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## A short account of that part of Africa inhabited by the Negroes

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A SHORT ACCOUNT  
Of that PART of

# AFRICA,

Inhabited by the

# NEGROES

Anthony Benezet. A short account of that part of  
Africa inhabited by the Negroes ...

(Philadelphia, 1762).

Anthony Benezet scoured the available English literature of colonial exploitation for evidence of the humanity of the trafficked Africans and the inhumanity of the European traders in human beings. He compiled and published this *Short Account* in 1762 to present the case for termination of the trans-Atlantic transportation of kidnapped Africans, for abolition of slavery and the slave trade, and for emancipation of the enslaved persons held in bondage in North America and elsewhere. Drawing on Scottish moral philosophy, British Whig ideology, and, most importantly, on New Testament gospel teachings, Benezet presented both reasoned and impassioned appeals for the recognition that Africans had rights to life and liberty that were being abrogated on an industrial scale in violation of the most basic Christian beliefs. The mid-eighteenth century witnessed the height of the English and North American participation in the trans-Atlantic slave trade, and this early abolitionist tract raised an important and ultimately influential outcry in favor of its termination and the remediation of its manifold abuses.

Edited with notes and map by Paul Royster.

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A Short Account of that Part of Africa  
Inhabited by the Negroes

by Anthony Benezet

Philadelphia, 1762

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a facsimile edition, 2024  
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A S H O R T  
A C C O U N T  
Of that PART of  
*A F R I C A*,  
Inhabited by the  
N E G R O E S.

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

Extracted from divers Authors, in order to shew  
the *Iniquity* of that TRADE, and the *Falsity* of the ARGU-  
MENTS usually advanced in its *Vindication*.

With Quotations from the Writings of several Per-  
sons of Note, *viz.* GEORGE WALLIS, FRANCIS HUTCHE-  
SON, and JAMES FOSTER, and a large Extract from a Pam-  
phlet, lately published in *London*, on the Subject of the  
SLAVE TRADE.

---

The Second EDITION, with large Additions and Amendments.

---

Do you the neighb'ring, blameless *Indian* aid;  
Culture what he neglects, not his invade,  
Dare not, Oh! dare not, with ambitious View  
Force or demand Subjection, never due.

\* \* \* \* \*  
\* \* \* \* \*

Why must I *Africk's* sable Children see  
Vended for Slaves, tho' formed by Nature free ?  
The nameless Tortures cruel Minds invent,  
Those to subject whom Nature equal meant?  
If these you dare, altho' unjust Success  
Impow'rs you now, unpunish'd, to oppress  
Revolving EMPIRE you and yours may doom;  
*Rome* all subdued, yet *Vandals* vanquish'd *Rome*.

RICHARD SAVAGE, on *publick Spirit*.

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P H I L A D E L P H I A :

Printed by W. DUNLAP, in the YEAR MDCCLXII.



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A S H O R T  
A C C O U N T  
O F T H E

Slave - Trade, &c.

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



into civil Society, which, tho' odious in themselves, and most pernicious in their Consequences, yet being calculated to gratify our favorite Passions, have been adopted thro' Custom, and enforced so strongly by Example, as to become familiar to us; so that by Degrees we silence the Dictates of Conscience, and reconcile ourselves to such Things as would, when first proposed to our unprejudiced Minds have struck us with Amazement and Horror.

A lamentable and shocking Instance of the Influence which the Love of Gain has upon the Minds of those who yield to its Allurements, even when contrary to the Dictates of Reason, and the common Feelings of Humanity, appears in the Prosecution of the *Negroe Trade*, in which the *English* Nation has long been deeply concerned, and some in this Province have lately engaged. An Evil of so deep a Dye, and attended with such dreadful Consequences, that no well-disposed Person anxious for the Welfare of himself, his Country, or Posterity, who knows the Tyranny, Oppression and Cruelty with which this iniquitous Trade is carried on, can be a silent and innocent Spectator. How many Thousands of our harmless fellow Creatures have, for a long Course of Years, fallen a Sacrifice to that selfish Avarice, which gives Life to this complicated Wickedness. The Iniquity of being engaged in a Trade, by which so great a Number of innocent People are yearly destroyed, in an untimely and miserable Manner, is greatly aggravated from the Consideration that we as a People, have been peculiarly favoured with the Light of the Gospel; that Revelation of Divine Love, which the Angels introduced to the World, by a Declaration of *Peace on Earth, and Good Will to Men, ----- of every Nation,*

*Kindred, Tongue and People.* How miserable must be our Condition, if, for filthy Lucre, we should continue to act so contrary to the Nature of this Divine Call, the Purpose of which is to introduce an universal and affectionate Brotherhood in the whole human Species; by removing from the Heart of every Individual, who submits to its Operation, the Darkness and Corruption of Nature, and transforming the selfish, wrathful, proud Spirit, into Meekness, Purity and Love: For this End the Son of God became Man, suffered, and died; and the whole Tenor of the Gospel declares, that for those who refuse, or neglect the Offers of this great Salvation, the Son of God has suffered in vain.

The End proposed by this Essay, is to lay before the candid Reader the Depth of Evil attending this iniquitous Practice, in the Prosecution of which, our duty to God, the common Father of the Family of the whole Earth, and our Duty of Love to our fellow Creatures, is daily disregarded; all social Connection and tender Ties of Nature being broken, Desolation and Bloodshed continually tormented in those unhappy People's country. It is also intended to invalidate the false Arguments, which are frequently advanced, for the Palliation of this Trade, in Hopes it may be some Inducement to those who are not defiled therewith to keep themselves clear, and to lay before such as have unwarily engaged in it, their Danger of totally losing that tender Sensibility to the Sufferings of their Fellow Creatures, the Want whereof sets Men beneath the Brute Creation: A Trade by which many Thousands of innocent People are brought under the greatest Anxiety and Suffering, by being violently rent from their Native Country,

in the most cruel Manner, and brought to our Colonies, to be employed in hard Labour, in Climates, unsuited to their Nature, or in a State of the most abject and barbarous Slavery, subject to the Humours and inhuman Lash of some of the most hard hearted and inconsiderate of Mankind, without any Hopes of ever returning to their Native Land, or seeing an End to their Misery: Nor must we omit, in this dismal Account, the Weight of Blood which lies on the Promoters of this Trade, from the great Numbers that are yearly butchered in the Incursions and Battles which happen between the *Negroes*, in order to procure the Number delivered to the *Europeans*; and the many of these poor Creatures whose Hearts are broken, and they perish through Misery and Grief, on the Passage. May the Almighty preserve the Inhabitants of *Pennsylvania* from being further defiled by a Trade, which is entered upon from such sensual Motives, and carried on by such devilish Means.

Persons whose Minds are engrossed by the Pleasures and Profits of this Life, are generally so taken up with present Objects, that they are but little affected with the distant Sufferings of their Fellow Creatures, especially when their Wealth is thereby increased. Nevertheless every one who is in any respect concerned in this wicked Trafique, if not so hardned by the Love of Wealth, as to be void of Feeling, must upon a serious Recollection, be impressed with Surprize and Terror, from a Sense that there is a righteous GOD, and a State of Retribution which will last for ever. It is frequently alledged, in excuse for this Trade, that the *Negroes* sold in our Plantations, are mostly Persons who have been taken Prisoners in those Wars which

arise amongst themselves, from their mutual Animosities; and that these Prisoners would be sacrificed to the Resentment of those who have taken them Captive, if they were not purchased and brought away by the *Europeans*. It is also represented, that the *Negroes* are generally a stupid, savage People, whose Situation in their own Country is necessitous and unhappy, which has induced many to believe, that the bringing them from their Native Land is rather a Kindness than an Injury.

To confute these false Representations, the following Extracts are proposed to the candid Reader's Consideration; they are taken from the Writings of the principal Officers, not only in the *English*, but in the *French* and *Dutch* Factories, or Settlements in *Guiney*, some of whom have lived many Years in those Countries, and have been Eye-witnesses to the Transactions they relate. By which it will appear, that the *Negroes* are generally a sensible humane and sociable People, and that their Capacity is as good, and as capable of Improvement as that of the *Whites*. That their Country, though unfriendly to the *Europeans*, yet appears peculiarly agreeable, and well adapted to the Nature of the *Blacks*, and so fruitful as to furnish its Inhabitants plentifully with the Necessaries of Life, with much less Labour than in our more northern Climates.

And as to the common Arguments alledged in Defence of the Trade. *viz.* That the *Slaves* sold to the *Europeans* are Captives taken in War, who would be destroyed by their Conquerors if not thus purchased; it is without Foundation: For altho' there were doubtless Wars amongst the *Negroes*, before the *Europeans* began to trade with them, yet certain it is, that since that Time, those Calamities have prodigiously increased, which is principally owing to the Solicitations of

the white People, who have instigated the poor *Africans* by every Method, even the most iniquitous and cruel, to procure Slaves to load their Vessels; which they freely and gladly purchase without any Regard to the Precepts of the Gospel; the Feelings of Humanity, or the common Dictates of Reason and Equity.

This plainly appears from the Account given by *Andrew Brue*, General Director of the *French Factory* at *Senagal*, who travelled much on and about the two great Rivers of *Senagal*, and *Gambia*. In *Astley's* Collection of Voyages, he is spoken of as a Person of Judgment, and one who had had sufficient Opportunities by his long Residence\* there, of gaining a thorough Knowledge of the Manners, Customs and Dispositions of the People inhabiting the Country, for about four hundred Miles along the Coast, extending on each Side the before mentioned Rivers. Speaking of the *Papel Negroes*† (amongst whom he was then endeavouring to erect a Factory) he says

“They are at continual Wars with their Neighbours, whom they invade as often as they think it for their Advantage -----” These Wars of theirs are never

\* The Time of *Brue's* abode in *Guinea* cannot be ascertained, as he appears to have gone backwards and forwards to *France* several Times. When he returned the second Time, he had lived eleven Years in *Africa*; and by some Writings he appears to have been at *Senagal* many Years after. Thro' Mistake in the former Edition the Time was fixed to twenty-six Years.

† These *Papel Negroes* inhabit about the River *St. Domingo*, the Island *Bissao*, &c. from whence the *Europeans* have brought great Number of Slaves.

long, generally speaking, they are Incursions or Expeditions of five or six Days. He adds.

*“The Europeans are far from desiring to act as Peace-Makers amongst them, i. e. (the Negroes) which would be contrary to their Interest, since the greater the Wars are, the more Slaves.”*

*William Bosman*, Factor for the *Dutch* at *Delmina*, where he resided sixteen Years, relates,

“That one of the former Commanders hired an Army of the *Negroes*, of *Jafferia* and *Cabesteria*, for a large Sum of Money, to fight the *Negroes* of *Conimany*, which occasioned a Battle, which was more bloody than the Wars of the *Negroes* usually are: And that another Commander gave, at one Time, *Five Hundred Pounds*, and at another Time *Eight Hundred Pounds*, to two other Negroe Nations, to induce them to take up Arms against their Country People.”

This is confirmed by *Barbot*, Agent General of the *French African* Company, who says;

“The *Hollanders*, a People very zealous for their Commerce at the Coast, were, very studious to have the War carried on “ amongst the *Blacks*, to distract, as long as possible, the Trade of the other *Europeans*; and to that Effect were very ready to assist upon all Occasions, the *Blacks*, their Allies, that they might

beat their Enemies, and so the Commerce fall into their Hands.”

But nothing shews more plainly, that the *Europeans* are the chief Instruments in inciting the *Negroes* to the Perpetration of those unnatural Wars, by which they are kept in continual Alarms, their Country laid waste, and such great Numbers carried into Captivity, than the Account given by *William Smith*, who was sent by the *African* Company to visit their Settlements, in the Year 1726, from the Information he received of one of the Factors, who had resided ten Years in that Country, *viz.*

“That the discerning Natives account it their greatest Unhappiness that they were ever visited by the *Europeans*:----That we Christians introduced the Traffick of Slaves, and that before our coming they lived in Peace, but, say they, it is observable, that wherever Christianity comes, there comes with it a Sword, a Gun, Powder and Ball.”

This is farther confirmed by two Occurrences related by *Andrew Brue*, the Director at Senegal, before mentioned: The first at *Page 30. viz.* That having acquainted the King he was ready to trade with him, if he had a sufficient quantity of *Slaves*; the King procured three Hundred *Slaves*, but wanting Goods to double the Value of what the Company would allow for those *Slaves*, and they refusing to trust him, as he was already in their Debt; the Director proposed having a Licence for seizing upon so many of his People as would pay for what more Goods he wanted, but this the King refused to consent to, saying it might occasion a Disturbance amongst his Subjects; and so was forced, says the *Author*, to want the

Goods he desired for that Time; which Disappointment put the King greatly out of Humour. The second Occurrence is mentioned at *Page 150, viz.* The Director received Complaints of the continual Insults the Company's Servants suffered at Fort St. *Joseph*, from one *Babel* the King's Alkair,\* by forbidding the Trade, in order to oblige the Factor to pay the King as high Duties as those paid to the neighbouring King, or to force the *French* to quit the Country. Upon this Complaint, the general Director *Brue*, sent Orders to the Commander of that Fort, to provide the Place with proper Necessaries for its Defence, and then to punish *Bable* rigorously not only by burning his Village, but also by seizing himself, Wives and Children, if he found Opportunity.

Thus the Matter remained for some Time, when the *Author* says, the Negroes recommenced their Ill-usage to the *French*, which went so far, that a Factor was murdered: Upon which, the Commander having assembled all his Forces, attacked the Village, which he plundered and burnt; killed near sixty of the *Negroes*, who had taken up Arms, wounded double the Number, carried off all the Cattle, and made four Hundred *Slaves*. The *Author* adds,

“So severe and seasonable a Punishment, threw a Terror on all the Country, and obliged the King and his Bakerris to sue for Mercy.”

The Commander suffered himself to be long intreated before he would grant them Peace, and in the mean Time sent down his Slaves and Booty by the Barks to Fort St. *Louis*. Little need be said to shew the unjust and barbarous Conduct of the *French* Officers in these Transactions, the Truth

\* The Governor of the Village.



of which cannot be questioned, as they are taken from the Relation given by *Brue* himself. In the first Instance, the Head of a Christian Factory endeavours to persuade a Heathen King to break thro' every sacred and human Tie; which shews, that so he could but procure *Slaves*, he was quite indifferent as to the Means, be they ever so criminal. And in the second, this Christian Factor himself shews the greatest Disregard to the Right of Mankind, and the Feelings of Humanity, on so slight a Pretence as the Demand of Duties, by his own Confession, no greater than they paid elsewhere; gives to his Officers the most cruel and unreasonable Orders, which on the Death of a Factor (which might be occasioned by his own Rashness or Imprudence) are executed with the utmost Severity. And what makes it look likely, that procuring a Number of Slaves was his chief Motive, is, that after this Treatment the Officer gives no Ear to their Intreaties for Peace, till he has sent off the Booty of four Hundred *Slaves* he had made in the Encounter. But supposing the *Negroe* Officer to have been to blame, what had the common People done to be thus cruelly butchered and dragged into Captivity. What an Example was this to be given from Christians to Heathens. Could any Thing be more likely to confirm the *Negroes* in the detestable Practice of enslaving their unhappy Countrymen.

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

“The Simplicity of the Natives, their Dress and Manners, revived in my Mind the Idea of our first Parents; and I seemed to contemplate the World in its primitive State;—they (the *Negroes*) are generally speaking, very good natured, sociable and obliging. I was not a little pleased (says he) with this my first Reception;-----it convinced me, that there ought to be a considerable Abatement made in the Accounts I had read and heard every where of the savage Character of the *Africans*.-----I observed, both in *Negroes* and *Moors*, great Humanity and Sociableness, which gave me strong Hopes that I should be very safe amongst them, and meet with the Success I desired in my Enquiries after the Curiosities of the Country.”

*Bosman*, speaking of the *Negroes* of that Part of *Guiney* where he then was, says;

“They are generally a good Sort of People, honest in their Dealings; others he describes as being generally friendly to Strangers, of a mild Conversation, courteous, affable, and easy to be overcome with Reason; in Conversation they discover a great Quickness of Parts and Understanding.”

He adds,

“That some *Negroes*, who have had an agreeable Education, have manifested a Brightness of Understanding equal to any of us.”

*William Smith*'s Account of the Natives is,

“That he found them a civil good natured People, industrious to the last Degree, and their Country

exceeding fertile. ----- It is easy (says he) to perceive what happy Memoirs they are blessed with, and how great Progress they would make in the Sciences, in Case their Genius was cultivated with Study: They explain themselves in choice Terms, their Expressions noble, and Manners polite;—this (he adds) is to be understood of the People of Distinction, as Officers, Merchantmen, and the like; for Peasants, Workmen and Shepherds, are as ignorant in these Parts as elsewhere.”

