement. It is not customary to shew our Wives; but to convince you of the Esteem I have for your Nation,

B

I will

I will give you that satisfaction if you please. He then conducted the Company to a high Gallery, with a window into the Hall where they had supped. Here were 70 or 80 women, covered only with taffety Paans, the upper part of the body being wholly naked. They sat in rows on Mats at the ends and sides of the Gallery, undisturbed, and unconcerned at the entrance of the Company, and continued with a modest and bashful look to sing, and play with iron rods and small copper bells. So much for their Proficiency in Music.

With respect to a capacity for Medical knowledge, it appears that the Province of Carolina is under higher obligations to a Negroe, than perhaps to any other practical Professor of that important Science. It was a Negroe who discovered a Specific, an Effectual, and a never-failing Remedy for the bite of the Rattle Snake. For the discovery of this beneficial Medicine, this No man, this brute beast, this Slave, had his freedom purchased, and a hundred pounds a year settled upon him during his life by the General Assembly of Carolina †.

With respect to a talent for Poetry, Phyllis Whately, though not a Poetess of the first rank, has written Poems, all circumstances fairly considered, that are of great and uncommon merit. I will transcribe a few of her Lines, authenticated in the fullest manner, as I find them recorded in Mr. Clarkson, not having the volume of her works by me.

† See Dr. Buchan on the bite of poisonous Animals.

To Evening.

Fill'd with the praise of him who gives the Light,
And draws the sable curtains of the Night,
Let placid slumbers sooth each weary mind
At morn to wake more heavenly and refin'd;
So shall, &c.

To Morning.

Aurora hail! and all the thousand dyes
That deck thy progress thro' the vaulted skies!
The morn awakes, and wide extends her rays,
On every leaf the gentle Zephyr plays
Harmonious lays, &c.

As to moral and epistolary writing, Ignatius Sancho in his Letters that are already published, has done honour to himself, and to Human Nature. There are others in Manuscript, yet unpublished, which the author of these pages has seen, that also have great merit. His Epistles in general breathe the purest and most genuine Spirit of Universal Benevolence; and some of those that are still in Manuscript contain most excellent instructions to a young Gentleman of the University for his literary, his moral, and his religious conduct in the course of his education. In those that are published we see even an enthusiastic zeal for the undoubted rights of man, and for the interest of true Religion. And this Man, this rational and moral writer, this able assistant, and conductor of youth in liberal education, this enthusiast in the duties of Universal Benevolence and Evangelical Religion, this exalted Being must be thrust down from the ranks of Men, because

the tincture of his skin is black. Oh! shame, shame!

As I have thus casually mentioned the article of Religion, I hope I may be permitted without offence to any man or any body of Men, to ask one plain question, Has the Society for the Propagation of the Christian Religion ever made any endeavours to convert the African Negroes to Christianity? If they have, on what principles have they done it? Is it because these Negroes are not of the Human race? if so, as far as we are able to judge they are not capable of Religious ideas, and consequently are not accountable Agents. And indeed that they are *not* Men the author has heard more than one of that venerable society positively assert. It is but lost labour to endeavour to teach those creatures a System of Moral and Religious Duty for the proper use or abuse of which a solemn account must sometime be given; if after all, from the inferiority of their station among created Beings, they are utterly disqualified, and consequently cannot be expected to give an account of their actions.

If on the other hand this venerable and much respected society have not made any endeavours of this sort, from the groundless prejudice that Negroes are not Men, might it not be worth while to make the experiment? since it plainly appears from numberless instances that they are capable of Religious Instruction. Nay, since it is certain from indisputable fact that in their own country, before their knowledge of the Europeans, they had ideas, and systems of Religion though very imperfect and erroneous. Their acquaintance with us indeed so long as the Slave Trade

Trade shall be continued, must always be an insuperable bar against their conversion, because to Christianity will naturally be transferred the horror they must have against Christians, in whom they see nothing but actions of Oppression, and Rapine, Cruelty, and Murther; whose determined purpose, and unceasing occupation is, not to convert the unhappy Natives; to Christianity, not to give them comfort from the knowledge of the Duties, and the rational Expectations of Man, but to drive them from all comfort, and from their country, and to send them in a state of miserable slavery into a distant world. If instead of this a Civil Commerce were established amongst them, and a friendly intercourse for the mutual exchange of the Productions and Commodities of the respective Countries, their dread of us would soon cease, their fears subside, confidence would be restored, and the offices of Kindness, and Benevolence take place of Distrust, Hatred and Abhorrence. This would open a way for the introduction of Moral and Religious Instruction. Their present abhorrence of Christians then ought not to deter us from the attempt; for there is great reason to hope, (a Civil Commerce being once formed) if Missionaries were properly settled among them who would keep clear of Human Systems, and avoid all metaphysical subtleties, teaching with fidelity Evangelical Religion, and confirming its excellency by their conduct, that thousands would be as ready to embrace the pure and unadulterated Gospel as formerly a chief man of their race, who was an early and most illustrious convert to Christianity.

A man of Ethiopia, an eunuch of great authority

thority under Candace, Queen of the Ethiopians, who had the charge of all her treasure, had been to Jerusalem to worship, was returning, and sitting in his chariot, read Esaias the prophet. Philip who had joined him said, Understandest thou what thou readest? He said, how can I, except some man should guide me? then Philip began at the same scripture, and explaining to him the prophecies of Isaiah, preached unto him Jesus. And as they went on their way they came to a certain water, and the Eunuch said, See, here is water, what doth hinder me to be baptized? and Philip said, If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest. And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God.

I am willing to hope that this short extract from the Acts of the Apostles, may in some degree abate the uncharitable prejudice that a Negro is not capable of moral or religious instruction. But if this be not sufficient, let the advocates for this opinion turn to the History of the Metambic Mission, and the conversion of the renowned and high-minded Zingha, about the middle of the last century; which will afford ample refutation of all these idle notions, and may be seen in the 16th vol. of Mod. Univ. Hist. as extracted from the accounts of persons perfectly well acquainted with every circumstance of her most extraordinary life: from her Confessors, from the other Portugueze Fathers, and from the most worthy Prefect of that Mission.

But here I am interrupted; for now as I am writing is brought to me a most elaborate treatise just published in defence of the Slave Trade, pretending to be founded on the authority of Scripture,

ture, and supported principally by the examples of Abraham and Joseph : whose characters I see by the first glance are drawn in all the highest tints of Declamation. This treatise has been highly spoken of, and recommended to me by some—eminent Divines—as containing an unanswerable proof that the Slave Trade is fully justified by the authority of Scripture. As this appears to me to be absolutely impossible, I will endeavour to divest myself of all prejudice and peruse the contents with impartiality.

These excellent men then, Abraham and Joseph, it is readily acknowledged were persons of exemplary piety and virtue. Yet they were men, and therefore subject to the infirmities of Man. We acknowledge but *One* man to be entirely free from these defects. As men they were not absolutely impeccable, and their exalted virtue could not sanctify or change the nature of any actions, if any such there were, as were not consistent with strict rectitude.

It is the province of Declamation to engage the passions, to mislead the judgment. I am confident that I wish not to depress the character of these venerable men, or to mislead the reader by any false light of Oratory, even if it were in my power ; intending only to examine with candour the argument from the examples of Abraham and Joseph, so far as relates to the subject of Slavery. I also wish with the utmost sincerity of heart that all due authority may be given, and all proper respect for ever paid to the sacred writings. But at the same time, I am very sensible that the authority of Scripture has frequently been misapplied, and the Letter brought forward in support

of those practises which in reality are condemned by the Spirit.

This is evidently the case with respect to the pamphlet which now lies before me; which demands an hour more for the examination of some things advanced in it, which appear to me on the first slight perusal as being indeed very extraordinary and equally incapable of defence. I am inclined to think that the author did not deliberately intend any perversion of the sense of Scripture, but was influenced by what seemed to him to be truth. While at the same time it must be said there is the strongest appearance that a favourite idea had possessed his mind, which gave an improper bias to his judgment, and led him into many misrepresentations. Who Mr. Harris is, or what may be his situation, I am entirely ignorant: am therefore free from all enmity against him; but think his performance on many accounts very reprehensible.

These misrepresentations of Scriptural Authority are very notorious, and have almost in every age and every country been productive of fatal consequences. False ideas of God, and his benevolent dispensations, false ideas of Man, and his Nature, of his duties in this Life, and his expectations in another, have all been propagated in the world and supported under the shew of Scriptural Authority.

Under this Sanction have not many taught as an unquestionable Truth, a Doctrine that to many others appears as nothing different from a Species of Polytheism? Do not many Christians maintain the Pre-existence of Jesus Christ, his Equality with the Almighty, and in short his absolute

solute Deity? are not these articles in the strongest terms reprobated by others? Have not many taught what many others think a great reflection upon the divine justice, the Imputation of Moral Guilt to All men, for the Offence of One? Has not one severe sect of Christians maintained that God Almighty created the greatest part of Men with the express purpose of condemning them to Eternal Misery? Does not the majority of Christians maintain as an Essential Truth, to which thousands of innocent lives have been sacrificed, that which others consider, and justly too, as a natural Impossibility? Let it be here particularly noticed that I attend not in the least degree to the Truth or Falshood of any of these Doctrines, and produce them only as being contradictory, and yet that both the defenders and the opposers of these and many other articles equally fly to Scripture as authority for their respective opinions? But though I wish to judge charitably, and endeavour to think as well as possible of all men, how different soever their opinions may be from my own, I hope I may consistently with candour say that these, and all similar contradictions must arise, though not from design, yet from some misapprehension of the Spirit of Scripture, and a misapplication of its Authority. I verily believe this to be the case when it is produced in defence of the Traffick, and the Slavery of our Fellow-Creatures.

But to examine rather more particularly the force of the argument in favour of the Slave Traffick as standing upon the examples of Abraham and Joseph.

* See Brandt's Hist. of Reform. pass.

Abraham

Abraham is acknowledged to be a most excellent character "exemplary for faith in God, reliance on his promises, obedient to his commands, humanity to his fellow creatures, integrity in his dealings, disinterestedness of heart," (Mr. H.) and for many virtues that distinguished and adorned his character.

"Now it is very remarkable (says Mr. H.) that amongst the *Works* of this man of these exalted virtues, it is very remarkable I say, that there should be found among his *works*, the practice of dealing in human flesh." p. 14, 15.

The conclusion is that the Practice of Dealing in Human Flesh is justifiable, because Abraham, as it is represented, dealt in human flesh.

But this is not a very candid state of the case. The practice of the age, and the country of Abraham, for the performance of the business of agriculture, principally for tending and taking care of the sheep and cattle, was either to hire persons for a term of years, as was the compact, soon after the time of Abraham, between Laban and Jacob, or, as might perhaps be the more general method, to purchase the service for Life, either of the persons themselves, or of those, who according to the notions of those days, and to local circumstances, apprehended they had a right to dispose of them. The practice however was *Essentially* wrong, whenever it was carried into execution without the consent of the parties immediately concerned, and thus given up against their own will to servitude. But even if we can for a moment suppose it to be right, yet in respect of the modern mode of dealing (as Mr. H. justly terms it) in Human Flesh, the circumstances

circumstances are of a nature very different indeed ; inasmuch that the modern practice, and the customs of Antiquity will not bear comparison. For so far as we may judge from what authority we really have upon this subject, the persons thus engaged in servitude were always treated with humanity, frequently with respect, and not seldom have been advanced to dignity and honour. It is too well known from modern proceedings that the present practice of " dealing in human flesh " cannot be justified either by the principles, or the practice of this high antiquity. I do not know what concessions might not be agreed to, if Mr. H. could influence a Liverpool merchant, a Guinea man Captain, or a West Indian Planter to make their proceedings always conformable to the proceedings of Abraham with respect to his Bond-servants.

But by extending the excellence of Abraham's character to every action of his life, and asserting all to be now right merely because formerly done by Abraham, the argument built upon this maxim might be found to prove too much. If Moral rectitude of Conduct is constituted by his example and practice, exclusively of all other considerations, and an action may in these our days be justified entirely on this principle, we then may justify what according to modern ideas in modern terms would be called either Bigamy, or Adultery. For if Hagar, Sarah's handmaid, (as she is called, Gen. xvi. 1.) was concubine to Abraham, then, according to modern ideas, and modern terms, his connection with her was Adultery. If during the life of Sarah she was his wife (as she is called, v. 3.) then according to modern ideas, and modern

dern terms, his connection with her was Bigamy. And if his example, merely as such, is really a sufficient justification of modern practice in one instance, why not in another? If it really be a Justification of the modern Traffick in Human Flesh, why not also of Bigamy or Adultery? the argument is equally conclusive in one case as in the other: it either justifies both, or neither.

With respect to the argument taken from the example of Joseph; I apprehend that on examination it will not be found more conclusive than that of Abraham.

Joseph was himself sold by the cruelty of his brethren to some Midianite merchants, who also sold him to an officer of the King of Egypt. This indeed proves that the custom of buying and selling Men was common in those days; but it is very far from proving either that it was right in itself, that it could be defended by the Law of Common Justice, or that it was pleasing to God. It might be, it undoubtedly was permitted: but many things were permitted by God, that cannot be said to have had his approbation.

By a course of wonderful events Joseph at length became the chief Governour in the kingdom of Egypt, and seems to have had the principal direction of all public affairs.

