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A N
A D D R E S S ,

TO THE PEOPLE CALLED

M E T H O D I S T S ;

CONCERNING THE WICKEDNESS OF

ENCOURAGING SLAVERY.

By SAMUEL BRADBURN.

R

Hear, I pray you, ye chiefs of Jacob ;
And ye princes of the house of Israel :
Is it not yours to know what is right ?
Ye that hate good, and love evil :
Who tear their skin from off them ;
And their flesh from off their bones :
Who devour the flesh of my people ;
And slay from off them their skin :
And their bones they dash in pieces ;
And chop them afunder, as morsels for the pot,
And as flesh thrown into the midst of the cauldron.

Mic. iii. 1—3. Lowth's Notes on Isai. page. 31.

THE FOURTH EDITION.

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BRETHREN,

A Sense of duty, and a desire to serve my suffering fellow-creatures, are the motives which induce me to address you on the subject of the *West India Slave-Trade*. A trade that is manifestly founded in, and supported by a *complete System of Robbery and Murder*. The truth of this assertion is so incontestable, that not one of the persons who are concerned in this odious business, has been able to confute the "Evidence delivered before a select Committee of the House of Commons," concerning their treatment of the Negroes.

By that evidence it appears, that the artless inhabitants of Africa, are stolen from their lovely and beloved country by the *iron-hearted slave-dealers*, who, without any regard to justice, make use of every species of deception, to get these inoffensive people into their ships. It appears, that by *bribes, lies, intoxicating liquors, threatnings*, and often by *force*, the Captains of the slave-ships, when they could not steal them, have excited the nations to make war on each other, that the prisoners on both sides might be purchased for slaves. This seems to be the most common method of procuring them, and a method that is not pretended to be a secret.

That evidence proves beyond contradiction, that thousands of the Negroes are destroyed, that is, *Murdered*, in attempting to preserve their liberty in their own land. Their towns are burned, their country is laid waste, and the survivors are reduced to the most deplorable situation, and the most horrid tortures that ever were inflicted upon human beings. Thousands of them perish with *hunger, thirst and stench*, on board the ships, during the passage from the coast of Africa to the islands. The *distress of their minds*, on account of their being *forced* from their native country, and their dearest relations, with nothing but the gloomy prospect of perpetual Slavery before them, or the apprehension of being eaten by the white people, together with the excruciating pains which they undergo from various causes, have induced some of them to *hang themselves*, others to *leap over board*, others to *refuse taking any food till they have died with hunger*. Several of the witnesses declared, that they left the slave-trade, *because they could not follow it with a good conscience*, being convinced it

was an *unnatural, iniquitous, and a villainous trade*, evidently founded on *injustice and treachery*, manifestly carried on by *oppression and cruelty*, and not infrequently terminating in *murder*.

- The same respectable evidence laid open the savage barbarity, with which the negroes are treated by *West-India Planters*, in a detail of the most *deliberate and shocking Murders*, that ever were perpetrated by the most *bloody and abandoned Villains*. To say nothing of the manner in which those poor Children of Adversity are exposed to sale, without any thing to cover them, without any respect to sex or circumstance; how great must be the anguish of their minds, when *Brothers and Sisters, Parents and Children, and Husbands and Wives*, are separated, perhaps, to see each other no more, with as little ceremony as a butcher divides the cattle he is about to kill! How moving must the sight be! Rational Creatures, possessed of lively passions, united by the strongest ties of nature, clinging about each other, expressing their mutual attachments in the most pitiable lamentations, till the Whipper comes and tears them asunder, and drives them to the plantations of their different owners! Good heavens! to what degree of diabolical insensibility must the heart be reduced, that can witness, with calm indifference, such scenes of human misery.

To pass over the hardness of their work, the badness and scantiness of their food, the wretched huts in which they are lodged, and the consequent diseases to which they are liable, any one of which is sufficiently distressing, and which together, actually destroy thousands of them; what shall we say of the severity with which they are punished, for any thing that their cruel oppressors may deem an offence? To say every thing that ought to be said on the subject, exceeds the power of man; for who can paint in colours sufficiently striking, what is horrid beyond the utmost stretch of human language? One would almost think that the vilest *Reprobate in England*, who has not been *hardened by custom*, or *blinded by interest*, on hearing of their cruelties, would sink into the dust with shame and mortification, when he considers himself a being of the same species with a *West-India Slave-Dealer*! What then must be the feelings of a compassionate man, when he hears how those *barbarous Europeans*,

Europeans, guided by *Caprice* or *Passion*, have sacrificed the helpless *African Victims* in the most shocking manner! They have cut off their ears, slit open their nostrils, beat out their teeth, and chopped off their hands and feet, or parts of them! They have shot them through their heads and bodies, and hung, and stabbed them to death! They have whipped the flesh off their bones, and rubbed pepper and salt into the wounds! They have fastened them to the ground, and dropped blazing sealing-wax and boiling lead upon their backs after whipping them 'till their skin was perfectly flayed off; and sometimes they have whipped them to death; They have thrown them into vessels full of boiling cane-juice! They have gibbeted them alive, in which state some of them have lived several days! They have burned and even roasted them in the most lingering manner, till the extreme of torture has put a period to their sufferings!

