

**AN ESSAY  
ON THE SLAVERY AND COMMERCE  
OF THE HUMAN SPECIES,  
PARTICULARLY THE AFRICAN,**

**TRANSLATED FROM A LATIN DISSERTATION,  
WHICH WAS HONOURED  
WITH THE FIRST PRIZE  
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE,  
FOR THE YEAR 1785,  
WITH ADDITIONS.**

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*Neque premendo alium me extulisse velim.-LIVY.*

M.DCC.LXXXVI.

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EAR,

ect of this little Treatise, not any persuasion of its merits as a literary composition, encourages me to offer it to y  
always been found sufficient, in every age and country, to attract the notice of the generous and humane; and  
of the attention and favour of a personage, who holds a distinguished rank in that illustrious island, the ve  
investigation of its laws, to be an antidote against slavery. I feel a satisfaction in the opportunity, which the p  
ging your Lordship's civilities, which can only be equalled by the respect, with which I am,

N.

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## THE PREFACE.

Following work has fortunately become of late a topick of conversation, I cannot begin the preface in a manne  
reader, than by giving an account of those humane and worthy persons, who have endeavoured to draw upon m  
ained.

ed individuals, of different nations and ages, who have humanely exerted themselves to suppress the abject per  
of the *European* colonies in the western world, *Bartholomew de las Casas*, the pious bishop of *Chiapa*, in th  
s amiable man, during his residence in *Spanish America*, was so sensibly affected at the treatment which the mis

to make a publick remonstrance before the celebrated emperor *Charles* the fifth, declaring, that heaven would punish him, which he then had it in his power to prevent. The speech which he made on the occasion, is now extant, and

opposition of avarice, were rendered ineffectual: and I do not find by any books which I have read upon the subject of slavery, when *Morgan Godwyn*, a *British* clergyman, distinguished himself in the cause.

also produced some zealous and able opposers of the *colonial* slavery. For about the middle of the *17th* century, two respectable members of the religious society called Quakers, devoted much of their time to the subject of slavery in *North America* on foot, to hold conversations with the members of his own sect, on the impiety of retaining those who were given them offence. The latter kept a free school at *Philadelphia*, for the education of black people. He published several treatises against slavery,<sup>[001]</sup> and gave an hearty proof of his attachment to the cause, by his conduct in the school, to which he had so generously devoted his time and attention when alive.

It appears, that any bodies of men, had collectively interested themselves in endeavouring to remedy the evil. The Quakers, publicly testified their sentiments upon the subject,<sup>[002]</sup> declaring, that "to live in ease and plenty by the use of slaves, is not into their power, was neither consistent with Christianity nor common justice."

By the influence of these sentiments, many of this society immediately liberated their slaves; and though such a measure appeared to be a loss to the individuals, who unconditionally presented them with their freedom, yet they adopted it with pleasure: nobly concluding, that it was better to possess much, through the medium of injustice. Their example was gradually followed by others in the possession of Quakers, at length took place; and so effectually did they serve the cause which they were engaged in, that the membership in their religious community, to all such as should hereafter oppose the suggestions of justice in this particular, or by being in any manner concerned in the slave trade: and it is a fact, that through the vast tract of *North America*, the influence of an acknowledged Quaker.

It appeared, as has been observed before, to be attended with considerable loss to the benevolent individuals who were engaged in it; but its reward, it became ultimately beneficial. Most of the slaves, who were thus unconditionally freed, returned to serve them, at stated wages; as free men. The work, which they now did, was found to be better done than before, and in less time in the same time. Hence less than the former number of labourers was sufficient. From these, and a variety of other circumstances, it was found that plantations were considerably more profitable when worked by free men, than when worked, as before, by slaves. In consequence of these expectations, a considerable advantage from their benevolence.

By the example of the Quakers, the members of other sects began to deliberate about adopting the same measure. Some of the *Catholicks*, and of the *Presbyterians* and *Independants*, freed their slaves; and there happened but one instance of opposition, which was immediately put in force. This was in *Pennsylvania*. It was agitated in the synod of the *Presbyterians* there, to which the question was negatived by a majority of but one person; and this opposition seemed to arise rather from a dislike to the measure, than from any other consideration. I have the pleasure of being credibly informed, that the number of free men in the plantations, is now daily gaining ground in *North America*. Should slavery be abolished, (which, in all probability, we may reasonably expect to be produced in time) let it be remembered, that the Quakers will have had the credit of being the first who were instrumental in its abolition.

It has here been less assiduous in the cause. As there are happily no slaves in this country, so they have not had the opportunity of being instrumental in its abolition by a general emancipation. They have not however omitted to shew it as far as they have been able. At the

f any of their members are concerned in the iniquitous *African* trade. They have appointed a committee for  
et, with a view to its suppression, and, about three or four years ago, petitioned parliament on the occasion  
d, that their benevolent application was ineffectual, and that the reformation of an evil, productive of consequ  
ly acknowledged to have long disgraced our national character, is yet left to the unsupported efforts of piety mo  
pression; and these, I blush to acknowledge, too strongly countenanced by the legislative authority of a cou

clearly shewn, than that an inexhaustible mine of wealth is neglected in *Africa*, for prosecution of this impio  
revenue of this country might be greatly improved, its naval strength increased, its colonies in a more flourish  
is now a scene of blood and desolation, converted into one, which might be prosecuted with *advantage* and *h*

rtions of the Quakers in the cause of humanity and virtue. They are still prosecuting, as far as they are able, the  
raise them for thus continuing their humane endeavours, but that I conceive it to be unnecessary. They are ac  
ey will find a reward in their own consciences; and they will receive more real pleasure from a single reflecti  
nce from the praises of an host of writers.

ount of those humane and worthy persons, who have endeavoured to restore to their fellow creatures the right  
d, I would feel myself unjust, were I to omit two zealous opposers of the *colonial* tyranny, conspicuous at the

*lle Sharp*. This Gentleman has particularly distinguished himself in the cause of freedom. It is a notorious t  
nate black people, who had been brought from the colonies into this country, were sold in the metropolis to m  
er occasion for their services; though it was always understood that every person was free, as soon as he land  
n, these unfortunate black people, refused to go to the new masters, to whom they were consigned. They w  
cover of the night, to ships then lying in the *Thames*, to be retransported to the colonies, and to be delivere  
humane Mr. *Sharpe*, was the means of putting a stop to this iniquitous traffick. Whenever he gained inform  
to be brought on shore. At a considerable expence he undertook their cause, and was instrumental in obtaining  
soon as any person whatever set his foot in this country, he came under the protection of the *British* laws, an  
onourably in that cruel and disgraceful case, in the summer of the year 1781, when *an hundred and thirty two*  
own into the sea alive, to defraud the underwriters; but his pious endeavours were by no means attended w  
able endeavours in the extirpation of tyranny and oppression, would be to swell the preface into a volume: su  
the subject, and one particularly, which he distinguishes by the title of "*A Limitation of Slavery*."

*James Ramsay*. This gentleman resided for many years in the *West-Indies*, in the clerical office. He perused all  
ere were any favourable clauses, by which the grievances of slaves could be redressed; but he was severely dis  
ince his return to England, called *An Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves in the British*  
d of the humane reader. This work reflects great praise upon the author, since, in order to be of service to this  
compiled it at the expence of forfeiting that friendship, which he had contracted with many in those parts, du  
dibly informed, of suffering much, in his private property, as well as of subjecting himself to the ill will and

*ment and Conversion of African Slaves*, contains so many important truths on the colonial slavery, and has com  
who has a thorough knowledge of the subject) as to have occasioned a considerable alarm. Within the last eight

against it. One of them is intitled "*Cursory Remarks on Mr. Ramsay's Essay*;" the other an "*Apology for Neglecting on the subject, to make a few remarks.*"

insinuates, that Mr. Ramsay's account of the treatment is greatly exaggerated, if not wholly false. To this I shall bring several disinterested gentlemen, who have been acquainted with the West Indian islands for years. I call them to concern in the *African* trade, nor in the *colonial* slavery: and I have heard these unanimously assert, that Mr. Ramsay's account is taken from the most dreary pictures that he could find, that it is absolutely below the truth; that he must have deceived himself; and that they only wondered, how he could have written with so much moderation upon the subject as a composition, but declare that it is perfectly devoid of truth.

The *remarker* does not depend so much on the circumstances which he has advanced, (nor can he, since they have no other argument *detraction*. This he has used with the utmost virulence through the whole of his publication, artfully substituting the *truth* into dispute, his work would fall of course, as of no authenticity. I submit this simple question to the world: if a publication, attacks the character of its author, rather than the principles of the work itself, is it not a proof that the writer is at a loss to find an argument against it?

is so very ungenerous in this mode of replication, as to require farther notice. For if this is the mode to be adopted, who is there, that will not be deterred from taking up his pen in the cause of virtue? There are circumstances in which a man may be treated in a malevolent manner, and without explanation, might essentially injure him in the eyes of the world; though, if the *cursory remarker* has adopted this method of dispute; but Mr. Ramsay has explained himself to the satisfaction of every point. The name of this *cursory remarker* is *Tobin*: a name, which I feel myself obliged to hand down with credit to future writers, that they will do themselves more credit, and serve more effectually the cause which they undertake, than the character of the writer, who affords them a subject for their lucubrations.

The circumstance, which induces me to take such particular notice of the *Cursory Remarks*. I feel it incumbent upon me to mention the insinuations that have been thrown upon him, as I have been repeatedly informed by those, who have the pleasure of reading his work. I am also interested myself. For if such detraction is passed over in silence, my own reputation, and not mine, is at stake in the cause of slavery.

The *Slavery* is almost too despicable a composition to merit a reply. I have only therefore to observe, (as is frequently done, but do not confine themselves to truth) that the work refutes itself. This writer, speaking of the slave-trade, asserts that it is of the very mildest nature, and that the treatment of slaves is in the most lenient manner imaginable. To prove each of his assertions, he proposes the following regulations. That the *stealing* of a slave, or the *admitted murder* of a slave by any person on board, should come under the same denomination. That when slaves are to be put on board their provisions, *in proportion to their number*, or commissioners should see that a *sufficient* quantity of souls should not work on *Sundays* and *other* holy-days. That extra labour, or *night-work*, *out of crop*, should be prohibited, and should be inflicted upon them. That they should have *annually* a suit of clothes. That old infirm slaves should be *provisioned*. I feel, that if this author had tried to injure his cause, or contradict himself, he could not have done it in a more effectual manner than by these regulations. For to say that slaves are honourably obtained on the coast; to say that their treatment is of the most lenient nature as necessary, is to refute himself more clearly, than I confess myself to be able to do it: and I feel, that every objection, which this writer, in the defence of slavery, may be considered as so many proofs of the assertions contained in his

ent with an observation, which is of great importance in the present case. Of all the publications in favour of the colonies, there is not one, which has not been written, either by a chaplain to the African factories, or by a merchant who has been connected in the cause which he has taken upon him to defend. Of this description are Mr. *Toulmin* and the other hand those, who have had as competent a knowledge of the subject, but not the *same interest* as them. Some of them have written their sentiments upon it, at the hazard of creating an innumerable host of enemies, and some have not. Now, which of these are we to believe on the occasion? Are we to believe those, who are parties concerned in the matter, or those who are not? The former does not admit of a dispute.

In the present work, it seems proper to observe, that when, the original Latin Dissertation, as the title page expresses, was honoured with one of their annual prizes for the year 1785, I was waited upon by some gentlemen of respectability and consequence. The only objection which occurred to me was this; that having been prevented, by an attention to other studies, from writing in the language, which was necessary for an English composition, I was fearful of appearing before the publick eye: but as the publication of it might be of use, I would certainly engage to publish it, if they would allow me to postpone it till the next year. They replied, that as the publick attention was now excited to the case of the unfortunate *Africans*, it would be necessary for it to be published within a few months. This argument prevailed. Nothing but this circumstance could have prevented the inspection of an host of criticks: and I trust therefore that this circumstance will plead much with the benevolent reader, who may find in the present work.

In order to publish it, I was for some time doubtful from which of the copies to translate. There were two, the original, and a translation (all original compositions are generally of a certain length) was that which was sent down to Cambridge, and honoured with the prize. On consulting with my friends, to translate from the former. This has been faithfully done with but few <sup>[003]</sup> alterations, and in an idiom in several passages of the work, though I have endeavoured, as far as I have been able, to avoid it. As the original is now in my hands, it must yet lie, as a translation, that I wish I had written upon the subject, without any reference at all to the original.

As to the facts, from what authority I have collected those facts, which relate to the colonial slavery. I reply, that I have had the opportunity of being acquainted with many, both in the naval and military departments, as well as in the civil, and with *America* and the *West-Indian* islands. The facts therefore which I have related, are compiled from the most authentic sources, and I have the happiness to say, have coincided, in the minutest manner, in their descriptions. It must be remembered, that these gentlemen heard, while they were resident in those parts, but from what they actually *saw*. Nor has a single person been mentioned upon the subject, except that which is mentioned in the 235th page; and this book was published in *France*, in the year 1785.

As to the accounts of these disinterested gentlemen, whom I consulted on the occasion, are confirmed by the most authentic sources, except those which have been written by *merchants, planters, &c.* They are confirmed by Sir *John Barrow's* History of the same island, printed 1750; an Account of North America, by *Thomas Jeffries*, 1761; all *Benjamin Franklin's* Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of the African Slaves in the British Sugar Colonies; a work which was published in an extraordinary manner, in consequence of the controversy which this gentleman has sustained with the *Courts*. It is mentioned in the original copy of my own work, before the controversy began, and which had never appeared before the publick. Nor has it received less support from a letter, published only last week, from Capt. J.S. Smith, of the *Briton*, of whom too high encomiums cannot be bestowed, for standing forth in that noble and disinterested manner.

cit the reader again, that he will make a favourable allowance for the present work, not only from those circumstances in consideration, that only two months are allowed by the University for these their annual compositions. Should he be able to console myself with the reflection, (a reflection that will always afford me pleasure, even amidst the censures of the unfortunat *Africans*, I have undertaken, as far as my abilities would permit, the cause of injured innocence

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ments against this commerce and slavery of the human species.-How the Deity seems already to punish us for

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e 107) read *Domingue*.

nserted by mistake, under the quotation of Diodorus Siculus (Footnote 017). The reader will find the ori  
author, at page 49, Editio Stephani.

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**AN ESSAY**

**ON THE SLAVERY and COMMERCE  
OF THE HUMAN SPECIES.  
IN THREE PARTS.**

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**PART I.**

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**THE HISTORY OF SLAVERY.**

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**CHAP. I.**

as barbarous nations, have been found, through a long succession of ages, uniformly to concur in the same customs, which are not only eminently useful, but are founded also on the principles of justice. Such is the case with all the nations, which history has recorded, and the repeated practice of ages from the remotest antiquity, in favour of the general consent and agreement of mankind, in favour of the proposed subject: but alas! when we reflect that we have had the same feelings with ourselves; when we reflect that they have had the same propensities to pleasure and pain, which seem immediately to arise in opposition to the former, deduced from our own feelings and that divine system, which seems to be the most useful and generous of purposes. To ascertain the truth therefore, where two such opposite systems are pleaded strongly on the one hand, and the feelings of humanity on the other; is a matter of much importance, in which the rights and liberties of mankind will be involved in its discussion.

Before this point can be determined, to consult the History of Slavery, and to lay before the reader, in as concise and clear a manner as possible, its earliest appearance to the present day.

all mention here to have been reduced to a state of servitude, may be comprehended in that class, which consisted of free-born citizens, who, from the various contingencies of fortune, had become so poor, as to have recourse to that kind were those, both among the Egyptians and the Jews, who are recorded in the sacred writings.<sup>[004]</sup> The Greeks were as those among the Romans, from whom the class receives its appellation, the *Mercenarii*.<sup>[006]</sup>

The above-mentioned, that their situation was in many instances similar to that of our own servants. There was an instance, most of them, demand their discharge, if they were ill used by their respective masters; and they were treated there as naturally distinguish in our language by the appellation of *Slaves*.

This class was composed of men, who had been reduced to such a situation by the contingencies of fortune, and not by the choice of the ancients, composed entirely of those, who had suffered the loss of liberty from their own imprudence. To the Greeks, no one was detained in the service of their creditors, till the fruits of their labour were equivalent to their debts; till the German *enthusiasts*, as mentioned by Tacitus, who were so immoderately charmed with gaming, as, when they lost, they sacrificed their very selves. "The loser," says he, "goes into a voluntary servitude, and though younger and stronger than the winner, suffers himself to be bound and sold. Their perseverance in so bad a custom is stiled honour. The slaves, thus sold, are so much prized, that the winner may get rid of the scandal of his victory."

In such instances, would be unnecessary; it will be sufficient to observe, that the servants of this class were in a far more degrading and drudgery was more intense; their treatment more severe; and there was no retreat at pleasure, from the first

We may now proceed to a general division of slavery, into *voluntary* and *involuntary*. The *voluntary* will comprehend those, who are mentioned; for, in the first instance, there was a *contract*, founded on *consent*; and, in the second, there was a *contract*, the consequences of which were servitude. The *involuntary*; on the other hand, will comprehend those, who are mentioned, who were thrown into a situation, which as it tended to degrade a part of the human species, and to class it with the brutal, must be considered as harsh and insupportable. These are they, whom we shall consider solely in the present work. We shall therefore mention only, that we might state the question with greater accuracy, and, be the better enabled to reduce it to its

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## CHAP. II.

The above-mentioned, of the *involuntary*, were *prisoners of war*.<sup>[007]</sup> "It was a law, established from time immemorial among the Greeks, that the severities of servitude, whom victory had thrown into their hands." Conformably with this, we find all the European nations had the same custom prevailed among the people of the West; for as the Helots became the slaves of the Spartans, from the same custom, they were reduced to the same situation by the rest of the inhabitants of Greece. By the same principles that actuated the Greeks, we will confirm the fact: for how many cities are recorded to have been taken; how many armies to have been vanquished; and how many, in both instances, to have been doomed to servitude? It remains only now to observe, in shewing this custom to

sisted in overturning the Roman Empire, though many and various, adopted the same measures; for we find i  
ld fall into their hands as a prisoner of war, should immediately be reduced to the condition of a slave.

e not unworthy of remark, that the *involuntary* were of greater antiquity than the *voluntary* slaves. The latter  
ld have arisen only in a state of society; when property, after its division, had become so unequal, as to multiply  
ter its establishment, had given security to the possessor by the punishment of crimes. Whereas the former se  
f Nimrod; who gave rise probably to that inseparable idea of *victory* and *servitude*, which we find among the  
ly since, in one country or another, to the present day.<sup>[008]</sup>

ight have arisen even in a state of nature, and have been coequal with the quarrels of mankind.

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### CHAP. III.

alone, or any presupposed right, founded in the damages of war, that afforded a pretence for invading the  
h *piracy* was considered in the uncivilized ages of the world, contributed not a little to the *slavery* of the hun  
ne Grecians,"<sup>[009]</sup> says Thucydides, "in their primitive state, as well as the contemporary barbarians, who inh  
wholly to it; it was, in short, their only profession and support." The writings of Homer are sufficient of th  
have been a common practice at so early a period as that of the Trojan war; and abound with many lively des  
s they are beautiful, would have frequently spared the sigh of the reader of sensibility and reflection.

re thus practised in the early ages, may be considered as *publick* or *private*. In the former, whole crews emba  
ey made descents on the sea coasts, carried off cattle, surprized whole villages, put many of the inhabitants

s only were concerned, and the emolument was their own. These landed from their ships, and, going up in  
and thickets; where they waited every opportunity of catching the unfortunate shepherd or husbandman al  
gged him on board, conveyed him to a foreign market, and sold him for a slave.

Ulysses alludes, in opposition to the former, which he had been just before mentioning, in his question to Eum

nds were gone,  
cks alone;  
fleecy care,  
d sell thee here?"<sup>[011]</sup>

, of this mode of depredation, is equal to that, with which Xenophon<sup>[012]</sup> presents us in the simple narrative o  
concluded a peace with the Paphlagonians, and that they entertained their ambassadors in consequence with a b  
y. "When the Thracians," says he, "had performed the parts allotted them in this entertainment, some Aeniania

their proper arms, exhibited that dance, which is called *Karpoea*. The figure of it is thus. One of them, in the character of a robber, is observed, as he drives his plough, to look frequently behind him, as if apprehensive of danger. Another imitates the husbandman. The husbandman, having seen him previously advancing, snatches up his arms. A battle ensues before the robber has time to perform his part with the musick of the flute. At length the robber, having got the better of the husbandman, binds him. It happens that the husbandman subdues the robber: in this case the scene is only reversed, as the latter is then bound.

