
A
DISSUASION

FROM THE

Slave-Trade.

James Swan

1789

Reprinted and hand bound

by

Galen B. Turner

Swan's Island, Maine

2008

A
DISSUASION

TO
GREAT-BRITAIN,

AND THE
COLONIES,
FROM THE
SLAVE-TRADE TO AFRICA,

Shewing the Injustice thereof, &c.

REVISED and ABRIDGED.

BY
JAMES SWAN.

BOSTON:

Printed for J. GREENLEAF, at the New PRINT-
ING-OFFICE, in Hanover Street, 1773.

T H E

Dedication

To
His EXCELLENCY the GOVERNOR,
The Honorable
His MAJESTY Council,
And the House of Representatives
Of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay,
IN NEW-ENGLAND.

HOWEVER presuming it may be in me to address you in this manner, who are the legislative body of this province; yet I dare say you will excuse it, when you recollect a common saying, that nothing protects a Scotsman, but his impudence, &c. and I am urged to it by hearing that your Excellency and a majority of both houses, are inclined to relieve in one degree or other the most dejected part of our species, from a slavery that is really odious in the eyes of every true British subject.

vi D E D I C A T I O N.

I SHALL not enter in this place, upon enumerating the arguments which I might use to support the eligibility and legallity of giving the Negroes a proper redress, both in a christian and political light, and the utility of such a measure being speedily entered into: These have been discuss'd with greater elegance than I pretend to, by gentlemen, whose endeavours and pains, have rendered them valuable to their country, in trying to obtain that succour, which they, with all serious well thinking people, conceived to be the inherent right of all mankind.

I do not mean to lengthen out this Dedication, or the Preface and Dissuasion following it, as was done in the former edition, with more than enough of canting style: But be as laconick as possible; that resolution necessarily obliged me to say, that I now shelter this Dissuasion under your wings; and at the ensuing Session I expect at least a finishing of what was begun in the last, of stopping a further importa-

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tion of Negroes into this province ; and you may do as much more for the relief of those that are here, as you, in your great wisdom, shall see meet.— Think they are men possessed of reasonable souls ; that we were all upon a level in the beginning ; and what right we have to keep them in their present situation,---then I am pretty well satisfied you will give them the relief they want, and which I most ardently wish for.

I am with all becoming respect

Your most obedient

Humble servant,

JAMES SWAN.

BOSTON, April, 1773.

T H E

Preface.

EVER since the appearance, or public existence of the former edition of this pamphlet, have I repented with a truly contrite heart, at my prefixing my name to it ; and not being able to pay a necessary attention to the correction ; however I was in this particular, what is said to belong to the Scots nation in general, *wife behind the hand, i. e. wise too late.* I say, ever since, all that is within me have yearned at the bad luck I met with, in attempting a publication, without having time to correct it ; and in leaving it to a gentleman whose employment necessarily demanded his absence from town : But the inaccuracy has been apologized for, in a genteel, true and modest way, by a person who published some time since the *Appendix*, &c. to whom, be who

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he may, I return my thanks in this public manner ; hoping he will meet with a reward in some future day, or after world if he does not in this.

I OFTEN times think to myself what motives urged ; what impulse drove me ; or what principle actuated me, to write it after the form of a sermon, and putting it in the hacknied style of the clergy---the---Scots---and---I mean, or what others you please : However to make an amend to the ministers (them I always put first)—laity—Negroes and all persons whatever, that have happened to read it in that mould ; I have altered, defaced, abridged and added, as you will see by looking over the few sheets that follow this preface ; and I think, to say the very least, and at the same time the most, concerning it, these meliorations are much for the better.

