THE

CRIES OF AFRICA,

TO THE

INHABITANTS OF EUROPE;

OR,

A SURVEY OF THAT BLOODY COMMERCE

CALLED THE

SLAVE-TRADE.

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PREFACE.

TO THE BENEVOLENT READER.

In presenting you with the following account of the African Slave-trade, it is our misfortune to be obliged to present you with little else than a history of the most atrocious crimes, and of the most bitter sufferings. We anticipate your frequent astonishment while you peruse it. You will often exclaim, "Is it possible that human nature can have reached such a degree of depravity?" and you will, therefore, be often inclined to doubt the truth of the facts which have passed before you. It is proper, then, that we should inform you from whence we have collected them. Every enlightened European is acquainted with the name and the labours of the celebrated English traveller Mungo Park, and no one has ever yet doubted his veracity. It is from his authority that we shall speak occasionally in the following pages.

There is also another source from which we shall draw our information: this will be found in *the Book of Evidence*, published by order of the British parliament. This book contains the testimony of persons who had visited the continent of Africa, either as disinterested individuals, or as having been concerned themselves in the slave-trade. The examination of these persons was taken by a committee of the British House of Commons, which was occupied in so taking it for three years. The parties were not only examined, but were obliged to submit to the ordeal of a severe cross-examination, by those who were interested in the continuance of this unchristian traffic. And here

permit us to observe, that, though the melancholy facts which we are going to announce, have generally a reference to the slave-trade, as formerly carried on by the English, yet they are applicable to the same trade as carried on by any nation whatever. It matters not whether it be carried on by the French, the Dutch, the Portuguese, the Germans, or other persons: the result will be the same. Human nature is alike in all the countries of the universe. The evils attendant upon it are not casual: they are inseparable from the very nature of the traffic. Consider, that it is the demand for any article which occasions it to be sold. In the present case, the article consists of *men*, *women*, *and children*. Can we doubt then, that those who sell the Africans to the Europeans, will try every means in their power, even the most unjustifiable, to get them into their possession, for the purposes of sale? When a market was opened in Egypt, for the purchase and sale of human beings, we are told, in the holy Scriptures, that the brothers of Joseph were tempted to seize him and take him thither. When similar markets were afterwards opened in Asia and ancient Greece, what a number of persons does history record, as having turned pirates, both by sea and by land, to seize and steal the unwary, and to carry them off for sale, for their own private emolument! In fact, open a market for the human species wherever you will, and you will find every kind of enormity committed, to gain possession of the persons of men. The British parliament were so convinced of this truth, in the course of the evidence submitted to their examination, that they could no longer, either as moral men, or as Christians, tolerate the slave-trade.

It may be proper to observe here, that the account which we are now going to offer, relates only to what is usually called the African Slave-trade; and that it does not comprehend those sufferings which the unhappy victims of it are made to undergo afterwards, in the European colonies of America.

THE

CRIES OF AFRICA, &c.

CHAPTER I.

The different ways in which the natives of Africa are reduced to slavery.—Solution of the problem, why the natives of the interior are more civilized than those upon the coast.

A CONSIDERABLE part of the slaves, which the Africans sell to the Europeans, are *prisoners of war*. The wars of Africa are, according to Mr. Park, of two sorts. The first, like those of Europe, may be considered as public, or declared. Such wars as these, he observes, are generally concluded in a single campaign. The parties give battle: the vanquished never think of rallying: they give themselves up to a panic fear; and the conquerors have nothing else to do but to handcuff their prisoners, and to carry them off to their own country, from whence, as opportunity serves, they take them to the slave-market.

The other species of warfare is called *Tegria*, which, in the African language, means robbery, and consists of expeditions, without any previous notice or declaration, for the purpose of plunder. It is this sort of warfare which chiefly supplies the slave-market. These *Tegria* are of greater or less extent, according to circumstances. They are conducted by men heading parties of five hundred horsemen, down to the single individual armed with his bow and arrows, who, concealing himself amidst the bushes, waits till some young or

unarmed person passes by; then, tiger-like, he springs upon his prey, rushes with it into the woods, and, when night falls, carries him off for a slave.

" Wars of this description," says Mr. Park, " are generally conducted with great secrecy. A few resolute individuals, headed by some person of enterprise and courage, march quietly through the woods, surprise in the night some unprotected village, and carry off the inhabitants and their effects, before their neighbours can come to their assistance. One morning, during my stay at Kamalia, we were all much alarmed by a party of this kind. The king of Foolado's son, with five hundred horsemen, passed secretly through the woods, a little to the southward of Kamalia, and on the morning following plundered three towns belonging to Madigai, a powerful chief in Jallonkadoo.

" The success of this expedition encouraged the governor of Bangassi, a town in Foolado, to make a second inroad upon another part of the same country. Having assembled about two hundred of his people, he passed the river Kokoro in the night, and carried off a great number of prisoners. Several of the inhabitants, who had escaped these attacks, were afterwards seized by the Mandingoes, as they wandered about in the woods, or concealed themselves in the glens and strong places of the mountains. These plundering expeditions always produce speedy retaliation; and when large parties cannot be collected for this purpose, a few friends will combine together, and advance into the enemies' country, with a view to plunder and carry off the inhabitants. By these means, hereditary quarrels are excited and perpetuated between nations, tribes, villages, and even single families, in consequence of the powerful temptation which the slave-market opens to the inhabitants, to gratify their revenge with a momentary profit."

Such appear to have been some of the ways in which slaves were procured for the Europeans, wherever Mr. Park travelled. But it appears from *the Book of Evidence,* printed by order of the English Parliament, that the expeditions called *Tegria* are practised all over the continent of Africa; that is, in those other parts of it which that celebrated traveller never visited. We find that petty kings and chieftains, when they are in want of European goods, send their military to get possession of the persons of their own subjects.

These attack a village in the night: if necessary, they set fire to it, to increase the confusion, and then seize the wretched inhabitants as they endeavour to escape from the flames. We find also, that individuals go out, in armed bodies, for the same purpose, both by land and by water. They overpower all whom they can catch on such occasions, and bring them home. When these expeditions are conducted upon a small scale, they assume the name of *Panyar*. This name obtains principally upon the vicinity of the sea-coast. It is the same as the *Tegria* in the interior. That such excursions should have had such names allotted to them, shows at once their notoriety and their frequency.

But before we proceed to the other means employed in Africa for procuring slaves for the Europeans, permit us to stop for a moment, to make an observation or two upon what has been already advanced. Interested men, in order to exculpate themselves, have given out, that the African wars have their origin more in the ferocious character of the natives, than in any desire of making prisoners for the purpose of sale. We are willing to allow that some of the public or declared wars may not be undertaken avowedly with this intention. But can any one doubt, that the predatory excursions, of which we have been speaking, have their origin in this cruel traffic? Do not the names of *Tegria* and *Panyar*, which signify the robbery or stealing of men, put this matter out of all doubt? Has it not also been observed before, that it is this species of warfare which chiefly supplies the slave-market? Add to this an important fact, furnished by the Book of Evidence before cited, and which is corroborated throughout; *viz.* that the frequency of the *Panyar* depends always on the number of European slave-vessels lying at anchor upon the coast. Permit us also to observe, that we are not to judge of the common wars of Africa, or the *Tegria*, by what we know of the European. The former are often marked with peculiar cruelty, in consequence of the spirit of retaliation between the parties concerned, which spirit was first engendered by the slave-trade; and they are also often peculiarly destructive, in consequence of those, who are too old for slavery, being murdered on the spot. They are distinguished also by the circumstance, that there seems to be no end to their continuance. This is one of the greatest evils attending them.

Ask any man in Europe, whose country has been over-run by hostile armies, whether he does not consider war as one of the greatest plagues with which the human race can be visited; and whether he has not often comforted himself with the hope that these awful visitations would not last long. The human mind, indeed, is often reconciled to an evil, from the belief that it is only temporary. What compassion then ought we not to feel for the innocent children of Africa, with whom *desolation is permanent*, and *from which there is little or no respite!* New periods of time bring forward the same calamities as the past had witnessed; and so long as new generations of men in Europe succeed each other in the continuance of the slave-trade, so long will new generations of men in Africa become the victims of these afflicting calamities.

But the slave-trader does not supply his wants solely by those cruel hostilities, which he causes and foments. His visits to the continent of Africa have produced other means of gratifying his avarice, and of extending the sufferings of the natives there. These visits have occasioned the pollution of justice, and this pollution has furnished him with new victims. In former times, when this continent was first visited by Europeans*, the public punishments there were extremely slight, and proportioned, according to the rude and simple notions of the inhabitants, to the crimes committed. But since that time, the jurisprudence of Africa has been made to accommodate itself to the demands of the slave-trade; so that now every offence, even of the most trivial kind, is punished with slavery. The most productive source of profit to the chieftains, is the imaginary crime of witchcraft. It is the most productive; first, because it is easy to convict where no rational proof is required; and, secondly, because the conviction is followed by selling the whole family of the accused. The person so accused is put to the ordeal of what is called the coloured water. If he drinks it without harm, he is pronounced innocent; but if, as it frequently happens (for the water is poisonous) there results either illness or death, he, or the surviving part of the family, are sold to the Europeans. This trial is the more calamitous, because it is so frequently attended with death. An eye-

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* See Nyandael and Artus of Dantzic, in the Indian Orientalis of De Bry; and Bosman, and Barbot, and Moore, and others.

witness deposed, before the parliament of England, that he saw six persons killed one morning in that manner, in consequence of an accusation by the king of Sherbro. Thus six persons lost their lives, and six families were consigned to the horrors of a foreign slavery. These accusations are sanctioned by a notion, which the slave-traders have taken care to strengthen and perpetuate among the natives, that many who die have fallen victims to some magical operation. What a wide field is opened here for the gratification of avarice! Whosoever has enriched himself, or has a numerous family, the sale of which would produce a considerable sum of money, seldom escapes the notice of his chieftain. In one of the maritime districts, it is computed that two-thirds of those exported have been sold for witches. From this statement it may be easily believed, that crimes are invented, and accusations multiplied, for the purpose of procuring condemnations; nay, that even the unwary are tempted and seduced into crime. The Book of Evidence, printed by order of the English Parliament, is full of the most disgusting instances of this kind.

Famine is mentioned by Mr. Park as another cause of slavery. The inhabitants have been known to sell themselves for the purpose of obtaining food, and even fond parents to have disposed of their children in the same manner, and for the same reason; but with respect to this class of slaves, a few words will suffice. It appears clearly, from Mr. Park and others, that, though famine has produced this mournful effect, yet the slave-trade has been the original cause of it; that is, the slave-trade has prodnced the unhappy circumstances which have given birth to this particular species of slavery. The frequency of the *Tegria,* of the *Panyar,* and of false and arbitrary accusations, together with the artifices made use of to seduce the unwary into crime, have contributed to stop the progress of cultivation in these countries. A native of Africa, in consequence of the insecurity of his person, has no inducement to cultivate more than he wants. He does not know, when he puts his seeds into the ground, that he shall ever be permitted to stay long enough in the country to enjoy his crop. Hence, he is careful how he wastes his labour for his subsistence. Add to this, that when these *Tegria* take place, not only the villages are often totally destroyed, but all the rice-fields belonging to them; so that the few miserable persons, who

have escaped either slavery or destruction by flying into the woods, find no provision wherewith to support themselves when they return home.