It is to be observed, that this dance was a representation of the general manners of men, in the more uncivilized ages of antiquity. The shepherd lived in continual alarm, and that there were people in those ages, who derived their pleasure from *slaying* their fellow creatures.

The circumstance of a robbery in this narration, which will lead us to a review of our first assertion on this point, "that piracy, in the times of barbarism, contributed not a little to the *slavery* of the human species." The robber is represented as reduced to that deplorable situation, to which he was endeavouring to bring another. This shews the frequency of such adventures, and that the people would not tamely resign their lives or liberties, without a struggle. They were sometimes prepared; were superior to the danger of their liberty; there were an hundred accidental circumstances frequently in their favour. These adventures were attended with honour, and every thing, in short, that may be supposed to constitute heroism, to conduct them with success, and to acquire a reputation, to repute, and their frequency afterwards, together with the danger and fortitude, that were inseparably connected with them, among the barbarous nations of antiquity, that of all human professions, piracy was the most honourable.<sup>[013]</sup>

Men were thus annexed to piratical expeditions, did not fail to produce those consequences, which we have mentioned. They were driven by the views of avarice and ambition, to conceal themselves under the mask of virtue. They excited a spirit of enterprise, and were supported on the strongest principles of action, emolument and honour. Thus could the vilest of passions be gratified with a degree of glory, under the pretended idea that these were reputable adventures: every enormity in short was committed, and drew

Men in the less barbarous ages, which followed, became more corrected and refined, the practice of piracy began to be supported on the grand columns of *emolument* and *honour*. When the latter therefore was removed, it received a new support! *avarice*, which exists in all states, and which is ready to turn every invention to its own end, was produced in the ages of barbarism; it had been pointed out in those ages as lucrative, and under this notion it was pursued (some, in their pursuits of pleasure, others, in the discharge of their several occupations) by the merchants, who intercepted them, and sold them afterwards for slaves; while others seized by merchants, who traded on the different coasts, and carried into slavery. The merchants of Thessaly, if we can credit Aristophanes<sup>[014]</sup> who never spared the practice of the latter kind of depredation; the Athenians were notorious for the former; for they had practised these robberies, and it was found necessary to enact a law,<sup>[015]</sup> which punished kidnappers with death.-But this is sufficient to shew, that there were two classes of *involuntary* slaves among the ancients, "of those who were taken publicly in a state of innocence and peace." We may now add, that the children and descendents of these composed a

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## CHAP. IV.

something here concerning the situation of the unfortunate men, who were thus doomed to a life of servitude. To describe the miseries which they endured in consequence, either from the severity, or the long and constant application proposed to the present work. We shall confine ourselves to their *personal treatment*, as depending on the person. Their treatment, if considered in this light, will equally excite our pity and abhorrence. They were beaten, struck dead in a civil sense; they had neither name nor tribe; were incapable of a judicial process; were in short without any possible protection! to suffer the bitterest of injuries without the possibility of redress! to be condemned unheard as dead in that state, the very members of which they were supporting by their labours!

General situation: there were two places however, where their condition, if considered in this point of view, was more favourable than in all others the greatest drudge, yet if he had time to reach the temple<sup>[016]</sup> of Hercules, found a certain retreat from his labour, and additional comfort from the reflection, that his life, whether he could reach it or not, could not be taken with impunity. It would have curbed the insolence of power, and stopped those passions in their progress, which had otherwise been unchecked.

The condition of slaves was thus greatly secured in Ægypt, yet there was no place so favourable to them as Athens. There they had their convivial meetings, their amours, their hours of relaxation, pleasantries, and mirth; they were treated with respect on every occasion that observation of Demosthenes, in his second Philippic, "that the condition of a slave, at Athens was more favourable than in other countries." But if any exception happened (which was sometimes the case) from the general treatment described, it made the fangs of servitude more pointed than before,<sup>[019]</sup> they had then their temple, like the Ægyptian, for refuge, to examine their complaints, and to order them, if they were founded in justice, to be sold to another master. Notwithstanding all this, more than the whole of these. They were allowed an opportunity of working for themselves, and if their diligence was rewarded, from whom, they could immediately, on paying it down,<sup>[020]</sup> demand their freedom for ever. This law was, of all other laws, the most beneficial which it afforded, must have been a continual source of the most pleasing reflections, and have greatly sweetened their condition.

In the general honour of Ægypt and Athens, they were the only places that we can find, where slaves were considered with respect, and were allowed to vie with each other, in the debasement and oppression of these unfortunate people. They used them with respect, but their treatment only by their own passion and caprice; and, by leaving them on every occasion, without the possibility of redress, the most melancholy and intolerable, that can possibly be conceived.

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## CHAP. V.

the barbarous and inhuman treatment that generally fell to the lot of slaves, it may not be amiss to inquire into

...e, from whence it originated, was the *commerce*: for if men could be considered as *possessions*; if it would not be difficult to suppose, that they could be held in the same consideration, or treated in the same manner. In the primitive ages of the world, by classing them with the brutal species, and by habituating the mind to *animous*, soon caused them to be viewed in a low and despicable light, and as greatly inferiour to the human species. It might not unreasonably be supposed to arise from so low an estimation. They were tamed, like beasts, by the stimulus directed to the same end, to make them commodious instruments of labour for their possessors.

Thus proceeded in the ages of barbarism, from the low estimation, in which slaves were unfortunately held from producing, in the same instant, its *own* effect. It depressed their minds; it numbed their faculties; and, by producing, which had otherwise been conspicuous; it gave them the appearance of being endued with inferiour capacities. This *ment* had made so considerable a progress, as to have been a matter of observation in the days of Homer.

away,  
servile day.<sup>[021]</sup>

*merce*, by classing them originally with *brutes*, and the consequent *treatment*, by cramping their *abilities*, gave rise to these unfortunate people, at a very early period, the most unfavourable *appearance*. The rising generations, from their ancestors, and who had always been accustomed to behold their *effects*, did not consider these as what they saw; they believed the *appearances* to be *real*; and hence arose the combined principle, that slaves were a necessary *understanding*. Upon this *principle* it was, that the former treatment began to be fully confirmed and established; and it continued, so it became, in succeeding ages, an *excuse* for any severity, that despotism might suggest.

That as all nations had this excuse in common, as arising from the *circumstances* above-mentioned, so the Greeks had a *particular excuse*, as arising from their own *vanity*.

After conquering Troy, and having united themselves under one common name and interest, began, from that period, to call themselves *Greeks*; inferring by such an appellation, "that they were men who were only noble in their own country; that they were not to be commanded; that, on the contrary, so low were their capacities, they were *destined* by nature *to obey*, and to be commanded." <sup>[022]</sup> Conformable with this opinion was the treatment, which was accordingly prescribed to a *barbarian*. "That which he gave to his pupil Alexander, before he went upon his Asiatick expedition, intreated him to "use the Greeks as *barbarians*; became a *master*; consider, says he, the former as *friends* and *domesticks*; but the latter, as *brutes* and *plains*. The superiority of their capacities, had a *natural* right to dominion, and that the rest of the world, from the inferiority of their capacities, was the *irrational* part of the creation.

That this was the treatment, which they judged to be absolutely proper for people of this description, and that they called them *barbarians*; being generally such, as were either kidnapped from *Barbary*, or purchased from the *barbarians*. It immediately see, with what an additional excuse their own vanity had furnished them for the sallies of caprice.

sentiments of the ancients, and to shew that their slaves were by no means an inferiour order of beings than the necessary task; particularly, as having shewn, that the causes of this inferiour appearance were *incidental*, arising, from *treatment* and *commerce*, and, on the other, from *vanity* and *pride*, we seem to have refuted them already. But the condition of these unfortunate people, will neither be unacceptable nor improper.

In the refutation? Shall we say with Seneca, who saw many of the slaves in question, "What is a *knight*, or a *gentleman*, either from *injury* or *ambition*?" Or, shall we say with him on another occasion, "Let us consider that he, who is as ourselves; that he enjoys the same sky, with all its heavenly luminaries; that he breathes, that he lives, in the same air, that he expires." These considerations, we confess, would furnish us with a plentiful source of arguments in their favour. How then shall we begin? Shall we enumerate the many instances of fidelity, patience, or valour, that are recorded in many important services, that they rendered both to the individuals and the community, under whom they lived? We could collect sufficient materials to shew, that there was no inferiority in their nature. But we decline to use such instances, that relate to the *genius* only: we shall mention the names of those of a *servile* condition, whose works have been handed down even to the present age, are now to be seen, as so many living monuments, that neither can be destroyed by their own.

All that I mention here, is the famous *Æsop*. He was a Phrygian by birth, and lived in the time of Croesus, king of Lydia. The fables of this great man, in whatever light we consider them, will be equally entitled to our admiration. But we are sensible that the charge of fables, may depreciate him in the eyes of some. To such we shall propose a question, "Whether this species of fables; and; or whether it has not produced more important events, than any other?"

In this consideration, it is evident that these fables, as consisting of plain and simple transactions, are particularly adapted to please and seduce the mind; and, as containing a *moral*, easily deducible on the side of virtue; that they afford a great assistance to philosophy. Here then are the two grand points of composition, "a manner of expression to be apprehended as a victory in the art) an happy conjunction of utility and pleasure."<sup>[024]</sup> Hence Quintilian recommends them to be used in the puerile age; as a just gradation between the language of the nurse and the preceptor, and as furnishing maxims and operative principles of philosophy are too difficult to be understood. Hence also having been introduced by most of the ancients, have produced that general benefit, to which we at first alluded. Nor have they been of less consequence in the schools of the cities, or little erudition, whom they have frequently served as a guide to conduct them in life, and as a model, on many and important occasions.

For further consideration, which is easily deducible from hence, we shall only appeal to the wonderful effect, which was produced by the speech of Macedon, produced among his hearers; or to the fable, which was spoken by Menenius Agrippa to the Romans, which brought back to their duty as citizens, when no other species of oratory could prevail.

In the collection of *Æsop's*, and *philosophical* works of *Æsop*, we shall add those of his imitator Phœdrus, which in purity and elegance are not inferior to the Lyrick Poetry of Alcman, which is no *servile* composition; the sublime *Morals* of Epictetus, and the i

For, that the *excuse* which was uniformly started in defence of the *treatment* of slaves, had no foundation whatever. The arguments mentioned above, are sufficient to shew, that there was no inferiority, either in their *nature*, or their understanding. The principles of the ancients, they afford a valuable lesson to those, who have been accustomed to form too pre

! how often has *secret anguish* depressed the spirits of those, whom they have frequently censured, from the  
n, on the other hand, has their judgment resulted from their own *vanity* and *pride*!

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## CHAP. VI.

consideration of the *commerce*: in consequence of which, people, endued with the same feelings and faculties  
imitations of *possession*.

human species was of a very early date. It was founded on the idea that men were *property*; and, as this idea  
s, it must have arisen, (if the date, which we previously affixed to that order, be right) in the first practices of barter  
writings, whom his brothers sold from an envious suspicion of his future greatness, is an ample testimony of the  
men, even at that early period, who travelled up and down as merchants, collecting not only balm, myrrh, spices  
or the purposes of traffick. The instant determination of the brothers, on the first sight of the merchants, *to sell*  
no purchased him for a foreign market, prove that this commerce had been then established, not only in that part  
but in that also, whither the merchants were then travelling with their camels, namely, Ægypt: and they shew the  
establishment, so it must have existed in the ages, previous to that of Pharaoh; that is, in those ages, in which  
This commerce then, as appears by the present instance, existed in the earliest practices of barter, and had desisted  
of time, as was sufficient to have made it, in the times alluded to, an established custom. Thus was Ægypt, in the  
emporium of trade, to which people were driving their merchandize, as to a centre; and thus did it afford, among  
that is recorded, for the sale of the human species.

s thus supplied by the constant concourse of merchants, who resorted to it from various parts, could not fail  
ived, afterwards, an additional supply from those piracies, which we mentioned to have existed in the uncivilized  
promoted and encouraged; and it became, from these united circumstances, so famous, as to have been known  
both to the Grecian colonies in Asia, and the Grecian islands. Homer mentions Cyprus and Ægypt as the countries  
Trojan war. Thus Antinous, offended with Ulysses, threatens to send him to one of these places, if he does not  
also, in his hymn to Bacchus,<sup>[026]</sup> mentions them again, but in a more unequivocal manner, as the common market  
to describe the pirates method of scouring the coast, from the circumstance of their having kidnapped Bacchus  
immense ransom. The captain of the vessel, having dragged him on board, is represented as addressing himself

e sail,  
the doubtful gale!  
's the care,  
s steer;  
nds he'll tell,  
full as well."

considered as a digression, to mention in few words, by itself, the wonderful concordance of the writings of M  
the former, from their divine authority, want additional support, but because it cannot be unpleasant to see the  
most writers, and living in a very remote age, was the first that could afford us any additional proof of the circum  
the first book of the sacred writings, as a market for slaves, and, in the [\[027\]](#)second, as famous for the severity  
already cited from Homer, conveys to us the same ideas. It points it out as a market for the human spec  
h epithet is peculiarly annexed to it on this occasion) alludes in the strongest manner to that severity and rig  
the first account.

Egypt was the first market recorded for this species of traffick; and though Ægypt, and Cyprus afterwards, were  
Trojan war; yet they were not the only places, even at that period, where men were bought and sold. The Ody  
many of the islands of the Ægean sea; and the Iliad, that it had taken place among those Grecians on the cont  
the Trojan expedition. This appears particularly at the end of the seventh book. A fleet is described there, as  
wine for the Grecian camp. The merchants are described also, as immediately exposing it to sale, and as rece  
*number of slaves."*

to observe, that, as other states arose, and as circumstances contributed to make them known, this custom is c  
lled over all Asia; that it spread through the Grecian and Roman world; was in use among the barbarous nation  
practised therefore, at the same period, throughout all Europe.

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## CHAP. VII.

*erce*, which had continued for so long a time, and which was thus practised in Europe at so late a period as t  
western world, began, as the northern nations were settled in their conquests, to decline, and, on their full estab  
as arisen respecting the cause of their abolition; some having asserted, that they were the necessary consequ  
both in number and in argument, have maintained that they were the natural effects of *Christianity*. The mod  
sion, is as follows. "The multitude of little states, which sprang up from one great one at this Æra, occasion  
ere was not a state or seignory, which did not want all the hands they could muster, either to defend their own  
very man was taken into the service: whom they armed they must trust: and there could be no trust but in f  
was thrown down, and *slavery* was no more heard of, in the *west*."

*necessary* consequence of such a situation, is apparent. The political state of Greece, in its early history, was th  
dal system, into an infinite number of small and independent kingdoms. There was the same matter therefor  
nds that could be mustered: the Grecians, in short, in *heroick*, were in the same situation in these respect  
is therefore been a *necessary* effect, there had been a cessation of servitude in Greece, in those ages, in which

*Christianity*, many and great are the arguments, that it occasioned so desirable an event. It taught, "that all men were to give an account of their actions hereafter, it was necessary that they should have their proper influence on those, who first embraced *Christianity*, from a *conviction* of its truth; and on engaging in the *crusades*, and hazarding their lives and fortunes there, shewed, at least, an *attachment* to these principles: we have a positive proof, that the *feudal system* had no share in the honour of this only cause; for the greatest part of the *charters* which were granted for the freedom of slaves in those times were founded, in short, on religious considerations, "that they might be redeemed *pro amore Dei, pro mercede animæ*." They were founded, in short, on religious considerations, "that they might be redeemed themselves to have forfeited, by the subjugation of those, whom they found to be the objects of the divine blessing."

which had thus their first origin in *Christianity*, began to produce their effects, as the different nations were conquered, at the close of the twelfth century, was conspicuous in the west of Europe. What a glorious and important change, but that their miseries would be terminated by death, were then freed from their servile condition; those, who were an immediate prospect of servitude from the hands of their imperious conquerors, were then *exchanged*; a certain day. Thus, "a numerous class of men, who formerly had no political existence, and were employed merely to labour and contributed towards augmenting the force or riches of the society, which adopted them as members;" and their conduct on this occasion, assert not only liberty for themselves, but for their fellow-creatures also.

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## CHAP. VIII.

at a time when under the influence of religion they exercised their serious thoughts, abolished slavery, how innumerable arguments will not present themselves against their conduct!<sup>[030]</sup> The Portuguese, within two centuries after their discoveries, which we have shewn to have existed in the *uncivilized* ages of the world, made their descents on the coast of Africa, <sup>[031]</sup> first carried the wretched inhabitants into slavery.

trifling and partial it might appear at first, soon became serious and general. A melancholy instance of the delinquency of the laws nor religion of any country, however excellent the forms of each, are sufficient to bind the conscience of a man, age, country, and persuasion, who are ready to sacrifice their dearest principles at the shrine of gain. Our own country, and most of the maritime powers of Europe, soon followed the *piratical* example; and thus did the Europeans, who their own ancestors had so lately exploded, from a *conscientiousness* of its *impiety*.

men, terrified at these repeated depredations, fled in confusion from the coast, and sought, in the interior parts of the continent, their invaders. But, alas, they were miserably disappointed! There are few retreats, that can escape the penetration of the Europeans; they entered their rivers; sailed up into the heart of the country; surprized the unfortunate Africans against

h successful at first, defeated afterwards its own ends. It created a more general alarm, and pointed out, at future depredations. The banks of the rivers were accordingly deserted, as the coasts had been before; and thus w their prey.

er, expedients were not wanting. They now formed to themselves the resolution of settling in the country; c ng their system of force into that of pretended liberality; and of opening, by every species of bribery and cor ans were put into immediate execution. The Europeans erected their forts;<sup>[032]</sup> landed their merchandize; and en and by every appearance of munificence, to seduce the attachment and confidence of the Africans. These scher uropean art, not only caught their attention, but excited their curiosity: they dazzled the eyes and bewitched the , but of those, to whom they were shewn. Thus followed a speedy intercourse with each other, and a confide nhibition.

Europeans to embrace the opportunity, which this intercourse had thus afforded them, of carrying their schen rmanent foundation, as should secure them future success. They had already discovered, in the different intery ay paid their court therefore to these, and so compleatly intoxicated their senses with the luxuries, which they their designs. A treaty of peace and commerce was immediately concluded: it was agreed, that the kings, on th s of war and convicts to *European servitude*; and that the Europeans should supply them, in return, with the l ook place; and thus begun that *commerce*, which makes so considerable a figure at the present day.

eans been, if those only, who had been justly convicted of crimes, or taken in a just war, had been sentenced to t ries, which afterwards attended them, had been never known; and how would their history have saved those si company its perusal. The Europeans, on the establishment of their western colonies, required a greater num ould produce. The princes therefore had only the choice of relinquishing the commerce, or of consenting to luments of the trade; they had acquired a taste for the luxuries it afforded; and they now beheld an opportunit *avarice* therefore, which was too powerful for *justice* on this occasion, immediately turned the scale: not on ere now sentenced to servitude, but even those who were *suspected*. New crimes were invented, that new pur ce soon construed into reality; every shadow into a substance; and often virtue into a crime.

with respect to prisoners of war. Not only those were now delivered into slavery, who were taken in a sta who, conscious of no injury whatever, were taken in the *arbitrary* skirmishes of these *venal* sovereigns. W es of retaliation and defence, but for the sake of obtaining prisoners alone, and the advantages resulting from t, it was now considered as a sufficient motive for a war, and as a signal only for an instantaneous commence

s could be capable of such injustice, what vices are there, that their consciences would restrain, or what enor When men once consent to be unjust, they lose, at the same instant with their virtue, a considerable portion of th a successful protector against the sallies of vice. From that awful period, almost every expectation is forlorn: th ore: the vices therefore, which so long encompassed it in vain, obtain an easy victory: in crouds they pour into e soul: there is nothing now too vile for them to meditate, too impious to perform. Such was the situation of th entured to pass the bounds of virtue, and they soon proceeded to enormity. This was particularly conspicuous served, after any unsuccessful conflict. Influenced only by the venal motives of European traffick, they rary to every principle of justice; and if, by the flight of the enemy, or by other contingencies, they were disap immediately turning their arms against their own subjects. The first villages they came to, were always marked on

They were immediately surrounded, were afterwards set on fire, and the wretched inhabitants seized, as they were, of whole families, fathers, brothers, husbands, wives, and children, were instantly driven in chains to the me

which thus arose from the tyranny of the kings, we may now subjoin those, which arose from the avarice of private countrymen, who, encouraged by the merchants of Europe, previously lay in wait for them, and sold them afterwards on board ships, by every possible artifice, enticed others on board, and transported them to the regions of servitude.

In full force at the present day, it appears that there are four orders of *involuntary* slaves on the African coast: those, who are publickly seized by virtue of the *authority* of their prince; and of those, who are privately *kidnaped*.