When they have been about to flog a Female slave, and have found her pregnant, that the child might not be killed in the operation, as that would be a loss to them, they have made a hole in the earth large enough to hold her belly, and then laid her on her face and scourged her all over her back and thighs most dreadfully. Some of the women have been delivered of the child at the very time the whipper was scourging them. Some of their ways of torturing the slaves are too obscene and disgusting to be published! And what is still more shocking, to such a degree can the human heart be hardened, that even *Women*, and some women of fortune, are guilty of inflicting punishments not less horrid and indecent than those inflicted by the Men, and that frequently *with their own hands*! They have chained their women-servants to tubs, and made them wash almost naked, *with their thighs and backs in a gore of blood from flogging*! They have put them to the most exquisite pain by *Thumb-screws*, till the blood has gushed out at the ends of their thumbs, and have made them work at the same time! They have torn off their skin and flesh with a cowskin-whip, and dropped blazing wax upon their mangled backs and breasts, and abused them otherwise with *Cayenne Pepper*, in so indecent a manner, that it must not be printed.

Should any one say, these must be only punishments for the most heinous crimes, and inflicted only on a few individuals: The answer is, read the Abstract of the evidence before mentioned. Therein it appears that the slaves have been punished for *running away*, when wrought, starved, and beaten almost to death; for *lifting up a hand against a white person*; or for *breaking a plate*, or *spilling a cup of tea*, or to *extort confession*; others for *not coming into the field in time*, *not picking a sufficient quantity of grass for the cattle*, *not appearing willing to work*, when in fact *sick and not able*, for *staying too long on an errand*, for *not coming immediately when called*, and for *theft*, to which they were often driven by *hunger*. Under the head of the part which the very Women take in these punishments, female slaves are punished for *being found pregnant*, or for *not bringing home the full wages of prostitution*, when hired out by their delicate mistresses; others, for *making a mistake*, for *being old and past labour*, and sometimes in the moments of passion, without even the allegation of a fault. A lady is represented by Mr. Cook as having her domestics flogged every Monday morning. And Lieutenant Davison has often known a mistress send her domestics to be punished and without telling them for what! Indeed, the crimes need not be many or great to provoke those blood-thirsty monsters, who manifestly take pleasure in torturing the defenceless objects of their malicious passions.

And let none pretend that these accounts may be false or aggravated. Where invincible demonstration is the proof, the seeming to doubt, is contemptible affectation. The witnesses examined, from whose evidence this extract is taken, were *Gentlemen of Rank and Fortune*, *Surgeons*, *Physicians*, *Captains of the army and navy*, *Generals*, and *Clergymen*, who testified in the most solemn manner of what they knew to be true, having seen the facts.

That the unconstitutional principles of slavery should be fostered in the bosom of the *British Legislature* in this enlightened age, is a dreadful reflection on the boasted love of liberty for which the English have been so famous, and an utter disgrace to any nation of people, said to be free. Yet, the nation is not altogether to blame; for, in the year 1788, numerous petitions were sent to Parliament from different towns, cities, and

and countries for the abolition of the Slave-trade in consequence of which, leave was given to bring in a bill for that purpose, in the year 1791.

Mr. Wilberforce, whose character and principles do honour to the British Senate, to Human Nature, and to the Christian Religion, came forward the zealous advocate of the injured Africans. He was well supported by many gentlemen of distinguished merit, who exerted their rare abilities to the utmost in behalf of suffering humanity; and made the most vigorous efforts to obtain the object of their benevolent wishes. Hence it appears no less surprising to the reason, than shocking to the feelings of an uncorrupted heart, that means should be found to procure a majority of COMMONS in favour of so detestable and inhuman a traffic; and that the friends of the Abolition should have only the illustrious virtue, which prompted their noble minds; for the reward of their God-like endeavours!

But have not several Regulations been made by Parliament in favour of the slaves while on shipboard? I answer, yes! and, if the depraved hearts of the captains and others concerned, be capable of mirth, they must laugh at such regulations. Opposite page 37, of the "Abstract of the evidence," there is a plate representing the manner of stowing the negroes, and annexed there is a regular calculation of the space allowed for each: and I earnestly recommend the reading of that book to every christian who can get it. But as some may not have it in their power either to buy or borrow it, and may therefore be imposed on by persons concerned in the slave-trade; I subjoin part of the note which is at the bottom of page 38. "The situation of the slaves must be dreadful even on the *present regulated plan*: for their bodies not only touch each other, but many of them have not even room to sit upright; for when every deduction has been made, the height above the platform, — and below it, is in the *Brooks* but *two feet seven inches*. The average height of nine other vessels measured by Capt. Parrey, was only *five feet two inches*; (which divided by the platform, is the same as above) and in the *Venus* and *Kitty*, the slaves had *not two feet* above or below the platform. The slaves immediately under the beams must be in a still more dreadful situation as is seen by the plan." I add what follows, from the *Summary View of the Evidence*;" "The room these unhappy

