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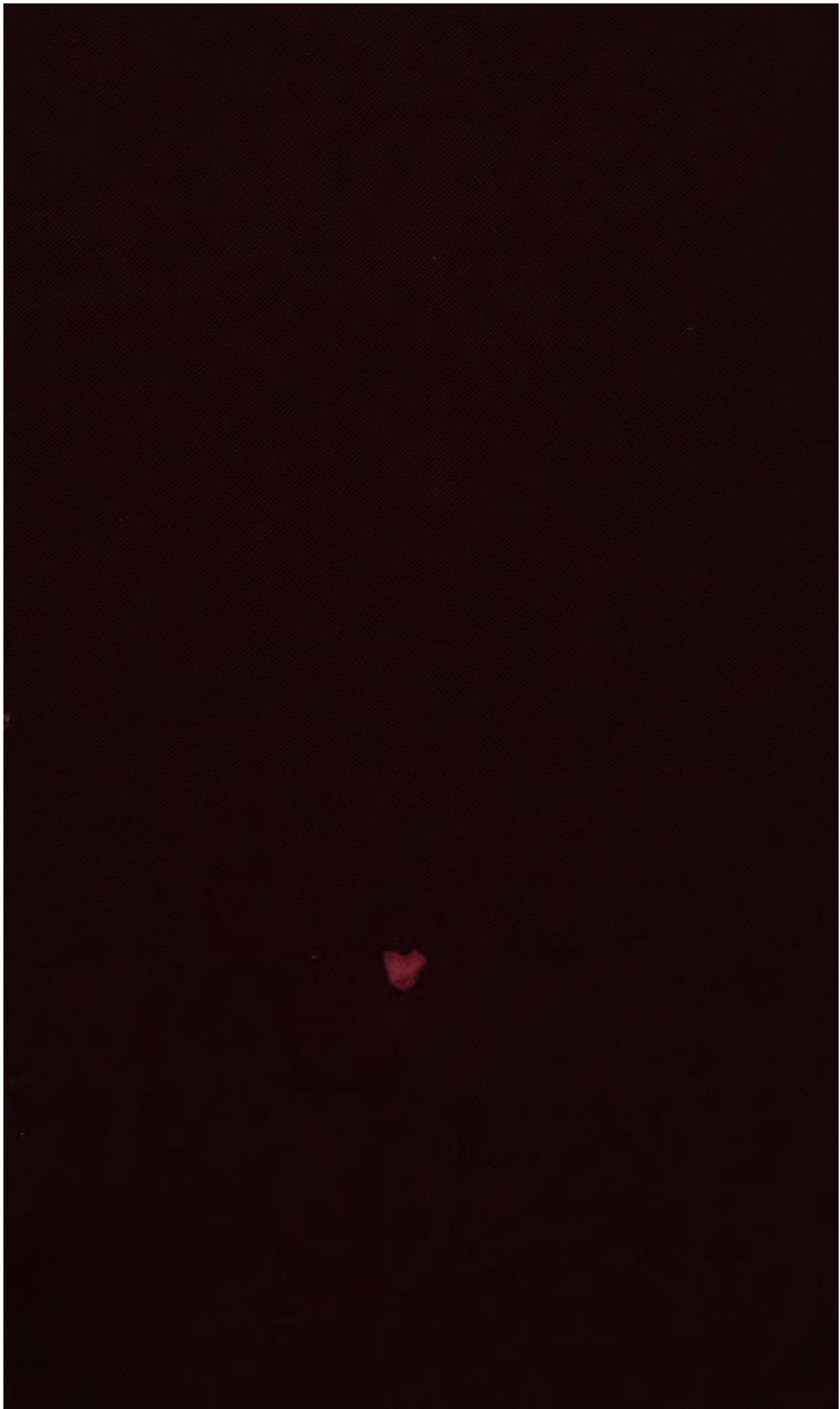
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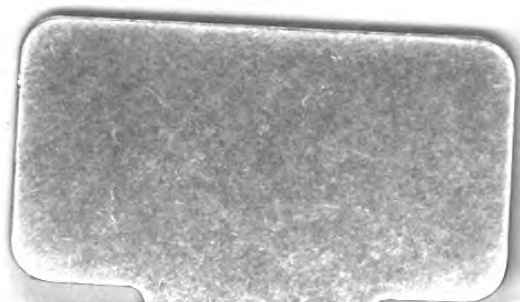
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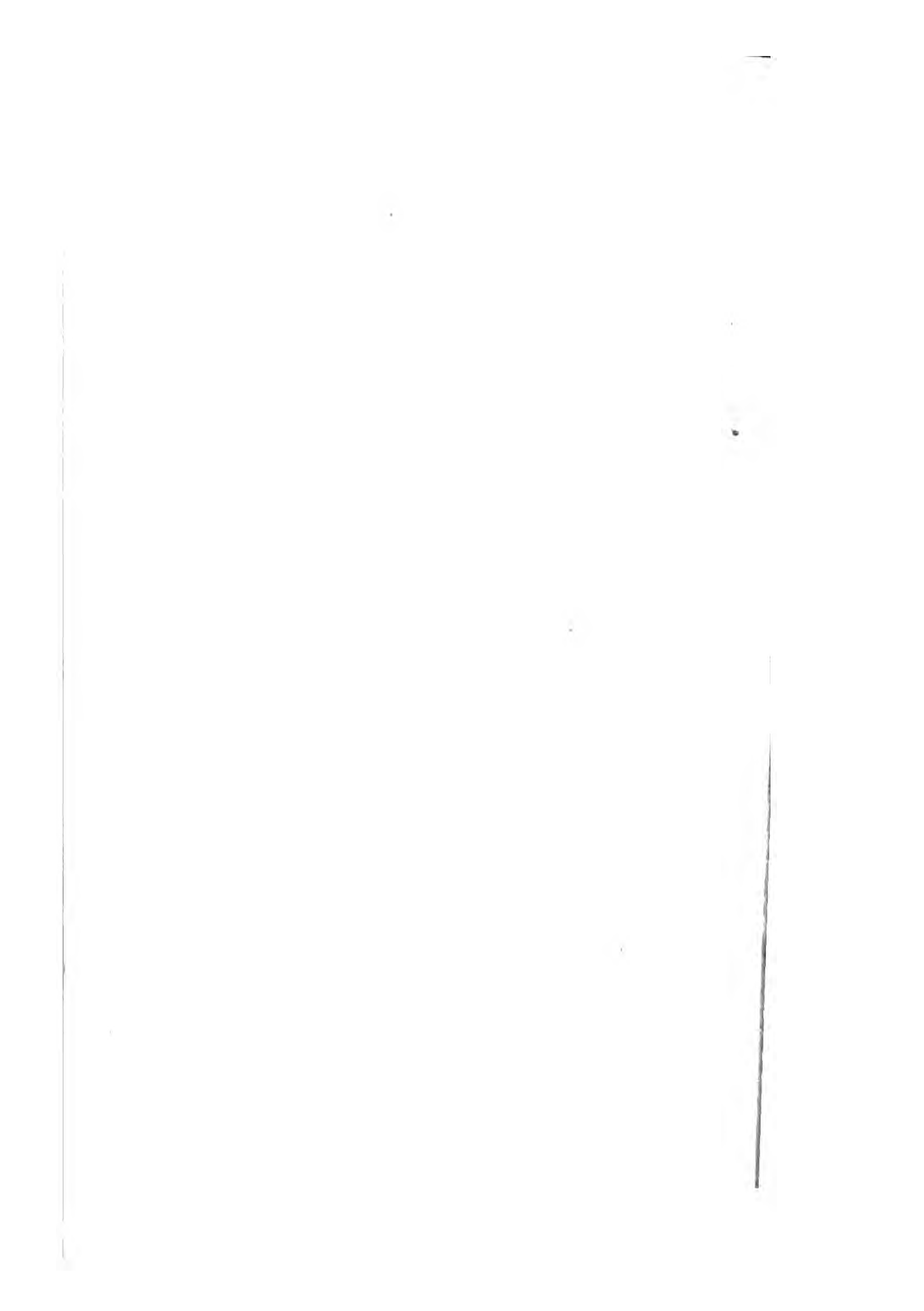


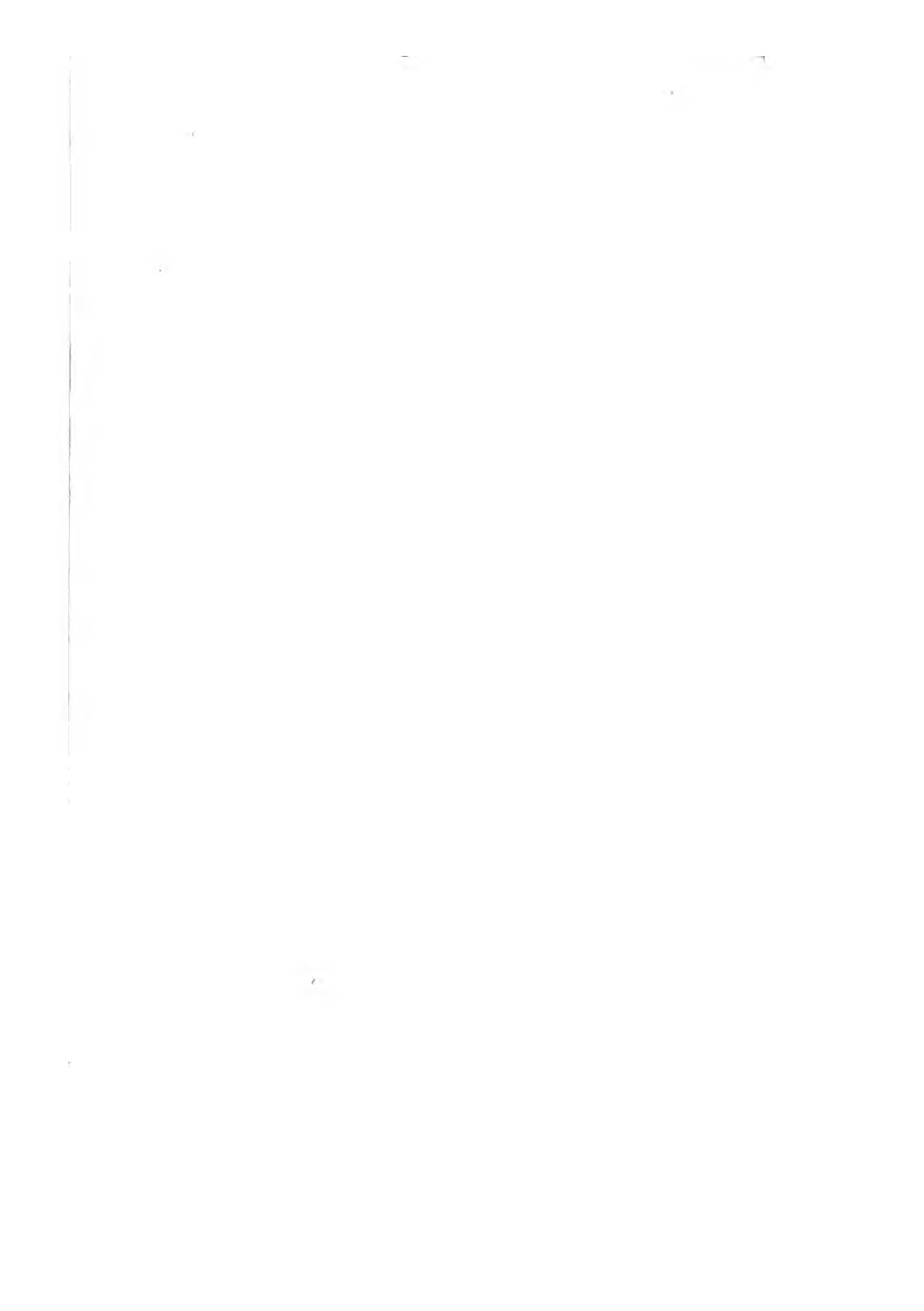
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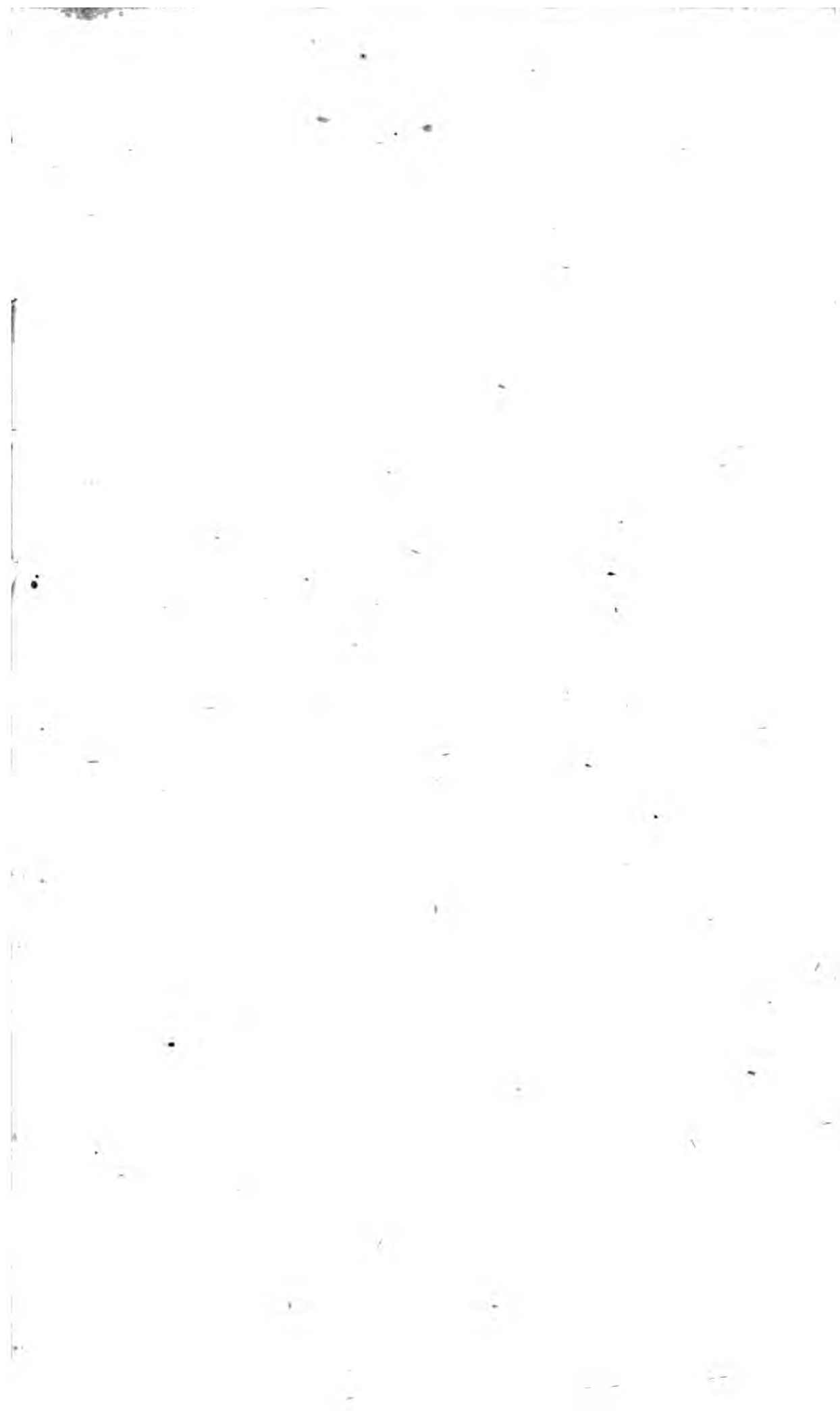
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THE
MIGHTY DESTROYER

DISPLAYED,

IN SOME ACCOUNT OF THE

Dreadful HAVOCK made by the mistaken USE as
well as ABUSE of

DISTILLED SPIRITUOUS LIQUORS.

BY A LOVER OF MANKIND.

ECCLESIASTES vii. 29.

*Lo this only have I found, that God hath made man up-
right ; but they have sought out many inventions.*

PHILADELPHIA:

Printed by JOSEPH CRUKSHANK, between Second
and Third Streets, in Market-Street.

M. DCC. LXXIV.



THE
MIGHTY DESTROYER

DISPLAYED, &c.

OBSERVING some years ago the dreadful havock made by the excessive use of distilled spirituous liquors in this part of the world, I was induced to insert in one of the almanacks an extract of what had been written on that subject by Dr. Hales, fellow of the Royal Society, containing his own remarks, with the sentiments of several persons of note in the physical way; whose knowledge of the nature of distilled liquors, as well as of their effects on the human frame, best qualified them to give a right judgment thereon. And as the excessive and indeed mistaken use of these liquors continues, and rather increases, on this Continent, 'tis thought a republication of those sentiments,

ments, with some additions, may, thro' divine blessing, be beneficial to many; particularly to some well minded people, who are under mistaken prejudices on this most interesting subject. "My principal and indeed only motive," says this benevolent author, "is to endeavour to rouse
 "the caution and indignation of man-
 "kind, against those mighty destroy-
 "ers and debasers of the human species,
 "fermented distilled spirituous liquors; those
 "worse than infernal spirits, which bewitch
 "and infatuate the nations with their for-
 "ceries."—An evil so amazingly great, that did not woeful experience too fully prove it, it seems incredible, that any whom it concerns could possibly be so negligent, as not to use their utmost endeavours to suppress this destructive *man-bane*.

That eminent physician Dr. Hoffman expressly cautions against the use of distilled spirituous liquors. "Because," says he, "they are, above all things, most un-
 "wholesome, being caustic burning spi-
 "rits; which, by inflaming the solids, and
 "thickening the fluids, cause obstructi-
 "ons, which bring on many fatal dif-
 "eases, such as hectick fevers, jaundices,
 "dropsies, &c. whereby multitudes are
 "yearly and daily destroyed." He also
 observes,

observes, " that they rot the entrails, such
 " as the liver, stomach and bowels ; as
 " it is evident, not only by opening the
 " bodies of those who are killed by drink-
 " ing them, but also by what is observed
 " in Germany of the effect which the
 " caustic, fiery, remaining wash of the di-
 " stillers, has on the guts of hogs ; which
 " are thereby so tendered, that they can-
 " not make puddings with them."—He
 farther observes, " That the flesh of such
 " hogs will not keep, even when salted,
 " so well as the flesh of other hogs." Dr.
 Cheyne, in his essay of health and long
 life, says, " All people, who have any re-
 " gard to their health and lives, ought
 " to tremble at the first cravings for such
 " poisonous liquors. The maladies begot
 " by them, bring forth necessity upon ne-
 " cessity of drams and gills ; till, at last,
 " a kind dropfy, nervous convulsion, flux,
 " if not a fever, or phrenzy, sets the poor
 " soul free. It has often raised in me the
 " most melancholly reflections, to see the
 " virtuous and sensible, bound in such
 " chains and fetters, as nothing less than
 " omnipotent grace or the unrelenting
 " grave could release them from."

Doctor Short, in his history of mineral
 waters, page 225. says, " The oftner I
 " reflect on the mischief done by distilled
 " spirits,

“ spirits, the more I am confirmed, that
 “ the human race had been happier had
 “ drams never been known : and I can-
 “ not help cordially joining with Doctor
 “ Allen, in his Synopsis Medici, A.
 “ 1633. *That the plentiful devouring of those*
 “ *spirits has killed as many thousands of*
 “ *men, as there are stars in the sky. Nay,*
 “ *ten times ten thousands have died by these,*
 “ *more than all the rest of the poisons what-*
 “ *ever.*”

Doctor Lind, in his treatise on the scurvy, says, “ He observed most destructive
 “ distempers to be much increased, even
 “ to mortality, by distilled spirituous li-
 “ quors ; which sailors are too apt gree-
 “ dily to swallow down.” And Doctor
 Hales observes, from the remarks made
 to him by an eminent surgeon, “ That
 “ the stomachs of great dram-drinkers
 “ were contracted into half the common
 “ natural size, and hard ; somewhat like
 “ leather, that had been held to the fire.
 “ The consequence of which was, loss of
 “ appetite, and a wasting consumption.”

It is pretended, that drams comfort,
 warm, and defend from the severity of
 weather, to which men are sometimes ex-
 posed ; without which, they say, they
 should perish with cold ; which is proba-
 bly, in a great measure, true of those
 who

who are habituated to drink them; the blood of such being thereby so much impoverished, that it is well known many of the drinkers of drams are cold and lifeless in the midst of summer, without frequent repetitions: this is what some of them have owned. But on the other hand, how much more able are sober persons to endure cold and hardships? their vital heat not being extinguished by intemperance, does, by its kindly genial warmth, more effectually secure them from the inclemency of the weather, than the false flash of a dram. Besides, it is well known, that men did not perish in the coldest countries for want of drams formerly, when they were not to be had. Of the undoubted truth of this, Captain Ellis gives a full proof in the account of his voyage to Hudson's Bay, page 199. Where he observes, " That the natives on
 " the very cold coast, of that Bay, to
 " whom the French are kinder than to
 " sell distilled spirituous liquors, are tall,
 " hardy, robust and active; whereas those
 " of them that are supplied with drams
 " from the English, are a meagre, dwarf-
 " ish, indolent people, hardly equal to the
 " severity of the country, and subject to
 " many disorders."