It is on this head, that in the sale and purchase of these the African commerce or *Slave Trade* consists; that they are exchanged for their various commodities; that these transport them to their colonies in the west, where their *slavery* is composed of all such as are born to the native Africans, after their transportation and slavery have commenced.

As much of the history of modern servitude, as is sufficient for the prosecution of our design, we should have published, has furnished us with a singular anecdote of the colonists of a neighbouring nation, which will not only describe the method which the Dutch colonists at the Cape make use of to take the Hottentots and enslave them for their work, to mention the dreadful effects of the practice of slavery; which, as he justly remarks, "leads to all manner of misery to women," says he, "and children in their tenderest years, were not at this time, neither indeed are they ever, ever find vengeance constantly harboured by the colonists, with respect to the [\[035\]](#)Boshies-man nation; *excepting such instances of revenge.*

As soon as the Dutch get sight of a Boshies-man, he takes fire immediately, and spirits up his horse and dogs, in order to hunt him down, as if he were a lion, or any other wild beast? On an open plain, a few colonists on horseback are always sure to get the better of him, and bring him brought together; as the former always keep at the distance of about an hundred, or an hundred and fifty paces from their heavy fire-arms with a very large kind of shot, jump off their horses, and rest their pieces in their usual manner on foot with the greater certainty; so that the balls discharged by them will sometimes, as I have been assured, go through many at a time, especially as these latter know no better than to keep close together in a body."-

The capture of the Hottentots considered by them merely as a party of pleasure, but in cold blood they destroy the barbarians and their wives and children, &c."

These passages seem to strike us! What indignation do they seem to raise in our breasts, when we reflect, that a nation, who make *parties of pleasure* are made for their *destruction*! The lion does not imbrue his claws in blood, unless he is provoked; whereas the merciless Dutch, more savage than the brutes themselves, not only murder their fellow-creatures, but make a diversion of their sufferings, and enjoy their pain.

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## PART II.

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### THE AFRICAN COMMERCE,

OR

### SLAVE TRADE.

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#### CHAP. I.

history of Slavery in the first part of this Essay, as far as it was necessary for our purpose, we shall now take the qu  
t as the subject of our inquiry, viz. how far the commerce and slavery of the human species, as revived by som  
fortunate Africans, and as revived, in a great measure, on the principles of antiquity, are consistent with the laws  
lished among men.

itself into two separate parts for discussion, into *the African commerce (as explained in the history of slavery)* a  
*nd on the equity of the commerce*. The former, of course, will be first examined. For this purpose we shall in  
t. Such an inquiry will be particularly useful in the present place; it will afford us that general knowledge of  
case before us, and will be found, as it were, a source, to which we may frequently refer for many and valuab

were originally free, and that they possessed an equal right to the soil and produce of the earth. For proof of  
the *golden age* of the poets, which, like other fables of the times, had its origin in truth; and to the institution  
of which are so many monuments of this original equality of men. Hence then there was no rank, no distinc  
chose, changing his residence, as a spot attracted his fancy, or suited his convenience, uncontroled by his neigh  
e also (as every thing was common) he collected what he chose without injury, and enjoyed without injury wh  
mankind; [\[036\]](#) a state of *dissociation* and *independence*.

it is impossible that men could have long continued. The dangers to which they must have frequently been exposed, by the proedatory attempts of their own species, and by the disputes of contiguous and independent families, themselves, on many such occasions, must have incited them to unite. Hence then was *society* formed on the grand principles began to operate, in the different parts of the earth, where the different families had roamed and formed and established; which, taking to themselves particular names from particular occurrences, began to

whom these societies were composed, had associated only for their defence, so they experienced, at first, no government and free; they were still without discipline or laws; they had every thing still in common; they pursued their subsistence, as the earth gave them or refused them sustenance, and doing, as a *publick body*, what they had in common. This was the exact situation of the Getæ and Scythians,<sup>[037]</sup> of the Lybians and Goetulians<sup>[038]</sup> of the Italian Aborigines. They left their original state of *dissociation*, and had stepped into that, which has been just described. Thus was the *second society*.

As they themselves together, and having formed themselves into several large and distinct bodies, they could not fail of so that their numbers must have rapidly increased, and their societies, in process of time, have become so populous that they could not subsistence, and many of the commotions and tumults of intestine strife. For these inconveniences however they could not furnish them with that subsistence and support, which the earth, from the rapid increase of its inhabitants, could not furnish. An *assignation of property* would not only enforce an application, but excite an emulation, to labour; and give rise to the acquisitions of the industrious, and heal the intestine disorders of the community, by the introduction of laws.

As remedies, that were gradually applied. The *societies*, which had hitherto seen their members, undistinguished and equal in political pre-eminence. They were divided into tribes; to every tribe was allotted a particular district for its support. The Germans,<sup>[041]</sup> who consisted of many and various nations, were exactly in this situation. They had advanced a step from the situation we described before; and thus was the third situation of mankind a state of *subordinate society*.

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## CHAP. II.

As we have seen the situation of man from unbounded liberty to subordination, it will be proper to carry our inquiries farther, to see in these *primoeval societies*, and by what particular methods it was obtained.

As we have seen the ways, by which such an event could have been produced, by *compulsion* or *consent*. When mankind first saw the advantages of being ruled, and had conceived the desire of ruling. To be placed in a new situation, to be taken from the common herd, to be the head of a tribe, must have had their charms. Let us suppose then, that these thoughts had worked so unusually on the passions of mankind, as to give birth to the extravagant design of obtaining the preeminence by force. How could his design have been accomplished?

tion at a time, when, all being equally free, there was not a single person, whose assistance he could command; force had been repaid by force, and the attempt had been fatal to the usurper.

ever have been gained at first by *compulsion*, so it could only have been obtained by *consent*; and as men were united for the sake of their *mutual* happiness, so he alone could have obtained it, (not whose *ambition* had greatly distinguished him; but whose *justice, prudence, and virtue*, the whole community could confide.

ing, we shall appeal, as before, to facts; and shall consult therefore the history of those nations, which having been the very people that established *subordination* and *government*.

Cæsar afford us the following accounts of the ancient Gauls. When any of their kings, either by death, or deposition, the nation was immediately convened for the appointment of a successor. In these national conventions were the laws made, and every individual was free. The person upon whom the general approbation appeared, was the monarch of the state. He was uniformly one, whose actions had made him eminent; whose conduct had gained him popularity; whose courage, had themselves witnessed in the field; whose prudence, wisdom and justice, having rendered him worthy of the trust, which they placed in him, they were ready to obey. For this reason, their kingdoms were not hereditary; the son did not always inherit the virtues of the sire; and the people were not used to a despotic authority, in whose virtues they could confide. Nor was this all. So sensible were they of the important sake of the name of superiority and power, that they limited, by a variety of laws, the authority of the very person, who was invested with it; and the integrity; Ambiorix himself confessing, "that his people had as much power over him, as he could possibly have."

As we see, from Tacitus, prevailed also among the Germans. They had their national councils, like the Gauls; in which the monarch was chosen according to the majority of voices. They elected also, on these occasions, those only, whom their virtues distinguished from the rest; and they limited their authority so far, as neither to leave them the power of inflicting imprisonment, nor of capital punishment. But as punishment was necessary in a state of civil society, "it was permitted to the priests alone, to inflict punishment in the name of the gods, and not by any superiour authority in man."

What we have thus given of the ancient Germans and Gauls, will be found also to be equally true of those people, which we now call the Franks, Saxons, and Goths. We might appeal, for a testimony of this, to the history of the Goths; to the history of the Franks and Saxons; to the history of the Goths, which the different governments, now conspicuous in Europe, have undeniably sprung. And we might appeal to the testimony presented by many of the moderns, from their own ocular testimony, as observing the same customs at the present time. To observe, that as these customs prevailed among the different nations described, in their early state of subordinate government, and among their respective ancestors, it appears that they must have been handed down, both by tradition and use, from

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### CHAP. III.

those general maxims concerning *subordination*, and *liberty*, which we mentioned to have been essentially conclusions only, and without any allusion to facts, have been bold enough to deny.

*Liberty* is a *natural*, and *government* an *adventitious* right, because all men were originally free.

That government is a *contract*<sup>[042]</sup> because, in these primeval subordinate societies, we have seen it voluntarily contracted. We have seen it subject to various restrictions. We have seen its articles, which could then only be written, now committed to letters. We have seen it, in short, partaking of the *federal* nature, as much as in conducting its transactions.

The grand object of the *contract*, is the *happiness* of the people; because they gave the supremacy to him alone, with the abilities, or the integrity of his life: that the power of the multitude being directed by the *wisdom* and *justice* of the ruler, the actual protection from injury, the highest advantages of society, the greatest possible *happiness*.

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## CHAP. IV.

For the materials that are necessary for the prosecution of our design, we shall immediately enter upon the discussion of the right of property. Man has naturally been endued with power, as with other faculties, so that the rest of mankind had discovered in themselves the same right; it is evident that he and his descendants, from the superiority of their nature, would have had a claim upon the rest of the world: but as the right to empire is *adventitious*; as all were originally free; as nature made every man's body and mind his own; as he was not originally consigned to *slavery*, without his own *consent*.

On the same principles, he who has a right to his own person, may be considered as lands, goods, or houses, among *possessions*. It is necessary that all *property* should be distinguished from the *slave* differ from his *master*, but by *chance*? For though the mark, with which the latter is pleased to brand his *fortune*; what mark can be found in his *nature*, that can warrant a distinction?

We shall add the following, that if men can justly become the property of each other, their children, like the offspring of the actions of the father and the child must be thus at the sole disposal of their common master, it is evident that the *duty* of the other, as a *child*, must be instantly annihilated; rights and obligations, which, as they are sounded in the ear of man, are established by the voice of God, must contain in their annihilation a solid argument to prove, that there cannot be

any, as a farther confirmation, that it is impossible, in the nature of things, that *liberty* can be *bought* or *sold*. If any one man can have an absolute property in the liberty of another, or, in other words, if he, who is called a *master*, of him, who is called a *slave*, it is evident that the latter cannot be accountable for those crimes, which the former is accountable for his actions, it is evident, that such a right cannot *justly* exist, and that hu

ther of *sale* or *purchase*. Add to this, that, whenever you sell the liberty of a man, you have the power only  
ned or bound: it will be free, though its mansion be beset with chains. But if, in every sale of the *human s*  
your slave in this abstracted light; of alluding only to the body, and of making no allusion to the mind; you ar  
same moment, as a *brute*, and of abusing therefore that nature, which cannot otherwise be considered, tha

ps, will make an objection to one of the former arguments. "If men, from *superiority* of their nature, cannot  
possessions, so neither can cattle: for being endued with life, motion, and sensibility, they are evidently *sup*  
answer from those observations which have been already made; and will discover the true reason, why cattle  
right to empire over brutes, is *natural*, and not *adventitious*, like the right to empire over men. There are, sec  
their nature; and thirdly, their liberty can be bought and sold, because, being void of reason, they cannot be *acc*

a considerable time, and deduce many valuable lessons from the remarks that have been made, but that such  
n. There is one, however, which, as it is so intimately connected with the subject, we cannot but deduce. We a  
ites, because they are so manifestly superiour in their nature; we are taught to treat brutes in a different manner  
g to every created thing its due respect, to answer the views of Providence, which did not create a variety of

o, how evidently against reason, nature, and every thing human and divine, must they act, who not only force  
eat them altogether as *brutes*, and make the *natural liberty* of man an article of publick commerce! and by  
merce, which cannot be carried on, in any single instance, without a flagrant violation of the laws of nature an

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## CHAP. V.

accurately examine the arguments that are advanced on this occasion, it will be proper to divide the *commerce*  
and secondly, as it relates to those who *purchase*, the *human species* into slavery. To the former part of w  
formation in the history of servitude, we shall immediately proceed.

what particular right the *liberties* of the harmless people are invaded by the *prince*. "By the *right of empire*," it w  
nd power by their own approbation and consent." But subjects, though under the dominion, are not the *prop*  
is *possessions*. Their *natures* are both the same; they are both born in the same manner; are subject to the sam  
ure; are equally partakers of the grave: an *incidental* distinction accompanies them through life, and this-is all

at though the prince possesses dominion and power, by the consent and approbation of his subjects, he  
ay tyrannize, if he can: he may alter the *form* of his government: he cannot, however, alter its *nature* and *end*.

ble system of its administration should be changed; and he will be still bound to *defend* the lives and property

Therefore, whom he invades at discretion with the sword? Does he protect the property of those, whose houses he burns? Does he make those happy, whom he seizes, as they are trying to escape the general devastation, and come to *servitude*? He acts surely, as if the use of empire consisted in violence and oppression; as if he, that was most exalted, when the voice of *nature* and *justice* is against him. He breaks that law of *nature*, which ordains, "that no just man shall be *consent*:" he violates the first law of *justice*, as established among men, "that no person shall do harm to another;" and he violates also the sacred condition of *empire*, made with his ancestors, and necessarily understood in every treaty. If, without any fault being given up to the wisdom and justice of the prince, they may experience, in return, the most effectual security, and the greatest possible *happiness*."

Whom their own people have granted dominion and power, are unable to invade the liberties of their harm- less subjects? Can those private persons be justified, who treacherously lie in wait for their fellow-creatures, and sell them into slavery? Can they plead their defence? What treaty of empire can they produce, by which their innocent victims ever resigned to slavery? Can they plead the *antiquity* of the custom: in vain will the *honourable* light, in which *piracy* was considered in the eyes of all nations, be pleaded for such a trade. Can they plead the *utility* of it? ye invade the liberties of those, who, (with respect to your impious selves) are in a state of perfect *independence*, perfectly *free*.

There are two orders of slaves, which have been mentioned in the history of the African servitude, "of those who are purchased by the prince; and of those, who are privately kidnapped by individuals," are collected by means of violence and oppression. The first is a violation of *government*, and the common notions of *equity*, as established among men.

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## CHAP. VI.

The third order of *involuntary* slaves, "to convicts." The only argument that the sellers advance here, is this, "that the punishment is just." But before the equity of the sentence can be allowed two questions must be decided, "what is the *purpose*, and what is its particular *object* and *end*?"

As we may previously observe, that the African servitude comprehends *banishment*, a *deprivation* of *liberty*, and many other things, the following observations will suffice. Mankind have their *local* attachments. They have a particular regard for the place, where it was, that they first drew their infant-breath: here, that they were cherished and supported: here, that they were free from care and anxiety, are the happiest in the life of man; scenes, which accompany them through life; which thro' the whole produce the most agreeable sensations. These then are weighty considerations; and how great this regard is, may be seen from the testimony of some, who, when remote from their country, and, in the hour of danger and distress, have found

or other, to their native spot; and from the example of others, who, having braved the storms and adversities of many days, or desire even to be conveyed to it, when existence is no more.

As these their *local*, they have also their *personal* attachments; their regard for particular men. There are ties of friendship, in case, they must of necessity be attached: the constitution of their nature demands it. In the latter, it is impossible to have an harmony of temper, on a concordance of sentiments and manners, on habits of confidence, and a mutual exultation.

As perfectly distinct both from their *local* and *personal*, the *national* attachments of mankind, their regard for their country, as they were born and educated. This regard is particularly conspicuous in the conduct of such, as, being thus *natio*ally attached, as they do they meet together! how much do they enjoy the sight of others of their countrymen, whom fortune places in a distance to serve them, though not born on the same particular spot, though not connected by consanguinity or friendship. This affection wonderful, since they are creatures of the same education; of the same principles; of the same manners; and marked with the same impression.

As separately attached to the several objects described, it is evident that a separate exclusion from either must be a great trial to their sufferings, to be forced for ever from their country, which includes them all? Which contains the *spot*, in which they were bred; their *relations* and *friends*; which contains the whole body of the *people*, among whom they were bred and educated. In bidding, and in having bid, adieu to all that they esteem as dear and valuable, *banishment* consists in part; and in adding other melancholy circumstances to the account, that it is no inconsiderable punishment of itself.

As *liberty*, which is the second consideration in the punishment, it is evident that men bear nothing worse; that they have shewn, by many and memorable instances, that even death is to be preferred. How many could be seen, who have put a period to their existence! How many, that have willingly undergone the hazard of their lives to destroy a tyrant, or perish in the attempt! How many bloody and publick wars have been undertaken (not to mention the numerous instances of) for the cause of *freedom*!

As *liberty* to men, with which, the barren rock is able to afford its joys, and without which, the glorious furniture and delicacies of life are tasteless and unenjoyed; what punishment can be more severe than the loss of so great a blessing, we add the agonizing pangs of *banishment*; and if to the complicated stings of both, we add the incessant stripes of *servitude*; those, who are sold into this horrid *servitude*; what crime can we possibly imagine to be so enormous, as to merit such a punishment?

As *reason*, justice, and nature, must those act, who apply this, the severest of human punishments, to the most insupportable of crimes: for, from the time, in which the Europeans first intoxicated the African princes with their foreign draught, a crime devised, that has not immediately been punished with *servitude*.

As the punishment applied? Is it applied to amend the manners of the criminal, and thus render him a better subject? No, a subject, and you can no longer therefore be solicitous for his morals. Add to this, that if you banish him to a distant country, of want and hunger (so powerfully does hunger compel men to the perpetration of crimes) you force him rather than amend him, when he might otherwise be just.

thers may be deterred from the same proceedings, and that crimes may become less frequent? No, but that *ava*  
e the emoluments of the sale: for, horrid and melancholy thought! the more crimes his subjects commit, t  
ect, the *happier* is the prince!

at the punishment thus applied, tends in any degree to answer *publick happiness*; for if men can be sentenced t  
into substances, and virtues into crimes; it is evident that none can be happy, because none can be secure.

s infinitely greater than the offence, (which has been shewn before) and if it is inflicted, neither to amend the cr  
gs, nor to advance, in any degree, the happiness of the publick, it is scarce necessary to observe, that it is  
dictates of *nature*, and the very principles of *government*.

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## CHAP. VII.

fourth and last order of slaves, to *prisoners of war*. As the *sellers* lay a particular stress on this order of m  
f the justice of their cause, we shall examine the principle, on which it subsisted among the ancients. But as th  
a citation from many of their histories would not be less tedious than unnecessary, we shall select the exam

oners of war were said to be sentenced to servitude, was the *law of nations*.<sup>[043]</sup> It was so called from the univers  
points in view, the *persons* of the *captured*, and their *effects*; both of which it immediately sentenced, without  
the *captors*.

n the law was established, was the *right of capture*. When any of the contending parties had overcome their o  
was considered to commence; a right, which the victors conceived themselves to have, to recall their swords, an  
of the vanquished, when they could have taken them by the laws of war, to commute *blood* for *service*. F  
etymology of *slave* in the Roman language. "They were called *servi*,<sup>[044]</sup> says he from the following circumsta  
n prisoners, and sell them: now this circumstance implies, that they must have been previously *preserved*, an  
*ture*. It was a right, which the circumstance of *taking* the vanquished, that is, of *preserving* them alive, gav  
always including the idea of a previous preservation from death, the vanquished were said *to be slaves*;<sup>[045]</sup>  
in the power of others, and of course can have nothing of their own, so their effects followed the condition of  
s."

by which the vanquished were said to be slaves, we shall use the words of a celebrated Roman author, and  
says he, "to deprive a man of his life, it is certainly not inconsistent with nature to rob him;" to rob him of  
e supposition be the same: we allow, if men have a right to commit that, which is considered as a greater crim

admit that, which is considered as a less. But what shall we say to the *hypothesis*? We deny it to be true. The violence is not on *necessity*. Had there been a necessity, where had the wretched captive survived to be broken with chains? The argument to prove, that no such necessity existed. The *conclusion* is therefore false. The captors had no right to their *liberty*: they had no right to their *blood*, and of course none to their *service*. Their right therefore had no foundation contrary to the law of nature, and of course contrary to that law, which people, under different governments, are

to observe, as a farther testimony of the injustice of the measure, that the Europeans, after the introduction of Christianity, was as frivolous and false; that they spared the lives of the vanquished, not from the sordid motives of *avarice*, but from the necessity; that they introduced an *exchange* of prisoners, and, by many and wise regulations, de

slavery, unable to defend themselves against these arguments, have fled to other resources, and, ignorant of the true principle, on which slavery subsisted among the ancients. They reason thus. "The learned Grotius, and the consequence of a private war, (supposing the war to be just and the opponents in a state of nature) is *reparation*. Now as the law of nature, which is the rule of conduct to individuals in such a situation, is applicable to nations, we presume, that these principles were applied by the ancients to their prisoners of war; that their *effects* were the same as if they were *persons* by the right of *punishment*."-

This is false. The *right of capture* was the only argument, that the ancients adduced in their defence. Hence Polybius asks, "Do they receive the punishment they deserve? Perhaps it will be said, *that they must be sold, when they are taken, with their families*, not to be considered as a punishment, since even those suffer it, by the laws of war, who have done nothing that is *offending* the parties, whenever they were victorious, inflicted slavery alike. But if the *offending* party inflicted slavery, what right did they inflict it? It must be answered from the presumption before-mentioned, "by the right of *reparation* and *punishment*," which is contradictory, as it supposes the *aggressor* to have a *right*, which the *injured* only could possess.