I SHALL make no apology for troubling the public, further than this edition appears in the world, at the earnest desire of the Negroes in Boston, in order to answer the purpose of sending a copy to each town. Nothing but an in-

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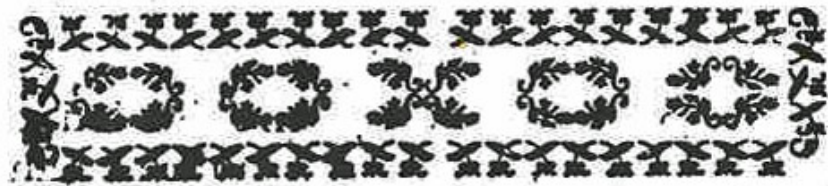
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clination to granting their request, and that I hope every town will be actuated to give their Representatives instructions, in imitation of that well disposed one Medford, who in the last session directed their member to “ use his utmost influence to have a final period
“ put to that most cruel, inhuman and
“ unchristian practice, the slave-trade.” These motives have worked upon me so much as to venture myself a second time to the censure or applause of the world.

FAVOR me with one thing reader, and I will grant you fifty ; that is, to read this Dissuasion with an unprejudiced mind ; and remember, with not one itching of a critic ; for as sure as you do, down falls the fabric, and crushed is the whole edifice, I mean the style and manner of expression, &c. not the arguments. And I have just to observe, that if this meets with but half the success I wish for, in redressing the shocking state in which the Negroes are held, I shall be a thousand times rewarded.

J. S.



D I S S U A S I O N, &c.



THE subject of which these few sheets treat, would have been one of the last I should have ventured upon, had not the delusion of the men who are concerned in enslaving the people called *Negroes* appeared so glaring, and the contradiction that the *slave-trade* bears to christianity, prompted me to it.

I SHALL be as cool and impartial in treating of this matter as any person living in a land of liberty can: But, in case any thing should be mentioned in the sequel that may give unintended offence to any person, I hope the tender feelings for these distressed captives which is interwoven in my heart,

and an unintermitting desire that lodges in my breast, to have this trade abolished, will be sufficient excuse.

IT is for those, who are in a state of bondage to describe the dread horrors, the tearing anguish, and the direful pains that alternately seize them when thinking, of their being among people who boast of their liberties, and at same time act repugnant to the spirit of their constitution in keeping in slavery thousands of blacks, when they know it is also derogatory to the principles of christianity, and society. Under the mosaic law that person who stole another, and sold him, was to be punished with death. And it most certainly can be looked upon in no other light in the merchants who are in the trade to *Africa*, than stealing of men, being accessory to, and aiding in inciting them to war one with another and for this purpose, supplying them with arms and ammunition, whereby they are hurried into confusion, bloodshed, and all the extremities of temporal misery, which must consequently beget in their minds such a general

detestation and scorn of the christian name, as may deeply affect, if not wholly preclude, their belief of the great truths of our holy religion. Thus an insatiable desire of gain prevails with their kings, who, instead of being protectors of their people, for this alluring bait laid before them, by the *European* and *American* factors, and ship-masters, invade the liberties of these unhappy people, and occasion their oppression. The kings, when they want goods send to the ship-masters, acquainting them they have Negroes, and sometimes the factors and ship-masters send to inform them, that they have a quantity of goods, and want slaves for the same. These chiefs, whether they have slaves then or not, agree, and immediately go to war with their neighbours and make such havock in burning towns and the devastation of war, as really shocks human nature, which appears by the following extract from a surgeon's journal in a *Liverpool* vessel.

Sestro, December 29, 1724.

“ NO trade to-day, though many
“ traders came on board ; they inform

“ us, that the people are gone to war
“ within land, and will bring prisoners
“ enough in two or three days ; in
“ hopes of which we stay.

“ 30th. No trade yet ; but our tra-
“ ders came on board to-day and in-
“ formed us the people had burnt four
“ towns, so that to-morrow we expect
“ slaves enough.

“ 31st. FAIR weather, but no trade
“ yet ; we see each night towns burn-
“ ing ; but we hear the *Sestro* men are
“ many of them killed by the inland
“ Negroes, so that we fear this war
“ will be unsuccessful.

“ THE 2d of *January*. Last night
“ we saw a prodigious fire break out
“ about eleven o'clock, and this morn-
“ ing saw the town of *Sestro* burn
“ down to the ground, (it contained
“ some hundred houses) so that we
“ find their enemies are too hard for
“ them at present ; consequently our
“ trade spoiled here, so that about
“ seven o'clock we weighed anchor, as
“ did also the three other vessels, to
“ proceed lower down.”