And

And as to the pernicious effects of spirituous liquors in very hot climates, (as on the coast of Guinea) it is observed, that the French and Portuguese, who do not indulge in distilled spirits, are healthy compared with the English; who, drinking freely of spirits, &c. die fast. Thus, also, it is observed of the women in the West-Indies, that being sober, they live long; but it is often otherwise with the men, who are more generally intemperate.

The unhappy dram-drinkers are so absolutely bound in slavery to these infernal spirits, that they seem to have lost the power of delivering themselves from this worst of bondage. How much then is it the bounden duty of those, who have it in their power, to withhold this destructive *man-bane*, either as parents, masters, or rulers to the people committed to their trust.

Since then the evil is become so notoriously epidemical as to debilitate and destroy multitudes, in most parts of the world; it behoves all, who have any bowels of pity for their fellow-creatures, more especially the governors of the nations, as guardians and tender fathers, to guard the people committed to their charge from this mighty destroyer. Can there be any
confi-

consideration, of sufficient weight, to the contrary. Is it sound policy to encourage vice in the people, because a present revenue arises from their debaucheries? Where will the revenue be, when the people, who should pay them, are destroyed? Are not a hardy, industrious healthy people, always found to be the most able to contribute amply to the support of government? And will not temperance, in the end, be found a more effectual means to increase the real wealth and strength of a nation, than to make drunkenness the cheapest of vices? But if the consideration of the inhumanity of being instrumental to the destruction of multitudes, and in a manner, in some parts of the world, of whole nations, is not of weight enough to influence; yet, sure, the awful consideration, that it must needs be highly displeasing to our merciful Creator, to have his favourite creature man thus debased, disgraced, and destroyed both in body and soul, ought to have its due weight. Can it in reason be expected, that he will always remain an unconcerned spectator of such astonishing proceedings? And will he not in mercy visit the nations for these things, to prevent the still much greater ruin of future generations, in conformity to his usual

method of proceeding, when irregularities are arrived to great excesses? This disease has now attained to so enormous a pitch, that it is much to be feared nothing less than God's severe fatherly correction, will effectually cure it in many of the nations; who seem as supine and unconcerned about it, as if only so many thousands of locusts were destroyed thereby: for if in fifty or sixty years this destructive pest has spread thus far and wide, how vastly greater will the havoc be amongst mankind be in an hundred years more, if some check be not put to its career?

If it had been said, an hundred years ago, to any of the rulers of the nations, that they should patiently, and even unconcernedly, see such multitudes of their subjects destroyed both body and soul, and that only for filthy lucre; would they not, with indignation, have said as blazael did to Elisha, 2 Kings, viii. 13. *But what is thy servant a dog, that he should do this great thing?* The plain truth is, that it is with the nations as it frequently happens to private persons, that when they grow gradually from bad to worse, they, at the same time, become more and more hardened, so as to be ever reconciled to practices for which they had

at first the utmost detestation and abhorrence; for familiarity takes away our attention, and robs things of their power to strike strongly upon us.

Though thousands and tens of thousands perish every year by distilled spirituous liquors, yet few appear to lay it effectually to heart. I must here except the heads of the poor wild Indians, of the Six Nations situate back of New-York, and other parts of North-America, who being sensible of the great destruction made amongst them by distilled spirituous liquors, have long since, and do still continue, earnestly to desire, that no such spirit should be sold to their people. At a treaty held at Carlisle in this province, with the deputies of the Six Nations, the Delawares and other western Indians, in the year 1753, Scarrooyady, one of the chiefs of the Six Nations, speaking on behalf of all the Indians present, expressed himself to the following effect, *viz.* "The rum ruins us: we beg you would prevent its coming in such quantities, by regulating the traders. We never understood the trade was for whiskey*. We desire it may be forbidden, and none sold

* A spirit made of grain.

" sold in the Indian country; but that if
 " the Indians will have any, they may go
 " amongst the inhabitants, and deal with
 " them for it. When these whiskey tra-
 " ders come, they bring thirty or forty
 " cags, puts them down before us, and
 " make us drink, and get all the skins
 " that should go to pay the debts we
 " have contracted, for goods bought of
 " the fair trader; and by these means,
 " we not only ruin ourselves, but them
 " too. These wicked whiskey sellers,
 " when they have once got the Indians
 " in liquor, make them sell their very
 " clothes from their backs. In short, if
 " this practice be continued, we must be
 " inevitably ruined. We most earnestly,
 " therefore, beseech you to remedy it."

The Indian speaker gave, as is usual with
 them in matters of moment, a treble string
 of wampum, in confirmation of this re-
 quest. The destructive effect of distilled
 spirits, have also extended their baneful
 influence amongst the people of Africa.
 It is, in a great measure, through the in-
 troduction of those infernal spirits, that
 the poor negroes have been as it were
 bewitched, and prevailed upon to capti-
 vate their unhappy country people, in or-
 der to bring them to the European mar-
 ket: hence devastation, bloodshed and mi-
 sery

fery have spread in their land; many thou-
 sands, and hundreds of thousands, have
 been doomed to a miserable thraldom;
 and many, very many, brought to a cru-
 el and untimely end: innumerable in-
 stances might be mentioned, to confirm
 this melancholy truth; of which I shall
 mention two, *viz.* Andrew Brue, the
 noted French factor, who resided sixteen
 years in Guinea, tells us, "That, in ge-
 neral, brandy is the best commodity
 amongst the negroes, as they love it to
 excess: that it is easy, from hence, to
 estimate the vast profit made by the
 company, when its store-house is well
 provided with this liquor." And Fran-
 cis Moor, the English factor, in his ac-
 count of Africa, says, "That it was to
 the king of Barbailly's insatiable thirst
 for brandy, that his subjects freedom
 and families were in so precarious a si-
 tuation," &c. &c.

It is no uncommon thing for habitual
 rum-drinkers, when a fit of sickness comes
 on, which they conclude will be their last,
 to desire to have plenty of rum by them;
 by which means, they continue intoxi-
 cated till death: to so astonishing and de-
 plorable a sottish condition have they re-
 duced themselves! This is a case so cala-
 mitous to mankind, that to have a tho-
 rough

rough sense of it, and yet not to remonstrate, nor earnestly caution against it, is certainly as criminal as it is unfriendly not to warn a blind person of a dangerous precipice or pit; yet, alas! how unconcerned are the greatest part of mankind at this most enormous ruin of multitudes! In trials for life, what diligence is used to find the occasion of the loss of one subject! What care will not a faithful physician bestow for the preservation of one life! How did the wise Romans honour him, who saved the life of one Roman citizen! But in the present case, it is not one, nor one hundred, nor one thousand, but probably no less than a million that perish yearly, by this worst of plagues. How then dare the governors of nations be unconcerned or silent in a cause in which humanity, virtue, and the real welfare of mankind, both civil and religious, are so deeply concerned? A cause, which tends not only to the weakening the faculties, enervating the bodies of men, but also in debasing the species, and shortening the lives of multitudes.

But the most efficacious and dreadful effect of the common use of distilled spirituous liquors, are, that it not only heightens the passions of men and depraves their morals;

morals; but what is infinitely worse, and ought to be an *awakening* consideration, they become profane and abandoned, and to the last degree regardless of their duty to God and man; the feelings of the mind are gradually benumbed, and an insensibility to the healing influence of religion ensues.

The Almighty who has so curiously wrought our wonderful frame out of the dust, knowing how prone we are to disorder it by irregularities, hath of his tender fatherly care of us, not only implanted in us a strong desire of life and self-preservation, but has also strictly warned us to avoid all destructive irregularities and vices, and to practise those virtues which are so well adapted to our nature, that they have a direct tendency to give health to the soul, as well as marrow to the bones, Prov. xii. 9. Yet how is this delicate, this curiously wrought frame, abused and disordered by repeated irregularities of many kinds, but never before to the enormous degree that it has of late years arrived at by the excessive abuse of these fermented, distilled spirituous liquors, which, by their mischievous effects, seem to claim Satan himself for their author. The benevolent author first mentioned from whose collection great part of

the

the foregoing is collected, observes, “ That
 “ if any of his readers should think the
 “ subject is overpressed, such are desired
 “ to consider that the calamitous urgency
 “ of the case absolutely requireth the most
 “ pathetic exhortation, to rouse the
 “ attention and indignation of mankind,
 “ against this greatest of all plagues that
 “ ever beset unhappy man, which is both
 “ our sin and our most severe punish-
 “ ment.”

Dr. Cheyne farther observes, “ That if
 “ only the profligate, the scoundrel, the
 “ abandoned run into these excesses, it
 “ were as vain to endeavour to reclaim
 “ them, as it were to stop a tempest, or
 “ calm a storm: But that now the vice
 “ is become epidemical, since it has got
 “ not only among mechanics and trades-
 “ men, but among persons of the bright-
 “ est genius, the finest taste, and the most
 “ accomplished parts. And oh! that I
 “ could (adds the doctor) give my con-
 “ science the lye in not mentioning them,
 “ even among the first and least fallen
 “ part of the creation itself, and those
 “ of them too, of the most elegant parts
 “ and the strictest virtue, even of those
 “ who are in other respects blameless.
 “ Since the case is so, it will not be amiss
 “ to shew, to the evidence of a demon-
 “ stration,

"stration, the folly as well as fruitless-
 "ness of such a course. A fit of the
 "colick, or of the vapours; a family
 "misfortune; the death of a child, or of
 "a friend, with the assistance of the nurse
 "or the next neighbour, often gives rise
 "and becomes the weighty causes of so
 "fatal an effect. A little lowness requires
 "drops, which pass readily down under
 "the notion of physic: Drops beget drams,
 "and drams beget more drams, till they
 "come to be without weight and without
 "measure—did this bewitching poison ac-
 "tually cure or relieve them from time
 "to time, something might be said to ex-
 "tenuate the folly and the frenzy of such
 "a course, but on the contrary, it height-
 "ens and enrages all their symptoms and
 "sufferings ever afterwards, excepting
 "the few moments immediately after
 "taking it down; and every dram be-
 "gets the necessity of two more to cure
 "the ill effects of the first, and one mi-
 "nute's indulgence they purchase with
 "many hours of greater pain and mise-
 "ry, besides making the malady more
 "incurable. Low spiritedness itself is no
 "disease; besides there are remedies that
 "will relieve it so long as there is any oil
 "remaining in the lamp. — Exercise,
 "abstinence and proper evacuations, with

“time and patience, will continually
 “make it tolerable; very often they will
 “perfectly cure. The running into drams
 “is giving up the whole at once, for
 “neither laudanum nor arsenick will kill
 “more certainly, altho’ more quickly.”

The mistaken use and grievous abuse of rum and other distilled spirits, perhaps in no case appear more palpably than at the time of harvest, a business which, under the Mosaic Dispensation, was particularly enjoined to be carried on with humiliation and thanksgiving, and ought by all means, to be observed as such under the gospel; but through the abuse of spirituous liquors, is made an occasion of a greater abuse of the creature and dishonour of the Creator; this arises, in many, from a mistaken persuasion that hard labour, particularly that of the harvest field, cannot be carried on without a quantity of rum or other distilled spirits; and in support of this opinion, we are frequently told of the many people who have died in the field through extream heat and fatigue, and it is supposed that many more would die, if a plentiful use of spirituous liquors was not allowed. But this I am persuaded is a great mistake, it being much more likely that the free use of rum occasioned the death of those people; the quantity

quantity they had swallowed down, sending a greater flow of spirits into the head than the strength of the body could support. Indeed the repeated large quantities of rum commonly drank during the whole time of harvest, keeps up the blood in a continual ferment and fever, in which state people cannot have a proper restorative sleep; their constitutions are thereby enervated, their lives shortened, and an unfitnes for religious impressions generally prevails.

These most solemn and weighty considerations, have induced some well-minded people to endeavour to lead, by their examples, their friends and neighbours into a contrary practice; and under these attempts, experience has made it manifest, that very little or no strong liquor is necessary at those times; indeed they have been convinced that the harvest and other laborious work, can be very well managed without making use of any spirituous liquors at all. If such labour was carried on with steadiness and proper moderation, there would certainly be no need of a recruit of strength being sought for by that means; more frequent intervals of rest, with a little food, oftener allowed the reapers, and small drinks; such as molasses and water made agreeable with a little cyder,

cyder, small beer, or even milk and water, would fully enable them to perform their work to their employer's satisfaction and their own advantage; and the overplus wages they would receive, instead of the spirituous liquors usually given, might be sufficient to purchase bread for their families.

This sober and moderate manner of proceeding was certainly the general practice in this province, for a considerable number of years after its first settlement, when but small quantities of strong liquors, and often none at all could be procured*. The people in those early times maintained their health, and were enabled to perform their labour to satisfaction. But this did not long continue, the great call for our provisions

* In a printed oration, not long since pronounced by Dr. Rush, before the Philoſophical Society of this city, we are told at page 65, "Some of you
 " may remember the time, and your fathers have
 " told those of us who do not, when the diseases of
 " Pennsylvania were as few and as simple as those
 " of the Indians. The food of the inhabitants was
 " then simple; their only drink was water; their
 " appetites were restrained by labour: religion ex-
 " cluded the influence of sickening passions: private
 " hospitality supplied the want of public hospitals:
 " nature was their only nurse: temperance their
 " principal physician."

visions brought us into connections with those countries from whence rum was procured; and the desire of gain has since in a progressive encrease, induced our traders to bring us plenty of distilled spirits, and together with them *diseases, and death* in return for our flour, and other useful produce. So early as the year 1728,* we find the introduction and consumption of rum had made an amazing progress, and began to rouse the attention of some of the considerate, may I not say, of the lovers of their country in that day. And from the too apparent general use, there is

no

* Extract from the Pennsylvania Gazette, for the year 1728. Philadelphia, the 7th of the 11th month, 1728, we have the following surprizing tho' authentick account of rum imported in Pennsylvania the last year.

6 Puncheons,	} Which, by computation is	224,500 gallons, of which there was exported but 11400 gallons.
1556 Hogheads,		
927 Tierces,		
276 Barrels,		

So that by a modest computation there *has been* consumed in one year, at least twenty five thousand pounds in rum. This excessive drinking of rum, as it has slain its thousands, is likely to destroy its ten thousands, for by its corrosive and fiery property, it debauches the stomach, dries up the radical moisture, poisons the juices, inflames the blood; untheaths the bowels, debilitates the nerves and raptifies the brain.

no room to suppose but that it has gone on in an increased proportion to our numbers; tho' not now so easily ascertained, from the additional numbers of ports, and various means of procuring it: Nor ought we to omit, in such accounts, the large quantities of whisky and other liquors distilled amongst ourselves from grain, fruit, and molasses, which cannot well be calculated.

I have heard of several thoughtful people who, from a persuasion that the common method of giving spirituous liquors to labourers was exceeding hurtful, have made it a condition with those they have employed, not to use any spirituous liquors in their fields; these have had their work performed to good satisfaction, and without any damage ensuing to their labourers. Nay, where they have remained any considerable time with such employers, they have generally acknowledged themselves sensible of the benefit arising from having thus totally refrained the use of those liquors. A particular instance of this kind occurred last summer, in the case of Joshua Evans, of Haddonfield; this considerate person being convinced that the use of rum and other spirituous liquors, was extremely hurtful to the labouring people; more especially during
the

the time of harvest, apprehended it to be his duty, to become an example in opposition to this pernicious custom; and he concluded to run all risques of loss and damage, which might happen to himself by the delay of bringing in his harvest, rather than comply with a custom which he apprehended to be so destructive of his fellow *men*.

He therefore offered six-pence per day more than other farmers, to such labourers as were willing to assist in bringing in his harvest, on condition that no spirituous liquors should be used in his fields. Notwithstanding the singularity of such a proposal, a sufficient number of labourers offered themselves, to whom he remarked, That the hurrying manner in which the people drove on their labour in the harvest field, caused an unnatural ferment and heat in their bodies, and of course an excessive thirst ensued, which often occasioned their drinking water, or small liquors, in such immoderate degree as to become hurtful and very dangerous, that this was generally assigned as a reason for the use of spirituous liquors: That, in order to avoid these extremes, he proposed to lead them himself in the harvest work, desiring they would go no faster than he did; they acted accordingly,

ly, and his corn was cut down and brought in as well, if not better, than ever it had been before; and tho' the people drank little but water or milk and water, chusing it rather than cyder and water, or small beer, which they were not used to; they went thro' their business with satisfaction to him and themselves. This person has pursued the same course with labourers he has hired for other work; who, tho' accustomed to spirituous liquors, after having served him several days, have frankly acknowledged they had done very well *without them*, finding themselves in a better state both of body and mind, than when they began to work for him.

This is a plain instance in contradiction to the common prejudice, that labouring people cannot with safety perform their work without using those liquors. Several more examples might be instanced of some considerate people who have made it a rule not to make any use of spirituous liquors, either amongst their workmen in the prosecution of their trades, or on their plantations. To these experience has shewn, that their people could not only do as well without it, but found themselves much better in health, and well satisfied in mind.

Several physicians of eminence have declared themselves in favour of this sentiment;

ment; amongst others, the celebrated doctor Buchan, in his Domestic Medicine, or Family Physician, a work so well esteemed as to have been, within these two years, twice reprinted in this city. At page 71, of the English edition, he says, “ Many imagine that hard labour could not be supported without drinking strong liquors. This, tho’ a common, is a very erroneous notion. Men who never tasted strong liquors are not only able to endure more fatigue, but also live much longer than those who use them daily*. But suppose strong liquors did enable a man to do more work, they must nevertheless waste the powers of life, and of course occasion premature old age. They keep up a constant fever, which wastes the spirits, heats and inflames the blood, and predisposes the body to numberless diseases.”

At page , the same author tells us, “ That all intoxicating liquors may be considered as poisons. However disguised,

* The few of these, who notwithstanding their excess, may have attained to a considerable age, it is most reasonable to suppose, would have lived much longer, had they been temperate.

“guised, that is their real character, and
 “sooner or later they will have their ef-
 “fect.” It is a prevailing opinion in fa-
 vour of drinking spirituous liquors at har-
 vest, and other hard labour, that it gives
 relief by throwing out the sweat. Now,
 moderate quantities of any small liquor,
 even water itself, if not drunk too cold,
 and particularly if sweetned with molasses,
 and a little sour’d with some proper acid,
 would certainly answer the purpose, with-
 out the bad effects which attend the use
 of spirits.

It is well known that a pint of good mo-
 lasses will, in distillation, afford rather more
 than a pint of good proof rum; therefore
 must contain as much, if not more real
 strength than the same quantity of rum,
 without any of its noxious qualities; be-
 ing then in the state the Almighty first
 formed it, the fiery property is clothed
 and united with the earthy and balsamick
 parts, as to cause it to be quite friendly to
 our nature, and not liable to intoxicate;
 as the spirit alone will, when separated by
 distillation from the other parts.

Small beer or water mixed with some
 of our home-made wines; or, as before
 said, water mixed with a due quantity of
 molasses, made agreeably acid, to such as
 chuse it, by mixing it with a due propor-
 tion

tion of cyder, or some other acid liquor, or even good vinegar* ; milk and water, or even water itself, if used with caution, will answer all the purposes of common drink for labouring people.

Amongst the several prejudices in favour of the mistaken use of spirituous liquors, there is none gives it a greater sanction or support, than the prevailing opinion, even with persons of reputation, that what they term a moderate quantity of rum mixed with water, is the best and safest liquor that can be drank ; hence confirming it, that spirit in one form
or

* We find by history, that the Roman soldiers in their long marches, often thro' parching deserts, loaded with heavy armour, used vinegar and water as the most suitable refreshment, they carried with them two vessels, either of tin or leather, the one filled with water, the other with vinegar. It also appears from scripture, in the case of Ruth, when in the harvest field of Boaz, that it was customary to make use of vinegar, as a suitable refreshment in that labour. Ruth, chap. ii.