More fallacious than the presumption, in applying these principles, which in a *publick* war could belong to the *publick* and not to the *private* party taken. This calls us again to the history of the ancients, and, as the rights of reparation and punishment could not be exercised, we select a particular instance for the consideration of the case.

When injured without a previous provocation by the conduct of Hannibal at Saguntum, we may take the treaty of the Carthaginians, when the latter, defeated at Zama, sued for peace. It consisted of three articles.<sup>[1047]</sup> By the first, the Carthaginians were to be governed by their own constitution and laws. By the second, they were to pay a considerable sum of money, as a reparation for the injuries they had done; they were to deliver up their elephants and ships of war, and to be subject to various restrictions, as a punishment for the injuries finished.

The Romans make that distinction between *private* and *publick* war, which was necessary to be made, and which the arguments of the vanquished was marked as the means of *reparation*; and as this treasury was supplied, in a great measure, by the property of the *publick*, so the *publick* made the reparation that was due. The *elephants* also, and *ships of war* were *publick* property; and as they were considerable instruments of security and defence to their possessors, the restrictions of the treaty, operated as a great and *publick* punishment. But with respect to the Carthaginians, they were retained in *servitude*: not upon the principles of *reparation* and *punishment*, because the Romans had

ty, a sufficient satisfaction: not upon these principles, because they were inapplicable to *individuals*: the legio  
his prisoner, was not the person, to whom the *injury had been done*, any more than the soldier in the service of  
who had *committed the offence*: but they were retained in servitude by the *right of capture*; because, when b  
determine the dispute, it was at the *private* choice of the legionary soldier before-mentioned, whether he w  
n he was thought to be entitled to take it, if he had chosen, by the laws of war.

nces, as an illustration of the subject, or to go farther into the argument, would be to trespass upon the patience  
*of nature*, where a man is supposed to commit an injury, and to be unconnected with the rest of the world, the ac  
s, can extend only to *himself*: but in *a state of society*, where any member or members of a particular commu  
patronized by the state, to which they belong, the case is altered; the act becomes immediately *publick*, and  
nces of their injustice. For as no particular member of the community, if considered as an individual, is guil  
ne, it would be contrary to reason and justice, to apply the principles of *reparation* and *punishment*, which  
individual of the community, who should happen to be taken. Now, as the principles of *reparation* and *punishm*  
a *publick* war, and as the *right of capture*, as we have shewn before, is insufficient to intitle the victors to the s  
cannot justly exist at all, since there are no other maxims, on which it can be founded, even in the most equitable

o; if slavery cannot be defended even in the most *equitable* wars, what arguments will not be found against th  
*t*? Which arises from those African wars, that relate to the present subject? The African princes, corrupted by  
of quarrelling with one another. Every spark is blown into a flame; and war is undertaken from no other c  
he Europeans, on the other hand, happy in the quarrels which they have thus excited, supply them with arm  
horrid purpose. Thus has Africa, for the space of two hundred years, been the scene of the most iniquitous a  
men, in the most iniquitous manner, been sent into servitude.

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## CHAP. VIII.

ore we proceed to the arguments of the *purchasers*, to add the following observations to the substance of the t  
en, of those who are privately kidnapped by individuals, and of those who are publickly seized by virtue of the t  
st, <sup>[048]</sup> nine tenths of the African slaves, they cannot contain, upon a moderate computation, less than ninety  
number, but easily to be credited, when we reflect that thousands are employed for the purpose of stealing t  
force, so far has European *injustice* been spread, at the distance of a thousand miles from the factories on the co  
of European goods is previously divided, travel into the heart of the country to this amazing distance. Some c  
ed through so large an extent of territory, to purchase the kidnapped people, whom the *slave-hunters* are cont  
merchandize among the petty sovereigns with whom they deal, receive, by an immediate exertion of fraud and

ert, in opposition to the arguments before advanced, that out of this immense body of men, thus annually collected, the original or subsequent seller can have any power or right? Whoever asserts this, in the first instance, must, consider the African as a just object of prey, whenever any daring invader shall think it proper to attack *him*. And, in the second instance, that the African is to be entertained of their villages, as *parks* or *reservoirs*, stocked only for their own convenience, and of their subjects to be taken up at pleasure, is so shocking, that it need only be mentioned, to be instantly reprobated by the reader.

which is next to the former in respect to the number of people whom it contains, is that of prisoners of war. This is not so inconsiderable than is generally imagined; but whoever reflects on the prodigious slaughter that is constantly made, will be wiser than of this opinion: he will find, that where *ten* are taken, he has every reason to presume that an *hundred* have been begun for the express purpose of *procuring slaves*, the conquerors have suffered but few of the vanquished. There have not been wanting instances, where they have been so incensed at the resistance they have found, that they have murdered, in cool blood, every individual, without discrimination, either of age or sex.

An account of one of these skirmishes, as described by a person, who was witness to the scene. "I was sent, with a party of men, to purchase slaves: we had some free negroes with us in the practice; and as the vessels are liable to frequent attacks from the Moors on the other, they are all armed. As we rode at anchor a long way up the river, we observed a large party of Moors, and for our own safety kept a wary eye on them. Early next morning we saw from our masthead a numerous party of Moors, but in close array. They approached very fast, and fell furiously on the inhabitants of the town, who seemed to be unable to get together, fought stoutly. They had some fire-arms, but made very little use of them, as they came armed with swords and sabres. Many of the invaders were mounted on small horses; and both parties fought for about half an hour with more courage and perseverance than I had ever before been witness to amongst them. The women and children of the town were screaming up and down with terrour, waiting the event of the combat, till their party gave way and took to the water. They were closely pursued even into the river by the victors, who, though they came for the purpose of purchasing slaves, were *prevailing over their avarice*. They made no prisoners, but put all to the sword without mercy. Horrible indeed was the scene, and as we were within two or three hundred yards of them, their cries and shrieks affected us extremely. We fired our guns, and now stood close in to the spot, where the victors having followed the vanquished into the water, were unable to get on by reason of their wounds they easily overtook. The very children, whom they took in great numbers, did not escape; we fired our guns loaden with grape shot, and a volley of small arms among them, which effectually checked their progress from the shore; from whence a few round cannon shot soon removed them into the woods. The whole river was covered with Moors, who were swimming for their lives. These poor wretches, fearing *us* as much as their conquerors, dived when they saw us, having now effectually favoured their retreat, we stood backwards and forwards, and took up several that were unable to swim, and led them from swimming, were either butchered or drowned, before we got up to them. With a justice and generosity that is not to be *avers*, we gave those their liberty whom we had taken up, setting them on shore on the Barbary side, among the Moors who survived the slaughter of the morning."

The above remarks on this horrid instance of African cruelty. It adds, first, a considerable weight to the statements and conclusions that were drawn in the preceding chapter. For if we even allow the right of capture to be just, and the principle applicable to the individuals of a community, yet would the former be unjust, and the latter inapplicable, in the present case. We may add, to our former expression, when we said, "that thus have many thousands of men, in the most iniquitous manner, been reduced to a state of slavery."

There are few of this order, who are not as much the examples of injustice, as the people that have been killed. When we consider them as prisoners of war, an idea of the most complicated scene of murder.

As it exists almost solely among those princes, whose dominions are contiguous to the European factories, is compared with either of the preceding, that we should not have mentioned it again, but that we were unwilling to do so against it.

And, that the punishment of slavery is inflicted from no other motive, than that of gratifying the *avarice* of the prince, and of itself to prove it to be unjust; and that it is so disproportionate, from its *nature*, to the offence, as to afford now, as a second argument, its disproportion from its *continuance*: and we shall derive a third from the consideration, that the laws of the community is an offence against the *state*.<sup>[050]</sup>

Let us suppose an African prince, disdaining for once the idea of emolument: let us suppose him for once inflamed with the idea of this principle alone, "that by exhibiting an example of terrour, he may preserve that *happiness of the publick*, which is the end of his contract; or, in other words, that he may answer the end of government." If actuated then by this principle, what is a just punishment for his offence, for whose benefit must the convict labour? If it be answered, "for the benefit of the publick, whatever light it is considered, will be found to be equitable: but if it be answered, "for the benefit of any individual, it is unjust. The state<sup>[051]</sup> alone is considered to have been injured, and as *injuries cannot possibly be transferred*, from the state to the labour. But if the African prince, when he thus condemns him to labour for the benefit of an *unoffended individual*, to become his *property*; that is, if he should make the person and life of the convict at the absolute disposal of the prince, it is evident that, in addition to his former injustice, he is usurping a power, which no ruler or rulers of a state in the universe never yet gave to any order whatever of created beings.

And that civilized nations have considered it as such, will be best testified by their practice. We may observe, that among the delinquents, as a punishment, among many of the states of Europe. These delinquents are sentenced to *labour*, to cut and clear *rivers*, to make and repair *roads*, and to perform other works of national utility. They are not *sold*, as the crimes they have committed are considered to have been crimes against the publick, no individual is injured; and they are neither *sold*, nor made capable of being *transferred*, because no government whatsoever is injured.

And, in which only the idea of *labour* is included, be perfectly equitable, and the delinquent will always receive a punishment, which additionally includes the idea of *property*, and to undergo which, the delinquent must previously change his situation, a consistency, which no arguments can reconcile, and a contradiction to every principle of nature, which a man needs no conviction. And we will venture to assert, from the united observations that have been made upon the subject, in opposition to the opinion, that there is scarcely one of those, who are called African convicts, on whom the prince has a right to inflict a punishment, whom he has a power of sentencing to labour for the benefit of an unoffended individual, and much less who is injured.

And, having examined the arguments of the *sellers*,<sup>[052]</sup> and having made such additional remarks as were necessary, we have observed the detestation at their conduct. Were the reader coolly to reflect upon the case of but *one* of the unfortunate men, who are considered in his situation in life, as a father, an husband, or a friend, we are sure, that even on such a partial reflection, we must be his feelings, when he is told, that, since the slave-trade began, *nine millions* <sup>[053]</sup> of men have been sold to slavery. If at this recital his indignation should arise, let him consider it as the genuine production of nature.

he applied instantly a torch to his breast to kindle his resentment; and if, during his indignation, she should awaken  
misery from his eye, let him consider each as an additional argument against the iniquity of the *sellers*.

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## CHAP. IX.

examine by what arguments those, who *receive* or *purchase* their fellow-creatures into slavery, defend the *com*  
with propriety, who are convicted of crimes, because they are delivered into their hands by *their own magistr*  
unfortunate *convicts* been guilty of injury to *you*? Have they broken *your* treaties? Have they plundered  
children into slavery, that *you* should thus retaliate? Have they offended *you* even by word or gesture?

icts are innocent with respect to you; if you have not even the shadow of a claim upon their persons; by what r  
ans," you will say; "by which it is positively allowed."-But can *laws* alter the nature of vice? They may give it  
ne, and, though dressed in the outward habiliments of *honour*, will still be *intrinsically base*.

ly attempt to defend yourselves by these arguments, but even dare to give your actions the appearance of lenit  
first ought you particularly to blush, when you assert, "that prisoners of war are only purchased from the han  
Ridiculous defence! can the most credulous believe it? You entice the Africans to war; you foment their quarrel  
d all-from the *motives of benevolence*. Does a man set fire to an house, for the purpose of rescuing the inhabit  
d, to *deliver them from death*; why, when they are delivered into your hands, as protectors, do you torture the  
e? Why does the whip deform their bodies, or the knife their limbs? Why do you sentence them to death? t  
m which you so kindly saved them? What answer do you make to this? for if you had not humanely preserve  
death perhaps, and that in the space of a moment, had freed them from their pain: but on account of your *fav*  
gered years in pain and agony, and have been sentenced, at last, to a dreadful death for the most insignificant

the other argument to be true, on which you found your merit; "that you take them from their country for their o  
essant heat, and subject to the most violent rains and tempests, is unwholesome, and unfit to be inhabited." E  
n feelings? Do you thus judge from your own constitution and frame? But if you suppose that the Africans :  
e you cannot endure it yourselves; why do you receive them into slavery? Why do you not measure them he  
bear hunger and thirst, chains and imprisonment, wounds and torture, why do you not suppose them incapa  
our argument turned against yourselves. But consider the answer which the Scythians gave the Ægyptians, w  
nal, <sup>[054]</sup> "That nature, when she first distinguished countries by different degrees of heat and cold, tempered the  
e different situations: that as the climate of Scythia was severer than that of Ægypt, so were the bodies of the  
severity of their atmosphere, as the Ægyptians the temperateness of their own."

ps, that, though they are capable of enduring their own climate, yet their situation is frequently uncomfortable  
cists, and insects of various kinds; that they settle in swarms upon the trees, destroy the verdure, consume

But the same answer may be applied as before; "that the same kind Providence, who tempered the body of the  
gave it a quality to recover the bite of the locust, which he sent; and to reassume, in a short interval of time, its  
ce has shewn: for the very trees that have been infested, and stripped of their bloom and verdure, so surpriz  
f an insect had been utterly unknown.

observations, from the testimony of those who have written the History of Africa from their own inspection  
one more fruitful, none more rich in herds and flocks, and none, where the comforts of life, can be gained with  
confirmation of these your former arguments, (by which you would have it understood, that the Africans then  
ns) "that they do not appear to go with you against their will." Impudent and base assertion! Why then do yo  
and nightly watches? But alas, as a farther, though a more melancholy proof, of the falsehood of your assert  
at a period to their existence? How many have leaped into the sea? How many have pined to death, that, ev  
your *benevolence*?

nate then, because they refuse your favours? Do you call them ungrateful, because they make you this return?  
ow much rather ought you receivers to be considered as abandoned and execrable; who, when you usurp the c  
nt as yourselves, break the first law of justice, which ordains, "that no person shall do harm to another, without  
dictates of nature, which commands, "that no just man shall be given or received into slavery against his own c  
re that you assume, by consigning your subjects to misery.

When philosopher observes, from whose mouth you shall be convicted, [\[055\]](#) "there is a considerable difference, w  
f mind, which is generally short and momentary; or whether it is done with any previous meditation and design  
commotion of the mind, are less than those, which are studied and prepared," how great and enormous are you  
yages at a time, when your reason is found, and your senses are awake; who coolly and deliberately equip you  
he traffick of *human liberty*.

f those, who *sell* or *deliver* men into slavery, (as we have shewn before) and of those, who *receive* or *purchase*  
it is evident that this *commerce*, is not only beyond the possibility of defence, but is justly to be accounted wi  
ne principles of *law* and *government*, the dictates of *reason*, the common maxims of *equity*, the laws of  
ort, the whole doctrine of *natural religion*.

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### PART III.

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# THE SLAVERY of the AFRICANS IN THE EUROPEAN COLONIES.

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## CHAP. I.

lves wholly, in the second part of this Essay, to the consideration of the *commerce*, we shall now proceed upon it. As this slavery will be conspicuous in the *treatment*, which the unfortunate Africans uniformly undergo, we shall describe the manner in which they are accustomed to be used from this period.

rest, and most conspicuous point of view, we shall throw a considerable part of our information on this head into, in short, on the continent of Africa, and relate a scene, which, from its agreement with unquestionable facts, presented to our view, had we been really there.

r eyes to the cloud of dust that is before us. It seems to advance rapidly, and, accompanied with dismal shrieks tremble as it rolls along. What can possibly be the cause? Let us inquire of that melancholy African, who sees steadily fixed on the approaching object, and whose heart, if we can judge from the appearance of his countenance,

by African, "the cloud that you see approaching, is a train of wretched slaves. They are going to the ships behind, and, if you will stay here but for a little time, you will see them pass. They were last night drawn up upon the platform, and lashed upon the breast with an *hot iron*; and when they had undergone the whole of the treatment which is customary that you Englishmen at home use to the *cattle* which you buy, they were returned to their prison. As I have seen which you see at a little distance, (though thanks to the Great Spirit, I never dealt in the *liberty* of my fellow creatures) of some of the unfortunate people, whom I saw confined, and will explain to you, if my eye should catch them,

ords spoken, when they came distinctly into sight. They appeared to advance in a long column, but in a very compact, and these were chained together. The rest that followed seemed to be chained by pairs, but by pressing forward the column began to be greatly extended, and ten or more were observed abreast.

y these remarks, the intelligent African thus resumed his discourse. "The first three whom you observe, at the prisoners of war. As soon as the ships that are behind you arrived, the news was dispatched into the inland country, and he ordered his subjects, and attacked a neighbouring tribe. The wretched people, though they were surprized, made a

of them, rather to lose their lives, than survive their liberty. The person whom you see in the middle, is the father of each side. His wife and two of his children were killed in the attack, and his father being wounded, and, on account of his being on the spot where this transaction happened."

who are now passing us, and are immediately behind the former, I can give you no other intelligence, than that they were taken in the same skirmish. Their tribe was said to have been numerous before the attack; these however are only a few. A young man, who is now opposite to us, and whom you may distinguish, as he is now looking back and wringing his hands in great distress. He is an unfortunate convict. He lived only about five days journey from the factory. He went out with his master, though too great an anxiety to afford his royal master diversion, he roused the game from the covert rather sooner than was his circumstance, immediately sentenced him to slavery. His wife and children, fearing lest the tyrant should catch them, fled directly to the woods, where they were all devoured."

I see close behind the unhappy convict, form a numerous body, and reach a considerable way. They speak a language which I do not understand, and their features, as you perceive, are so different from those of the rest, that they almost appear to be a different people. I recollect them. They are the subjects of a very distant prince, who agreed with the *slave merchants*, for a quantity of slaves, a regulated number of slaves. He accordingly surrounded, and set fire to one of his own villages in the night, and destroyed the inhabitants, as they were escaping from the flames. I first saw them as the merchants were driving them in, about a mile from the factory, tied together at the neck with leather thongs, which permitted them to walk at the distance of about a yard from each other. They carried elephants teeth, which had been purchased at the same time. All of them had bags, made of skin, upon their shoulders. In their journey from the great mountains, through barren sands and inhospitable woods for many days together, they were obliged to travel in a long train. In going this, many of them perished, some by hunger, but the greatest number by fatigue, as the place from whence they were taken is, and the obstacles, from the nature of the country, so great, that the journey could scarcely be completed in

less than a month. When we finished, and we had been looking stedfastly for some time on the crowd that was going by, we lost sight of the train. We then discovered that the inhabitants of the depopulated village had all of them passed us, and that the train that was opposite, was a numerous body of kidnapped people. Here we indulged our imagination. We thought we beheld in every man a father, in another a son, each of whom was forced from his various and tender connections, and without even the opportunity of saying adieu, engaged in these and other melancholy reflections, the whole body of slaves had entirely passed us. We turned all round, and discovered an unhappy man at the end of the train, who could scarcely keep pace with the rest. His feet seemed to be lame, and he was limping painfully along.

The African. "has travelled a considerable way. He lived at a great distance from hence, and had a large family, and a large property. One night to a neighbouring spring, to procure water for his thirsty children, he was kidnapped by two *slave hunters*, and sold to the merchants for a *bar of iron*. These drove him with other slaves, procured almost in the same manner, to the factory. The man from the train that has just now passed us belongs, purchased him and two others, by means of their travelling. His wife and children have been long waiting for his return. But he is gone for ever from their sight: and they must be now disconsolate, and have fallen into the hands of the *Christians*".

When I mentioned the name of *Christians*, a name, by which the Europeans distinguish themselves from us, I could not help reflecting on the appellation may convey. They consider themselves as *men*, but us unfortunate Africans, whom they term *Heathens*. Different is the fact! What is *Christianity*, but a system of *murder* and *oppression*? The cries and yells of the unhappy Africans in the regions of servitude, have already pierced my heart. Have you not heard me sigh, while we have been talking of the

own my cheeks? and yet these hardened *Christians* are unable to be moved at all: nay, they will scourge them  
e torturing them to death. Happy, happy Heathenism! which can detest the vices of Christianity, and feel for th  
e totally mistaken: *Christianity* is the most perfect and lovely of moral systems. It blesses even the hand of pers  
ple against whom you so justly declaim; are not *Christians*. They are *infidels*. They are *monsters*. They are c  
en at home are generous and brave. They support the sick, the lame, and the blind. They fly to the succour of  
s for the sole purpose of benevolence. They are in short, of all nations, the most remarkable for humanity and  
s the honest African, "do they suffer this? Why is Africa a scene of blood and desolation? Why are her child  
and greatness of those whom they never offended? And why are these dismal cries in vain?"