In the interpretation of Pharaoh's dream he said, God sheweth unto Pharaoh what he is about to do. There shall come seven years of great plenty, and after them shall arise seven years of famine: the famine shall be very grievous, and shall consume the Land. Therefore let Pharaoh appoint officers over the Land, and gather the food of those good years, and lay up corn under the

the hand of Pharaoh, and keep food in the cities, that the Land perish not through the famine.

In this part of the character of Joseph we see a provident and anxious care to relieve those distresses of the people of Egypt, which by a divine and supernatural influence he knew they were about to suffer. Does this conduct bear any resemblance to that of our modern dealers in Men?

The famine, with all its concomitant distresses, according to the prophecy of Joseph, fell upon them. There was no bread in all the land, for the famine was very sore; and both the land of Egypt, and the land of Canaan fainted.

In this grievous distress, Joseph sold to the people the Corn, which he had laid up in magazines in convenient places throughout the whole kingdom; which corn was the property of the King; and the money for which he sold it he brought into Pharaoh's house. It was not of any private or personal advantage to Joseph. Does this part bear any resemblance to the conduct of modern dealers in Men? do they forego every thought of private advantage, and labour solely for the real good of those who are immediately and personally concerned in their transactions?

When the people had spent their money in the purchase of Corn, they brought their Cattle to Joseph, and he gave them bread in exchange for their Cattle. Was there any Cruelty, or any Injustice in this proceeding? Both the Men and the Cattle must have instantly perished without this necessary relief from Joseph. The men not having money purchased Corn with their Cattle, which were become worthless to them, because there was nothing left to sustain them.

Another

Another year passed over, and their distresses continued. They apply again to Joseph, and say there is not aught left, but our bodies and our lands. Wherefore should we die before thine eyes? Buy us and our land for bread, and we and our land will be at the service of Pharaoh. And Joseph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh. As for the people he removed them to Cities, from one end of the borders of Egypt even unto the other end thereof.

On this passage the following declaration is made: "Here is a whole nation of free and independent Africans, inhabiting the richest, the most populous, the most civilized part of Africa, or perhaps any other part of the Globe at that period, all made *Slaves* in one day, by a most explicit, deliberate, and formal contract."

On this declaration, which is entirely arbitrary and groundless, I shall only make one very short observation: If it be false, it is of no force; if it be true, it is guilty of Suicide; it entirely destroys itself, and the conclusion intended to be drawn from it. For if there was this "most explicit, deliberate, and formal contract" between the Parties concerned, that is, between Joseph and the People of Egypt, then the People of Egypt entered into a State of Servitude with their own consent. But the case of the African Negroes is the very reverse of this: there is no "explicit, deliberate, and formal contract" between the parties concerned: there is no consent on the part of the Negroes; they are violently forced into Slavery, not only contrary to their consent, but with all possible demonstration of terror and abhorrence. To say the least therefore, this argu-
ment

ment is nothing to Mr. H's purpose; but if it proves any thing, it proves against him.

The author then states, that " Joseph, at a moderate computation, purchased eight millions of persons, with all their lands, for the price of one year's maintenance per head. That he *transported* them as *Slaves* from their *native Soil*, into a *distant country*: by which *expedient* he deprived them of every prospect of ever re-enjoying their respective paternal estates, and the places of their nativity. That it is more than probable, that in the execution of so extensive a plan, as removing so many millions of inhabitants of every age, sex, condition, rank, infants at the breast, young children, old and decrepit people, infirm and delicate, from one end of the borders of so extensive a country as Egypt, even unto the other end thereof, many must have inevitably perished in passing through the scorching sands of a country desolate with famine, and parched up as it were by an uninterrupted drought of six consecutive years; notwithstanding any wise regulations he might have made to accommodate them."

If Joseph could really do all this, as stated by Mr. H. if he could unnecessarily drive eight million persons through these burning sands, in which many must inevitably perish, in order to make Slaves of those who should survive their journey, and with a view also by this *expedient* to deprive them of every prospect of ever revisiting their native country——if Joseph could indeed do all this——then I say that Joseph was very well qualified to be the Captain of a Guinea man, or an Agent in the modern Slave Trade. But what if there be not a word of truth in all this doleful declamation?

declamation? I shall forbear all remarks upon this description, that I may as far as possible avoid every thing that either may give offence, or may appear uncharitable: and I will proceed to what I apprehend to be a true and impartial state of the case.

It is acknowledged that Joseph said unto the People, behold, I have bought you this day, and your land for Pharaoh. And they said, *Thou hast saved our Lives*; let us find grace in the sight of my Lord, and we will be Pharaoh's servants.

It is well known by all who are but moderately acquainted with the Spirit of the Language of Scripture, that the expression of *Buying*, and *Selling* is frequently used in a Metaphorical sense: and even the most High God is said to *Buy*, and *Sell* his creatures. "He buyeth a People, when he interposeth in their favour, and employs all proper means to free them from suffering or any circumstances of wretchedness, and to raise them up to a happy and prosperous state. On the other hand, he sells a people, when he withdraws his favour, suffers their enemies to prevail, or calamity or ruin to fall upon them *."

In this sense Samuel tells the people, that when they forgot the Lord their God, he sold them into the hand of Sisera, and into the hand of the Philistines, and into the hand of the King of Moab. And they said, we have sinned because we have forsaken the Lord, and served Baalim, but now deliver us out of the hand of our enemies, and we will serve thee.

They were in Scripture Language *bought*, when

* See Taylor on Rom. ch. ii. p. 7.

they

they were delivered from these enemies, and became the Servants of God. In a sense not very dissimilar the People of Egypt say, Let Pharaoh deliver us from this famine, our dreadful enemy, and we will be Pharaoh's servants.

In the same Metaphorical sense, God is said to have Bought the children of Israel, when he brought them from the Slavery of Egypt, and gave them Independence, Possessions, and Liberty: when he raised them from a state of Misery to a state of Happiness.

In the same sense I apprehend that Joseph says, I have Bought you: I have saved your Lives, I have rescued you from the terrors of perishing by famine; I have changed your misery into happiness. The people undoubtedly understood him in this sense, for their answer was, *Thou hast saved our lives*, let us find grace in thy sight, and we will be Pharaoh's servants. Is there any thing in this that bears the least resemblance to the horrible circumstances of the modern Slave Trade? I am necessitated to say it is not a fair comparison.

But Joseph removed the people to cities from one end of the borders of Egypt, even unto the other end thereof. And this is represented as if he drove eight millions of people, with all possible exaggeration of cruel circumstances, six hundred miles, that they might never revisit their native country, and this too through burning sands in which many must have inevitably and miserably perished.

The whole character of Joseph entirely clears him from this horrible imputation. It is an imputation of the utmost injustice upon a man, according to Mr. H. himself, "the most amiable,
C perfectly

perfectly finished, exactly conformable to the model of the strictest virtue, and one of the complearest portraits of Righteousness, and *Humanity*, that has ever been exhibited to the world in any stage of Religion."

The true matter of fact seems to be no more than this: Egypt was, according to Mr. H. the most populous country of Africa, perhaps of any other part of the Globe. Consequently, being singularly fertile, we may suppose that there were cities from one end of the borders of Egypt, even unto the other end thereof. That in these cities Joseph erected his Magazines for the reception of the Corn to be laid up against the ensuing times of distress. For he advised Pharaoh to appoint officers throughout the Land, to gather the food of the good years, and to lay up corn under the hand of Pharaoh, and to keep this food in these cities from one end of Egypt to the other end thereof, which food may be for store for the Land, against the years of famine, that the Land perish not through the famine. Accordingly when the Famine became very grievous in the land, when no sustenance of any sort was produced, when the country surrounding these Cities was absolutely parched up, and the people ready to perish——then Joseph directed the Inhabitants in the different parts of the Country, from one end of Egypt, even to the other end thereof, to remove themselves and their families to the Cities in their neighbourhood, where he had laid up provisions, and food for their support.

Is it fair then to represent this amiable, and benevolent conduct, as driving them six hundred miles from their native place, through a country where

where many must perish in the burning sands, in order to make Slaves of the survivors?

Another argument for this Slavery of the Egyptians is deduced from this circumstance, that Pharaoh was possessed of all the land of Egypt, and that the people paid him some rent or tribute for it. What the nature of the conveyance of their Lands to Pharaoh was, whether absolute or in the nature of a Mortgage with the equity of Redemption, I do not presume to conjecture. They held their Lands, I will suppose, under Pharaoh; but whatsoever the nature of the tenure was, it does not appear to be such as includes any idea of Slavery, in the modern sense of that word.

When the time of the Famine was over, and the land was again in a condition to bring forth its increase, Joseph said to the People, Lo! here is seed for you, and ye shall sow the land, and it shall come to pass in the increase, that ye shall give the fifth part unto Pharaoh, and four parts shall be your own. Does a West-Indian planter say to his Negroe Slave, Give me a fifth part of the increase of the Land, and four parts shall be your own? If not, the cases are not similar. But the payment of a fifth part appears to me so far from being a proof of severe slavery, as to be indeed a very moderate rent. I have heard Farmers, in this land of Liberty, speak of Three Rents, one for the Lord, one for the culture of the Land, and one for the support of their families. These are terms upon Free Men much more severe than the tenure on which the Egyptians held their lands of Pharaoh. But farther, every proprietor of land, under our invaluable constitution of Political Liberty, pays in one

single tax, exclusively of all other, one fifth part of his Property, in the Land, or as it is generally called, the King's Tax. If then the Egyptians are to be denominated Slaves when they paid no more than a fifth, what are we to be called who pay much more?

Upon a candid and impartial view of the transactions between Pharaoh and his people, on account of the famine, it does not appear, as Mr. H. asserts, that they were all in one day made Slaves, in the modern sense of that word, "by a most explicit, deliberate, and formal contract;" and I am very confident that the conduct of Joseph, when viewed with impartiality of mind, will not give the least sanction to the present most abominable practice of making Slaves.

From the tenor of Mr. H's preface it would be unfair to suppose him guilty of wilful misrepresentation: but from the well known opinions of those Gentlemen with whom he is connected and to whom his work is dedicated, who probably, directly or indirectly, are all deeply interested in promoting the Traffick in Slaves; he may have contracted some prejudices which have insensibly warped his judgment in his representation of Scriptural passages relative to this subject. And when the mind has once warmly entertained a favourite idea, it is the easiest thing in the world to adapt passages of Scripture to the occasion, and to give them the appearance of proof, and the reality of conviction. I have not the least doubt but that many worthy Papists believe the doctrine of Transubstantiation with a sincerity as firm and zealous as the Protestants reject it; and these contradictory opinions are derived from their different

ferent acceptations of a plain and simple Proposition, *This is my Body*. Many examples of contradictory opinions deduced from the same passage of Scripture might be shewn if there were occasion; but this may be sufficient. In all instances of this sort a prejudice has seized the mind, and the opinion is not determined by Scripture, but Scripture is adapted to the Opinion.

It is acknowledged that the custom of purchasing and keeping Slaves was, in the times referred to, a general practice. That under the Mosaic dispensation in the books of Exodus and Leviticus, there are particular directions respecting both the conditions of purchase, and the treatment of Bond-servants. But all these appear to me as in the Nature of Permissions, not of Precepts, and not as Approbations of the Practice, but compliances with the pressure of Local circumstances. They are also of a particular nature, referring to particular times, and a particular state of things, and cannot therefore authorize a *General* doctrine: they were directions arising from Local circumstances of the Jews, existed only in the existence of those circumstances, and were to end with them. They are not a part of the Mosaic Dispensation that has any manner of obligation upon Christians, nor have they in this respect any more authority with us than if they were transcribed from the Koran or the Baghvat Gheeta. They refer indeed to certain customs amongst the Jews, and to the conduct required from them if they fell in with the general practice of the heathens who surrounded them. And if in compliance with these practices, they also *will* have their Slaves, they are then directed to purchase them

them from these Heathens. And the words, "Of them shall ye buy," described as a positive command to buy Slaves, I apprehend, on the contrary, to be nothing more than a prohibitory clause, restraining them from purchasing Bond-servants from amongst their own people.

But Mr. H. by negligence, by oversight, by misapprehension, (I know not what term to adopt, being unwilling to use any harsh expression) on this part of his subject not only expressly contradicts the very passage of Scripture which he here presses into his service, but (which has an unlucky appearance) in his quotation leaves out that part of the passage which he contradicts; in order, it must be supposed, to conceal his contradiction.

In his extract from Exodus (sec. 2: p. 3.) he says, "It is singular enough, that the very first Law in the Scripture Language, enacted by God himself, should be respecting the Slave Trade, and that also with the additional circumstance of *not* restraining his people from purchasing their own brethren, their own flesh and blood." Now what is the direct import of this positive assertion? Is it not that God did *not* restrain his people from making Slaves of their Brethren? and in proof of this he quotes from Exodus (ch. xxi.) If thou buy an Hebrew servant, six years shall he serve, and in the seventh go free.

"Here, says Mr. H. it is evident that though the time of the Slavery of an Hebrew servant was limited, he was yet in the *strictest* sense of the word a true and real Slave for the time; his master bought, and had an undoubted right and power to sell him again."