unhappy beings are allowed by our Legislature, appears on a pretty accurate calculation to be about the proportion of 400 persons in a space of 19 feet each way: and is for a grown person, 16 inches each in width, 2 feet 7 inches in height, and 5 feet 11 inches in length, or, as Mr. Falconbridge properly describes it, *not so much room as a man has in his coffin*: and Capt. Knox admits that they sometimes had not room to lie on their backs! When it is taken into this account, that the slaves lie on the bare boards, so that their bones are often to be seen through their skin; that they have frequently the flux, owing to the treatment they receive, so that the whole place becomes covered with blood and mucus like a slaughter-house; that in stormy weather they are shut in so close that many of them are suffocated; that when the miserable pittance of water allotted to the slaves, is nearly exhausted or supposed to be so, the negroes are called on deck, and ordered or requested to jump overboard; that the convicts which are transported to *Botany-bay* for transgressing the laws of the land, are provided in a manner, every thing considered, *three fourths better* than those *innocent people*; I ask any man what he thinks of the slaves being favoured by the Regulation of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled? I ask any thinking man, who is not *some way a temporary gainer by the slave-trade*, whether these poor prisoners and captives could have been in a situation much more dreadful and disgusting, if no notice had been taken of them by the Parliament? And whether it be any thing better than *mocking their misery*, and *tantalizing their grief*, to call any thing consistent with such treatment by the name of, *Regulations in their favour*?

Of much the same nature are the laws which are said to be made for the protection of the slaves in the Islands. Let any man judge of the situation of the slaves, prior to such laws, and then consider what sort of protection they derive from them. As I must be as short as possible, I shall only add the following extract: "By the 329th Act, page 125, of the Assembly of Barbadoes, it is enacted, "That if any negro or other slave, under punishment by his master, or his order, for running away, (that is for claiming the right which the God of nature gave him) or any other crime or misdemeanor towards.

towards his said master, unfortunately shall suffer in life or member, no person whatsoever shall be liable to a fine; but if any man shall out of wantonness, or only of bloody-mindedness, or cruel intention, wilfully kill a negro, or other slave of his own, he shall (now mark the dreadful punishment! he absolutely shall) pay into the public treasury fifteen pounds sterling." And it is the same in most, if not all, of the West-India Islands. And surely there never was a more complete satire on Legislation, nor a greater burlesque on common sense, than impiously to say that such acts are intended for the benefit of the slaves: especially where it is considered that the evidence of a slave is not admissible; that the bare word of the master is sufficient, if he chuse to be at the trouble of accusing his defenceless slave of some misdemeanor; that in such a case, he may punish, or order him to be punished as he pleases, and if a limb or life should be lost, he is not subject to any fine, being protected by law. And if a planter be bloody-minded, (and how few of them are otherwise?) and should at any time chuse to roast his slave, or put him to the most lingering and cruel death that ever the Devil or the Inquisition invented, and that in the face of the sun, what has he to fear? Why, that if any of his bloody-minded neighbours happen to owe him a spite, they may run the law to its utmost rigour, and oblige him to pay into the public treasury fifteen pounds! what a price for the life of one of his Majesty's subjects! and trifling as it is, it never need be paid, except the Murderer please, nor is there any law made in favour of the slaves to this hour, that is of any real advantage to them, either on ship-board or in the Islands. The planter considers the slave as his private property, just as a man in England does his horses. The slave has no more power to demand justice than if he were a horse, for his evidence is not admissible against a white. Hence, to the great grief of thousands of pious christians, notwithstanding the late exertions of the nation, the slave-dealers by the Authority of the British Legislature pursue their infamous business with unabating ardour, and the helpless sufferers continue to be treated with unrelenting cruelty: and there is cause to fear, that instead of the petty tyrants being softened towards them, they will, if possible, be more rigorous then ever, and that for reasons too obvious to common sense, to require minute investigation.

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“But if the slave-trade could be managed without the depredations and bloodshed, which have hitherto been its inseparable concomitants, would it not be very *impolitic* in government to give it up, considering the advantage it is to the nation?”

I answer, first, the trade in slaves cannot be carried on without depredations and bloodshed. Put together what has been said on the subject, and you will be fully convinced that it cannot, unless it be so reduced as to render it of no value to the traders. But, secondly, suppose it could, it is so far from being any advantage to the nation, that (as the Rev. T. Clarkson has demonstrated,) *it is as impolitic as it is inhuman and unjust.* For the sake of those who have not got his “*Essay on the impolicy of the African slave-trade,*” I insert the following passage from page 132. wherein that inimitable writer collects the substance of what has been said throughout the whole of the work.