*Barbot* says,

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

*A. Brue*, speaking of the People of *Benin*, says,

“They are generally good natured and civil, and may be brought to any Thing by fair and soft Means. If you make them Presents, they will recompense them double. If you want any Thing of them, and ask it, they seldom deny it, even tho’ they had Occasion for it themselves: But to treat them harshly, or think to gain any Thing of them by Force, is to dispute with the Moon.”

*Artus*, speaking of the same People, says, “They are a sincere inoffensive People, and do no Unjustice either to one another or Strangers.” He adds, that it is a capital Crime

there to injure a Foreigner, which is severely punished.

In the Collection of Voyages, we are told

“That some Writers have represented the Natives of *Cape Mesurado* as faithless and cruel; but it is very likely this Representation of their Dispositions was occasioned by the Resentment they had shewn for the Ill-usage received from the *Europeans*; for Captain *Philips* declared them to be civil and courteous”.

And *Snoek* says,

“He found them a civil good natured People; but that the late Injury they had received from the *English*, who had carried off some of their People,\* had so exasperated them, that it was to be feared some *English* they had in their Power, would fall a Sacrifice to their Resentment.

\* It is these Abuses which the *Africans* have so often suffered from the *Europeans*; that have given Rise to the frequent Contradictions we meet with in Authors, with respect to the Temper and Disposition of the *Negroes*; one Author speaking well of some Nations, whilst another Author represents the same Nation as barbarous and savage. And, indeed, when it is considered how often the *Europeans* have most grievously provoked them, by treacherously carrying away some of their Country-men, Friends or Relations. It is not to be wondered that some *Negroe* Nations should have appear'd fired with Anger and Resentment, against those who have done them Injuries of so affecting a Nature. In the Collection of Voyages it is said,

“The frequent Injuries done to the *Qua Qua Negroes* by the *Europeans*, in carrying some off, have made them extremely shy and suspicious. The Ship in which Capt. *Smith* went on the Coast, often lay before the Town, and fired a Gun for the *Blacks* to come off, but not a Soul came near them. At length

Altho' the extream Heat in many Parts of Guinea, is such, as is neither agreeable nor healthy to the *Europeans*, yet it is well suited to the Constitution of the *Negroes*: And it is to those Heats that they are indebted for the Fertility of their Land, which in most Places is so great, that with little Labour Grain and Fruit will grow in the greatest Plenty.

*Andrew Brue*, speaking of the great River *Senagal*, which runs many Hundred Miles within Land says,

“The farther you go from the Sea, the Country on the River seems more fruitful, and “ well improved. It abounds in Indian Corn, which is a never failing Commodity here ----- The Island of *Bifesha*, which is formed by an Arm of that River, abounds in *Indian* and *Guinea* Corn, Rice, Pulse, Tobacco and Indigo. Wheat thrives well after the second Crop. Cotton-trees in plenty-----Here are vast Meadows, which feed large Herds of great and small Cattle-----Poultry are numerous, as well as wild Fowl.”

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they were informed the Natives seldom ventured on board an English Ship, for fear of being carried away. After this Intelligence they shewed nothing but *French* Colours, by which Means the Natives were brought to trade with them. *Smith* gives these *Negroes* a bad Character; but in the Collection of Voyages it is said that other Authors agree, that altho' they are in Appearance the most barbarous of all *Guinea*, yet are they, in the Main, polite and rational, and so reputed among their Neighbours.”

*Marchais* says,

“They appear rude and savage, but on dealing with them, you find them a good Sort of People, frank, civil, and the fairest Traders on the Coast.-----

Yet it sometimes happen that there is great scarcity in particular Places, arising from the unprovident Disposition of some of the *Negroes*, who have little thought of making any Provision but from one Harvest to another, so that they are liable to suffer when that fails, or when the Locust devour the Produce; these Insects sometimes come in such Swarms as to darken the Air, and destroy every green Thing that lays in their Way.

The same *Author*, in his Travels to the South of the River *Gambia*, expresses his Surprise to see

“The Land so well cultivated, as he observed it to be; scarce a Spot lay unimproved, the low Ground divided by small Canals, were all sowed with Rice; the higher Ground planted with *Indian* Corn and Millet, and Pease of different Sorts. Beef and Mutton very cheap, as well as all other Necessaries of Life.

*Bosman* says,

“The *Indian* and *Guinea* Corn is here sown and reaped twice every Year; the first Harvest is in *August*, and the other the latter End of the Year, though but small; Corn grows with little Trouble, very speedily taking Root. *Indian* Corn grows in the upper Lands, in prodigious Quantities, and where Corn won't grow, there Rice increases in Abundance, and Yamms and Potatoes are in the greatest Plenty.

Speaking of the Kingdom of *Fida*, he says,

“The Country was very populous, many large Villages, besides innumerable small Ones, through the whole Country, plentifully provided with Corn, Potatoes and Fruit, which grew close to each other; in

some Places a Foot-Path is the only Ground that is not covered with them, the *Negroes* leaving no Place, which is thought fertile, uncultivated, even within the Hedges which inclose their Villages: And the very next Day after they have reaped they are sure to sow again.”

This fine Country is now very much depopulated, which, it is likely, was owing to the Incursions made upon them by their Neighbours, in order to get Slaves to sell to the *Europeans*. For the same *Bosman*, speaking of the neighbouring Nation of *Pope*, says;

“They depend on Plunder and the *Slave-Trade*, in which they exceed some of their Neighbours.

Other Parts of the Country he describes, as

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

*W. Smith* gives much the same Account of the Country of *Delmina*, and *Cape Corse*, &c. for Beauty and Goodness; and adds,

“The more you come downward towards that Part called the *Slave-Coast*, the more delightful and rich the Soil appears.

*Barbot* says,

“The Inland People employ themselves in Tillage and Trade, and supply the Markets with Corn, Fruit and Palm Wine; the Country producing such vast

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

Many more Accounts could be given of the good Disposition of the Generality of the *Negroes*, and of the Plenty their Country affords, but the Foregoing are sufficient to shew them to be entirely different from the stupidified and malicious People some would have them thought to be. They have Judgment and Industry sufficient to cultivate their Country, which in most Parts abounds in the Necessaries of Life, and are so far from being incapable of Society, that they are generally a kind and well disposed People. Neither are they to be dispised, with respect to the Manner in which Justice is administred, in several of the *Negro* Governments, which from the Accounts given by divers Authors, appears to be done with so much Equity and Dispatch, as might well be worthy the Imitation of some more civilized People.



Collec. Page 259, *Le Maire*, speaking of the Government of the *Falofs* (whose Country is of a large extent) says,

“The King has under him several Ministers of State, who assist him in the Government and Exercise of Justice. The grand *Jerafo* is the chief Justice thro’ all the King’s Dominion, and goes his Circuit from Time to Time to hear Complaints and determine Controversies. The King’s Treasurer exercises the same Employ, but with a more limited Power, and has under him Alkairs, who are Governors of Towns or Villages.-----

*Barbot* confirms the above Account, and adds,

“That the chief Justice inspects the Behaviour of the Alkairs of the several Districts.

*Vasconselas*, quoted by *Barbot*, says,

“That the *Negroes* on this Coast, much excel the *Senegas* in their civil Government, as much better observing distributive and commulative Justice, and proceeding with much Prudence and Secrecy in the Affairs which concern the Preservation or aggrandizing of their State, being very impartial in distributing Rewards, and inflicting Punishment. The Antientest are preferred to be the Prince’s Counsellors, who keep always about his Person; and the Men of most Judgment and Experience are the Judges, sitting every where in Oyer and Terminer. They order Justice to be done, on the Spot.”

*A. Brue*, speaking of the *Fuli*, whose Country joins to the *Falofs*, says,

“That being curious to see the Method by which they administer Justice, he was carried to a Place where he could observe what passed incognito. The King was surrounded by ten of his oldest Officers, who heard the Parties separately, and after causing them to retire, consulted his Officers, as to the Decision; after which the Parties were called in, and the Sentence pronounced, and put immediately in Execution. He saw none here who acted either as Counsel or Attorney, each pleaded his own Cause in very proper Terms.”

The same Author, at *Page* 110, speaking of the Country of *Cabo*, situate on a Branch of the Gambia, says,

“The King was much regretted at his Death, equally by his Subjects and Strangers. He had settled so good a Policy thro’ all his Dominions, that the Merchants might have left their Goods on the High-way, without being stolen. Whenever a White Man visited him, as soon as he reached the Frontiers of the Kingdom his Charges were defrayed; nor durst the People exact any Thing of Strangers, under Pain of being sold for Slaves.”

*Peter Holben*, who was sent from the Court of *Prussia* to make astronomical Observations at the *Cape Good-hope*, which is situate on the southmost Part of *Africa*, speaking of the Government and Disposition of the *Negroe* Inhabitants of that Country, commonly called *Hottentots*, says,

“Every Village or Kraal has a Court of Justice, for civil and criminal Affairs, composed of the Captain and all the Men of the Kraal, who meet for this

Purpose in the open Field, sitting in a Circle. Justice among the *Hottentots* never suffer as in Europe, either by Corruption or which is as bad, Delay. They have no Lawyer, thank Heaven: The Plaintiff and Defendant plead their own Cause. The Court hears them, and by a Majority of Votes decrees Possession or Damage, in case of Assault or Battery, or other Trespass, without Appeal or Obstacle. In criminal Matters, as Murders, Adulteries and Robberies; the Guilty find no Protection or Favour, either from his Wealth or Rank. When a Difference happens between two Villages of the same Nation, it is referred to the Judgment of a national Court, who when they form their Revolutions, execute them with as much Steadiness and Vigour as a *Roman* Senate. The *Author* adds: The *Europeans* may boast of their Learning, Arts and Politeness; but where among them can they shew so wise, so happy a Government as that of the *Hottentots*; owing entirely to this, that it has for its Basis the most perfect Liberty of the People.”

They are the only *Negro* Nation that we know of, that are not engaged in making and selling *Slaves*; this wicked Practice appears to be unknown amongst these People.\*

\* “The *Hottentots* firmly believe there is a God, the Author of all Things, whom they call the God of Gods: But it does not appear that they have any Institution of Worship, directly regarding thee supreme Diety.”

When pressed on this Article, they excuse themselves by a Tradition

“That their first parents so grievously offended this great God, that he cursed them and their Posterity with Hardness

From what has been said, it may be concluded that the *Negroes* might have been happy, if the *Europeans* had not bore the Name only, but had, indeed, acted the Part of Christians, in using their Endeavours, by Example as well

of Heart: So that they know little about him, and have less Inclination to serve him.”

*Holben*, who lived eight Years in that Country, and examined with the greatest Precaution into all the Customs, Manners and Opinions of the *Hottentots*, sets these People in a quite different Light from what they appear in former Authors, whom he correctys and blames for the Falshoods they have wantonly told of them——He allows they are justly blamed for their Sloth——

“The Love of Indolence and Liberty, he says is their All: Compulsion is Death to them. While Necessity obliges them to work, they are very tractable, obedient and faithful; but when they have got enough to satisfy the present Want, they are deaf to all farther Entreaty.”

He farther faults them for their Nastiness, the Effects of Sloth. and for their love of Drink, as also for the Practice of some unnatural Customs, which long Use has so established amongst them, that it is difficult to convince them of their Unreasonableness: Which nevertheless, from the Account he gives of the general good Disposition of these People, there is great Reason to hope they might be persuaded to refrain from, if a truly christian Care was extended towards them. At Page 349 of the 3d Vol. the *Author* says,

“They are eminently distinguished by many Virtues; as their mutual Benevolence, Friendship ad Hospitality; they breath Kindness and Good-will to one another; and seek all Opportunities of obliging. Is a *Hottentot*’s Assistance required by one of his Country-men, he runs to give it: Is his Advice asked, he gives it with Sincerity; Is his Country-men in Want he relieves him to the utmost of his Power; their Hospitality extends even to *European* Strangers. In travelling thro’

as Precept, to make them acquainted with the glad Tidings of the Gospel, and with that change of Heart, and Redemption from Sin, which Christianity proposes; this, if attended to, would have necessarily been productive of the peaceable Fruits of Righteousness; Innocency and Love would have reigned in the Room of Animosities and Bloodshed, thus the Christians instead of provoking the Vengeance a Jealous God, would have been the happy Instruments of completing these poor *Africans* Happiness. But the Reverse has happened; the *Europeans*, forgetful of their Profession and Duty as Men and Christians, have conducted in such a Manner; as must necessarily raise in the Minds of the thoughtful and well-disposed *Negroes*, the utmost Scorn and Detestation of the Christian Name. They have made all other Considerations give way to an insatiable Desire of Gain, and are become the principal and moving Cause of the most abominable and dreadful Scene, that was, perhaps, ever acted upon this Globe: Every Thing, even the Power of the *Negro* Kings have been made subservient to answer this wicked Purpose; instead of being Protectors of their People, these Rulers, allured by the tempting Baits laid before them by the Factors,

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the *Cape* Countries, you meet with a chearful and open Reception, in whatsoever Village you come to. In short, the Integrity of the *Hottentots*; their Strickness and Celerity in the Execution of Justice, and their Chastity are equalled by few Nations. An amiable Simplicity of Manners adorns all their Actions.”

“Numbers of these People have given it as a Reason for their not harkening to Christianity, that they were hindered by the Envy, Avarice, Lust and Injustice, which they saw so prevalent amongst those who profess it.”

Œc. have invaded the Liberties of their unhappy Subjects, and become their Oppressors; as is fully evidenced by the following Account, *viz.*

*Francis Moore*, Factor to the *African Company* in 1730, tells his Readers,

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

*Brue*, the *French* Factor, says,

“That having received Goods, he wrote to the King, that if he had a sufficient Number of Slaves, he was ready to trade with him; this Prince, says that *Author*, as well as the other *Negroe* Monarchs, have always

a sure Way of supplying his Deficiencies, by selling their own Subjects, for which they seldom want Pretensions of some Kind or other, to justify their Rapine.”

These *Negroe* Kings, thus seeking Pretences to cover their Crimes, shew they are not quite void of Shame, nor insensible that Covetousness induces them to act a Part so inconsistent with their Duty; but here they may plead the Example and Solicitation of the more knowing *Europeans*.

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

*John Barbot* says,

“The Slaves sold by the *Negroes* are for the most Part Prisoners of War, or taken in the Incursions they make into their Enemies Territories; others are stolen away by their own Countrymen. Abundance of little *Blacks*, of both Sexes, are stolen away by their Neighbours, when found abroad, on the

Roads, or in the Woods, or else in the Corn Fields, at the Time of the Year when their Parents keep them there all Day, to scare away the devouring small Birds.”

*Francis Moore*, the *English* Factor, says,

“That captivating the People is, by Custom, become so familiar, that when the King of *Kayor* wants to make a Present to the Factor, for what he has received of him, he sends to have two or three Slaves taken up at the nearest Village. Unhappy (says that Author) are they, who at that Time fall into the Hands of his Guards, for they stay to make no Choice.”

And he further adds,

“That in Battle they spare the Enemies as much as possible, but it is only that they may have the more Slaves; from which even Persons of *Quality*, taken Prisoners, are not exempted: That the Merchants bring down some Years, to that Factory, to the Amount of two Thousand Slaves; which, they say, are taken Prisoners in War. These they buy from the different Princes who take them; many of them come from a great Way In-land. Their Way of bringing them, is tying them by the Neck with Leather Thongs, at about a Yard Distance from each other, having generally a Bundle of Corn, or Elephants Teeth, on each of their Heads, Thirty or Forty in a String.”

“The Author judges, That the Number of Merchants who followed this Trade were about an Hundred.”



Some Authors say,

“They go six or seven Hundred Miles up the Country, with Goods bought from the *English*, with which they purchase these Slaves, and Ivory.-----  
-----Besides those Slaves, there are many bought along the River; these are either taken in War, as the former, or Men condemned for Crimes, or Persons stolen, which is very frequently.-----  
Since the Slave Trade has been introduced, all Punishments are commuted in this; and they strain hard for Crimes, in order to have the Benefit of selling the Criminal; so that not only great Crimes but even trifling ones, are at present punished with Slavery.”