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To

To come to the point then, Mr. H. says, that God did *not* restrain his people from making *Slaves* of their brethren; and though the time of their Slavery was limited they were *Slaves* and might be *sold* as such.

The Scripture says, "If thy brother be poor, and be sold unto thee, thou shalt *not* compel him to serve thee as a *Bond-servant*, but as an *hired servant*; and he shall *not* be sold as a *Bond-servant*." But all this part, which is an express contradiction to Mr. H's assertion, he passes over, and leaves out of his quotation of the Passage: with what view must be left to the Reader.

The whole passage is as follows: "If thy brother that dwelleth by thee be waxen poor, and be sold unto thee, thou shalt not compel him to serve thee as a bond-servant; but as an hired servant; and as a sojourner shall he be with thee, and shall serve thee unto the year of Jubilee. And then he shall depart from thee, he and his children with him, and shall return unto his own family, and unto the possession of his fathers shall he return. For they are my servants which I brought forth out of the land of Egypt; they shall not be sold as Bondmen. Thou shalt not rule over him with rigour, but shalt fear thy God. Both thy Bondmen and thy Bondmaids which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen round about you, of them shall ye buy." Which is as much as if it had been said, If ye will fall in with this prevailing practice of purchasing Bond-servants, at least you shall not purchase them from amongst your own people. A prohibition this which does not express any approbation of the prevailing custom; and indeed it is not a little
C 4 surprising

surprising that any one should recur to this part of the Scripture as a Sanction for the modern mode of dealing in Slaves. I am inclined to think if Mr. H. had impartially considered the full force and operation of the *whole* passage just quoted, that he would not have advanced many things that hold a place in his treatise. But the most wonderful of his misrepresentations is with respect to the Gibeonites, who were conquered by Israel. When it is said, that "the Lord discomfited them before Israel," any person whose mind was not warped by some favourite idea would construe it, That God gave Israel the Victory. But Mr. H. explains it, "That the exertions of the divine power of the Almighty *for securing to his people the new acquired property of Slaves* amongst the Gibeonites were so wonderfully great, that he even fought in *PERSON* against the Invaders." And the words *in person* are printed in Italics, I suppose to encrease their emphasis and make a stronger impression of the astonishing doctrine here delivered.

I have formerly read in the great Grecian Bard, if I remember right, that a Deity could descend from heaven, and could in *Person* take part in human affrays, and even be wounded by a mortal hand. Fair Venus; $\Delta\iota\omicron\varsigma \Delta\upsilon\upsilon\alpha\rho\eta\varsigma \text{ Αφροδίτη}$, shrouding her hero in a cloud delivered him from impending danger. Vulcan also by the same artifice preserved his favourite Idæus from destruction. But the fiery Diomedæ was surely the most daring of all earthly warriors, who notwithstanding all Deityship, wounded in his rage the God of War in the belly, and, unfeeling Wretch! even the Goddess of Beauty in her snowy hand.

The

The raging chief in chace of Venus flies —
 Thro' breaking ranks his furious course he
 bends,
 And at the Goddess his broad Lance extends ;
 Thro' her bright veil the daring weapon drove,
 Th' ambrosial veil which all the Graces wove :
 Her snowy hand the razing steel profan'd,
 And the transparent skin with crimson stain'd.
 From the clear vein a stream immortal flow'd ;
 Such stream as issues from a wounded God *.

POPE.
 Virgil too, as appears from the speech of Venus to Æneas, describes the Deities as *Personally* interfering in the warlike engagements of Mortals.

Here where you see that rubbish, heaps confus'd,
 Stones wrench'd from stones, and thick rebounding smoke
 Blended with clouds of Dust, great Neptune shakes
 The walls, and with his massy trident heaves
 The city from its deep foundations. There
 Relentless Juno, girt with steel, has seiz'd
 The Scæan gates, and raging, from their ships

* — Ηφαιρος ερυτο, σωσις δε ιουκτι καλοψας.
 — ενθ απολοιτο αναξ ανδραν Λιπιας
 Ει μη αρ εξυ'ιουσι ζωσι θυγατηρ Αφροδιτη
 Η μη του φιλου υιον επεξεβασι πολυμοια
 — Κυπριν ιπαχιτο ιηλι χυαλο
 Ακρω υπασι χυια —
 — ει δ αρβροτοι αιμα θεοιο
 Λιπυ αχθομαι ελκος ο με βροτος υπασι ανηρ.

Hom. Il. 5. passim.

Calls

Calls her confederate forces.
 Next (that way bend thine eyes) the lofty tow'rs
 Tritonian Pallas has possess'd; there sits
 With her dire Gorgon, in a beamy cloud
 Effulgent. Jove himself the Grecian troops
 With courage and new strength supplies; Him-
 self
 Excites the Gods against the Dardan arms*.

TRAP.

Now these things are all mighty well in Ho-
 mer, and in Virgil; we read these descriptions
 with admiration, and with rapture; with an en-
 thusiasm that reconciles us to the absurdities of the
 Poetical fiction. But I must say it is not a little
 disgusting, and seems too nearly allied to Impiety
 to transfer such ideas and such *Personal* interfe-
 rence in mortal affrays to the Almighty Father of
 Heaven.

As I have not any intention of writing a for-
 mal answer to Mr. H's elaborate work, I shall
 conclude these short remarks with a few general
 concessions, and observations upon Mr. H's re-
 presentation of the Slave Trade, as permitted
 under the Christian Dispensation: hoping that
 some one, who has sufficient leisure, and *can*
 think it worth while, will bestow on this treatise
 a more accurate examination; and shew Mr. H.
 how, like some unstable commentators on St.
 Paul, he also hath wrested the Scriptures to a
 sense different from their genuine signification,
 and to his own complete refutation. And not
 only this, but that the arbitrary and disingenuous

* Hic ubi disjectas, &c. Æn. 2. 608.

positions

positions at the beginning of his book, which he delivers as Data, or unquestionable Truths, are manifest Sophisms calculated to mislead incautious readers; that they are contrary to all the legitimate rules of argumentation, deducing general conclusions from particular premises, turning meer connivances into permissions, permissions into commands, describing matters historical as points of doctrine, invalidating the use of Reason in the examination of Scripture, and eradicating every principle on which is founded, and by which we defend the Protestant Persuasion. These, and many more pernicious consequences, might easily be shewn to be the natural result from the *Scriptural Researches*, which must be reprobated by every friend to Liberty, and the Natural Rights of Man.

I acknowledge indeed that in the Christian Institutes there is not any particular, precise, and express prohibition of Slavery. That at the time the Christian Dispensation was made known and offered to the world, the practice of keeping Slaves was very general. It was almost every where the established mode of Public, and Domestic Oeconomy. Had then the primitive teachers of Christianity engaged themselves in particularly demonstrating the Iniquity of this practice, shewing its inconsistency with the Essential Principles and Fundamental Precepts of the Christian Institution, they would in great measure have defeated their own important purpose, the Conversion of the world. For the Revolution it must have occasioned in human affairs would have been of so very extensive a nature, and would have been the cause of such commo-
tions

tions and changes both in Public States and Private Families, that the very mention of it would probably have produced the general rejection of the System that proposed it. For Despotism and Slavery were the principal features of the times. The first teachers of the Gospel therefore performed their duty by a wiser method. They said nothing expressly prohibitory upon the subject of Slavery. They taught the Essential Principles and the Practical Doctrines of Christianity. They considered the different subordinations of Men in civilized Society, and they inculcated the duties incumbent upon the members of each order. They shewed what was requisite from Superiors to Inferiors, and from Inferiors to their Superiors. And in this part of their instructions they certainly did so far declare themselves friends to the natural rights of man, as to advise those of their disciples who were in a state of servitude, if they had a proper opportunity of gaining their Liberty, *to choose it rather*; nevertheless, if they had not such opportunity, to conduct themselves with patience, meekness, and submission to their Masters. But I do not recollect that they any where utter a single syllable in approbation of the System of Slavery: knowing it to be as subversive of Common Justice and Humanity, as it was contradictory to the Essential Spirit, and characteristic Principles of Christianity. And on this ground, as an Indispensible Obligation upon all Christians, they taught Universal and Disinterested Philanthropy, or Goodwill towards Men, and Love unfeigned to all the world; not only to friends, but even to enemies: they taught also the practical performance of every instance of benevolence

benevolence in our power ; in the most persuasive manner they exhort their disciples to be universally kind and tenderhearted, and to the utmost extent of their abilities to relieve misery, and confer happiness. Having done this they left these principles to work their own way upon the hearts of their disciples by a gradual progress, well knowing that wheresoever they should be received with Sincerity, the Practice of Slavery must be radically abolished.

We may then, without reserve, acknowledge the Generality, or if required, even the Universality of the Practice of making Slaves, and the silence of the Primitive Teachers of Christianity upon this subject. But we cannot in all instances deduce the *Rebilitude* from the *Universality* either of Practice or Opinion. The human race had not been in existence many Generations before the wickedness of man, in respect of *Moral Depravity*, was very great in the earth, and every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually. *And God looked upon the earth, and behold it was corrupt ; For All Flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth.*

In about 450 years after the Flood the Practice of *Idolatry* was become Universal. And as before the Flood, Virtue and Piety were to be found only in One Family, so in the prevalence of *Idolatry* afterward, One man alone was found free from this Rebellion against God. But no one will attempt to justify either *Immortality* or *Idolatry*, from the Universality of the practice of either, in the times before or after the Flood.

The practice of Slavery has also been, without much exaggeration, Universal ; and the wickedness

ness arising from it not inferior to that occasioned by the Universal practice either of Immorality or Idolatry. But, let it be remembered, that for the universal corruption of Man, in point of Morals, God destroyed the World: for universal Idolatry he doomed the Idolatrous Nations to Extirpation. For the universal wickedness of Slavery, the punishment of divine vengeance does not yet appear in its full Majesty. Yet let us not reckon ourselves secure, because the Almighty hath not shewn *the lighting down of his arm with the flame of a devouring Fire*. For as this inhuman traffick is invariably attended with the total extinction of Religion, of good Morals, and common Humanity, should it continue to be encouraged where its Enormity is known and acknowledged, this is such deliberate and absolute defection from the Authority of God, as (if we may judge from past proceedings) must sometime bring upon us his severest displeasure.

But having, as it were, wandered from my original purpose, I must now return and shew that there is not sufficient reason to degrade the Negroes from their rank as Men because they have no idea of *Civil Government*, no idea of *Moral Distinctions*, no idea of *Religion*, no idea of a *God*, or a *future state of Existence*. In order to do this with tolerable accuracy, it may not be improper to give a short sketch of the principle circumstances relative to those countries that are concerned in this traffick with the Europeans: by which it will also appear that there is not the least foundation for these assertions, or for the hypocritical pretence that the situation of the Negroes is improved by being carried from their country even into West
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Indian Slavery. This account is taken from the concurring testimony of many authors upon this subject; the substance of which may be found drawn up with great labour and judgment in the *Mod. Univ. Hist. of these Countries*, and more concisely in the *Historical Account of Guinea*, by the worthy and benevolent Benezet; who also refers to such other modern authors, confirming each other's testimony, as had no interest to serve by making their reports more favourable than the truth: while the pecuniary interest of the Dealers in Human Blood are deeply concerned by defamatory descriptions and malicious falsehoods to misrepresent the circumstances both of the country itself, and its native Inhabitants.

I will begin with the country about the River Senegal, and proceed Southwards to the Kingdom of Benguela, where, I believe, the Slave Trade ends.

No country in the world is better calculated for affording the comforts of Life to its Inhabitants, and with less sollicitude and toil than Guinea. The natives are naturally a humane and sociable people, with faculties as capable of improvement as those of other men. Hence they might have lived happy had they not been disturbed by the Europeans. The country is extremely fertile, abounds with Cattle, Poultry, Grain, and Fruits in very great variety, and all in great excellence. The earth yields all the year a fresh supply of food. Few cloaths are requisite, and little are necessary either in making them or constructing their houses. The gourds, which grow over these afford an agreeable shade, and the fruit supplies the

the proprietor with an abundant stock of clean vessels for most household uses.

Mr. Adanson, in the account of his voyage to Senegal, speaking of the Country and the Natives, says, Which way soever I turned mine eyes, I beheld a perfect image of pure nature; an agreeable solitude, bounded on every side by charming Landscapes; the rural situation of Cottages in the midst of Trees, the ease and indolence of the Negroes reclined under their shade, 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.

The Grain, the Ivory, and Gold Coasts, the Kingdom of Whidah, and the Slave Coast, from whence the greatest numbers are inhumanly forced into Slavery, come next in order; and of these Smith and Bosman, and various other authors, speak to the following purport.

This is one of the most delightful countries in the world. The great number and variety of beautiful, and shady trees; which seem planted in groves, the verdant fields every where cultivated, and no otherwise divided than by those groves, and in some places a small foot path, together with a great number of Villages, contribute to afford a most delightful prospect; the whole country being a fine, easy, and almost imperceptible ascent for the space of forty or fifty miles from the Sea. The Country is well peopled, the natives kind, obliging, and industrious*.

* See Benézet *passim*. the *Mod. Un. Hist.* vol. 16. p. 395. and the different authors in *Parches*, and in a *Collection of Voyages* &c. in 8 vols. Folio.