HERE follows another relation taken from an original journal of a surgeon who sailed out of *New-York*,
 “ Being on the coast of *Guinea* at a
 “ place called *Bajalia*, the commander
 “ of the vessel, according to custom,
 “ sent a person on shore, with a present
 “ sent to the King, acquainting him
 “ with his arrival, and informing him
 “ they wanted a cargo of slaves. The
 “ King promised to furnish them, and
 “ in order to do it, set out to war
 “ against his enemies; designing also
 “ to surprise some town, and take all
 “ the people prisoners: Some time after,
 “ the King sent them word, he had
 “ not met with the desired success,
 “ having been twice repulsed in attempting
 “ to break up two towns; but that he still
 “ hoped to procure a number of slaves for
 “ them, and in this design persisted, until
 “ he met his enemies in the field, where
 “ a battle was fought, which lasted three
 “ days, during which time, the engagement
 “ was so bloody that four thousand five
 “ hundred men were slain on the spot.
 “ Think (says he) what a pitiful sight

“ it was to see the widows weeping
 “ over their lost husbands, orphans
 “ deploring the loss of their fathers &c.”
 Oh! shocking phenomenon, four or
 five thousand people killed, for no other
 cause than that our very humane, and
 christianized merchants, &c. want three
 or four hundred prisoners to make
 slaves of.

It is a practised custom among the
 factors who reside in *Africa*, and the
 ship-masters who trade thither, to corrupt
 many negroes on the sea coast, who stop
 at no act of cruelty for gain. They esteem
 it heroic, to kidnap abundance of little
 blacks of both sexes, when found on the
 roads or in the fields, where their parents
 keep them all day to watch the corn, &c.
 If any person should presume to say, that
 the *Africans* are not stolen, and that it is
 not direct stealth in the ship-masters, I
 should think he would deserve to be
 laughed at; because, if they did not go
 there and entice the chiefs with money,
 or goods, there would be no wars, as is
 the case at present; and there would be
 none stolen, if the steal-

ers were not bribed by the factors or ship-masters ; and beside those that are made slaves of, there would be ten thousand others who are killed in the broils, that would be saved, were they to discontinue this unhuman trade.

It may be said they pay for them. I answer, they give money or goods by way of price to some of the princes and Negroes, who, for lucre's sake take them prisoners by war or stealth, so that what money they give those more than brutal men, who take them in these ways cannot be looked upon as a price paid in lieu, for the persons themselves never consented to be mancipated, as they get none of the money that is pretendedly given for them. They at length arrive at the port, the ship-masters sell them at a most exorbitant profit, and in a few voyages he makes what he calls his fortune ; this is all he aimed at, and wished for ; and what follows, but his eternal destruction, unless timely repented of : For the truth of this, I could mention very striking instances of men, whose

principles are as vicious as their actions, and who I see almost every day.

To say more as to their being stolen would be needless, because it is clear that they are so in every sense it can be understood ; and it is not, nor can be denied that they sell them, so that they who practise these laudable branches of man-stealing and selling can expect nothing but the penalties of God's laws, which he, in his own time, will inflict, since man ! indolent base degenerate man ! will not punish them with death, as warranted sufficiently by the eternal decrees of heaven.

In regard to the barbarous usage these unhappy people meet with from the ship-masters in their passage from *Africa*. After they have got them on board shackled two and two together, they keep them confined below all the passage, never permitting more than two on deck at a time to take one breath of fresh air, the most common blessing we enjoy, conscious that they are doing them wrong, and not certain but the just wrath of God might raise them against the ship-master and

his crew, should they seek and embrace the first opportunity to retrieve that liberty which they had in their own country, and which they ought to enjoy by laws divine and human.