*Bosman* says,

“That being in the Kingdom of *Pope*, who depend on Plunder and the Slave Trade, in which they exceed some of their Neighbours, because, being endowed with a much larger Share of Courage, they rob more successfully, they assured him, that if he would have Patience for three Days, they would be able to deliver him One or Two Hundred Slaves, and that their Incursions succeeded so well, they returned with about Two Hundred. That the Inhabitants of *Arda* were so diligent in the Slave Trade, that they were able to deliver a Thousand Slaves every Month; and that if there happened to be no Stock of Slaves when the Vessels arrived, they would sometimes send their Commodities Two Hundred Miles deep in the Country” (a later Author says, they have now carried the Trade Five Hundred Miles farther, going

now Seven Hundred Miles back into the Country) “where Markets of Men were kept in the same Manner as those of Beasts with us. Most of the Slaves are Prisoners of War, which are sold by the Victors as their Booty. When these Slaves come to *Fida*, they are put in Prison altogether; and when (says he) we treat concerning buying them, they are all brought out together in a large Plain, where, by our Surgeons, they are thoroughly examined, and that naked too, both Men and Women, without the least Distinction or Modesty.\* Those which are approved as good, are set on one Side; in the mean while a burning Iron, with the Arms or Name of the Companies, lies in

\* From the above Account of the indecent and shocking Manner in which the unhappy Negroes are treated, it is reasonable for Persons unacquainted with these People to conclude them to be void of that natural Modesty so becoming a reasonable Creature, otherwise the *Europeans* would never dare to use them in so shameful a Manner; but those who have had Intercourse with the *Blacks* in these northern Colonies, know that this would be a wrong Conclusion, for they are, indeed, as susceptible of Modesty and Shame as other People: It is the unparallel'd Brutality to which the *Europeans* have by long Custom been inured, which urgeth them to act, without blushing, so shameful a Part. Such a Usage is certainly grievous to the poor *Negroes*, particularly the Women, but they are Slaves and must submit to this, or any other Abuse which may be offered them by their cruel Task-masters, or expect to be inhumanly tormented.

That this brutish Conduct is shameful, even in the Eyes of the Blacks, appears from a Quotation taken out of the Collection of Voyages, Vol. 2, Page 201, *viz.*

“At an Audience which *Casseneuve* had of the King of Congo, where he was used with a great deal of Civility by the *Blacks*, some Slaves were delivered to him. The King observing *Casseneuve* (according to the custom of Europeans) to handle the

the Fire, with which ours are marked on the Breast. When we have agreed with the Owners of the Slaves, they are returned to their Prisons, where, from that Time forward, they are kept at our Charge, cost us *Two-pence* a Day a Slave, which serves to subsist them like our Criminals on Bread and Water; so that, to save Charges, we send them on board our Ships the very first Opportunity; before which, their Masters strip them of all they have on their Backs, so that they come on board stark naked, as well Women as Men: In which Condition they are obliged to continue, if the Master of the Ship is not so charitable (which he commonly is) as to bestow something on them to cover their Nakedness.----- Six or Seven Hundred are sometimes put on board a Vessel, where they lie as close together as possible for them to be crowded.-----*I doubt not*, says the same Author, *but this Trade seems very barbarous to you, but since it is followed by meer Necessity, it must go on.*”

What Necessity does the Author mean, no other Necessity appears but that arising from the Desire of amassing

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Limbs of the Slaves, burst out a laughing, as did the great Men about him; the Factor asked the Interpreter the Occasion of their Mirth, was told it proceeded from his so nicely examining the Slaves. Nevertheless, the King was so ashamed of it, that he desired him for Decency Sake to do it in a more private Manner, which, says the *Author*, shews the *Blacks* to be very modest.

Riches; a Necessity laid on worldly Men, by their hard Task-master the Devil? Many more Examples might be given to shew the arbitrary and tyrannick Oppression with which this Trade is carried on, and the Devastation and Bloodshed it occasions in those unhappy People's Country; but I trust this is sufficient to convince the candid, considerate Reader of the Unlawfulness and Inhumanity of the Trade. And, indeed, what Distress can we conceive equal to the Alarms, the Anxiety and Wrath, which must succeed one another in the Breasts of the tender Parents, or affectionate Children, in continual Danger of being torn one from another, and dragged into a State of cruel Bondage.\* Reader, if the Impressions of Grace, or even the common Feelings of Humanity are not suppressed in thy Heart by the Love of Gain, compare what thou hast read with the Equity, the Sympathy, the Tenderness and affectionate Love, which is the Life of Christianity, and then say, what Concord or Affinity can these Fruits have one with another. May not this Trade be truly said to be the most iniquitous and cruelest Act of Violence and Rapine, when considered in all its Circumstances, that to our Knowledge is perpetrated in any

\* *John Atkins*, Surgeon to Commodore *Ogle*, when on the Coast of *Guinea*, heard that the Trade which the *English* used to carry on with the *Cobehahou* and *Drewin Negroes* was at a stand; those Places having been lately destroyed by the *Santee Negroes*, a Nation of Inland *Blacks*, who were provoked at the Abuses they had received from the *Cobehahou* and *Drewin* People, who had made frequent Incursions in their Country and pany yard, or carried away their People to be sold for Slaves. Doubtless this Devastation was owing to the *Slave-Trade*, the Opportunity the *Cobehahou Negroes* had of selling Slaves to the *Europeans*, was what induced them to assault the In-land *Blacks*, which brought such Destruction upon themselves.

Part of the World. Yet Thanks be to the Great Father of the Family of the whole Earth, that it is not only in *America*, that several who are nearly interested in the Prosperity of these Colonies, and more obviously acquainted with the destructive Consequences attendant on this iniquitous Practice, are induced publickly to testify against it, but that a noble Indignation is also raised in the Breast of many in our Mother Country, zealously to declare against so unparallel'd an Invasion of the Rights and Liberties of Mankind, among which it may, perhaps be sufficient only to instance the following, in order to give the Reader an Idea of the Sentiments of many other worthy Persons in this Case, *viz.* *George Wallis*, a Gentleman of the Law, in a Book wrote by him, intituled *a System of the Principles of the Law of Scotland*; where, speaking of the Slavery of the *Negroes* in our Colonies, he says;

“We all know that they (the *Negroes*) are purchased from their Princes, who pretend to have a Right to 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 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 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 (*in Commercio*) they are not either saleable or purchaseable. One, therefore, has no body but himself to blame, in case he shall find himself deprived of a Man, whom he thought he had, by buying for a Price, made his own; for he dealt in a Trade which was illicit, and was prohibited by the most obvious Dictates of Humanity. For these Reasons every one of those unfortunate Men, who are pretended to be Slaves, has a Right to be declared to be free, for he never lost his Liberty; he could not lose it; his Prince had no Power to dispose of him. Of Course the Sale was *ipso Jure* void. This Right he carries about with him, and is entitled every where to get it declared. As soon, therefore, as he comes into a Country in which the Judges are not forgetful 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? Is it doubtful, whether a Judge ought to pay greater Regard to them, than to those arbitrary and inhuman Usages which prevail in a distant Land? Aye, but our Colonies would be ruined, if Slavery was abolished. Be it so; would it not from thence follow, that the Bulk of Mankind ought to be abused, that our Pockets may be filled with Money, or our Mouths with Delicacies? The Purses of Highwaymen would be empty in case Robberies were totally abolished; but have Men a Right to acquire Money by going out to the Highway? Have Men a Right to acquire it by rendering their Fellow Creatures miserable? Is it lawful to abuse Mankind, that the Avarice, the Vanity, or the Passions of a few may be gratified? No! There is such a Thing as Justice, to which the most sacred Regard is due. It ought to be inviolably 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 Pyrates from his native Land, think himself cruelly abused, and at all Times intitled to be free. Have not these unfortunate *Africans*, who meet with the same cruel Fate, the same Right? Are not they Men as well as we, and have they not the

same Sensibility? Let us not, therefore, defend or support a Usage which is contrary to all the Laws of Humanity.”

“But it is false, that either we or our Colonies would be ruined by the Abolition of Slavery. It might occasion a Stagnation of Business for a short Time. Every great Alteration produces that Effect; because 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 soon populous, as it would otherwise have done. Let the Negroes free, and in a few Generations, this vast and fertile Continent would be crowded with Inhabitants; Learning, Arts, and every Thing would flourish amongst them; instead of being inhabited by wild Beasts, and by Savages, it would be peopl’d by Philosophers, and by Men.”

*Francis Hutcheson* Professor of Philosophy, at the University of *Glasgow*, in his *System of Moral Philosophy*, Page 211, says,

“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 show 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.



The *Jewish* Laws had great regard to Justice, about the servitude of *Hebrews*, founding it only on Consent or some Crime or Damage, allowing them always a proper Redress upon any cruel Treatment; and fixing a limited Time for it, unless upon trial the Servant inclined to prolong it. The Laws about foreign Slaves had many merciful Provisions against immoderate Severity of the Masters. But under Christianity, whatever Lenity was due from an *Hebrew* towards his Country Man must be due towards all; since the distinctions of Nations are removed, as to the Point of Humanity and Mercy, as well as natural Right, nay some of these Rights, granted over foreign Slaves may justly be deemed only such Indulgencies, as those of Poligamy and Divorce, granting only external Impunity in such Practice, and not sufficient Vindication of them in Conscience.”

*Page 85.* It's pleaded that,

“In some barbarous Nations unless the Captives were bought for Slaves they would all be murdered. They therefore owe their Lives, and all they can do to their Purchasers; and so do their Children who would not otherwise have come into Life: But this whole Plea is no more than that of the negotium utile gestum, to which any civilized Nation is bound by Humanity, 'tis a prudent expensive Office done for the Service of others without a gratuitous Intention ; and this founds no other Right than that to full Compensation of all Charges and Labour employed for the Benefit of others.

“A Set of inaccurate popular Phrases, blind us in these Matters, Captives owe their Lives and all to the Purchasers, say they, just in the same Manner, we, our Nobles, and Princes; often owe our Lives to Mid-wives, Chirurgeons; Physicians, &c. one who was the Means of preserving a Man’s Life is not therefore intituled to make him a Slave, and sell him as a Piece of Goods. Strange that in any Nation where a Sense of Liberty prevails, where the Christian Religion is professed, Custom and high Prospects of Gain can so stupify the Conscience of Men, and all Sense of natural Justice, that they can hear such Computations made about the Value of their Fellow-Men, and their Liberty, without Abhorrence and Indignation.”

*James Foster*, D. D. in his *Discourses on Natural Religion and Social Virtue*, also shews his just Indignation at this wicked Practice, which he declares to be “*a criminal and outrageous Violation of the natural Right of Mankind.*” At Page 156, 2 Vol. he says,

“Should we have read concerning the Greeks or Romans of old, that they traded, with view to make Slaves of their own Species, whom they certainly knew that this would involve in Schemes of Blood and Murther, of destroying, or enslaving each other, that they even fomented Wars, and engaged whole Nations and Tribes in open Hostilities, for their own private Advantage ; that they had no Detestation of the Violence and Cruelty; but only feared the ill Success of their inhuman Enterprises ; that they carried Men like themselves, their Brethren, and the

Off-spring of the same common Parent, to be sold like Beasts of Prey, or Beasts of Burden, and put them to the same reproachful Trial, of their Soundness, Strength and Capacity for greater bodily Service; that quite forgetting, and renouncing, the original Dignity of human Nature, communicated to all, they treated them with more Severity and ruder Discipline, than even the *Ox*, or the *Ass*, who are *void* of *Understanding* ----- should we not if this had been the Case, have naturally been led to despise all their *pretended Refinements of Morality* ; and to have concluded, that as they were not Nations destitute of Politeness, they must have been *entire Strangers to Virtue and Benevolence*.

“But, notwithstanding this, we ourselves (who profess to be Christians, and boast of the peculiar Advantage we enjoy, by Means of an express Revelation of our Duty from Heaven) are in Effect, these very untaught and rude Heathen Countries. With all our Superior Light, we instil into those, whom we call savage and barbarous, the most despicable Opinion of human Nature. We, to the utmost of our Power weaken and dissolve the Universal Tie; that bind and unites Mankind. We practice what we should exclaim against, as the utmost Excess of Cruelty and Tyranny, if Nations of the World, differing in Colour, and Form of Government from ourselves, were so possessed of Empire, as to be able to reduce us to a State of unmerited and brutish Servitude. Of consequence we sacrifice our Reason, our Humanity, our Christianity to an unnatural sordid

Gain. We teach other Nations to despise and trample under Foot, all the Obligations of social Virtue. We take the most effectual Method to prevent the Propagation of the Gospel, by representing it as a Scheme of Power and barbarous Oppression, and an Enemy to the natural Priviledges and Rights of Men.

“Perhaps all, that I have now offered, may be of very little Weight to restrain this Enormity, this aggravated Iniquity. However I shall still have the Satisfaction, of having entered my private Protest against a Practice which, in my Opinion, bids that GOD, who is the GOD and Father of the Gentiles, unconverted to Christianity, most daring and bold De-fiance and spurns at all the Principles, both of natural and revealed Religion.

EXTRACTS *from a Pamphlet, intituled,*  
 Two Dialogues on the MAN - TRADE.  
*Printed in London, in the Year 1760.*

THE *African* Blacks are as properly and truly Men, as the *European* Whites; they are both of the same Species, and are originally descended from the same Parents, ----- they have the same rational Powers as we have; they are free moral Agents, as we are, and many of them have as good natural Genius, as good and as brave a Spirit, as any of those to whom they are made Slaves. To trade in *Blacks*, then, is to trade in Men; the black-skin'd and the white-skin'd being all of the same Species, all of the

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

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

Our being Christians does not give us any worldly Superiority, or any Authority whatever, over those who are not

Christians. CHRIST's Kingdom is not of this World; neither does Christianity dissolve or free us from the Obligations of Justice, Equity, and Benevolence towards our Fellow Creatures of the same Species, be they *Jews*, *Mahometans*, or even black-skin'd *Heathens*, which the Law of Nature lays us under; but, on the contrary, greatly strengthens them. The *Jews*, in our Saviour's Time, understood that Precept, *Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thyself*, in a very confined Sense, as relating only to their own Countrymen. But this Precept, as adopted into the Christian Religion, takes in all Mankind. By our Neighbour we are to understand every Individual of the human Species. We are commanded in the Gospel, *to render all their Dues, and to do unto others, as we would they should do unto us, to be kind, merciful and compassionate, to be ready to communicate, and to do Good*. Which Precept, and many others to the same Purpose, are not to be understood, in such a narrow Sense, as if they related only to those who are of the same Religion with ourselves, or whose Skin is of the same Colour with ours, as is evident from other Precepts of the Gospel. We are commanded *to do Good to all, especially to those who are of the Household of Faith*, to imitate our *Heavenly Father, who doeth Good to all, and whose tender Mercies are over all his Works*, yea, and *to love our Enemies*. ----- These Propositions I believe no body would have refused to grant; but though they are so evident that few will expressly deny, or dispute the Truth of them, yet, it is reasonable to suppose, that those who are concerned in the Man-Trade, do not allow themselves to think on these Truths impartially, seriously to consider them, and lay them

to Heart; but that on the contrary, they have, some how or other, a Kind of confused Imagination, or half formed Thought, in their Minds, that the *Blacks* are hardly of the same Species with the white Men, but are Creatures of a Kind somewhat inferior: I say it is reasonable to suppose so; for I do not know how to think that any white Men could find in their Hearts, that the common Sentiments of Humanity would permit them to treat the black Men in that cruel, barbarous Manner in which they do treat them, did they think and consider that these have rational immortal Souls, that they are made after the Image of God, as well as themselves, and that, being in the same Body, they have the same Passions, Senses and Feelings, as they have, and are as susceptible of Pain and Grief, and upon the same Occasions, as they. ----- Man-stealing is not only unlawful ----- I think it the most atrocious, detestate Crime. To steal a Horse, or to rob a Man on the Road of his Money, is reckoned, among us, a capital Crime, deserving Death and is, by Law, punishable with Death. What then does he deserve, what Punishment can be great enough for him, who steals a Man, a Crime, in Comparison with which Horse-stealing or robbing on the Highway is but a little trifling Fault, quite excuseable and venial. Man-stealers were, by the Law of *Moses*, punished with Death. *He that stealeth a Man, or if he be found in his Hand, he shall surely be put to Death*, *Exod. xxi. 16.* And in the New Testament, *1 Tim. i. 10.* Manstealers are reckoned amongst the very worst of Men. Can any Thing be more cruel and barbarous, than to seize upon human Creatures, and take them away by Force from their native Country, from their Friends and Relations, for ever; Children from their tender Parents, Parents from

their dear Children, Women from their beloved Husbands, and Husbands from their beloved Wives, and drive them, like Hogs, to Market, there to be sold for Slaves for Life? How great must be the Misery those poor Creatures are in, and the Agonies of Mind they feel, when they are thus carried off; so great, that, to relieve themselves, some of them have put an End to their Lives. And how grievous, how distressed, must be the Condition of their Friends and Relations, who are deprived of them, and shall never see their Faces any more? It is horrid, it is shocking to think of such Cruelty and Barbarity. What Monsters in Nature then, destitute of all Humanity and Compassion, must they be, who are guilty of it. The black Men have the same natural Affection for their Kindred, and as strong, as we have. ----- To sell and buy human Creatures, without their Consent, yea and sore against their Will, to trade in Men, as you would in brute Creatures, or any other Commodities, is really impious as well as cruel. Man is a noble Creature, made but a little lower than the Angels, and crowned with Glory and Honour. He is the Offspring of GOD; therefore thus to debase him, and to bring him down upon a Level with the Brutes, yea with Things inanimate, is great Impiety, it is an high Affront offered to him, who is the kind and merciful Father of us all, who hath made of one Blood all Nations of Men, to dwell on the Face of the Earth, and hath united them all in one Body by the Ties of Nature. It is likewise an Affront put upon Mankind, upon the whole human Race, which should raise a generous Resentment and Indignation in the Breast of every one that partakes of the human Nature, and has any Notion of the Dignity of it, or any Sense of Humanity, which he should express and discover upon all proper Occasions, and



in all proper Ways.-----And I think the Receiver, in this Case, will appear to be worse, to be more guilty, in some Respects, than the bare Thief, if we fairly consider the Matter.