“It has appeared, that the slave-trade considered abstractedly by itself, is of *no emolument to the nation*; that it is the *grave of our seamen*, destroying more of them in one year, than all the other trades of Great Britain, when put together, destroy in two.

“It has appeared, on the other hand, that the trade which might be substituted for it in the natural productions of Africa, if considered in the same light, would, by affording an inexhaustible mine of wealth to our dyers and artificers in wood, by enabling us to break the monopoly of the Dutch in spices, by repaying us for the loss of America, and by becoming the cheapest market for all sorts of raw materials for our Manufacturers, be of *great national advantage.*—Hence, (page 34)

“We may safely say, that whatever arguments the *moralist* is able to collect from the *light of reason*, or the *man of humanity* from his *feelings*, the *statesman* is able to collect others from the source of *policy*, that call equally aloud for the ABOLITION of the SLAVE-TRADE.”

But suppose the Africans were used as well as any human beings can be used, and that they had every degree of tenderness shewed to them, both by the Captains and Planters; and suppose the trade of the greatest political advantage to the nation, (*which suppositions are totally destitute of any foundation in truth*) yet, as it is

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in itself an evil, it ought to be abolished. Whatever may be the opinions of others, you, Brethren, believe that "God hath made of *one blood all nations of men*, for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation." Who then has any right to go, or to authorize others to go across a vast ocean, to enslave a *free*, and in relation to us, a *harmless people*? None but the Sovereign Ruler of the universe has power to grant such a right. And such is the goodness of his nature, and the harmony of his justice and mercy, that in the severest dispensations of his providence, there is a sufficiency of rational evidence, to justify his conduct from the charge of granting any right like that which the slave-dealers exercise, whether others perceive it or not. But who can, or who does, pretend to derive his right from God? Let such pretenders produce proper credentials of a divine mission, to act as the slave-dealers have done, and as they continue to do, and we will believe them. As they cannot do this, there is nothing plainer, than that the Negroes have as good a right to invade Great Britain, and make slaves of us, as we have to invade Africa and make slaves of them. Hence the very foundation of this detestable commerce is laid in an *unjust seizure of the persons and property of our fellow-creatures.*

Do not then, Brethren, suffer yourselves to be imposed upon by any slave-dealer or his emissaries, who may attempt to dissuade you from endeavouring to obtain the Abolition of this *nefarious trade*. Let those who make no conscience of their actions, proceed to trample upon justice and mercy, and plead a *political propriety of conduct*, till God shall call them to judgment: you know better than to act upon such principles, you believe the Bible to be the pure word of God; and were there no other reasons for your being in the opposition to the slave-trade, and that dreadful system of slavery derived from it, *this one is sufficient to determine you, it is contrary to the genius and design of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, and irreconcilable to the letter of the New Testament.* Therein, the Apostle to the Gentiles ranks *men-stealers*, that is, *Slave-Dealers of every species*, with the vilest and most atrocious criminals: With the lawless and disobedient, with the ungodly and sinners, with
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the unholý and profane, with murderers of fathers; murderers of mothers and man-slayers, with whoremongers and sodomites, and with liars and perjured persons. 1 Tim. i. 9, 10. Can there be a greater proof of the detestation in which the righteous God held slavery, than his placing *Slave-Dealers**. In this infernal group? than surely it is equally criminal to countenance the slave trade, as to countenance any of the sins, which characterize the individuals, in this black list of notorious offenders. And you well know what would be deemed countenancing any of these. The moment you hear them named, you feel it your duty to endeavour by every rational and scriptural method, to put a stop to such works of darkness. Be consistent with yourselves by doing the same, to stop this execrable traffic.

If it be asked what can we do? I answer, (if there be nothing else in your power) you can do the three following things, to which I earnestly advise you.

I. Join your neighbours in petitioning the Parliament to abolish the slave-trade.

II. Pray earnestly and constantly to God Almighty, that it may be immediately and effectually abolished.

III. Abstain from the use of Rum and Sugar till its abolition be completed, and the slaves emancipated, or till those articles be procured from some other quarters.

I. Join your neighbours in petitioning the Parliament to abolish the slave-trade. Or if they refuse, to join with you, petition by yourselves. You cannot be engaged in a more laudable undertaking, and you have no sufficient reason to doubt of your being successful, if you act with a zeal becoming the goodacts of the cause. Our

* That SLAVE-DEALER is a proper rendering of the Apostle's word ANAPAIQAIETHES, is plain from the best Lexicographers and Critics. I forbear to heap up testimonies, and shall only cite a few to prove my assertion. Thus Scapula: Qui liberum hominem in servitutem redigit, qui furatur hominem e libero statu suo.—He who reduces a freeman into slavery: he who steals a man from his free estate.

Thus also Parkhurst: A man-stealer, a kidnapper, one who steals men to make them slaves, or sell them into slavery.