"can the cries and groans, with which the air now trembles, be heard across this extensive continent? Can th  
? If they could reach the generous Englishman at home, they would pierce his heart, as they have already pie  
our distress. He would be enraged at the conduct of his countrymen, and resist their tyranny."-

ally loud, accompanied with a dreadful rattling of chains, interrupted the discourse. The wretched Africans w  
to their country, as if to take a last adieu, and, with arms uplifted to the sky, were making the very atmosphere

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## CHAP. II.

ough it may be said to be imaginary, is strictly consistent with fact. It is a scene, to which the reader himself  
nce, where it is supposed to lie; as no circumstance whatever has been inserted in it, for which the fullest and m  
hall proceed now to describe, in general terms, the treatment which the wretched Africans undergo, from the t  
s, who are collected from various quarters, for the purposes of sale, are delivered over to the *receivers*, they are  
ips. Their situation on board is beyond all description: for here they are crowded, hundreds of them together, in  
ght sufficient to accommodate twenty, if considered as *free men*. This confinement soon produces an effect, tha  
l air, which, co-operating with, bad provisions, occasions such a sickness and mortality among them,  
y taken off in every yearly transportation.

ilential prison, and almost entirely excluded from the cheerful face of day, it remains for the sickly survivors  
is finished. But are no farther evils to be expected in the interim particularly if we add to their already wretche  
n, and the regret which they must constantly feel, at being for ever forced from their connexions? These evils a  
nd, notwithstanding the threats of the *receivers*, have carried their resolves into execution, to starve themselv  
pon deck for air, if the least opportunity has offered, have leaped into the sea, and terminated their miseries a  
o rise, and regain their liberty. But here what a scene of barbarity has constantly ensued. Some of them have b

taken from the hold, have been bruised and mutilated in the most barbarous and shocking manner, and have had example of resistance; while others, tied to the ropes of the ship, and mangled alternately with the whip and the sun, have expired.

inhuman treatment which they are frequently obliged to undergo; for if there should be any necessity, from want of provisions, that should be presumed on the voyage, that the provisions will fall short before the port can be made, they are, notwithstanding, in a state of confusion and perturbation of mind on the part of the *receivers*, and without any other regret for their loss, than that which arises from the consideration of their feelings at such a sight! how must they tremble to think of that servitude which is approaching them, and which they are retained on board, and preferred to their unoffending countrymen. But indeed so lightly are these unhappy people valued, that they are often sent away upon speculation: there has been an instance, within the last five years, of *one hundred and thirty two* of these wretched creatures, who were supposed that, by this *trick*, their value could be recovered from the insurers. [\[057\]](#)

When they arrive safe at its destined port, a circumstance which does not always happen, (for some have been blown up, and others have perished by the deviation of their sorrow. Here they are again exposed to sale. Here they are again subjected to the inspection of the *receivers*, with an inhumanity, at which even avarice should blush. To this mortifying circumstance is added another, which is, that they are sold without any consideration whether the wife is separated from her husband, or the mother from her son: and if they are sold in families; if relations, when they find themselves about to be parted, should cling together; or if filial, conjugal, or parental affection should longer in each other's arms, than these *second receivers* should think sufficient, the lash instantly severs them.

Account of the treatment, which the wretched Africans undergo while in the hands of the *first receivers*, without which account it is difficult to conceive what happened some time ago; particularly as it may be inserted with propriety in the present place, and may give a more full and complete idea of the way they are continually exposed, than any that he may have yet conceived. To avoid making a mistake, we shall describe it from a little manuscript account, with which we have been favoured by a person of the strictest integrity. The account of the transaction happened. [\[058\]](#) "Not long after," says he, (continuing his account) "the perpetrator of a cruel murder, who had the care of a number of new slaves, and was returning from the *sale-yard* to the vessel, was seen to be a little fellow among them rather slow in his motions, which he therefore quickened with his rattan. The slave soon perceived his application. Moving forwards a few yards, he fell down again; and this being taken as a proof of his sullen peevishness, he was struck with his blows, till he expired at his feet. The brute coolly ordered some of the surviving slaves to carry the dead body to the shore, and, without any delay, being thrown into the sea, the tragedy was supposed to have been immediately finished by the voracity of the fish which abounded. These voracious fish were supposed to have followed the vessels from the coast of Africa, in various seasons, being allured by the stench, and daily fed by the dead carcasses thrown overboard on the voyage."

It is to be observed here, that cattle are better protected in this country, than slaves in the colonies, his observation will be confirmed by law from the goad of the driver; whereas the wretched African, though an human being, and whose feelings are capable of the power of reflection, is unnoticed in this respect in the colonial code, and may be goaded and beaten till he expires.

The crime of the *first receivers*. Their crime has been already estimated; and to reason farther upon it, would be unprofitable. Manifestly impious, there can be no need, either of a single argument or a reflection; as every reader of sensibility

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### CHAP. III.

Africans are thus put into the hands of the *second receivers*, they are conveyed to the plantations, where they are to have their children, if any should be born to them in that situation, being previously destined to the condition of slaves. I will interrupt the thread of the narration for a little time, viz. how far their descendants, who compose the fifth part of the population, upon what principles the *receivers* defend their conduct.

I have great pains to inquire, why, in the ancient servitude, the child has uniformly followed the condition of the mother, and has done themselves much trouble, and have done themselves more credit, if instead of, endeavouring to reconcile the custom to justice, they had shewn its inconsistency with reason and nature, and its repugnancy to common justice. Sufficiently to shew, in respect to the descendants slaves, may be reduced to this principle, "that as the parents, by becoming *property*, have made their children like the progeny of cattle, inherited their parental lot."

The argument of the tyrannical *receivers* before-mentioned. They allege, that they have purchased the parents, that they can dispose of them under the same laws and limitations as their cattle, and that their children, like the progeny of these,

will immediately appear. It depends wholly on the supposition, that the parents are *brutes*. If they are *men*, which we think it not difficult to prove, the argument must immediately fall, as we have already shewn in the *human species*.

In the second part of this Essay, that as nature made, every man's body and mind *his own*, so no *just* person could be a slave. Do the unfortunate offspring ever *consent* to be slaves?—They are slaves from their birth.—Are they *guilty* of crimes when they cannot speak.—Are their *parents* abandoned? The crimes of the parents cannot justly extend to the children. The tyrannical *receivers*, who presume to sentence the children of slaves to servitude, if they mean to dispute upon the justice of it, must shew, that the parents have been *brutes* from their birth, or to have been guilty of crimes at a time, when they were incapable of offending.

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### CHAP. IV.

When the wretched Africans are conveyed to the plantations, they are considered as *beasts of labour*, and are to have their own country, a life of indolence and ease, where the earth brings forth spontaneously the comforts of life, and

they can hardly be expected to endure the drudgeries of servitude. Calculations are accordingly made upon them, to give what is called the *seasoning*, the bargain is highly favourable. This seasoning is said to expire, when the slave is the time which an African must take to be so accustomed to the colony, as to be able to endure the common work. At the end of this period the calculations become verified, twenty thousand<sup>[059]</sup> of those, who are annually imported, are surely an horrid and awful consideration: and thus does it appear, (and let it be remembered, that it is the loss of the subject) that out of every annual supply that is shipped from the coast of Africa, *forty thousand lives*<sup>[060]</sup> are lost, and there is really any additional stock for the colonies.

When, however, and the survivors are thus enabled to endure the usual task of slaves, they are considered as real and substantial, and shall describe their situation.

At five in the morning to begin their work. This work may be divided into two kinds, the culture of the fields, and the most laborious and intolerable employment; as the grass can only be collected blade by blade, and is to be fetched from the plantation. In these two occupations they are jointly taken up, with no other intermission than that of eating. They then separate for their respective huts, when they gather sticks, prepare their supper, and attend their families to go to rest. Such is their daily way of life for rather more than half the year. They are *sixteen* hours, including their meals: they are employed *three* afterwards in their own necessary concerns; *five* only remain for sleep, and their duties.

For a portion of the year, or the time of crop, the nature, as well as the time of their employment, is considerably changed. Two or three bodies. One of these, besides the ordinary labour of the day, is kept in turn at the mills, that are common. This is a dreadful encroachment upon their time of rest, which was before too short to permit them perfectly to rest. They sleep, as long as this season lasts, to about three hours and an half a night, upon a moderate computation.<sup>[062]</sup> The other two, in the night labour, and are willing to resist the drowsiness that is continually coming upon them, are presently worn out. Those who feed the mill between asleep and awake, suffer, for thus obeying the calls of nature, by the loss of a limb.<sup>[063]</sup> They are absent from their work, till the crop season is over, when the year (from the time of our first description) is complete.

In such unparalleled drudgery, we should at least expect: to find, that they were comfortably clothed, and plentifully supplied with provisions, to enable them to defend themselves against the inclemency of the night. Their provisions are frequently bad, and are always insufficient. The means of a bare livelihood are not placed within the reach of four out of five of these unhappy people. It is common to contract from eating the vegetables, which their little spots produce, before they are sufficiently ripe: a clear instance of oppression, as not to suffer them to wait, till they can really enjoy them.

The want of the common necessaries of life, added to that of hard and continual labour, must be sufficiently painful of itself, and accompanied with severity! if an unfortunate slave does not come into the field exactly at the appointed time, he is obliged to work unwillingly, or if the bundle of grass that he has been collecting, appears too small in the eye of the overseer, his instrument erases the skin, and cuts out small portions of the flesh at almost every stroke; and is so frequently used, that it is the ears of those, who are in the vicinity of the plantations. This severity of masters, or managers, to their slaves, is attended with bad effects. It enables them to behold instances of cruelty without commiseration, and to be guilty of deliberate mutilation, that have taken place on the slightest occasions: hence those many acts of inferiour, that are committed without any occasion at all: the very slitting<sup>[065]</sup> of ears has been considered as an operation, so perfectly devoid of reason than that for which a brand is set upon cattle, *as a mark of property*.

effect, which this severity produces: for while it hardens their hearts, and makes them insensible of the misery and cruelty. As a proof of this, we shall mention one, among the many instances that occur, where ingenuity has been put in a coffin, with holes in it, was kept by a certain colonist, as an auxiliary to the lash. In this the poor victim of the cruelty was frequently near a fire, to occasion extreme pain, and consequently shrieks and groans, until the revenge of the manager on his part, than a temporary suspension of the slave's labour. Had he been flogged to death, or his limbs mangled, he would have suffered a more irreparable loss.

In this instance, we do not mean to insinuate, that it is common. We know that it was reprobated by many. All that we wish to say is, that to a system of severity, they become *wantonly cruel*, and that the mere toleration of such an instrument of torture, is a *wretched class of men do not there enjoy the protection of any laws, that may be pretended to have been enacted*.

The situation of the unfortunate Africans. They are beaten and tortured at discretion. They are badly clothed. Their labour is incessant and their rest short. For scarcely are their heads reclined, scarcely have their bodies a respite from the sun, but they are summoned to renew their sorrows. In this manner they go on from year to year, in a state of continual distress, without the possibility of redress, without a hope that their situation will be changed, unless death should befall them.

In the general situation of these unfortunate people, we shall now take notice of the common consequences that are forced upon them, which result either from long and painful *labour*, a *want* of the common necessaries of life, or continual *severity*.

As the task of such immoderate labour as human nature is utterly unable to perform, many of them run away from the plantation, where they choose rather to live upon any thing that the soil affords them, nay, the very soil itself, than return to the hands of the *receivers*, as the condition of a slave.

When the manager of a mountain plantation, falls in with one of these; he immediately seizes him, and threatens to send him to live on the mountain and cultivate his ground. When his plantation is put in order, he carries the delinquent to the *receivers* with a despotick rage, and accepts a reward for his *honesty*. The unhappy wretch is chained, scourged, tortured; and a reward is offered for him who wanted to be free. And who is there, that would not have done the same thing, in the same situation? Who is there, that would not fly from despotism? And yet, by the impious laws of the *receivers*, the absence<sup>[066]</sup> of six months

is considered as a punishment, when compared with another against the same offence, which was in force sometime ago, and which we find in the account of the treatment comprehends. "Advertisements have frequently appeared there, offering a reward for a runaway, *live or dead*. The following instance was given us by a person of unquestionable veracity, under whose own management the colonies alluded to, he observed some people in pursuit of a poor wretch, who was seeking in the wilderness for a charge of a gun, and soon afterwards stopping at an house for refreshment, the head of the fugitive, still reeking with blood, was brought forth with exultation. The production of such a trophy was the proof *required by law* to entitle the heroes to their reward. This is the most execrable; the rulers of the state in authorizing murder, or the people in being bribed to commit it.

The common consequences of that immoderate share of labour, which is imposed upon them; nor is that, which is the result of the severity. The wretched African is often so deeply pierced by the excruciating fangs of hunger, as almost to be driven to despair. What can he do? Let him apply to the *receivers*. Alas! the majesty of *receivership* is too sacred for the appeal, and the intruder is shut out from every possibility of relief on the other, he has only the choice of being starved, or of relieving himself by the fruits of his own labour. Horrid crime! to be found eating the cane, which probably his own hands have planted, and

ing! This crime however is of such a magnitude, as always to be accompanied with the whip; and so unmerciful to have been the cause, in wet weather, of the delinquent's death. But the smart of the whip has not been the only punishment. Any thing that passion could seize, and convert into an instrument of punishment, has been used; and, horrible in the fit of phrenzy. Ears have been slit, eyes have been beaten out, and bones have been broken; and so frequent a matter of constant lamentation with disinterested people, who out of curiosity have attended the markets<sup>[067]</sup> to which they have not been able to turn their eyes on any group of them whatever, but they have beheld these inhuman marks

of barbarity have not been able to deter them from similar proceedings. And indeed, how can it be expected that they should be satisfied as before, and to drive them to desperation. They creep out clandestinely by night, and go in search of punishment. But here they are almost equally sure of suffering. The watchman, who will be punished himself for the fact. No excuse or intreaty will avail; he must punish them for an example, and he must punish them, not for the fact. Thus it happens, that these unhappy slaves, if they are taken, are either sent away mangled in a barbarous manner

or the consequences of the severity. The wretched Africans, daily subjected to the lash, and unmercifully whipt and forced to resist their opposers. Unpardonable crime! that they should have the feelings of nature! that their breasts should be so far overcome, as to resist those, whom *they are under no obligations to obey*, and whose only title to their obedience is *of men!* What has been the consequence?-But here let us spare the feelings of the reader, (we wish we could spare the feelings of the cruelty, *that they have been murdered at the discretion of their masters.* For let the reader observe, that a man would scarcely purchase an horse; that the master has a power of murdering his slave, if he pays but a trifling sum. In common circumstances of horror, if it even produces an inquiry.

How ought our invaluable constitution! parent of the civil blessings we enjoy! how ought thy laws to excite our love and reverence, to tremble at the frown of tyrants! how ought they to perpetuate thy name, as venerable, to the remotest age! How fair and impartial trial! How much does nature approve thy laws, as consistent with her own feelings, while we see the institutions of these *receivers!* Execrable men! you do not murder the horse, on which you only ride; you do not take his milk; you do not torture the dog, which is but a partial servant of your pleasures: but these unfortunate men, for your fortunes, you torture, mutilate, murder at discretion! Sleep then you *receivers,* if you can, while you scarcely think of the sufferings of these wretched people, if you can, and indulge your genius, while you daily apply to these unfortunate people the stings of severity and punishment, which ought to shudder, and, which humanity must detest!

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## CHAP. V.

ose, from the melancholy account that has been given in the preceding chapter, that we have been absolutely  
ner a dreary picture of the imagination, than a representation of fact. Would to heaven, for the honour of hum  
we could say, that we have no testimony to produce for any of our assertions, and that our description of the g  
ted.

ithstanding the ample and disinterested evidence, that can be brought on the occasion, do not admit the descri  
were such as has been now represented, no human being could possibly support it long." Melancholy truth  
crime. Let them reflect upon the prodigious supplies that are *annually* required, and their argument will be nothi  
justly depicted.

ery man's own reason, and desire him to think seriously, whether "self-interest will not always restrain the mas  
ch accounts therefore, as the foregoing, do not contain within themselves, their own refutation." We answer, "Th  
s it is imagined, why does not the general conduct of men afford us a better picture? What is imprudence, or wh  
erest, and yet these are the characteristicks of more than half the world?-

esely to the present case, *self-interest* will be found but a weak barrier against the sallies of *passion*: particular  
itude, and there are no laws to restrain its calamitous effects. If the observation be true, that passion is a short m  
y other consideration, must be lost, so long as it continues. We cannot have a stronger instance of this, than in  
say, "that though the Africans have gone to war for the express purpose of procuring slaves, yet so great has be  
iently found, that their *passion* has entirely got the better of their *interest*, and they have murdered all without  
be presumed to be the case with the no less savage *receivers*. Impressed with the most haughty and tyrannical  
eir anger, and, above all, habituated to scenes of cruelty, and unawed by the fear of laws, they will hardly be  
uman nature, and to spare an unlucky slave, at a time when men of cooler temper, and better regulated passion

upposed to be generally more than a ballance for *interest*, how must the scale be turned in favour of the mel  
*preservation* additionally steps in, and demands the most *rigorous severity*. For when we consider that where  
tter have been all forcibly torn from their country, and are retained in their present situation by violence; that t  
oppressors, and are continually cherishing the seeds of revenge; it is evident that even *avarice* herself, how  
n and caprice, must sacrifice her own sordid feelings, and adopt a system of tyranny and oppression, which it r

had been drawn of the situation of slaves, and it had been left solely to every man's sober judgment to determin  
at if the situation were justly described, the page must be frequently stained with acts of uncommon cruelty.

e a reply to an objection, that is usually advanced against particular instances of cruelty to slaves, as recorde  
re so inconceivably, and beyond all example inhuman, that their very excess above the common measure of cr  
e." But their credibility shall be estimated by a supposition. Let us suppose that the following instance had be  
at the master of a ship, bound to the western colonies with slaves, on a presumption that many of them would  
t sickly, and ordered them to be thrown into the sea, to recover their value from the insurers, and, above all, th  
ould the reader have thought on the occasion? Would he have believed the fact? It would have surely stagge  
at any *one* man ever was, and could never have supposed that any *one* man ever could be, guilty of the murder  
n he is informed that such a fact as this came before a court<sup>[068]</sup> of justice in this very country; that it happened

forwards and say, that they heard the melancholy evidence with tears; what bounds is he to place to his belief? 'The same impartial eye, seems to have infatuated the parties concerned, that they might bring the horror in the annals of a publick court, as an authentick specimen of the treatment which the unfortunate Africans shew, that there is no species of cruelty, that is recorded to have been exercised upon these wretched people.

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## CHAP. VI.

as before described, is confirmed by reason, and the great credit that is due to disinterested writers on the subject, if their flesh were stone, and their vitals brass; by what arguments do you *receivers* defend your conduct?

part of your savage treatment consists in punishment for real offences, and frequently for such offences, as *theft*. The first charge that you exhibit against them is specifick, it is that of *theft*. But how much rather ought you to be silent! who reduce them to the dreadful alternative, that they must either *steal* or *perish*! How much rather should you be silent, who cause these unfortunate people to be *stolen*! And how much greater is your crime, who are *robbers*

you exhibit against them, is general, it is that of *rebellion*; a crime of such a latitude, that you can impose it upon them, and yet you always annex to it the most excruciating pain. But what a contradiction is this to common sense! Have you any other claim upon their obedience, than that of force? If then they are your subjects, they are not your enemies, and you are not their oppressors. But if they are not your subjects, then, even though they should resist your proceedings, they are not your enemies, and you are not their oppressors.

to that long catalogue of offences, which you punish, and of which no people but yourselves take cognizance, you have inserted it in the colonial laws, and that you punish by authority. But do you allude to that execrable code, that delegates a power, which no host of men, who are not your subjects, to kill the slave, that abhors and flies your service? that delegates a power, which no host of men, who are not your subjects, to kill the slave, that abhors and flies your service?

that daily unmerited severity, which you consider only as common discipline? Here you say that the Africans are not your enemies, and you are not their oppressors. But can they be well-disposed to their oppressors? In their own country they are not your enemies, and you are not their oppressors. In their own country they are not your enemies, and you are not their oppressors. In their own country they are not your enemies, and you are not their oppressors.

es, which have been hitherto made by the *receivers*, force a relation of such circumstances, as makes their conduct not only not excusable at all, highly aggravates their guilt.