It is evident, that the *Europeans*, in sending Ships yearly to the Coast of *Africa*, to buy Slaves, without enquiring how those they purchase them of came by them, do encourage those Thieves, and tempt them to make a Practice and Trade of stealing their own Countrymen; for this is the same Thing in Effect, as if they were to tell them in so many Words, "*You get Men ready for us, how you can, and we will take them off your Hands.*" Besides, those Men-merchants not only encourage others in this cruel flagitious Practice of Man-stealing, but are really guilty of it themselves. You will observe, that what is done by their Command, and according to their Orders, I consider as done by themselves. As those poor miserable Creatures were stolen, those who did steal them, could not convey any Right in them to others, though these others should give ever so much in Purchase of them, any more than if they had them for nothing. For those Purchasers then to deprive them of their Liberty, and, by Force, keep them in their Possession, in whom they have no Right (supposing one Man could be the Property of another) and who never injured them in the least, nor forfeited their Liberty; to keep them in Bonds, and carry them away Captives, is, properly speaking, Man-stealing. And what aggravates this Crime in the *European* Man-merchants, and renders it much more heinous in them than in the *Africans*, is, that the former enjoy the Light of the Gospel, and profess themselves to be Christians.

Man-stealing is a Kind, and indeed the worst Kind, of Sacrilege, which Consideration farther shews the Impiety

of it. Man is sacred, and is, by Nature, devoted to the Service of GOD, to whose Authority alone he is obliged to yield an absolute, unlimited Obedience; for one Man therefore to assault another, and, by meer Force, to make a Captive of him, not for any Crime that he has been guilty of, but to make a *Penny* of him, considering him as Part of his Possessions or Goods, with which he can do what he pleases, is robbing of GOD, which is Sacrilege.

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

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

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

It is reckoned we have now in this Kingdom Thirty Thousand *French* Prisoners, or more; and we say, that in the War we are carrying on against *France*, we have Right on our Side; that we entered into it for the Recovery and Defence of our Territories, invaded by them; but though it be true (as I believe it is) that our Cause is good, yet would it not be cruel and inhuman in us, to sell these Prisoners into Slavery for Life, and in any other Nation, as the *Spaniards*, for Instance, to buy them of us, in order to send them to work in their Mines in *Peru*, as long as they live? And would

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

The Captain of the *Guiney* Ship, when he has finished his Marketing, when he has bought as many reasonable Creatures as he wants, and is full freighted, having on board (we will say) Two Hundred of them, coupled in Irons, and closely crammed up in a Ship of about One Hundred Tons Burthen, he sets out for one of our Plantations, ----- and may be two or three Months on the Voyage; during which Time, from the Filth and Stench that must be among them, occasioned by their being put down under Deck, and penn'd together in so little Room, ----- Distempers break out among them, and carry off a great many, a Fifth, or Fourth, yea, sometimes a third Part of them; and

it is reasonable to suppose, that some of them have their Hearts broke, and die with Grief and Anguish, to think that they shall never more set Foot on their native Soil, and that the Eye that hath seen them, shall see them no more. I remember I read an Account in one of the News-Papers last Year; a Ship, belonging to *Liverpool*, that had a Hundred and Ninety Slaves on board, Eighty of whom died on the Voyage, which is more than two Fifths ----- Taking all the Slaves together, that are brought on board our Ships yearly, from the Coast of *Africa*, where they are bought by our *Guiney* Merchants, I think one may venture to affirm, that, at least, a Tenth Part of them die on the Voyage; ----- the Merchants are certainly chargeable with taking away the Lives of as many of those poor Creatures, as come by their Death by being so confined and treated, and are guilty of Murder; for to take away a Man's Life, unjustly, is Murder; whether it be done in two or three Minutes, or two or three Months, that makes no Difference. ----- I do not think it necessary, in order to convict a Man of Murder, to make it appear that he had an Intention to commit Murder: Whoever does, by unjust Force and Violence, deprive another of his Liberty, and, while he has him in his Power, reduces him to such a Condition, and gives him such Treatment, as evidently endangers his Life, and, in the Event, do actually deprive him of his Life, is guilty of Murder.\* -----By the Account given in the second Volume of the

\* *Thomas Philips*, in his Account of a Voyage he performed to *Guiney*, 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

*Compleat System of Geography*, the Number of *Negroes* brought away by the *English*, in the Year 1725, appeared to be about Fifty Thousand. ----- We will suppose that the Number of *Negroes purchased* by our *Guiney Merchants*, one Year with another, are no more than Thirty-five Thousand: Now, in the Account given by that Author of the *Negroes* in our Plantations, it is said, that, in the Island

shackled together, to prevent their mutinying, or swimming Ashore. The *Negroes*, says he,

“Are so loath to leave their own Country, that they have often leaped out of the Canow, Boat and Ship, into the Sea, 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 Leggs 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 is it in *Philips*, thus to reflect on the *Blacks*, could such a Number be crouded 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 theirs; not to mention the painful Sorrow and anxiety of Mind these distressed Creatures must have laboured under.

of *Jamaica*, almost Half of the new imported Negroes die in the Seasoning, and that, in *Barbados*, it is reckoned that a fourth Part die in Seasoning; and, according to the same Account, there are twice as many imported into these two Islands, as into all our other Islands in the *West-Indies*, and all our Colonies in *North-America*. At a moderate Computation, therefore, it may be reckoned, that of all those who are purchased by our *African* Merchants in a Year, Twelve Thousand die upon the Voyage, and in the Seasoning.

What a sad dreadful Affair then is this Man-Trade, whereby so many Thousands of our Fellow rational Creatures lose their Lives, are, truly and properly speaking, murdered every Year; I do not think there is an Instance of so great Barbarity and Cruelty carried on in any Part of the World, as is this, Year after Year. It is enough to make one tremble, to think what a Load of Guilt lies upon this Nation, on this Account, and that the Blood of Thousands of poor innocent Creatures, murdered every Year, in carrying on this cursed Trade, cry aloud to Heaven for Vengeance.\*

\* In the Collection of Voyages, *John Atkins*, Surgeon on board Admiral *Ogle's* Squadron, in his Expedition on the Coast of *Guinea*, relates, That at Sierra Leona, the white Men who were private Traders there were about Thirty in Number; the Character he gives of them was, that they were loose privateering Blades, who, if they could not trade fairly with the Natives would rob----- of these *John Leadstone* was reckoned the most thriving. The Author observes that the Slaves this *Leadstone* had to sell appeared much dejected, he particularly observed one, named *Tomba*, who had been a Leader of some Country Village, this Negro seemed to disdain the other Slaves for their readiness to be examined; and scorned to look at the Buyers, refusing to rise and stretch out his Limbs as the Master commanded. This got him an unmerciful Whipping from *Leadstone's*



Were we to hear or read of any other Nation in the World that did destroy every Year, in some other Way, or on some other Account, as many human Creatures as are destroyed by this Trade, we should look upon them as a very bloody, cruel, barbarous People. We, to this Day, exclaim against

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own Hand; who, *Atkins* says, would have certainly killed him, but for the loss he must have sustained by it. The Negro bore it all with magnanimity, shrinking very little, but shed a Tear or two, which he endeavored to hide.

In the Course of their Voyage *Atkins* met with a Vessel from *Bristol*, commanded by one *Harding*, who had purchased Thirty Slaves, of which Number, the above mentioned *Tomba* was one. Captain *Harding* gave them the following melancholy Account, *viz.*-----That this *Tomba* had combined with three of the stoutest of his Country Men, and a Woman, to destroy the white Men, in order to get their Freedom; that one Night he went upon Deck to put his Design in Execution, being accompanied by one Man and the Woman, who were all he could engage to follow him, where finding three Sailors on the Forecastle, he presently dispatched two by single Strokes on the Temples (with a Hammer the Woman had given him) the other Man rousing with the Noise, his Companions seized, and *Tomba* killed him in the same Manner: But two other Sailors taking the Alarm, stood upon their Defence, which soon awaked the Master underneath, who running up, took a Handspike, and felling *Tomba* with it, secured them all in Irons. The Reader, says *Atkins*, may be curious to know their Punishment:

“Why, Captain *Harding*, weighing the Stoutness and Worth of the two Slaves, did, as in other Countries they do by Rogues of Dignity, whip and scarify them only; while three other Abettors (but not Actors, nor of Strength for it) he sentenced to cruel Deaths, making them first eat the Heart and Liver of one of them he killed. The Woman he hoisted by the Thumbs, whipped and slashed her with Knives, before the other Slaves till she died.”



the Cruelty of the *Spaniards*, in destroying so many of the Inhabitants of *Mexico* and *Peru*, when they unjustly invaded those Countries, though it is a Question, whether the *English* have not destroyed as many of the Inhabitants of *Africa*, since the Commencement of this villainous

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*The following Relation is inserted at the Request of the Author, a Person whose Candour may be depended upon.*

‘**T**HAT I may contribute all in my Power towards the Good of Mankind, by inspiring any of its Individuals with a suitable Abhorrence for that detestable Practice of trading in our Fellow-Creatures, and in some Measure atone for my Neglect of Duty as a Christian, in engaging in that wicked Traffic, I offer to their serious Consideration some few Occurrences of which I was an Eye-witness. That being struck with the wretched and affecting Scene they may foster that humane Principle, which is the noble and distinguish’d Charecteristic of Man, and improve it to the Benefit of their Children’s Children.

“About the Year 1749, I sail’d from *Liverpool* to the Coast of *Guinea*; Some Time after our arrival I was ordered to go up the Country a considerable Distance; upon having Notice from one of the Negro Kings, that he had a Parcel of Slaves to dispose of; I received my Instructions, and went, carrying with me an Account of such Goods we had on board to exchange for the Slaves we intended to purchase. Upon being introduced, I presented him with a small Case of *English* Spirits, a Gun, and some Trifles, which having accepted, and understood by an Interpreter what Goods we had, the next Day was appointed for viewing the Slaves; we found about two Hundred confined in one Place. But here how shall I relate the affecting Sight I there beheld? How can I sufficiently describe the silent Sorrow which appeared in

Man-Trade among us, and of our Popish Queen *Mary*, whose Reign is looked upon as the most cruel and inhuman of any in all the *English* History, though there were not above Three Hundred burnt, for Heresy, in the five Years of her Reign, and you know that the Papists believe,

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the Countenance of the afflicted Father, and the painful Anguish of the tender Mother, expecting to be forever separated from their tender Offspring; the distressed Maid wringing her Hands in Presage of her future Wretchedness, and the general Cry of the Innocent from a fearful Apprehension of the perpetual Slavery to which they were doomed. Under a Sense of my Offence to God, in the Person of his Creatures; I acknowledge I purchased eleven, who I conducted ty'd, two and two to the Ship. Being but a small Vessel (ninety Ton) we soon purchased our Cargo, consisting of one Hundred and seventy Slaves, whom thou may'st Reader range in thy View, as they were shackled two and two together, pent up within the narrow Confines of the main Deck, with the complicated Distress of Sickness, Chains and Contempt; deprived of every fond and social Tie, and in a great Measure reduced to a state of Desperation. We had not been a Fortnight at Sea, before the fatal Consequence of this Dispair appeared; they formed a Design of recovering their natural Right, Liberty, by raising and murdering every Man on board, but the Goodness of the Almighty rendered their Scheme abortive, and his Mercy spared us to have Time to repent. The Plot was discovered; the Ringleader ty'd by the two Thumbs over the Barricade Door, at Sun-rise received a Number of Lashes, in this Situation he remained till Sun-set, exposed to the Insults and Barbarity of the brutal Crew of Sailors, with full Leave to exercise their Cruelty at Pleasure. The Consequence of this was, that next Morning the miserable Sufferer was found dead, flead from the Shoulders

or profess to believe, that they ought to put Hereticks to Death, at least they did then: Whereas the *English* have, for many Years past, put to Death Ten or Twelve Thousand a Year, in carrying on this Trade, which they still continue for the Sake of getting Money, and furnishing themselves with the Superfluities of Life, which shews a greater Degree of Barbarity; and many of those poor Wretches have endured more Pain, before they died, than those Hereticks did in being burnt. There is nothing that shews the Degeneracy

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to the Waist. The next Victim was a Youth, who, from too strong a Sense of his Misery refused Nourishment, and died; disregarded and unnoticed, till the Hogs had fed on Part of his Flesh. Will not Christianity blush at this impious Sacrilege? May the Relation of it serve to call back the struggling Remains of Humanity, in the Heart of those who from a Love of Wealth, partake in any Degree with this oppressive Gain, and have such an Effect on the Minds of the Sincere, as may be productive of Peace, the happy Effect of true Repentance for past Transgressions, and a Resolution to renounce all Connexion with it for the Time to come."

*W. F.*

Note here arises a just and necessary Query. How does our *English* Law (so truly valuable for its Mercy and Equity) overlook these barbarous Deaths of the unhappy *Africans*, without Tryal, or due Proof of their being guilty; or of their Crimes being adequate to their punishment? Why are those Masters of Vessels (who are often not the most tender and considerate of Men) thus suffered to be the sovereign Arbiters of the Lives of the miserable Negroes; and allowed (with Impunity) to destroy their fellow Creatures, and, that, by Means so cruel as cannot be, even related, but with Shame and Horror.

of Mankind more, that casts a greater Blemish on human Nature, or exposes it in a more disadvantageous Light, than this Consideration, that whole Nations, Christians as well as Heathens, profess to believe the greatest Absurdities and Contradictions, and justify the most wicked and vilest Practices.-----If it be said that I charge the Legislature-----because they have encouraged, and still do encourage, this Trade, -----what I have asserted, I think I can defend. -----No Legislature on Earth, which is the Supreme Power in every civil Society, can alter the Nature of Things, or make that to be lawful which is contrary to the Law of GOD, the Supreme Legislator and Governor of the World. Mischief may be framed, and established by a Law, but if it be, it is Mischief still, as much so as it was before it was established, though its being so may make Men insensible of their Guilt, or bold and fearless in the Perpetration of it; for too many, among Christians, are, contrary to CHRIST's Exhortation, more influenced by the Fear of Man, than by the Fear of GOD.—It is really a serious Subject, and I own it raises a serious Concern in my Mind, that such Barbarity should be suffered in Christian Nations. It is enough to make a Man's Heart ach, unless he has lost all Love and Regard to his Kind, to think that so many Thousands of the human Race should be sacrificed every Year to that greedy voracious God *Mammon*.

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

Sir *Hans Sloan*, in his History of *Jamaica*, says;

“That a rebellious *Negro*, or he that twice strikes a white Man, is condemned to the Flames; being chained flat on his Belly, at the Place of Execution, and his Arms and Legs extended, Fire is then set to his Feet, and he is burnt gradually up to his Head. They starve others to Death, with a Loaf hanging before their Mouths, so that some gnaw the very Flesh off their own Shoulders, and expire with all the frightful Agonies, expressing the most horrid Tortures. For Crimes of a less Nature, they geld the Offender, and chop off Half of his Foot with an Ax; for Negligence only, they whip him till his Back is raw, and then scatter Pepper and Salt on his Wounds, to heighten the Smart; and some Planters will drop melted Wax on their Skins, which puts them to intolerable Pain.”

Now must not the human Nature, in those People, be changed into the Devilish, who can put these poor Creatures to such Torments?—It is observed by the same Author, that

“Some excuse these Severities by telling us, that the *Blacks*, being so perverse, sullen, and mischievous a Generation, deserve such Treatment, and that milder Usage would not reclaim them.”