So Suidas; The barbarians violate covenants, reducing men openly into slavery. Edit. Kuster. sub voce ΑΥΔΑΙΩΔΙΣ.

See likewise Poole: Hominum fures, qui vel servos, vel liberos abducunt, retinent, vendunt, vel emunt,—qui vel fraude, vel aperta vi, homines suffragantur ut pro mancipiis vendant; &c. Synop. Critic. in loc.—Stealers of men, who take away either servants or freemen, detain, sell, or buy them.—Those who either by fraud, or by open violence, steal men that they may sell them for slaves, &c.

In plain English, *Slave-Dealers of every description.*

Our society and constant hearers, cannot fairly be estimated at less than *four hundred thousand* in England alone; suppose the half of these to be women, who have no voice at *present* in these matters, there will remain *two hundred thousand* to petition, many of whom are possessed of ample fortunes and very considerable influence. Your petition will certainly therefore have some weight, especially with those who represent towns and counties where your votes are numerous, as it will convince those who oppose the abolition, that they have nothing to hope for from you at future elections; at least it will be bearing an honest testimony against an abominable trade, and the corrupt supporters of it.

I have never conversed on the subject with but one of our people in the nation, who did not avowedly abhor Slavery, and sincerely wish its destruction, and he, I have no doubt, was in his heart against it as much as others, only some part of his worldly gain came from people concerned therein, whom he feared to offend if he discovered his sentiments. Your ministers are to a man decidedly for the abolition. Your late Venerable Pastor faithfully testified against that disgraceful traffic in *human flesh*, near twenty years ago, in one of the best pamphlets which has been published on the occasion, entitled "Thoughts on Slavery." And were he again on earth, I have no doubt but he would exert himself to the uttermost, and employ all his interest in this good work. If your endeavours keep pace with your principles, you may expect great good will ensue. The cause is worthy of the patronage of the greatest *Philosophers, Christians, and Divines*, that ever lived.—It is the cause of *Humanity*, of *Religion*, and of *God!*—Shew by your exertions in its favour, that it is *your cause* also. In Manchester we signed the Petition in common with our neighbours, deeming it a less pompous way, than sending a distinct petition of our own. Some hundreds signed it in the Chapel at the Communion Table, on the Lord's Day. Nor do I think they could have been better employed; no not in receiving the sacred symbols of the body and blood of the blessed Jesus.

Should our Petitions succeed, what transporting joy shall we feel, when we reflect, that we contributed our part towards attaining so desirable an end! And should they fail, the very attempt to serve our suffering fellow-creatures, will do us honour before assembled worlds,

in the great day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Christ Jesus.

I am aware, that a conscientious regard for religion, and a fear of hurting either the cause of God, or your own minds, may subject you to the artifices of designing men, who, to prevent, if possible, your engaging in this labour of love, will strive to persuade you, that, *this is an affair which concerns the State alone, and that you ought not to meddle with politics.* But a little consideration, will convince you of the dangerous consequences of yielding to *such fallacious insinuations.*

How does it concern the *State alone*? What is the *State*? If this word have any meaning, as used here, the *State of England is the people of England.* And have you ceased to be a part of the people of England, because you wish to secure the salvation of your souls in a coming world? Or, have you sold your birth-right as Britons, because you dare to think for yourselves on religious subjects, and refuse to be implicitly led into the ditch of perdition, by blind guides, who know neither the Scriptures nor the power of God? If not, then realize yourselves, as a part of the State, by endeavouring to put a stop to an execrable trade, before the displeasure of God against it, be manifested by some dreadful judgments upon its Abettors.

If it be said, that, *the State is the Supreme Authority by which the empire is governed.* I answer, the *Supreme Authority* which governs the empire is the LAW. And surely all the subjects of this Supreme Authority, ought to enjoy their proper share of its benign influences! Are not the negroes, while they live in the British dominions, our *fellow-subjects*, and equally entitled with us to the protection of the Laws of the Empire? And is it no concern of ours, that thousands of these are used in a manner, that no man has a right to use tigers or serpents? There is no moral obligation that binds mankind to obey any laws, but such as are designed upon the whole, to promote the *good of the governed.* But those miserable people have no hope of good from their obedience to any law, notwithstanding they are exposed to the Penalties for transgression, in a variety of respects. *Fear* is the only passion that is considered in their nature, and *Pain* the only object to which it is directed. Their rights are violated by the hand of oppression, without any prospect of redress, and the complaints of their grievances are rendered ineffectual, by their being

deprived

deprived of the power to give legal evidence. And if you, from an unjustifiable attachment to your own present peace, sink into a supine indifference concerning the welfare of those afflicted captives; what proof have you, that the same usurping power which made slaves of them, will not endeavour to enslave you and your posterity?