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“ All the Europeans indeed who have been in Whidah speak of the Country with rapture, and extol it as the most beautiful in the world. The trees are strait, and tall, and clear of all weeds and brush-wood. The verdure of the meadows, the richness of the Fields, the multitude of houses, with dimpling streams running down the declivity to the sea, form the most delightful prospect that fancy can picture to itself. One may compare the whole kingdom to a great city divided by Gardens, Lawns, and Groves instead of Streets, not a village in Whidah being a musket shot distant from another. In a word, it is a true image of what the Poets sing of the Elysian Fields; and to speak all its perfections, though the authority is undeniable, would appear to the reader as if we indulged a warm imagination at the expence of historical truth.”

In the adjoining Country, the Town of Assem, or Great Ardrah, is thus described. It is a fine City, five or six leagues in circuit. Here the Royal Family have two palaces. It is entered by four Gates, opposite to each other. The walls are high, and thick, and as firm and compact as stone and lime. The Gates are defended by a deep ditch, and Draw Bridge. The streets are kept in the utmost order, free from filth and every inconvenience. The palaces consist of large courts with long wide Galleries, supported by beautiful Pillars finely ornamented. Under these piazzas the Natives have the privilege of walking. The buildings are two stories high, with long narrow slips of Windows, perfectly adapted to the Climate, as they occasion a great draught of fresh air. The floors of all the apartments are covered

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with silk carpets, or fine mats of an elegant taste. In each was a single armed chair, a variety of silk and brocade cushions, tables, folding screens, Japan Cabinets, and chests of the finest China Porcelain. The windows were hung with Curtains of Taffety, and lashed with white cloth, glazed in a manner that admitted the light, but excluded the night air. The gardens were spacious, and laid out in the most delicate taste, in fine long walks, shaded by odoriferous trees, and lined on each side with shrubs and flowers, of a sweet smell, and pleasing colours. Nothing could be more beautiful than the fanciful grass plats, joined by serpentine walks and groves, and refreshed by the cooling murmur of a dimpling brook, which glided over shining Pebbles*. These circumstances must be referred to the State of this Country before its total Destruction by the King of Dahomay, in order to open his Passage to the Sea, and carry on the Slave Trade to greater advantage.

It is next to an impossibility, but that the Inhabitants of such a country, and in such circumstances must have lived in ease and tranquillity. And it must occur to every one who has read Captain Cook's Voyages, how exactly many circumstances in this description correspond with the account of the Society, and Friendly Islands, where the Natives enjoyed their ease, their indolence, and their happiness: and from hence we may reasonably infer that these poor Africans, under the same happy circumstances of Climate must have lived equally contented, till their harmony, and all

* Bosina, Ep. 20. from Mod. Un. Hist. of the Slave Coast.

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their happiness was destroyed by the unjust and merciless ravages of European Merchants.

With respect to the Kingdoms of Benin, Loango, Congo, and Angola, as the circumstances of climate are nearly the same, so there is not much difference either in the manner of life of the inhabitants, the turn of their opinions, or the productions of their respective countries.

They who say that the empire of Congo, speaking comprehensively, of all the kingdoms which it once contained, is burnt by the heat of the Sun, are altogether deceived: for the habitation there is exceeding good, the air beyond all credit temperate, the Winter like Autumn in the region of Rome. In these kingdoms are found great Quantities of Salt Petre; with great abundance of Gold, and precious Stones, and many mines of Silver. As to the Military Discipline of these people, they usually fight on foot; they divide the Army into several Troops, fitting themselves according to the situation of the field; their motions are directed by certain sounds from the Capt. General, who is stationed in the midst of the Army, and there gives the signal to join battle, to retire, to advance forward, to turn to the right or left, or perform any other warlike action: as amongst us the pleasure of the General is known by strokes of the Drum, or sounds of the Trumpet. Congo is in compass about 1685 miles*. The Kingdom of Angola in particular, is full of people beyond all credit. Sig. Odoardo Lopez did affirm and believe that it contained

* See Pigafetta Hist. of Congo in Collect. of Voyages; also Barbot, who has given a long and circumstantial Account of this Country.

a million of fighting men. This kingdom also is very rich in mines of Silver, and most excellent Copper; and for other sorts of Metals, there is more in this kingdom than in any other country whatsoever in the world. Fruitful it is in all kinds of Foods, and sundry Sorts of Cattle, especially great herds of Kine.

The argument holding forth that the situation of the Africans is made better, when removed from their own country, though into Slavery, is therefore not by any means to be admitted; because in the first place the assertion is denied, being absolutely false, and in the next, because if it were true, it is indefensible, the practice being founded in Injustice and Tyranny. For it is Injustice to carry any one against his own consent into Slavery; and it is Tyranny to make this change in his condition by Violence. A respectable Writer says indeed, "It should be fully known whether by abandoning the Traffick, we should not abandon the cause of Humanity, and leave the Wretches, who are exported from Africa, to a worse Lot in their own Country †." On supposition that this were true, I still maintain that we have not the least shadow of Right to make the intrusion into that Country and produce this forcible revolution in the circumstances of the Natives, even with the view to make their situation, as we without sufficient reason say, better. But will any one presume to assert that there is a single instance to be produced of a Liverpool Merchant, or a Guinea man Captain, forcibly transporting an African to America, with the

† Monthly Review.

sincere

sincere view to improve his situation? This sort of Charity would be much a-kin to that of some Christians, who move heaven and earth to make profelytes, and improve the situation of their fellow creatures, by the unanswerable argument of the Stake and Faggot. But suppose their condition to be in their own country very wretched, suppose them to be as savage as you please—who hath made them so? it appears from the authorities just cited, and from many others that might be produced, that before these inroads of the Europeans, they were a happy people, in a happy country: that they lived in ease and primitive simplicity, were kind, obliging, and industrious; and now by our nefarious practices are rendered miserable and savage. But is it not Cruelty inexpressible, first to make a people Savage, and then truly, under pretence of Charity to make them Slaves for being Savages?

Indeed, in a late publication in favour of the Slave Trade, an attempt is made to invalidate the conclusion that would naturally follow from the preceding observation; but it ought to be noticed, that this Advocate is himself personally engaged as an Officer in this Traffick, and may therefore, without breach of Charity, be supposed not entirely free from prejudice. The sentiments of Lieutenant Matthews, on the present popular endeavours for the Abolition of the Negroe Slavery may be reduced to a few plain Propositions.

1. That it does not appear that this intercourse, which has so long subsisted between the Africans and the Europeans, has made any change in their customs or manners, except giving them a relish

for Society, and the Enjoyments of the Luxuries of Life.

2. That he has endeavoured to discover whether the Natives of Africa, dealers in Slaves, were excited to make war upon each other, by the Europeans; and that he is free to declare that this never fell under his observation.

3. That from the great number of Slaves annually exported one should be led to imagine that the Country would be depopulated, instead of which, no diminution of their number is perceived.

4. That with respect to kidnapping, he can only say that he never heard of such a practice.

5. That if the Slave Trade was abolished by every nation in Europe, it would not cease in Africa; nor would the abolition in any measure add to the happiness of the natives.

6. That the Troops of the Emperor of Morocco are composed of Black Slaves, purchased, &c. and that probably other despotic princes compose their armies in the same manner.

7. That Slaves are the medium of Coin for the purchase of Necessaries.

8. That the Slave Trade is probably permitted by Providence, as a means to preserve Lives, &c.

1. The term African in this place is rather too comprehensive to be admitted into the Argument. It comprehends both the Dealer in Slaves, and the Slaves themselves, and therefore includes a fallacy. The Question is only concerning the latter. Will Mr. M. say, that with respect to these, the forcing them from their families, their friends, their country, and dragging them to insupportable labour, and servitude, to chains, to scourges,

Scourges, to tortures and death, produces no change in their condition, but that of giving them a relish for Society, and the Luxuries of Life? It is the first time of hearing Servitude, Chains, and Scourges enumerated among our Luxuries. And as to the Comfort of Society under such circumstances of misery, though I have formerly heard of

Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris,

yet I have always thought it an unjustifiable sentiment, and utterly void of benevolence.

2. and 3. From undeniable testimony it has been repeatedly proved, that Wars without number have been excited by the Europeans for the Sole purpose of procuring Slaves, and Mr. M's ignorance of the Fact does not invalidate the Testimony. It has also been fully proved, that many Countries by nature beautiful and fertile to the highest degree, and before the Slave Traffick exceeding populous, are now by that Traffick stript of their Inhabitants, and rendered scenes of absolute desolation*. If Mr. M. speaks of Countries where the Slave Trade is not practised, the argument is not to the purpose, if where it is, the assertion is not true.

4. If direct evidence of any fact is produced in a Court of Justice, will any one's bare assertion, that he never heard of the fact, set aside the positive evidence? The enormity of kidnapping (as it is called) has been proved over and over again in numberless horrible instances. Not only the common people have suffered in this way; but

* See Clarkson, Ch. 10. and Bosman, *passim*.

Kings have been bound in chains, and nobles with links of Iron. Witness, the well known Story of Oronoko, and that, instanced in Mr. Clarkfon's Essay, p. 89, than which there never was a more highminded example of dignified and desperate resolution.

5. Perhaps it would not. But on supposition that this Abolition had taken place in Africa, can Mr. Matthews really imagine that it would not in any measure add to the happiness of the Natives? can he really see no difference between being a Slave and being Free?

6. The Emperor of Morocco's army is formed by purchasing Children, Infants from Guinea, who are immediately destined to the Military Service. They are brought from the place of their birth so very young, that they have no idea of Native Soil, friends, or relations, or any home other than in the service in which they are educated. Their Quarters, the Garrisons, the Camps of the Emperor are their Home. And though by the despotic constitution of the Country they, like all his other subjects, are Slaves, yet they are not such under the same circumstances with those unhappy creatures, who are forced by the European traders into the Miseries of West Indian Slavery; nor will the two situations admit of Comparison. But suppose the Emperor of Morocco, even to *deal* in Slaves, will his practices justify similar practices in England? The Emperor of Morocco practises the Rites of Mohamedism; has a plurality of Wives; strikes off the Heads of his Nobles at his pleasure; and does many other things, beside keeping Slaves, that would not be well relished in England. The Question
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is not whether the Emperor of Morocco does so or so, but whether what he does be right, and justifiable. And as to the other Despotic Princes, many of them, beside dealing in Slaves, practise all the dreadful customs of the most absurd, and barbarous idolatry. They sacrifice human Victims; they broil and eat their Prisoners. And if the example of these Despotic Princes in the Slave Traffick, merely as such, without any further consideration, will justify the English in doing the same, the argument is equally conclusive in all the other instances of their conduct.

7. If Mr. M. means that Slaves are the only medium of Coin for the purchase of Necessaries, his assertion is not true; and if he allows that other materials are used in this purchase, it is nothing to his purpose. For the purchase of those small articles that are generally understood by Necessaries, the Natives have what answers to pieces of Coin of very small value. They cast their Gold dust into Fetiches, which they cut into little pieces, the value of which they know to a surprising degree of Precision, and with these they purchase what is to be understood by Necessaries. Beside these they make use of Cowries, or small shells of a particular sort, on all these occasions. Why these circumstances were concealed by Mr. M. must be left to the reader to determine.

8. The ways of Providence I do not presume to scrutinize: but apprehend that, if God exerted his Power to preserve Life, and prevent Cruelty, he would scarcely do it by a method more cruel than Death itself.

In short, the attempt of Mr. M. to justify the Slave Trade, as appears by his sentiments on the subject,

subject, seems to be indeed very defective, and ineffectual, whether we consider the consequences of this Traffick with respect to the unhappy creatures themselves, or to the Countries from which they are forced into this barbarous servitude.

Those delightful regions from which the natives are forcibly carried into Slavery extend in length about three thousand four hundred miles, from the River Senegal to the kingdom of Angola, where the Slave Trade ends. From whence to the Cape of Good Hope, the country is peopled by the Caffres and Hottentots, who have never been concerned, as I am informed, in selling Slaves. So the European dealer in Human Blood is engaged in a Traffick disdained even by Caffres and Hottentots.

The River Senegal is navigable more than a thousand miles. The River Gambia about three hundred miles to the South of it is navigable six hundred miles into the country. And, Brue, a French Factor, who lived sixteen years in it, describes it as very fruitful near the Sea, and the farther you go inland, as being still more fruitful and better cultivated. Mr. Smith who was sent thither in 1726 by the African Company, describes the country as very pleasant and fruitful; provisions of all sorts being in great plenty, and exceedingly cheap. Mr. Moor, sent by the same company about 1735, resided there five years, and confirms these accounts of the fertility of the Country. The parts lying upon and between these rivers is of very great extent, and is inhabited principally by three Negroe Nations known by the names of Ialofs, Pholeys, and Mandingos,

Mandingos, and the general circumstances of the nature and fertility of their countries, as also of all the kingdoms to the Southern extremity of Angola, plainly shew the falshood of the pretence that the situation of the Natives is made better by removing them into the West Indies, though in the condition of Slavery. For at home they lived in ease and indolence, and a sort of luxurious temperance; every one under the shade of his own vine and Fig-tree quietly possessing his own property, and in general enjoying the sweets of Liberty and the Rights of Humanity.

But it is asserted, that the Negroes are not Men because it is not possible to give them any idea of a Civil Government. With what degree of Truth this rash assertion is made, will immediately appear.