I was informed by a person who resided some time with the Indians, that they made a drink with parched corn, which was very agreeable and refreshing. The corn, after being parched, is pounded and sifted, the mealy part mixed in water, with molasses or sugar, to this some proper acid might be added, which would make it yet more agreeable and wholesome.

or other is necessary. To such who have not been accustomed, and think they cannot habituate themselves to drink water, there may appear to be some kind of plea in this argument, especially to travellers, who often meet with beer, cyder, or other fermented liquors that are dead, hard, sour, or not properly fermented, which tend to generate air in the bowels, producing colicks, &c. But I believe if those persons suffered the weight of the subject, and the consequence of the encouragement they thereby give to the use of these destructive spirits, to take proper place with them, it might suggest the propriety, if not necessity, of introducing a more salutary practice to themselves and families. That pure fluid (water) which the benevolent father of the family of mankind points out for general use, is so analogous to the human frame, that except in a very few cases, people might with safety gradually use themselves to it: And as to such well disposed people who still retain a favourable opinion for the use of spirit mixed with water, ought they not, even from love to mankind, to endeavour to refrain from, and example others against it, (on account of the prodigious havock made by the use of spirits) agreeable to the example set us by the Apostle Paul,

Paul, Cor. viii. 13. *If meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend*; how much more then ought they to refrain from that which may tend to establish mankind in a practice so generally destructive; more especially when they consider the danger themselves are in, of encreasing the quantity of spirit with their water; as it has been observed, that the use of this mixture is particularly apt, almost imperceptibly, to gain upon those who use it; so that many otherwise good and judicious people, have, unwarily to themselves and others, fallen with the common herd, a sacrifice to this mighty devourer. And where water is met with, as is sometimes the case, which is scarce fit to drink; its vain to think to remove the noxious qualities by mixing it with spirit; for tho' bad water may be made more palatable by mixing spirit with it, yet all the bad qualities of the water will remain, to which will only be superadded the bad qualities of the spirit. There are many ways proposed by which water may be helped without any such additions, as by filtration, thro' porous stones, or thro' an earthen vessel, in the bottom of which there is a quantity of sand, which retains the noxious mixture. Hard water
may

may be made soft by boiling, or by being exposed to the sun and air. Some propose mixing water, which is impure, with loam; this being well stirred and left to settle, the noxious parts will subside with the loam, and the water may be drawn off clear and fit for use.

Dr. Cheyne in his treatise before mentioned, observes, That without all peradventure, water is the primitive original beverage; as it is the only simple fluid fitted for diluting, moistening and cooling—the ends of drink, appointed by nature, and happy had it been for the race of mankind, if other mixed and artificial liquors had never been invented. “It has been an agreeable appearance to me, says this author, to observe with what freshness and vigour those who, tho’ eating freely of flesh meat, yet drank nothing but this element, have lived in health, indolence, and cheerfulness to a great age. Water alone is sufficient and effectual for all the purposes of human want in drink. Strong liquors were never designed for common use. They were formerly kept in England, as other medicines are, in apothecaries shops.” Speaking of the effects of wine (a liquor in general much less hurtful than distilled spirits) which he says to have been so much in use at the time he wrote,
that

that the better sort of people scarcely diluted their food with any other liquor, he remarks, " That as natural causes will always produce their proper effects, their blood was inflamed into gout, stone, and rheumatism, raging fevers, pleurisy, &c. Water is the only dissolvent or menstruum, and the most certain diluter of all bodies proper for food."

Doctor Short, in his discourse of the inward use of water, speaks much in its commendation. He says, we can draw a very convincing argument of the excellency of water, from the longevity and healthfulness of those who at first had no better liquor, and the health and strength of body and serenity of mind of those who at this day have no other common liquor to drink. Of this the common people amongst the Highlands of Scotland, are a sufficient instance, amongst whom it is no rarity to find persons of eighty, ninety, yea an hundred years of age, as healthy, strong, and nimble, as wine or ale bibbers are at thirty-six or forty*. The excellency of
water,

* I was informed by a person of credit, from his own observations in Scotland, of the strength and hardiness of the common people there; and of their ability

water, the doctor says, may be argued from the great success people, otherwise despicable, have attained over other nations, while they remained content with the product of nature for drink. Of this the Persian, Grecian, and Roman monarchies are instances. This was also the case of our ancestors, the Saxons, Danes, and Normans, whilst their manners remained simple, and their food and drink such as nature had provided, they increased to such a degree, that their country not being able to contain them, they were obliged to send out swarms of people to seek for settlements in the more southern parts of the world; these gradually settled themselves in the different parts of the Roman empire: But since those Northern Kingdoms have forsaken the wholesome customs of their forefathers, and habituated themselves to the use of strong liquors, they are so enfeebled, and their numbers have so much decreased, that many parts of their

ability to bear cold and fatigue; tho' the cold is great in winter, and their support in some parts principally, if not wholly when abroad, confined to oatmeal and water; he has seen a shepherd laid down to rest or sleep on the mountain, without any shelter, wrapt up in his plaid in cold snowy weather, such as would have froze most other people.

their own country now remain uncultivated. The rulers easy under the pecuniary advantages which arise, themselves enslaved to the practice of drinking to excess, look without concern on this enormous ruin of multitudes of their fellow men. Thus it is in Russia, where a vast revenue is raised from distilled spirituous liquors, and a multitude of people proportionably large, are destroyed thereby. Again says the doctor, “ There is a ridiculous maxim
 “ used by drinkers, that water makes but
 “ thin blood, not fit for business—I say it
 “ is water only that can endue its drinkers
 “ with the strongest bodies and most robust
 “ constitutions, where exercise or labour is
 “ joined with it, since it best assists the stomach and lungs to reduce the aliments
 “ into the smallest particles, that they may
 “ better pass the strainers of the body, which
 “ separates the nutritious parts of the blood
 “ to be applied to the sides of the vessels,
 “ and exercise invigorates the fibres and
 “ muscles; whereas the rapid motion of the
 “ blood excited by drinking spirituous liquors, can not fail of being prejudicial
 “ to the body, it will cause the watery parts
 “ to dissipate and the remaining grow thick
 “ and tough, and the event be obstructions,
 “ inflammations, imposthumations, &c.—
 “ and tho’ strong liquors afford a greater

“ flow of spirit for a short time, yet this
 “ is always followed with as much low-
 “ ness of spirit ; so that to gain a necessary
 “ stock of spirits, the person is obliged to
 “ repeat the same force, till he learns a
 “ custom of drinking drams. In this we
 “ are confirmed, if we consider the great
 “ strength and hardiness of poor rusticks
 “ in many parts of the world, whose provi-
 “ sions is mostly vegetable food, and their
 “ drink water.” The doctor adds, “ That
 “ it often happens that persons of tender,
 “ weakly, crazy constitutions, by refrain-
 “ ing strong liquors and accustoming them-
 “ selves to drink water, make shift to spin
 “ out many years.”

Doctor Cadogan, in his treatise on
 the gout, lately printed in this city, tells
 us, “ That water is the only liquor nature
 “ knows of, or has provided for all ani-
 “ mals, and whatsoever nature gives we
 “ must depend upon it, is best and
 “ safest for us ; accordingly we see that
 “ when we have committed any excess or
 “ mistake of any kind, and suffer for it,
 “ ’tis water that relieves. Hence the chief
 “ good of bath, spa, and many other me-
 “ dicinal waters, especially to hard drink-
 “ ers. It is that element that dilutes and
 “ carries off crudities and indigestions, &c.
 “ the mineral virtues they contain may
 “ make

“ make them tolerable to the stomach in
 “ their passage, but do, as I believe, little
 “ more in the body, it is the water that
 “ cures. Wine was given us as a cordial.”

Cheyne says he has known men of weak and tender constitutions, who could neither eat nor digest upon drinking wine, who, by drinking at meals common water heated, have recovered their appetites and digestion, &c. have thriven and grown plump. Speaking of malt liquors, he gives it as his sentiment, that a weak stomach can as readily, and with less pain, digest pork and pease soup, as Yorkshire or Nottingham ale; he adds, That they are of so glutinous a nature as to make excellent bird lime, and when simmered sometime over a gentle fire, make the most sticking, and the best plaster for old strains that can be contrived. Even the small beer that is commonly drank at London, if it be not well boiled, very clear, and of a due age, must be hurtful to persons of weak nerves and slow digestion.

Doctor Buchan tells us, The great quantity of viscid malt liquor drank by the common people of England, cannot fail to render the blood fizy and unfit for circulation, from whence proceed obstructions and inflammations of the lungs. Those who drink ardent spirits or strong wine,

wine, do not run less hazard; these liquors heat and inflame the blood, and tear the tender vessels of the lungs in pieces.

Doctor Short, page 33, after describing the many distempers produced by drinking of malt and other fermented liquors, adds, That seeing constitutions differ, it is not to be expected that spirituous liquors should produce all the same symptoms in one and the same person, yet that all drinkers have several of them; and if they come not to that height, its because they afterwards use great exercise or hard labour, with sometimes thin diluting liquors, which prevent their immediate hurting*.

Its

* Doctor Edward Bancroft, in his natural history of Guiana, which includes the colonies of Surinam, Barbices, &c. writes, That the inhabitants derive no small assistance from the Indians—some of whom reside on almost every plantation.—These Indians however, are debauched by luxury and intemperance, and their manners but ill agree with those of the Indians who have preserved their natural innocence and simplicity. They are encouraged in their propensity to intemperance by the whites, who freely supply them with rum, thereby to attach them more firmly to their service, which considerably impairs their health and diminishes their numbers.—

Speaking

Its customary, and often necessary in the summer season, particularly in afternoons, for people who are spent by labour or application, to have recourse to some kind of refreshment. This is generally of two kinds, very different in their nature and effect, *viz.* The one is a mixture of spirituous liquors, as punch, grog, &c. or fermented liquors, as cyder, beer, &c. The other is mild and diluting, such as tea, or coffee, &c. The use of spirituous or fermented liquors, for the reasons already given, are hurtful and dangerous; more especially, as the sorrowful experience of many within knowledge, has taught that there is very great danger of even sober
people

Speaking of the diseases incident to the country, he says, These are as numerous as in other countries, where they have been augmented by cookery, with its stimulating, provocative arts, exciting inordinate appetites, by multiplying the variety of dishes, which blended in the stomach, compose such an incongruous medly, that the digestive organs cannot possibly assimilate the pernicious mass to wholesome chyle. Nor has intemperate luxury been confined to this single innovation. *Water*, the natural drink of mankind as of all other animals, is now contaminated by the mixture of pernicious spirits, which have poisoned one of the principal blessings of life. From this source are derived those tribes of diseases which oppress humanity.

people who use them, with what is termed moderation, becoming habituated and gradually encreasing their strength and quantity, till it proves the ruin of themselves and families.

This caution can scarcely be too often repeated, as it has been so frequently the melancholy situation of persons, otherwise valuable members of society. But the use of mild diluting drinks, such as coffee, or the several sorts of teas, either of our own produce or those brought from the Indies, may be truly termed innocent and friendly to our natures, and very proper to promote a good perspiration and recruit our spirits when dissipated thro' application or labour. And as the use of these innocent dilutors have not escaped censure, more especially from persons who are attached to the use of spirituous or fermented liquors; it may be agreeable to the reader, to hear the sentiments of doctor Cheyne on the subject. And here it may be well to remark that these observations were addressed to the people of England, where the heat not being so great as in these parts, those restorative diluent drinks are not so frequently necessary. A dish or two of coffee, the doctor says, with a little milk to soften it, in raw or damp weather, or on a waterish

terish and flegmatick stomach, is not only innocent but a present relief.—Tea *, particularly Green, when light and softened with a little milk, if neither too strong nor too hot, he looks upon as a very proper dilutent, very suitable to cleanse the alimentary passages, and wash of the scorbutick and urinous salts: He also recommends tea made of sliced orange or lemon, as one of the best promoters of digestion after a full meal, or when people are dry between meals. As to persons of weak and tender nerves, who find that upon using of these drinks with freedom, or in too great quantity, they fall into lowness and trembling; such ought to use them with moderation and caution.

Again we know, says he, that warm water will most of any thing, promote and assist digestion in persons of weak stomachs and tender nerves; by this alone I have seen several such persons recover to a miracle, when cold mineral waters, bitters, cordials, and drams have done rather harm than good.—Tea is but an infusion in water of an innocent plant: Innocent, he says, because we find by its taste, it has
neither

* The middling priced is esteemed the most wholesome.

neither poisonous, deleterious, nor acrimonious qualities; and we are certain from its use, in the countries it come from †, (which are larger than Europe) that they receive no damage from it; but on the contrary, that it promotes both digestion and perspiration. The arguments for its relaxing the coats of the stomach and bowels by its heat, are of no force; for unless it be drank much hotter than the blood, it can do no hurt that way. — However, I would advise those who drink tea plentifully, not to drink it much hotter than blood warm, whereby they will receive all its benefits, and be secure against all the harm it can possibly do.

Doctor Engelbertus Kæmpfer, physician of the Dutch embassy to the emperor of Japan, in his account of that country, giving a particular account of the growth, preparation, and use of tea; says, It is so common in Japan, that travellers drink scarce any thing else upon the road. — The fresh gathered leaves are dried or roasted
over

† Chambers in his dictionary of arts and sciences, tells us, That the Chinese are always taking tea, especially at meals; it is the chiefest treat wherewith they regale their friends. The most moderate take it at least thrice a-day.

over the fire in an iron pan, and when hot, rolled with the palm of the hand on a matt, till they become curled. They have public roasting houses built for this very purpose, and contrived so that every body may bring their leaves to be roasted. The doctor makes no distinction between green and bohea; the only difference from his account, arises from the different time of gathering. The first, gathered whilst the leaves are tender, has the best flavour and is most valuable; the second is less so: the last, gathered when the leaves are full grown is the cheapest. He gives it as his sentiments, from his observations of the effect of tea, that when properly prepared and of a due age, it gently refreshes the animal spirits, and wonderfully cheers and comforts the mind; it opens obstructions, cleanses the blood, and more particularly removes that tartarous matter which is the efficient cause of gravelly and gouty distempers. This he says it does so effectually, that he never met with any who was troubled either with the gout or stone, amongst the tea-drinkers of Japan. He adds that he is wholly of opinion that the use of teas would be attended with the same success in the like cases, even in Europe, were it not for an hereditary disposition, for either of these distempers derived to some persons from their

F ancestors;

ancestors ; and which is frequently cherished and fomented by a too plentiful use of wine, beer, strong liquors and flesh meats. It appears the use of tea meets with opposition in the East countries, as well as amongst ourselves, from those persons whose practice contradicts the use of these kinds of innocent diluting drinks : for the doctor remarks, That in Japan the use of tea is very much cried down by those persons who are lovers of sakki beer, which is there brewed from rice.

All the good qualities ascribed by the above mentioned physicians, to foreign tea, may be as truly applied to teas made of our own country produce, such as sage, balm, burnet, saffrafs, &c. &c. these I am persuaded would answer all, if not more and better purposes than the foreign teas. But I spare to say much on this head at present, lest by discouraging the use of any mild diluting drink, (especially one in such general use, and which simply considered as a diluent, must be acknowledged a good substitute,) any strength should be given to the use of spirituous or fermented liquors in its stead.

We may also make a very good refreshing drink of the nature of coffee ; from roasted wheat, barley, rye, or chefnuts, full as agreeable, wholesome, and nourishing, if not much more so than coffee itself.

Upon

Upon the whole it may be asked, What can be done towards preventing or putting a check to the prodigious havock made by the present use of spirituous liquors? To this I shall reply with the respectable author first mentioned. Let such lawmakers, governors, and rulers, who retain any love and pity for their fellow men; let *these* be earnestly requested seriously, and solemnly to consider, whether it is not *their* indispensable duty to use their utmost endeavours, that a stop may be put to this dreadful calamity; let not the apprehension of loss or any present inconveniency, deter any from doing their duty in this respect, because there cannot any inconveniencies possibly arise from the redress of this grievance, which deserves to be named with those evils which will be the undoubted consequence of its continuance. The reasons that have hitherto prevailed to the countenancing of this most destructive practice, ought surely to be rejected with scorn and indignation, when the welfare of such vast numbers are so deeply concerned. What multitudes of lives would thereby be saved, and what innumerable outrages, as theft, murder, &c. prevented: To rectify which, were an apparently vain and fruitless attempt, while drunkenness is made the cheapest of all vices. A vice which can no otherwise be effectually

effectually prevented from raging with its present excessive enormity, and spreading devastation all around, but by laying such high taxes upon distilled spirituous liquors, as well those made amongst us, as those imported from abroad, as will make the drinking it sufficiently expensive to put it out of the reach of so great a number of insatiable drinkers, to use it; at least in its present degree of strength.—“ Alas, “ says he, how astonishing a calamity is “ this, depraving the morals and shortening and destroying the lives of such “ multitudes, probably no less than a million yearly all over the world—were “ but one fourth of this number yearly “ destroyed by raging pestilence, with “ what earnest supplications would mankind deprecate so terrifying and sore an “ affliction.” How severe a judgment is it, when God leaves men to be their own scourgers? with how unrelenting and unmerciful a heart do they execute the most severe punishment upon themselves!—Particulars who view this matter in its full importance, will query, What can an individual or private man do in the case? To these it may be observed, That as popular amendments consist wholly of the actions of individuals, every one who is sincere in his desires, that a remedy may be applied to this mighty evil, must, to
the

the utmost of his power, discourage the encrease of spirituous liquors either by importation, distillation, or otherwise, and not deceive themselves, or rather suffer the God of this world to deceive them by means of the specious pretences commonly advanced; such as, That other people will be active in augmenting the quantity if they do not; or, That however people may abuse themselves thro' excess, yet what is deemed a moderate quantity, may lawfully be used; but it may easily be shewn, that these and other arguments commonly advanced, are vain, tho' plausible pretences; that the true motive is the desire of gain: That every new importer and distiller, (and oh that the vender also may bring his situation to the true balance) becomes a party to the evil; gives fresh strength to the practice, by holding out an additional quantity, and of course making it in some degree cheaper, at least easier for their fellow men to come at, to the destruction of their brethren, children of the same father, and who as christians they profess to love as themselves.

And as for such who, tho' convinced of the impropriety of the practice, yet for fear of not having their labour performed, or for other reasons, cannot prevail upon themselves to refrain giving it to their servants and labourers, let these at least so
weaken

weaken and qualify it, as to prevent its immediate destructive effects.

A very eminent physician has given the following direction for the benefit of those who have not wisdom enough left at once to abandon the odious and pernicious practice of drinking distilled spirituous liquors, *viz.* By degrees to mix water with the spirit; to lessen the quantity every day, and keep to the same quantity of water, till in about the course of a week, nothing of the dram kind be used along with the water. By this means the person will suffer no inconveniency, but reap great benefit upon leaving off drams or spirits, as has been tried by many. If any gnawing be left in the stomach upon quite leaving it off, a little warm broth, weak tea, or any thing of that kind, will be of service. The appetite always increases in a few days after leaving off drams, unless by the too long continuance of them, the tone of the stomach is destroyed. And when the stomach is thus affected, a cup of carduus, camomile tea, wormwood or centaury every morning fasting and every evening, will be found a good remedy.

Some

Some GENERAL MAXIMS, mostly drawn from the foregoing, which as they cannot be too obviously held up in the view of the young and inconsiderate, its hoped the observant reader will excuse the repetition.

THE great rule of diet is to study simplicity : Nature delights in the most plain and simple food ; and every animal, except man, follows her dictates.

Nothing conduces more to health and long life, than abstinence and plain food, with due labour.

Water alone is sufficient and effectual for all the purposes of human want in drink : It is the universal dissolvent nature has provided, and the most certain diluter of all bodies proper for food ; quickens the appetite and strengthens digestion most. Doctor Cheyne and doctor Cadogan.

Strong and spirituous liquors were never designed for common use : They were formerly kept in England, as other medicines are, in apothecaries shops : If freely indulged, they become a certain tho' slow poison. Cheyne.

All intoxicating liquors may be considered as poisons ; however disguised, that is their real character, and sooner or later they will have their effect. Doctor Buchan.

Every act of intoxication puts nature to the expence of a fever, in order to discharge the poisonous draught ; when this is repeated almost every day, it is easy to foresee the consequence.

Fevers occasioned by drinking, do not always go off in a day, they frequently end in an inflammation of the breast, liver, or brain, and produce fatal effects.

There is no danger in leaving off drinking strong liquors at once, the plea for continuing them being false and groundless. Cheyne.

Strong liquors do not prevent the mischiefs of a surfeit,

surfeit, nor carry it off so safely as water, tho' they seem to give present relief. Cheyne.

Many imagine that hard labour could not be supported without drinking strong liquors. This tho' a common, is a very erroneous opinion: Men who never tasted strong liquors, are not only able to endure more fatigue, but also live much longer than those who use them daily. Buchan.

Every thing that has past the fire, so that it has had due time to divide and penetrate its parts, as in distillation, as far as it possibly can, retains a caustic corrosive and burning quality ever afterwards.

In the continued distillation of spirits, the action of fire is so strong as to reduce them to liquid fire at last; which will of themselves evaporate in visible flames and fumes. Cheyne.