FURTHER, the following case is mentioned in *Astley's* collection of voyages, by *John Atkins*, surgeon on board Admiral *Ogle's* Squadron, "Of one *Harding*, master of a vessel, in which several of the man-slaves and a woman-slave had attempted to rise in order to recover their liberty; some of whom the master of his own authority sentenced to cruel death, making them first eat the heart and liver of one of those he killed. The woman he hoisted by the thumbs, whiped, and slashed with knives before other slaves, until she died." Most unparalleled cruelty! Human nature is aghast at such barbarity!

NEXT is an account by a ship-master who brought a cargo of slaves to *Barbadoes*, upon being asked the success of his voyage, answered, "That he had found it a difficult matter to set the Negroes fighting with each other in order to

procure the number he wanted." But when he had obtained his end, having filled his vessel with slaves, a new difficulty arose from their refusal to take food: Those desperate creatures chusing rather to die with hunger than to be carried from their native country." Upon a further enquiry how he got them to forego this desperate resolution, he answered, "That he obliged all the Negroes to come on deck, where they persisting in their resolution of not taking food, he caused his sailors to lay hold on one of the most obstinate, who chopped the poor creature into small pieces, forcing some of the others to eat a part of the mangled body; swearing to the survivors, that he would use them all, one after the other, in the same manner if they did not consent to eat." This horrid execution he applauded as a good act, it having had the desired effect. "As detestable and shocking as these usages to the poor Negroes may appear, it will not be strange to those who have been concerned or employed in the trade."

It is mentioned in scripture concerning the punishment of man stealing, &c. *If the person stolen be found in his hands, he surely shall be put to death.* If either the laws of God or man, were to be put in execution, the stealer, and buyer too, would be punished with death, for it is equally clear as to both, in the mosaic institutions. It is most absurd, for any person to alledge they bought them, for no money can be equal to the worth of a man: And it is a poor justification to say, that they purchased the Negroes with a price tantamount to their value; for as there are no laws, either of Heaven or nations authorizing the buying and stealing of *Africans*, I am inclined to think it cannot be supposed, but the least they deserve is death: And the man who buys them, is full as culpable as the stealer, and liable to the same punishment, for it is expressly written, *If he be found in his hands, he surely shall be put to death.*

WHEN Moses in his code of laws is speaking relative to seven years service, most positively says, *That if an*

Hebrew servant be sold unto thee, and as I conceive if you buy him, he shall serve thee six years, and the seventh, thou shall let him go free from thee, and shall furnish him liberally with what he hath. Thou shall not let him go away empty. Thou shall furnish him liberally out of thy flock, and out of thy floor, and of thy wine press; of that wherewith the LORD thy GOD hath blessed thee, thou shall give him. This is in token that thou dost acknowledge the benefit that thou hast received by his labours. THIS I hope will make such impressions upon the minds of men, that they will not bind a servant to serve above six years; but will set him at liberty in the seventh, and give him liberally of what the LORD hath blessed them with in compliance with the divine command.

THE practice of making slaves of our brethren is likewise against the law of nature, which teaches us, that *whatsoever we would that men should do unto us, we should do even so to them.* Would any person consent to be torn from his friends and native country, and be made a slave for life, and to have his

children continue in the same condition from one generation to another? "bring the matter home to yourselves, and think whether any condition in life can be more completely miserable than that of those distressed captives. On reflecting, that each of them had some tender attachments which were broke by the cruel separation! some parent or wife who had not an opportunity of mingling tears in a parting embrace! perhaps some infant or aged parent whom his labour was to feed, and vigilance protect! and himself under the dreadful apprehensions of perpetual slavery."

THE crimes attending the slave trade are greatly aggravated by the extreme cruel usage the Negroes meet with in the plantations, as well with regard to food and cloathing as the hard and unreasonable labour that is exacted from them, and what cannot be forgot, the severe chastisement they frequently suffer, which is bounded by the wrath and pleasure of their hard task-masters.