And as to *not meddling with politics*, it requires some skill, to find out what those who use such language mean. Politics is the *science of government*. And are you not to concern yourselves with the government you live under, and towards the support of which you contribute so large a portion of your property? The British Empire is one *large society*, and the *laws* are the *rules*, by which it is regulated and kept in order. But these rules may be *corrupted, transgressed, or neglected*, if the members of the society do not meddle, that is, do not care whether they are observed or broken. The British Constitution, like true religion, can suffer nothing from being known. And where the Magistrates, who should be the guardians and executors of the laws, act uprightly, they have nothing to fear from being watched by the people, who are the source of their power, and the support of their dignity. It is only *corruption* that *stands in need of bribery*; and it is *imposture alone* that *affects mystery*. It is therefore so far from being wrong to interfere in such matters, or, as it is artfully called, to *meddle with politics*, that it is your *duty*, as far as you can, for the sake of yourselves, your posterity and your oppressed fellow-subjects, to *acquaint yourselves with the laws of your country, and the administration of them*: and to exercise, as free citizens of the Empire, your *constitutional right to petition or remonstrate*, when the laws are infringed by the extension of unconstitutional power, or the people oppressed by an arbitrary violation of their legal privileges.

But setting aside this part of the subject for the present, and leaving political manœuvres to those, who regard them in preference to the exercise of justice and mercy, still the authority of the Holy Scripture remains inviolable. And while you believe this, your being for the abolition or otherwise, is not so much an *opinion*, or a *point of private judgment*, as a *case of conscience*. You must most religiously oppose slavery, whatever you may

lose by so doing, or *you must all the hypocrite*. I therefore, as a Minister of Christ among you, admonish you in the name of God, not to suffer worldly prudence and temporal advantages, to influence you to act contrary to the sacred voice of inspiration, and the clearest convictions of your own mind. The all-seeing eye of your Judge is upon you! Act with simplicity and godly sincerity, and what you could not conscientiously do yourselves, do not, from any motives whatever encourage in others. Exert yourselves with becoming zeal in the use of every legal means, particularly in sending Petitions to the Parliament, from as many places as possible, that the vilest traffic that ever disgraced human nature may be abolished.

And as you believe that a *particular Providence* governs the universe, that God putteth down one, and setteth up another, and that he doeth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth, you cannot but see the necessity of acknowledging him in all your ways, if you expect your undertakings to prosper, I therefore advice you——

II. To pray earnestly and constantly to God, that the *slave-trade* may be *immediately* and *effectually* abolished; and that the people called slaves in our Islands may be speedily placed in a state of liberty and happiness.

It will not be expected that I should enlarge here upon the nature and efficacy of Prayer; nor is it necessary to you, who are so well acquainted with the Oracles of God: In those sacred records, you read of mighty heroes with whole armies, being cut off by the Most High, when pious people have called upon him for help. Therein you are told how Prayer has prevailed, when all other means have proved unsuccessful. —It has subdued kingdoms, raised the dead to life, and shut and opened heaven!

When the Israelitish Slaves were oppressed by the Egyptian Tyrant and his cruel task-masters, they cried to the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob for deliverance, and what could Pharoah and all his hosts do against them? Their prayers were heard, —Moses was sent to be their deliverer, —and you behold *six hundred thousand men, besides women and children* brought from the most abject state of bondage and affliction, into perfect liberty! God

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is unchangeable, and his promise stands sure, *Ask and ye shall receive.* The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much; how much more prevalent will the prayers of many thousands be? There are millions in Britain who sincerely wish the destruction of that infamous business, (many of whom know little of us, or we of them,) and doubtless there are numbers of those, of different denominations, who pray in secret for that desirable event. Add your prayers to theirs, without regarding the scoffs of fools, or the ridicule of infidels. Pray not only in private, but in your families, and in all your public meetings, that the God whose you are, and whom you serve, may make known his power by removing every hinderance out of the way, and accomplish the abolition, by whatever means he pleases; and if there be men wicked enough to oppose the Lord of Hosts in this glorious work, let such look to themselves; you are in the way of duty, and therefore not accountable for consequences. It is a cause of far greater importance than many of those, in behalf of which the Almighty has so often manifestly interposed. Pray in faith, and fear not but your heavenly Father will answer you in the joy of your souls.—O! what a feast to a humane heart, to behold even in imagination, the arrival of the long-wished for period, when the trade in human beings shall be no more! And that period will come! Yea, the blessed time is at hand, when the wicked *Slave-Dealers*, shall cease from troubling, and the weary *Africans* shall have rest.—When, in spite of their proud oppressors, those unhappy people shall change the galling yoke of misery and bondage, for the enjoyments of life and the blessings of liberty! Lord God Almighty, hasten that happy time!

While we thus as christians, take God into our account, we must use every rational and scriptural mean, that may conduce to the end we have in view, otherwise we shall be (what those who knew us not have often called us) ignorant, wild enthusiasts. I therefore solemnly exhort you,

III. To leave off the use of Sugar and Rum till the slave-trade be abolished, and a speedy and effectual plan be established for obtaining the liberty and happiness of those injured people and their unhappy posterity in our Islands; or till these articles can be procured from some other quarter.