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Europeans, who boast of their great superiority, are described to have done in the same uncultivated state. This is the case of Leo, the Moor, and all the subsequent histories, which those, who have visited the African continent, have drawn their conclusions; that their abilities are sufficient for their situation;—that they are as great, as those of other people;—that they are as great as those of any civilized people whatever, when the degree of the barbarism of the one is drawn from the other.

As to the colonies. They are carried over in the unfavourable situation described. It is observed here, that though the degree of cultivation, they are yet various, and that they vary in proportion as the nation, from which they have been brought, is of social life. This observation, which is so frequently made, is of great importance: for if their abilities exceed, it is a clear indication, that if they were equally improved, they would be equally ingenious.

Consider any opportunities that may be afforded them, let it be remembered that even their most polished situation, should they appear less docile than others, may be considered as a sufficient answer to any objection touching this, when they are put to the mechanical arts, they do not discover a want of ingenuity. They attain therein a degree of excellence equal to that of their teachers. This is a fact, almost universally known, and affords a strong proof of the mechanical arts, as they have been taught, they are capable of attaining any other, at least, of the same class.

In the liberal arts, their proficiency is certainly less; but not less in proportion to their time and opportunity of study; not less, but because they have seldom or ever an opportunity of learning them at all. It is yet extraordinary that they are in which they are totally uninstructed. Their abilities in musick are such, as to have been generally noticed. They perform without any other assistance than their own ingenuity. They have also tunes of their own composition. Some of these are; and are admired for their sprightliness and ease, though the ungenerous and prejudiced importer has concealed

them in poetry less conspicuous. Every occurrence, if their spirits are not too greatly depressed, is turned into a serious and sensical. But this proceeds principally from two causes, an improper conjunction of words, arising from an ignorance of a wildness of thought, arising from the different manner, in which the organs of rude and civilized people want of harmony and rhyme, which is the last objection, the difference of pronunciation is the cause. Upon the whole, their ideas, and are strictly musical as pronounced by themselves, they afford us as high a proof of their poetical powers.

When the shackles have been removed, where they have received an education, and have known and pronounced the language, and their productions have been less objectionable. For a proof of this, we appeal to the writings of an African in this species of composition. She was kidnapped when only eight years old, and, in the year 1761, was transported to America as a slave. She had no school education there, but receiving some little instruction from the family, with whom she lived, she acquired knowledge of the English language within sixteen months from the time of her arrival, as to be able to speak and to be heard. She soon afterwards learned to write, and, having a great inclination to learn the Latin tongue, she was taught it. Her Poetical works were published with his permission, in the year 1773. They contain thirty-eight pieces, of which I have a short extract from two or three of them, for the observation of the reader.

**From an Hymn to the Evening.**<sup>[070]</sup>

"Fill'd with the praise of him who gives the light,  
And draws the sable curtains of the night,  
Let placid slumbers sooth each weary mind,  
At morn to wake more heav'nly and refin'd;  
So shall the labours of the day begin,  
More pure and guarded from the snares of sin.  
-- &c. &c."

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**From an Hymn to the Morning.**

"Aurora hail! and all the thousand dies,  
That deck thy progress through the vaulted skies!  
The morn awakes, and wide extends her rays,  
On ev'ry leaf the gentle zephyr plays.  
Harmonious lays the feather'd race resume,  
Dart the bright eye, and shake the painted plume.  
-- &c. &c."

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**From Thoughts on Imagination.**

"Now here, now there, the roving *fancy* flies,  
Till some lov'd object strikes her wand'ring eyes,  
Whose silken fetters all the senses bind,  
And soft captivity involves the mind.  
  
"*Imagination!* who can sing thy force,  
Or who describe the swiftness of thy course?  
Soaring through air to find the bright abode,  
Th' empyreal palace of the thund'ring God,  
We on thy pinions can surpass the wind,  
And leave the rolling universe behind:  
From star to star the mental opticks rove,  
Measure the skies, and range the realms above.  
There in one view we grasp the mighty whole,  
Or with new worlds amaze th' unbounded soul.  
-- &c. &c."



greater facility, the *receivers* divide in opinion. Some of them contend that the Africans, from these circumstances, are the posterity of Ham; and that as it was declared by divine inspiration, that these should be servants to the posterity of Shem; and that the reducing of them to such a situation is only the accomplishment of the will of heaven: while others, who consider the Africans as a totally distinct species of men, conclude them to be an inferiour link of the chain of nature, and deduce the curse of Ham from the scriptures in the clearest and fullest manner, we are under the necessity of making two suppositions, first, that the scriptures are true, it is evident that the posterity of Cain were extinguished in the flood. Thus one of the arguments is no more; and secondly, if the curse of Ham, it appears also that it was limited; that it did not extend to the posterity of all his sons, but only to those of Shem, for which it was foretold that the Canaanites, a part of the posterity of Ham, should serve the posterity of Shem and Japheth. Are the wretched Africans the descendants of Canaan?—By those marks, it will be said, which distinguish them from the posterity of Shem and Japheth, to be found in the divine writings? In what page is it said, that the Canaanites were to be known by their *colour*, or by their *heads*, which is brought into the account?—But alas! so far are the divine writings from giving any such account, that they only shew that the descendants of Cush<sup>[075]</sup> were of the colour, to which the advocates for slavery allude; and of which the scriptures say nothing to the posterity of Canaan, or the inheritors of the curse.

It may be shewn, upon the most undeniable evidence,<sup>[076]</sup> that those of the wretched Africans, who are singled out as inheritors of the curse, are not the posterity of Ham; but that we should shew farther, that but a single remnant of Canaan, which was afterwards ruined, was the posterity of Ham.

Even if we allow the argument, though wonderfully for the confirmation that the scriptures are of divine original, the wretched Africans, the descendants of Canaan were hewers of wood and drawers of water, and became tributary and subject to the Israelites, and afterwards, as well as the Romans, who were both the descendants of Japheth, not only subdued those who were settled in the land, but reduced all such as were then remaining. These were the Tyrians and Carthaginians: the former of whom were ruined by the Greeks, and the latter by the Romans.

The second argument is wholly inapplicable and false: that it is false in its *application*, because those, who were the posterity of Ham, are not the posterity of Ham: that it is false in its *proof*, because no such distinguishing marks, as have been specified, are to be found in the scriptures. If the scriptures were made out, it would be now *inapplicable*, as the curse has been long completed.

The third argument, we must now suppose that the scriptures are false; that mankind did not all spring from the same stock. Now what must we justly conclude from such a supposition? Must we conclude that one species is inferiour to another, by their *colour*, or their *features*, or their *form*?—No—We must now consult the analogy of nature, and the conclusion is, that the different species of men in a different degree, to enable them to endure the respective climates of their habitation, were created with a like benevolent design."

If the scriptures are true, it is evident that the posterity of *Cain* are no more; that the curse of *Ham* has been accomplished; and that the posterity of *Shem* and *Japheth* are of the same stock, so this variety of appearance in men must either have proceeded from some interposition of the Deity, or from some causes, which have an effect upon the human frame, and have the power of changing it more or less from its primitive state. These causes are either numerous or powerful than those, which acted upon the frame of man in the first seat of his habitation. If from

clude that he, who bringeth good out of evil, produced it for their convenience. If, from the co-operation of the found against any society of men, who should happen to differ, in the points alluded to, from ourselves?

the scriptures are false, then it is evident, that there was neither such a person as *Cain*, nor *Ham*, nor *Canaan*; nor form, upon the different species of men, as were best adapted to their situation.

opposition it is founded, the whole argument must fall. And indeed it is impossible that it can stand, even in the case of men as a justification of slavery, you may subjugate your own brother: if *features*, then you must quarrel with him. It is evident, that if you travel from the equator to the northern pole, you will find a regular gradation of colour. If you take for your slave, who is of the deepest die, what hinders you from taking him also, who only differs from the former in a regular succession to the poles. But who are you, that thus take into slavery so many people? Where are you, in *France*, or in *Britain*? If in either of these countries, take care lest the *whiter natives of the north* should have a claim as glorious to be farther noticed.

In the whole argument, we might immediately proceed to the discussion of other points, without even declaring our opinion right, on which it has been refuted; but we do not think ourselves at liberty to do this. The present age would not receive it, and would anxiously catch at the writings of him, who should mention them in a doubtful manner. We should be afraid that they are true, and that all mankind, however various their appearances are derived from the same stock.

Do not produce those innumerable arguments, by which the scriptures have stood the test of ages, but advert to a single instance of the whole creation, *that if two animals of a different species propagate, their offspring is unable to continue*. In the present species are preserved distinct; every possibility of confusion is prevented, and the world is forbidden to apply this law to those of the human kind, who are said to be of a distinct species from each other, it immediately produces its own species as his father; a clear and irrefragable proof, that the scripture<sup>[077]</sup> account of the creation is true, and that all are of one blood<sup>[078]</sup> all the nations of men that dwell on all the face of the earth."

It will be said that mankind were originally of one colour; and it will be asked at the same time, what it is possible to suppose so various an appearance? To, each of these we shall make that reply, which we conceive to be the most reasonable. If all were originally of the same stock, so it is evident that they were originally of the same colour. But how shall we attribute that colour to be the same as that which we now find to be peculiar to ourselves? -No-This would be a vain and partial supposition, arising from that false fondness, which habituates us to suppose, that every thing belonging to ourselves is true. We should always be liable to a just reproof from every inhabitant of the globe, whose colour was different from our own. It would be good a right to imagine that his own was the primitive colour, as that of any other people.

Do not attempt to ascertain it? Shall we look into the various climates of the earth, see the colour that generally prevails in each, and will be certainly free from partiality, and will afford us a better prospect of success: for as every particular is determined by the complexion of Noah and his sons, from whom the rest of the world were descended, was the same as that of their habitation. This, by such a mode of decision, will be found a dark olive; a beautiful colour, and a just representation of the primitive colour, is highly probable from the observations that have been made; and, if admitted, will afford us a better prospect of success. How they deride those of the opposite complexion, as there is great reason to presume, *that the purest white is the deepest black*.

and question, which is, that if mankind were originally of this or any other colour, how came it to pass, that they are now of different colours, as we have had occasion to say before, either *by the interposition of the Deity*; or *by a co-operation of certain causes*, and have the power of changing it more or less from its primitive appearance, as they are more or less near the equator, *the frame of man in the first seat of his habitation*.

In the former interposition, two epochs have been assigned, when this difference of colour has been imagined to have been first introduced, when the curse was pronounced on a branch of the posterity of *Ham*. But this argument has been already rejected, and assigned at this period, it was assigned to the descendants of *Canaan*, to distinguish them from those of his father. But the descendants of *Cush*,<sup>[080]</sup> as we have shewn before, partook of the same colour; a clear proof, that the colour was not introduced prior at this period.

It is also thought, that when mankind were dispersed on the building of *Babel*. It has been thought, that both *national features* and *languages* were changed at this time, because these would have assisted the confusion of language, by causing them to disperse into tribes and nations, and to retain the dialects of each, after the dispersion had taken place. But this is improbable: first, because there is great reason to think, that the confusion of language, would have mentioned these circumstances also, if they had actually contributed to bring about the confusion of language was sufficient of itself to have accomplished this; and we cannot suppose that the Deity could have intended, if mankind had been dispersed, each tribe in its peculiar hue, it is impossible to conceive, that they could have been so disposed, as to exhibit that regular gradation of colour from the equator to the poles, so conspicuous at the present day.

It is also thought, that the circumstances, which there has been even the shadow of a probability for assigning; and we may therefore conclude that the same circumstances as will appear in the present chapter, will amount to a demonstration, that the difference of colour is not the result of an *incidental co-operation of causes*, which has been before mentioned.

It is out of the power of human wisdom positively to assert: there are facts, however, which, if properly weighed, will be found to be upon the subject. These we shall submit to the perusal of the reader, and shall deduce from them such inferences as will be found in their own mind, on their recital.

The first question, which occurs to be ascertained, is, "What part of the skin is the seat of colour?" The old anatomists usually divided the skin into two parts, the thinnest, called by the Greeks *Epidermis*, by the Romans *Cuticula*, and hence by us *Cuticle*; and the thicker, called by the latter *Cutis*, or *true skin*. Hence they must necessarily have supposed, that, as the *true skin* was in every respect the seat of their external hue, so the seat of colour must have existed in the *Cuticle*, or upper surface.

A Venetian physician, of the last century, was the first person who discovered that the skin was divided into three layers, a thin coagulated substance situated between both, which he distinguished by the title of *Mucosum Corpus*; a title which he gave to a coagulated substance adhered so firmly to the *Cuticle*, as, in all former anatomical preparations, to have come off with it. It is not the ancient anatomists to believe, that there were but two lamina, or divisible portions in the human skin.

It is not sufficient to ascertain the point in question: for it appeared afterwards that the *Cuticle*, when divided according to the method of the Venetian, was transparent; that the cuticle of the blackest negroe was of the same transparency and colour, as that of the purest white; and that probably the same, that the *mucosum corpus* was the seat of colour.

This is confirmed by all subsequent anatomical experiments, by which it appears, that, whatever is the colour of the skin, the colour is the apparent colour of the upper surface of the skin. Neither can it be otherwise; for the *Cuticle*, from its nature, is the seat of colour.

colour of the substance beneath it, in the same manner, though not in the same degree, as the *cornea* transmits the colour of the blood, in a matter of ocular demonstration in white people. It is conspicuous in every blush; for no one can imagine, that the blue structure is less discoverable in the veins, which are so easy to be discerned; for no one can suppose, that the blue structure is painted, as it were, on the surface of the upper skin. From these, and a variety of other observations, it is concluded, that *on the mucosum corpus depends the colour of the human body*; or, in other words, that the *mucosum corpus* is the cause of the colour of the inhabitants of the globe, and appearing through the cuticle or upper surface of the skin, gives them that various appearance which distinguishes the human race.

It is, in a manner, veritably ascertained, it is evident, that whatever causes cooperate in producing this different appearance, they must be such, from the almost incredible manner in which the cuticle<sup>[082]</sup> is perforated, is as accessible as the cuticle of the eye, and the qualities of things, which, combined with the influence of the sun, contribute to form what we call *climate*. For we know, that the *mucosum corpus*, before-mentioned, is found to vary in its colour, as the *climates* vary from the equator to the poles, his mind is so constituted, that we must adopt it without any hesitation, as the genuine cause of the phænomenon.

The variation of the mucous substance according to the situation of the place, has been clearly ascertained in the experiments which have been made; in which, subjects of all nations have come under consideration. The natives of many of the kingdoms have a *mucosum* black. Those of *Africa*, situated near the line, of the same colour. Those of the maritime parts of *Europe*, approaching to it; and the colour becomes lighter or darker in proportion as the distance from the equator is increased. The inhabitants of the world. Those situated in the most southern regions of *Europe*, have in their *corpus mucosum* a blackness: hence the epidemick complexion, prevalent among them, is nearly of the colour of the pickled Spanish olive. At the north pole, it appears to be nearly, if not absolutely, white.

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The consequence, that has ever been made to the hypothesis of *climate*, is this, that people under the same parallel have the same complexion: an objection in fact: for it does not follow that those countries, which are at an equal distance from the equator, should have the same complexion: it is more contrary to experience than this. Climate depends upon a variety of accidents. High mountains, in the north, cool the air that is carried over them by the winds. Large spreading succulent plants, if among the productions of the north, afford agreeable cooling shades, and a moist atmosphere from their continual exhalations, by which the ardour of the sun is cooled. On the other hand, if of a sandy nature, retains the heat in an uncommon degree, and makes the summers considerably hotter. In the south, the burning sands, where the soil is different. To this proximity of what may be termed *burning sands*, and to the heat of the sun, continually exhaling from the bowels of the earth, is ascribed the different degree of blackness, by which the inhabitants of the north are distinguished from other, though under the same parallels. To these observations we may add, that though the inhabitants of the north are distinguished from other, yet they differ only by shades of the same colour; or, to speak with more precision, that there are no two people of the same complexion, but one black. To sum up the whole—Suppose we were to take a common globe; to begin at the equator; to paint the inhabitants from thence to the poles; and to paint them with the same colour which prevails in the respective inhabitants of the several climates: we had been obliged to begin, insensibly changing to an olive, and the olive, through as many intermediate colours, to terminate in white.

and complete any one of the parallels according to the same plan, we should see a difference perhaps in the amount of heat, though the difference would consist wholly in shades of the same colour.

The objection, which is brought against the hypothesis, is so far from being, an objection, that we shall consider it one of the strongest proofs of its truth. Really an influence on the *mucous substance* of the body, it is evident, that we must not only expect to see a difference in the colour of the inhabitants of the poles, but also different shades of the same colour in the inhabitants of the same parallel.

We shall add one that is incontrovertible, which is, that when the *black* inhabitants of *Africa* are transplanted to *colder* climates, their children, *born there*, are of a *different colour from themselves*; that is, lighter in the first, and darker in the second.

We shall give the words of the Abbé Raynal, [086] in his admired publication. "The children," says he, "which they bring up, are as black as their parents were. After each generation the difference becomes more palpable. It is possible, that after several generations, the children from *Africa* would not be distinguished from those of the country, into which they may have been transplanted."

We have had the pleasure of hearing confirmed by a variety of persons, who have been witnesses of the fact; and who have been parents themselves in *America*, and who have declared that the difference is so palpable in the children, that they have constantly observed it, but that they have heard it observed by others.

The variation in the children from the colour of their parents improbable. *The children of the blackest Africans are born white, when they change to a pale yellow. In process of time they become brown. Their skin still continues to increase in colour, till it is dirty, sallow black, and at length, after a certain period of years, glossy and shining. Now, if climate has any influence on the colour of the skin, this variation in the children from the colour of their parents is an event, which must be reasonably expected. It is not possible, that the same causes to act upon them in colder, as their parents had in the hotter climates which they left, it must necessarily produce a different effect.*

If the hypothesis be admitted, may be deduced the reason, why even those children, who have been brought from their countries, are observed [089] to be of a lighter colour than those who have remained at home till they arrived at a state of manhood. We have mentioned to have attended their countrymen from infancy to a certain age, and having been taken away to a different climate, the changes, which would have taken place had they remained at home, seem either to have been checked in their progress, or to have been entirely prevented in the new climate.

The second and opposite case; for a proof of which we shall appeal to the words of Dr. Mitchell, [090] in the Philosophical Transactions. "The inhabitants of the *torrid zone* for any time, are become as dark coloured as our native *Indians* of *Virginia*. Were they not to intermarry with the *Europeans*, but lead the same rude and barbarous lives with the *Indians*, in several generations, they would become as dark in complexion."

We shall add one, which is mentioned by a late writer, [091] who describing the *African coast*, and the *European settlements* there, says, "There are several other small *Portuguese* settlements, and one of some note at *Mitomba*, a river in *Sierra Leone*. The inhabitants are principally persons bred from a mixture of the first *Portuguese discoverers* with the natives, and of a very good quality of their hair, *perfect negroes*, retaining however a smattering of the *Portuguese* language."

The objection, which is brought against the hypothesis, is so far from being, an objection, that we shall consider it one of the strongest proofs of its truth. Really an influence on the *mucous substance* of the body, it is evident, that we must not only expect to see a difference in the colour of the inhabitants of the poles, but also different shades of the same colour in the inhabitants of the same parallel.

These facts is as great, as if a person, on the removal of two or three families into another climate, had descended with them and watched their children; as if he had communicated his observations at his death to a successor, and thus an uninterrupted chain of evidence had been kept up from their first removal to any determined period. These facts seem sufficient of themselves to confirm our opinion, they are not the only facts which can be adduced in its support. *Every same family*, when divided from each other, and removed into different countries, have not only changed their complexion, but it to *as many different colours* as they have gone into *different regions of the world*. We cannot have, perhaps, a more striking instance. These people, are scattered over the face of the whole earth. They have preserved themselves distinct from the rest, and never intermarry with any but those of their own sect, so they have no mixture of blood in their veins, that they are more true, than that the *English Jew*<sup>[092]</sup> is white, the *Portuguese* swarthy, the *Armenian* olive, and the *Arab* black. They are very different species of *Jews*, as there are countries in which they reside.

Add the following observation, that if we can give credit to the ancient historians in general, a change from the black to the white has been accomplished. One instance, perhaps, may be thought sufficient. *Herodotus*<sup>[093]</sup> relates, that the *Colchians* were a detachment of the *Æthiopian* army under *Sesostris*, who followed him in his expedition, and were usually represented to have been situated in the north. Had not the same author informed us of this circumstance, we should have been surprised to find a people of this description should have been found in such a latitude. Now as they were undoubtedly settled there, and made any such rapid conquests, as that history should notice the event, there is great reason to presume, that their complexion changed to that of the adjacent country; from whence it will follow, that they must have changed their complexion to that, which is observed at the present day; or, in other words, that the *black inhabitant of Colchis* must have been changed into the *fair* one. It is not to be highly probable, from the facts which have been advanced, that climate is the cause of the difference in the complexion of the globe, we shall now shew its probability from so similar an effect produced on the *mucous substance* of the face. Though the fact does not absolutely prove our conjecture to be right, yet it will give us a very lively conception of its probability.