As to their food: In *Barbadoes*, * &c. "three quarts of corn and three herrings are a weeks allowance for a working slave; and it is mentioned in the system of geography, that in *Jamaica* the owners of the Negro slaves set aside for each, a piece of ground, and allow them sundays to cultivate it, the produce of which with a few salt herrings or other salt fish is all that is allowed for their support. In *Virginia* they do the same. As to their cloathing. In the Islands, the allowance for a slave's cloathing is seldom more than six y^rds of oznabrigs a year, and in the southern colonies, where the piercing westerly winds are long and sensibly felt, these poor *Africans* suffer much for the want of sufficient cloathing; indeed, shocking to relate! some of them are obli-

* It is supposed eighty thousand Negroes are upon the islands of *Barbadoes*, and yet through the hard labour they exact of these poor creatures, and what of them are killed through their barbarous chastisements, a decrease is made of five thousand slaves yearly, which they are resupplied with from *Africa*. One may form an idea from this, of what an additional supply most of the *West-India* islands and southern provinces need, for there is not one of them but what do import a considerable number of slaves annually, to keep up their common stock.

ged to work most of the night in boiling-houses, notwithstanding the hard days work they have performed. If they are detected in taking any thing from the plantation they belong to, which they have so hardly laboured for, they are cruelly whipped." "The task-masters (to use the words of Mr. *Whitfield*) by their inhumane usage and unrelenting scourges have ploughed their backs and made long furrows, and at length brought them even to death." When speaking of their cloathing and food, he adds, "When passing along I have viewed your plantations cleared and cultivated, many spacious houses built and the owners of them faring sumptuously every day. My blood run cold within me to consider how many of your slaves had neither convenient food to eat or proper raiment to put on, notwithstanding many of the comforts you enjoy were solely owing to their indefatigable labours." It is astonishing how a people who so much value themselves upon their freedom can continue in the practice of so

much oppression. Will not the groans of this afflicted and miserable people reach Heaven? when the cup of iniquity is filled, the unavoidable tendency must be, the pouring forth of God's judgments upon the oppressors.

I HOPE this short narrative, for great part of which I am indebted to Mr. *Benezet*, will raise in every breast an utter detestation and abhorrence of the horrid customs and savage usage in the Islands and Colonies abovementioned, and I make no doubt but every one will see, they do not to these Negroes, as they would they should do to them.

THE charter of this province granted by King *William* and Queen *Mary*, dated at *Westminster*, the 7th. of *October*, in the 3d. year of their reign, *inter alia*, establisheth and ordains, That all and every of the subjects of us, our heirs and successors, which go to and inhabit within our said province and territory, and every of their children which shall happen to be born there, or on the seas in going thither, or returning from thence, shall have and enjoy all liberties and immunities of free and natural subjects within the dominions of us, our

helds and successors, to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever, as if they and every of them were born within our realm of England.

WE are complaining daily that our liberties are wrested from us, and little think how we deprive these poor black people of their freedom, when there is as little reason for it as there is for making slaves of *British* subjects: As appears plainly, from the foregoing clause in the charter. I hope means will be used by the legislature of most, if not all the provinces of *North-America*, totally prohibiting the importation of Negroes, and setting at liberty those who are now in bondage, which will be an honor to human nature. The cruelty of forcing the *Africans* from their own country, appears the more glaring when we consider as Mr. *Postlethwait* observes, that its situation for commerce is certainly beyond any of the other quarters of the world, being in the center, and has thereby a much nearer communication with *Europe, Asia* and *America*, than any other quarter has with the rest. It is wonderfully accommodated for com-

merce by the interposition of islands, and more particularly by the assistance of the trade winds, which render the navigation safe, easy, and constant. It is furnished with the greatest and most convenient navigable rivers, such as the *Nile, Nubia, Natal*, which are rivers of the first magnitude; besides these there are many others, well situated for navigation and commerce, and which by their noble courses penetrate far inland; if the *Europeans, &c.* would cultivate a humane and christian like commerce with the *Africans*, they might through these rivers, become the medium of an endless beneficial commerce. The country is populous beyond credibility, the soil fruitful, the season for the greatest part, mild and clement, and the air salubrious.