The country of the Jalofs, the middle country between the Senegal and Gambia is governed by a King. This King has under him several Ministers of State, who assist him in the administration of Justice. Also a chief Judge, who goes his circuits to hear complaints and determine controversies. He has also a chief Treasurer, and a Vice-roy, whose duty it is to enquire into the behaviour of inferior Magistrates; and various subordinate officers in different departments of Civil Administration. In different nations too there are examples of the different forms of Civil Government, from absolute Monarchy to true Democracy. In some the Monarchy is hereditary, though not in the European mode, as it sometimes passes to the Nephew in preference to the Son. In others it is elective: and in the latter, though the person elected be of the lowest order,
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he immediately assumes a despotic power, which is implicitly obeyed. At Camina, a very populous town, between the kingdoms of Cayor and Baool, is an independent Commonwealth, which hath always withstood, by the bravery of its people, and their fondness for Liberty, the attempts of both those Kings made at several times to subdue it.

In short, there are to be found in these countries all those circumstances of Political Establishment which in Europe would be thought a sufficient foundation for the appellation of a Civil Government: the Ceremonials of a Royal Coronation, the Requisition of an Oath from the King to observe the Laws, and to promote the happiness of his people: the appointment of Civil Governors over the Provinces, into which the Kingdom is divided: a select Council composed of the most experienced Statesmen and Warriors, in which the determinations for Peace or War, and other important matters of States are made according to the opinions of the Majority. Subordination also of Officers in the departments of War, of Law, and of Religion; and places of distinction and honour about the Court, and the Person of the King. And though to some it may appear rather ridiculous to speak, as some very respectable authors have done, of Lords and Ladies of the Bedchamber, when the palace, perhaps, in some circumstances, was not superior to a common cottage in England, and the Bed no better than a fine mat upon the floor; yet we should call to mind that there have been Kings, and Kings of great power too in this Country, the walls of whose habitations were but a sort of
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Wicker Work, and their floors of clay, except that on days of entertainment and luxury they might be strewed over with Rushes.

Not only in matters of real consequence in the departments of State, of Law, and of Religion, but even in affairs of meer ceremony have the Negroe Kings sometimes given proofs of Sagacity, and knowledge of Mankind and of Civil Ordinations, that set them at least upon an equality with the European Sovereigns.

When the Princes of the German Empire were convened and assembled on some very important occasion, it could not be settled who should first enter, or take the most distinguished place in the Aulic Chamber; and this mighty matter of Precedence, being undetermined, put an entire stop to all the real and important business for which they were assembled. Till an Edifice was at last erected of a Circular Form, with several doors into it, through which these Wise Princes might have entrance as it happened, and take their places accordingly. A Negroe Prince upon the same subject, shewed more good sense and spirit than all the Princes of the German Empire assembled together in solemn convention.

In the kingdom of Ardrah, a Dutch factor, and a French officer had a quarrel about the right of precedence. Matters were carried so far that the Frenchman declared he would run the Dutchman through the body, if he presumed to go before him. To prevent extremities, the Prince Royal conducted them to an audience before the King to make their remonstrances, one on his right hand, the other on his left. The parties grew warm. The King commanded silence, and spoke
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to this effect: "Address yourselves to your Masters; let them regulate the precedence, and rights of their servants: it doth not become me, who am ignorant of their circumstances and power. I therefore forbid all disputes, till you receive the decision of your superiors. In my dominions you are both but Traders; and it would better become you to vie in industry, diligence, and honesty, than in ostentation and vanity." The equity and strong sense of the Royal reproof enforced a compliance: and seems a plain demonstration that Negroes are capable of Civil Government.

The preceding observations are taken from Barbot and Bosman, and various other authors agreeing in the same point of evidence, as may be seen in the Collection before referred to, and particularly in the Mod. Univ. History of these kingdoms.

What changes may have been made since the time of Barbot, by the devastations occasioned by the European Factors, I do not exactly know; but undoubted they are horrible to the last degree. Several countries by nature the most delightful, and well peopled, are now nearly depopulated, and turned into desarts: their Government overturned, their inhabitants murdered, or forced into Slavery; the few who remain, corrupted by our vile machinations, are rendered Savage. But this cannot be admitted as an argument against them or their country; it is only a proof of our injustice and barbarity: and it is needless to say any thing more in answer to the aspersions that they are *Naturally* incapable of every idea of Civil Government.

This very short state even of their Civil Police,
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is also a full answer to the malicious calumny that they have no notion of Moral Distinctions. For if that were the case, and all actions were esteemed equal, how comes it to pass that they have the solemnities of trial, and Judges to punish for offences? Their ideas of Moral rectitude may be very different from our notions on that subject, and their Judicial Decisions may, in many instances, not be agreeable either to Natural Justice or improved Reason: but while there is among them a different estimation of Actions, there must be an idea of Moral Distinctions. Permit me to produce only one instance in which, with respect both to Moral Rectitude and the true Interest of Civil Society, they seem superior to some of the polished nations of Europe, I mean their high opinion of the Matrimonial engagement. In some countries the bare suspicion of Infidelity was attended with great disgrace: if any thing like proof was produced, the woman was banished, and left to provide for herself as well as she could in some distant region, and the whole property of the man was forfeited to the Husband. On actual discovery, both the offending parties were instantly put to death. While in our very *refined* nation, after a full proof and gentle process through some meer forms of Law, by a preconcerted scheme, the Adulteress is married to her Gallant, and both stand as high as ever in our pliant virtue and fashionable honour.

As to their Natural Incapacity for receiving Religious ideas, the assertion is entirely without foundation. Great numbers of the Negroes are Mahometans, and are singularly regular in the performance of their religious duties. And as the

the leading Principle of the Mahometans is, that there is *only* one Supreme God, and, that Mahomet is his Prophet, how erroneous soever in some particulars their faith may be, yet this is undoubtedly true, that Negroes, being Mahometans, are capable of true Notions of God and Religion. True notions of God they have: and with respect to erroneous and inferior articles of Faith, wheresoever these exist, the Doctrines of Truth may possibly be substituted in their stead. For to receive false Doctrines proves the Natural capacity to receive those that are true. I have not much to say in defence of the Mahometan Paradise; at the time of its institution it certainly was a very politic scheme; but the Negroes, who are Mahometans, and believe in it, have undoubtedly an idea, though a crude one, of a future State of Existence: the charge therefore of *Natural* incapacity in this respect is utterly false and groundless. The belief of *Sensual* pleasures to be enjoyed in a future and *Spiritual* state of Existence is doubtless a great absurdity, and a pernicious error, nevertheless it proves the Negroes to be as capable of receiving the idea of a future state of existence as we ourselves are, who are blessed with the true doctrine of a Resurrection, and a Future Life. And what indeed are those instances of affection for departed friends, expressed at every funeral, by placing near, or in their graves, their Arms, their household Utensils, and provisions for their support in the other world, but so many direct proofs of this belief, even in the countries buried in profound ignorance,

The Whidah Negroes, who, I suppose, have not

not been instructed in the Mahometan Religion, have yet an idea of the True God: ascribing to him the Attributes of Almighty Power, and Omnipresence: but God, they say, is too high to condescend to think of Mankind: wherefore he commits the Government of this world to those inferior Deities (the Fetiches) which they worship. "The Religion of this Country indeed is so fraught with good sense and absurdity that we are at a loss how to describe it. The Fetiche is worshipped here as in all the other countries on the western coast of Africa. These, however, they consider in a subaltern capacity, acting as Mediators between Men, and the Great God, of whom their ideas are less gross, and unworthy. To God they ascribe the attributes of Omniscience, Omnipresence, Omnipotence, and Invisibilty. They believe that he actuates every thing, and governs the world by his Providence*." This account by Bosman, and various other writers of different times, is confirmed by Smith, who says, That that the Natives not only believe that there is One True God, the author of them, and of all things, but that they have also some apprehension of a Future State: that almost every Village has a Grove, or public place of Worship, to which the principal inhabitants on a *set day* resort to make their offerings. Amongst these people also the same barbarous Ceremonies are observed as in the surrounding nations †.

In general then the funeral Ceremonies throughout the various kingdoms upon the Grain, the Ivory, the Gold, and Slave Coasts, the kingdoms

* Mod. Un. Hist.

† See Benezet.

of Benin, Loango, Congo, and Angola, where they are not Mahometans or Christians, are pretty much the same, and tend to the same point of Evidence. Human Victims are sacrificed in proportion to the rank of the deceased: generally two of his Wives, and a number of Slaves. These, we are informed from many corresponding authorities, are buried with their masters, not only to attend them in the other life, but likewise to bear witness, when they come to appear before the *Great Monarch*, or God of the other world, how they behaved in this: which, if true, plainly proves not only their belief of a Supreme Deity, and a future state of existence, but also a future Judgment, and a State of Retribution. And in order that this idea of a State of Retribution may be compleat, beside the Supreme Deity to reward the Good, they have also a Supreme Monarch of the Infernal Regions, or a Devil, it must be supposed, to receive and punish those who have behaved improperly in this world. Their Devil indeed differs greatly in point of Age, Size, and Complexion from the Devil of the Europeans. When Mons. D'Elbee was introduced by the High-Priest of Ardrah to the presence of his Wives, he observed the figure of a child in the corner of the Gallery, well cast and painted White. On enquiry, whose figure it was, the High Priest answered it was the Devil's. The French Commodore said, the Devil is not White. That is your mistake, answered the High Priest, for I can assure you that he is very White, having often seen, and conversed with him. I believe they did not settle this point of Theological Controversy. But all the good people who have seen
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and conversed with our Devil assure us, that he is advanced in age, tall in his person, and of a very black complexion. Yet it must be allowed that in the nature of things, and by parity of Reason, the Blacks have as good Authority to make their Devil White, as the White men have to make their Devil Black.

I therefore hope that by this time the rash assertion that Negroes are not of the *Human Race*, that they are not capable of receiving any idea of *Civil Government*, of *Moral Distinctions*, of *Religion*, of a *God*, or a *Future State of Existence*, may appear to be entirely without foundation.

It would not have been worth while to have gone even thus far into an answer, were not these opinions maintained, and at this time industriously propagated by many persons of different ranks, and of great consequence in this Land of Science and Liberty. With what view this is done, must be left to their own conscience, and to God. I presume not to judge the heart of Man.

From the regions before mentioned, by Nature (under Providence) the seat of delight, of innocence and happiness, are the devoted natives in great numbers torn by every act of violence and inhumanity, to suffer in the most extreme degree the miseries of Slavery, Torture, and Death.

Before the tribunal of God must an account be given for more than a hundred thousand innocent men annually and violently forced from their native Land, and separated for ever from the tender connection with relations and friends, and every endearment of happy and domestic life. In this account will the English Nation stand

foremost, and eminently guilty. Dreadful Pre-eminence*!

Elizabeth, about the thirtieth year of her reign, granted Patents for carrying on this abominable African Traffick from the north part of the river Senegal to a hundred leagues beyond Sierra Leona; an immense tract of Country! Throughout these regions, and much farther, even to the extent of three thousand four hundred miles, do the English take the liberty, under the sanction of various national laws; to deal in Human Blood; to perpetrate every act of atrocious cruelty that can freeze with horror the heart endued with a spark of Humanity.

Amongst the early perpetrators of these horrid barbarities we read the celebrated names of Hawkins and Drake; who forcibly carried off many of the innocent natives, and sold them for Slaves to the Spanish settlers in America. And this too notwithstanding that Elizabeth (as is said) when Hawkins returned from his first Voyage, expressly prohibited him from carrying off the Negroes without their free consent; saying, it would be

* The number of Negroe Slaves bartered for in one year on the coast of Africa, from Cape Blanco to Rio Congo, by the different European Nations is, as we are informed by a respectable merchant once engaged in the Traffick, nearly as follows: Great Britain, 53,000; America, 6,300; France, 23,500; Holland, 11,500; Portugal, 8,700; Denmark, 1,200. (Public Papers.) Mr. Clarkson goes much farther. He calculates, and seems fairly to prove his calculation, that taking into the account the numbers that are slain in the wars engaged in merely to procure Slaves, the numbers of the Captives that perish on their journeys to the Ships, the numbers that are killed by cruel usage on Shipboard, the numbers of Sailors that perish, the numbers that are destroyed in the Plantations, not less than one hundred thousand *murders* are perpetrated every year—Such are the effects of the Slave Trade, prosecuted by *Christians*, and receiving the sanction of their Laws!

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detestable,

detestable, and call down the vengeance of Heaven*.

At first the method was to practise the more gentle arts of fraud and circumvention. Under the shew of friendship, and the pretence of profitable traffick the poor creatures were enticed to bring their Gold, and other precious articles of merchandize on Shipboard; and there, oh! horrid profanation of public Faith! were robbed of their property, loaded with chains, and delivered over to perpetual Slavery.

This conduct gave an alarm, and made the Natives distrustful of the Strangers, who then proceeded to the mode of plunder by open violence. They landed in force, made the inhabitants of the Country prisoners, and despoiled them of their Goods. They established themselves; they built Forts, and left their Agents. The business of these Miscreants is to foment, by every wicked art, divisions among the Natives. They inflame their passions by supplying them with spirituous Liquors. They engage them in perpetual quarrels, and thus at an easy price, which party ever is victorious, possess themselves of all who are made prisoners in these wars, thus fabricated by our treachery †. In this manner have we proceeded, and by this, and various other modes of Injustice, do we at length plunder the country of its inhabitants to the amount of one hundred thousand persons every year ‡.