Mr. Park reckons debt, or what may be termed insolvency, among other causes of slavery. In this case, as in that of crime, it is remarkable how the original laws of this ill-fated continent have been perverted. It is remarkable how the chieftains have adapted the usages or customs of the country to the supply of the slave-market. The creditor in Africa enjoys the privilege not only of taking possession of the person of the debtor, to sell him for a slave, but, if he should run away, of the person of any member of his family; and, if none of these can be found, he may seize some other inhabitant of the same town or village for the repayment of his debt. The captains, however, of the European slave-ships, take an additional method of securing themselves against loss by debt. They do not hesitate to trust goods to the different negro factors, which the latter are to carry into the interior; and, in return for which, they are to bring back a stipulated number of slaves. The captains, however, when they part with these goods, insist upon having the bodies of as many of the children or relations of these factors, as are equivalent to the entrusted goods, to be kept by them as hostages on board their own ships, and which they have the power of carrying away as slaves, if the stipulation be not fulfilled. In the mean time, the factors begin their journey, and make all imaginable haste, the love of their families and relations constantly operating upon them as the strongest possible inducement to return at the appointed time. But, alas! some of these have themselves been seized by robbers on the road, and sold as slaves; so that while one ship has carried them off, another has carried off their innocent families and relations, to a cruel slavery. But it would be endless to recount the various acts of fraud, violence, and injustice, which have contributed, according to the Book of Evidence before cited, to the support of the slave-trade. These have been so many and so various, that *from sixty to one hundred thousand* of the natives of Africa have been known to be carried off in one year, to groan in the American colonies of Europe!!

It may be proper, before we proceed to another part of the subject, to stop here for some time, to solve a problem, which, while it will

throw new light upon the character of the Africans, will throw equal light upon that of the European traders. The problem is this: It is a fact universally acknowledged, that the natives of the interior are far more mild, more honest, more industrious, that is, more civilized, than those of the maritime parts of this continent.

The solution of this problem is not difficult. The natives of the interior conduct their own trade themselves. They know nothing of the Europeans. They know only, that there is a market, at a great distance from their own town or village, where the slaves they sell can be sold again; but they see no ships, nor do they know when or where they will arrive. The knowledge, however, that such a market exists, is an incitement to them to seize what may be considered to be favourable opportunities, either of indulging a spirit of retaliation, or of gratifying their avarice; but having no white traders among them, like those who live upon the coast, to excite their bad passions, and to stimulate them daily, by strong spirituous liquors and other means, to excesses of different sorts, the slave-trade goes on in these parts more in its regular than in a forced channel. Hence we find, that plundering expeditions, though too frequent in the interior, may be termed rare, compared with those upon the coast. They prevail most upon the borders of neighbouring states. They are also less frequent among the members of the same tribe. The same may be said of the *Panyar*, or private man-stealing. False accusations, with the intention of enslaving the accused, are also less frequent. From these circumstances there are fewer crimes, and more of personal protection; and hence it is, that the natives of the interior are less ferocious, and more honest, than those upon the coast, and that their land is more extensively and better cultivated.

The Slave-trade, on the other hand, is conducted both up the rivers, and upon the coast, by the whites themselves. The natives see their ships; they know that they come loaded with articles adapted to their wants, and for the purpose of receiving men, women, and children, in exchange. Here lies the temptation. Here are the means before their eyes of immediately gratifying their desires. No sooner do their vessels drop their anchor, than lust, avarice, enmity, revenge, and all the bad passions which agitate the human breast, are brought forth into action. The news of the arrival of a slave-

ship is like the publication of a reward for every species of crime. From that moment few are safe. The *Tegria*, the *Panyar*, the administration of the coloured water commence. A witness examined by the English parliament, deposed that the natives dared not stir out of their houses at these times without their arms. He asked one of them the reason why he armed himself, when there was no war. The man's answer, though silent, was expressive. He pointed his finger to a slave-ship which was then lying in the roads. And here it may be proper to remark, that the European traders never ask any questions, whether the slaves they buy have been fairly or unfairly obtained. Some of them boldly and frankly acknowledged, before the same parliament, that they bought all sorts of persons, without paying the least regard to the manner in which they had been made slaves, or without considering the right of the seller to dispose of them. "If the natives," said they, "will sell them, we will buy them."

But happy had it been for thousands of Africans, if the stream of this trade had been left to take only its own natural course, or if the European traders had not given it an undue impulse by an application of the most criminal powers; but, alas! what must we not expect from persons who leave their own country to tear the innocent inhabitants from another, into a dreadful slavery, for their own profit! Is it likely that they would be over-scrupulous in the means of obtaining their object? The fact justifies the supposition, as we shall soon show. It is well known, that all barbarous nations have an excessive love for spirituous liquors, and that this love grows with indulgence, till it becomes an invincible habit. Here, then, we meet with acts of the most criminal interference on the part of the European traders. Well acquainted with this unhappy infirmity on the part of the natives, they have lost no opportunity of profiting by it. They have given feasts to the chieftains, and when they have made them drunk, they have procured orders from them for military incursions against their own subjects. They are found also to have had recourse to other means equally base and fatal. They have sown the seeds of discord between the chieftains of neighbouring states, though living in amity with each other; and where they have found disputes already existing between them, they have blown the embers into a flame, well knowing, that whoever were the conquerors, the war

would terminate in their own favour. To enable the two parties to avenge each other, they have supplied both of them, upon trust, with arms and ammunition. They have then become calm spectators of the conflict, and, as soon as it was over, they have repaid themselves by receiving the prisoners on both sides. But this is not all. When men become once familiarized with vice, who knows where they will stop? When the moral principle is gone, what is to check them? The European traders have had even the audacity to steal the natives themselves, when they have been able to do it without being discovered, or without the fear of retaliation. How many solitary canoes have been seized, both in the rivers and upon the coast, and the people on board of them taken out and carried off to the regions of slavery!

But if these things are so, how is it possible that the natives upon the coast can be industrious, or that they can advance in the scale of civilization. Mr. Bryan Edwards, the celebrated author of the history of Jamaica, though he set his face against the abolition of the Slave-trade, being himself a planter, had yet the candour to allow, that the greater part of the continent of Africa was "a field of war and desolation; a forest where the inhabitants were wolves to one another; a scene of fraud, rapine, oppression, and blood." This information he said he collected from his own negroes, who had been taken from it. What a melancholy picture does this account, which is in conformity with our preceding representations, afford us! And how much more disgusting is it rendered by the reflection, that all the atrocities which we discover in it, were occasioned by people who *call themselves Christians!!!*

CHAPTER II.

Moral and intellectual character of the Africans.—Refutation of the argument that they are of an inferior species.—Reason why they have not advanced in civilization, like some other people.

From sixty to one hundred thousand human beings torn annually from their country, their families, and friends, and transported to a distant country, without the hope of seeing it again, and destined

to toil as beasts of burden for the advantage of others, they and their posterity for ever!! If the unhappy Africans are human beings; if they have passions similar to our own; if they feel and think like ourselves, they have a claim upon our deepest sympathy. When we hear the cries of an animal which suffers, we cannot refrain from pity: we find in our breast an impulse, which tells us, that there is some analogy between its pains and our own: and can we see such an accumulation of misery brought upon an innocent and unoffending people, without taking an interest in their sufferings, or without advocating their cause?

The European traders, conscious of their own guilt, conscious, indeed, that the voice of nature would cry out against their crimes, have prepared themselves long ago with arguments in their defence. Conscious that nothing else would justify their conduct, they have given out, and continue to give out, that the Africans are creatures of another species; that they have not the faculties and feelings of men; that they are upon a level with brutes; and add, by way of confirmation of their assertions, that though some centuries have passed since Africa was discovered, its inhabitants have made no progress in civilization, like other people.

There will be no difficulty in refuting this argument, if we appeal to disinterested travellers, or to any travellers of reputation, who have visited the continent in question. And first, let us enquire whether the Africans have any moral character.

"The fierce disposition of the Feloops," says Mr. Park, "is counterbalanced by many good qualities. They display the utmost *gratitude and affection* towards their benefactors; and the *fidelity* with which they preserve whatever is intrusted to them, is *remarkable.*"

"One of the first lessons in which the Mandingo women instruct their children, is the practice of truth. The reader will probably recollect the case of the unhappy mother, whose son was murdered by the Moorish banditti at Funingkedy. Her only consolation in her uttermost distress, was the reflection, that the poor boy, in the course of his blameless life, *had never told a lie.*"

"It is remarkable, that an African pardons more easily a beating, than an injury spoken against his parents. 'Wound me, but curse not my mother,' is a very common expression among them."

With respect to the sympathies of nature, or their affectionate feeling for one another, let us hear what Mr. Park says also on this subject. "About two o'clock we came in sight of Jumba, the native town of the blacksmith, (the negro who had travelled with Mr. Park,) from whence he had been absent more than four years. Soon after this his brother, who had been by some means apprized of his coming, came out to meet him, accompanied by a singing man. He brought a horse for the blacksmith, that he might enter his native town in a dignified manner; and he desired each of us to put a good charge of powder into our guns. The singing man now led the way, followed by the two brothers, and we were presently joined by a number of people of the town, all of whom, by the most extravagant jumping and singing, demonstrated great joy at seeing their old acquaintance the blacksmith. On entering the town, the singing man began an extempore song in praise of the blacksmith; extolling his courage in having overcome so many difficulties, and concluding with a strict injunction to his friends to dress him plenty of victuals.

"When we arrived at the blacksmith's place of residence, we dismounted and fired our muskets. The meeting between him and his relations was very tender; for these rude children of nature, free from restraint, display their emotions in the strongest and most expressive manner. Amidst these transports, the blacksmith's aged mother was led forth, leaning upon a staff. Every one made way for her, and she stretched out her hand to bid her son welcome. Being totally blind, she stroked his hands, arms, and face, with great care, and seemed highly delighted that her latter days were blessed by his return, and that her ears once more heard the music of his voice. From this interview I was fully convinced, that *whatever difference there is between the negro and European, in the conformation of the nose and the colour of the skin, there is none in the genuine sympathies and characteristic feelings of our common nature.*"

Take the following, as instances of their hospitality, or of their tenderness for strangers in distress. "Towards evening," says Mr. Park, "as I was sitting down, chewing straws, (this was in the kingdom of Kajaaga,) an old female slave, passing by with a basket upon her head, asked me, if I had got my dinner? As I thought she only laughed at me, I gave her no answer; but my boy, who was sitting close by, answered for me, and told her that the king's people had

robbed me of all my money. On hearing this, the good old woman, with a look of unaffected benevolence, immediately took the basket from her head, and showing me that it contained ground-nuts, asked me if I could eat them. Being answered in the affirmative, she presented me with a few handfuls, and walked away before I had time to thank her for this seasonable supply. This trifling circumstance gave me particular satisfaction. I reflected with pleasure on the conduct of this poor untutored slave, who, without examining into my character or circumstances, listened implicitly to the dictates of her own heart. Experience had taught her that hunger was painful, and her own distresses made her commiserate those of others."