The great quantity of viscid malt liquor drank by the common people of England, cannot fail to render the blood fizy and unfit for circulation, from whence proceed obstructions and inflammations of the lungs, &c. Buchan.

Malt liquors (excepting clear small beer of due age) are extremely hurtful to tender and studious persons. Cheyne.

There are few great ale drinkers who are not phtisical, nor is that to be wondered at, considering the glutinous and almost indigestible nature of strong ale. Buchan.

Those who drink ardent spirits or strong wines do not run less hazard; these liquors heat and inflame the blood, and tear the tender vessels of the lungs in pieces. Buchan.

Doctor Cadogan in his late treatise on the gout, says, He cannot allow him to be strictly temperate, who drinks any wine or strong liquors at all, unless it be medicinally.

T H E E N D.

THOUGHTS

U P O N

S L A V E R Y.

By JOHN WESLEY, A. M.

GENESIS, Chap. iv.

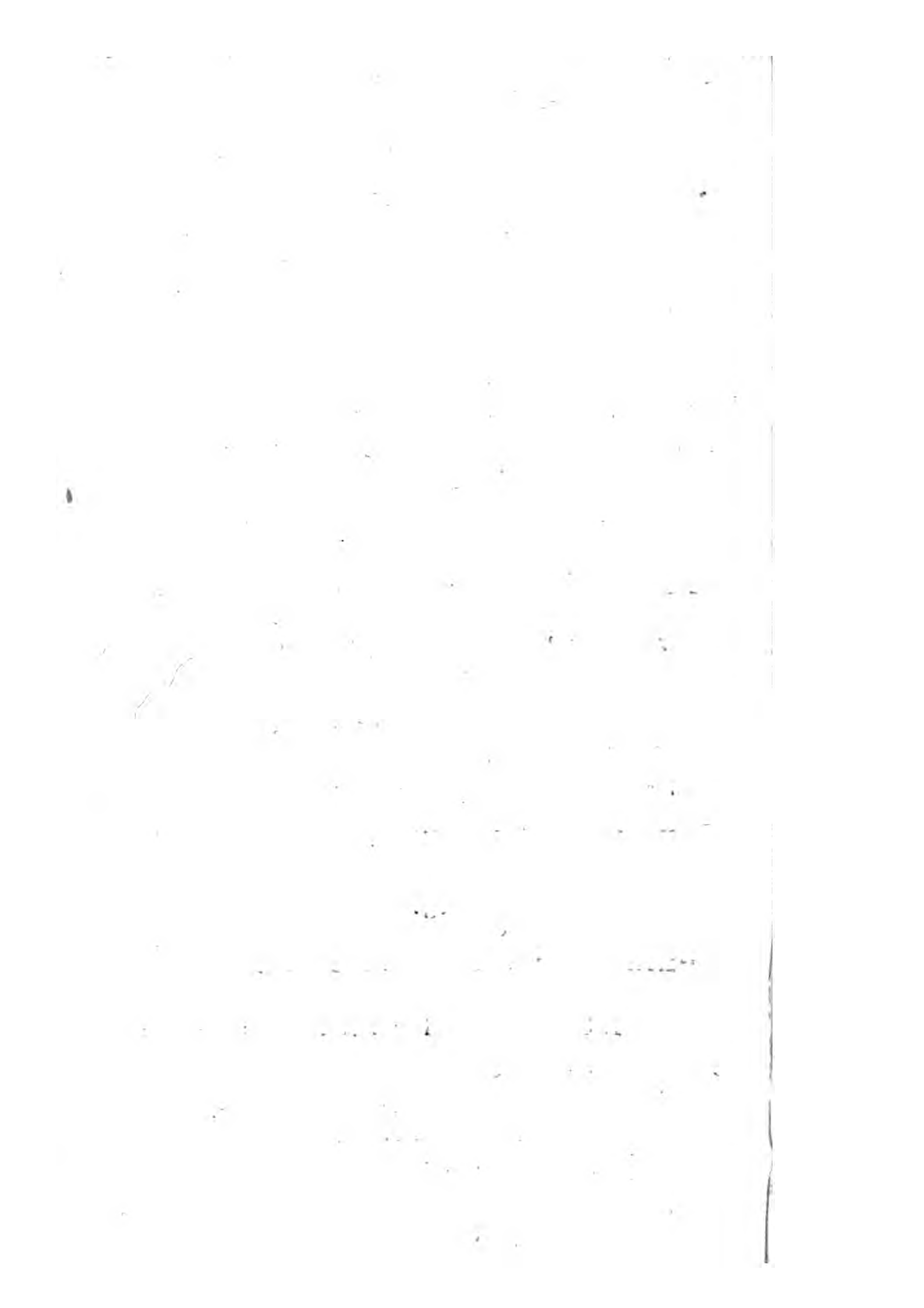
*And the Lord said—What hast thou done? the voice of
thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground.*



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T H O U G H T S

U P O N

S L A V E R Y.

I. **B**Y *slavery* I mean domestic slavery, or that of a servant to a master. A late ingenious writer well observes, “The variety of forms in which slavery appears, makes it almost impossible to convey a just notion of it, by way of definition. There are however certain properties which have accompanied slavery in most places, whereby it is easily distinguished from that mild domestic *service* which obtains in our own country*.”

2. *Slavery* imports an obligation of perpetual service, an obligation which only

B 2

the

* See Mr. *Hargrave's* plea for *Somerset* the negro.

the consent of the master can dissolve. Neither in some countries can the master himself dissolve it, without the consent of judges appointed by law. It generally gives the master an arbitrary power of any correction not affecting life or limb.— Sometimes even these are exposed to his will : or protected only by a fine, or some slight punishment, too inconsiderable to restrain a master of an harsh temper. It creates an incapacity of acquiring any thing, except for the master's benefit. It allows the master to alienate the slave, in the same manner as his cows and horses. Lastly, it descends in its full extent from parent to child, even to the latest generation.

3. The beginning of this may be dated from the remotest period, of which we have an account in history. It commenced in the barbarous state of society, and in process of time spread into all nations. It prevailed particularly among the *Jews*, the *Greeks*, the *Romans*, and the antient *Germans* : And was transmitted by them to the various kingdoms and states, which arose out of the ruins of the *Roman* empire. But after christianity prevailed, it gradually fell into decline in almost all parts of *Europe*. This great change began in *Spain*, about the end of the eighth century

tury: And was become general in most other kingdoms of *Europe*, before the middle of the fourteenth.

4. From this time slavery was nearly extinct, till the commencement of the sixteenth century, when the discovery of *America*, and of the western and eastern coasts of *Africa*, gave occasion to the revival of it. It took its rise from the *Portuguese*, who to supply the *Spaniards* with men, to cultivate their new possessions in *America*, procured negroes from *Africa*, whom they sold for slaves to the *American Spaniards*. This began in the year 1508, when they imported the first negroes into *Hispaniola*. In 1540 *Charles* the fifth, then king of *Spain*, determined to put an end to *negro-slavery*: Giving positive orders, That all the negro slaves in the Spanish dominions should be set free. And this was accordingly done by *Lagasca*, whom he sent and impowered to free them all, on condition of continuing to labour for their masters. But soon after *Lagasca* returned to *Spain*, slavery returned and flourished as before. Afterwards other nations, as they acquired possessions in *America*, followed the examples of the *Spaniards*; and slavery has now taken deep root in most of our *American* colonies.

II. Such is the nature of slavery : Such the beginning of negro-slavery in *America*. But some may desire to know, what kind of country it is, from which the negroes are brought ? What sort of men, of what temper and behaviour are they in their own country ? And in what manner they are generally procured, carried to, and treated in *America* ?

I. And first, What kind of country is that from whence they are brought ? Is it so remarkably horrid, dreary and barren, that it is a kindness to deliver them out of it ? I believe many have apprehended so : But it is an entire mistake, if we may give credit to those who have lived many years therein, and could have no motive to misrepresent it.

2. That part of *Africa* whence the negroes are brought, commonly known by the name of *Guinea*, extends along the coast, in the whole, between three and four thousand miles. From the river *Senegal*, (seventeen degrees north of the line) to Cape *Sierra Leona*, it contains seven hundred miles. Thence it runs eastward about fifteen hundred miles, including the *Grain-Coast*, the *Ivory-Coast*, the *Gold-Coast*, and the *Slave-Coast*, with the large kingdom of *Benin*. From thence it runs southward, about twelve hundred miles, and contains

contains the kingdoms of *Congo* and *Angola*.

3. Concerning the first, the *Senegal-Coast*, *Monf. Brue*, who lived there sixteen years, after describing its fruitfulness near the sea, says, "The farther you go from the sea, the more fruitful and well-improved is the country, abounding in pulse, Indian corn, and various fruits. Here are vast meadows, which feed large herds of great and small cattle. And the villages which lie thick, shew the country is well peopled." And again: "I was surprized, to see the land so well cultivated; scarce a spot lay un-improved: The low lands divided by small canals, were all sowed with rice: The higher grounds were planted with Indian corn, and peas of different sorts. Their beef is excellent; poultry plenty and very cheap, as are all the necessaries of life."

4. As to the *Grain and Ivory Coast*, we learn from eye witnesses, that the soil is in general fertile, producing abundance of rice and roots. Indigo and cotton thrive without cultivation.—Fish is in great plenty; the flocks and herds are numerous, and the trees loaded with fruit.

5. The *Gold-Coast* and *Slave-Coast*, all who have seen it agree, is exceeding fruitful and pleasant, producing vast quantities
of

of rice and other grain, plenty of fruit and roots, palm-wine, and oil, and fish in great abundance, with much tame and wild cattle. The very same account is given us of the soil and produce of the kingdoms of *Benin*, *Congo* and *Angola*.— From all which it appears, That *Guinea* in general, far from being an horrid, dreary, barren country, is one of the most fruitful, as well as the most pleasant countries in the known world. It is said indeed to be unhealthy. And so it is to strangers, but perfectly healthy to the native inhabitants.

6. Such is the country from which the negroes are brought. We come next to enquire, What sort of men they are, of what temper and behaviour, not in our plantations, but in their native country. And here likewise the surest way is to take our account from eye and ear witnesses. Now those who have lived in the *Senegal*-country observe, it is inhabited by three nations, the *Falofs*, *Fulis*, and *Mandingos*. The king of the *Falofs* has under him several ministers, who assist in the exercise of justice. The chief justice goes in circuit through all his dominions, to hear complaints and determine controversies. And the viceroy goes with him, to inspect the behaviour of the *Alkadi*, or Governor
of

of each village. The *Fulis* are a numerous people; the soil of their country represented as rich, affording large harvests, and the people laborious and good farmers: Of some of these *Fuli* blacks who dwelt on the river *Gambia*, *William Moor* the *English* factor gives a very favourable account.— He says, they are governed by their chief men, who rule with much moderation. Few of them will drink any thing stronger than water, being strict *Mahometans*. The government is easy, because the people are of a good and quiet disposition; and so well instructed in what is right, that a man who wrongs another is the abomination of all.— They desire no more land than they use, which they cultivate with great care and industry: If any of them are known to be made slaves by the white men they all join to redeem them. They not only support all that are old, or blind, or lame among themselves; but have frequently supplied the necessities of the *Mandingos*, when they were distressed by famine.

7. The *Mandingos*, says *Monf. Brue*, are rigid *Mahometans*, drinking neither wine nor brandy. They are industrious and laborious, keeping their ground well cultivated, and breeding a good stock of cattle. Every town has a governor, and he appoints

appoints the labour of the people. The men work the ground designed for corn; the women and girls, the rice-ground.— He afterwards divides the corn and rice among them: And decides all quarrels if any arise. All the Mahometan negroes constantly go to public prayers thrice a day: there being a priest in every village, who regularly calls them together: Some authors say, it is surprizing to see the attention and reverence which they observe during their worship.—These three nations practise several trades; they have smiths, sadlers, potters and weavers. And they are very ingenious at their several occupations.—Their smiths not only make all the instruments of iron, which they have occasion to use, but likewise work many things neatly in gold and silver. It is chiefly the women and children who weave fine cotton cloth, which they dye blue and black.

8. It was of these parts of *Guinea*, that *Monf. Adanson*, correspondent of the royal academy of sciences at *Paris* from 1749 to 1753, gives the following account, both as to the country and people. “Which way soever I turned my eyes, I beheld a perfect image of pure nature: An agreeable solitude, bounded on every side by a charming landscape; the rural situation
of.

of cottages, in the midst of trees; the ease and quietness of the negroes, reclined under the shade of the spreading foliage, with the simplicity of their dress and manners: The whole revived in my mind the idea of our first parents, and I seemed to contemplate the world in its primitive state. They are generally-speaking, very good-natured, sociable and obliging. I was not a little pleased with my very first reception, and it fully convinced me, that there ought to be a considerable abatement made, in the accounts we have of the savage character of the *Africans*." He adds, "It is amazing that an illiterate people should reason so pertinently concerning the heavenly bodies. There is no doubt, but that with proper instruments, they would become excellent astronomers."

9. The inhabitants of the *Grain* and *Ivory-Coast* are represented by those that deal with them, as sensible, courteous, and the fairest traders on the coasts of *Guinea*. They rarely drink to excess: If any do, they are severely punished by the king's order. They are seldom troubled with war: If a difference happen between two nations, they commonly end the dispute amicably.

The inhabitants of the *Gold* and *Slave-Coast* likewise, when they are not artfully
in-

incensed against each other, live in great union and friendship, being generally well-tempered, civil, tractable, and ready to help any that need it. In particular, the natives of the kingdom of *Whidah* are civil, kind, and obliging to strangers.— And they are the most gentleman-like of all the negroes, abounding in good manners towards each other. The inferiors pay great respect to their superiors:— So wives to their husbands, children to their parents. And they are remarkably industrious: All are constantly employ'd; the men in agriculture, the women in spinning and weaving cotton.

10. The *Gold and Slave Coasts* are divided into several districts, some governed by kings, others by the principal men, who take care each of their own town or village, and prevent or appease tumults.— They punish murder and adultery severely; very frequently with death.— Theft and robbery are punished by a fine proportionable to the goods that were taken.— All the natives of this coast, though heathens, believe there is one God, the author of them and all things. They appear likewise to have a confused apprehension of a future state. And accordingly every town and village has a place of public worship.— It is remarkable that they

they have no beggars among them : Such is the care of the chief men, in every city and village, to provide some easy labour, even for the old and weak. Some are employ'd in blowing the smiths bellows ; others in pressing palm-oil ; others in grinding of colours. If they are too weak even for this, they sell provisions in the market.

11. The accounts we have of the natives of the kingdom of *Benin* is, that they are a reasonable and good-natured people, sincere and inoffensive, and do no injustice either to one another or to strangers.— They are civil and courteous : If you make them a present, they endeavour to repay it double. And if they are trusted, till the ship returns next year, they are sure honestly to pay the whole debt.— Theft is punished among them, altho' not with the same severity as murder. If a man and woman of any quality, are taken in adultery, they are certain to be put to death, and their bodies thrown on a dunghill, and left a prey to wild beasts. They are punctually just and honest in their dealings ; and are also very charitable : The king and the great lords taking care to employ all that are capable of any work. And those that are utterly helpless they keep for God's sake ; so that here also are

no beggars. The inhabitants of *Congo* and *Angola* are generally a quiet people. They discover a good understanding, and behave in a friendly manner to strangers, being of a mild temper and an affable carriage.—Upon the whole therefore the negroes who inhabit the coast of *Africa*, from the river *Senegal* to the southern bounds of *Angola*, are so far from being the stupid, senseless, brutish, lazy barbarians, the fierce, cruel, perfidious savages they have been described, that on the contrary, they are represented by them who had no motive to flatter them, as remarkably sensible, considering the few advantages they have for improving their understanding:—As very industrious, perhaps more so than any other natives of so warm a climate.—As fair, just and honest in their dealings, unless where whitemen have taught them to be otherwise:—And as far more mild, friendly and kind to strangers, than any of our forefathers were. Our forefathers! Where shall we find at this day, among the fair-faced natives of *Europe*, a nation generally practising the justice, mercy and truth, which are related of these poor black *Africans*? Suppose the preceding accounts are true, (which I see no reason or pretence to doubt of) and we may
leave

leave *England* and *France*, to seek genuine honesty in *Benin*, *Congo*, or *Angola*.

III. We have now seen, what kind of country it is, from which the negroes are brought: And what sort of men (even whitemen being the judges) they were in their own country. Enquire we, Thirdly, In what manner are they generally procured, carried to, and treated in *America*.

I. *First*. In what manner are they procured? Part of them by fraud. Captains of ships from time to time, have invited negroes to come on board, and then carried them away. But far more have been procured by force. The christians landing upon their coasts, seized as many as they found, men, women and children, and transported them to *America*. It was about 1551, that the *English* began trading to *Guinea*: At first, for gold and elephants teeth, but soon after, for men. In 1566, Sir *John Hawkins* sailed with two ships to *Cape Verd*, where he sent eighty men on shore to catch negroes. But the natives flying, they fell farther down, and there set the men on shore, "to burn their towns and take the inhabitants." But they met with such resistance, that they had seven men killed, and took but ten negroes. So they went still farther down,

till having taken enough, they proceeded to the *West-Indies*, and sold them*.

2. It

* Here it may be well to give a particular account of that transaction in the very words in which it is transmitted to us by early historians, as it is a clear proof, that it was solely from a desire of gain that the *English* first undertook to seize and bring the unhappy *Africans* from their native country; and is a clear and positive refutation of those false arguments frequently advanced in vindication of the slave trade, viz. That the first purchase of negro slaves by the *English*, was from motives of compassion, with views of saving the lives of some of those blacks who being taken prisoners in battle, would, if not thus purchased, have been sacrificed to the revenge of their conquerors: but this plea is manifestly false; from all the accounts we have of the disposition of the negroes in those early times, they appear to have been an innocent people, gentle and easy in their nature; rather averse to war, as is the general disposition of the natives of these warm climates; till being corrupted by an intercourse with the *Europeans*, and stimulated by the excessive use of spirituous liquors, they were induced to join them in their cruel depredations against their unhappy countrymen. The account given of that transaction by *Thomas Lediard* in his naval history, at page 141, is in the following words: “ That Sir *John Hawkins* in his several
 “ voyages to the *Canary* islands, understanding that
 “ negroes were a very good commodity in *Hispani-*
 “ *ola*, (then settling by the *Spaniards*) and that they
 “ were easy to be had in great numbers on the
 “ coast

2. It was some time before the *Europeans* found a more compendious way of procuring *African* slaves, by prevailing upon them to make war upon each other, and to sell their prisoners.—Till then they seldom had any wars: But were in general quiet and peaceable. But the white men first taught them drunkenness and avarice, and then hired them to sell one another. Nay, by this means, even their kings are induced to sell their own subjects.

“ coast of *Guinea*. Having opened his mind to
 “ his friends, he soon found adventurers for his
 “ undertaking; amongst whom were Sir *Lionel*
 “ *Docket*, Sir *Thomas Lodge*, and others: and having
 “ fitted out three small vessels, manned only with
 “ 100 men, he departed from the coast of *England*
 “ in *October* 1562, and sailed first to *Teneriffe*, where
 “ he took in several refreshments; from thence to
 “ the coast of *Guinea*, where he got in possession,
 “ partly by the sword, and by other means, up-
 “ wards of three hundred of the natives, besides
 “ several commodities which that country afford-
 “ ed: with this booty he set sail for the island of
 “ *Hispaniola* in the *West-Indies*, where he disposed
 “ of his negroes. Two years after, he went another
 “ voyage on the coast of *Guinea*; there he staid se-
 “ veral days at the island *Sabula*, where every day
 “ they took some of the inhabitants; burning and
 “ ravaging their towns: when having compleated
 “ their number of negroes, they set sail for the
 “ *West-Indies*.”

jects. So Mr. *Moore* (factor of the *African* company in 1730) informs us, “When the king of *Barfalli* wants goods or brandy, he sends to the *English* governor at *James’* fort, who immediately sends a sloop.—Against the time it arrives, he plunders some of his neighbours towns, felling the people for the goods he wants. At other times he falls upon one of his own towns, and makes bold to sell his own subjects.” So *Monf. Brue* says, “I wrote to the king (not the same) “if he had a sufficient number of slaves I would treat with him. He seized three hundred of his own people, and sent word, he was ready to deliver them for the goods.” He adds, “Some of the natives are always ready” (when well paid) “to surprize and carry off their own countrymen. They come at night without noise, and if they find any lone cottage, surround it and carry off all the people.”—*Barbot*, (another *French* factor) says, “Many of the slaves fold by the negroes are prisoners of war, or taken in the incursions they make into their enemy’s territories.—Others are stolen. Abundance of little blacks of both sexes, are stolen away by their neighbours, when found abroad on the road, or in the woods, or else in the corn-fields, at the time of year when their parents keep them

them there all day to scare away the devouring birds." That their own parents sell them, is utterly false:

3. To set the manner wherein Negroes are procured in a yet stronger light, it will suffice to give an extract of two voyages to *Guinea* on this account. The first is taken verbatim from the original manuscript of the Surgeon's Journal.