----- It is no Wonder they are sullen; would not white Men be so, were they in their Condition, and treated as they are? No Doubt but they would. But the *Blacks*, though they be unjustly deprived of their Liberty, banished from their native Country, from all their Friends and Relations,

and made Captives and Slaves for Life, though they are treated worse than Dogs, and made to work harder than Horses, yet they ought to be pleasant, good humoured, and obliging to them that do thus treat them; and, if they be not, they should be put to Pain and Torment.\* And they are, it seems, a mischievous Generation, apt to mutiny and

\* The Iniquity of the Slave-Trade is greatly aggravated by the Inhumanity with which the Negroes are treated in the Plantations, as well with respect to Food and Cloathing, as from the unreasonable Labour which is commonly exacted from them. To which may be added the cruel Chastisements they frequently suffer, without any other Bounds than the Will and Wrath of their hard Task-Masters. In *Barbadoes*, and some other of the Islands, six pints of *Indian Corn* and three Herrings, are reckoned a full Weeks Allowance for a working Slave, and in the System of Geography, it is said

*“That in Jamaica the Owners of the Negro Slaves, set aside for each a Parcel of Ground, and allow them Sundays to manure it, the Produce of which,”* with sometimes a few Herrings, or other salt Fish, *“is all that is allowed for their Support.”*

Their Allowance for Cloathing in the Islands is seldom more than six Yards of Osenbrigs each Year: And in the more northern Colonies, where the piercing westerly Winds are long and sensibly felt, these poor *Africans* suffer much for want of sufficient Cloathing, indeed some have none till they are able to pay for it by their Labour. The Time that the Negroes work in the *West-Indies*, is from Day-break till Noon; then again from two o’Clock till dusk: (during which Time they are attended by Overseers, who severely scourge those who appear to them dilatory). And before they are suffered to go to their Quarters, they have still something to do, as collecting of Herbage for the Horses, gathering Fuel for the Boilers, &c. so that it is often half past Twelve before they can get Home, when they have scarce Time to grind and boil their *Indian Corn*; whereby it often happens that they are called again to Labour before they can satisfy their Hunger: And here no Delay or Excuse will avail, for if they are not in the

rebel; that is, in Truth, they want to recover their Liberty, and would attempt to do it, if they were not kept in Awe by hard Usage, and severe Discipline. In the Account of *Jamaica*, we are told that the *Negroes*, when first brought thither from *Guinea*, are very simple, innocent Creatures,

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Field immediately upon the usual Notice, they must expect to feel the Overseers Lash. In Crop-time (which lasts many Months) they are obliged (by Turns) to work most of the Night, in the boiling House. Thus their Owners, from a Desire of making the greatest Gain by the Labour of their Slaves, lay heavy Burdens upon them, and yet feed and clothe them very sparingly, and some scarce feed or clothe them at all, so that the poor Creatures are obliged to shift for their Living in the best Manner they can, which occasions their being often killed in the neighbouring Lands, stealing Potatoes, or other Food to satisfy their Hunger. And if they take any Thing from the Plantation they belong to, tho' under such pressing Want, yet their Owners will correct them severely, for taking a little of what they have so hardly laboured for, whilst they themselves riot in the greatest Luxury and excess.——It is a Matter of Astonishment how a People who, as a Nation, are looked upon as generous and humane, and so much value themselves for their uncommon Sense of the Benefit of Liberty, can live in the Practice of such extreme Oppression and Inhumanity, without seeing the Inconsistency of such Conduct, and without feeling great Remorse: Nor is it less amazing to hear these Men calmly making Calculations about the Strength and Lives of their fellow Men; in *Jamaica*, if six in ten, of the new imported Negroes survive the Seasoning, it is looked upon as a gaining Purchase: And in most of the other Plantations, if the Negroes live eight or nine Years, their Labour is reckoned a sufficient Compensation for their Cost.——If Calculations of this Sort were made upon the Strength and Labour of Beasts of Burden it would not appear so strange, but even then, a merciful Man would certainly use his Beast with more Mercy than is usually shewn to the poor Negroes.——Will not the Groans, the dying Groans of this deeply afflicted and oppressed People reach Heaven,

but soon turn roguish, and when they come to be whipp'd, urge the Example of the Whites for their Excuse. Whereas, in that of *Barbados*, the same Author says;

“That the Masters of the *Negroes* are obliged to treat them very severely, not only because of the stubborn, treacherous Temper, which is so peculiar to all of their Complexion and Country, but because they are three times the Number of the Whites in this Island, and have made frequent Attempts to get the Mastery;”

that is, their Liberty, or to deliver themselves out of the miserable Slavery they are in. ----- But how come they to be three times the Number of the Whites in this Island? Is it not owing to the white Inhabitants, to their purchasing them, and keeping them in Bondage? How weak then is this Excuse? Where is the Sense of assigning this Majority, which is of their own procuring, as a Reason for their treating the *Blacks* with such Severity?-----We have also an Account from that Author, of those Plots laid by the *Blacks* in *Antigua*, but which were discovered by the

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and when the Cup of Iniquity is full, must not the inevitable Consequence be pouring forth of the Judgments of God upon their Oppressors. But, Alas! is it not too manifest that this Oppression has already long been the Object of the divine Displeasure; for what heavier Judgment, what greater Calamity can befall any People, than to become a Prey to that hardness of Heart, that Forgetfulness of God, and Insensibility to every religious Impression; as well as that general Depravation of Manners, which so much prevails in the Colonies, in Proportion as they have more or less enriched themselves, at the Expence of the Blood and Bondage of the *Negroes*.



Whites, before they could be brought to bear, and of the horrid Executions which followed upon the Discovery.

“The King, that is, he who was to have been King of the *Blacks*, had the Plot succeeded, and his two Generals, with two others, were all broke on a Wheel (that is, their Bones were broke with an Iron Bar whilst alive.) Four more of the principal Conspirators were burnt the same Day; as were Seven on the next Day. Six were hung alive in Chains on Gibbets, and starved to Death; after which their Heads were cut off, and their Bodies burnt; and Fifty-eight others were, at several Times, chained to Stakes, and burnt alive.”

Now, was not this a lamentable Affair (and there have been several Instances of such Cruelty in our Plantations) that so many poor Creatures should be put to the greatest Tortures, and be made to suffer the most painful Deaths. Some of the *French* Prisoners in *England*, whose Condition is far preferable to that of most of the Slaves in our Colonies, have attempted to break out of Prison, but, being discovered in Time, failed in their Attempt. Now should not we have been reckoned, by all the World, a cruel barbarous People, if the Government had ordered some of them to be broke on the Wheel, some to be burnt alive, and others to be starved to Death, though the *French* are our Enemies, and are engaged in an unjust War against us; whereas those Slaves had never done any Hurt or Injury to those who torture them to Death.-----We reckon ourselves to be a brave, generous, humane, civilized People;-----but is this a true Character, while that barbarous, savage

Man-Trade, in the carrying on of which so many Thousand Lives are sacrificed every Year, is not only winked at, but countenanced and encouraged amongst us.-----There are other Nations in *Europe*, besides ours, concerned in this Trade, but that does not lessen the Guilt in our People, tho' it may keep them in Countenance; but the *English* are now more concerned, I believe, than all the other Nations in *Europe*, taken together, in this abominable Trade, which is the greatest Scandal and Reproach that lies upon this Nation; the removing of which, by proclaiming Liberty to those Captives now in our Plantations, making them Freemen, and prohibiting for ever, upon the severest Penalties, the Man-Trade throughout all His Majesty's Dominions, and thereby leading the Way, and giving a good Example to the other Nations in *Europe*, concerned in the Man-Trade, would be much to the Honour of our Government, and I am sure would give great Pleasure to all who are Lovers of Mankind, and have a Regard for the Honour, Safety, and Prosperity of their Country.-----It is objected, that if the *English* were to drop this Trade entirely, it would be immediately thereupon carried on by other Nations, to a much greater Degree than it now is.-----Perhaps that might be the Consequence, and if it should, they must be answerable for that, the Guilt and Scandal would lie upon them. But if it were certain that this would be the Case, this Consideration cannot be a just Reason for our continuing to carry on such a wicked Trade. If we should not carry on this Trade others would, therefore we may, would be a strange Way of reasoning.

And as this Slave-Trade has been encouraged by the Government, for many Reigns back, it is queried, whether

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

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

SIRS,

**A**S the Business you are concerned in, and carry on openly and publickly before the World, has a bad Aspect, and you are sensible that most Men make Objections against it, and blame you for engaging in it, you are obliged to justify it to the World, upon the Principles of Reason, Equity and Humanity, to make it appear, that it is no unjust Invasion of the Persons, or Incroachment on the Rights of Men; or for ever to lay it aside. And this is what every one, not only of your Fellow Subjects in *England*, but of your Fellow Men upon the Face of the Earth, who are any Way concerned in the same Business, have a Right to insist upon, and demand from you; and ought, in a proper Manner to resent it, if you will do neither the one nor the other.

But, laying aside the Resentment of Man, which is but of little or no Moment, in Comparison with that of the ALMIGHTY, of the Supreme Law-giver and Judge of Mankind, think of a future Reckoning. Consider how you shall come off in the great and awful Day of Account. You now heap up Riches, and live in Pleasure? but oh! what will you do in the End thereof? and that is not far off. What if Death should seize upon you, and hurry you out of this World, under all that Load of Blood-guiltiness, that now lies upon your Souls. The Gospel (I suppose I am now speaking to professed Christians) expressly declares, *that Thieves and Murderers shall not inherit the Kingdom of GOD*. Consider that at the same Time, and by the same Means you now

treasure up worldly Riches, you *are treasuring up to yourselves Wrath, against the Day of Wrath, and Vengeance that shall come upon the Workers of Iniquity*, unless prevented, by a timely Repentance. And what greater Iniquity, what Crime that is more heinous, that carries in it more complicated Guilt, can you name, than that in the habitual deliberate Practice of which you now live? Good God! How can you, as some of you do, go to the Sacrament of the LORD'S Supper? How can you lift up your guilty Eyes to Heaven? How can you pray for Mercy to him that made you, or hope for any Favour from him that formed you, while you go on thus grosly and openly to dishonour him, in debasing and destroying the noblest Workmanship of his Hands, in this lower World? He is the Father of Men; and do you think he will not resent such Treatment of his Offspring, *whom he hath so loved, as to give his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him, might not perish, but have everlasting Life?* This Love of God to Man, revealed in the Gospel, is a great Aggravation of your Guilt; for *if God so loved us, we ought also to love one another*. You remember the Fate of the Servant, who took Hold of his Fellow-Servant, who was in his Debt, by the Throat, and cast him into Prison: Think then, and tremble to think, what will be your Fate, who take your Fellow-Servants by the Throat, that owe you not a *Penny*, and make them Prisoners for Life.

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

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

J. PHILMORE.

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

And as for those who confess themselves now, convinced of the Iniquity, and Injustice of buying and selling their Fellow-Creatures, and yet continue to keep those *Negroes* they are possessed of in Bondage, or the Sake of the Profit arising from their Labour, it behoves them seriously to consider their Motives for such a Conduct; whether the Distinction

they make between buying a *Negro*, and keeping the same *Negro*, or his Offspring, in perpetual Bondage, is not a Plea founded more in Words than supported by Truth; for it must be obvious to every Person, who is not blinded by the Desire of Gain, that the Right by which these Men hold the *Negroes* in Bondage, is no other than what is derived from those who stole them, who having no other Title, but that which Robbers have over their Prey, could not convey any better to the Purchaser; and that therefore to continue to hold them in Bondage, for worldly Advantage, by no other Right than that which those guilty Men give them, is consenting to, and partaking of their Guilt. Instances may fall out, where Men of Candour may be concerned in the Purchase of *Negroes*, purely from a Principle of Charity; and there are also many of the *Blacks*, amongst us, whose Dispositions, Infirmities or Age, makes it necessary they should be under Care; but in the Case beforementioned, where Persons declare themselves convinced of the Injustice and Iniquity of this Trade, and are possessed of *Negroes* who are capable of managing for themselves, and have sufficiently paid, by their Labour, for their Purchase or bringing up, besides the Profit some Families have reaped, during a long Course of Years, from the Labour of their Progenitors; it is the undoubted Duty of their Possessors to restore them their Liberty; and also to use all reasonable Endeavours, to enable them to procure a comfortable Living, not only as an Act of Justice to the Individuals, but as a Debt due, on Account of the Oppression and Injustice perpetrated on them, or their Ancestors; and as the best Means to avert the Judgments of God, which it is to be feared will fall on Families and Countries, in Proportion as they have, more or less, defiled themselves with this iniquitous Traffick.



DOUBTS may arise in the Minds of some, whether the foregoing Accounts, relating to the natural Capacity and good Disposition of many of the Inhabitants of Guinea, and of the violent Manner in which they appear to be torn from their native Land, is sufficiently founded on Truth, as the *Negroes* who are brought to us are seldom heard to complain, and do not manifest that Docility and Quickness of Parts which might be expected from this Account; Persons who may make such Objections, are desired impartially to consider whether this is not owing to the many Discouragements these poor *Africans* labour under, though in an enlightened Christian Country, and the little Opportunity they have of exerting and improving their natural Talents. They are constantly employed in servile Labour, and the abject Condition in which we see them, from our Childhood, has a natural Tendency to create in us an Idea of a Superiority and induces many to look upon them as an ignorant and contemptible Part of Mankind; add to this, that they have but little Opportunity of freely conversing with such of the Whites as might impart Instruction to them, the endeavouring of which would, indeed, by most, be accounted Folly, if not Presumption. A Fondness for Wealth, or for gaining Esteem and Honour, is what prompts most Men in the Desire of excelling others, but these Motives for the Exertion and Improvement of their Faculties can have but little or no Influence upon the Minds of the *Negroes*, few of them having Hopes of attaining to any Condition beyond that of Slavery; so that tho' the natural Capacity of many of them be ever so good, yet they have no Inducement or Opportunity of exerting it to any Advantage, which naturally tends to depress their Minds, and sink their Spirits into Habits of



Idleness and Sloth, which they would, in all Likelihood, have been free from, had they stood upon an equal Footing with the white People: Nevertheless it may, with Truth, be said, that amongst those who have obtained their Freedom, as well as those who remain in Servitude, some have manifested as much Sagacity and Uprightness of Heart as could have been expected from the Whites, under the like Circumstances; and if all the free *Negroes* have not done the same, is it a Matter of Surprize? Have we not Reason to make Complaint with Respect to many of our white Servants, when from under our Care, tho' most of them have had much greater Advantages than the Blacks; who, even when free, still labour under the Difficulties before-mentioned, having but little Access to, and Intercourse with, the white People; they yet remained confined within the former Limits of Conversation with those of their own Colour, and consequently have but little more Opportunity of Knowledge and Improvement than when in Slavery.

And if they seldom complain of the unjust and cruel Usage they have received, in being forced from their native Country &c. it is not to be wondered at; as it is a considerable Time after their Arrival amongst before they can speak our Language, and, by the Time they are able to express themselves, they cannot but observe, from the Behaviour of the Whites, that little or no Notice would taken of their Complaints; yet let any Person enquire of those who had attained the Age of Reason, before they were brought from their native Land, and he shall hear such Relations as, if not lost to the common Feelings of Humanity, will sensibly affect his Heart. The Case of a poor *Negro*, not long since brought from *Guinea*, is a recent Instance of this Kind. From his first

Arrival he appeared thoughtful and dejected, the Cause of which was not known till he was able to speak *English*, when the Account he gave of himself was, that he had a Wife and Children in his own Country, that some of them being sick and thirsty, he went, in the Night-time, to fetch Water at a Spring, where he was violently seized, and carried away by some Persons who lay in Wait to catch Men, whence he was transported to *America*; the Remembrance of his Family, Friends, and other Connections left behind, which he never expected to see any more, were the principal Causes of his Dejection and Grief. Can any compassionate Heart hear this Relation without being affected with Sympathy and Sorrow? And doubtless the Case of many of these unhappy people would, upon Enquiry, appear attended with Circumstances equally tragical and aggravating. Now, you that have studied the Book of Conscience, and those that are learned in the Law, what will you say to this deplorable Case? When, and how, has this Man forfeited his Liberty? Does not Justice loudly call for its being restored to him? Has he not the same Right to demand it as any of us should have, if we had been violently snatched by Pyrates from our native Land? Where Instances of this Kind frequently occur, and are neither enquired into, nor redressed by those whose Duty it is to *seek Judgment, and relieve the Oppressed*, what can be expected, but that the Groans and Cries of these Sufferers will reach Heaven; and *what shall ye do when GOD riseth up, and when he visiteth, what shall ye answer him? Did not he that made them make us, and did not one fashion us in the Womb?\**

IT is scarce to be doubted but that the foregoing Accounts will beget in the Heart of every considerate Reader an earnest Desire to see a Stop put to this complicated Evil; but the Objection with many is, what shall be done with those Negroes already imported and born in our Families? Must they be sent to Africa? That would be to expose them in a strange Land, to greater Difficulties than many of them labour under at present. To set them

\* Since this Essay has been under Press, the Manuscript of a Voyage to the Coast of *Guinea*, has been put in the Editors Hands; a small Extract of which its thought, may be of Service if published here; as it contains a plain, tho' shocking Instance of the Calamities and Bloodshed which the Slave-Trade occasions in that Country; and this principally carried on at the instigation of the Black Traders, who from their Intercourse and Converse with the *European* Factors have learned to stick at no Act of Cruelty to satisfy their Avarice, a Vice they were generally untainted with, before their Acquaintance with them. These Traders, if they have no Stock of Slaves when the Vessels arrive, will foment and stir up Discords and Divisions amongst the Natives, in order to induce them to make Incursions upon the Neighbouring Districts, (some of which are but small) to procure Slaves, which they dispose of to the *Europeans*, in exchange for such Commodities as they want.