On another occasion, when Mr. Park was near Sego, he speaks thus: "I was obliged to sit all day without victuals, in the shade of a tree; and the night threatened to be very uncomfortable, for the wind rose, and there was great appearance of a heavy rain; and the wild beasts are so very numerous in the neighbourhood, that I should have been under the necessity of climbing up the tree, and resting among the branches. About sunset, however, as I was preparing to pass the night in this manner, and had turned my horse loose, that he might graze at liberty, a woman, returning from the field, stopped to observe me, and perceiving that I was weary and dejected, inquired into my situation, which I briefly explained to her; whereupon, with looks of great compassion, she took up my saddle and bridle, and told me to follow her. Having conducted me into her hut, she lighted up a lamp, spread a mat on the floor, and told me I might remain there for the night. Finding that I was very hungry, she said that she would procure me something to eat. She accordingly went out, and returned in a short time with a very fine fish, which having caused to be half broiled upon some embers, she gave me for supper. The rights of hospitality being thus performed towards a stranger in distress, my worthy benefactress (pointing to the mat, and telling me I might sleep there without fear) called to the female part of her family, who had stood gazing on me all the while in fixed astonishment, to resume their task of spinning cotton, in which they continued to employ themselves great part of the night. They lightened their labour by songs, one of which was composed extempore, for I was myself the subject of it. It was sung by one of the young women, the rest joining in a sort of chorus. The tune

was sweet and plaintive, and the words literally translated were these: 'The winds roared and the rains fell: the poor white man, faint and weary, came and sat under our tree: he has no mother to bring him milk, no wife to grind his corn. Chorus, Let us pity the white man; no mother has he, &c. &c.' Trifling as this recital may appear to the reader, to a person in my situation the circumstance was affecting in the highest degree. I was oppressed by such unexpected kindness, and sleep fled from my eyes. In the morning I presented my compassionate landlady with two of the four brass buttons which remained on my waistcoat, the only recompence I could make her."

Having said thus much on the *moral* character of the Africans, we shall now inquire if they have an *intellectual* one.

Mr. Park says, that "in every considerable town, there is a chief magistrate, (among the Mandingoes,) called the *alkaid,* whose office is hereditary, and whose business it is to preserve order, to levy duties on travellers, and to preside at all conferences in the exercise of local jurisdiction, and the administration of justice. These courts are composed of the elders of the town, and are termed *palavers;* and their proceedings are conducted in the open air, with sufficient solemnity. Both sides of the question are freely canvassed, witnesses are publicly examined, and the decisions which follow, generally meet with the approbation of the surrounding audience."

In speaking of Sego, he says, "that it contained about thirty thousand inhabitants. The view of this extensive city, the numerous canoes upon the river, the crowded population, and the cultivated state of the surrounding country, formed altogether a prospect of civilization and magnificence, which I little expected to find in the bosom of Africa."

The following are extracts from his Journal, when speaking of the industry of the inhabitants, and of their arts and manufactures. "The negroes in general, and the Mandingoes in particular, are considered, by the whites on the coast, as an indolent and inactive people: I think, without reason. The nature of the climate is indeed unfavourable to great exertion; but surely a people cannot justly be denominated habitually indolent, whose wants are supplied, not by the spontaneous productions of nature, but by their own exertions. Few people work harder, when occasion requires, than the Mandin-

goes; but not having many opportunities of turning to advantage the superfluous produce of their labour, they are content with cultivating as much ground only, as is necessary for their own support. The labours of the field give them pretty full employment during the rains, and, in the dry season, the people who live in the vicinity of large rivers, employ themselves chiefly in fishing; others of the natives employ themselves in hunting. While the men are occupied in these pursuits, the women are very diligent in preparing the materials for cotton-cloth. They first prepare the cotton for spinning, and then spin it with the distaff: the weaving, however, is performed by the men. When the men have woven the cloth, it falls again into the hands of the women, who dye it of a rich and lasting blue colour, with their own indigo. The cloth is then cut into various pieces, and sewed into garments with needles of the natives' own making.

"As the arts of weaving, dying, sewing, &c. may be easily acquired, those who exercise them are not considered, in Africa, as following any particular profession, for almost every slave can weave, and every boy can sew. The only artists which are distinctly acknowledged as such by the negroes, and who value themselves on exercising peculiar trades, are the manufacturers of leather and iron. The first of these are called *karrankea.* They are to be found in almost every town, and they frequently travel through the country in the exercise of their calling. They tan and dress leather with very great expedition. They convert the hides of bullocks chiefly into sandals, and the skins of sheep and goats into quivers, and into sheaths for swords and knives, and into belts, pockets, and a variety of ornaments. These skins are commonly dyed of a red or yellow colour.

"The manufacturers in iron are not so numerous as the karrankeas, but they appear to have studied their business with equal diligence. The negroes on the coast being cheaply supplied with iron from the European traders, never attempt the manufacture of this articles themselves; but in the inland parts the natives smelt this useful article in such quantities, as not only to supply themselves from it with all necessary weapons and instruments, but even to make it an article of commerce with some of the neighbouring states. During my stay at Kamalia there was a smelting furnace at a short distance from the hut where I lodged, and the owner and his workmen made

no secret about the manner of conducting the operation, and readily allowed me to examine the furnace, and assist them in breaking the iron-stone.

"Most of the African blacksmiths are acquainted also with the method of smelting gold. They are able also to draw the gold into wire, and to form it into a variety of ornaments, some of which are executed with a great deal of taste and ingenuity."

It will not be necessary to make any other extracts from Mr. Park, or to appeal to the Book of Evidence, printed by order of the English parliament, (which is in the most perfect unison with the statements of Mr. Park,) to refute the wicked argument of the European traders, that the Africans are creatures of another species. We have shown that they are grateful to their benefactors; that they are faithful to their employers; that they are lovers of truth; that they possess all the amiable sympathies of our nature; that they are capable of conducting civil government; that they possess cities crowded with commerce and surrounded by cultivation; and that they exercise, not only the common or ordinary trades or callings, but even those where ingenuity and talents are required: but if the Africans possess, in common with the Europeans, both a moral and an intellectual character, who but the slave-traders would dare to deny them the privilege of being men.

Having replied to this wicked argument, we are now led to consider the assertion connected with it, which is, "That, though some centuries have passed since Africa was discovered, its inhabitants have made no progress in civilization, like other people."

This assertion, or at least one half of it, seems already to have been done away, for we have proved satisfactorily, that the Africans have made a considerable progress in civilization; and the other half will be in danger of falling, if we examine the moral and political condition of many other nations, as they are found to exist at the present day. Look at the aboriginal inhabitants of the two Americas, or rather at their descendants. Look at New Holland, a country as extensive as Europe. Look at Madagascar, Borneo, Sumatra, and the other islands of the Pacific and of the Indian Archipelago. Are any of these in a state of society superior to those who inhabit the interior of Africa? or rather, are not most of them in a state more barbarous?

But it will be said of this assertion, that it does not comprehend the nations now mentioned, but the progress of civilization in Africa, as compared with the civilization of Europe. Well, we will allow this to be the case. We will suppose that it is circumscribed within these limits. Let us then answer two important questions: Where did the Europeans get their extraordinary light? and have the Africans had similar means of obtaining it?

It will not be necessary, in replying to these questions, to inquire by what means the first civilized nation arrived at a station so as to cause it to be distinguished beyond all others. It will be sufficient for our purpose to lay it down as an axiom established by history, that barbarous nations have owed their refinement quite as much to an intercourse with the more enlightened, as to any gradual growth of knowledge among themselves. Conquerors have often been a blessing to the conquered in this respect; and commerce, which has introduced merchants and men of wisdom from a superior country to an inferior, (where it has been made in the spirit of a fair and equitable intercourse,) has tended to the same end. Egypt was undoubtedly the mother of all science, though, as Herodotus informs us, the natives had dark faces and woolly hair. From Egypt, the art of writing and the rudiments of knowledge passed into Greece, which at that time was far more rude and barbarous than Africa at the present day; for the inhabitants are stated to have lived upon acorns, and not to have known the use of fire; which implies, that they knew not how to cultivate land, nor how to cook victuals, nor how to make implements for many necessary purposes. Greece, however, thus instructed, and placed afterwards in favourable circumstances, attained the highest pitch of celebrity in intellectual improvements. From Greece civilization spread to Rome; and Rome, when she became the mistress of the world, diffused the knowledge she had received, both of letters, arts, and sciences, to the most distant quarters of the world. It was to her that Spain, Gaul, Germany, and almost all the other nations of Europe, owe a part of the civilization which is found among them at the present day.

But what advantages has Africa had in this respect? Has she derived any benefit from enlightened conquerors? It is true that the Romans possessed colonies on this continent, but they were the masters only of the coasts of the Mediterranean: they knew as little of

the interior of the country, as they did of America, which was not then discovered. Oceans of sand, of nine hundred miles from north to south, and of double that length from east to west, prohibited all intercourse with the people, whose case we are now considering. It is true also, that the followers of Mahomet, in the fifth century, took possession of the African provinces of the Roman Empire, and that some of their tribes penetrated, in a course of years, some little way into the interior. But can it be supposed that the natives could be benefited by conquerors who were proud, insolent, intolerant, and ferocious; and who were themselves ignorant, if not barbarous, and enemies to the improvement of the intellectual powers?

But again, what advantages has Africa derived from a commercial intercourse with nations more enlightened than herself? None whatever. It is true that she has been engaged in what has been called commerce, and with men, not only belonging to enlightened nations, but calling themselves Christians. But who have these been? They have been slave-traders. They have been men whose lives would have been forfeited to the laws, if they had done in Europe what they have done in Africa. They have been monsters, and not men. It has been the cruel fate of the Africans, ever since their country was discovered by the Europeans, (a period of three hundred years,) to have had scarcely any other visitors than these. How then could they gain moral refinement from persons of this description? If bands of pirates or robbers were to land on an island, and if, by their superior skill, they were to seduce one half of its inhabitants to betray or destroy the other, arming parents against children, friends against friends, and individuals one against the other; and if, moreover, they were to corrupt all the good institutions they should find there, so as to turn them into the instruments of injustice, would not the civilization of these islanders, whatever its progress had been, be soon stopped; and would it not, if these pirates continued there for years, become retrograde? Just so it has been with Africa. Her connexion with modern Europe has had a constant tendency to degrade and demoralize her; and, instead of being a blessing, as it ought to have been, it has been a curse. Hence arises the phenomenon mentioned as a problem in the preceding chapter. If we trace the progress of improvement in the human race, we shall find that the borders of navigable

rivers, and the shores of the sea, being the most frequented, have been the first in civilization, and that light and knowledge has afterwards spread from thence into the interior. We have shown the reverse to have been the case in Africa. The most civilized people there are the inhabitants of the interior, while those of the shores are comparatively barbarous. Now what can have occasioned this striking difference, this appearance, so contrary to the testimony of history and the experience of ages? Can we give a better reason for it, than that the former have scarcely seen a white face, and that the latter have kept up, for three centuries, a constant connexion with the Europeans?