* See the ch. 5. of Benezet, whose Hist. of Guinea I recommend to every advocate for the Rights of Humanity.

† On this part of the subject see Mr. Clarkson's excellent Prize Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species; particularly the 10th ch.

‡ See Anderson on Trade and Commerce.

When it is considered that of this great number *not one* becomes *willingly* a Slave; that at the very idea some fall distracted with horror, and others destroy themselves from despair, and that many thousands every year cruelly and miserably perish—how enormous appears the guilt of those who personally perpetrate these crimes, of those also who defend, and of those who give Legal Sanction to these Iniquities!

“How dreadful, says Mr. Benezet, is this Slave Trade, whereby 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, 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 hath him in his power continues to oppress him by cruel treatment, as eventually to occasion his death, is actually guilty of Murder.” To which let me add, That in Murder there are no *Accessories*. All who are any way aiding or abetting, before or after, are *Principals*.

“Where a prisoner (*legally confined*) dieth by duress of the Gaoler, the Law implies Malice, by reason of the Cruelty,” and malicious homicide is Murder. Surely then the argument applies at least with equal force against him who hath no justifiable authority, as against an officer legally appointed, but by exceeding the limits of his authority being the cause of Death. Farther. “If a man by harsh and unkind usage put another into such a passion of grief, or fear, that the party
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either die suddenly, or contract some disease whereof he dies, though in a human judicature it does not come under the judgment of Felony, yet this is *Murder* in the sight of God." To this purpose declare several of our Lawyers of high reputation.

By the iniquitous practices of the European Factors, too truly speaking Malefactors, are these beautiful and fertile countries, once full of inhabitants, now turned into a desolate desert. One author describes them as reduced to a most miserable condition by being stripped of their inhabitants. Frequently, says he, speaking of the country near the Gold and Slave Coast, when passing through it before the last wars, I have seen it abound with fine well-built towns, enriched with vast quantities of corn, cattle, palm wine, and oil. The inhabitants all applying themselves to agriculture, some sowing corn, others pressing oil, or drawing wine from the Palm-trees. But though formerly so powerful and populous, it is at present so drained of its inhabitants as to be entirely ruined; inasmuch that there do not remain sufficient to till the Country *.

In consequence of this depopulation near the sea, the ravages committed by the Slave merchants are extended over the internal parts of Africa, and to such a distance, that in the Cargoes (as they are called) of men chained and driven like brute beasts, sometimes are found Asiatic Blacks mixed with the African Negroes.

These poor creatures are driven a journey, sometimes of several months; and to secure them they are tied together by the neck, at about a

* Hofmān.

yard distant from each other, thirty or forty in a string, each with a load of merchandize upon his head. When arrived at the place of their destination they are put into prison together; then all brought out and by the Surgeons thoroughly examined, naked, both men and women, without the least distinction or modesty. The unfortunate persons who are approved, are then branded with a burning iron, and returned to prison, till they are forced on board the ships.

Another method of securing them practised by these inhuman merchants, is to place the right hand of each upon a log of wood, and fasten it there by a staple fitted to the wrift, and driven into the wood, which being of an enormous weight they are necessitated to support sometimes with the other hand and sometimes to bear it upon the head*.

In a journal of a Liverpool vessel it is recorded, that information had been received on board the ship, "*that the people were gone to war within land, for Prisoners,*" in hopes of which they staid. "*That four towns were burnt, and the Slaves expelled. That they saw each night Towns burning, but heard that the inland Negroes were victorious, so that it is feared this War will be unsuccessful.*"

In another journal, an agent applies to some King in the Country for Slaves. The King says he has not yet been successful, having been twice repulsed in attempting *to break up two towns*; but he hoped for better luck in a Battle. The battle was fought, and four thousand five hundred men slain on the spot.

* See Clarkson, p. 30.

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When on Shipboard, the misery and desperation of these poor creatures arises to such a height, that many go Mad, many drown themselves, many starve themselves to death*.

Captain Phillips was advised to cut off the Legs and Arms of some of them, *as other Captains had done*, to terrify the rest, and thus to *reconcile* them to their Slavery. But this he refused to do. In a state of sincere repentance for having been concerned in this iniquitous traffick, he makes a public confession to the following purport. That in the year 1749 he sailed from Liverpool to the coast of Guinea; went up into the inland country, and had a conference with a Negroe King, concerning the purchase of Slaves. The next day was appointed for viewing them, when he found about two hundred confined in one place. But here, says he, "How shall I relate the affecting sight I there beheld! how can I sufficiently describe the silent sorrow which appeared in the countenance of the afflicted father, the painful anguish of the tender mother, expecting to be for ever separated from their offspring: the distressed maid wringing her hands in prelude of her future wretchedness, and the general cry of the innocent from a dreadful apprehension of the perpetual slavery to which they were doomed! Under a sense of my offence to God, in the persons of these his creatures, (for I purchased eleven) I make this confession, hoping to excite an abhorrence of the detestable practice of trading in our fellow creatures, and in some measure to

* See Fauconbridge, and several other accounts lately published concerned these melancholy and truly tragical events.

stone for my engaging in this wicked traffick, and neglecting my duty as a Christian *."

As a supplement to this, and as absolute authority upon the point, I beg leave to recommend a Pamphlet written by the Rev. Mr. Newton, once himself concerned as Captain Phillips was in this business, but now a very worthy, learned, and exemplary Divine of the Church of England.

As these poor creatures are forcibly dragged from their home, and their families, and thus unjustly and cruelly doomed to confinement and misery, it is very natural, and very justifiable in those by any means in their power to attempt the recovery of their liberty, even by the death of their Oppressors. On board the Ship of one Harding, this attempt was made by some men and women Slaves, but failed. Harding sentenced some to a cruel death, making them first eat the heart and liver of one of those he had killed. The women he hoisted by the thumbs, whipped, and fashed with knives till they died †. Volumes of similar enormities might be produced—but I feel myself unable to transcribe any more, and must appeal to the heart, and conscience of every impartial man to decide whether such proceedings ought in any country, directly or indirectly, to receive the least degree of support.

I am not a stranger to that sort of Philosophy which derides the sensibility that now oppresses me: which holds in contempt the very idea of Benevolence, strictly so called, and all principles of Action that may be derived from it; resolving

* For more particular information, see in several places Benezet, from whom this account is in great measure taken.

† See Benezet, p. 164, &c.

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the Whole of Human Conduct, immediately, or ultimately to the sole motive of Self-Love. There is also a mode of singular affection now prevalent among us, something different from this Philosophy, and yet in some degree related to it. A sort of pretended Insensibility, and Indifference to all that passes in this world. A man of this cast would as soon see one of his fellow-creatures extended on the Rack, as see him made happy: would with equal apathy hear of a city and all its inhabitants destroyed by fire, or swallowed up by an earthquake, as receive information of its prosperity by some signal blessing of Providence. And though he would not give himself the trouble to do any positive harm, would not move a finger to perform any benevolent office. Equally indifferent are these persons to the happiness or misery of others; and would be as well pleased with the continuance as with the Abolition of Slavery. With such Philosophers it is in vain to plead in the cause of Humanity; but with those of an unbiased mind and a benevolent spirit, I shall hope for pardon, if I request a moment of their time and attention, while I endeavour to shew that *Benevolence*, or the Love of others, is no less strictly a distinct part of Human Nature than Self-Love.

It is evident to demonstration, that Man could not create himself, but that he must receive his Being, his Powers, his Faculties, and all the constituent parts of his Nature from some superior Power, from God. It seems also that God did not intend Man to be a meer solitary creature, but that he should be connected with his fellows in his own class of Beings. On this supposition

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Man was plainly intended to exist in a double capacity, as an Individual, and as a Member of Society. Now as it is universally allowed, that for the preservation and well-being of the Individual God has bestowed upon him the principle of Self-Love, it may reasonably be presumed, that for the preservation and well being of Society, he would also bestow the Principle of Benevolence. The Supreme and Perfect Workman cannot be imperfect in his operations, or leave the principal part of his performance defective. If he intended that Man should exist in this double character, and furnished him with powers and faculties proper for his existence, what reason can be given why he should make a provision for one part only, and totally neglect the other? why he should provide for the least important part, and overlook that which is of infinitely greater importance? for there is no comparison in point of importance, between the welfare of an Individual, and the welfare of Society. If then God thought proper to provide Man with passions for the good of the Individual, he would not forget those for the good of Society. But if Benevolence, or the Love of others, were totally and universally eradicated from the Human Constitution, it is an impossibility that Human Society could be continued. And therefore we may safely conclude that God originally gave to Man, as a true and real motive of Conduct, the Principle of Benevolence. These two Principles in human nature, are not unlike to two plants growing near together in the same soil; of which, if one be cultivated, and the other neglected, the one will, by a superfluous growth, overpower and destroy the other: but

but if each receives a due and proper cultivation, both will thrive, and prosper well together. So is it with respect to the two distinct Principles of Self-Love and Benevolence. And that they are truly distinct Principles perhaps may be better proved by Fact than by Reason. In numberless cases exciting Compassion, Man is carried instantaneously into Action by an instinctive impulse, before Reflection can possibly take place, and his conduct is determined less by Reason than by Sensibility. There may be, and I suppose there are Exceptions: but they, who are the examples of these Exceptions, are, in my opinion, much to be pitied, if indeed they do not deserve severe condemnation. For it is the duty of every Man to cultivate those passions and affections, which lead him to the good of others, with equal care as he does those which lead him to his own good. And indeed a contrary conduct is not more a breach of Duty, than a rebellion against Nature. Infomuch that Cruelty is generally denominated Inhuman, as being contrary to the general and instinctive impulse of Humanity. Yet it is too well known that Men, by giving a licentious and unbounded sway to the Selfish Principle, may totally extinguish every emotion of Benevolence; may stand forth abandoned and execrable monsters in Nature; may even both actually practise and deliberately defend the Traffick in Human Blood. But at the same time let all such be informed, that God has given his last and perfect dispensation upon this ground, that Benevolence is an Essential part of the Human Frame: and that he has not only made the Christian Institution conformable to every emotion of this most amiable

amiable principle, but has required the exercise of it, according to our respective situations, not only as a distinguishing and characteristic mark, but an absolute and indispensable duty of the Profession. Let them be informed that the Distinctions of Men in Civil Society cannot exempt them from this Duty. That High and Low, Rich and Poor, are all equally bound by it. That the Casuistical determinations of Lawyers are vain and delusive: that Politicians cannot authorize injustice and cruelty: that the Permissions or Sanctions of Human Legislators, and the worldly interests of Commercial men are of no account in the sight of God: that the bloody cruelties of all who are concerned directly or indirectly in promoting the horrid Traffick of our brethren in Nature and Blood, are all naked and open to the eyes of him with whom we have to do; who is of purer eyes than to behold such iniquities but with detestation; and who for these things will call every man into judgement, and will severely punish such daring Rebellion, as overturns, and so far as it extends, totally eradicates his most benevolent dispensation.

That the Parliament of Great Britain, an assembly of Christian Legislators, should give sanction to such abominable deeds, directly or indirectly, that they should condescend to give to the Slave Trade any notice but to ordain its Abolition, is indeed very strange; but that a Reverend Divine should proclaim it defensible by Scripture is truly astonishing.

Let us charitably suppose that ignorance of the true merits of the case, that delusion from false representations, that impressions from the first idea

idea of profit, without a due consideration of the Sources of that profit, that a want of attention to the real evils attendant upon an imaginary good, may have produced these indefensible proceedings: let us suppose any cause rather than a hardened malignity of heart, and open defiance of the Almighty.

As to the Commercial advantages falsely pretended, I cannot deign to give them a moment's consideration. They are unjust, wicked, indefensible in the extreme, nor, be they what they may, can any human institution whatsoever give them a proper sanction. But farther, these Commercial advantages, said to arise from the Slave Trade, may demonstratively be better promoted by its total abolition, than by its continuance; as I doubt not will be fully shewn in due time.

The apprehension of danger from the *immediate* Emancipation of those who are at present in the State of Slavery is a meer Chimæra; because the *immediate* Emancipation is not desired; and the turbulence of Spirit, said to have been already shewn by them on the expectation of it, is an exaggeration, if not a forgery. And even on supposition of a general emancipation, yet they would all be absolutely disarmed, and a single regiment under the direction of the civil Magistrate would preserve the whole Island of Jamaica in perfect security. This however is all pretence; the Negroes are not blind to their own interest and happiness. But a *general* and *immediate* manumission does not seem to be required. Suppose that they who have been seven years in Slavery immediately receive Political Existence, and be upon the footing of hired servants; that they who
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have been six years, receive their freedom in one, they of five years in two, they of four years in three, they of three years in four, they of two years in five, they of one year in six: but for the future, and from the present moment, let all farther Importation be absolutely abolished. Or let any other mode of Emancipation be agreed on that shall be consonant to sound Policy, provided also that it be consistent with the precepts of the Gospel, and the Rights of Humanity. What is to be feared? Our benevolent and amiable brethren, under the common denomination of Quakers, have set us a noble example: They, from a sense of duty and conscience, to their immortal honour have made the experiment; they have found it unattended with evil, attended with good: and it is certain, that the same good effects would follow the same experiment wheresoever it shall be made. In proof of this and several important articles relative to it, and consequent upon it, I must refer the reader to Mr. Clarkson, and the other authors who have written upon this part of the subject.