"SESTRO, Dec. 29, 1724. No trade to day, though many traders came on board. They informed us, that the people are gone to war within land, and will bring prisoners enough in two or three days; in hopes of which we stay.

"The 30th. No trade yet: but our traders came on board to-day, and informed us the people had burnt four towns: So that to-morrow we expect slaves off.

"The 31st. Fair weather: but no trading yet. We see each night towns burning. But we hear, many of the *Sestro* men are killed by the inland Negroes: So that we fear this war will be unsuccessful.

"The 2d. of January. Last night we saw a prodigious fire break out about eleven o'clock, and this morning see the town of *Sestro* burnt down to the ground." (It contained some hundred houses.) "So that we find their enemies are too hard for

for them at present, and consequently our trade spoiled here. Therefore about seven o'clock we weighed anchor, to proceed lower down."

4. The second extract taken from the journal of a Surgeon, who went from *New-York* on the same trade, is as follows. "The Commander of the vessel sent to acquaint the king, that he wanted a cargo of slaves. The king, promised to furnish him, and in order to it, set out, designing to surprize some town, and make all the people prisoners. Some time after, the king sent him word, he had not yet met with the desired success: Having attempted to break up two towns, but having been twice repulsed: But that he still hoped to procure the number of slaves. In this design he persisted, till he met his enemies in the field. A battle was fought, which lasted three days. And the engagement was so bloody, that four thousand five hundred men were slain upon the spot." Such is the manner wherein the Negroes are procured! Thus the christians preach the gospel to the heathens!

5. Thus they are *procured*. But in what numbers and in what manner are they carried to *America*?—Mr. *Anderson* in his History of trade and commerce, observes,

observes, “ *England* supplies her American colonies with Negro-slaves, amounting in number to about an hundred thousand every year.” That is, so many are taken on board our ships; but at least ten thousand of them die in the voyage: About a fourth part more die at the different Islands, in what is call the Seasoning. So that at an average, in the passage and seasoning together, thirty thousand die: That is, properly are murdered. O earth, O Sea, cover not thou their blood!

6. When they are brought down to the shore in order to be sold, our surgeons thoroughly examine them, and that quite naked, women and men, without any distinction: Those that are approved are set on one side. In the mean time a burning iron, with the arms or name of the Company, lies in the fire, with which they are marked on the breast. Before they are put into the ships, their masters strip them of all they have on their backs: So that they come on board stark naked, women as well as men. It is common for several hundreds of them to be put on board one vessel; where they are stowed together in as little room, as it is possible for them to be crowded. It is easy to suppose what a condition they must soon

soon be in, between heat, thirst, and stench of various kinds. So that it is no wonder, so many should die in the passage; but rather, that any survive it. *

7. When

* *Thomas Philips* in his account of a voyage he made to *Guinea*, and from thence to *Barbadoes*, with a cargo of slaves relates, "That they took seven hundred slaves on board. When they were brought in the vessel, the men were all put in irons, two and two shackled together, to prevent their mutinying or swimming ashore. The negroes, he says, are so loath to leave their own country, that they have often leaped out of the canoe, boat and ship, into the seas, and kept under water till they were drowned, to avoid being taken up, and saved by the boats which pursue them."——They had about twelve negroes who willingly drowned themselves; others starved themselves to death—*Philips* was advised to cut off the legs and arms of some to terrify the rest; (as other captains had done) but this he refused to do: From the time of his taking the negroes on board, to his arrival at *Barbadoes*, no less than three hundred and twenty died of various diseases: Which the author says, "was to their great regret, after enduring much misery and stench, so long, among a parcel of creatures nastier than swine: No gold-finder, says *Philips*, can suffer such noisome drudgery as they do who carry negroes, having no respite from their afflictions so long as any of their slaves are alive." How unreasonable was it in *Philips*, thus to reflect on negroes; could such a number be crowded.

7. When the vessels arrive at their destined port, the Negroes are again exposed naked, to the eyes of all that flock together, and the examination of their purchasers: Then they are separated to the plantations of their several masters, to see each other no more. Here you may see mothers hanging over their daughters, bedewing their naked breasts with tears, and daughters clinging to their parents, till the whipper soon obliges them to part. And what can be more wretched than the condition they then enter upon? Banished from their country, from their friends and relations forever, from every comfort of life, they are reduced to a state scarce any way preferable to that of beasts of burthen. In general a few roots, not of the nicest kind, usually yams or potatoes, are their
 food

crowded together in so warm a climate, even if they had all been healthy, without being extremely offensive: How much more when so many lay sick, dead and dying. He speaks of the *English* people's great sufferings by nastiness, stench, &c. but he forgets the sufferings of the poor blacks, which must have been incomparably greater than their's; not to mention the painful sorrow, and anxiety of mind these distressed creatures must have laboured under.

food, and two rags, that neither screen them from the heat of the day, nor the cold of the night their covering. Their sleep is very short, their labour continual, and frequently above their strength; so that death sets many of them at liberty, before they have lived out half their days. The time they work in the *West Indies*, is from day break to noon, and from two o'clock till dark: During which time they are attended by overseers, who, if they think them dilatory, or think any thing not so well done as it should be, whip them most unmercifully, so that you may see their bodies long after whealed and scarred usually from the shoulders to the waist. And before they are suffered to go to their quarters, they have commonly something to do, as collecting herbage for the horses, or gathering fewel for the boilers. So that it is often past twelve, before they can get home. Hence if their food was not prepared, they are sometimes called to labour again, before they can satisfy their hunger. And no excuse will avail. If they are not in the field immediately, they must expect to feel the lash. Did the Creator intend, that the noblest creatures in the visible world, should live such a life as this!

“ Are

“Are *these* thy glorious works, Parent of Good?”

8. As to the punishments inflicted on them, says Sir *Hans Sloan*, “they frequently geld them, or chop off half a foot: After they are whipped till they are raw all over, some put pepper and salt upon them: Some drop melted wax upon their skin. Others cut off their ears, and constrain them to broil and eat them. “For Rebellion,” (that is, asserting their native Liberty, which they have as much right to as to the air they breathe) “they fasten them down to the ground with crooked sticks on every limb, and then applying fire by degrees, to the feet and hands, they burn them gradually upward to the head.” *

9 But

* Sir *Hans Sloan*. after describing the severe tortures practised on the negroes, sums up the pains they are made to suffer under the terms of *exquisite* and *extravagant*.

Now must not the reasonable and humane nature of those who order these dreadful tortures, as well as those who execute them, be changed into devilish, who can thus put their fellow creatures to such *extravagant*, such *exquisite* torment? And for what? Often, even for that which their tormentors themselves would have done if in their situation. If thro' the exertion of barbarous and unjust laws, the natural attendant on slavery,

9 But will not the laws made in the Plantations, prevent or redress all cruelty and Oppression? We will take but a few

These our hapless fellow men are doomed to die, yet in their deaths, let it at least *be remembered that they are men.* We hear with horror and detestation of some such execution in the inquisitions and under some tyrannic governments; but these inhumanities are certainly contrary to the genius and disposition of the *British* nation, and quite abhorrent of its laws, which do not allow of tortures either in punishment, or to extort confessions. Sir *I Dalrymple* in his memoirs says that the Parliament in the declaration of right asserted, that *pitying and respecting humane nature, no cruel and unusual punishment should be inflicted.*

How *Britons* can so readily admit of a change in their disposition and sentiments, as to practice in *America* what they abhor and detested in *Britain*, can be accounted for on no other principle, but as being the natural effect of slave-keeping, which as the celebrated *Montesquieu* observes, “insensibly accustoms those who are in the practice of it, to want all moral virtues, to become haughty, hasty hard hearted, passionate, voluptuous and cruel. The evil attendant on the condition of the poor slaves will end with their lives, and the merciful father of the family of mankind will doubtless look on their deep affliction, and where their hearts are thereby humbled, requite them good in another state of existence for their sufferings in this: but with respect to their lordly oppressors, this horrible abuse of their fellow men, will doubtless extend its baneful influence even into the regions of eternity. It is surprising that the thoughtful people, where slavery prevails should so little advert

few of those Laws for a specimen, and then let any man judge.

In order to rivet the chain of slavery, the law of *Virginia* ordains, “ That no
 slave

vert to its dreadful consequent effects to themselves and families, particularly on the necessity they are in of sending away their offspring from under their own paternal care, in very early life, lest their tender minds should be corrupted, and every noble and generous sentiment eradicated by the oppression and cruelty they are daily witnesses of.— That parents should be thus incapacitated and deprived of the opportunity and satisfaction of forming the minds of their offspring to virtue and happiness, but that this most sacred and delightful trust must be left to the care of the hireling and the stranger, must to every tender thinking parent, appear an evil of so afflictive a nature, and so contrary to the divine order, that no human advantage can compensate for.

The author of the history of *Jamaica*, wrote about the year 1740, in his account of the sufferings of the negroes, says, The people of that island have indeed the severest ways of punishing; no country exceeds them in a barbarous treatment of their slaves, or in the cruel methods by which they are put to death. After confirming what is before said he adds, “ They starve them to death, with a loaf hanging over their mouths. I have seen these unfortunate wretches gnaw the flesh off their shoulders, and expire in all the frightful agonies of one under the most horrible tortures. He adds, I incline to touch the hardship which these poor

slave shall be set free, upon any pretence whatever, except for some meritorious services, to be adjudged and allowed by the *governor and council*: And that where
any

creatures suffer in the tenderest manner, from a particular regard which I have to many of their masters; but I cannot conceal their sad circumstances entirely: the most trivial error is punished with terrible whipping. I have seen some of them treated in that cruel manner, for no other reason but to satisfy the brutish pleasure of an overseer, who has their punishment mostly at his discretion. I have seen their bodies all in a gore of blood, the skin torn off their backs with the cruel whip, beaten pepper and salt rubbed in the wounds, and a large stick of sealing-wax dropped leisurely upon them. It is no wonder, (adds this author) if the horrid pain of such inhuman tortures incline them to rebel." The same author gives us extracts of some of the laws of *Jamaica* relating to the punishment of slaves, taken as he says, from a general collection of the plantation laws, the printed statutes, or the secretary's-office, viz.

" If any slave by punishment from his owner for running away, or other offence, suffer in life or limb, none shall be liable to the law for the same; but whosoever shall kill a slave out of wilfulness, wantonness, or bloody mindedness, shall suffer three months imprisonment, and pay fifty pounds to the owner of the slave. If the party so offending be a servant, he or she shall have on the bare back thirty-nine lashes, and also (after the expiration of the term with his or her master or mistress) shall serve the

the

any slave shall be set free by his owner, otherwise than is herein directed, the church-wardens of the parish wherein such negro shall reside for the space of
one

the owner of the deceased slave the full term of four years. If any person kill a slave stealing or running away, or found by night out of his owner's ground, road, or common path, such person shall not be subject to any damage or action for the same.

“ Those that go out in parties to reduce the negroes, shall receive from the treasurer for every rebellious negro that shall be killed, bringing in his head to any justice, forty pounds; for every negro taken and brought in alive, and not maimed, ten pounds, to be paid by the owner, who is hereby obliged under the penalty of fifty pounds, to transport such slave so taken; and in case the owner cannot be found, then the treasurer shall pay the ten pounds, receive the slave, sell and transport him, and retain the produce to be employed in the said service.”

The following advertisement was taken from one of the *North-Carolina* news papers. “ Run-away last *November*, from the subscriber, a negro fellow named *Zeb*, about 36 years of age, about 5 feet 8 inches high, a very good cooper by trade &c.—As he is outlawed, I will pay twenty pounds proclamation money out of what the act of assembly allows in such cases, to any person who shall produce his head severed from his body, and five pounds proclamation money if brought home alive.”

JOHN MOSLEY.

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Am

one month are hereby authorized and required, to *take up and sell* the said negro, by *public outcry*."

Will not these Law-givers take effectual care, to prevent cruelty and oppression?

The

An advertisement of the same kind was printed in *London*, in the general evening-post, *Jan 1, 1774*, said to be taken from the *Williamsburgh* gazette, where after describing the negro, the master adds, "The said fellow is outlawed, and I will give ten pounds reward for his head severed from his body, or forty shillings if brought alive." As strange as such publications may appear to such whose hearts as are not hardened by the practice of slavery, yet I am informed advertisements of this kind are frequent in the southern colonies.

It is alledged by the planters in excuse for these unnatural, these monstrous cruelties, that the greatest severity, the most cruel punishments, are absolutely necessary for the management of slaves, on account of those train of vices which slavery necessarily introduces. A late author remarks how shocking it is to think that those unhappy victims must from the nature of the thing become dangerous and refractory, in proportion to the greatness and generosity of their minds.

Can there be a more dangerous maxim, than that necessity is a plea for injustice? For who shall fix the degree of this necessity? What villain so atrocious who may not urge this excuse? or as *Milton* expresses it—

And

The law of *Jamaica* ordains, “ Every slave that shall run away, and continue absent from his master twelve months, shall be *deemed rebellious* :” And by another

————— *And with necessity*
The tyrant’s plea, excuse his dev’lish deed.

How many thousands and tens of thousands has this dev’lish plea of necessity brought to a cruel and untimely end? What account will in future states of existence, be given to the father of the family of mankind, for the lives of so many of our fellow men so inhumanly murdered. A particular instance of the destruction of human beings, under the pretence of necessity, is related by captain Cook, in his voyage round the world, in company with messieurs *Banks* and *Solander*, in the year 1768; being at *Rio Janiero*, one, if not the principal town of *Brazil*; he relates, page 29, “ That the inhabitants, who are very numerous, consists of *Portuguese*, *Negroes* and *Indians*. The township of *Rio Janiero*, which he was told was but a small part of the province, is said to contain thirty-seven thousand white people, and six hundred and twenty-nine thousand blacks, many of whom are free, in the proportion of seventeen to one.”

Page 34. (he tells us “ The riches of the place consists chiefly in the mines; that much gold is brought from these mines, but at an expence of life that must strike every man, to whom custom has not made it familiar, with horror. No less than forty thousand *Negroes* are annually imported on the king’s account to dig in the mines; and (he adds)

ther law, fifty pounds are allowed, to those who kill or bring in alive a *rebellious* slave." So their law treats these poor men with as little ceremony and consideration, as if they were merely brute beasts! But the innocent blood which is shed in consequence of such a detestable law, must call for vengeance on the murderous abettors and actors of such deliberate wickedness.

11. But the law of *Barbadoes* exceeds even this. "If any negro under punishment, by his master, or his order, for running away, or any other crime or misdemeanor, shall suffer *in life or member, no person whatever shall be liable to any fine therefore.* But if any man of WANTONNESS, or only of BLOODY-MINDEDNESS OR CRUEL INTENTION, *wilfully kill* a negro of his own" (Now observe the severe punishment!) "He shall pay into the public treasury fifteen pounds sterling! And not be liable to any other punishment or forfeiture for the same!"

Nearly

adds) we are credibly informed, that the last year but one before we arrived here, this number fell so short, probably from some epidemic disease, that twenty thousand more were draughted from the town of *Rio Janiero.*"

Nearly allied to this is that law of *Virginia*: "After proclamation is issued against slaves that run away, it is lawful for any person whatsoever to KILL AND DESTROY such slaves, by SUCH WAYS AND MEANS AS HE SHALL THINK FIT."

We have seen already some of the ways and means which have been *thought fit* on such occasions. And many more might be mentioned. One gentleman, when I was abroad *thought fit* to roast his slave alive! But if the most natural act of "running away" from intolerable tyranny, deserves such relentless severity, what punishment have these *law-makers* to expect hereafter, on account of their own enormous offences?

IV. 1. This is the plain, un-aggravated matter of fact. Such is the manner wherein our *African* slaves are procured: Such the manner wherein they are removed from their native land, and wherein they are treated in our Plantations. I would now enquire, whether these things can be defended, on the principles of even heathen honesty? Whether they can be reconciled (setting the Bible out of the question) with any degree of either justice or mercy.

2. The grand plea is, "They are authorized by law." But can law, human law, change the nature of things? Can
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it turn darkness into light, or evil into good? By no means. Notwithstanding ten thousand laws, right is right, and wrong is wrong still. There must still remain an essential difference between justice and injustice, cruelty and mercy. So that still I ask, Who can reconcile this treatment of the negroes, first and last, with either mercy or justice.

Where is the justice of inflicting the severest evils, on those that have done us no wrong? Of depriving those that never injured us in word or deed, of every comfort of life? Of tearing them from their native country, and depriving them of liberty itself? To which an *Angolan*, has the same natural right as an *Englishman*, and on which he sets as high a value? Yea where is the justice of taking away the lives of innocent, inoffensive men? Murdering thousands of them in their own land, by the hands of their own countrymen: Many thousands, year after year, on shipboard, and then casting them like dung into the sea! And tens of thousands in that cruel slavery, to which they are so unjustly reduced?

3. But waving, for the present, all other considerations, I strike at the root of this complicated villainy. I absolutely deny all slave-holding to be consistent with

with any degree of even natural justice.

I cannot place this in a clearer light, than that great ornament of his profession, judge *Blackstone* has already done. Part of his words are as follows :

“ The three origins of the right of slavery assigned by *Justinian*, are all built upon false foundations. 1. Slavery is said to arise from captivity in war. The conqueror having a right to the life of his captive, if he spares that, has then a right to deal with him as he pleases. But this is untrue, if taken generally, That by the law of nations, a man has a right to kill his enemy. He has only a right to kill him in particular cases in cases of absolute necessity for self-defence. And it is plain, this absolute necessity did not subsist, since he did not kill him, but made him prisoner. War itself is justifiable only on principles of self-preservation. Therefore it gives us no right over prisoners, but to hinder their hurting us by confining them. Much less can it give a right to torture, or kill, or even to enslave an enemy when the war is over. Since therefore the right of making our prisoners slaves, depends on a supposed right of slaughter, that foundation failing, the consequence which is drawn from it must fail likewise.”

“ It

“ It is said, Secondly, slavery may begin, by one man’s selling himself to another. And it is true, a man may sell himself to work for another : But he cannot sell himself to be a slave, as above defined. Every sale implies an equivalent given to the seller, in lieu of what he transfers to the buyer. But what equivalent can be given for life or liberty ? His property likewise, with the very price which he seems to receive, devolves *ipso facto* to his master, the instant he becomes his slave : In this case therefore the buyer gives nothing, and the seller receives nothing. Of what validity then can a sale be, which destroys the very principles upon which all sales are founded ? ”

“ We are told, Thirdly, that men may be *born slaves*, by being the children of slaves. But this being built on the two former rights, must fall together with them. If neither captivity, nor contract can by the plain law of nature and reason, reduce the parent to a state of slavery, much less can they reduce the offspring.” It clearly follows, that all slavery is as irreconcilable to justice as to mercy.

4. That slave-holding is utterly inconsistent with mercy, is almost too plain to need a proof. Indeed it is said, “ That these negroes being prisoners of war, our captains

captains and factors buy them merely to save them from being put to death. And is not this mercy?" I answer, 1. Did Sir *John Hawkins*, and many others, seize upon men, women and children, who were at peace in their own fields or houses, merely to save them from death? 2. Was it to save them from death, that they knock'd out the brains of those they could not bring away? 3. Who occasioned and fomented those wars, wherein these poor creatures were taken prisoners? Who excited them by money, by drink, by every possible means, to fall upon one another? Was it not themselves? They know in their own conscience it was, if they have any conscience left. But 4. To bring the matter to a short issue. Can they say before God, That they ever took a single voyage, or bought a single negro from this motive? They cannot. They well know, to get money, not to save lives, was the whole and sole spring of their motions.

5. But if this manner of procuring and treating negroes is not consistent either with mercy or justice, yet there is a plea for it which every man of business will acknowledge to be quite sufficient. Fifty years ago, one meeting an eminent statesman in the lobby of the house of commons,

mons, said, "You have been long talking about justice and equity. Pray which is this bill? Equity or justice?" He answered, very short, and plain, "D--n justice; It is necessity." Here also the slave-holder fixes his foot: Here he rests the strength of his cause. "It is not quite right, yet it *must* be so: There is an absolute *necessity* for it. It is necessary we should procure slaves: And when we have procured them, it is necessary to use them with severity, considering their stupidity, stubbornness and wickedness."

I answer, You stumble at the threshold: I deny that villany is ever necessary. It is impossible that it should ever be necessary, for any reasonable creature to violate all the laws of justice, mercy, and truth. No circumstances can make it necessary for a man to burst in sunder all the ties of humanity. It can never be necessary for a rational being to sink himself below a brute. A man can be under no necessity, of degrading himself into a wolf. The absurdity of the supposition is so glaring, that one would wonder any one can help seeing it.