But if the European traders have kept up an intercourse with Africa, which has been both intellectually and morally poisonous; if the effect of this intercourse has been not to diffuse light, but to extinguish it; not to ameliorate, but to deprave; how is it to be expected that the inhabitants of this continent should have made a progress in civilization equally with those of Europe? With what face can they urge the argument, "that the Africans are an inferior people," when they themselves have been the cause of their degradation? And does not the very mention of it afford a proof of their own baseness. But we trust that we have shown, that this argument (the only one by which they could justify their conduct) is as false as it is wicked. We trust we have shown, that the Africans have advanced in the improvements of civil life, as much as any others could have done under the same cruel circumstances; and that they are already in a more civilized state than many of the nations either on the continent of America, or on that of Asia, or in the islands of the Indian Ocean. If they had had only fair advantages; if they had had only an intercourse with virtuous, instead of profligate Europeans; if they had only been engaged in an honourable, instead of a wicked and bloody traffic; what would have hindered them from being reckoned among the civilized nations of the present day?

CHAPTER III.

Manner of conducting the Africans, when reduced to slavery, to the European ships.

It will be proper, after this long digression, that we should now resume our history of this cruel traffic.

We have seen in the first chapter the different ways of enslaving the poor Africans in their own country. It will be our next painful task to follow them to the ships, to those European ships which are to take them from every thing that is dear to them in life, and to convey them to a foreign land.

They who are made slaves in the vicinity of the rivers or the seashore, have generally but a short way to travel. They are made to walk by land, with their arms pinioned, or are brought down, tied together, and lying on their backs, at the bottom of a boat.

Those who are made slaves in the interior, have a long journey to perform, frequently of many moons. They are made to travel on foot, over rocks and burning sands, and through wildernesses and other inhospitable places. The black merchants, who conduct them to the Europeans, generally wait till they have collected a sufficient number to make it worth their while to undertake a journey. When the time arrives, they set off, themselves, slaves, asses, and attendants and guards. Such a mixed group of men, animals, and merchandise, travelling together, is called, in Africa, a *coffle*. These coffles are frequently increased by the junction of other coffles on the road. As Mr. Park travelled with these coffles, and perhaps is the only European who ever did so, it is to him, and to him only, that we must look for light and information on this melancholy subject.

Mr. Park informs us, that Karfa had collected at Kamalia as many slaves as would make a sufficient coffle. He tells us also that he himself conversed with them there. "They were all," says he, "very inquisitive; but they viewed me at first with looks of horror,

and repeatedly asked if my countrymen were cannibals. They were very desirous to know what became of the slaves after they had crossed the salt water. I told them that they were employed in cultivating the land, but they would not believe me; and one of them, putting his hand upon the ground, said, with great simplicity: "Have you really got such ground as this to put your foot upon." A deeply-rooted idea, that the whites purchase the negroes for the purpose of devouring them, or of selling them to others, that they may be devoured hereafter, naturally makes the slaves contemplate a journey towards the coast with terror, insomuch that the Slatees are forced to keep them constantly in irons, and watch them very closely, to prevent their escape. They are commonly secured by putting the right leg of one and the left of another into the same pair of fetters. By supporting the fetters with a string, they can walk, though very slowly Every four slaves are likewise fastened together by the necks with a strong rope of twisted thongs; and in the night an additional pair of fetters is put on their hands, and sometimes a light iron chain passed round their necks."

At length the morning of their departure arrived, and Mr. Park was to travel with them. The first thing that the slatees did, was to take the irons from their slaves, that is, from those who were assembled before Karfa's door. They then tied up the different bundles of merchandise, and appointed to every slave the load he was to carry. "When we moved forward," says Mr. Park, "we were followed for about half a mile from Kamalia by most of the inhabitants of the town, some of them crying, and others shaking hands with their relations, who were now about to leave them. As many of the slaves had remained for years in irons, the sudden exertion of walking quick, with heavy loads upon their heads, occasioned spasmodic contractions of their legs; and we had not proceeded above a mile, before it was found necessary to take two of them from the rope, and allow them to walk more slowly, until we reached Maraboo, a walled village, where some people were waiting to join the coffle."

On the third day after their departure, we hear of them again. "During this day's travel," says Mr. Park, "a woman and a girl, belonging to a slatee of Bala, were so much fatigued, that they could not keep up with the coffle: they were severely whipped, and dragged along until about three o'clock in the afternoon, when they were

both affected with vomiting, by which it was discovered that they had eaten clay. This practice is by no means uncommon among the negroes, but whether it arises from a vitiated appetite, or from a settled intention to destroy themselves, I cannot affirm. They were permitted to lie down in the woods, and three people remained with them till they had rested themselves; but they did not arrive at the town (Kinytakooro) until past midnight, and were then so much exhausted, that the slatee gave up all thoughts of taking them across the woods in their present condition, and determined to return with them to Bala, and wait for the opportunity of the next coffle.

"When we entered this town," continues Mr. Park, "being the first or frontier town beyond the limits of Manding, greater etiquette than usual was observed. Every person was ordered to keep in his proper station; and we marched towards it in a sort of procession, nearly as follows. In front, five or six singing men, all of them belonging to the coffle: these were followed by the other free people; then came the slaves, fastened in the usual way, by a rope round their necks, four of them to a rope, and a man with a spear between each four. After them came the domestic slaves, and in the rear the women of free condition, the wives of the slatees, &c."

From Kinytakooro the coffle began to cross the Jallonka wilderness, and having crossed the rivers Wonda and Co-Meissang, it halted for the night in a thick wood. The next morning it resumed its route. The occurrences of this and the following day we shall now give in the words of Mr. Park. "April 24. Before day-break the bushreens said their morning prayers, and most of the free people drank a little moening, (a sort of gruel,) a part of which was likewise given to such of the slaves as appeared least able to sustain the fatigues of the day. One of Karfa's female slaves was very sulky, and when some gruel was offered to her, she refused to drink it. As soon as day dawned we set out, and travelled the whole morning over a wild and rocky country, by which my feet were very much bruised; and I was sadly apprehensive that I should not be able to keep up with the coffle during the day; but I was in a great measure relieved from this anxiety, when I observed that others were more exhausted than myself. In particular, the woman slave, who had refused victuals in the morning, began now to lag behind, and complain dreadfully of pains in her legs. Her load was taken

from her and given to another slave, and she was ordered to keep in the front of the coffle. About eleven o'clock, as we were resting by a small rivulet, some of the people discovered a hive of bees in a hollow tree, and they were proceeding to obtain the honey, when the largest swarm I ever beheld, flew out, and, attacking the people of the coffle, made us fly in all directions. I took the alarm first, and I believe was the only person who escaped with impunity. When our enemies (the bees) thought fit to desist from pursuing us, and every person was employed in picking out the stings he had received, it was discovered that the poor woman above mentioned, whose name was Nealee, was not come up; and as many of the slaves in their retreat had left their bundles behind them, it became necessary for some persons to return and bring them. In order to do this with safety, fire was set to the grass, a considerable way to the eastward of the hive, and the wind driving the fire furiously along, the party pushed through the smoke, and recovered the bundles. They likewise brought with them poor Nealee, whom they found lying by the rivulet. She was very much exhausted, and had crept to the stream, in hopes to defend herself from the bees, by throwing water over her body; but this proved ineffectual, for she was stung in the most dreadful manner.

When the slatees had picked out the stings as far as they could, she was washed with water, and then rubbed with bruised leaves; but the wretched woman obstinately refused to proceed any further, declaring that she would rather die than walk another step. As entreaties and threats were used in vain, the whip was at length applied; and after bearing patiently a few strokes, she started up, and walked with tolerable expedition for four or five hours longer; when she made an attempt to run away from the coffle, but was so very weak, that she fell down in the grass. Though she was unable to rise, the whip was a second time applied, but without effect; upon which Karfa desired two of the slatees to place her upon the ass, which carried our dry provisions; but she could not sit erect, and the ass being very refractory, it was found impossible to carry her forward in that manner. The slatees, however, were unwilling to abandon her, the day's journey being nearly ended; they therefore made a sort of litter of bamboo canes, upon which she was placed, and tied on it with slips of bark. This litter was carried upon the heads of two

slaves, one walking before the other, and they were followed by two others, who relieved them occasionally. In this manner the woman was carried forward until it was dark, when we reached a stream of water, at the foot of a high hill called Gankaran Kooro; and here we stopt for the night, and set about preparing our supper. As we had eat only one handful of meal since the preceding night, and travelled all day in a hot sun, many of the slaves who had loads upon their heads, were very much fatigued; and some of them snapt their fingers, which, among the negroes, is a sure sign of desperation. The slatees immediately put them all in irons; and such of them as had evinced signs of great despondency, were kept apart from the rest, and had their hands tied. In the morning they were found greatly recovered.

"April 25. At day-break poor Nealee was awakened, but her limbs were now become so stiff and painful, that she could neither walk nor stand; she was therefore lifted, like a corpse, upon the back of the ass, and the slatees endeavoured to secure her in that situation, by fastening her hands together under the ass's neck, and her feet under the belly, with long slips of bark; but the ass was so very unruly, that no sort of treatment could induce him to proceed with his load, and as Nealee made no exertion to prevent herself from falling, she was quickly thrown off, and had one of her legs much bruised. Every attempt to carry her forward being thus found ineffectual, the general cry of the coffle was, '*kang tegi*, *kang tegi*, cut her throat, cut her throat;' an operation which I did not wish to see performed, and therefore marched onwards with the foremost of the coffle. I had not walked above a mile, when one of Karfa's domestic slaves came up to me with poor Nealee's garment upon the end of his bow, and exclaimed: Nealee affeeleeta, (Nealee is lost.) I asked him whether the slatees had given him the garment as a reward for cutting her throat? He replied, that Karfa and the schoolmaster would not consent to that measure, but had left her on the road, where, undoubtedly, she soon perished, and was probably devoured by wild beasts."

From the 25th of April to the 13th of May, the coffle proceeded, during which time Mr. Park makes no particular mention of the slaves; but on the day last mentioned another coffle of slaves, belonging to some Serawoolli traders, joined them, and they agreed to pro-

ceed together as far as Baniserile, the capital of Dentila. "Accordingly," says Mr. Park, "we travelled together, and with great expedition, through the woods, until noon, when one of the Serawoolli slaves dropt the load from his head, for which he was smartly whipped. The load was replaced, but he had not proceeded above a mile, before he let it fall a second time, for which he received the same punishment. After this he travelled in great pain until about two o'clock, when we stopt to breathe a little by a pool of water, the day being remarkably hot. The poor slave was now so completely exhausted, that his master was obliged to release him from the rope, for he lay motionless on the ground. A Serawoolli, therefore, undertook to remain with him, and endeavour to bring him to the town (Baniserile) during the cool of the night. In the mean while we continued our route, and, after a very hard day's travel, arrived there ourselves in the evening. About eight o'clock the Serawoolli joined us. He told us the slave was dead: the general opinion, however, was, that he had killed him, or left him to perish on the road."

On the 30th of May, Mr. Park furnishes us with another affecting anecdote, which he gives us in the following words. "We reached Jalacotta. Here one of the slaves belonging to the coffle, who had travelled with difficulty for the last three days, was found unable to proceed any further. His master (a singing man) proposed, therefore, to exchange him for a young girl, belonging to one of the town's-people. The poor girl was ignorant of her fate, until the bundles were all tied up in the morning, and the coffle ready to depart; when, coming with some other young women to see the coffle set out, her master took her by the hand, and delivered her to the singing man. Never was a face of serenity more suddenly changed into one of the deepest distress. The terror she manifested on having the load put upon her head, and the rope fastened round her neck, and the sorrow with which she bade adieu to her companions, were truly affecting."