*Extract of a Voyage to the Coast of Guinea for Slaves, &c. in a Vessel from Liverpool, Robert Law, Master, taken verbatim from the original Manuscript, of the Surgeons Journal, viz.*

‘SESTRO, December the 29th, 1724. No Trade to Day, tho' many Traders come 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 Day “No Trade yet, but our Traders came on board, to Day, and informed us, the People had burn't four

suddenly free here would be perhaps attended with no less Difficulty, for undisciplined as they are in Religion and Virtue, they might give a loose to those evil Habits, which the Fear of a Master would have restrained. These are Objections which weigh with many well-disposed People; and indeed it must be granted there are Difficulties in the Way; nor can any general Change be made, or Reformation effected without some: But the Difficulties are not so great but that they may be surmounted. If the Government was so sensible of the Iniquity and Danger attendant on this Practice, as to be willing to seek a Remedy, doubtless the Almighty would bless this good Intention, and such Methods would be thought of as would not only put an End to the unjust Oppression of the Negroes, but might bring them under

Towns of their Enemies; and indeed we have seen great Smoke all the Morning, a good Way up the Country; so that To-morrow we expect Slaves off ————— another large Ship is just come in; Yesterday came in a Large *Londoner*.”

The 31st

“Fair Weather, but no Trade, yet we see each Night Towns burning, but we hear the *Sestro* Men are many of them killed, by the inland Negroes, so that we fear this War will be unsuccessful.”

The 2d *January*,

“Last Night we saw a prodigious Fire break out about eleven o’Clock, and this Morning, see the Town of *Sestro* burn’t down to the Ground (it contained some Hundred Houses) so that we find their Enemies are too hard for them at present, and consequently our Trade spoiled here; so that about seven o’Clock we weighed Anchor, as did likewise the three other Vessels to proceed lower down.”

such Regulations, as would enable them to become profitable Members of Society. For the furtherance of which, the following Proposals are offered to Consideration; to be improved by those in whose Power it is to remedy this mighty Evil. In the first Place, that all farther Importation be absolutely prohibited. And as to those already purchased, or born among us, after serving so long as shall be adequate to the Money paid, or the Charge of bringing them up (which may be decided by Courts of Justice) let them by Law be declared free: Nevertheless let the same Court of Justice have Power to lengthen the Time of any Slave's Servitude, upon legal proof, being made, of that Slave's having wilfully neglected his Duty. Let every Slave thus set free be enrolled in the County Court, and obliged to be a Resident during a certain Number of Years within the said County, under the Inspection of the Overseers of the Poor. Thus being in some Sort still under the Directions of Governors, and Notice of those who were formerly acquainted with them, they would be obliged to act circumspectly, and to make a proper Use of their Liberty; and their Children have an Opportunity of such Instruction as might be provided for them, under the Tuition of proper Instructors; thus both Parents and Children might grow up to be useful Members of the Community. And further, where the Nature of the Country would permit, as certainly the uncultivated Condition of our Southern Colonies easily would; suppose a small Tract of Land, for Instance, five and twenty Acres were assigned to every Negro Family, and they obliged to live upon and improve it (when not hired out to work for the Whites) this would encourage them to exert their Abilities, and become industrious Subjects: Thus both Planters

and Tradesmen would be plentifully supplied with chearful and willing-minded Labourers; much vacant Land would be cultivated; the Produce of the Country greatly encreased; Arts and Manufactures advanced; the Taxes for the Support of Government lessened to Individuals, by the encrease of Taxables. And the Negroes instead of giving just Cause of fearful Apprehensions, and weakning the internal Strength of the Government where they reside, as they certainly must in their present Condition,\* Would become interested in its Security and Welfare.

The mistaken Opinion, which most People have entertained, that the Negroes in *Africa*, live in the same wild unsettled Manner as the *American Indians* do, has led many to think it impossible to bring them into that civilized Order which is requisite for their becoming good Members of Society, but, it is hoped, what has already been said on that Head, will convince the candid Reader, that this Opinion is founded on mistaken Apprehensions; and to put this Matter in a yet clearer Light, it may not be amiss to add, that altho' amongst the many Nations living on that Part of *Africa*, inhabited by the Negroes, which extend many Thousand Miles, there is doubtless some People of a more savage Disposition than others, yet certain it is, that the natural Disposition of the Generality of the Negroes is widely different from the roving Dispositions of our Indians; they generally settle together, and employ themselves in Agriculture and

\* The hard Usage the Negroes meet with in the Plantations and the great Disproportion between them and the white People; will always be just Cause of Terror: In *Jamaica*, and *South-Carolina*, it is supposed that there is at least fifteen Black to one White.

Commerce. Some large Nations are represented as industrious and careful in the Cultivation of their Lands; breeding Cattle, and carrying on a Trade to distant Parts. An Instance of this appears from the Account we have of the principal Nations, settled back of the Factories of *Goree* and *Senegal*, Places of great Trade, in the Latitude of 15 to 20 Degrees North, lately taken by the *English* from the *French*, from whence great Numbers of Slaves have for a long Time been Yearly exported to the Plantations. In the 2d Vol. of the Collection, we are told that this Country, which is situate between the River *Senegal* and *Gambia*, and extends many Hundreds of Miles, is chiefly inhabited by three Negroe Nations, *viz.* The *Mandigos*, the *Fullys*, and the *Jalofs*: *Andrew Brue*, the general Director, often beforementioned, says, the *Mandigos* are dispersed all over the Country, they are the most rigid *Mahometans* among the Negroes,\* they drink no Wine or Brandy, and are politer than the other Negroes; the chief Trade of the Country goes thro' their Hands; they are laborious and industrious, keeping their Grounds well cultivated, and breeding a good Stock of Cattle. ----- Some of these People who are settled up the River *Senegal*,

\* *Jobson*, in the Account of his Travels, observes,

“That the Natives along the *Gambia*, worship the one true and only GOD, who they call *Allah*-----they have no Resemblance of Divine Things, but acknowledge *Mahomet*-----They have some broken Tradition of JESUS CHRIST, speaking of him as a great Prophet, who wrought many extraordinary Miracles.”

The *Mahometan* Negroes say their Prayers thrice a Day, at Day-break, Noon, and Sun-set: Each Village has a Priest who calls them to their Duty. It's surprising (says the Author) as well as commendable

carry on a Trade to all the neighbouring Kingdoms; and by these Means amass Riches, and propagates the *Mahometan* Religion wheresoever they go-----The Author agrees they are a good Sort of People, honest, industrious, and very ready to learn Arts and Sciences.

The *Fully's* are settled on both Sides of the River *Sene-gal*; their Country, which is very fruitful and populous, extends near four Hundred Miles from East to West: They are ordinarily of a deep tawny Complexion, appearing to bear some Affinity with the *Moors*, to whose Country they join on the North. They are a well made People, and tho' they

to see the Modesty, Attention and Reverence they observe during their Worship, which lasts half an Hour— He was frequently present at their Ceremonies, and had often the curiosity to ask some of their Priests the purport of their Prayers and Ceremonies; their Answer always was,

*“That they adored GOD by prostrating themselves before him, that by humbling themselves they acknowledged their own In-significancy-----and farther entreated him to forgive their Faults, and to grant them all good and necessary Things, as well as deliverance from Evil.”*

The *Mandigo* Priests are much more Polite than the other Negroes, and love Traffic-----In which they are very honest, but exact and artful: They are very charitable and kind to one another-----*Jobson* takes notice of several good Qualities in these Negroe Priests, particularly their great Sobriety,-----They gain their Livelihood by keeping School, for the Education of the Children-----The Boys are taught to read and write by a Book made of a smooth Bit of Wood, wherein the Lessons are written with a Kind of black Ink, and a Pen like a Pencil. They not only teach Schools but rove about the Country, teaching and instructing-----for which the whole Country is open to them; and they have free recourse thro' all Places, however the Kings may be at War together.



seem tender, yet they will labour stoutly at hard Work, are good Farmers, and make great Harvests of Corn, Cotton, Tobacco, Pease, &c. and breed a great Number of Cattle of all Kinds -----*Brue* says the Company gets the best Hides from them. And *Labat* in his Account of the *West-Indies*, speaking of the different Nations of Negroes sold for Slaves at *Martinico*, mentions these *Fully* as a People more suitable than most other Negroes to take care of Cattle, &c. † Some of these *Fully* Blacks, who dwell on both Sides the River *Gambia* are in Subjection to the *Mandigos*, amongst whom they have settled from Time to Time; having been, probably, driven out of their own Country by War or Famine. They have Chiefs of their own, who rule with much Moderation. They live in Clans, build Towns, and are not subject to any Kings of the Country, though they live in their Territories; for if they are ill-treated by one Nation, they break up their Town and remove to another. They are also strict *Mahometans*, few amongst them will drink Brandy, or any Thing stronger than Water and Sugar: Their Form of Government goes on easy, because the People are of a good quiet Disposition, and so well instructed in what is just and right, that a Man who does ill is the Abomination of all, and none will support him against the Chiefs. In these Countries the Natives are not covetous of Land, desiring no more than what they use; and as they do not plough with Horses and Cattle, they can use but very little, therefore the Kings, are willing to give the *Fully*'s

† Those Negroes that were brought last Year up this River, and sold on the *Jersey* Shore, opposite this City, were probably of the *Fully* Nation, as the Vessel came from the River *Senegal*.

leave to live in their Countries, and cultivate Lands. They plant Tobacco near their Houses, and Cotton all round their Towns, which they fence in together; beyond that they sow *Indian* and *Guinea* Corn and Rice: As they are industrious and frugal, they have more Corn and Cotton than they consume, which they sell at reasonable Rates: Their Clothing is of white Cotton of their own Manufacture: They are a clean People, especially the Women. As they are hospitable and kind to all, it is reckoned a Blessing to have a *Fully* Town in the Neighbourhood: They never suffer any of their own Nation to want, but support the Old, the Blind, and the Lame; and as far as their Abilities goes supply the Necessities of the *Mandigos*, great Numbers of whom they have maintained in Famines. They are rarely angry, and the Author could never hear them abuse one another.

In the Collection, we have also a favorable Account of the Conduct and Disposition of a Number of free Negroes settled on the *Cape Verd* Islands. The Account is principally taken from the Writings of *George Roberts*, who was Shipwreck'd on one of those Islands; they are ten in Number, the largest called *St. Jago*, is settled by the *Portuguese*; the rest are mostly inhabited by Negroes or Mulattoes, which our Author says happened in the following Manner, *viz.*

“The *Portuguese* settled on the two largest Islands, provided themselves with Negroe-Slaves from *Guinea* to do their Work; and as it was usual with them to atone for their Sins on their Death-bed, by giving one or more Slaves their Freedom, these Free-Blacks, being in a Climate natural to them, increased fast; many became Tenants to the Whites, others not

brooking their lordly and oppressive Deportment, went over to the lesser Islands. These lesser Islands having been bestowed by the King to some of his Nobles: They appoint deputy Governors, who are generally Negroes.”

Their Priests are also Negroes, who (*Roberts* says)

“make better and soberer Clergymen than the Whites, these being mostly of loose and vicious Lives, which caused the Bishop, who was a Man of a meek and mild Disposition, to prefer the Blacks with no more Education than what they could have at *St. Fago*. This (adds the Author) was a commendable Practice of the Bishop; who met with a great deal of Trouble on that Account, from the Fryars, who made a Practice of ridiculing the Ignorance of these Negroe-Priests.”

The *Portuguese* Inhabitants of those Islands are said (in the Collection) to bear but a poor Character, being generally represented as a proud, lazy, ignorant People; but on the Contrary, the Free-Negroes, who are much the greatest Number, are said to be mostly an innocent good tempered People. *Roberts* speaks particularly well of the Black Governor of *Bonavista*, and of Captain *Domingo*, a sensible Black on that Island, who was a fair Dealer, and could read *French* and *English*. The Governor, Priest and People of the Island of *Mayo*, were all Negroes, tho’ being subject to the *Portuguese*, they had their Religion and Language——Captain *Dampier*, who was on this Island many Years before *Roberts*, says,

“The Governor had his Patent from the Governor of *St. Fago*; that the Negro who held that Office in the Year 1699 was a very civil, sensible Man, and, adds, that the Inhabitants were generally a good Sort of People,\* they looked well, being fat and fleshy, tho’ the Island appears so barren to a Stranger, as scarce to have Food for its Inhabitants.”

The Island upon which *Roberts* was Shipwreck’d was called *St. John*; it was wholly inhabited by Blacks, he says, that tho’ very ignorant and superstitious, yet they were the most innocent and harmless of all those Islanders. He speaks highly of their moral Virtue, especially their Charity, Humility and Hospitality: He particularly commends their Veneration for Age. While he lay sick he was lodged by one of the chief Inhabitants, and supplied with all kind of Necessaries: Every Day some or other would come to see how he did, and scarce ever without a Fowl, or some Fruit for him: They shewed him great Kindness in every other Respect, and freely assisted him in building a small Vessel to carry him off the Island, when he talked of making them a Return for these Favours, they said, they were glad they had been of any Service to him, and thought it their Duty to serve Strangers in Distress.

\* “*Dampier* expresses his Concern at the Abuse these poor People had received from the Crew of a *Bristol* Vessel, who going Ashore under pretence of Friendship, seized on the Governor, with some others, and carrying them on board, made them send to Land for Cattle to ransom their Liberties: Yet after this sailed away with them; and possibly, says the Author, never brought them again.

Upon the Whole, of what has been said, it must appear to every honest unprejudiced Reader, that the Negroes are equally intituled to the common Priviledges of Mankind with the Whites, that they have the same rational Powers; the same natural Affections, and are as susceptible of Pain and Grief as they, that therefore the bringing and keeping them in Bondage, is an Instance of Oppression and Injustice of the most grievous Nature, such as is scarcely to be paralleled by any Example in the present or former Ages. Many of its woful Effects have already been expressed, but those which more particularly calls for the Notice and Redress of the Government, arises from its inconsistency with every Thing that is just and humane, whence the worst Effects naturally flow to the Religion and Morals of the People where it prevails. Its destructive Consequences to labouring People, and Tradesmen is no less worthy the Attention of those who have Inclination and Power to serve their Country. This Rank of People, as they are the chief Strength and Support of a Community; so their Situation and Welfare calls for the particular Care of every prudent Government; but where Slave-keeping prevails, their Places and Services being supplied by the Negroes, they find themselves slighted, disregarded, and robbed of the natural Oppertunities of Labour common in other Countries, whereby they are much discouraged and their Families often reduced to Want: To which may be added the Discouragement also given by this Trade to many poor People, that can scarce get Bread in our Mother Country, who, if not prevented, on Account of the great Number

of Negroes, would be likely to come over into the Colonies where they might, with Ease, procure to themselves a more comfortable Living than at Home. Another direful Effect arises from the fearful Apprehensions and Terrors which often seize the Minds of the People, for the Suppression of which the most cruel Methods are pursued, such as are indeed a Reproach to Christianity, and will by Degrees harden the Hearts of those who are active therein, so as totally to exclude them from that Tenderness and Sympathy for the Sufferings of their Fellow Creatures, which constitutes the Happiness of Society, and is the Glory of intelligent Beings. As for the Possessors of the Negroes themselves, though the Sumptuousness and Ease in which they live, and the Attendance and Obsequiousness of their Slaves, may raise in their Minds an imagined Apprehension of their being Persons more happy, and of greater Importance than other People, who do live in the like Affluence and State; yet happy would it be if they were sensible how great is their Mistake, and could be persuaded seriously to consider and apply the Parable of the rich Man and poor *Lazarus*, mentioned by our SAVIOUR, whereby they might plainly perceive that they have no Cause to exult, because of their Power and Plenty, but have rather Occasion to mourn over themselves, their Children, and their Country; the natural Effect of their Situation being such as has been repeatedly observed.

*“To fill Men with Haughtiness, Tyranny, Luxury and Barbarity; corrupting the Minds, and debasing*

*the Morals of their Children, to the unspeakable Prejudice of Religion and Virtue, and the Exclusion of that holy Spirit of universal Love, Meekness and Charity, which is the unchangeable Nature and Glory of true Christianity.*

F I N I S.