Let no silly trifler consider this as a trivial matter, fit only to be laughed at. The importance of most things in human life, is to be estimated by the effects they produce.—The effects produced in Africa and the West Indies, by the Europeans using Rum and Sugar, are of a very alarming nature, and are seriously felt by thousands. The French writer who observed, he could not look upon a piece of sugar without conceiving it stained with spots of human blood, conveyed a just notion of the cruel disposition, of any who make light of ceasing to use it. With me it is a point of conscience, which no power upon earth can make me relinquish. I feel it my duty as sincerely to testify against the using Rum and Sugar at present, as to preach the Gospel. Among a variety of tracts which have been published, against the use of these luxuries while procured on the present plan, there is one which does peculiar honour to the principles and abilities of the writer, entitled, *An Address to the People of Great Britain, on the propriety of abating from West India Sugar and Rum.*

In that valuable pamphlet there is the following passage, which it concerns us, not to pass lightly over. *May we not also hope that the Methodists, who appear to feel forcibly their principles, will seriously consider it? They are so numerous, as to be able of themselves to destroy that dreadful traffic, which is the sole obstacle to their ministers spreading the Gospel in the extensive continent of Africa; and, however others may affect to degrade the negroes, they are bound to consider thousands of them as their brethren in Christ.*

That we feel forcibly our principles, will, I hope, be always evidenced by our conduct, for, however forcibly the principles of any people may be felt, it is only by the good effects of their operation, that their utility can be demonstrated. That we greatly wish to spread the Gospel, will not be doubted by any one, who considers the unequivocal proofs we have given of such a disposition. That the *slave-trade* is the chief, perhaps, the *sole obstacle* to our ministers spreading it in Africa, is undeniable. If therefore every other argument were out of the question, this one sufficiently proves that it is our duty, to do every thing we can to accomplish its abolition. And if we be so numerous, as to be able of ourselves to destroy that dreadful traffic, (which I cannot

cannot deny) by only laying aside a *mere sensual gratification*, and that but for a season, are we not justly chargeable with all the consequences of its continuance, while we indulge ourselves in the use of Rum and Sugar? At least, we ought to abstain from these drugs, for a sufficient length of time, to make a fair trial.

The irresistible force of this conclusion first brought conviction to my mind, about five months ago, and I have conscientiously abstained from Sugar ever since; Rum I never liked, and therefore had not the trouble of leaving it off; my family and most of my friends have done the same: and my worthy colleague and I have borne a public testimony against these articles, both in town and country. But my mind is still uneasy; I think something further may be done to serve the cause of Justice and Humanity, and I know of no method at present so likely to do this as the one I have adopted; which should it produce no other effect, it will be some relief to my own feelings; for to say the truth, it hurts me exceedingly to think that *I*, who from the ground of my heart, have always abhorred slavery in every shape, and detested the thoughts of infringing upon the just liberty of any creature, should nevertheless, have been in some degree accessory to the Bondage, Torture and Death of myriads of human beings, by assisting to consume the produce of their labour, their tears, and their blood! I ask pardon of God, and of them, and earnestly pray, that this little tract may make some restitution for my former want of attention to my duty in this respect.

I should conclude here, but that it seems necessary to take some notice of a few objections. I say a *few*, for though there may be *many*, yet I do not think above two or three of them worth an answer. For instance, who would stoop to answer a person that has the impudence to laugh at and ridicule those who wish to alleviate the calamities of oppressed innocence? Such senseless triflers must be totally destitute of the spirit of our Holy Religion, though I am sorry to add, I have found some of them among the professors of it.

Nor do I think it necessary to say any thing to those who pretend to doubt these facts, which are established by such respectable evidence.

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A less gentle treatment is justly due to those who are offended because these things are *searched into*: some of them are likely to sustain a temporary loss, should they appear friends to the abolition, and they are ashamed to appear against it. They therefore generally talk of *moderation*, of not pushing things to *extremes*, and of the *impossibility* of accomplishing the end by the means recommended above.

These objectors are more dangerous than the former, because there is some plausibility in what they say. For *moderation* cannot be too highly commended in speculative matters. And as every man has an equal right to think for himself, (but owing to the present frailty of our nature, that which is demonstration in the judgment of one, may be grossly absurd in the esteem of another) there are no qualities more becoming a wise and good man than Candour and Forbearance. But what has this to do with our using rational means, to lessen the miseries of our fellow-creatures? I believe there is not a man upon earth more free from bigotted attachments to parties and opinions than I am, nor a greater friend to unbounded liberty of conscience; but I should be ashamed to talk of *moderation*, and not pushing things to *extremes*, on a subject that relates simply to our endeavouring to put a stop to Robbery and Murder. Saint Paul tells us that, "It is good to be zealously affected always in a good thing." And had it not been for the indefatigable zeal of the virtuous friends of civil and religious liberty, these nations might have to this day, been wandering in the darkness of pagan idolatry, or groaning under the tyrannic yoke of popish Superstition. If *moderate men*, as they affect to be called, had been attended to in France, that infernal mansion, the Bastille, had still remained; and millions of intelligent beings had continued in the galling chains of servile oppression; who are now rising to the privileges of a free people.