After this the coffle travelled on till the 5th of June, when it arrived at a place called Jindey. There being but a dull market at that time for slaves in the river Gambia, which was but a little way from Jindey, it was thought advisable that it should remain there, till the trade began to be brisker. Mr. Park, however, being anxious

to return to Europe, took leave of his fellow-travellers at this place. His description of that event is very interesting, too interesting, indeed, to be passed over in silence; and as it is beautifully expressed, we cannot do better than give it in his own words. "But although," says he, "I was now approaching the end of my tedious and toilsome journey, and expected, in another day, to meet with countrymen and friends, I could not part, for the last time, with my unfortunate fellow-travellers, doomed, as I knew most of them to be, to a life of captivity and slavery in a foreign land, without great emotion. During a wearisome peregrination of more than five hundred English miles, exposed to the burning rays of a tropical sun, these poor slaves, amidst their own infinitely greater sufferings, would commiserate mine; and frequently, of their own accord, bring water to quench my thirst, and at night collect branches and leaves to prepare me a bed in the wilderness. We parted with reciprocal expressions of regret and benediction. My good wishes and prayers were all I could bestow upon them; and it afforded me some consolation to be told, that they were sensible I had no more to give."

As Mr. Park left the coffle at Jindey, we have no means of giving a further account of it; nor is it necessary to do so; for having brought the poor slaves, who composed it, within a day's journey of the river Gambia, it is easy to imagine, from the picture already given, what might be the incidents for so short a period; and, therefore, we may be considered as having brought them to the European ships.

CHAPTER IV.

The manner of transporting the Africans, when reduced to slavery, to the European colonies.—The depraving effects of this commerce upon those who transport them.

We have now followed the unhappy Africans, reduced to a state of slavery, from the interior of their own country to the place of their embarkation. Here a new scene commences. The black merchants, who drive them thither, sell them to the Europeans. From this

period we are to follow them again. We are now to follow them across the ocean, and to see what their situation is under their new masters.

The different witnesses examined by the English parliament all agree, that, when they are put on board the vessels, they appear melancholy and dejected, and that they continue so for some time, and some of them during the whole voyage; and that this dejection arises from the keenness of their feelings, on account of the separation from their country, their families, and their friends.

When they are brought on board, the men are chained together in pairs, the right leg of one being fastened to the left leg of another; and in this situation, that is, two and two together, they are made to go below, to the place, or prison, allotted to them in the hold of the vessel. The women and children are conveyed to other parts, but they are not ironed like the men.

When the weather is fair, they are made to leave their prisons, to take the advantage of fresh air and to take their meals. The men are distributed for this purpose in long rows of two and two, from head to stern, on each side of the deck; but, to prevent them rising upon the crew, or jumping overboard, a long chain is passed through the irons of each pair of slaves, and is locked, at both the ends of it, to the deck.

When the vessel is full, their situation is wretched. In the best-regulated ships, a full grown man has no more space allowed him to lie upon than sixteen English inches in breadth, which gives him about as much room as a man has in his coffin, and about two feet eight inches in height. But there are very few vessels in which even this limited allowance is afforded. In many of them, the slaves are obliged to lie upon their sides, and none of them can sit upright. Besides this, they are naked; and they have nothing to lie upon but the bare boards: on this account they suffer often very severely from the motion of the ship, which occasions different parts of their bodies to be bruised, and which causes their irons to excoriate their legs.

But their situation is the most deplorable when it blows a heavy gale, and when the hatches or gratings are obliged to be fastened down. Their sufferings are at this time such as no language can describe. They are often heard, on such occasions, to cry out in

their own language, "We are dying, we are dying." The steam, which comes at this time from their bodies, and which ascends through the little holes of the gratings, has been compared, by those who have witnessed it, to that which issues from a furnace. Many of them having fainted from heat, stench, and corrupted air, have been brought out of the hold upon the deck in a dying state; while others have been brought up quite dead from suffocation, who were in perfect health but a few hours before.

Horrible as this account may appear, we assert, in the most solemn manner, that we have omitted to mention many circumstances*, which would render it still more afflicting; and that we have been cautious, in what we have said, to keep ourselves within the bounds of truth. It is possible, however, that some persons may be unwilling to believe us. If there are such, we refer them to the annexed engraving, which represents the shape and dimensions of the places for the slaves, in the English slave-ship, Brookes. We inform them that these admeasurements were made by order of the English parliament. We invite their particular attention to them; and after this, we shall leave them to regulate their own belief.

	English Feet.	Inches.
Length of the lower deck, gratings, and bulk-heads, included within AA	100	0
Breadth of the beam on the lower deck inside, BB	25	4
Depth of the hold, OOO, from ceiling to ceiling	10	0
Height between decks from deck to deck	5	8
Length of the men's room or prison, CC, on the lower deck .	46	0
Breadth of the men's room, CC, on the lower deck	25	4
Length of the platform, DD, in the men's room	46	0
Breadth of the platform in the men's room on each side	6	0
Length of the boys' room, EE	13	9
Breadth of the boys' room	25	0
Breadth of the platform, FF, in the boys' room	6	0
Length of the women's room, GG	28	6
Breadth of the women's room	23	6

* See the evidence before the English parliament, in the cases where the slaves have been afflicted with contagious disorders, particularly the flux, when, says one of the witnesses, "the floor of their prison was covered with blood and mucus, like a slaughter-house."

	English Feet.	Inches.
Length of the platform, H H, in the women's room	28	6
Breadth of the platform in the women's room	6	0
Length of the gun-room, I I, on the lower deck	10	6
Breadth of the gun-room on the lower deck	12	0
Length of the quarter-deck, K K	33	6
Breadth of the quarter-deck	19	6
Length of the cabin, L L	14	0
Height of the cabin	6	2
Length of the half-deck, M M	16	6
Height of the half-deck	6	2
Length of the platform, N N, on the half-deck	16	6
Breadth of the platform on the half-deck	6	0

Upper deck, P P.

Suppose now, that these are the true dimensions of the ship Brookes, and, moreover, that we allow to each full-grown male-slave, six feet by one foot four inches, of space (English measure;) and to each full-grown female, five feet ten inches by one foot four inches; and to each boy, five feet by one foot two inches; and to each girl, four feet six inches by one foot: it follows, that the number of slaves found in the engraving is the exact number, neither more nor less, which this vessel could hold upon these data. In counting them, (if we deduct the women stowed in figures 6 and 7 of the space Z, which space belonged to the sailors,) we shall find that the number amounts to 451, and that no room can be found, not even for another individual. Now, if we consider that the Brookes was a vessel of 320 tons burden, and that the law* permitted her to carry 454 persons, and no more, it is clear, that, if we were to add three others to those on the engraving, this would be precisely the number which the law allowed. The annexed engraving, therefore, speaks for itself. It shows that the sufferings of the poor slaves, for want of room and air, must be as afflicting as we have described them; for if, when 451 slaves are placed in the different rooms or prisons of the ship Brookes, not only the floors and platforms are entirely covered with bodies, but the bodies actually touch

* The English parliament made a law to limit the number of slaves to be carried, according to the tonnage of the vessel, some years before it entirely abolished the slave-trade

each other, how wretched must have been their situation before the introduction of the law now mentioned, when it appears upon evidence, that this very vessel had been accustomed to carry six hundred slaves! and how dreadful must their situation continue to be, when carried away by Europeans at the present day, whose governments have made no laws of restriction in this particular, but all of whom are left to crowd and pack them together at their own discretion, or as avarice may dictate.

It is not difficult to suppose, that the poor Africans, when treated in the manner now related, on board the ships of their new masters, should indulge, or that they should give way to, the same feelings which actuate other human beings, when they are in a state of suffering, or when they consider themselves suffering under unmerited and unprovoked injuries. There is in man a natural desire to escape from pain, and very frequently the desire of revenge accompanies it. Is it wonderful then that these poor slaves should attempt to rise against their oppressors? Such attempts are frequently made. But their new masters, well acquainted with these common feelings of our nature, and conscious at the same time of their own monstrous guilt, take every precaution, so as not to afford them the slightest chance of success. They usually construct a barricado of wood, and fortify it by cannon in such a manner, that while all those who are before it may be destroyed, all those who are within it may remain safe. Notwithstanding this, the slaves have made the most daring and desperate attacks upon it: attacks, which would have ensured them the distinction of the highest military honours, had they been either in Roman or in modern armies; and which the page of history would have recorded, if they had been free men. In a few instances they have succeeded, to the total massacre of the crews. But where they have failed, we should shudder if we were to describe the barbarity of the punishments which have followed.

Being deprived then, generally speaking, of the power of a successful resistance, the only hope left them of escaping from their miseries is in death; that is, of destroying themselves, if any opportunity should offer, and which they seize with an avidity almost beyond belief. The most common way to which they look, is that of being able to throw themselves into the sea. But here also every avenue of escape by such means is guarded. The men are not only locked

to the deck, as we have before mentioned, but large nettings are fastened on both sides of the ship, which reach from the deck up to a certain height in the rigging. But these precautions do not always prove a security. Many and many are the instances in which they destroy themselves in this manner.

But if they are prevented from accomplishing their object in the way now mentioned, they do not abandon the hope of being able to attain it in some other. The deepest foresight on the part of their oppressors cannot always prevent the means. When ropes have been left carelessly about the ship, though not in improper places, several of them, but mostly women, have been found suspended to these, at different times; and when small instruments of iron, or even broken pieces of iron, have been left in the same manner, others have been discovered to have made mortal wounds upon their own bodies. Others, who have not been able to meet with such opportunities, have come to the resolution of refusing all sustenance, in order to starve themselves to death; and though the *speculum oris*, an instrument used in the disorder called the locked jaw, has been applied to force open their mouths on such occasions, they have persisted in their resolution till the tenth or eleventh day, at which time death has usually put a period to their sufferings*. With respect to others, but particularly females, who have been of more delicate temperature both of body and mind, or who have had a more lively sense of their situation, but less resolution, many are the instances where a continually increasing melancholy has ended in madness, and where they have continued in that pitiable state for the short remainder of their lives.

Such are the melancholy scenes which are passing in the different slave-ships, from the time of their leaving the coast of Africa, to the time of their arrival in the European colonies. During this interval, it is but reasonable to suppose that a considerable mortality takes place among the slaves. Insurrections, suicides, and diseases; (the latter of which arise from grief of mind;) sudden transitions from heat to cold, filth, stench, a putrid atmosphere, and cruel treatment,

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* This violation of the laws of the Creator, on the part of these unhappy people, is a new crime, which falls upon the heads of the European slave-traders.

contribute to thin their numbers. It appears from the evidence of respectable witnesses examined by the English parliament, that out of 7904 slaves, with whom they themselves sailed at different times, 2053 perished; that is, a fourth part of them perished, though they were all young* and healthy when they were brought on board, in the short space of from six to eight weeks!! What a murderous devastation of the human race!! What an impious rebellion against the will of Providence, in the creation of the world!!! If the rest of mankind were to perish in this proportion, all the inhabitants on the earth would be extinct in a few years!!!