Yet after all, it would not be consistent with candour not to confess that the native inhabitants of many kingdoms in Africa, to what cause soever their misery may be attributed, in general are at present, and have been for the course of many years in a most deplorable condition: in a condition next in misery to that of West-Indian Slavery. With respect to every thing relative to Religion, where they have not conformed to the Law of Mahomet, they are for the most part deluded by the grossest Superstition and Idolatry. There are indeed in many parts some customs and ceremonies

ceremonies, that plainly appear to be of Jewish origin, but these in the course of time have been greatly debased. In some countries a species of Superstition is prevalent that seems to be of much higher antiquity. On the Western coast, in the kingdom of Whidah, in the Empire of Benin, and in several other places, to this day, I believe, is observed the worship of the Serpent. In the Metropolis of the latter, and in the entrance to the Royal Palace, which is of prodigious dimensions, the central gate is decorated at the top with a turret of a spiral form seventy feet high. Upon the very extremity of this is fixed a large Copper Serpent, well cast, carved, and bearing marks of a proficiency in the arts. Within is an area of fine turf, a quarter of a mile in length, and near as much in breadth. The entrance to the King's dwelling house is by a porch, over which is another Serpent, done probably by the same artist as that on the Turret*. This is the principal object of Adoration: and of their high veneration paid to it the English hath a tragical confirmation, as is affirmed by the concurring testimony of Barbot, Bosman, and other writers. When we first made a settlement in Whidah, a Sailor ignorantly killed one of these sacred Serpents. The inhabitants to revenge this sacrilege, assembled, attacked the English, massacred them all, and consumed their bodies and their goods in the fire they had set to their Warehouses †.

This species of Idolatry, if accurately investigated, might lead to a very entertaining and in-

* Hist. of Benin, Mod. Un. Hist. Vol. 16.

† Mod. Un. Hist. of Whidah, Vol. 16. p. 412.

structive history. It is well known that Hope and Fear are the powerful motives to Idolatry as well as true Religion : that some objects are worshipped from the hope of Good, and others from the dread of Evil. And it is not improbable that some traditional account, that the Serpent is the Great Enemy of Mankind, and was from the beginning the Author of Human Misery, may have been transmitted from Antediluvian authority, through the dark ages of ignorance and barbarism; and may have given rise to that sort of superstitious idolatry of which vestiges may be traced from the most Eastern parts of Asia to the Western coast of Africa : that is, from one extremity of the old world to its very opposite extreme. This idolatry in some of the African dominions is attended with various rites and ceremonies, equally absurd and cruel. But the barbarous customs of that savage race of men, called the Ghiagas, who subdued many kingdoms in different parts of Africa, being sometimes added to the national idolatry, are too horrid to be described. For like some Idolaters of ancient times, they slew their children in their sacrifices, used secret and dreadful ceremonies, and made revelings of strange rites. These were carried to a most abominable excess by many of the Ghiagan princes, particularly by two female Commanders, called Tembandumba, and Zingha. The first of whom lived and died a savage monster. The other is one of the most extraordinary characters that has appeared in any age or country. If the vices of her savage life were great, the virtues of her reformed state were great in proportion : in both she shewed uncommon magnanimity of resolution.

olution. She had been driven out of her dominions by the Portuguese, with whom she maintained a desperate war for several years, and at last entered into a long political negotiation with Don John de Sousa, the Portuguese Viceroy at Loando, about 1620, in which she shewed as much artifice and address as any European Negotiator. This correspondence began in 1648, and continued to 1651. During great part of her time the Ghiagan superstition raged in all its horrors. Zingha however after being converted by the Portuguese Monks, and having relapsed again to Heathenism, at length became, and died, a sincere Christian. She died Dec. 17, 1663, aged 82, and was succeeded in her Dominions by her sister Barbara, also a Christian*. There seems to have been the same sort of management in the conversion of this Empress, as in that of the Emperor Constantine; a miraculous cross was made use of on both occasions.

The circumstances related above prove indeed the Inhabitants of these parts of Africa to have been to a great degree ignorant and savage; yet it ought to be remembered, that these Ghiagans were fierce and cruel invaders, who overturned all Laws and Government, totally ruined the Country wheresoever they came, and destroyed, with the utmost cruelty, all the inhabitants who did not join their party. What has been said before respecting the happy circumstances of many regions of this great continent, and the amiable disposition of the Natives, must be understood of

* See Mod. Un. Hist. Vol. 15, 16, &c. these examples contribute to the refutation of the wild assertions that the Africans are not capable of Religion, &c. &c.

those parts, and of those people who have not been subjected to the ravages of the Ghiagas. In many parts the Original natives have been extirpated by them: in others, where possibly some might have been left, devastation and cruelties equal to the Ghiagan, have now been perpetrated for some centuries by the European Dealers in Human Blood. The regions near the sea are in a great degree depopulated: the poor creatures, who are brought from the inland parts, are doubtless ignorant, uncivilised, and, if it is insisted on, we will say unhappy. But does this give us a Title to enslave them? It may, perhaps, be said that they are Slaves in their own country. What then? Does this improve our title? it may possibly be the unfortunate constitution of their country. But what would the King of France, or the Empress of Russia say to the Captain of a Guinea man, who should load his ship with their subjects, under the pretext that they were Slaves in France or Russia? The native inhabitants of Africa may probably want nothing but West-Indian Slavery to make their wretchedness compleat: and shall we, CHRISTIANS, pour in this dreadful addition to fill to the brim their measure of misery? oh! hardness of heart beyond imagination! it is said that Nature gave Man the most compassionate heart when she gave him the power of Tears.

———— mollissima corda
 Humano Generi dare se Natura fatetur
 Quæ lacrymas dedit ———

but we are estranged from our Nature; we have no tear to bestow, no heart to feel the sufferings of
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of these our fellow-creatures: oh! shame that such reproach must rest upon us without possibility of refutation.

— pudet, hæc opprobria nobis
Et dici potuisse, et non potuisse refelli.

It is now high time to conclude this very imperfect, and I fear equally ineffectual, effort in favour of those who are deeply injured, and utterly unable to help themselves, with a few short observations upon the Nature and Duties of Legislation. My intention throughout, is unimpeachable, is undoubtedly laudable. But whether that alone may be a sufficient apology for many defects, arising from many disagreeable causes, from an indispensible attention to intervening avocations, from the pressure of misfortunes, and various other interruptions, must be left to the indulgence of the candid reader.

Legislation then is the most solemn office, the most sacred trust in which Man can be concerned. In the execution of this office, and the discharge of this trust, Men stand, as it were, in the place of God. They are his Delegates. They act for him. Their duty therefore is to do in all cases (if we be allowed the phrase) as he himself would do. This duty is both Negative and Positive. They are not to do Evil; and they are to do Good. They are not to do Evil, even that Good may come. The happiness and misery of their fellow creatures is put into their hands, and they are by all means in their power to remove the one and to promote the other. They ought religiously to establish Justice, and to temper strict Justice with Mercy. Their decisions should in

all instances be Holy, Just, and Good. They should be consistent with the will of God, and the Natural Rights of Man. Thus, and thus only, can Legislators fulfil their own duty, and confirm the happiness of Society. Then, when they must resign this, and every other Trust in this life, though they must die like Men, they will fall like Princes, and it may with some propriety be said of them, Ye are Gods. For men cannot in any respect approach so near to Divinity of character, as by conferring Happiness on Men.

On the contrary, if they carelessly neglect their Duty, if they wilfully betray their Trust, if from a contraction of thought and partial views they shall justify Oppression, and give Sanction to Cruelty, if with deliberate purpose of mind they shall establish Evil and call it Good, the Prophet plainly says, Woe unto them! For there is a God who overseeth their doings, to whom they are accountable for their determinations. Who hath ordained his arrows against all Persecutors, and the mischief of the Oppressor shall return upon his own head.

If farther they should in open contradiction to the known will of God, and the acknowledged Rights of Man, not only indirectly give Sanction to Oppression, Rapine, Cruelty, and Murder, but even sit in solemn debate on the permissive mode of perpetrating these horrid crimes—— this would be a degree of profligacy, and hardness of heart far surpassing that which instructed Gladiators in a graceful attitude of expiring, or tuned the Incendiary's harp to harmony while his flames were reducing Imperial Rome, the mistress of the world, to ashes.

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But it cannot be believed that Legislators should enter into a solemn consultation on the mode of doing that which they ought not to do; on the mode they shall appoint for the commission of an atrocious crime, that ought to fill their minds with horror. For this would partake in no small degree of that hardened depravity of mind which gave men indulgencies and a formal permission to commit Sin.

It has indeed been publicly asserted, but surely cannot be true, that under the forms of serious debate, one Senator, making pretence of some reformation in the manner of carrying on this business, gave a solemn assurance to another strenuous advocate for Slavery, that this assumed appearance of Benevolence should not be any prejudice to the general Traffick in Human Flesh. It has also been publicly asserted that other Senators have warmly disputed, whether a Negroe, so many inches tall, shall be a Man Slave or an Infant Slave. These things (supposing them true) would be matter of just ridicule, were it not for the horrors of the crime, and that impenetrable hardness of heart in which all such debate is of necessity involved. For Legislators have not any Right to engage in *support* of a business which is inconsistent with the Will of God and the Rights of Man; nor can they in the least degree be justified for entering upon it, except it were totally to abolish it. They cannot possibly have any right, forcibly, without cause, and without consent, to deprive any one of Liberty, especially one over whom they cannot pretend to have any jurisdiction; and as they cannot be justified for giving sanction to Murder, they cannot, properly,

give sanction to Slavery, which certainly ends in murder, whether the person murdered be of mature or infant age. Their *Power* is not disputed. Their *Rights* is in the most absolute and express terms denied. In England the *Power* of Parliament was once exerted to punish by burning alive for a speculative difference of religious opinion. Horrid as it is, historical evidence proves the fact; but will any one say, that the determination, for I cannot call it Law, was to be justified, or that it was entitled to Obedience? In the same light I view Determinations concerning the Trade in Human Blood. They are absolutely and essentially Evil: they are therefore from the beginning void; nor is there any thing to support them but meer *Power*. They are, really, more abominable than the bloody statutes of the bloody-minded Henry; inasmuch as they substitute a lingering death by torture both of body and mind, in room of a speedy one by Fire. Henry's Persecutions affected only a few Individuals, but these, Kingdoms, Millions; Millions too, over whom this Nation cannot possibly pretend to have any Jurisdiction or Authority.

Farther, under the hypocritical pretence of Benevolence to establish regulations for the forcible separation of a Man from his Property, is to turn Virtue into Vice, and, in this instance, to make it a Sanction for Robbery. For, with respect to Invasion of Rights, it is much the same thing, whether I violently take away his property from the Man, or the Man from his property; only in the latter case the Cruelty is infinitely increased, as at the same time he is torn from all the endearments of family, friends, and country. And if a Legal sanction

sanction is given to such proceedings, whatsoever the pretences may be, the measure takes for granted the very thing that ought first to be demonstrated, That the thing to be done is in its nature Justifiable. That it is consistent with the Will of God and the Rights of Man; with the Laws of Justice and Mercy. But the act of forcing the Africans into Slavery is in every consideration absolutely unjustifiable. In every action there is a beginning, a middle, and an end. The beginning of this, Avarice, Injustice, and Oppression: the middle is Fraud, Violence, and Rapine: the end, Slavery, Torture, and Death.

Though conscientiously persuaded, and rationally convinced of the *Absolute Evil* of this inhuman Traffick, yet am I not so far an Enthusiast for its Reformation as to be blind to the inconveniencies attending a precipitate, an universal, and immediate Emancipation. A *Total Abolition* from the present moment, of all farther Importation, with a gradual Emancipation of those unhappy persons at present enslaved, such as is consistent with sound policy, and *productive of increased Commercial advantages*, is all that is requested; and can this be reasonably denied? I see and acknowledge that some particular persons who have deeply engaged themselves in this unwarrantable business may possibly be involved in some trouble, and may suffer some loss. But particular evils ought not to obstruct a General Good. Nor should the wickedness in which any person may have voluntarily engaged himself, be either a pretext for continuance of the enormity, or an absolution from its consequences. There may be sorrow for the Criminal; sorrow for his losses arising

arising from his crimes : but nevertheless, it is contrary to all justifiable principles of Legislation to give protection to his offences, merely because he has to a degree, uncommonly enormous, offended against common Justice, and Humanity, and the positive precepts of the Christian Religion.

Let us suppose that a Trader has actually received, as he has the effrontery publickly to aver, 300,000*l.* from the King of Spain, on condition of transporting annually to the Spanish islands 3000 Slaves by 600 in a Ship——this, in the first instance, is a horrid iniquity. But a plan is in agitation to relieve, in some measure, the misery of those poor creatures, by obliging this trader to carry in one ship only 400, instead of 600. This measure, at the time that it lessened their misery, would indeed, in some degree, lessen the gains from his iniquitous contract. He therefore presents a petition, praying to be exempted from complying with this act of kindness, and to be permitted to proceed in the customary method. His petition is granted. O tempora! O mores!