THE disadvantages to *Africa* in taking so many of its natives away yearly, are 1st. Its depopulation, which prevents the inland country, where the incessant broils are carried on, from defending themselves against the attacks and encroachments made on their properties by the Kings and Chiefs, whereby many

thousands of their subjects being taken prisoners, are sold ; and further, in consequence of this, depriving them of the means of defence. 2d. It obstructs the civilizing those people, and consequently the propagating amongst them the christian religion, and extending the trade into the bowels of *Africa*. 3d. It prevents the introducing arts and sciences amongst them, and the carrying a friendly, civil and christian commerce into the heart of their region. It is an absolute fact, that these people are incessantly at war with their neighbouring Princes so that they cannot get their business followed, which is a great hinderance to the manufacturing such quantities of their country's produce of every kind as they might do, were this trade abolished, and the rulers in friendship with each other.

THE slavetrade was so engrossed the attention of those men that traffick to *Africa*, that they never once think of such commodities as *Europe* might consume, viz. gums, ivory, gold, silyer, &c. and to resign that base trade, man-selling.

But some may ask, if we abolish this trade where shall we get labourers ? the answer is at hand, *Europe* in general affords numbers of poor and distressed objects for that purpose. The advantages that would arise to *Africa* in abolishing this inhuman commerce are numerous. 1st. It would be a means of peopling that country, and of cultivating it. so as to render it capable of bearing in as great abundance as the *East-Indies*, spices of equal quality to those of *Banda*, *Ternate* and *Amboyna* ; which might be produced on the rich shores of *Melinda* on the east, or of the slave coast on the west side of *Africa*, and that as easy and to as great advantage, as where they are now raised, the latitude being the same, and soil not unlike ; and, in short, cinnamon and all other productions of *East* and *West-Indies*, by proper management might be raised here as well as in those parts. 2d. It would introduce the christian religion among them, which is a shame to those nations who pretend to be influenced by the principles of christianity, to keep so long hid, and of consequence, be a

means of bringing among them the more civilized arts and sciences: 3d. It will recommend the *European* dress, and introduce their customs among the natives, and of course civilize them like other christian nations: Lastly: It will be a means of bringing this country to as great perfection in trade, riches, and grandeur, as any in *Europe*, it being a much more fertile soil for many valuable productions.

THE advantages that would arise to *Europe* in this trade even in its present state, excluding that of the slaves, is very great; for which there is in return, gold, elephant's-teeth, wax, gums, cotton-wool and divers dying-woods: These are articles which the country abound in, and would be still cheaper to an immense degree, were the inland parts settled with their own people. *Britain* pays but little for the commodities it exports to *Africa*, being mostly, as observed before, its own produce, such as worsted and cotton cloths of all kinds, brass, iron and copper work of every sort, particularly large quantities of all kinds of defensive

arms, with powder and shot in proportion. It is the interest of every merchant in *Britain* and the plantations who are now concerned in traffick to *Africa*, to cultivate the inland commerce in its utmost extent; there being the greatest reason to believe, that where they now export twenty shillings worth of commodities thither, they would then export an hundred pound:—The government at home are aware of these advantages, and have granted an annual sum of ten thousand pounds sterling for the maintaining and upholding the forts and castles in the *British* settlements in *Africa*, so that they are entirely defended against the attacks of any enemy, and their trade secured by forts and castles. A great deal more could be mentioned on the advantages that may arise to *Britain* and the plantations in abolishing this wicked trade: However, I shall conclude with some short admonitions to those concerned, and propose a method to put this trade to *Africa* upon a just and lawful footing.-----I advise every merchant who is in this trade of manslaving to renounce and give it up. Why should any person incur the penalties