Having now given an account of the sufferings which this wicked trade produces, to those who are unhappily the objects of it, in the course of their respective voyages, it would be almost unpardonable if we were to omit to notice the depravity which it engenders in those who are personally concerned in carrying it on. Is it possible to suppose that men can ever witness scenes of the kind above mentioned, without becoming savages themselves? There can be no doubt, that when they first engage in the trade, they feel it necessary to suppress their humanity on many occasions; but every suppression of benevolent feeling does an injnry to their moral nature, till at length custom reconciles them both to what they see and to what they do. Their hearts become at length hardened. This is the case with all public executioners. They are shocked when they first enter upon their office, but perform it afterwards with insensibility. Were not the Roman ladies brought, by degrees, to have pleasure in the gladiatorial shows? Just such a change as this is effected in the hearts of all those who are personally concerned in the slave-trade. They are brought by degrees to see what is cruel, and to perform it with indifference. They set no more value upon the sufferings of a fellow-creature, whom they purchase, than upon those of a fly. They are regardless of the waste of human life, except where their own interest is concerned: nay, they are even capable of sporting with it. Having lost all those benevolent principles which were originally attached to their nature, they become monsters; and there is no species of wickedness which they cannot perpetrate with composure. Let the following instances suffice:

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* The oldest slaves are seldom above 25 years of age.

An English slave-ship, having about 400 slaves on board, struck on a shoal, about half a league from the Morant Keys, which are three small islands, about eleven leagues distant from Jamaica. The officers and crew, unable to save the ship, took to their boats, and, carrying with them their arms and provisions, landed safely upon one of these islands. Here they passed the night. In the morning they discovered that the ship had not gone to pieces, and that the men-slaves had extricated themselves from their irons, and had formed rafts, on which they had placed the women and children. In process of time they found these rafts drifting to the little island where they themselves were, the men swimming by the sides of them. They suffered them to approach almost close to the shore, when they kept up an incessant fire upon them, and killed between three and four hundred of them. They made prisoners of thirty-four, all that were left, and sold them at Kingston in Jamaica.

On board a foreign ship, called the Zong, many of the slaves had died; and the mortality was spreading so rapidly, that it was impossible to say where it would end. The captain, fearing lest he should lose them all, came to the diabolical resolution of selecting those who were the most sickly, and of throwing them into the sea; conceiving that, if he could plead a necessity for the deed, the loss of the slaves would not fall upon his owners, but upon the underwriters. The plea which he proposed to set up was a want of water, though neither the seamen nor the slaves had been put upon short allowance. Thus supported, as he imagined, with an invincible excuse, he began to execute his design. He selected accordingly one hundred and thirty-two of the most sickly. Fifty-four of these were immediately thrown overboard, and forty-two on the succeeding day. But here, as if Providence had expressly disapproved of the design, and had determined to cut off his excuse for sacrificing the rest, and to exhibit a proof against him, a shower of rain immediately came on, and lasted for three days. Notwithstanding this, the remaining twenty-six were brought upon deck for the same purpose. The first sixteen submitted to be thrown into the sea; but the rest, with a noble resolution, would not allow any of the impious crew to touch them, but leaped after their companions, and shared their fate. Thus was perpetrated, in open day, a deed unparalleled in the memory of man, or in the history of former times; and so atrocious, that, if it had

rested upon the testimony of an individual, it could not possibly have been believed. It was proved, however, in a court of judicature, at Guildhall, in London, by several of those who were present on the mournful occasion. The consequence of the trial was, that the loss was adjudged to fall, not upon the underwriters, but upon the owners of the vessel. It may be proper to observe, that this horrible crime was committed before the abolition of the slave-trade by the English nation. If it had been perpetrated after this event, not only the captain, but all who had been concerned in it, would have been condemned to death.

But perhaps it may be objected here, that the two instances of barbarity which we have just cited, took place many years ago, and that they were perpetrated chiefly by Englishmen. We shall, therefore, cite two others, which are of a more recent date, and which were perpetrated by men of another nation.

The Rodeur, French vessel of 200 tons burden, left Havre on the 24th of January, 1819, and anchored in Bonny river, on the coast of Africa, in the March following, where she took in, contrary to the French law of the abolition of the slave-trade, a cargo of slaves. On the 6th of April she sailed with them for Guadaloupe. Soon after her departure from this river, some of the slaves, who had been brought upon deck to take the air, took the opportunity of throwing themselves into the sea; in consequence of which, the captain of the Rodeur made a terrible example, by shooting some of them and by hanging others. This, however, did not answer the end proposed; and it was found, therefore, necessary to keep all of them confined below. In a short time a dreadful ophthalmia was discovered among them, which soon communicated to the crew, and which made such a rapid and general progress among the latter, that there was only one of them who could see to steer the vessel. At this moment a large ship approached the Rodeur, which appeared to be totally at the mercy of the wind and waves. The crew of this vessel, hearing the voices of the crew of the Rodeur, cried out most vehemently for help. They told the melancholy tale, as they passed along, that their ship was a Spanish slave-ship, called the S. Leon, and that a contagion had seized the eyes of all on board, so that there was not one individual, either sailor or slave, who could see.

But, alas! this pitiable narrative was in vain, for no help could be given! The S. Leon passed on, and was never more heard of. At length, by the skill and perseverance of the only man who preserved his sight on board the Rodeur, and by a favourable concurrence of circumstances, the ship reached Guadaloupe on the 21st of June. By this time, thirty-nine of the slaves had become totally blind, twelve had lost one eye, and fourteen were affected with blemishes more or less considerable. Out of the crew, consisting of twenty-two, twelve had lost their sight, among whom was the surgeon; five had become blind of one eye, among whom was the captain; and four were partially injured. Now, what will the reader think was the first thing which the captain and crew of the Rodeur did, when they found that they were going to enter into a safe port? Undoubtedly, he will think that they were employed in returning thanks to God for this their miraculous deliverance. But he will be mistaken if he supposes so. Without gratitude to God, without mercy to others, without the feelings of men, the first act which they performed was to throw overboard all the poor slaves who were incurably blind, upon the plea, first, that if they carried them on shore no one would buy them, and consequently that they should have them to maintain without any return; and, secondly, that by feigning an act of necessity, they might recover their value from the underwriters.

The next year, namely, 1820, furnishes us with another occurrence, equally atrocious in its nature, though of a different cast. Sir George Collier was at that time the commodore of the English squadron cruising in the African seas, to prevent the violation of the abolition law, as sanctioned by the English parliament, and by treaties between England and other foreign governments. He himself was on board the Tartar frigate. In the month of March, he gave chase to a vessel, which he suspected to be a slave-ship. In the course of the chase, several casks were observed to be floating in the sea, which the Tartar passed; but no persons could be spared at that moment to go to examine them. In a few hours afterwards, the crew of the frigate boarded the vessel which they had been pursuing, and she proved to be La Jeune Estelle, French vessel, the captain of which was named Olympe Sanguines. This man, on being questioned, denied that he had any slaves on board. He admitted, however, that he had had some in his possession a little time before,

but that a Spanish pirate had seized them and taken them away. There was something, however, so disingenuous in his countenance, that the chief officer of the Tartar, who had boarded his vessel, ordered a search to be made in the hold. One of the English sailors, on striking a cask, heard a faint voice issue from it, as of some creature expiring. The cask was immediately opened, when two slave-girls, about twelve or fourteen years of age, were found packed up in it. They were afterwards carried on board the Tartar, and thus rescued from a most painful death. When they arrived there, they were recognized by a person who had seen them in their own country. This person was then a prisoner on board the Tartar, having been taken by the commodore out of another slave-ship. It appeared from his evidence, that one Captain Richards, commanding an American slave-ship, had died at a village on the coast, called Trade-town, and that he had left behind him fourteen slaves, of which these two poor girls had formed a part; and that after his death, Captain Olympe Sanguines had landed his crew, armed with swords and pistols, and carried off these fourteen slaves on board La Jeune Estelle. Sir George Collier, upon receiving this information, thought it right to board the vessel again, in order to find the remaining twelve; but, after a strict search, they were no where to be found. It then struck him and his officers, (and a most painful consideration it was,) that Captain Sanguines, in order to prevent his vessel from being seized as a slave-ship, had packed up the twelve slaves just mentioned, in those casks which they had seen floating in the sea, one after another, soon after the commencement of the chase. But, alas! it was now too late to ascertain the truth of this conjecture, for the chase had then led them many leagues to windward of these casks; and there was no chance whatever that any of the slaves, who might be enclosed in them, would be found alive.

But these instances are sufficient: they show, without having recourse to others, the corruptive nature of this traffic upon the human heart. The effects which it produces are regular and certain. They are the same in whatever age, or by whatever people, it may be carried on. They are irresistible; so that neither public opinion, nor the improvement of one age above another, nor the superior refinement of any particular people, can withstand their influence.

They show, therefore, (what it is peculiarly desirable to know,) that there is no remedy for the evils complained of, but the total abolition of the trade. No human regulation can do them away, because no human regulation can change the human heart*. "Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? then may ye also do good, who are accustomed to do evil."

CHAPTER V.

The slave-trade a gross violation of the most common principles of justice, as established among men.—Refutation of some of the strongest arguments of those who defend it.

It would appear almost like an insult to the understanding, after what has appeared in the preceding chapters, to attempt to prove that the slave-trade is a gross violation of the principles of justice as established among civilized nations. The sketch, indeed, which we have given of it, seems to command intuitively the indignation of all those who have only the common capacity of discerning right from wrong; but when we see men following it without any hesitation, and with as much coolness and unconcern as if it were only a common occupation, it becomes our duty to try to expose them, by referring their conduct to some of the fixed principles of morality as established among men, and to inquire by what arguments they silence their own consciences, so as to be able to follow it without any apparent remorse.

There is one maxim in ethics, in which all the civilized world agree. It is so simple as to be comprehended by the meanest capacity, and so clear as to be incapable of being denied: "That man is guilty of injustice, who, without any previous provocation, brings loss, damage, or suffering upon another;" that is, nothing but a previous provocation given to a man; nothing but loss, damage, or suffering, brought upon him undeservedly, can entitle him to invade the person

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* Jerem. xiii. 23.

or property of another. This maxim is admitted by the rulers of every civilized nation at the present day. It is, indeed, the foundation, or great corner-stone, on which their laws are built. But it applies equally to persons in a state of nature; and it is, therefore, that moral maxim, which different nations who have different municipal laws of their own, are bound to use in their intercourse with each other. Let us examine then the case of the European slave-traders by this standard. If we go back to the preceding chapters for information on this subject; if we consider the cruel manner of making slaves of the Africans, the cruel manner of driving them to the European ships, and the still more cruel manner of transporting them to the European colonies: will not our hearts be weighed down with sorrow for their sufferings? Now what have these poor people done to bring upon themselves such afflicting visitations? Have they offended the Europeans? No, neither in word nor deed. How could they offend those whom they never saw? Here then we have what constitutes an injury, either in a state of nature or in the civilized world. We have a quantity of suffering inflicted by certain individuals of one nation, upon certain individuals of another, without any previous provocation. It may be said, however, on this first view of the subject, that the European slave-traders are not the actors in those scenes, which have produced the misery described. The Africans make their own wars, set fire to their own towns, and steal their own fellow-countrymen. They are the persons who commit these and other enormities, and not the Europeans. We admit this; but it does not follow that the Europeans are the less culpable on that account.