6. This in general. But to be more particular, I ask, 1. What is necessary? And, secondly, To what end? It may be answered, "The whole method now used,

used by the original purchasers of negroes, is necessary to the furnishing our colonies yearly with an hundred thousand slaves." I grant, this is necessary to that end. But how is that end necessary? How will you prove it necessary, that one hundred, that one of those slaves should be procured? "Why, it is necessary to my gaining an hundred thousand pounds." Perhaps so: But how is *this* necessary? It is very possible you might be both a better and an happier man, if you had not a quarter of it. I deny that your gaining one thousand is necessary, either to your present or eternal happiness. "But however you must allow, these slaves are necessary for the cultivation of our islands; inasmuch as white men are not able to labour in hot climates †." I answer, 1. It were better

† It is not proposed to remove the negroes from labouring in the several provinces and islands where they are now employed; in order to employ white men in their stead, what is proposed, is only to prevent any farther import of negroes, except those who may come voluntarily and in a free condition; and to fall upon such just regulations and proper encouragement with respect to those already amongst us, that from dangerous grudging slaves, they may become willing hearted labourers, who having an interest in the peace and welfare of the

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country,

ter that all those islands should remain uncultivated for ever, yea, it were more desirable that they were all together sunk in the depth of the sea, than that they should be cultivated at so high a price, as the violation of justice, mercy, and truth. But, Secondly, the supposition on which
you

country, will be parties in its strength and support. But whilst deficiencies by the death of the labouring slaves can be so easily made up by the continual fresh imports from *Guinea*, and the planters find it cheaper to make new purchases than to raise the children, or spare and cherish the parents of those already in their service, little amendment can be expected in the hardship they are put to, and the cruelties exercised upon them. Surely the number already in our colonies and islands, which on a calculation made four or five years past, was between eight and nine hundred thousand, besides that there has been a vast number, said to be about an hundred thousand since yearly imported: all these, with their increase, if well used, would certainly be sufficient to perform all necessary labour.

If an end was put to the import of negroes, and the odious and cruel distinction of master and slaves, with all its attendant horrors should cease, many labouring people from *Europe*, who are now discouraged from an apprehension of being put on a level with slaves, would probably be willing to come over and engage in the service.

John Miller, professor of law at *Glasgow*, in his late observations concerning distinction of ranks in society, observes,

you ground your argument is false. For white men, even *Englishmen*, are well able to labour in hot climates : provided they are temperate both in meat and drink, and that they inure themselves to it by degrees. I speak no more than I know by experience. It appears from the thermometer,

observes, “ That the slavery established in our colonies is an object of great importance, and is attended with difficulties which cannot be easily removed. It has been thought that the management of our plantations requires a labour in which free men would not be willing to engage, and which the white people are from their constitution incapable of performing. How far this opinion is well founded according to the present manner of labouring in that part of the world, seems difficult to determine, as it has never been properly examined by those who are in a condition to ascertain the facts in question. But there is ground to believe, that the institution of slavery is the chief circumstance that has prevented those contrivances to shorten and facilitate the more laborious employments of the people, which takes place in other countries, where freedom has been introduced. With regard to the planting of sugar, experiments have been made in some of the islands, from which it appears, that in some species of cultivation, cattle might be employed with advantage, and that the number of slaves might be greatly diminished. But these experiments have been little regarded, in opposition to the former usage, and in opposition to a lucrative branch of trade which these innovations would in a great measure destroy. At any rate, the

mometer, that the summer heat in *Georgia*, is frequently equal to that in *Barbadoes*, yea to that under the line. And yet I and my family, (eight in number) did employ all our spare time there, in felling of trees and clearing of ground, as hard labour as any negro need be employed in. The *German* family likewise, forty in number, were

interest of our colonies seems to demand, that the negroes should be better treated, and even that they should be raised to a better condition.—The author of a late elegant account of our *American* settlements, has proposed, that small wages should be given them, as an encouragement to industry. If this measure were once begun, it is probable that the master would soon find the utility of pushing it to a greater extent. Nothing can appear more astonishing than the little attention that has hitherto been paid to any improvement of this nature, after the good effects of them have been so fully illustrated in the case of the villains in *Europe*. At the same time, it affords a curious spectacle to observe, that the same people who talk in so high a strain of political liberty, and who consider the privilege of imposing their own taxes, as one of the unalienable rights of mankind, should make no scruple of reducing a great proportion of the inhabitants into circumstances by which they are not only deprived of property, but almost of every right whatsoever. Fortune, perhaps never produced a situation more calculated to ridicule a grave and even a liberal hypothesis, or to show how little the conduct of men is at bottom directed by any philosophical principles.”

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were employed in all manner of labour. And this was so far from impairing our health, that we all continued perfectly well, while the idle ones all round about us, were swept away as with a pestilence. It is not true therefore that white men are not able to labour, even in hot climates, full as well as black. But if they were not, it would be better that none should labour

We have accounts from *England* of some regulations that have taken place in the *Spanish* colonies, which do the *Spaniards* much honour, and are certainly worthy our imitation; they are to the following effect:—"As soon as a slave is landed, his name, price, &c. are registered in a public register, and the master is obliged by law, to allow him *one working day* in every week to himself, besides Sundays: so that if the slave chuses to work for his master on that day, he receives the wages of a freeman for it; and whatever he gains by his labour on that day, is so secured to him by law, that the master cannot deprive him of it. As soon as the slave is able to purchase *another working day*, the master is obliged to sell it to him at a proportionable price, viz. one fifth part of his original cost, and so likewise the remaining four days at the same rate, as soon as the slave is able to redeem them; after which *he is absolutely free.*" This is such encouragement to industry, that even the most indolent would be tempted to exert themselves. Men who have thus worked out their freedom, are inured to the labour of the country, and are certainly the most useful subjects that a colony can acquire.

labour there, that the work should be left undone, than that myriads of innocent men should be murdered, and myriads more dragged into the basest slavery.

7. “ But the furnishing us with slaves is necessary, for the trade, and wealth, and glory of our nation :” Here are several mistakes. For 1. Wealth is not necessary to the glory of any nation ; but wisdom, virtue, justice, mercy, generosity, public spirit, love of our country. These are necessary to the real glory of a nation ; but abundance of wealth is not. Men of understanding allow, that the glory of *England* was full as high, in *Queen Elizabeth’s* time as it is now : Although our riches and trade were then as much smaller, as our virtue was greater †. But,
Secondly,

† We are told in *Hill’s* naval history, page 239, That when captain *Hawkins* returned from his first voyage to *Africa*, he was sent for by *Queen Elizabeth*, who expressed her concern to him, lest any of the *African* negroes should be carried off without their free consent, declaring it would be detestable, and call down the vengeance of heaven upon the undertakers.— Captain *Hawkins* promised to comply with the Queen’s injunction, but acted quite contrary to his promise, which occasioned that author to remark, “ That here began the horrid practice of forcing the *Africans* into slavery, an injustice and barbarity which so sure as there is vengeance in heaven for
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Secondly, it is not clear, that we should have either less money or trade, (only less of that detestable trade of man-stealing) if there was not a negro in all our islands, or in all *English America*. It is demonstrable, white men, inured to it by degrees *can* work as well as them: And they *would* do it, were negroes out of the way, and proper encouragement given them. However, Thirdly, I come back to the same point; better no trade, than trade procured by villany. It is far better to have
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the worst of crimes, will sometime be the destruction of all who act, or who encourage it."

Geraldus Cambrensis, a noted author who lived about six hundred years past, in his observations concerning the causes of the prosperity of the *English* undertakings in *Ireland*, when they conquered that island, tells us, "That a synod or council of the clergy being then assembled at *Armagh*, and that point fully debated, it was unanimously agreed, that the sins of the people were the occasion of that heavy judgment then fallen upon their nation; and that especially their buying of *Englishmen* from merchants and pirates, and detaining them under most miserable hard bondage, had caused the *Lord* by way of just retaliation, to leave them to be reduced by the *English* to the same state of slavery; whereupon they made a public act in that council, that all the *English* held in captivity throughout the whole land should be presently restored to their former liberty."

no wealth, than to gain wealth, at the expence of virtue. Better is honest poverty, than all the riches bought by the tears, and sweat, and blood of our fellow-creatures.

8. " However this be, it is necessary when we have slaves, to use them with severity." What, to whip them for every petty offence, till they are all in gore blood? To take that opportunity, of rubbing pepper and salt into their raw flesh? To drop burning sealing wax upon their skin? To castrate them? To cut off half their foot with an axe? To hang them on gibbets, that they may die by inches, with heat, and hunger, and thirst? To pin them down to the ground, and then burn them by degrees, from the feet, to the head? To roast them alive? When did a Turk or a Heathen find it necessary to use a fellow-creature thus?

I pray, to what end is this usage necessary? " Why, to prevent their running away: And to keep them constantly to their labour, that they may not idle away their time. So miserably stupid is this race of men, yea, so stubborn, and so wicked." Allowing them to be as stupid as you say, to whom is that stupidity owing? Without question it lies altogether at the door of their inhuman masters:

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Who give them no means, no opportunity of improving their understanding: And indeed leave them no motive, either from hope or fear, to attempt any such thing. They were no way remarkable for stupidity, while they remained in their own country: The inhabitants of *Africa* where they have equal motives and equal means of improvement, are not inferior to the inhabitants of *Europe*: To some of them they are greatly superior. Impartially survey in their own country, the natives of *Benin* and the natives of *Lapland*. Compare, (setting prejudice aside) the *Samoeids* and the *Angolans*. And on which side does the advantage lie, in point of understanding? Certainly the *African* is in no respect inferior to the *European*.— Their stupidity therefore in our plantations is not natural; otherwise than it is the natural effect of their condition. — Consequently it is not their fault, but *your's*: You must answer for it, before God and man.

9. “ But their stupidity is not the only reason of our treating them with severity. For it is hard to say, which is the greatest, This, or their stubbornness and wickedness.”—It may be so:—But do not these, as well as the other, lie at *your* door? Are not stubbornness, cunning, pilfering, and
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divers others vices, the natural, necessary fruits of slavery? Is not this an observation which has been made, in every age and nation.—And what means have you used to remove this stubbornness? Have you tried what mildness and gentleness would do? I knew one that did: That had prudence and patience to make the experiment: Mr. *Hugh Bryan*, who then lived on the borders of *South-Carolina*.—And what was the effect? Why, that all his negroes (And he had no small number of them) loved and revered him as a father, and cheerfully obeyed him out of love. Yea, they were more afraid of a frown from *him*, than of many blows from an overseer. And what pains have *you* taken, what method have you used, to reclaim them from their wickedness? Have you carefully taught them, “ That there is a GOD, a wise, powerful, merciful Being, the Creator and Governor of Heaven and Earth? That he has appointed a day wherein he will judge the world, will take an account of all our thoughts, words and actions? That in that day he will reward every child of man according to his works: That “ then the righteous shall inherit the kingdom prepared for them from the foundation of the world: And the wicked shall be cast into everlasting

lasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels." If you have not done this, if you have taken no pains or thought about the matter, can you wonder at their wickedness? What wonder, if they should cut your throat? And if they did, whom could you thank for it but yourself? You first acted the villain in making them slaves, (whether you stole them or bought them.) You kept them stupid and wicked, by cutting them off from all opportunities of improving either in knowledge or virtue: And now you assign their want of wisdom and goodness as the reason for using them worse than brute beasts!

V. 1. It remains only, to make a little application, of the preceding observations.—But to whom should that application be made? That may bear a question. Should we address ourselves to the public at large? What effect can this have? It may inflame the world against the guilty, but is not likely to remove that guilt. Should we appeal to the *English* nation in general? This also is striking wide: And is never likely to procure any redress, for the fore evil we complain of.—As little would it in all probability avail, to apply to the parliament. So many things, which *seem* of greater importance lie before them that

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they

they are not likely to attend to this. I therefore add a few words to those who are more immediately concerned, whether captains, merchants or planters.

2. And, first, to the captains employed in this trade. Most of *you* know, the country of *Guinea*: Several parts of it at least, between the river *Senegal* and the kingdom of *Angola*. Perhaps now, by *your* means, part of it is become a dreary uncultivated wilderness, the inhabitants being all murdered or carried away, so that there are none left to till the ground. But you well know, how populous, how fruitful, how pleasant it was a few years ago. You know the people were not stupid, not wanting in sense, considering the few means of improvement they enjoyed. Neither did you find them savage, fierce, cruel, treacherous, or unkind to strangers. On the contrary, they were in most parts a sensible and ingenious people. They were kind and friendly, courteous and obliging, and remarkably fair and just in their dealings. Such are the men whom you hire their own countrymen, to tear away from this lovely country; part by stealth, part by force, part made captives in those wars, which you raise or foment on purpose. You have seen them torn away, children from
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their parents, parents from their children: Husbands from their wives, wives from their beloved husbands, brethren and sisters from each other. You have dragged them who had never done you any wrong, perhaps in chains, from their native shore. You have forced them into your ships like an herd of swine, them who had souls immortal as your own: (Only some of them have leaped into the sea, and resolutely stayed under water, till they could suffer no more from you.) You have stowed them together as close as ever they could lie, without any regard either to decency or convenience. — And when many of them had been poisoned by foul air, or had sunk under various hardships, you have seen their remains delivered to the deep, till the sea should give up his dead. You have carried the survivors into the vilest slavery, never to end but with life; Such slavery as is not found among the *Turks* at *Algiers*, no, nor among the heathens in *America*.

3. May I speak plainly to you? I must. Love constrains me: Love to *you*, as well as to those you are concerned with.

Is there a God? You know there is. Is He a just God? Then there must be a state of retribution: A state wherein the just God will reward every man according to

his works. Then what reward will he render to *you*? O think betimes! Before you drop into eternity! Think now, *He shall have judgment without mercy, that shewed no mercy.*

Are you *a man*? Then you should have an *human* heart. But have you indeed? What is your heart made of? Is there no such principle as compassion there? Do you never *feel* another's pain? Have you no sympathy? No sense of human woe? No pity for the miserable? When you saw the flowing eyes, the heaving breasts, or the bleeding sides and tortured limbs of your fellow-creatures, was you a stone, or a brute? Did you look upon them with the eyes of a tiger? When you squeezed the agonizing creatures down in the ship, or when you threw their poor mangled remains into the sea, had you no relenting? Did not one tear drop from your eye, one sigh escape from your breast? Do you feel no relenting *now*? If you do not, you must go on, till the measure of your iniquities is full. Then will the great God deal with *you*, as you have dealt with *them*, and require all their blood at your hands. And at that day it shall be more tolerable for *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah* than for *you*! But if your heart does relent, though in a small degree, know it is a call from
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the God of love. And to day, if you hear his voice, harden not your heart.— To day resolve, God being your helper, to escape for your life.— Regard not money! All that a man hath will he give for his life? Whatever you lose, lose not your soul: nothing can countervail that loss. Immediately quit the horrid trade: At all events, be an honest man.

4. This equally concerns every merchant, who is engaged in the slave-trade. It is *you* that induce the *African* villain, to sell his countrymen; and in order thereto, to steal, rob, murder men, women and children without number: By enabling the *English* villain to pay him for so doing; whom you over pay for his execrable labour. It is *your* money, that is the spring of all, that impowers him to go on: So that whatever he or the *African* does in this matter, is all *your* act and deed. And is your conscience quite reconciled to this? Does it never reproach you at all? Has gold entirely blinded your eyes, and stupified your heart? Can you see, can you *feel* no harm therein? Is it doing as you would be done to? Make the case your own. “ Master, (said a slave at *Liverpool* to the merchant that owned him) “ what if some of my countrymen were to come here, and take away my mistress, and mas-

ter *Tommy*, and master *Billy*, and carry them into our country, and make them slaves, how would you like it?" His answer was worthy of a man: "I will never buy a slave more while I live." O let his resolution be yours! Have no more any part in this detestable business. Instantly leave it to those unfeeling wretches, "Who laugh at human nature and compassion!" Be *you* a man! Not a wolf, a devourer of the human species! Be merciful, that you may obtain mercy!

5. And this equally concerns every gentleman that has an estate in our *American* plantations: Yea all slave-holders of whatever rank and degree; seeing *men-buyers* are exactly on a level with *men-stealers*. Indeed you say, "I pay honestly for my goods: and I am not concerned to know how they are come by." Nay, but you are: You are deeply concerned, to know they are honestly come by. Otherwise you are partaker with a thief, and are not a jot honefter than him. But you know, they are not honestly come by: You know they are procured by means, nothing near so innocent as picking of pockets, house-breaking, or robbery upon the highway. You know they are procured by a deliberate series of more complicated villany, of fraud, robbery and murder)

murder) than was ever practised either by *Mahometans* or *Pagans*: in particular by murders, of all kinds; by the blood of the innocent poured upon the ground like water. Now it is *your* money that pays the merchant, and thro' him the captain, and the *African* butchers. *You* therefore are guilty, yea, principally guilty, of all these frauds, robberies and murders. You are the spring that puts all the rest in motion: they would not stir a step without *you*:—Therefore the blood of all these wretches, who die before their time, whether in their country, or elsewhere lies upon *your* head. *The blood of thy brother*, (for, whether thou wilt believe it or no, such he is in the sight of him that made him) *crieth against thee from the earth*, from the ship, and from the waters. O, whatever it costs, put a stop to its cry before it be too late. Instantly, at any price, were it the half of your goods, deliver thyself from blood-guiltiness! Thy hands, thy bed, thy furniture, thy house, thy lands are at present stained with blood. Surely it is enough; accumulate no more guilt: spill no more the blood of the innocent! Do not hire another to shed blood: Do not pay him for doing it! Whether you are a christian or no, shew yourself a man; be not more savage than a lion or a bear!

6. Perhaps

6. Perhaps you will say, "I do not *buy* any negroes: I only *use* those left me by my father."——So far is well: but is it enough to satisfy your own conscience? Had your father, have *you*, has any man living, a right to use another as a slave? It cannot be, even setting revelation aside. It cannot be, that either war, or contract, can give any man such a property in another as he has in his sheep and oxen. Much less is it possible, that any child of man, should ever be *born a slave*. Liberty is the right of every human creature, as soon as he breathes the vital air. And no human law can deprive him of that right, which he derives from the law of nature.

If therefore you have any regard to justice, (to say nothing of mercy, nor of the revealed law of God) render unto all their due. Give liberty to whom liberty is due, that is to every child of man, to every partaker of human nature. Let none serve you but by his own act and deed, by his own voluntary choice.——

Away with all whips, all chains, all compulsion! Be gentle towards all men. And see that you invariably do unto every one, as you would he should do unto *you*.

7. O thou God of love, thou who art loving to every man, and whose mercy is over all thy works: Thou who art the
father

father of the spirits of all flesh, and who art rich in mercy unto all : Thou who hast mingled of one blood, all the nations upon earth : Have compassion upon these outcasts of men, who are trodden down as dung upon the earth ! Arise and help these that have no helper, whose blood is spilt upon the ground like water ! Are not these also the work of thine own hands, the purchase of thy Son's blood ? Stir them up to cry unto thee in the land of their captivity ; and let their complaint come up before thee ; let it enter into thy ears ! Make even those that lead them away captive to pity them, and turn their captivity as the rivers in the south. O burst thou all their chains in sunder ; more especially the chains of their sins : Thou, Saviour of all, make them free, that they may be free indeed !

The servile progeny of *Ham*
 Seize as the purchase of thy blood !
 Let all the heathen know thy name :
 From idols to the living GOD
 The dark *Americans* convert,
 And shine in every pagan heart !

F I N I S.

SIMILAR causes will produce similar effects; the dreadful consequence of slavery is the same amongst every people and in every nation where it prevails: this truth is verified in the following accounts of the inhuman treatment the negroes met with both from the *Hollanders* and the *French*.

The first is taken from the late writings of *Edward Bancroft*, an *English* physician, who resided some years in that part of *America*, called *Dutch Guiana*, which includes the several settlements of *Surinam*, *Barbices*, *Demarara*, &c. The insensibility with which this author relates and vindicates the cruelties and indignities exercised, by the *Dutch*, on the miserable *Africans*, shew that the advantage accruing to him from the labour of the slaves, as well as his connection with their oppressors, had its usual and natural effects, in obscuring his understanding, and hardning his heart against the dictates of reason and humanity.

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The *French* author appears to have been in a very different situation; he was an officer belonging to the troops quartered in the island *Mauritus*, now called *The Isle of France*, who not reaping any advantage from the labour of the slaves, nor having any dependence on the planters, his mind remained so unprejudiced, that the dictates of reason and tender feelings of humanity, had free liberty to exert themselves.