of God's law for the sake of gain? Were they on a death-bed, what agonies and troubles of mind must they undergo upon the reflection --- of having enslaved so many miserable creatures and causing thousand more to perish in the wars they occasion; surely the judgment of God must come upon such men who will thus use their own brethren born to inherit the same salvation with them. Mr. *Whitefield* in a letter to the inhabitants of *Virginia*, &c. saith, " We have " a remarkable instance of God's taking " cognizance of, and avenging the quarrel " of poor slaves, 2 *Sam.* xxi. 1. There " was a famine in the days of *David*, three " years, year after year, and *David* enquir- " ed of the LORD, and the LORD answer- " ed, it is for *Saul*; and his bloody house, " because he slew the *Gibeonites*. Two " things are here very remarkable, 1st. " These *Gibeonites* were only hewers of " wood and drawers of water; or in other " words, slaves like yours. 2d. That this " plague was sent by God many years af- " ter the injury (the cause of the plague) " was committed. And for what end " were this and such like examples record- " ed in holy Scriptures? Without doubt

" for our learning. For God is the same " to-day as he was yesterday, and will " continue the same for ever. He does not " reject the prayer of the poor and desti- " tute, nor disregard the cry of the mean- " est Negro." When speaking of the op- " pression and unchristian usage these distres- " sed people meet with from the ship-mas- " ters in their passage, and from the masters they are sold to in the south parts of *Ame- " rica* and the *West-Indies*, he adds, " The " blood of the Negroes spilt for these many " years in your respective provinces will " rise up to Heaven against you." - - - Per- " tinent to my subject are the following " questions of Mr. *Postlethways*.

1st. " WHETHER the people of this " country notwithstanding their colour, are " not capable of being civilized and brought " into the christian religion, as well as great " numbers of the *Indians* of *America* and *Asia* " have been; and whether the primitive " inhabitants of all countries so far as we " have been able to trace them, were not " once as savage and inhuman as the people " in *Africa*, and whether the ancient *Britons* " themselves of our country were not once " upon a level with the *Africans*? - - - - " 2d. " Whether therefore, there is not

a probability that those people might in time, by proper management in the *Europeans*, become as wise, as industrious, as humane, and as good christians, as the people of any other country? - - - - 3d. "Whether their rational faculties are not in general equal to those of any other of the human species; and whether they are not, from experience, as capable for mechanical and manufactural arts and trades, as even the bulk of the *Europeans*? - - 4th. "Whether it would not be more to the interest of all the *European* nations concerned in the trade to *Africa*, rather to endeavour to cultivate a friendly and humane commerce with these people, into the very center of their extended country, than to content themselves only with skimming a trifling portion of trade upon the coast of *Africa*? - - - - 5th. "Whether the greatest hinderance and obstruction to the *European's* cultivating a christian-like and humane commerce with those populous countries has not wholly proceeded from that unjust traffick called the slave-trade, which is carried on by the *Europeans*, *Americans*, &c. - - - - 6th. Whether this trade and this only was not the primary cause, and still continues to be the chief cause of

these eternal and incessant broils, quarrels, and animosities which subsist between the *Negro* Princes and Chiefs; and consequently of those endless wars which abide among them, and which they are induced to carry on in order to make prisoners of one another for the sake of the slave-trade? - - - - 7th. "Whether, if trade was carried on with them for a series of years, as it has been with most other savage countries; and the *Europeans* gave no encouragement whatever to the slave-trade, those cruel wars among the blacks would not cease, and a fair and honourable commerce in time take place throughout the whole country? - - - - 8th. "Whether the example of the *Dutch* in the *East-Indies*, who have civilized innumerable of the natives, and brought them to the *European* way of cloathing, &c. does not give reasonable hopes that these suggestions are not visionary, but founded on experience as well as on humane and christian principles? - - - 9th. "Whether commerce in general has not proved the great means of civilizing all nations, even the most savage and brutal; and why not the *Africans*? - - - - 10th. "Whether the territory of the *European* nations who are interested in the colonies

and plantations in *America*, are not populous enough, or may be rendered so, by proper encouragement given to matrimony and the breed of soundling infants, to supply their respective colonies with labourers in the place of Negro slaves? And--- lastly. “Whether the *British* dominions in general have not an extent of territory sufficient to increase and multiply their inhabitants; and whether it is not their own faults that they do not increase them sufficiently to supply their colonies and plantations, with whites instead of blacks?”