There are other maxims, besides that which has been cited, in which the civilized world are equally agreed, and by which their conduct may be tried, as well in this as in the former case. The first is, that "the receiver is as criminal as the thief." He, who receives goods, knowing them to be stolen, is as immoral as he who steals them. The second axiom is very nearly akin to the first. "He, who occasions another to do an act of injustice, is guilty of that injustice himself." The man, for instance, who employs another to assassinate, is, in the eye of morality, the assassin. The latter is guilty as an accomplice, but the former is the author of the crime. Now, it matters not by which of these axioms we try the European

slave-dealers in the case before us, whether as the receivers of stolen goods, or as the authors of the sufferings of which we so justly complain. These sufferings would have never existed but for them. If these slave-traders had never gone to Africa, very few of the natives would have been made slaves. Before they visited that continent, to buy men, women, and children, the laws there were like the laws of other people in a similar state of society. Crimes were not then punished with slavery as now. But, in process of time, the whole jurisprudence of the country was changed, to gratify their impious demands. Before they went to Africa, villages were not burnt in the dead of the night, to make prisoners of the inhabitants by surprise; nor did private individuals lie in wait, in concealed places, to spring upon the unwary traveller for his prey; nor did one neighbour betray another, to profit by the sale of his person. But since their visits to that unhappy land, these infernal practices have been introduced, and all security, and all confidence, has been destroyed. It has already appeared, that a slave-ship no sooner drops her anchor, than lust, avarice, envy, revenge, and all the bad passions which agitate the human breast, are brought forth into action in the neighbourhood; or that the news of the arrival of such a vessel operates like the publication of a reward for every species of crime. The Europeans then, though they may not be the principal actors in the mournful tragedy of African sufferings, as related in the preceding chapters, are yet most clearly the authors of them all; and the trade, therefore, which they follow, cannot be otherwise than a gross violation of the principles of justice, as established among civilized men.

Now what is it that the Europeans have to say in their defence? and with what arguments do they attempt to silence their consciences, so as to follow this bloody trade as an ordinary occupation, or to follow it without any apparent remorse? There are none of them, we believe, who will go so far as to declare, that those common maxims of equity are false, by which we judged their case, or to declare that there are no evils connected with the prosecution of their trade. They attempt, in general, not so much to deny their guilt, as to diminish it, by representations which, if true, might be considered as so many small drawbacks from the wickedness of their

cause. One argument, which they used formerly, is now annihilated. They used to transfer the crime of being concerned in this trade from themselves to their respective governments, for having encouraged and sanctioned it. It is true, that many of the governments of Europe, deceived by their wicked misrepresentations, legalized it; but their eyes have been opened with respect to its enormities; and all of them concurred in signing the treaty at Vienna, in which they described the slave-trade to be "*a plague which had desolated Africa, degraded Europe, and afflicted humanity.*" From among the arguments which are now advanced, I shall select the two strongest, and consider them in their turn.

They say that the Africans, whom they transport, are criminals, adjudged by their own tribunals to foreign slavery; and, therefore, that they themselves answer only the ends of public justice by taking them away. But we reply, that the argument is built upon an assertion which is false. All the Africans, whom they transport, are not criminals. Look at those who are captured, when the *Tegria* take place. Look at those who are *panyared*. Look at the numerous boys and girls on board every slave-ship, who are too young to be considered guilty of any crime. But admitting that many of them are criminals, it does not follow that their punishment is just. Perhaps they have been accused of witchcraft: where then has been their crime? Perhaps they have been condemned by the decision of the poisonous water: has their trial then been a fair and reasonable one, or their sentence just? But let us ask now, whether their punishment has been proportioned to their offence. A few observations will suffice here. Let us imagine ourselves to be present when any one of these poor condemned criminals is sold, and put into the next coffle that passes by; and let us follow him, from that moment, through the various sufferings which he is destined to endure. Let us look at him when bending under his load, and urged on by the whip, through the wilderness and the desert. Let us look at him when put on board the vessel, bidding a last adieu to his country; his mind excruciated, his legs in irons, and himself in the agonies of suffocation. Let us look at him, when recovered, under his new master in the colonies, an exile, a beast of burden, excited to his labour by chastisement, and having no prospect of a termination of his sufferings but by death. And then let us ask ourselves,

conscientiously, whether any crime he has committed can deserve so severe a punishment.

It is said again, that it is better for an African to be a slave in America than in his own country; and the reason given is, because in the one case he works under a civilized, and in the other under a barbarian master; by which it is intended to be inferred, that he is happier in one place than in the other. But, unfortunately for this argument, it is built upon an assertion equally false as the former. If the persons transported are not all of them criminals, neither have all of them been slaves. The fact is, that there are but few slaves in Africa at all. Nineteen out of twenty of the population there are freemen; and it is this circumstance which renders the fate of most of of them so peculiarly distressing. It is this evil that, having been accustomed to the blessings of freedom, they are reduced to the miseries of slavery. And here a most melancholy picture might be drawn of the condition of some of them. When the Tegria take place, no one is spared. The chieftain himself shares the lot of his people. The municipal officer, and the industrious man, who had amassed wealth, they and their wives and families, are all partakers of the coffle-chain.

But to return to the argument. If it be true at all, it can be true only of such Africans as have been slaves in their own country, and of no other; and it is therefore in this limited point of view that we are to consider it. We may state, therefore, in reply, that slavery in Africa is a light and easy condition. It is a sort of patriarchal vassalage, and is, in many respects, preferable to that which for many ages obtained in Europe. Mr. Park informs us, that they who are domestic slaves in Africa, cannot be sold at the discretion of their masters. They must have committed some crime to make their sale legal. They live and eat with their masters, in a kind of primitive simplicity; and they work together, whether in the field or whether at home, without any visible distinction. Masters, indeed, are looked upon by their slaves as fathers. They have both a magisterial and a parental authority. "Have I not served you, (said the negro who travelled with Mr. Park as a domestic slave,) have I not served you, as if you had been my master and my father?" This is Mr. Park's account of their situation in their own country;

and it is not unimportant to observe, that it has been confirmed by every witness who was examined by the English parliament.

Let us now look at their situation in the European colonies. What must be their feelings, when landed from the ships, to be put up for public sale, stark naked; to be handled and examined like beasts; to live, not as their masters live, but on a scanty allowance, so as to suffer frequently from hunger; to work, not in company with their master, but under a hard-hearted, white overseer, following them with a whip, and extracting from their sinews all the labour that human nature can give; to be subject to arbitrary punishments without redress; to be beaten, if they complain; to be blotted out from the rank of men, and to be put upon a level with the beasts of the field; to have an ignominy stamped upon their colour, which, while it attaches to themselves, is to descend to their future generations, and which produces such an awful distance, such a hideous difference between them and their masters, as makes them tremble at their sight? But let us suppose that the case were otherwise: let us suppose that both their masters and overseers were men not hardened by cruel habits, but men of ordinary feelings; even then their slavery in Africa would be a Paradise, compared with that in the colonies. What is to soothe them for the loss of their country, or for their separation from their families and friends, in the land in which they were born, and which they loved? What is to soothe them for their degradation from the rank of men to the rank of brutes? Their colour, their language, their features, all conspire to make them feel every moment of their lives the weight of their abasement. While they were at home, they were living with masters of the same species of living creatures, and of the same outward resemblance with themselves. They could speak and be answered; they could complain and be heard. Nature had formed the power of a mutual sympathy between them.

It appears then that the arguments of the Slave-traders, which we have now examined, are built upon false assertions, and that even if the assertions were true, they could not stand the test of fair reasoning. They fall, therefore, to the ground, and are to be passed over as standing for nothing, or as if they had never been made. Those persons, therefore, who follow this trade, can derive from these arguments no drawback or diminution from their guilt. They

are guilty, equally guilty as before, of the numerous violations imputed to them, of the common laws of morality and justice, as established among civilized men. They are guilty of the frauds, the unjust condemnations, the public and private man-stealings, the wars, and the bloodshed, which take place in Africa; and of the insurrections, suicides, and devastation of human life, which take place upon the ocean, in consequence of the prosecution of this wicked trade. They are guilty too of the crime of having retarded the civilization of Africa for nearly three hundred years. But what name shall we give to that other crime, of having imported millions of human beings into the European colonies, there to lose the rank of men, and to live in the degraded state of beasts of burden, they and their posterity for ever? We know of no name sufficient to characterize it. What name should we give to the man who should attempt, if it were possible, to put a contagious poison into the veins of a number of his fellow-creatures, that he might produce, in time, a race of lepers? Should we not call him a monster, or an infernal? Yet the effect to be produced by such an infernal, would be only the same which the Slave-traders have already produced in these colonies. They have introduced there a race of men, whose blood has been so corrupted by opinion, in consequence of the ignominy fixed upon them by the Slave-trade, that they who have any of it in their veins, are not only driven out of the pale of human society, and shunned as lepers, but are doomed to produce a series of generations, never to rise from degradation and abasement. Now if we put all these facts together, and reason upon them, we shall be under the necessity of concluding, that never has there been such a collection of injuries, or such a complication of crimes recorded in the history of the world, as those committed by the Europeans, who have been concerned in this execrable trade.

CHAPTER VI.

The Slave-trade contrary to the principles of revealed religion.—The argument that this trade leads to a conversion to Christianity, false as it relates to Africa;—false also as it relates to the Colonies;—and, if it were true, it would not render the trade less criminal in the eye of revealed religion.

If it be true, as we have proved in the preceding chapter, that the Slave-trade is contrary to the common principles of morality and justice, as established among civilized men, there can be no hesitation in pronouncing, that it is contrary to the principles of revealed religion.

It is a fact that, as Christianity was propagated, those who felt its benign influence on their hearts, discovered a repugnance even to that species of slavery which existed among them under the milder form of vassalage. They thought it inconsistent with the new and divine doctrines which they had received, and therefore we find, in the early ages of the church, that it was customary for persons, when they died, to enfranchise their slaves. They usually expressed, in their last wills and testaments, the reasons which had led them to such manumissions, and these were for "the love of God and the salvation of their own souls;" expressions which enable us to comprehend what they thought of the practice of holding men in slavery. To this influence of the Christian religion upon their minds, and to its progress among their descendants, is to be ascribed one great reason why the state of society was altered in Europe, so as to be different from what it had been in ancient times, or why the more civilized parts of Europe, where Christianity obtained first, consist now entirely of freemen. Here then we have a proof of the opinions of our ancestors on this subject, and these noble opinions would have come down to us, their posterity, in a pure and uninterrupted stream, had it not been for the introduction of the Slave-trade, which took place soon after the discovery of what was then

called the New World. Those unprincipled men, who first embarked in it, conscious of their own guilt, and of the infamy which would be attached to their new adventures, found themselves obliged to say something in justification of themselves. They endeavoured, therefore, to counteract the noble opinions before mentioned, by the assertion, that their expeditions were promotive of religious good, inasmuch as they diffused the principles of the Christian religion among the heathens in Africa, and inasmuch as they carried heathens from thence for conversion into the European colonies. This argument was used with success among many, because people were ignorant, at that time, of the detestable nature of their commerce; but, what is most remarkable, their descendants continue to use it at the present day. It will be proper, therefore, to bestow a few observations upon it, before we proceed to show that this traffic is irreconcilable with the principles of revealed religion.