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E R R A T A.

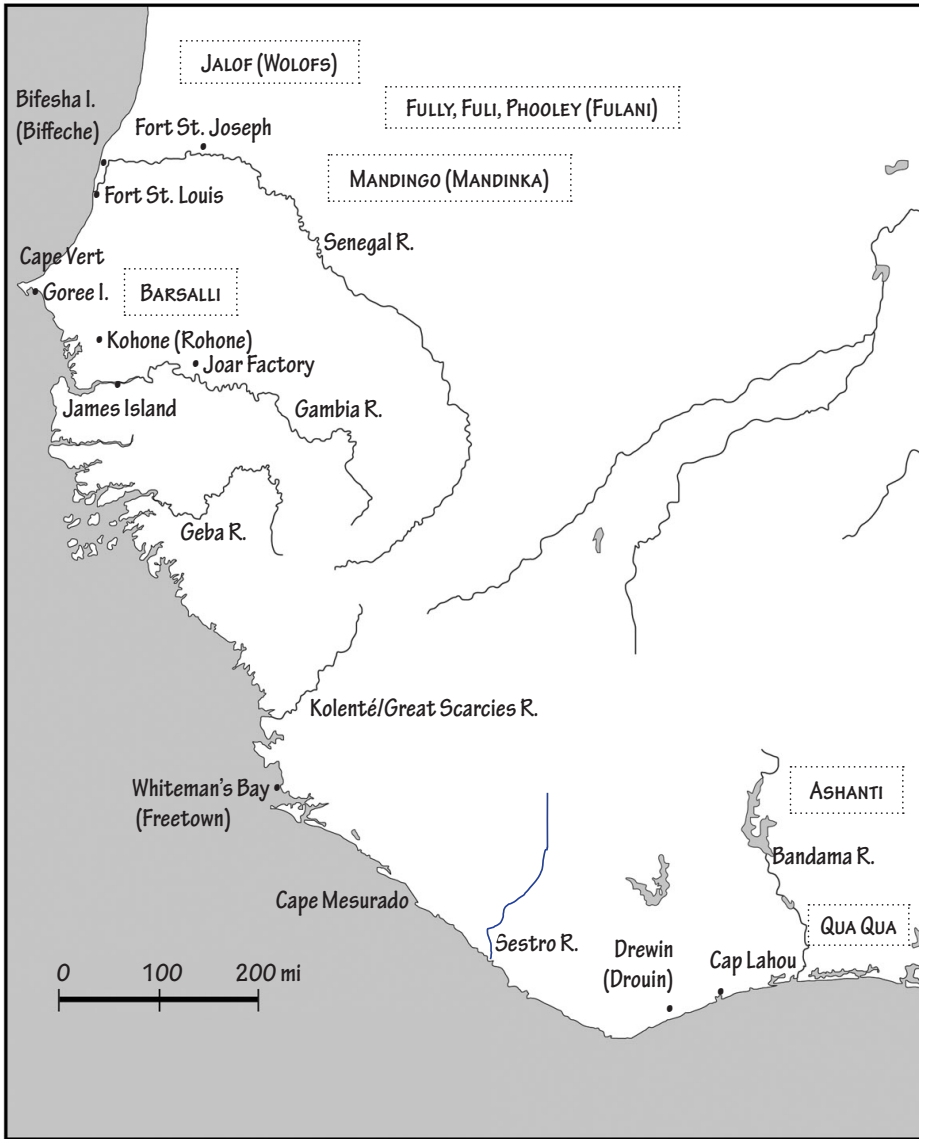
**A**T Page 37, Line 2d, for *unties* read *unites*. At Page 56, Line 27th of the Note, for *human* read *humane*.

## Notes\*

\* *Grateful acknowledgment is made for the work of David L. Crosby, whose edition of The Complete Antislavery Writings of Anthony Benezet 1754-1783: An Annotated Critical Edition (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013) provided invaluable guidance and insight in the preparation of the following notes.*

- 1.15-16 GEORGE WALLIS, FRANCIS HUTCHESON, and JAMES FOSTER ] George Wallace (1727-1805) was a Scottish advocate, jurist, and author of *System of the Principles of the Law of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1760); Francis Hutcheson (1694-1746) was Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow University and author of *A System of Moral Philosophy* (1755), published posthumously by his son. James Foster (1697-1753) was an English Baptist preacher and theologian, author of *Discourses on all the principal branches of natural religion and social virtue* (1749-52 & 1754).
- 1.16-17 a Pamphlet, lately published in *London*, ] The author of this pamphlet remains unknown.
- 1.34 RICHARD SAVAGE, *on publick Spirit.*] English poet (1697-1743); lines from *Of public spirit in regard to public works. A poem, to His Royal Highness Frederick, Prince of Wales.* (London, 1737, 1739)
- 4.29-5.1 *Peace on Earth, and Good Will to Men, ----- of every Nation, Kindred, Tongue and People.* ] Luke 2:14 – “Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men.” Revelation 14:6 – “And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people.”





Places mentioned in the text. This region of West Africa includes the present-day nations of Mauritania, Senegal, The Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea,



Sierra Leone, Liberia, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Burkina Faso, Togo, Benin, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, and Cameroon.

- 8.7-10 *Andrew Brue ... Astley's Collection of Voyages*] André Brüe (1654-1738) became director of French trade in Senegal in 1697 and built the post Saint-Joseph-de-Galam 400 miles up the Senegal River in 1698. His travels were published by the Abbe Jean-Baptiste Labat in *Nouvelle relation de l'Afrique occidentale* (Paris, 1728). Portions were translated into English for *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels* (London, 1745-1747) published in weekly installments by Thomas Astley. Astley's *Collections*, as it was known, was the source for many of Benezet's excerpts.
- 8.8 Factory] An establishment for trading in a foreign country. A "factor" was a trader or representative.
- 8.17 Papel] Also known as Moium, Oium, Papei, Pepel or Pelels, they are an ethnic group primarily located in modern Guinea-Bissau. The area was occupied by the Portuguese, though the French maintained a trading post in the 1680s. The Papels expelled the Europeans in 1701 but were re-occupied by the Portuguese in 1753.
- 8.26 the former Edition] The text presented here is that of the Second Edition, issued the same year as the first (1762), which added new excerpts and commentary, expanding the work from 56 to 80 pages.
- 9.8 *William Bosman, Factor for the Dutch at Delmina,*] *A new and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea, Divided into the Gold, the Slave, and the Ivory Coasts....Written Originally in Dutch by William Bosman, Chief Factor for the Dutch at the Castle of St. George d'Elmina. And now faithfully done into English, 2nd ed.* (London, 1721). Possibly excerpted from Astley's *Collection* (1745-47). Elmina (Delmina) is on the southern coast of present-day Ghana.
- 9.19 *Barbot*] Jean Barbot (1655-1712), French Huguenot slave trader who made two voyages to the Guinea Coast in 1678-79 and 1681-82. His account, "A Description of the Coasts of North and South-Guinea," was first published in Awnsham

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V O L . I .

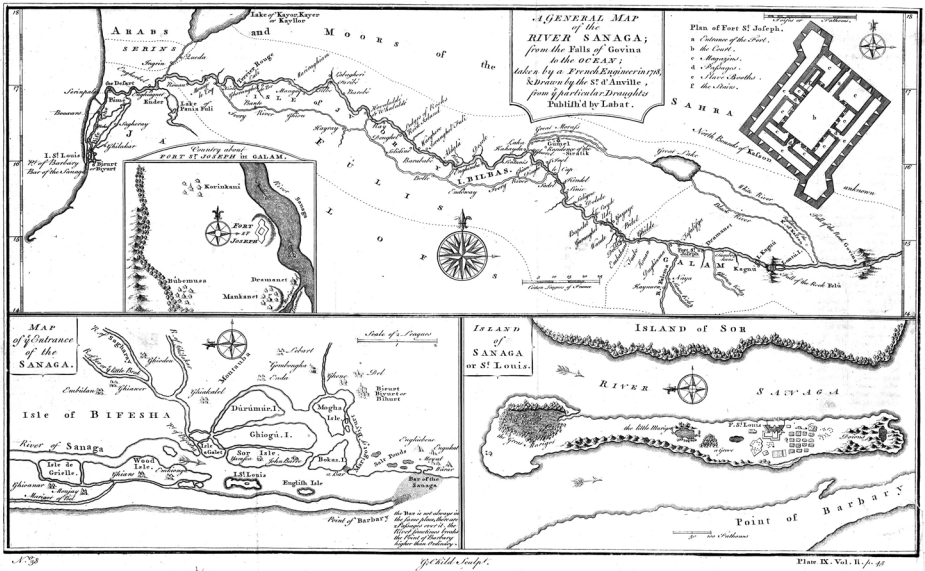
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L O N D O N :

Printed for THOMAS ASTLEY. M.DCC.XLV.

*A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels* (London, 1745-1747)

[ *Astley's Collection* ]



Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville, *A general map of the River Sanaga [Senegal], from the falls of Govina to the Ocean* 1718. New York Public Library Digital Collections.

Churchill and John Churchill, eds., *A Collection of Voyages and Travels, 2nd edition* (London, 1732), vol. 5, from which it was in turn excerpted in Astley's *Collection* (1745-47).

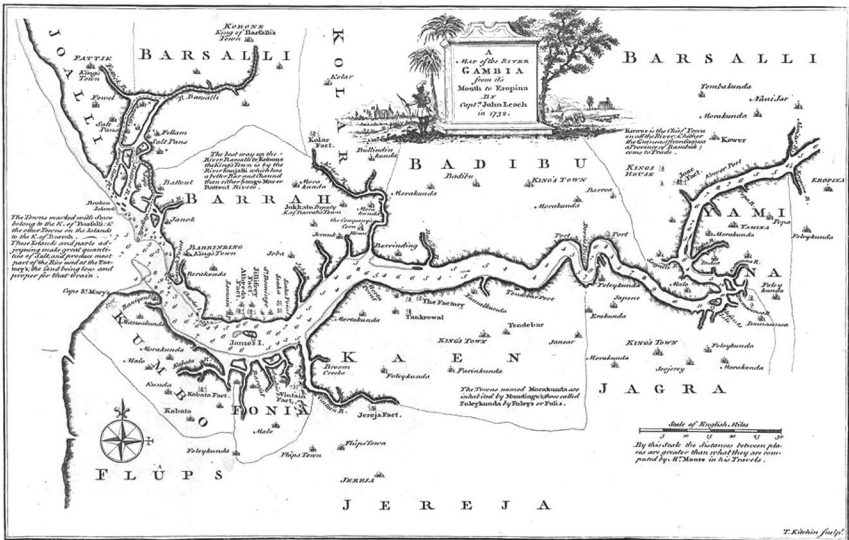
- 10.7-8 William Smith ] British surveyor and explorer; author of *A New Voyage to Guinea* (London, 1744), excerpted in Astley's *Collection* (1745-47), which may have been Benezet's source.
- 11.5 Fort St. Joseph ] See note 8.11-14
- 11.27 Fort St. Louis ] At the mouth of the Senegal River
- 12.28-29 M. Adanson, ... Goree ] Michel Adanson (1727-1806), French naturalist and explorer, author of *A Voyage to Senegal, the Isle of Goree, and the River Gambia* (Dublin & London, 1759). Goree is a harbor island at Cape Vert, present-day Dakar, Senegal, infamous as detention center and embarkation point for slave ships.
- 14.12 Oedo ] Present-day Benin City in southern Nigeria.

- 14.27 *Artus* ] Gothard Arthus (1568-1628) translated portions of Pieter de Marees' *Beschrijvinghe ende historische verhael vant gout koninckrijck van Guinea* (Amsterdam, 1602) from Dutch to Latin for Theodor De Bry's *India Occidentalis* (Frankfurt, 1604). English excerpts were published in Astley's *Collection*, v. 2 (1745-47) as "A True and Historical Description of the Gold Coast."
- 15.4 *Cape Mesurado* ] At present-day Monrovia, Liberia
- 15.7-8 *Captain Philips* ] Thomas Phillips, "A Journal of a Voyage Made in the Hannibal of London, Anno 1693, 1694, from England to Cape Monseradoe in Africa," in Churchill's *Collection*, v. 6, excerpted in Astley's *Collection*, v. 2 (1745-47).
- 15.9 *Snoek* ] John Snoek, "A Description of the Tooth and Grain Coast, &c.," in Bosman, *A new and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea ...* (1705), excerpted in Astley's *Collection*, v. 2 (1745-47).
- 15.27 *Qua Qua Negroes* ] From Nicolas Villault, sieur de Bellefond, *A relation of the coasts of Africk called Guinee with a description of the countreys, manners and customs of the inhabitants, of the productions of the earth, and the merchandise and commodities it affords: with some historical observations upon the coasts: being collected in a voyage made by the Sieur Villault ... in the years 1666, and 1667, written in French, and faithfully Englished* (London, 1670); excerpted in Astley's *Collection*. Villault reports (p. 111), "We could not understand their language, nor they speak one word of *Portugais*: When they came first aboard us, they cryed *Qua, Qua, Qua*, which we found afterwards to be as much as, *you are welcome*, or *good morrow*; for which reason the *Hollanders* have given the name of *Quaqua* to a good part of this [Ivory] Coast."
- 16.12 *Island of Bifesha* ] Biffeche; about 2 miles upstream from the mouth of the Senegal River at Saint-Louis, Senegal; the island lies now in present-day Mauritania.
- 16.14 *Indian and Guinea Corn ... Pulse* ] Probably maize and

sorghum; *pulse* is any dried seeds of legumes, such as peas or lentils.

- 16.29 *Marchais* ] In *Voyage of the Chevalier des Marchais to Guinea, the Isles Adjacent, and Cayenne, in 1725, 1726, 1727* (Amsterdam, 1731). Reynaud Des Marchais, Chevalier des Marchais was a French cartographer and slave-ship captain who travelled the west coast of Africa, the West Indies and the north-west coast of South America between 1704 and 1727, under service to the King of France. His maps and manuscripts were published posthumously by Père J. B. Labat. The narrative is extracted in Astley's *Collection*, v.2 (1745-47).
- 17.26 Kingdom of *Fida* ] French *Ouidah*, English *Whydah*, Dutch *Fida*; slave embarkation port in present-day Benin.
- 18.11 Nation of *Pope* ] Or Popo, at the eastern end of the coast of present-day Benin.
- 18.20 *Delmina*, and *Cape Corse* ] Elmina and Cape Coast, on the Atlantic coast of present-day Ghana.
- 20.1-2 *Le Maire ... Falofs* ] Jacques-Joseph, Sieur Le Maire, *A Voyage of the Sieur Le Maire to the Canary Islands, Cape-Verd, Senegal and Gamby* (London, 1696); excerpted in Astley's *Collection*, v.2 (1745-47). The Jolof or Wolof empire ruled much of Senegal from the 14th into the 16th century.
- 20.15 *Vasconselas* ] Agostinho Manuel de Vasconcelos (1584-1641), author of *Vida e acções de el-rei D. João II, decimo terceiro rei de Portugal* (Madrid, 1629), translated into French as *Histoire de D. Jean II* (Paris 1641); quoted in Jean Barbot, *A Description of the Coasts of North and South-Guinea*, printed in Churchill's *Collection* and excerpted in Astley's *Collection*, v.2.
- 20.26 in Oyer and Terminer ] Literally "to hear and to determine."
- 20.28 Fuli ] The Fula or Fulani people are an ethnic group inhabiting several countries in West Africa.
- 21.23 Peter Holben ] Peter Kolbe or Kolben (1675-1726) spent the years 1705 to 1712 in South Africa. He published *Caput bonae*





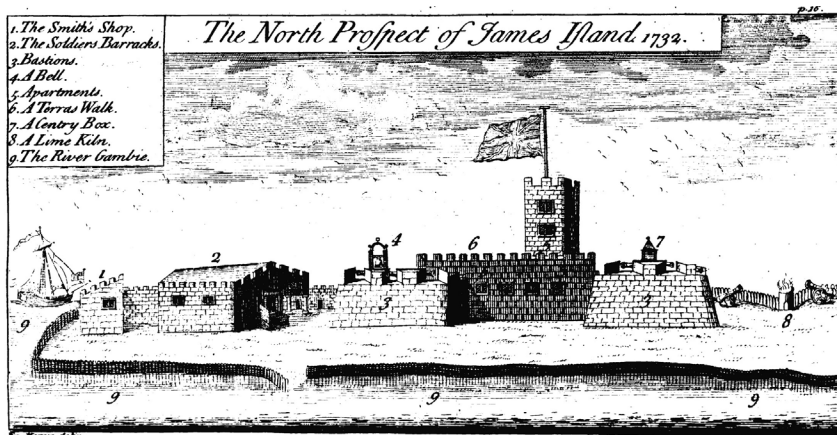
H. 349, N° 87, Vol. 2, p. 358.