That a *Real* Christian should engage in such a contract is impossible. A nominal Sectarist is nothing. For it is not the ostentation of the Name, but the practice of the Duties that constitutes the Christian.

And he who deliberately acts in open defiance, and direct contradiction to the known will of God, and the fundamental Laws of Christ's Institution, I must repeat it, is not a Christian. Such a one is an Apostate in the worst acceptation of the word, and it is equally a mockery of God, and an insult upon common sense to give him that Appellation.

That

That such a petition, from such a person, should be suffered to be presented to a Legislature of Christians, is wonderful! that a Legislature of Christians should grant it, were it not fact, would be thought incredible. For in this case, right or wrong never can have been taken into consideration; and the meer gain to an individual, by an unjustifiable commerce, is all that has been thought worthy of attention.

Ye Sons of Rome, let money first be sought;
 Virtue is only worth a second thought.
 This maxim echoes thro' the Bankers street,
 While young and old the pleasing strain repeat;
 —My friend get money, get a large Estate
 By any means, get it at any rate*.

FRANCIS.

But on supposition of the Total Abolition of the Slave Trade, so far as we are engaged in it, it is said that the advantages arising from it would only be transferred to the Spanish, Portuguese, French, Dutch, or any other who may be concerned it: that this effort would only remove the malady from one part to another, not eradicate it: that we should lose the profit and give it to our neighbours. In God's name be it so, if by relinquishing the profit, we stand clear of the guilt. But this argument from profit entirely loses its force when we consider that *greater national advantages* would really arise from a dif-

- O cives, cives querenda Pecunia primum est;
 Virtus post nummos; hæc Janus summus ab imo
 Perdocet; hæc recinunt juvenes dictata senesque
 —Rem facias Rem—
 —Quocunque modo Rem.—

ferent

ferent mode of commerce with Africa, by taking in exchange for our commodities, instead of Natives, the Salt Petre, Ivory, Gums, Medicinal Drugs, Silver, Gold, and many other very valuable articles, of which the Continent of Africa is a Source absolutely inexhaustible. If to this we add the farther consideration, that the *peculiar business* of the *West Indian* plantation may also be better conducted by the Abolition than by the Continuance of Slavery, and more to the advantage both of the Public and the Planters themselves: that the continuance is *Impolitic* in the highest degree, and is solely owing to the obstinate, perverse, and hardened Iniquity of profligate and mercenary individuals, and that these points are as capable of direct demonstration as any proposition in Euclid; it may be hoped that the Public will, in this instance, so far interfere as to oblige these Individuals to accept of their own Good, and at the same time promote the Good of the Public. From the best information that I have been able, at no small trouble, to collect, I verily believe that all I have here advanced is strictly true. But I shall not enter upon this part of the subject on which Mr. Clarkson has promised us a distinct treatment, in which I prophesy that he will prove, what I have now hinted, in a very full and satisfactory manner*.

The

* Since these papers were delivered to the Press, I have had the pleasure of perusing Mr. Clarkson's incomparable Essay on the *Impolicy* of the Slave Trade. Nothing more need now, or can indeed, be said upon the subject. It is universally confessed that this horrid traffick is inconsistent with every principle of Humanity, with every Rule of Moral Duty, with every Precept of the Christian Religion. Yet Political Necessity, with many, has its weight, and has been urged as an unanswerable plea in favour of

The plea from Humanity urged by a noble Peer, stating, that if we did not take the Slaves, they would be murdered, cannot be admitted, being entirely imaginary. In case it were true, immediate Death is really preferable to *Modern Slavery*. But on the other hand, if it be also true, that by an Abolition, so far as we are concerned, the Commerce would still be carried on by others, the Objection falls to the Ground, as the African Slave-sellers would still have their market, and not have any pretence for immediate murder.

But how cutting must such disquisitions be to every heart of common sensibility! and how abhorrent is the genuine Spirit of Christianity of all such detestable practices! Alas! why do I mention the Spirit of Christianity? since a Religious Principle has long ceased to be a Principle of Conduct; and in its fall has dragged down with it all influence even of the Moral Principles, wheresoever they are thought to carry any opposition to the accursed Lust of Lucre.

How far views merely mercantile, and casuistry merely political, may justify Legislators on the day of Judgement and final Retribution, must be left to the righteous decisions of that important hour, when the secrets of all hearts shall be

of this practice, because, according to the Proverb, Necessity has no Law: But Mr. Clarkson has now decided this point by absolute demonstration. He has shewn it to be Detrimental to the Individuals concerned in it, Detrimental to the Public, and in every possible view highly *Impolitic*. We have therefore nothing now to do but wait with patience, and see whether the Iron hand of Power, in supporting the obstinate wickedness of a very few profligate Individuals, will strike down every consideration from Religion and Morals, from Common Humanity, and from what, with many seems to be worth all the rest, Sound Policy.

disclosed,

disclosed, and every one receive according to his deeds and his intentions; and when he, who hath shewn no Mercy, shall receive judgment without Mercy. With respect to the Individuals concerned, the riches acquired by these iniquitous practices will then be as a fore burthen dragging the mortal possessors to perdition, and happy would it have been for them, if, instead thereof, a millstone had first been hanged about their necks, and themselves drowned in the depth of the sea.

Having, as I think, fairly proved what I undertook, namely, that Negroes are *Men*, that they are capable of an idea of *Civil Government*, of *Moral Distinctions of Religion*, of *a God*, and a *Future State of Existence*; I must take the liberty to assert in the most unreserved terms, that *as Men* they have an absolute *Right to Life*, to *Limb*, to *Property*, and to *Liberty*: that, as they are not under our Jurisdiction, to invade their country, and by fraud and force to deprive them of these blessings, and to give sanction to such proceedings, directly or indirectly, is an action absolutely indefensible, and highly criminal. I shall therefore now conclude these imperfect observations with a short, but earnest, address to the different orders in the British Legislature.

To the members of the lowest Order I would, with all proper deference, insinuate, and call to their recollection, that they profess themselves to be the Guardians of Civil Liberty, the Protectors of the Injured, the Redressors of Wrongs, the Avengers of Oppression, the Assertors of the Natural Rights of Man. That under these most respectable denominations, and in this character they are, at this instant, with unusual vehemence
straining

straining every nerve in favour of those whom they *suppose* to have suffered injury in Asia: and that to preserve consistency of Character, they ought with equal zeal to exert themselves in favour also of those whom they must not only *suppose*, but really *know*, to have suffered severer injuries in Africa. For the maxims of common Justice are of an Universal Nature, and their operation should be extended equally to all the Nations upon earth.

To those of the middle Order, and of hereditary right to a place in that honourable station, I would, with all proper humility, represent, that although by the elevation of their rank they are raised far above the sight, they should not be above the sense of human misery. They are educated under a System of Honour, and on this foundation are instructed to build Virtue. Now *true* Honour joined with *real* Virtue, even exclusively of *Religion*, forms a respectable Character; a Character that certainly does not repudiate Universal Benevolence. Real Virtue will delight in doing Good: and all that is really Good is an Essential part of true Honour. To this noble Principle, Justice and Mercy make their supplication in the most emphatic terms for the natural rights of Millions inhumanly invaded—of Millions of innocent persons, torn by barbarities unparalleled, by Cruelties beyond all power of description. These injured and miserable men, for redress of these injuries, apply to your Honour, for relief under their miseries to your Compassion.

To the most reverend members of this middle Order, who are *cloathed in Purple and fine Linen and fare sumptuously every day*, I humbly recommend a
conduct

conduct consistent with the peculiarity of their character, and the benevolent precepts of our Religion; a kind attention to the poor beggar at the gate, full of sores: entreating them not to leave him to the dogs to lick them, but to administer the Comforts dictated by Christian Charity.

To that august Person, who constitutes the highest Order of our Legislature, I apply myself with the greatest confidence, on the knowledge of his excellent, and most amiable disposition. If then determinations relative to the Slave Trade should be brought before you, Sir, to be confirmed as Law, except for its Total Abolition, it is the earnest, the devout wish of all good men, that you may instantly crush them. The matter, Sir, rests entirely with you. Your consent or refusal will establish the happiness or misery of Millions. If it be possible that the lowest Order of that Legislature, of which you are highest, attending only to the clamours of a partial interest, should disregard the calls of Justice and Mercy; if it be possible that Lords Temporal should hold in contempt their Honour, and Lords Spiritual, their Religion; still it is in your power to prevent, in this instance, the sad consequences of such a state of Profligacy.

You well know, Sir, the relative duties of a Master, a Father, a King, a Christian; and you not only know the Theory of these Duties, but are exemplary in the practice. Permit me then to lay before you the heart-rending situation of the "afflicted father, the anguish of the tender mother, now to be for ever separated from their beloved offspring: the distressed maiden wringing her hands in preface of her approaching wretched-

wretchedness: the general cry of the innocent from a dreadful apprehension of that perpetual Slavery to which they are devoted." 'Tis like some hideous dream! one scarce can be persuaded that such a Scene is an actual Reality, constantly performed without remorse, and without restraint by your Subjects. But you have a heart, Sir, alive to the emotions of truly Christian Benevolence: and as a Father, as a Husband, as a Christian, can feel the miseries of these deeply injured objects of your Compassion.

The writer of these Lines, though unknown to you, knows many of your truly benevolent Actions. Though the number of his friends be very small, yet even in that small number he personally knows, and therefore can confidently proclaim, many instances of your generous sensibility in cases of *common* distress and affliction. With strict truth, and without fear of the charge of Adulation, I might expatiate on this subject,

But Cæsar's Majesty would sure refuse
The feeble praises of a humble Muse,
Nor I with conscious modesty should dare
Attempt a subject I want strength to bear †.

FRANCIS.

You have already shewn the compassionate disposition of your heart to mitigate the heaviest of all human woes. Oh! permit it, Sir, to exercise itself still farther on this *uncommon*, this most im-

† Si quantum cuperem possem quoque— sed neque parvum
Carmen Majestas recipit tua, nec meus audet
Rem tentare pudor quam vires ferre recusant.

Hor. Ep.

G

portant

portant occasion. Permit the piercing cries, the dying groans of Nations, by your Subjects cruelly oppressed and enslaved, not only to move your tenderness, but to produce their proper and full effect. By one great effort of Justice and of Mercy enjoy the Benedictions of Millions by you made happy.

Permit me, Sir, to lay before you the words of Bartholomew de las casas, Bishop of Chapia, to the Emperor Charles V. on a similar application.

“ The saving the lives of thousands inhumanly oppressed is my sole object. The cruel treatment of them is too horrid to be mentioned. It is said, that barbarous executions are necessary: but to whom is this owing? to blacken these unhappy people, their oppressors assert that they are scarce human creatures. But what right have we to enslave a People who are born Free, and who never offended us? they are represented as a stupid people: addicted to Vice, but have they not contracted their Vices from the Christians? Let us not flatter our Corruptions, nor voluntarily blind ourselves. *All nations are equally Free.* One nation has no right to infringe upon the freedom of any other. Let us do towards these people as we would have them to have done towards us, if they had landed upon our shore with the same superiority of Strength. The Apostles submitted to chains themselves, but loaded no man with them. Christ came to free, not to enslave, us. Thousands perish every year through want, fatigue, merciless punishment, cruelty and barbarity. If the blood of *One* unjustly shed calls aloud for Vengeance, how strong must be the cry of that of *Thousands*, which is shedding daily! Heaven

ven will one day call you to account for the numberless acts of Cruelty which you might have prevented."

These are the words of this good Bishop to the Emperor, who applauded his zeal, and promised to second it; but *an Interest in continuing the Oppression* operated so far that nothing was done.

May a contrary effect attend this humble supplication! and never, oh! never may it be necessary for you to pray as David did, *Deliver me from Blood guiltiness, Oh God!*

P. S. Since the preceding pages were printed, the Author has had the pleasure of reading three answers to the *Scriptural Researches* of Mr. H. one by Mr. Ramfey, another by Mr. Dannett, and the third, without the name of its author, under the Title of a *Scriptural Refutation*. Far be it from me to insult a fallen foe; and I therefore hope that Mr. H. will not think it the insolence of triumph, if I pay the debt of common justice to superior merit, by publishing the complete Victory obtained by these authors over their Antagonist. Who have traced him through all the turns, windings, and subterfuges of his intricate and delusive labyrinth; who with a masterly hand, have laid before the Tribunal of the Public all his fallacies with great clearness and precision; and (particularly the anonymous author above mentioned) with an elegant energy of Stile, and irrefragable force of Argument have fully decided the point in controversy between them.

Had it been my good fortune to have seen these
excellent

excellent performances before this meaner one of mine had employed the press, I should not have presumed to obtrude upon the Public what must now appear in a very inferior light. But my observations had principally a different object in view; and the *Researches* of Mr. H. were only a collateral and casual subject of investigation.

I drew the rough sketch of Africa annexed to these observations, not pretending to Geographical accuracy, but merely with a view to shew the relative position of the several places to which frequent reference is made in this little treatise: thinking it might possibly help to give a clearer idea of the situation of those Countries to the readers, who might not be well acquainted with the Geography of that immense Continent. And here, as in all other matters, I humbly hope that the Merit of a good Intention will procure indulgence to the Demerits of the Performance.