I would add one necessary query more, to those who hold the sword of justice, and who must account to God for the use they make of it. Since the *English* law is so truly valuable for its justice, how can they overlook the barbarous deaths, and wrongful slavery of the unhappy *Africans*, without trial or proof of being guilty of crimes adequate to their punishments? Why are those masters of vessels (who are not the most considerate of men) suffered to be sovereign arbiters of the lives of these miserable Negroes in their passage, and allowed with impunity to destroy, may I not say murder their fellow creatures in a manner so cruel as can never be related

but with horror? Answer me this, ye Judges and Governors in the different colonies where such practices are used, if you can, and not be shocked at your negligence: There are thousands of poor *Europeans* that would be glad to serve in any of the *British* plantations at less expence to the planter than slaves; employing them would be attended with this advantage, that when they have served some years in the lowest capacities they would turn out upon the waste land, marry, and in a few years we might see a town well settled, and in less than fifty there will be an increase of forty fold; by this means the country will become respectable and secure from an enemy, and furnished with every conveniency of life.

In order to put this trade to *Africa* on a just and lawful footing. If I may be allowed to give my opinion there should be a number of men (who may chuse to venture in this trade, both in *Britain* and the colonies) incorporated into separate bodies by the name of *English*, or *British*; *American* or *New-England African* companies, or by the denomination of other provinces in *America*, or plantations in the *West Indies*; and these companies shall equip and rig

but as many vessels as they think proper, loading them with *British, America, East and West-India* goods, and bring back in return, the rich produce of *Africa*; then *Britain* and the colonies will flourish by so great and profitable a commerce, in furnishing a hundred thousand people annually, more than are at present with cloathing, powder, shot, and warlike arms, and many more things needless here to enumerate out of *England*; rum, and sundry other articles out of *America* and the *West-Indies*.

INFIN, I beg you who are concerned in this trade, to free yourselves from a custom which is so pernicious to your welfare here and hereafter; and as most men have objections to this base trade, you ought to vindicate yourselves to the world, upon principles of reason, honesty and humanity; I believe you will be at a loss to make this justification but upon motives weak and unreasonable; therefore I think you should forever lay it aside, for there should be no trade carried on, but such as is justifiable before *God* and man, but this is in direct opposition to both. Think of a future reckoning, and what reasons you will be able to produce at the great day. You now accumulate riches and live in pleasure; but what will you do in

the end? what if you should be hurried out of this world under the vast load of blood-guiltiness that is now lying upon you? being the primary cause of killing thousands in the wars and broils of the *African* Chiefs, to obtain your number to enslave? and no less have been murdered in the passage, when they were trying to retrieve the liberties which they had in their own country, and which you unjustly take from them. Remember that at the same time and by the same means you are treasuring up worldly riches; you are treasuring up wrath against the day of anger and vengeance that shall come upon the workers of iniquity, unless they repent. How can you pray for mercy or hope for favor from him that made you, while you go on thus boldly and publickly dishonoring him, in destroying the noblest workmanship of his hands? Can you think that *God* will hear your prayers, while you act thus grossly and openly against his divine revealed will? And do you suppose that he who is the father of all men, will not avenge the mal-treatment of his offspring whom he gave his son for, that they should not perish but have everlasting life? If *God* regards us with so great affection, we ought also to love one another. —

REFLECT for a moment upon the nature of this vile and detestable man-trade, and your hearts must certainly relent, if you have not lost all sense of benevolence and compassion towards those of your brethren who have capacities, understandings and souls, and who were born to inherit the same salvation with you ; I say, if you are not destitute of every christian, humane and manly sensibility, you certainly must feel for those oppressed people, when you consider what miseries, devastations and massacres among them you have been the authors of. The thought of this accursed trade touches my very heart, and finding if I continue any longer shall get out of the bounds of decency, must therefore conclude. And if all that has been mentioned should have no weight upon you, this remains for my consolation that I have done my duty ; God grant that you maybe sensible of your guilt and repent of these your execrable and really detestable deeds.