As is shewn in the case of *freckles*, which are to be seen in the face of children, but of such only, as have the thinness of the skin, by the rays of the sun, striking forcibly on the *mucous substance* of the face, and drying the accumulating fluid, which is at first colourless; but being exposed to violent heat, or dried, becomes brown. Hence, the *mucosum corpus* being dried, and the parts so tinged appearing through the *cuticle*, or upper surface of the skin, arises that spotted appearance.

To conceive a black skin to be an *universal freckle*, or the rays of the sun to act so universally on the *mucous substance* of the face, so contiguous to each other that they should unite, we should then see, in imagination, a face similar to those, which are seen in the torrid zone; if we were to conceive his body to be exposed or acted upon in the same manner, we should then see his complexion should be of a perfect black, or resembling one of the naked inhabitants of the torrid zone. Not only so, but the same; as their appearance is similar; and as the cause of the first is the ardour of the sun, it is therefore probable that we may substitute for the word "*sun*," what is analogous to it, the word *climate*, the same effect may be supposed to be produced in any climate.

The hypothesis, which considers the cause of freckles and of blackness as the same, may be right. For if blackness is produced by the rays of the sun, striking forcibly and universally on the *mucous substance* of the body, and drying the accumulating fluid, we can account for the same effect in any climate.



s think, that the *receivers* have by this time expended all their arguments, but their store is not so easily exhausted. Religion, will continue, as they have ever uniformly done, to oppose their conduct. This has driven them to exert every faculty of arguments to be found in the present question.

of a different complexion from the former. They consist in comparing the state of *slaves* with that of some of the freemen, which the former are said to enjoy.

of punishments which the Africans undergo, are less severe than the military; that their life is happier than that of the freemen; of manumission; that they have their little spots of ground, their holy-days, their dances; in short, that their condition is much happier in the colonies than in their own country.

of which have been made out with much ingenuity and art, may have had their weight with the unwary; but they are not to be taken as they are, who are accustomed to estimate the probability of things, before they admit them to be true. Indeed the whole, contains its own refutation, or at least leads us to suspect that the person, who asserted it, has omitted some particulars, which shall shew to have been actually the case, and that the representations of the *receivers*, when stripped of their

of *every punishment*, that they are more severe than those which the *Africans* undergo. But this is a bare assertion, and we cannot assert it, how the fact can be made out. We are left therefore to draw the comparison ourselves, and to see whether we have just said that the *receivers* had omitted.

of punishments are severe we confess, but we deny that they are severer than those with which they are compared. Where is the African whose limbs have been mutilated, or whose eyes have been beaten out? But let us even allow, that their punishments are severe, they must lose by comparison. The soldier is never punished but after a fair and equitable trial, and the decision is in the discretion of his Lord. The one knows what particular conduct will constitute an offence;<sup>[097]</sup> the other has no trial, but is punished by passion and caprice, which may impose upon any action, however laudable, the appellation of a crime. The former is punished for a real fault; the latter is never safe. The former is punished for a real, the latter, often, for an imaginary fault.

of which we assert, on comparing the whole of those circumstances together, which relate to their respective punishments, that the African is in the worst situation, as to their penal systems?

of which we declare, that the life of an *African* in the colonies is happier than that of an *English* peasant, it is equally false. When we consider, how shamefully the situation of this latter class of men has been misrepresented, to elevate the representations of the *receivers* be true, it is evident that those of the most approved writers, who have placed the African in the worst situation, have been mistaken in their opinion; and that those of the rich, who have been heard to sigh, and envy the felicity of the African, have been mistaken in their own sensations.

of which we believe on the occasion? Those, who endeavour to dress *vice* in the habit of *virtue*, or those, who derive their pleasure from the false, are rarely to be believed; and we may conclude therefore, that the horrid picture which is given of the life of the African, would, lead us to suppose. For has he no pleasure in the thought, that he lives in his *own country*, and among his friends, and that his children will be the same? That he can never be *sold* as a beast? That he can speak his mind *without restraint* and *with impunity*? And that he partakes, equally with his superiours, of the *protection of the law*?-Now, there is no other objection, but these, and no one, which the defenders of slavery take into their account.

ns that are usually made, we may observe in general, that, as they consist in comparing the iniquitous practice among other nations, they can neither raise it to the appearance of virtue, nor extenuate its guilt. The third is alike. They call equally for redress,<sup>[098]</sup> and are equally disgraceful to the governments which suffer them, to justify one species of iniquity by comparing it with another, is no justification at all; and is so far from a pretence, as to give us reason to suspect, that the *comparer* has but little notion either of equity or honour.

scenes of felicity, which slaves are said to enjoy. The first advantage which they are said to experience, is that they conceal an important circumstance. They expatiate indeed on the charms of freedom, and contend that it must be conferred. We perfectly agree with them in this particular. But they do not tell us that these advantages are *not domestick*; that not *one in an hundred* enjoy them; and that they are *never* extended to those, who are employed in work. These are they, who are most to be pitied, who are destined to *perpetual* drudgery; and of whom *no* cessation, till death either releases him at once, or age renders him incapable of continuing his former labour. And *receivers*, that he is then made free, not-*as a reward for his past services*, but, as his labour is then of little or no value.

As mention also made of the little spots, or *gardens*, as they are called, which slaves are said to possess from the time they are taken away by agreeable and pleasant sounds. They must not suppose that these gardens are made for *flowers* only; they can spend their time in botanical researches and delights. Alas, they do not furnish them with a theme for study to be cultivated in those hours, which ought to be appropriated to rest,<sup>[100]</sup> and they must be cultivated, not for any other great deficiency in their weekly allowance of provisions. Hence it appears, that the *receivers* have no means of relieving their unfortunate slaves: for they are either under the necessity of doing this, or of *losing* them by the jaws of famine. To their allowance, and the produce of their spots together, it is often with the greatest difficulty that they preserve

which they are said to experience, is that of *holy-days*, or days of respite from their usual discipline and fatigue. This may be recorded to the immortal honour of the *receivers*. We wish we could express their liberality in those hands, and applaud them sufficiently for deviating for once from the rigours of servile discipline. But we confess, that we content ourselves with observing, that while the horse has *one* day in *seven* to refresh his limbs, the happy *African* has no respite from his labours.

As to the *dances*, on which such a particular stress has been generally laid, we fear that people may have been as shamed in the manner in which these are generally mentioned, we should almost be led to imagine, that they had certain pleasures, the dance, and that they had every comfort and convenience, that people are generally supposed to enjoy on the continent. Reason informs us, that it can never be. If they wish for such innocent recreations, they must enjoy them at their own expense. Are these dances from proceeding from any uncommon degree of happiness, which excites them to conviviality, or from a depression of spirits, which makes them even sacrifice their rest,<sup>[102]</sup> for the sake of experiencing for a momentary pleasure? If any one of the *receivers*, in the middle of a dance, were to address his slaves in the following manner: "*African*! your conscience is severely hurt, whenever I reflect that I have been reducing those to a state of misery and pain, and that you are fond of these exercises, but yet you are obliged to take them at such unseasonable hours, that they impair your health, and your share of labour which I have hitherto imposed upon you. I will therefore make you a proposal. Will you be content to devote the first day of every week entirely to yourselves? or will you choose to return to your miserable, wretched country?"-But what if they are then motionless in an instant? Which interrupts the festive scene?-their country?-transporting sound!-Behold!

them running to the shore, and, frantick as it were with joy, demanding with open arms an instantaneous passage

*delights*, by the representation of which the *receivers* would persuade us, that the *Africans* are taken from their native country, and that like those, who leave their usual places of residence for a summer's amusement, they are conveyed to a more agreeable situation, *to be jovial*.-But there is something so truly ridiculous in the attempt to impose these scenes of felicity on the *receivers*, that the *receivers* must have been driven to great extremities, to hazard them to the eye of censure.

It remains to be considered, is the shameful assertion, that the *Africans* are much *happier in the colonies, than in their native country*.-What does happiness consist of? In those real scenes, it must be replied, which have been just mentioned; for these, by the countenance of their masters, they enjoy.-But it has been shewn that these have been unfairly represented; and, were they realized in the colonies, they would be of no value. For if, upon a recapitulation, it consists in the pleasure of *manumission*, they surely must have passed through a more agreeable situation, like the *Africans at home*, have had no occasion for such a benefit at all. But the *receivers*, we presume, regard the value of a blessing but by its loss. This is generally true: but would any one of them make himself a *slave* for your sake, to obtain *manumission*? Or that he might taste the charms of liberty with a *greater relish*? Nor is the assertion, that their happiness consists in the few *holy-days*, which *in the colonies* they are permitted to enjoy, what must be the value of a year is but one continued holy-day, or cessation from discipline and fatigue?-If in the possession of a *mean estate*, where a whole region is their own, producing almost spontaneously the comforts of life, and requiring for its cultivation no more than is appropriated to *sleep*?-If in the pleasures of the *colonial dance*, what must it be in *their own country*, where they are permitted to interrupt their felicity, no intolerable labour immediately to succeed their recreations, and no overseer to disturb their repose. These therefore are the only circumstances, by which the assertion can be proved, we may venture to say, without any other evidence at all.

It is said that they are barbarous at home.-But do you *receivers* civilize them?-Your unwillingness to suppose you must use them more kindly when converted, is but a bad argument in favour of the fact.

It is said that their manner of life, and their situation is such in their own country, that to say they are happy is a jest. "But what is man's happiness? That state which each man, under the guidance of his maker, forms for himself, and not one man's happiness, is the sole prerogative of him who created us, and cast us in so various and different moulds. Why should we be unhappy, amidst their native woods and deserts? Or, rather, let me ask, did they ever cease complaining of their situation, where they see, indeed, the accommodations of civil life, but see them all pass to others, themselves unbenefited? Why should we be so concerned for human freedom, to let your slaves judge for themselves, what it is which makes their own happiness, and their own situation, in *their own country*, rather than in the contemplation of your grandeur, of which their misery makes so large a part?"

With so much confidence on the subject, let us ask you *receivers* again, if you have ever been informed by your slaves of their situation in the country from which they have forcibly been torn away: or, if you will take upon you to assert, that they are happy, relate to each other their tales of misery and woe. But you judge of them, perhaps, in an happy moment, when they are in the week; and are but little aware, that, though the countenance may be cheered with a momentary smile, the heart is still full of sorrow. Show us, indeed, that there are laws, subject to no evasion, by which you are obliged to clothe and feed them in a manner that they are protected<sup>[104]</sup> at all; or that even *one* in a *thousand* of those masters have suffered death,<sup>[105]</sup>

to their slaves, you would have a better claim to our belief: but you can neither produce the instances nor the laws of your own *property*, are wholly *at your own disposal*; and this idea is sufficient to overturn your assertions of

on a circumstance, which, in the present case, will have more weight than all the arguments which have hitherto been universally entertain, that, as soon as death shall release them from the hands of their oppressors, they shall be free to exist again, to enjoy the sight of their beloved countrymen, and to spend the whole of their remaining days so powerfully does this notion operate upon them, as to drive them frequently to the horrid extremity of putting themselves to death, (which no person can deny) what are they but a proof, that the situation of those who destroy themselves, and if the thought of returning to their country after death, *when they have experienced the colonial joys*, is a proof, that they think there is as much difference between the two situations, as there is between misery and

the *receivers* less liable to a refutation in the instance of those, who terminate their own existence, than of those who die with a smile upon their face, and their funerals are attended by a vast concourse of their countrymen. But why this unusual mirth, if their departed brother has left an happy place? Or if he has been taken from his pleasures, and administered to his wants? But alas, it arises from hence, that *he is gone to his happy country*: instead of those specious arguments, which the imagination has been racked, and will always be racked to produce

should now conclude the chapter with a fact, which will shew that the account, which we have given of the situation of the same time all the arguments which have hitherto been, and may yet be brought by the *receivers*, to prove that the number of the Europeans, <sup>[107]</sup>six hundred and fifty thousand slaves were imported within an hundred years; at the same time were found to amount to one hundred and forty thousand. This fact will ascertain the treatment of itself. For how could so many have been oppressed? What a dreadful havock must famine, fatigue, and cruelty, have made among them, when *one hundred and fifty thousand* people in the prime of life, gradually imported within a century, are less numerous than were produced in the same period, under common advantages, and in a country congenial to their constitutions?

probably great merit on the occasion. Let us therefore set it down to their humanity. Let us suppose for once, that the trade proceeds from a benevolent design; that, sensible of the miseries of a servile state, they resolve to wear out, as it were, that their miseries may the sooner end, and that a wretched posterity may be prevented from sharing their sufferings. If reasoning which the *receivers* adopt, we cannot take upon us to decide; but true it is, that the effect produced by the trade on this *benevolent* principle.

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## CHAP. X.

Survey of the treatment which the unfortunate *Africans* undergo, when they are put into the hands of the *receivers*. The present part of this Essay, appears to be wholly insupportable, and to be such as no human being can apply

s, as should make him tremble. But as many arguments are usually advanced by those who have any interest to alter the treatment, or diminish its severity, we allotted the remaining chapters for their discussion. In these we consider the motives of interest; the credit that was to be given to those disinterested writers on the subject, who have asserted the inferiority of the *Africans* to the human species; the comparisons that are generally made with respect to the condition they are said to enjoy, and every other argument, in short, that we have found to have ever been advanced in the subject, and we may venture to pronounce, that, instead of answering the purpose for which they were intended, they have clearly shew, that if ingenuity were racked to invent a situation, that would be the most distressing and insupportable, that would suit the description better, than the-*colonial slavery*.

and if slaves, notwithstanding all the arguments to the contrary, are exquisitely miserable, we ask you *received* a situation?

*of them*; that your *money* constitutes your *right*, and that, like all other things which you purchase, they are who you bought them. We thought it was, that we professed to view your treatment, or examine your right, when we said, that "the question is not of your right; into the *African* commerce, as explained in the history of slavery, and the subsequent slavery in the colonies. Now, since it appears that this commerce, upon the fullest investigation, is contrary to "*the principles* <sup>[110]</sup> of *common maxims of equity, the laws of nature, the admonitions of conscience, and, in short, the whole doctrine of natural justice*, which is founded upon it, must be the same; and that if those things only are lawful in the sight of God, which are derived from virtuous principles, you *have no right over them at all*.

confess this. For when we ask you, whether any human being has a right to sell you, you immediately answer, No. It is so contradictory to your own feelings, as not to require consideration. But who are you, that have this exclusive right? When did nature, or rather the Author of nature, make so partial a distinction between you and them? When did nature give you a right over others, and that others should not have the privilege of selling you?

that no person whatever has a right to dispose of you in this manner, you must confess also, that those things which are done in consequence of the sale. Let us suppose then, that in consequence of the *commerce* you were forced to go to a distant country; that you were sold there; that you were confined to incessant labour; that you were pinched by continual stripes, and mangled at discretion, and all this at the hands of those, whom you had never offended; would you not resist it with a safe conscience? And would you not be surprized, if your resistance should be considered as rebellious. For though we suppose them to have been guilty of crimes to one another; though they are detestable and execrable of men, yet are they perfectly innocent with respect to you *receivers*. You have no right to their consent. It is not your money, that can invest you with a right. Human liberty can neither be bought nor sold. It is against nature and religion, and will surely stand recorded against you, since they are all, with respect to your original dissociation; perfectly free.

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## CHAP. XI.

both the *commerce* and *slavery*, it remains only to collect such arguments as are scattered in different parts as present themselves on the subject.

you, who have studied the law of nature, and you, who are learned in the law of the land, if all property must not be accounted as such, in other words, (for it is a case, which every person must bring home to his own breast) if you suppose that man is not as valuable as the most costly things that you have seen, let us ask you appraisers, who scientifically know the value of things, if any human creature is equivalent only to the value of the most costly things that you have seen: or in other words, if you have ever considered the most costly things that you have seen, you rationalists, if man, as a reasonable being, is not *accountable* for his actions, and let us put the same question to you? Let us ask you parents, if ever you thought that you possessed an *authority* as such, or if ever you expected your children to *obey* your parents. Now, if you should all answer as we could expect, what a dreadful argument will present itself against the *commerce* of *slavery*? Let us reflect, that no man whatever can be bought or reduced to the situation of a slave, *but he must instantly become a slave of those things, which were made for his own use and convenience; he must instantly cease to be accountable for his actions, and his duty as a son, must be instantly no more.*

our notice, when we are speaking of the fatal wound which every social duty must receive, how considerably it is wounded. For by prosecuting this impious commerce, you keep the *Africans* in a state of perpetual ferocity and barbarism. If you represent your religion, as a system of robbery and oppression, you not only oppose the propagation of the *Christianity*, but you lay the most certain impediments in the way of others, who might attempt the glorious and important task.

which the subsequent slavery in the colonies must produce. For by your inhuman treatment of the unfortunate *Africans*, you lay the most certain impediments to a conversion. For how must they detest the very name of *Christians*, when you *Christians* are doing such things? Let them detest that system of religion, which appears to resist the natural rights of men, and to give a sanction to the *commerce* of *slavery*. Mentioning *Christianity*, we must pause for a little time, to make a few remarks on the arguments which are usually made in defence of their system of oppression. For the reader may readily suppose, that, if they did not hesitate to bring the *Christianity* to the aid of *slavery*, they would hardly let the *New* escape them.

of *Onesimus* to the Christian faith, who was a fugitive slave of *Philemon*, sent him back to his master. This is a proof that *Christianity* encourages slavery. But they have not only strained the passages which they produce in support of their system, but they have also distorted the facts. The benevolent apostle, in the letter which he wrote to *Philemon*, the master of *Onesimus*, addresses him as a brother, but not in his former capacity, <sup>[111]</sup> *not now as a servant, but above a servant, a brother beloved.* In this manner he says, "I beseech thee to *join* you to do it, yet I had rather it should be a matter of your *own will*, than of *necessity.*"

*Onesimus*, when he was sent back, was no longer *a slave*, that he was a minister of the gospel, that he was joined to the church of the *Colossians*, and was afterwards bishop of *Ephesus*. If language therefore has any meaning to be believed, there is no case more opposite to the doctrine of the *receivers*, than this which they produce in favour of Christianity, among the many important precepts which it contains, does not furnish us with one for the abolition of slavery. At the time of the introduction of the gospel was universally prevalent, and if Christianity had abruptly declared, that slavery was wrong, who were then in the world, it would have been universally rejected, as containing doctrines that were dangerous. Before that it might be universally received, it never meddled, by any positive precept, with the civil institutions of the world. That "you shall neither buy, nor sell, nor possess a slave," it is evident that, in its general tenour, it sufficiently militates against what it inculcates, is that of *brotherly love*. It commands good will towards men. It enjoins us to love our neighbours as ourselves, and that they should do unto us. And how can any man fulfil this scheme of universal benevolence, who considers a slave as the *most insupportable* of all human conditions; who considers him as his *private property*, and treats him, not as a man, but as an *animal of the brute creation*?

The doctrine is that, by which we are assured that mankind are to exist in a future state, and to give an account of their actions in the flesh. This strikes at the very root of slavery. For how can any man be justly called to an account for his actions, if he is not free? This is the case with the *proper*<sup>[112]</sup> slave. His liberty is absolutely bought and *appropriated*; and if the purchaser orders him to perpetrate any crime, which the purchaser may order him to commit, or, in other words, of ceasing to be accountable for his actions, he is sufficient to shew, that slavery is incompatible, with the Christian system. The *Europeans* considered that slavery, they resisted, their hereditary prejudices, and occasioned its abolition. Hence one, among many other proofs of the wisdom; that though it did not take such express cognizance of the wicked national institutions of the time, it contains such doctrines, as, when it should be fully established, would be sufficient for the abolition of them all. The conduct of you *receivers* ineffectual, and your conduct impious. For, by the prosecution of this wicked slavery and the neglect of that gospel which was ordered to be preached unto every creature, and bring it into contempt, but you oppose the law of *universal benevolence*, which was to take away those hateful distinctions of *Jew* and *Gentile*, *Greek* and *Roman*. The law of the gospel was introduced; and secondly, because, as every man is to give an account of his actions hereafter, it is

remains, which, though nature will absolutely turn pale at the recital, cannot possibly be omitted. In those wars, which are now carried on, it is evident that the contest must be generally obstinate, and that great numbers must be slain on both sides. It is reasonably apprehend to be the case: and we have shewn,<sup>[113]</sup> that there have not been wanting instances, where the assistance they have found, that their spirit of vengeance has entirely got the better of their avarice, and they have not scrupled to discriminate, either of age or sex. From these and other circumstances, we thought we had sufficient reason to be taken, an *hundred*, including the victors and vanquished, might be supposed to perish. Now, a hundred thousand men, and as the two orders, of those who are privately kidnapped by individuals, and of those who are sold by the authority of their prince, compose together, at least, nine-tenths of the *African* slaves, it follows, that about ten thousand of the last order is the most numerous. Let us suppose then that only six thousand of this order are annually sent to the West Indies, no less than *sixty-thousand* people annually perish in those wars, which are made only for the purpose of procuring slaves. To be by no means exaggerated, may be free from all objection, we will include those in the estimate, who die

unfortunate people have a journey of one thousand miles to perform on foot, and are driven like sheep through the wilderness, and frequently die in great numbers, from fatigue and want. Now if to those, who thus perish on the *African* continent, we add those who afterwards perish on the voyage, and in the seasoning together, it will appear that, in every yearly attempt to supply the continent with men before *one* useful individual can be obtained.