We may say then, without the fear of contradiction, that the argument, as far as relates to Africa, is totally false. We may say, not only that no heathens there have been converted to Christianity by the Slave-traders, but that the visits of the latter there have been an effectual bar to their conversion. Mr. Smith, who resided a long time upon that continent, as an agent to an English Slave-factory, published a book in 1722, a century ago, from which we extract the following words. "The reflecting negroes consider the arrival of the Europeans in their country, as the greatest misfortune, and the greatest curse that could have befallen them. They say that we Christians have introduced the Slave-trade, with all its concomitant horrors, into their country, where they were living before in tranquillity and peace. But who, say they, would wish to become Christians, for wherever Christianity goes, murder, pestilence, and devastation follow its steps." Mr. Park, who visited Africa but a few years ago, writes thus: "Although the negroes have generally a high idea of the wealth and power of the Europeans, I fear that the Mahommedan converts among them think but very lightly of our superior attainments in religious knowledge. The white traders in the maritime districts, take no pains to counteract this unhappy prejudice among them; always performing their own devotions in secret, and seldom condescending to converse with the negroes in a friendly and instructive manner. To me, therefore, it was not so much the subject of

wonder, as a matter of regret, to observe that, whilst the superstition of Mahomet has scattered a few faint beams of learning among these poor people, the precious light of Christianity is altogether excluded. I could not but lament that, although the coast of Africa has now been known and frequented by Europeans for more than two hundred years, yet the negroes still remain strangers to our holy religion."

Nor is the other part of the argument less false, which relates to the European colonies. Of all the countries in the world, we should least think of a conversion to Christianity there. The hatred which the poor slaves must naturally bear towards their masters, must almost force them to despise the Christian religion. They can view it in no other light than as encouraging cruelty and oppression. Let us remember that affecting expression of an old Casique, when he was put to the torture by the Spanish conquerors of America. They offered him heaven, if he would receive baptism at their hands. He asked them, if those Spaniards, who had been baptized, entered into the heaven of which they spoke. Being answered in the affirmative, he replied, with a groan, "Then I do not desire to go to your heaven." With equal reason might the Africans say to those who preach the religion of Christ to them in the colonies, "How can this religion be good, if it be yours?" But there are other impediments in the way of their conversion. They are placed, in the colonies, in an unnatural state of society—in a state which almost forbids moral improvement. You wish, for example, to teach them to be honest; but hunger calls upon them, perhaps at the same moment, to be thieves: you read them lessons of fidelity and submission in their new stations of life; but, ground down by hard labour and severe punishments, they retain a sense of their injuries, and are perhaps at that very moment awakened to revenge. It is not, therefore, to be expected that they can make any great proficiency in religion, while their very condition forces them into crime. They labour again under another serious disadvantage. It has been often observed, that good example profits more than precept. But where are there any countries so fruitful of bad example as the colonies? None in Europe: none in any other quarter of the globe. It is a true saying, that nothing has a greater tendency than power to corrupt the heart; and no where is it exercised so

irresistibly, or with so little controul, as in the countries we are now speaking of. Every master is a monarch over his own domains. Here the brutal passions may be gratified, or anger indulged, to the most criminal extent, without the fear of punishment. Here tyranny, profligacy, and dissipation reign. If, therefore, the slaves are to become Christians, it will not be from the exemplary conduct of their masters. But what shall we say, if these same masters object to teaching them Christianity at all, lest, if their slaves should become Christians, they themselves should be obliged to treat them better?

But we will now give to the slave-traders the full advantage of their argument. We will suppose, for a moment, that the Africans, all of them, become Christians, when these have landed them in the European colonies. But even an universal conversion would not excuse them for the wars, robberies, and murders, which they occasioned in Africa; or for the misery and devastation of human life, which they occasioned in their respective voyages. They would still have all these crimes to answer for. The slave-trade would be still a monstrous violation both of the spirit and of the letter of revealed religion; and it would continue to be so, so long as it should be founded upon crime. Let us hear what St. Paul says to us, through the medium of his letter to the Corinthians. He informs us, that "we are not to do evil that good may come;" or in other words, that sin is not to be committed, whatever may be the prospect, either of public advantage or of private gain. This noble precept allows of no exceptions as to persons: it is applicable also on all occasions, whether in the administration of government, or in commerce, or in private life. If a prince, for example, had in view any plans of political advantage, they would be unlawful, if the means for putting them into execution were unjust. Again, if a merchant found, that by having recourse to a little fraud or a little dishonesty in trade, he could make his fortune, he would be criminal in the sight of God, if he were to realize his designs. In the same manner this noble precept condemns both the slave-trade and the slavery which is founded upon it; because it is impossible to support either the one or the other without a multitude of crimes. And it is remarkable, that not only the fathers of the church, who succeeded the apostles, enforced this noble precept, but that those who

succeeded the fathers, applied it to the very case of which we are now speaking. Pope Leo the Tenth, when appealed to by the Dominicans, about the treatment of the poor Indians, declared, in his letter to them, "that not only the Christian religion, but Nature herself, cried out against a state of slavery." Soon after this, the doctrine was introduced, that it was lawful to make slaves of the Indians, provided that they were converted to Christianity; but Pope Paul the Third issued two briefs, in 1537, in which he passed the severest censures upon those who held this doctrine. He said, that "it could only have been the enemy of mankind (the devil) who had introduced it." He affirmed, that it was a doctrine "till then unheard of;" and that it was false, not only as it related to the Indians, but as it might relate to "any other people." Here then we see a case in point. The Indians were not to be made slaves: no, nor any other people, though they were to gain the blessings of Christianity by the change; and the reason was, because slavery itself was a crime.

But to return. We are to show, that the slave-trade is irreconcilable with the principles of revealed religion. We shall do this, after so long a digression, in a few words; and, indeed, a very few words only will be sufficient to prove this point.

Moses, when he presented us with the great moral law, presented us with the means of this proof. He said, (and this by the command of God*,) "Thou shalt do no murder." But is not the slave-trade a complication of murders? He said, "Thou shalt not steal." But is not the slave-trade a complication of robberies? He said, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour." But does not this execrable trade produce thousands of false accusations, to condemn the innocent? He said, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his servant, nor his maid, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is his." But does not the slave-trader in Africa, encouraged by the slave-trader of Europe, covet his neighbour's wife, his man-servant, his maid-servant, and even his neighbour himself? and does not this covetousness break out into action, by his

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* Exodus xx. 15.

adoption of unjust means to get possession of their persons? But if the great moral law of Moses thus condemns the African slave-trade, how much more does the law of Christ? for our Saviour came not to destroy the moral law, but to carry it to a higher degree of perfection; and, consequently, we find that he made even the intention criminal, without the commission of the act.

Again, Moses, soon after he had promulgated the great moral law, introduced certain particular laws, for certain particular offences. Among these, we find the following*: "He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or, if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death." Now it is evident, that the word "steal" always implies fraud or violence, and frequently both. We may observe, therefore, that the particular law now mentioned is applicable to all those wicked practices which we have shown to be in use in Africa for supplying the slave-market. They are applicable to the *Tegria*, the *Panyar*, and all other fraudulent and violent means that are adopted there, for procuring men, women, or children for the purpose of sale. It may be observed also, that the punishment which Moses adjudged to the man-stealer, was no less than the punishment of death. But, perhaps, it may be said here, that the particular law now mentioned was a municipal law, and intended for the Israelites alone. Should such an objection be made, we should reply, that it was only a repetition of that part of the great moral law, which says, "Thou shalt not steal;" but interpreted so as to be applied to the human race. And this very consideration increases its moral nature; for if it be criminal to steal cattle, goods, or money, it must be more criminal to steal a man: a creature made after the image of God, with intellectual powers above all animated nature, and with an immortal soul. It is, therefore, not merely a municipal law, intended for a particular people; but a part of the great moral law, confirmed by Christianity, and therefore intended for all mankind. It was in this light that the greatest of the apostles viewed it. St. Paul says, in his first letter to Timothy†, that the law, that is, the moral law of Moses, was not made for good men, but for

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* Exodus, xxi. 16. † Chap. i. 9.

sinners, for unholy and profane persons; and it is remarkable, that he reckons, specifically, men-stealers among these. But whom did he mean by men-stealers, for whom the law was made? He meant those who stole men among the Israelites. He meant those who followed this wicked occupation among the Greeks and Romans, and others in his own time; and he included those also who should follow it afterwards in any part of the world. But it will be unnecessary to go further into this subject. The slave-trade stands already condemned, both by the Old and New Testaments, if those passages be rightly interpreted which we have quoted on the occasion. Now if these books, and these only, contain the will of God, as manifested to man, we consider ourselves as having proved the proposition which we advanced at the beginning of this chapter, that the slave-trade, as it is contrary to the common principles of morality and justice, as established among civilized men, so it is contrary to the principles of revealed religion.

And now, benevolent reader, we have laid before thee a horrible picture of this traffic, in all its various branches. We have shown thee a picture, which will have called forth thy pity, and aroused thy indignation. We recommend to thy particular remembrance the engraving of the slave-ship, which we presented to thy view in a former chapter. It will speak volumes of itself. It will remind thee of a mass of sufferings upon the ocean; and, by the wonderful power of association, which the mind possesses, of leading the imagination from one place to another, it will remind thee of other sufferings on those shores which the vessel left, and of others whither she is going. But if there be any thing else, which we would wish to fix in thy memory, it would be the farewell scene, mentioned in a former part of this work, which took place at Jindey, when Mr. Park took leave of the poor slaves, whom he had accompanied in the coffle to that place. "But although," says Mr. Park, "I was now approaching the end of my tedious and toilsome journey, and expected in another day to meet with countrymen and friends, I could not part, for the last time, with my unfortunate fellow-travellers, doomed, as I knew most of them to be, to a life of captivity and slavery in a foreign land, without great emotion. During a wearisome peregrination of more than five hundred English miles, exposed to the burning rays

of a tropical sun, these poor slaves, amidst their own infinitely greater sufferings, would commiserate mine; and frequently, of their own accord, bring water to quench my thirst, and at night collect branches and leaves to prepare me a bed in the wilderness. We parted with reciprocal expressions of regret and benediction. My good wishes and prayers were all I could bestow upon them; and it afforded me some consolation to be told, that they were sensible I had no more to give."

Benevolent reader, what an interesting relation is this! May the farewell-scene now mentioned be fixed indelibly on thy mind! If the poor slaves who were left by Mr. Park at Jindey, took every opportunity in their power to alleviate the sufferings of him, who was a European, at a time when they were suffering themselves, and when they had the prospect of suffering still more during a long voyage across the ocean, and a perpetual slavery in the colonies; and of suffering too through the wicked agency of Europeans: think whether thou art not bound as a European, whether thou art not bound as a man, and whether thou art not more particularly bound as a Christian, to do every thing in thy power for their unhappy countrymen in return. It is true, that these poor slaves had no property of their own to give to their fellow-traveller, to comfort him on his wearisome journey; for, alas! they were property themselves! But they gave him all they had to give. They gave him the tender sympathy of their hearts. They contributed to quench his thirst in the desert, and to smooth his bed in the wilderness. "*Go thou, and do likewise.*" Give to their countrymen at least the tears of thy sympathy. Exert thy voice to put an end to their sufferings. Lose no opportunity to exclaim, in the presence of thy compatriots, against their oppressors. How dost thou know but that thy voice, lifted up in a righteous cause, may produce many other voices in their favour; and that many other voices may, under the Divine influence, become the means of annihilating this impious trade?

THE END.

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