Doctor *Bancroft*, whilst he is giving his readers a genuine relation of the prodigious oppression and cruelty exercised on the negroes, advances such arguments in defence of the practice of slavery, as are, indeed, a dishonour to reason, and shocking to humanity. He tells us, “ That
 “ the labour of the country is almost
 “ wholly performed by negroes — that
 “ they are kept at a submissive and hum-
 “ ble distance, by severity of discipline,”
 which he is so hardened as to say, “ not
 “ only contributes to the safety of the
 “ white inhabitants, but even the happi-
 “ ness of the slaves, because, adds he, the
 “ impossibility of attaining is ever found
 “ to destroy the desire of enjoyment, and
 “ rigid treatment, by annihilating every
 “ hope of liberty, renders the slaves con-
 “ tent with the enjoyment of slavery.” —

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He acknowledges, " That the negroes
 " are indeed spurred to industry by the
 " whip of correction, which is ever at
 " their heels, and not sparingly exercised;
 " but, that there is no medium: either
 " the minds of the slaves must be de-
 " pressed by abject slavery, or the lives
 " of the masters are in imminent danger:
 " For this reason (he says) they have
 " been oppressed by many humiliating
 " penalties and distinctions. The evi-
 " dence of slaves relating to white persons
 " are of no validity. An attempt to strike
 " a white inhabitant is punished with
 " death. Their masters or overseers have
 " not only the power of inflicting cor-
 " poral punishment, but are in some
 " measure allowed to exercise a right over
 " their lives, since the putting a negro
 " to death is attended only with a pecu-
 " niary punishment. In which situation,
 " he confesses, they are subject to many
 " complicated species of misery, exposed
 " to the tyranny of the imperious, and
 " lust of the libidinous; and to an in-
 " cessant toil which will have no period
 " but with their lives." Thus this au-
 thor thro' the whole of his reasoning, ma-
 nifestly shews the depraving effect which
 the sight and practice of those hard and
 cruel measures which are attendant on
 slavery,

slavery, has upon the heart and reason of
 men, otherwise of good judgment.—
 Hence he adds, “ That tho’ this treat-
 “ ment has the appearance of cruelty, and
 “ cannot be reconciled to the principles
 “ of justice and equity, yet many things
 “ which are repugnant to humanity, may
 “ be excused on account of their necessity
 “ and for self-preservation.”—Speaking
 of the provision made for the negroes in
 food and cloathing, he says, “ The ex-
 “ pence of maintaining them in this
 “ climate is very trifling—they are
 “ assigned a piece of ground, from this
 “ the slave is supplied with a sufficient
 “ stock for his sustenance; on which
 “ however he is not allowed to labour
 “ but only on sundays; receiving from
 “ his master a weekly allowance of dried
 “ fish to the amount of a pound and an
 “ half; which is all that his master con-
 “ tributes towards his food. The females
 “ receive the same treatment, and the
 “ drink of both is nothing but water:
 “ yet from this water and vegetables,
 “ with a morsel of dried fish, these people
 “ derive sufficient nutriment to sustain
 “ the hardest labour in the most enervat-
 “ ing climate. The cloathing of the ne-
 “ groes (who work in the fields) is scarce
 “ sufficient to answer the demands of
 “ modesty.

“ modesty. If any of them have either
 “ shirts, breeches, or petticoats, they are
 “ the produce of their private industry,
 “ as their masters furnish only a piece of
 “ coarse blue or brown linen, which is
 “ applied to the middle, in both sexes,
 “ and a blanket with which the slave
 “ covers himself at night; sleeping on
 “ boards only.”

The account given by the *French* officer of the disposition of the blacks, and the treatment they received from his countrymen on the island *Mauritius*, is as affecting as the former, tho' apparently wrote from a different motive and in a quite different spirit. He informs us, that the slaves who are employed in the cultivation of that island, are brought chiefly from the island *Madagascar*, situate about two hundred leagues distance.

“ That these black men, whose features bear a nearer similitude to the *Europeans* than the negroes of *Guinea*, are handy, intelligent, and sensible of honour: In their own country they apply themselves to many little handicrafts with great industry; they are passionately fond of dancing and music; their instrument is a kind of bow, to which a calabash is fixed; from which they draw a soft kind of harmony, accompanied with songs of their
 own

own composition. Love is always the subject. The girls dance to the song of their lovers; the spectators beat time.— These poor people in their own country are extremely hospitable: when a black in *Madagascar* is on his journey, he goes into the first house that suits his exigency, and tho' unknown, the family share their provisions with him. He is neither asked whence he comes nor whither he goes: it is the custom of the country. With such arts and such manners these black people are brought to the island *Mauritius* to labour for the whites. They are set on shore quite naked, except a rag that covers their loins; the men are ranged on one side and the women on the other, with their little children, who cling about the mother thro' fear. The planter examines the whole, and purchases such as suits him.

• Brothers, sisters, friends, lovers, are separated; they take leave of each other with tears, and depart for the plantation. These blacks are naturally of a joyous temper; but after some years of slavery they grow melancholy.—The treatment they receive from their masters is rigorous: at day break, three cracks of the whip are the signal that calls them to work: each slave appears in the plantation with their mattock; here they work al-

most naked in the heat of the sun. For the least neglect they are bound hand and feet on a ladder; their commander armed with a postillions whip stands over them, and gives them on their naked posteriors fifty, an hundred, or two hundred lashes. Every lash brings off the skin. The poor wretch covered with blood, is let loose, and dragged back to his work. Some of these miserable creatures on being thus chastised, are not able to sit down for a month after. The women are punished in the same manner. There is a law made by the *French* king in their favour, called the black code: this law ordains that at each punishment they shall receive no more than thirty lashes; that they shall not be obliged to work on sundays; that they shall have their provision weekly, and their shirts yearly: but this law is not observed. Sometimes when they grow old, they are turned adrift to get their living as they can. One day I saw one of them who was nothing but skin and bone cutting flesh from a dead horse to eat. It appeared to be one skeleton devouring another. — They have occasionally the consolation of religion proposed to them, and are from time to time baptised. They are told that they are made brethren of the whites,

whites, and shall go to heaven ; but they hardly know how to believe the *Europeans* should conduct them to heaven, whilst they are, they say, the cause of all their sufferings on earth.—They frequently refuse us, say they, necessary meat and cloaths, and beat us cruelly without reason : of this I have seen many instances. A slave, almost white, threw herself one day at my feet ; her mistress made her rise early and watch late : if she chanced to sleep, she rubbed her mouth with ordure : and if she did not lick her lips, she commanded her to be whipt ; she begged of me to solicit her pardon, which she obtained. Sometimes the masters of these wretches grant such request, and within two days double their punishment, reckoning in tale of lashes what they had professedly forgiven. A counsellor of whom some blacks had complained to the governor, assured me, that tho' they were exempted from punishment that day, the next he would have them flead from head to foot.—In short, when those wretched creatures can no longer support their condition, they sink into despair. Some of them put a period to their lives by poison or the halter : others throw themselves into some petty boat, without sails, without compass, without provision : in this man-

ner they hazard a passage of two hundred leagues to return to the Island of *Madagascar*, from whence they were brought. I have known them land there, be retaken and returned to their masters. In general they take refuge in the woods where they are hunted by detachments of soldiers, negroes, and dogs. Planters there are who make on such occasions a party of pleasure. They are attacked with the spear, like wild beasts. When they cannot be reached this way they are shot. Their heads are cut off and carried in triumph to town on the end of a pole. This is what I have seen almost weekly——I have seen them hanged and broke alive, they went to their punishment with pleasure and supported it without complaint. I have seen a woman throw herself voluntarily from the ladder. They cry *that in another world they shall find a happier life, and that the father of mankind is not so unjust as man*——I have *daily* beheld men and women whipt in the manner before described for having broken a pot, or forgot to shut a gate, their bloody limbs afterwards rubbed with vinegar and salt to heal them.——I have seen them in the excess of their anguish unable to cry any longer.——I have seen them
bite

bite the cannon on which they were bound.—I sicken at the recital of these horrors.—My eyes ach with seeing them.—My ears with hearing them. Here I see poor negro-women bending o'er their spades, their naked children bound upon their backs: Miserable creatures that tremble as they pass before me.—Sometimes I hear the sound of their drum, but more frequently the sound of whips cracking in the air like the report of a pistol; and the heart rending cries of *mercy, master mercy*.—If the unfortunate creatures would complain that the laws in their favour are not observed to whom can they complain; their judges are often their greatest tyrants (witness the counsellor before mentioned) It is alleged that without this severity, it is impossible to manage the slaves, you must have punishments and pains, iron collars with braces, whips, blocks to bind them by the foot, and chains to go round their necks. They must in short be treated like beasts, that the whites may live like men. Can we wonder at reasoning like this? “Where there
 “ is injustice in the principle, there
 “ must be inhumanity in the conse-
 “ quence.

I am

I am mortified when I think that those philosophers, who have shewn so much fortitude in their attacks of moral and religious abuses, have not mentioned the poor negroes—They turn from the view of their misfortunes, they talk of the massacre of the Mexicans by the Spaniards, as if that crime were not the guilt of their own days; a guilt in which half Europe is concerned. Is it a greater crime at once to assassinate a people who differ from us in opinion, than to hold in living torments, a race of men who labour for the gratification of our palates and appetites, our internal and external luxuries?"

If it is alledged in answer to these narratives, that such cruelties may indeed be practised by the Hollanders and French, but that they are seldom used amongst the English, to this it may, with truth, be replied, that tho' different circumstances may occasion a variation of conduct in different places, yet there is in effect but little difference; wherever slavery is practised, and an unlawful desire of gain prevails, it will have its natural effect, it will harden the heart, and induce to the use of hard and cruel measures, to obtain the end proposed. Its
generally

generally thought that the *Hollanders* exercise a greater degree of rigour and cruelty towards their slaves, than the *English*. Nevertheless our nation is in some cases said to exceed the former. An Instance of this is related by Captain *Cook* before mentioned, who on his return in his voyage round the world, at page 797. when at the Island *St. Helena's*, belonging to the *English*, tells us, “ that
 “ the negro-slaves are very numerous in
 “ that island.—That they appear to
 “ be a miserable race, worn out by exces-
 “ sive labour, and partly by ill usage,
 “ of which they frequently complain,”
 he adds, I am very sorry to say, “ that
 “ instances of wanton cruelty are much more
 “ frequent among my country-men here, than
 “ among the Dutch, who are, and perhaps
 “ not without reason, generally reproached
 “ with want of humanity, at *Batavia* and
 “ the *Cape*.”

The foregoing accounts of the cruel usage the miserable *Africans* find, with little variation in all places and amongst every people where slavery prevails, will doubtless be grievous to such who feel for the cause of humanity and justice. Nor is it to be expected that there will be any amendment, whilst the deficiencies which happen by deaths, can so easily

easily be made up by fresh imports, and the lives of the miserable negroes are left to the caprice and passion of their owners, or their overseers, more especially as these last generally expect favour from their masters, in proportion to the sugar, &c. they cause to be made, without any check from the laws, which rather countenance the murder of the slaves, if done, or said to be "*done by way of chastisement.*" And even when it is publicly known that the death of a slave has been occasioned thro' "*bloody mindedness or wanton cruelty;*" yet agreeable to the prevailing opinion, that the spirits of the slaves must be kept down by the most humiliating distinctions, and severity of discipline; the prosecution of such murders is discouraged, indeed great difficulties would attend those who would attempt it, as it is seldom that any white person is present when such murder is committed, except the overseer or his dependants; and that the evidence of the negroes is of no validity against the whites. Hence the lives of the poor slaves are in every respect, in a very precarious situation, subject to the passion and rage of those who have the rule over them, and the spilling of their blood unnoticed by those who ought to protect

protect them ; nevertheless, it is not hid from the all-seeing eye of God, and will doubtless remain, tho' a covered, yet accumulated store of divine displeasure against the perpetrators of it.

And here it may not be improper to lay before the reader a few instances from the many, very many, which might be given of the shocking cruelties exercised on the miserable negroes, being a striking instance of the dreadful insensibility which the habit of hard and cruel measures will gradually introduce in the human heart.

The first instance was related by a person who furnished the compiler with the advertisement from *North-Carolina*, viz. That whilst he was there a negro woman flying into the woods, probably from ill usage, was pursued by the overseer, who having met with her, after cruelly beating her, fastned her to his horse, so to drag rather than lead her ; that before he reached the house she was a dead corpse. Such usage of a fellow-creature appeared most unnatural and cruel to the relater ; but what most surprized him was, to find that this poor creature's life being taken away in so brutal a manner, made no impresson on the minds of the people ; it raised no indignation

indignation against the murderer, or commiseration for the unhappy victim; they seemed quite hardened to such scenes. He heard but one person take any manner of notice of the matter.

Another instance fell under the immediate notice of a person of credit, when in the island of *Jamaica*, now residing in this city. Hearing a grievous cry, he went to the place from whence it came, where he saw a young negro woman of about eighteen years of age, swung by her hands, with heavy weights at her feet, and a man lashing her naked body with a hard whip; making pauses from time to time, and flinging pickle or salt and water on the wounds, the whip had made. The sight was so horrible, that he turned from it and came home. Sometime after, looking out, he saw this same young woman carried dead on a board: She had been cruelly whipped to death; neither did he observe that this pitious spectacle drew the concern or hardly attention of the people.

A third instance happened in *Charles-Town*, in the presence of a person now residing there. A vessel had taken in a number of slaves, on the coast of Guinea, amongst these was a man, who probably
from

from the dignity of his situation in his own country, or from some other cause, did not shew such submission as the ship's people expected and require of slaves. They attempted to tie him with ropes, but that not answering their purpose, they confined him in irons, and otherwise so tormented him during their passage from *Guinea*, in order to bring down his spirit, that when they arrived at *Charles-Town*, he was in so weak a condition as to be scarce able to walk to the place of sale, but as he was urged on with the whip. When the slaves returned in the evening, this man remaining unfold, was forced along with the rest towards the vessel, he walked on for a while, till he came to the market-place, where he fell; but the whip being exercised upon him, he rose, and going on a little farther dropt down dead. The relater, a person of credit, saw the transaction, and exclaimed against the barbarity; but no notice was taken, either judicially or otherwise; he was dragged along and flung into the sea, to be devoured by the sharks.

The last instance I shall mention, happened in *Carolina*, on board a vessel with slaves from *Guinea*, related by a person lately in this city from thence. It

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seems the poor negroes had let in a persuasion, from a fire appearing on the shore, that the white people proposed to put them to death; this made them unwilling to leave the ship: However they were all made to comply except one man, who had taken so strong hold of some part of the ship, that the sailors were not able to loose him. This raised the anger of the captain to so great a degree, that he struck the poor fellow so hard a blow, with something like an handspike, as broke both his arms, whereby the captain looking upon the fellow as disabled and unfit for sale, gave him another blow on the head, which caused his brains to fly about the vessel.

“ We know, says a late respectable author, that the negroes (employed in our plantations) are purchased from their princes in *Guinea*, who pretend to have a right to dispose of them, and that they are like other commodities, transported by the merchants, who have bought them into *America*, in order to be exposed to sale. If this trade admits of a moral or a rational justification, every crime, even the most atrocious, may be justified. Government
was

was instituted for the good of mankind; kings, princes, governors, are not proprietors of those who are subject to their authority; they have not a right to make them miserable. On the contrary, their authority is vested in them, that they may, by the just exercise of it, promote the happiness of their people. Of course they have not a right to dispose of their liberty, and to sell them for slaves. Besides, no man has a right to acquire or to purchase them: Men and their liberty are not either saleable or purchasable.—No one, therefore, has any but himself to blame, in case he shall find himself deprived of a man, whom he thought he had, by buying for a price, made his own; for he dealt in a trade which was illicit, and was prohibited by the most obvious dictates of humanity. For these reasons, every one of those unfortunate men, who are pretended to be slaves, has a right to be declared to be free, for he never lost his liberty; he could not lose it; his prince had no power to dispose of him. Of course the sale was *ipso jure* void. This right he carries about with him, and is entitled every where to get declared. As soon, therefore, as he comes into a country in which the judges are not for-

getful of their own humanity, it is their duty to remember that he is a man, and to declare him to be free. I know it has been said, that questions concerning the state of persons ought to be determined by the law of the country to which they belong; and that, therefore, one who would be declared to be a slave in *America*, ought, in case he should happen to be imported into *Britain*, to be adjudged according to the law of *America* to be a slave; a doctrine, than which nothing can be more barbarous. Ought the judges of any country, out of respect to the law of another, to shew no respect to their kind and to humanity. Out of respect to a law, which is in no sort obligatory upon them, ought they to disregard the law of nature, which is obligatory on all men at all times, and in all places: Are any laws so binding as the eternal laws of justice? It is doubtful, whether a judge ought to pay greater regard to them, than to those arbitrary and inhuman usages which prevail in a distant land? Aye, but our colonies would be ruined, if slavery was abolished. Be it so; would it not from thence follow, that the bulk of mankind ought to be abused, that our pockets may be filled with money, or our mouths with delicacies?

delicacies? The purses of highwaymen would be empty in case robberies were totally abolished; but have men a right to acquire money by going out to the highway? Have men a right to acquire it by rendering their fellow creatures miserable? Is it lawful to abuse mankind, that the avarice, the vanity, or the passion of a few may be gratified? No! There is such a thing as justice, to which the most sacred regard is due. It ought to be inviolably observed. Have not these unhappy men a better right to their liberty and to their happiness, than our *American* merchants have to the profits which they make by torturing their kind? Let therefore our colonies be ruined, but let us not render so many men miserable. Would not any of us, who should—be snatched by pirates from his native land, think himself cruelly abused, and at all times intitled to be free. Have not these unfortunate *Africans*, who meet with the same cruel fate, the same right? Are not they men as well as we, and have they not the same sensibility?"

“ But it is false, that either we, or our colonies would be ruined by the abolition of slavery. It might occasion a stagnation of business for a short time. Every great alteration produces that effect: Be-

cause mankind cannot on a sudden, find ways of disposing of themselves and of their affairs: But it would produce many happy effects. It is the slavery which is permitted in *America* that has hindered it from becoming so populous, as it would otherwise have done. Let the negroes free, and in a few generations, this vast and fertile continent, would be crowded with inhabitants; learning, arts, and every thing would flourish amongst them: Instead of being inhabited by wild beasts, and by savages, it would be peopled by philosophers, and by men." *Prins. law of Scotl.*

“He who detains another by force in slavery, is always bound to prove his title. The slave sold or carried into a distant country, must not be obliged to prove a negative, that *he never forfeited his liberty*. The violent possessor must in all cases shew his title, especially where the old proprietor is well known. In this case, each man is the original proprietor of his own liberty. The proof of his losing it must be incumbent on those who deprive him of it by force. *Syst. mor. phil.*

“Long and serious reflections upon the nature and consequences of slavery have convinced
convinced

convinced me, that it is a violation both of justice and religion; that it is dangerous to the safety of the community in which it prevails; that is it destructive to the growth of arts and sciences; and lastly, that it produces a numerous and very fatal train of vices, both in the slave, and in his master.—Freedom is unquestionably the birth right of all mankind. *Africans* as well as *Europeans*; to keep the former in a state of slavery, is a constant violation of that right, and therefore also of justice.—The *British* merchants obtains the negroes from *Africa*, by violence, artifice, and treachery, with a few trinkets to prompt those unfortunate people, to enslave one another, by force or stratagem. Purchase them, indeed they may, under the authority of an act of the *British parliament*. An act entailing upon the *Africans* (with whom we were not at war, and over whom a *British parliament* could not of right assume even a shadow of authority) the dreadful curse of perpetual slavery, upon them and their children forever. *There cannot be in nature, there is not in all history, an instance in which every right of men is more flagrantly violated.* Lee's *Add.*

EXTRACT

EXTRACT of a Sermon preached by the
Bishop of Gloucester, before the So-
ciety for the Propagation of the Gospel
at their anniversary meeting, on the
21st of *February*, 1766.