Thomas Kitchen, *A map of the River Gambia from it's mouth to Eropina* (1752)

*spei hodiernum* (Nuremberg, 1719), translated as *The present state of the Cape of Good Hope* (1731). His account offered positive views of the Khoikhoi or Hottentot people and said of the European traders “they would better have deserved the name of gangsters and highwaymen.”

- 25.4 Francis Moore ] Moore (1708-after 1756) was in Gambia 1730-1735. He published *Travels Into the Inland Parts of Africa: Containing a Description of the Several Nations for the Space of Six Hundred Miles Up the River Gambia* (London, 1738).
- 25.6 Barsalli ] Along the Bandiala River, north of the Gambia about 40 miles.
- 25.8 James's Fort ] On James Island, now Kunta Kinteh Island, approximately 19 miles upriver from the mouth of the Gambia; ceded by the Dutch to the English in 1664.
- 25.24 Foar or Rohone ] The Joar factory was about 100 miles up the Gambia River from James's Fort. Rohone is a

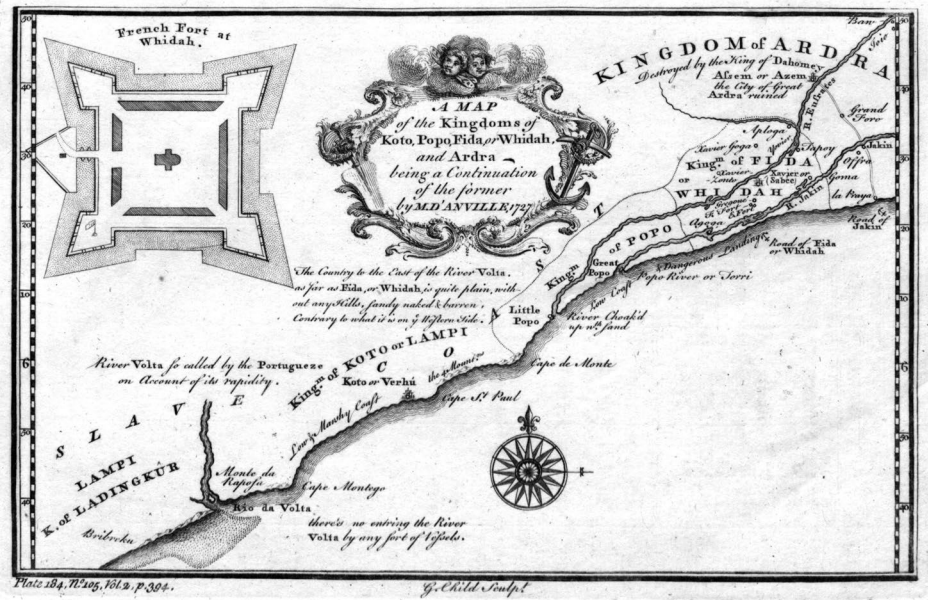




From: Francis Moore, *Travels Into the Inland Parts of Africa* (1738)

mistranscription of Kohone, sometimes Cohoné, the king's town of Barsalli; see note 25.6.

- 27.7 *Kayor* ] Or Cayor, large kingdom in western Senegal.
- 28.15 *Pope* ] See note 18.11.
- 28.24 *Arda* ] Kingdom in southern present-day Benin
- 29.5 *Fida* ] See note 17.26
- 29.30 *Cassaneuve* ] Jean Casseneuve was first mate of the ship *Don Carlos* on its voyage to the Congo in 1700. Portions of his journal were incorporated into Jean Barbot's "A Description of the Coasts of North and South-Guinea," printed in Churchill's *A Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1732) and excerpted in Astley's *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1745-47).
- 31.22 *John Atkins ... Commodore Ogle* ] John Atkins (1685-1757), Royal Navy surgeon and author of *A Voyage to Guinea, Brasil, and the West Indies in His Majesty's Ships, the Swallow and the Weymouth* (London, 1735 & 1737). The force under Sir Chaloner Ogle KB (1681-1750) defeated the pirate fleet of



Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville, *A map of the Kingdoms of Koto, Popo, Fida or Whidah and Adra : being a continuation of the former* (1727). New York Public Library Digital Collections.

Bartholomew Roberts in the Battle of Cape Lopez (February 10, 1722)

31.24-25 *Cobehahou and Drewin ... Santee Negroes* ] Cobehahou is possibly Cap Lahou in Côte d'Ivoire. Drewin (French, *Drouin*) is an area east of present-day San-Pedro in Côte d'Ivoire. Santee is probably Ashanti, a people and region in central Ghana.

31.28 pany yard ] *Pany* is a variant of *panyeny*, n. The domain or realm of pagans.

32.13 *George Wallis* ] See note 1.15-16

33.4 (*in Commercio*) ] Subject to private ownership

33.15 *ipso Fure* ] By the law itself

- 35.19-20 *Francis Hutcheson ... Moral Philosophy* ] See note 1.15-16
- 37.15-16 *James Foster, ... Social Virtue* ] See note 1.15-16
- 39.16 EXTRACTS *from a Pamphlet* ] While the main text through page 65, line 8, is drawn from *Two Dialogues on the Man-Trade*, the footnotes to those pages were added by Benezet from his gleanings of other sources.
- 41.1 CHRIST'S Kingdom is not of this World ] John 18:36—“My kingdom is not of this world.”
- 42.26-27 1 *Tim* 1.10 ] “... the law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient, for the ungodly and for sinners, for unholy and profane, for murderers of fathers and murderers of mothers, for manslayers, <sup>10</sup>For whoremongers, for them that defile themselves with mankind, for men stealers, for liars, for perjured persons, and if there be any other thing that is contrary to sound doctrine ...”
- 45.25-26 *blessed are the Peacemakers ... God*, ] Matthew 5:9.
- 46.22-23 Thirty Thousand *French Prisoners* ] “During the Seven Years’ War the annual average number of prisoners of war in England was 18,800, although the total of one year, 1762, was 26,137.”—Francis Abell, *Prisoners of War in Britain 1756 to 1815* (Oxford, 1914).
- 48.27 *Thomas Philips* ] “A Journal of a Voyage Made in the Hannibal of London, Anno 1693, 1694, from England to Cape Monseradoe in Africa,” printed in Churchill’s *A Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1732) and excerpted in Astley’s *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1745-47).
- 49.1 *Compleat System of Geography* ] Although the author of the *Two Dialogues* cites Emanuel Bowen’s *A Complete System of Geography* (London, 1747), the estimate relies on William Snelgrave, *A New Account of Some Parts of Guinea, and the Slave-Trade* (London, 1734).

# Two Dialogues

ON THE

## MAN-TRADE.

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Ἀνθρῶπος ἀνθρώπου κύριος ἐκ' ἐς. Αἰγ. Εἰσιτ. cap. xxix.  
*Homo, Sacra Res. Sen. Epist. xciv.*  
— *Quocunque modo Rem.*

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L O N D O N :

Printed for J. WAUGH in *Lombard-street*, W. FENNER in *Pater-*  
*noster-Row*, G. WOODFALL at *Charing-Cross*, W. OWEN at  
*Temple-Bar*, and Mrs. KINGHAM at the *Royal Exchange*. 1760.

49.3 Fifty Thousand ] According to <https://www.slavevoyages.org/> average annual embarkations in English ships by decade for the 18th century were as follows:

1700S	16,336	1750S	24,281
1710S	16,444	1760S	35,205
1720S	21,114	1770S	33,640
1730S	25,379	1780S	25,757
1740S	17,576	1790S	36,418

50.20-21 *John Atkins ... Ogle's Squadron* ] See note 31.22

50.26 *John Leadstone* ] An agent of the Royal African Company who deserted, turned to theft, piracy, kidnapping, enslaving, and trading. At Whiteman's Bay (present-day Freetown, Sierra Leone) his establishment did business with pirates, privateers, smugglers, and slave-traders; he was sometimes known as "Old Cracker" or "Captain Crackers."

52.6 *The following Relation* ] The author of this piece remains unidentified, other than the initials "W.F."

53.33 flead ] flayed; i.e., stripped of skin

56.1 Sir Hans Sloan ] Sir Hans Sloane, 1st Baronet FRS (1660-1753), Anglo-Irish physician, naturalist, and collector; author of *A Voyage to the Islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica*. (London, 1707 & 1725)

57.21 Osenbrigs ] Coarse fabric originally made in Osnabrück, Germany.

60.25-26 *French ... War against us* ] The conflict between opposing alliances led by Britain and France lasted from 1756 to 1763, known as the Seven Years' War.

63.28-29 *that Thieves ... of GOD* ] I Corinthians 6:10 — "Nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God."

- 64.1-2 *treasuring up ... Day of Wrath*] Romans 2:5 – “But after thy hardness and impenitent heart treasurest up unto thyself wrath against the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God.”
- 64.16-18 *his only begotten Son ... everlasting Life*] John 3:16
- 64.19-20 if God so loved ... one another.] 1 John 4:11 – “Beloved, if God so loved us, we ought also to love one another.”
- 65.6 *J. PHILMORE.*] One of the two invented characters in dialogue in *Two Dialogues on the Man-Trade*.
- 65.17-19 *Thou shalt love the Lord ... as thyself* ] Luke 10:27 – “And he answering said, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself.”
- 65.20-21 *do unto others ... unto us* ] Matthew 7:12 – “Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets.”
- 69.24-25 *seek Judgment ... Oppressed* ] Isaiah 1:17 – “Learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow.”
- 69.26-29 *what shall ... the Womb?\**] Job 31:14-15 – “What then shall I do when God riseth up? and when he visiteth, what shall I answer him? Did not he that made me in the womb make him? and did not one fashion us in the womb?”
- 70.25 *Extract of a Voyage*] SlaveVoyages website lists the *John and Sarah*, Captain Law, out of Liverpool (Voyage ID 25758), that purchased captives at Cape Coast, departed March 2, 1725, with 50 on board and disembarked 43 at an unspecified port in the Americas.
- 70.28 SESTRO ] The Sestro River, also known as Cestos or Nuon or Nipoué River in modern Liberia. It meets the Atlantic at River Cess, 5.44° N, 9.6° W.





32 [1965]: 255-87) lists the schooner *Hannah*, Captain Francis Moore, (SlaveVoyages ID 25339) which disembarked 100 (of 128 embarked) from the “coast of Guinea” on the Jersey side on August 6, 1761, and the *Company*, Captain Joseph Hodgson, which disembarked 108 captives (of 130 embarked) on October 1 (SlaveVoyages ID 25062). A £10 duty levied on slave imports in 1761 caused merchants to land them across the Delaware River beyond Pennsylvania borders.

77.19 George Roberts ] *The Four Years Voyages of Capt. George Roberts* (London, 1726)

77.21 *St. Jago* ] Santiago, one of the Cape Verde Islands.

78.27-28 Captain *Dampier*] William Dampier (1651-1715), English explorer, pirate, privateer, navigator, and naturalist. His *A New Voyage around the World* (London, 3 vols. 1697-1703) was excerpted in Astley’s *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1745-47).

79.9 *St. John* ] São João Baptista, present-day Boa Vista

81.20-21 Parable ... *Lazarus*] Luke 16:19-31

81.27-82.5 “*To fill Men ... true Christianity.*] From “Extract from an Epistle from the Yearly Meeting of the People Called Quakers, Held in London in the Year 1758.” The passage was reproduced earlier in Benezet’s *Observations on the Enslaving, Importing and Purchasing of Negroes* (1759-60).



The FOUR YEARS  
**VOYAGES**  
 OF  
**Capt. GEORGE ROBERTS;**  
 BEING A  
 SERIES of *Uncommon* EVENTS,

Which befell him

In a VOYAGE to the Islands of the CANARIES, CAPE DE VERDE, and BARBADOES, from whence he was bound to the Coast of GUINEY.

The Manner of his being taken by Three Pyrate Ships, commanded by *Low*, *Russell*, and *Spriggs*, who, after having plundered him, and detained him 10 Days, put him aboard his own Sloop, without Provisions, Water, &c. and with only two Boys, one of Eighteen, and the other of Eight Years of Age.

The Hardships he endur'd for above 20 Days, 'till he arriv'd at the Island of *St. Nicholas*, from whence he was blown off to Sea (before he could get any Sustenance) without his Boat and biggest Boy, whom he had sent ashore; and after Four Days of Difficulty and Distress, was Shipwreck'd on the Unfrequented Island of *St. John*, where, after he had remained near two Years, he built a Vessel to bring himself off.

With a particular and curious Description and Draught of the *Cape de Verd* Islands; their Roads, Anchoring Places, Nature and Production of the Soils; The Kindness and Hospitality of the Natives to Strangers, their Religion, Manners, Customs, and Superstitions, &c.

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Together with Observations on the Minerals, Mineral Waters, Metals, and Salts, and of the Nitre with which some of these Islands abound.

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WRITTEN BY HIMSELF,

And interspers'd with many Pleasant and Profitable Remarks, very instructive for all those who use this Trade, or who may have the Misfortune to meet with any of the like Distresses either by Pyarcy or Shipwreck.

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Adorn'd with several COPPER PLATES.

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L O N D O N:

Printed for A. BETTESWORTH, at the *Red Lyon*, in *Pater-Noster-Row*, and J. OSBORN, at the *Ship*, at *St. Saviour's Dock-Head*, near *Horsely-Down*. 1726.

*The Four Years' Voyages of Capt. George Roberts ...*  
 (London, 1726) — Title page.

## About the Text

This edition of *A Short Account of That Part of Africa, Inhabited by the Negroes* is based on the text and layout of the Philadelphia 1762 Second Edition, with some few alterations. Quotation marks that began the lines of extensive quoted materials have been replaced with left and right indents and additional space above and below. This is done to remove a feature that modern readers may find distracting or even confusing and has the benefit of highlighting the extent and patterns of Benezet's organization of the materials he was presenting. Another adjustment is footnotes that run over to following pages are separated from the text there by an added hairline. Otherwise, the effort has been to represent Benezet's publication as nearly as possible with the tools at hand. The text has been transcribed from the copy in the British Library, accessed through the Eighteenth Century Collection Online. Spelling, orthography, and punctuation have not been altered, except as described above and in the following emendations

11.4-5	Fort St. <i>Feseph</i>	Fort St. <i>Joseph</i>
38.12	destitue	destitute
38.24	unties	unites [Errata]
49.22	triving	thriving
54.30	Horror	Horror.
58.20	human	humane [Errata]
64.5	henious	heinous
74.29	Prayes	Prayers
80.12	griecous	grievous

The work is set in IM Fell English, a digital typeface engineered by Igino Marini based on 17th-century types cut by Christoffel van Dijck and Robert Granjon and acquired by John Fell for Oxford University Press in 1672. (<https://iginomarini.com/fell/>).

# Abstract

Anthony Benezet scoured the available English literature of colonial exploitation for evidence of the humanity of the trafficked Africans and the inhumanity of the European traders in human beings. He compiled and published this *Short Account* in 1762 to present the case for termination of the trans-Atlantic transportation of kidnapped Africans, for abolition of slavery and the slave trade, and for emancipation of the enslaved persons held in bondage in North America and elsewhere. Drawing on Scottish moral philosophy, British Whig ideology, and, most importantly, on New Testament gospel teachings, Benezet presented both reasoned and impassioned appeals for the recognition that Africans had rights to life and liberty that were being abrogated on an industrial scale in violation of the most sacred Christian beliefs.

Benezet (1713-1784) was a refugee from France by way of England whose family had relocated to Philadelphia in 1731. He became a schoolteacher who founded the first public school for girls in America in 1755 and the Negro School at Philadelphia for black children in 1770. Benezet was an active member of the Quaker meetings and had previously authored a short pamphlet (1760) and an epistle to congregations (1754) against the participation of Quakers and other Christians in “the man-trade.” This *Short Account* in 1762 was a more ambitious work, combining anti-slavery arguments with historical and sociological information about Africa and its ongoing exploitation. Informed by wide reading, particularly the serialized *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels* (London, 1745-1747), known as Astley’s *Collections*, Benezet turned the literature of exploration and conquest into an argument for the common humanity of Africans. He found evidence that the African Negroes were settled, cultured, independent, and largely peaceable; he contradicted the prevalent notion that enslaved transportees were prisoners of war who would otherwise have been executed; and he exposed the centuries-old efforts of English,

French, Dutch, and Portuguese merchant enterprises to profit from buying and selling Negro men, women, and children. The mid-eighteenth century witnessed the height of the English and North American participation in the trans-Atlantic slave trade, and this early abolitionist tract raised an important and ultimately influential outcry in favor of its termination and the remediation of its manifold abuses.