Asking, how beyond all example impious, must be that servitude, which cannot be carried on without the continuance of punishment is not to be expected for such monstrous and unparalleled barbarities! For if the blood of one man is shed in revenge, how shall the cries and groans of an *hundred thousand* men, *annually murdered*, ascend to heaven, which such enormities deserve! But do we mention punishment? Do we allude to that punishment, which shall be brought against him? Do we allude to that awful day, which shall surely come, when the master shall behold his murdered negro brought against him? When he shall stand confounded and abashed? Or, do we allude to that punishment, which shall be brought against a wicked community? For as a body politick, if its members are ever so numerous, may be considered as one person in which it is concerned, so it is accountable, as such, for its conduct; and as these kinds of polities have only one punishment as such, they can be punished.

Consider the crime, with respect to the individuals immediately concerned in this most barbarous and cruel traffic: it is encouraged by the laws of the land, it presents to our view an equal degree of enormity. A crime, founded on a violation of the rights of man, which being both of individuals and the nation, must sometime draw down upon us the heaviest judgment of Almighty God, who gave to all equally a natural right to liberty; and who, ruling all the kingdoms of the earth with equity, will not tolerate such monstrous iniquity, to pass long unpunished."<sup>[116]</sup>

It is ready to have interfered on the occasion! The violent<sup>[117]</sup> and supernatural agitations of all the elements, which, have visited our settlements, where the unfortunate *Africans* are retained in a state of slavery, and which have brought unnumbered calamities on the states to which they severally belong, are so many awful visitations of God for this inhuman violation of his laws. I remark, that as the subjects of Great-Britain have two thirds of this impious commerce in their own hands, so they are more severely than the rest.

These things may appear to be acts of providence, and to create an alarm to those who have been accustomed to refer events to chance; but situated to stop there, and to overlook the finger of God; because it is slightly covered under the veil of secrecy, we will assert with confidence, that the *Europeans* have richly deserved them all; that the fear of sympathy, which on such melancholy occasions, seems to forget to flow at the relation of these; and that we can never, with any shadow of propriety, whose success must be at the expence of the happiness of millions of their fellow-creatures.

For if liberty is only an adventitious right; if men are by no means superiour to brutes; if every social duty is a duty which is strictly honourable, and Christianity is a lye; then it is evident, that the *African* slavery may be pursued, without the imputation of a crime. But if the contrary of this is true, which reason must immediately evince, it is evident that the trade is more impious; since it is contrary to *reason, justice, nature, the principles of law and government, the whole doctrine of the natural voice of God.*

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**FINIS.**

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**Footnotes:**

An Inquiry into the Rise and Progress of the Slave Trade, &c.-A Caution to Great Britain and her Colonies, in a short Representation of the case. Besides several smaller pieces.

*Trade* in the year 1727, but had taken no publick notice of the *colonial* slavery till this time.

ists at the Cape, in the first part of the Essay; the description of an African battle, in the second; and the poetry of a negroe girl in the third, a

v. 39, 40.

the Grecian History.--kai tines auto kouroi epon'thakes exairetoi; he eoi autou thentes te Dmoes(?) te; Od. Homer. D. 642. They were afterwards ose douleuein kata sungraphen," till Solon suppressed the custom in Athens.

among the classics; they were called in general *mercenarii*, from the circumstances of their *hire*, as "quibus, non malè præcipiunt, qui ita juvero de off." But they are sometimes mentioned in the law books by the name of *liberi*, from the circumstances of their *birth*, to distinguish them. 4.-Id. 21. 1. 25. &c. &c. &c.

os esin, otan polemounton polis alo, ton elonton einai kai ta somata ton en te poleis, kai ta chremata." Xenoph. Kyrou Paid. L. 7. fin.

chace began,  
as man."

engaging in these adventures, Kerdous tou spheterou auton eneka kai tois asthenesi trophes."

initio.

ou tou ergou pherontos de ti kai Doxes mallon. Thucydides, L. 1. sub initio.

nizon. Sextus Empiricus.

chol. &c. &c.

sponte occiderat, eum

m occidisset, jubebant leges &c."

es servulos

ndicere.

tion

u prasin

sin

in his *Casina*, where he introduces a slave, speaking in the following manner. "Quid tu me verò libertate territas?  
tuus  
ntiis,

st edition of Homer, the word, which we have translated *senses*, is *Aretae*, or *virtue*, but the old and proper reading is *Noos*, as appears from  
n.

barois despotikos krasthar kai ton men os philon kai oikeion epimeleisthai, tois de os zois he phytois prosperesthai. Plutarch. de Fortun.

utile dulci. Horace.

ypnon idnai. Hom. Odys. L. 17. 448.

otnote 025).

, as it is stiled *eurreiten* and *perikallea*, "*beautiful and well watered*," in all other passages where it is mentioned, but this.

e African servitude, is taken from Astley's Collection of Voyages, and from the united testimonies of Smyth, Adanson, Bosman, Moore, and  
ere; who resided many years in the country; and published their respective histories at their return. These writers, if they are partial at all, m  
than the unfortunate Africans.

ood, that slavery was unknown in Africa before the *piratical* expeditions of the *Portuguese*, as it appears from the *Nubian's Geography*, tha  
among the natives with one another. We mean only to assert, that the *Portuguese* were the first of the *Europeans*, who made their *piratical* c  
s so disgraceful a figure in the western colonies of the *Europeans*. In the term "Europeans," wherever it shall occur in the remaining part of  
*e nations only*, who followed their example.

st fort at *D'Elmina*, in the year 1481, about forty years after Alonzo Gonzales had pointed the Southern Africans out to his countrymen as ar

oned *convicts* among the *voluntary* slaves, because they had it in their power, by a virtuous conduct, to have avoided so melancholy a situat  
, as virtues are frequently construed into crimes, from the venal motives of the traffick, no person whatever possesses such a *power* or *choic*

or of Physick at Stockholm, fellow of the Royal Academy of Sciences in Sweden, and inspector of its cabinet of natural history, whose voy

dissociated state of mankind, is confirmed by all the early writers, with whose descriptions of primitive times no other conclusion is reconcil

C. 2. et. inseq.

universis per vicis occupantur, quos mox inter se secundum dignationem partiuntur. Tacitus. C. 26. de Mor. Germ.

k, intitled Paley's Moral and Political Philosophy, which, in this one respect, favours those which have been hinted at, as it denies that gover  
a fact,"-"it is to suppose it possible to call savages out of caves and deserts, to deliberate upon topicks, which the experience and studies, and  
ernment in the universe begun from this original." But there are no grounds for so absurd a supposition; for government, and of course the s  
me, when families coming out of their caves and deserts, or, in other words, quitting their former *dissociated* state, joined themselves togeth  
the Lybians and Gætulians before-mentioned, and had felt many of the disadvantages of a want of discipline and laws, before government  
ook into consideration the origin of government, was determined, in a matter of such importance, to be biassed by no opinion whatever, and  
solely to adhere to fact, and, by looking into the accounts left us of those governments which were in their infancy, and, of course in the lea  
cannot say therefore, that upon a very minute perusal of the excellent work before quoted, he has been so far convinced, as to retract in the l  
which are drawn from historical facts, for those, which are the result of speculation. He may observe here, that whether government was a *con*  
y; since where ever the contract is afterwards mentioned, it is inferred only that its object was "*the happiness of the people*," which is confe  
r the necessity of inserting this little note, though he almost feels himself ungrateful in contradicting a work, which has afforded him so mu

ui ab hostibus capiuntur. Justinian, L. 1. 5. 5. 1.

quod imperatores nostri captivos vendere, ac per hoc *servare*, nec occidere solent.

*tatis* servissent, &c. Justin, L. 4. 3. et passim apud scriptores antiquos.

re eum, si possis, quem honestum est necare. Cicero de officiis. L. 3. 6.

Livy, L. 30. 37.

i descripta pensionibus æquis in annos quinquaginta solverent. Ibid.

em triremes, traderent, elephantosque, quos haberent domitos; neque domarent alios; Bellum neve in Africa, neve extra Africam, injussu P. I.

in Africa, is estimated here at 100,000 men, two thirds of whom are exported by the British merchants alone. This estimate is less than that which has been informed by disinterested people, who were in most of the West India islands during the late war, and who conversed with many of the natives. What methods they had originally been reduced to slavery, that they did not find even two in twenty, who had been reduced to that situation, and desirous of a farther confirmation of this circumstance, stopped the press till he had written to another friend, who had resided twenty years in Africa. The following is an extract from the answer. "I do not among many hundreds recollect to have seen but one or two slaves, of those imported from Africa. They are generally such as are kidnapped, or sold by their tyrants, after the destruction of a village. In short, I am firmly of opinion, that the number of the numbers introduced into the European colonies. Of consequence the trade itself, were it possible to suppose convicts or prisoners of war, would be twenty-nine in every hundred slaves, whom it supplies. It an insult to the publick, to attempt to palliate the method of procuring them."

that this is a faithful extract, and who was known to the author of the present Essay, was a long time on the African coast. He had once the misfortune to be taken by the natives, who conveyed him and his companions a considerable way up into the country. The hardships which he underwent in the march, his treatment while he resided among the inland Africans, as well as while in the African trade, gave occasion to a series of very interesting letters. These letters, which I thought fit to make what use of them he chose, by the gentleman to whom they were written.

Government of a country could have no right to take cognizance of crimes, and punish them, but every individual, if injured, would have a right to revenge. These are the notions of all civilized men, whether among the ancients or the moderns.

even by the African princes, who do not permit the person injured to revenge his injury, or to receive the convict as his slave. But if the very person who is injured, should not be able to revenge himself, he ought to buy any other person whatsoever.

in any part of the African continent, of *parents* selling their *children*. As the slaves of this description are so few, and are so irregularly obtained, we did not think it necessary to mention them. As God never gave the parent a power over his child to make him *miserable*, we trust that any farther mention of them will be unnecessary.

at least one fifth of the exported negroes perish in the passage. This estimate is made from the time in which they are put on board, to the time they are disposed to lose the greatest number in the voyage, but particularly from this circumstance, because their slave ships are in general so very large, that they are often obliged to sail before the cargo can be completed.

On the 29th of November, 1781, fifty-four of them were thrown into the sea alive; on the 30th forty-two more, who were brought upon the deck for the same purpose, did not wait to be hand-cuffed, but bravely leaped into the sea, and shared the fate of their ship had not been put upon short allowance. The excuse which this execrable wretch made on board for his conduct, was the following, "*that the loss would have been the owners; but as they were thrown alive into the sea, it would fall upon the underwriters.*"

The author of this Essay applied to him for some information on the treatment of slaves, so far as his own knowledge was concerned in England. The account alluded to, interspersed only with such instances, as he himself could undertake to answer for. The author, as he has never met with any more, intends to transcribe two or three of them, and insert them in the fourth chapter. They will be found in inverted commas.

The loss of slaves imported, is often computed to be lost in the seasoning, which, in round numbers, will be 27000. The loss in the seasoning depends, in a great measure, on the number of what are called refuse slaves that are imported, and on the quantity of new land in the colony. In the French windward islands of Martinique, and in our old small islands, one fourth, including refuse slaves, is considered as a general proportion. But in St. Domingo, where there is a great deal of new land, in other colonies in the same situation, the general proportion, including refuse slaves, is found to be one third. This therefore is a lower estimate than 27000. We may observe, that this is the common estimate, but we have reduced it to 20000 to make it free from all objection.

The loss of slaves on the voyage, and in the seasoning. It is generally thought that not half the number purchased can be considered as an additional stock, and that the other half perishes from their embarkation.

The account which has been hitherto given, extends to all the Europeans and their colonists, who are concerned in this horrid practice. But we are sorry that we must confine it to the colonists of the British West India islands, and to those of the southern provinces of North America. As the employment of slaves is common to all these countries, we content ourselves with describing it, as it exists in one of them, and we shall afterwards annex such treatment and such consequences as are common to all. We consider our account as *universally*, but only generally, true.

In the supposition, that the gang is divided into three bodies; we call it therefore moderate, because the gang is frequently divided into two bodies,

ground off.

it, but it is a fact, that a slave's annual allowance from his master, for provisions, clothing, medicines when sick, &c. is limited, upon an ave

as a present from his father, immediately slit their ears, and for the following reason, that as his father was a whimsical man, he might cla  
s instance as a confirmation of the passage to which it is annexed, but only to shew, how cautious we ought to be in giving credit to what ma  
any native of the colonies: for being trained up to scenes of cruelty from his cradle, he may, consistently with his own feelings, represent th  
o see them, should absolutely shudder.

criminal against the state. The *marshal*, an officer answering to our sheriff, superintends his execution, and the master receives the value of  
that in all cases where the delinquent is a criminal of the state, he is executed, and his value is received in the same manner; He is tried and c  
t any intervention of a *jury*.

observations were made by disinterested people, who were there for three or four years during the late war.

owners against the underwriters, to recover the value of the *murdered* slaves. It was tried at Guildhall.

Mr. John Wheatley, of Boston, in New-England.

er these Poems are genuine, we shall transcribe the names of those, who signed a certificate of their authenticity.

son, Governor.

Lieutenant Governor.

in respect to African capacity, we have passed them over in silence, as they have been so admirably refuted by the learned Dr. Beattie, in his admirable refutation extends from p. 458. to 464.

the Æthiopian change his colour, or the leopard his spots?" Now the word, which is here translated *Æthiopian*, is in the original Hebrew "the descendants of *Canaan*, as the advocates for slavery assert.

Advocates for slavery should consider those Africans, whom they call negroes, as the descendants of *Canaan*, when few historical facts can be shown to the contrary. For the sons of Ham, the descendants of *Canaan* were the only people, (if we except the Carthaginians, who were a colony of *Canaan*, and were a colony of *Canaan*). Africa was incontrovertibly peopled by the posterity of the three other sons. We cannot shew this in a clearer manner, than in the words of the learned Dr. Beattie on this subject.

Ham had four sons, *Chus*, *Mizraim*, *Phut*, and *Canaan*, Gen. x. 5, 6. *Canaan* occupied *Palestine*, and the country called by his name: *Mizraim* occupied the countries of the nations in that part of the world are descended from him; at least more than from any other person." *Josephus* says, "that *Phut* was the father of the Ethiopians, whom he called (*phoutoi*) *Phuti*." *Antiq. L. 1. c. 7.* "By *Lybia* he understands, as the *Greeks* did, *Africa* in general: for the particular country called *Libyæ* was the branch from *Mizraim*, (*Labieim ex ou Libnes*) *Chron. Paschale*, p. 29.

*Mauritania*, where was a country called *Phutia*, and a river of the like denomination. *Mauritaniæ Fluvius usque ad præsens Tempus Phut dicitur* *Hebreæ.-Annem, quem vocant Fut.*" *Pliny, L. 5. c. 1.* Some of this family settled above *Ægypt*, near *Æthiopia*, and were styled *Troglodytes*. Some passed inland, and peopled the Mediterranean country."

*Chus* also, (after their expulsion from *Egypt*) made settlements upon the sea coast of *Africa*, and came into *Mauritania*. Hence we find traces of them, upon the coast: and a river *Chusa*, and a city *Cotta*, together with a promontory, *Cotis*, in *Mauritania*, all denominated from *Chus*; who at present are called *Cosh*, and *Cotis*. The river *Cusa* is mentioned by *Pliny*, *Lib. 5. c. 1.* and by *Ptolomy*."

At a later period, there was another eruption of the *Cushites* into these parts, under the name of *Saracens* and *Moors*, who over-ran *Africa*, to the very extremity of the south, and they extended themselves southward, as I said in my treatise, to the rivers *Senegal* and *Gambia*, and as low as the *Gold Coast*.

and much farther: most of the nations to the *south* being, as I imagine, of the race of *Phut*. The very country upon the river *Gambia* on one side  
*ba Ben Solomon*, gives an account."

red, it was thought by some, that the scripture account of the creation was false, and that there were different species of men, because they could  
ns, could have transported themselves to that continent from any parts of the known world. This opinion however was refuted by the celebrated  
the continents of Asia and America, was as short as some, which people in as rude a state have been actually known to pass. This affords an  
divine writings, because every difficulty which may be started, cannot be instantly cleared up.

that all men were derived from the *same stock*, shew also, in the same instance of *Cush*, (Footnote 075), that some of them had changed their

ours discernible in mankind, between which there are many shades;

ber

ek

we may add, that the rest of the descendants of *Ham*, as far as they can be traced, are now also black, at well as many of the descendants of

in the *mucosum corpus*, but particularly the jaundice, which turns it yellow. Hence, being transmitted through the cuticle, the yellow appearance  
stration, is not confined solely to white people; negroes themselves, while affected with these or other disorders, changing their black color  
ce.

ssively small, that one grain of sand, (according to Dr. Lewenhoeck's calculations) would cover many hundreds of them.

the same people have their *corpus mucosum* sensibly vary, as often as they go into another latitude, but that the fact is true only of different

s here to a gentleman, eminent in the medical line, who furnished us with the above-mentioned facts.

ons, contiguous to each other, of black and white inhabitants in the same parallel, even this would be no objection, for many circumstances  
a white, and a white people into a black latitude, and they may not have been settled there a sufficient length of time for such a change to ha  
be like the old established inhabitants of the parallel, into which they have lately come.

p. 193.

his business to inquire of the most intelligent of those, whom he could meet with in London, as to the authenticity of the fact. All those from the West-Indies, that they had never observed it there; but that they had found a sensible difference in themselves since they came to England.

What happens, shews that they are descended from the same parents as ourselves; for had they been a distinct species of men, and the blackness of their skin a great reason to presume, that their children would have been born *black*.

It is related to us by the gentleman in the medical line, to whom we returned our thanks for certain anatomical facts.

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defrayed by a poll-tax on negroes, to save which they pretend to liberate those who are past labour; but they still keep them employed in r  
allowance. For to free a *field-negro*, so long as he can work, is a maxim, which, notwithstanding the numerous boasted manumissions, no m

on a *Sunday*, and frequently in those hours which should be appropriated to *sleep*, or the wretched possessors must be inevitably *starved*.

the holy-days at Christmas, but in Jamaica they have two also at Easter, and two at Whitsuntide: so that on the largest scale, they have only se  
position, that the receivers do not break in upon the afternoons, which they are frequently too apt to do. If it should be said that Sunday is an  
work for their masters; but such an holy-day, that if they do not employ it in the cultivation of their little spots, they must *starved*.

middle of the night; and so desirous are these unfortunate people of obtaining but a joyful hour, that they not only often give up their sleep, b  
it.

reached before the society for the propagation of the gospel, at the anniversary meeting, on the 21st of February, 1766.

r remark, that it prevails but in *one* of the colonies), against mutilation. It took its rise from the frequency of the inhuman practice. But thoug  
ce, he may yet work, starve, and beat him to death with impunity.

the *receivers*, out of about *fifty-thousand*, where a white man has suffered death for the murder of a negroe; but the receivers do not tell us, th  
an because the *murder of slaves was a crime*.

s a curious sight, and is attended with singing, dancing, musick, and every circumstance that can shew the attendants to be happy on the occ

,000 slaves had been imported into the French part of St. Domingo, of which there remained only 290,000 in 1774. Of this last number only  
000 slaves, the whole posterity were 140,000. *Considerations sur la Colonie de St. Dominique*,(See errata-should be read as "*St. Domingue*

advantages, and in a soil congenial to their constitutions, and where the means of subsistence are easy, should produce in a century 160,000.  
the Africans in their own country increase in the same, if not in a greater proportion. Now as the climate of the colonies is as favourable to the  
ious decrease in the one, and increase in the other, will be more conspicuous.

agraph.



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