FROM the free-savages I now come
(the last point I propose to consider)
to the savages in bonds. By these I mean
the vast multitudes yearly stolen from
the opposite continent, and sacrificed by
the colonists to their great idol, the GOD
OF GAIN. But what then, say these sin-
cere worshippers of *Mammon*, they are
our own property, which we offer up.
Gracious God! to talk (as in herds of
cattle) of property in rational creatures!
creatures endowed with all our faculties,
possessing all our qualities but that of co-
lour; our brethren both by nature and
grace, shocks all the feelings of humani-
ty, and the dictates of common sense.
But, alas! what is there in the infinite
abuses of society which does not shock
them? Yet nothing is more certain in
itself, and apparent to all, than that
the infamous traffic for slaves directly
infringes both divine and human law.
*Nature created man free; ; and grace invites
him to assert his freedom.* In excuse of
this

this violation, it hath been pretended, that though indeed these miserable outcasts of humanity be torn from their homes and native country by fraud and violence, yet they thereby become the happier, and their condition the more eligible. But who are You, who pretend to judge of another man's happiness? That state, which each man, under the guidance of his maker, forms for himself; and not one man for another. To know what constitutes mine or your happiness, is the sole prerogative of him who created us, and cast us in so various and different moulds. Did your slaves ever complain to you of their unhappiness amidst their native woods and desarts? Or, rather, let me ask, did they ever cease complaining of their condition under you their lordly masters? Where they see, indeed, the accommodations of civil life, but see them all pass to others, themselves, unbenefited by them. Be so gracious then, ye petty tyrants over human freedom, to let your slaves judge for themselves, what it is which makes their own happiness. And then see whether they do not place it in the return to their own country, rather than in the contemplation of your grandeur, of which
their

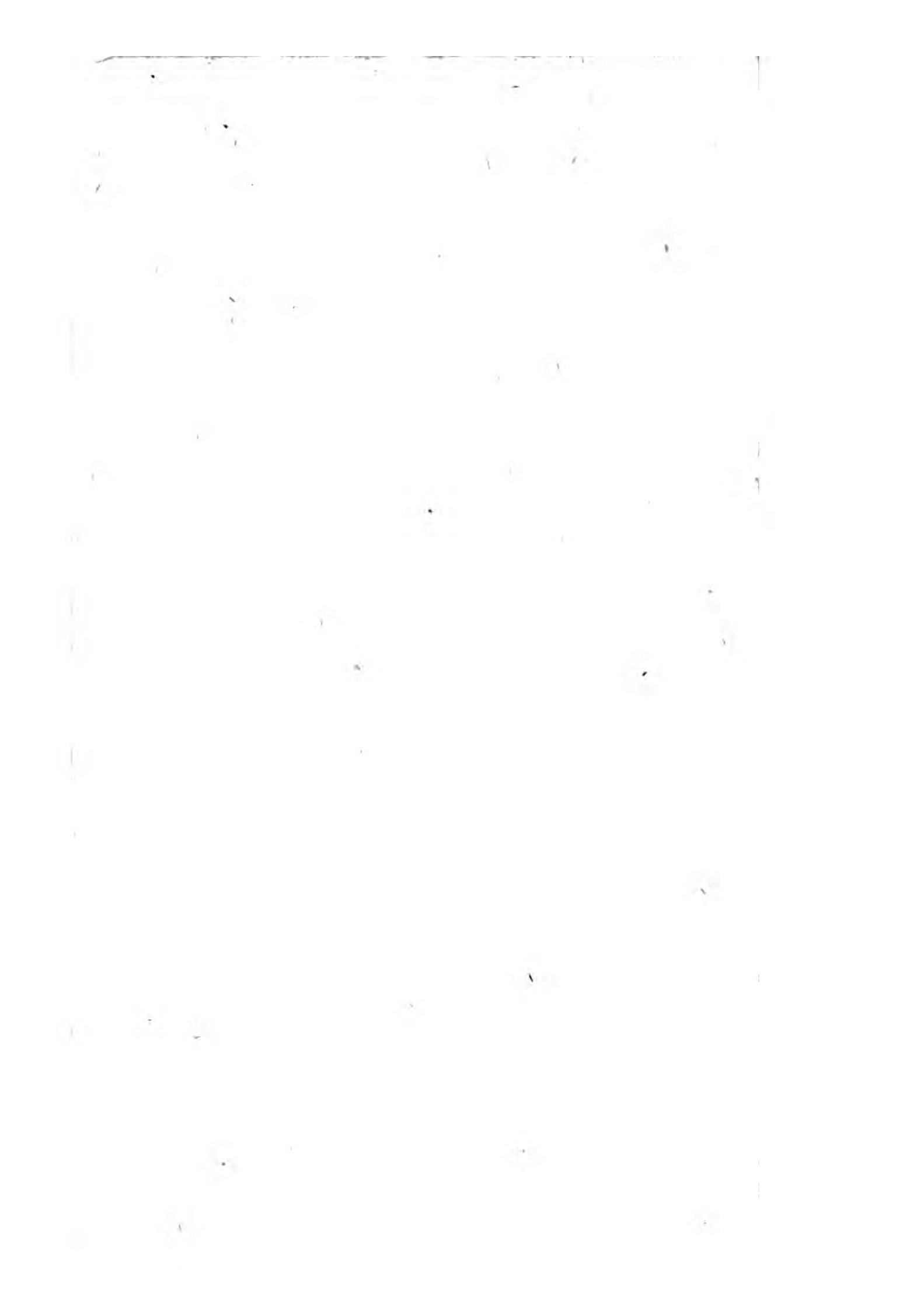
their misery makes so large a part. A return so passionately longed for, that despairing of happiness here, that is, of escaping the chains of their cruel task masters they console themselves with feigning it to be the gracious reward of heaven in their future state; which I do not find their haughty masters have as yet concerned themselves to invade. The less hardy indeed wait for this felicity till overwearied nature sets them free; but the more resolved have recourse even to self-violence, to force a speedier passage.

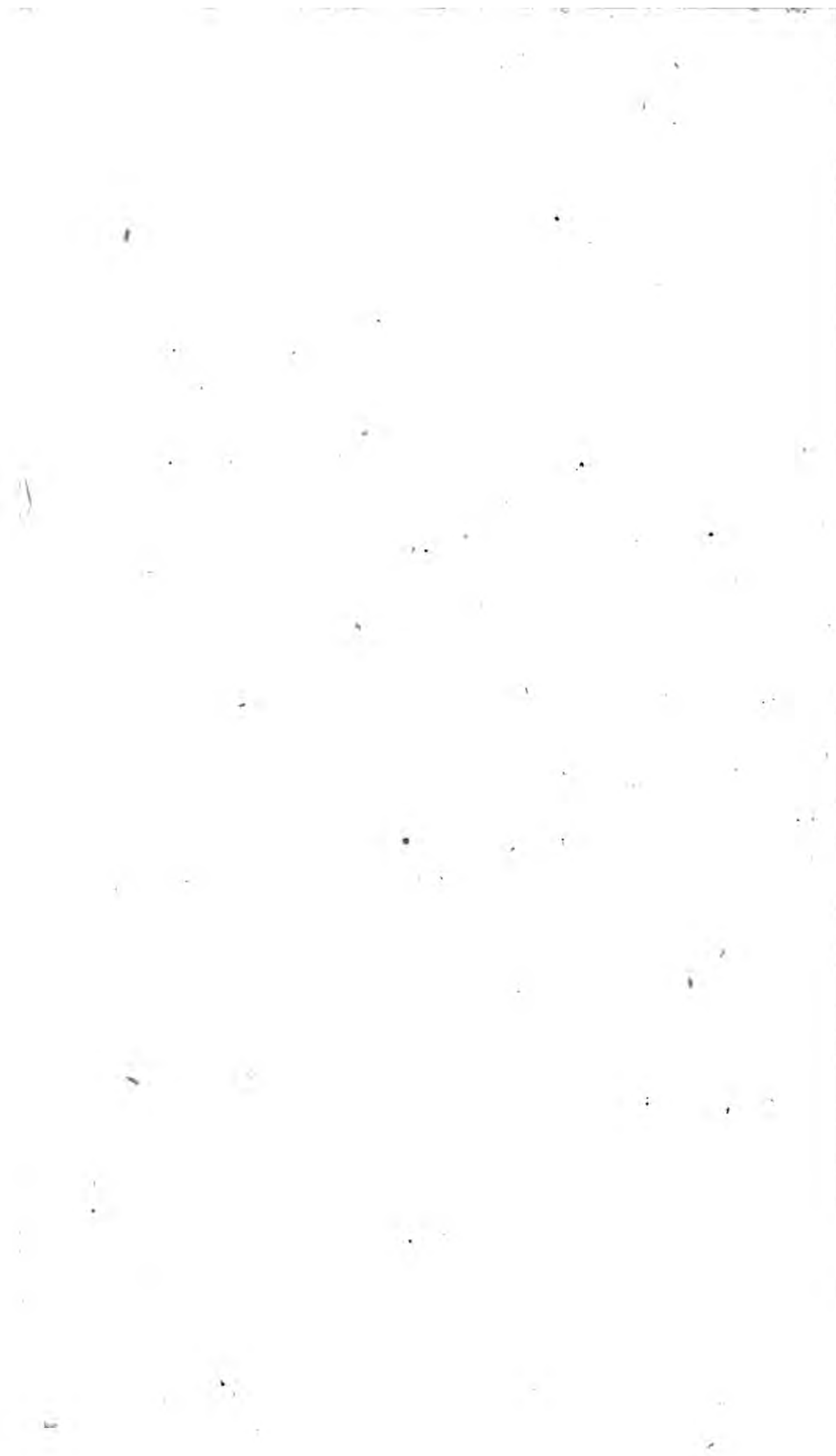
But it will be still urged, that though what is called human happiness be of so fantastic a nature, that each man's imagination creates it for himself, yet human misery is more substantial and uniform throughout all the tribes of mankind. Now, from the worst of human miseries, the savage *Africans* by these forced emigrations, are intirely secured; such as the being perpetually hunted down like beasts of prey or profit, by their more savage and powerful neighbours——In truth, a blessed change!—from being hunted to being caught. But who are they that have set on foot this general HUNTING? Are they not these

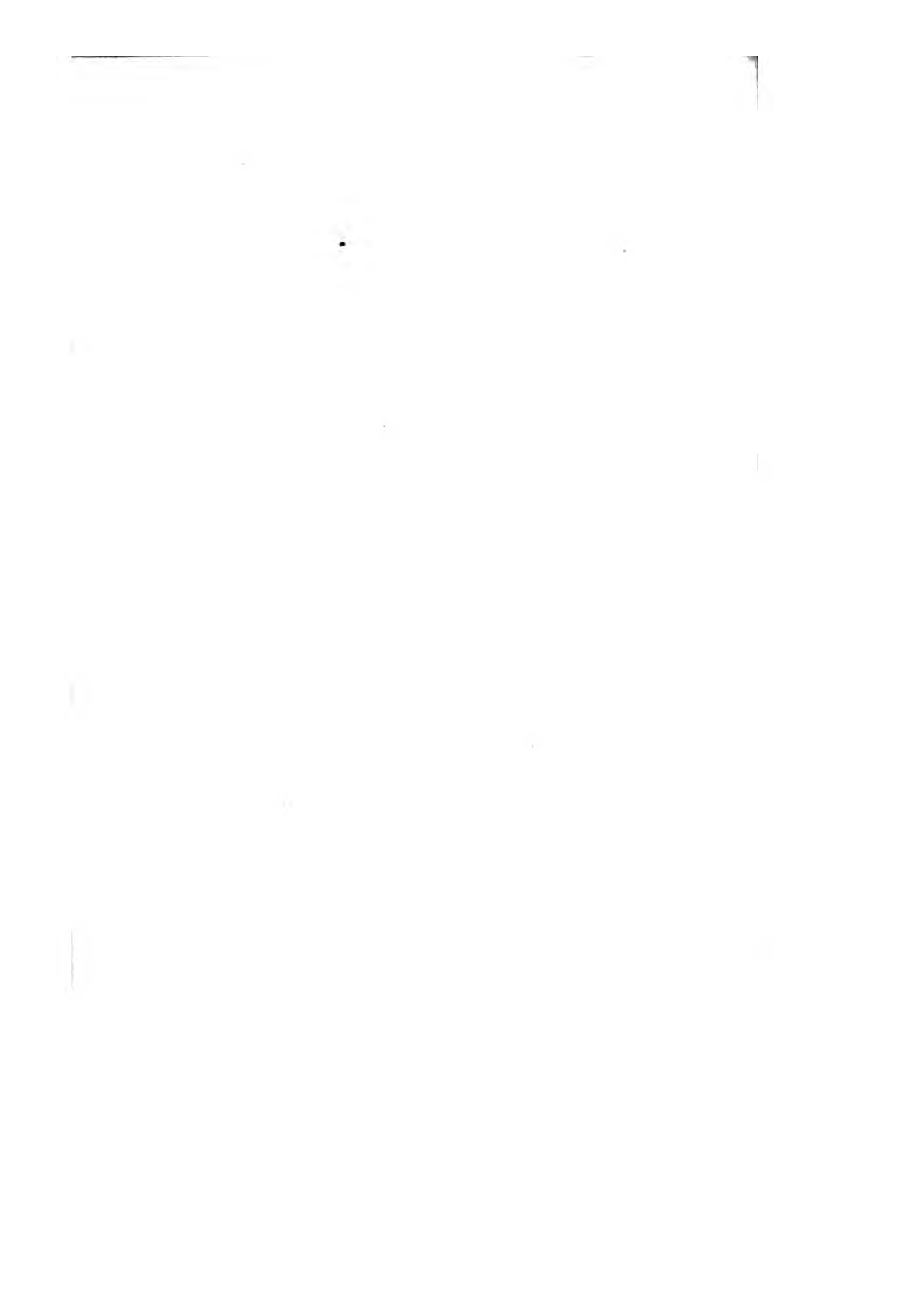
these very civilized violators of humanity themselves? Who tempt the weak appetites, and provoke the wild passions of the fiercer savages to prey upon the rest."

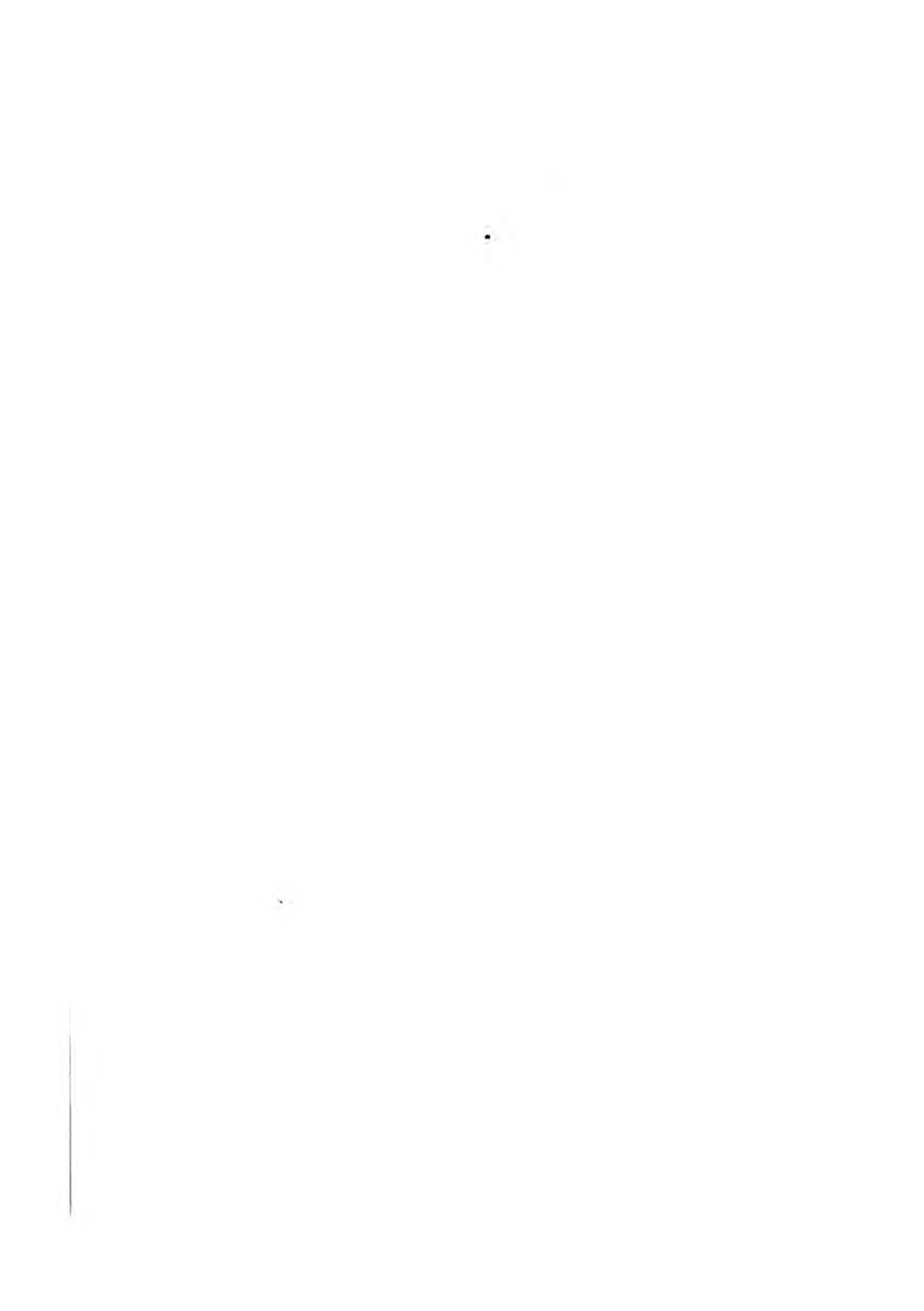
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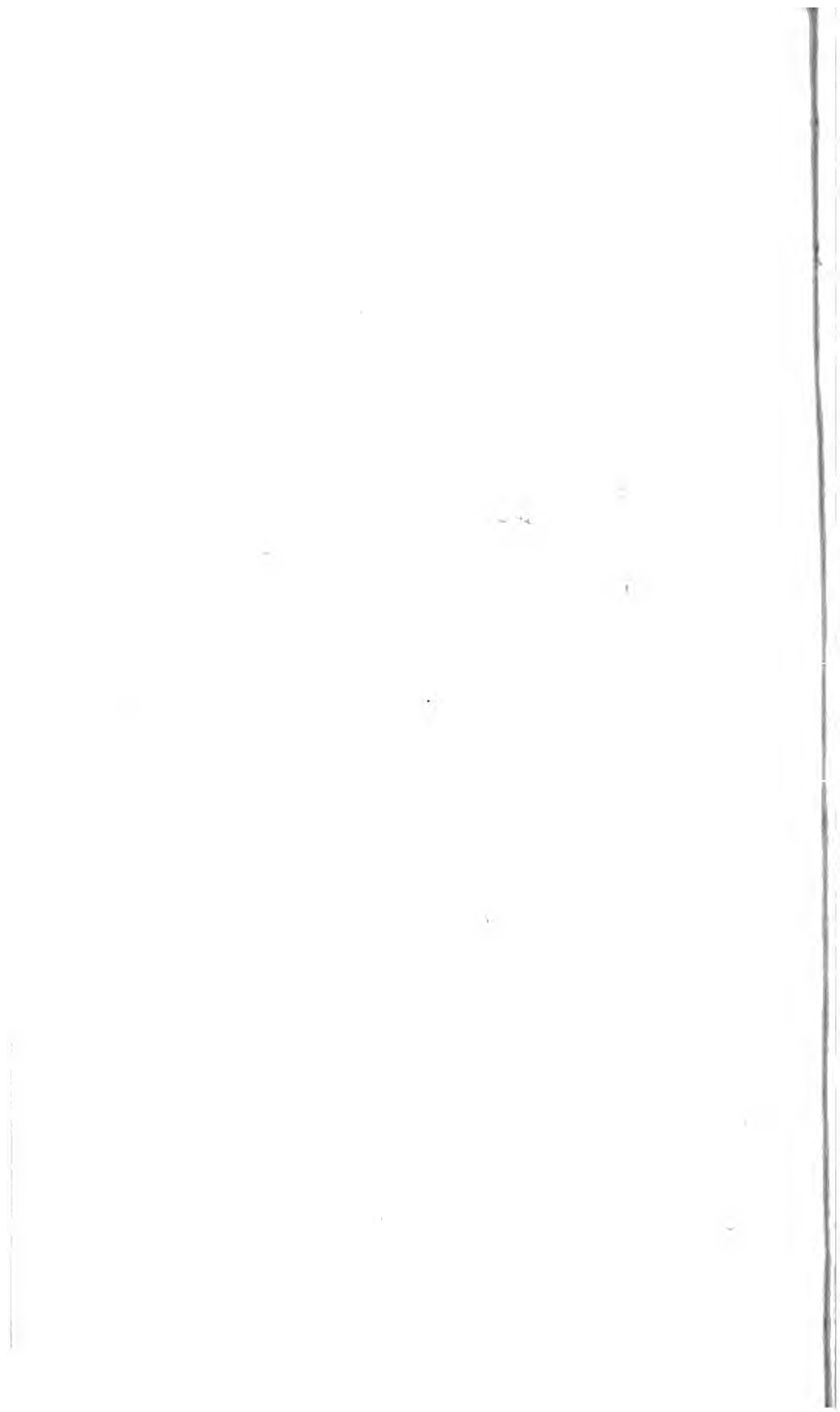














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