And as to our not accomplishing the end, by the means which have been recommended, that waits to be proved. We expect much from the *Petitions* which are preparing for the Parliament, in various parts of the kingdom. Should these fail again, we expect more powerful effects from the disuse of Rum and Sugar; which (whatever may be the determination of the Parliament)

liament) we never can be authorized to use, while slavery exists in our Islands for the purpose of supplying us with them. And should every human effort prove ineffectual, still "the Lord God omnipotent reigneth!" We have every thing to hope from an unshaken dependance upon him. We cannot pray in vain!

While we were ignorant of the iniquitous nature of the slave-trade, something might be said in our favour; but we must sin with our eyes open, if we countenance or encourage it any longer. Nor are we altogether free, that we did not consider it sooner. On many accounts, we ought to have been the first in the nation to have testified against it. That glory I believe, belongs to the people called Quakers, who in this have set us an admirable example. We have cheerfully followed them in a determined opposition to that diabolic business; let us now also cease to tempt unprincipled men to commit such horrid acts of wickedness, in order to supply us with unnecessary luxuries. For we must remember, that if the commodities were not consumed, the planters would cease to cultivate what they could not sell, slaves would not be wanted, the slave-trade would be at an end.

It has been objected, "That if all the people in *England* were to leave off using sugar, it would have no effect on slavery, or the slave-trade, as the only consequence that would result therefrom would be, that of its being consumed in foreign nations."

This certainly may be in some measure true while the disturbances in *St. Domingo* interrupt the usual supply of Europe. Yet even at present our abstinence will materially affect the happiness of the Negroes, as the lower we can keep the present enormous price, in proportion, we shall take away the temptation of breaking up the Cotton Plantations (which is the most favourable employment for the Negroes) to be planted with sugarcane which is the only source of their misery and destruction. And when the European markets shall receive their usual supply from the French West-Islands, as the quantity of Sugar used in *England* is so enormous as nearly to equal what is used in all Europe besides; how would one quarter of this overstock the foreign markets! This would lower the price so much, that in a very little time it would ruin all who have any concern

cern in it. Besides, when it is known abroad that we have left off using Sugar from a principle of humanity, the surrounding nations are not so destitute of shame and honour, as to receive that, which we refuse from such a motive. The French have begun to leave off using it already; and it is probable that millions will quickly follow the example. The revolution in France has in some measure, affected all Europe. The spirit of Philanthropy accompanies the spirit of Liberty, and the beneficial effects of both are easily perceptible. Only persevere in refusing the produce of the Islands, and this, added to the other steps which we are taking, together with what has been mentioned above, will speedily convince the haughty slave-mongers, that it is not at their option, whether the vile traffic in their fellow-creatures shall be abolished or not!

Some artful men have endeavoured to deceive simple people, by telling them, that refusing to use Rum and Sugar would avail nothing, unless they refused *Cotton* also. But there is no man who understands this subject, who does not know that this is an absolute falsehood. For, nearly three fourths of the Cotton which is manufactured in *England*, comes from other countries, not from the West-India Islands. In the year 1786, twenty millions of pounds were imported, about fifteen millions of which were bought from Foreigners, not from our own people, and though the quantity imported now be above thirty millions of pounds annually, yet the same proportion still holds. But this is not the case with the Sugar, which comes almost all from the Islands. For the duty is so great on the East-India Sugar, that very little of it has ever been imported. Therefore be not deceived by those who pretend to sell you East-India Sugar; it is in general a mere imposition. Were no more Cotton ever to be imported from the Islands, the manufacturers of that useful article need be at no loss to supply the want. So that if the West-India produce were wholly destroyed, our resources are such, that the nation would perhaps be a gainer, rather than a loser thereby. But there is not the least need of spending a moment in debating the point. The tenth part of the inhabitants of Britain abstaining from Sugar and Rum, would in three years, put a stop to the slave-trade, and be productive of such a change in the treatment of the slaves already in
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the Islands, as would make them happy, which is all that we design at present. So that the mentioning *Cotton*, or any thing else, is just the same sort of logic, as some of the slave-mongers have used, when they tell you "That God made the negroes to be slaves: that he allows of slavery;" and as a proof, cite some passages out of the Old Testament; not considering that the Jewish dispensation was of so peculiar a nature, that no other people have, or ever had any right to claim any of its privileges, unless they first became Jews by submitting to its institutions. Besides, the gospel has entirely abolished all national distinctions, and annulled for ever any right in one man to enslave another. Let any man that thinks he can, prove the contrary. Till then it is your duty to oppose the slave trade.

If you say, you cannot drink your Tea without Sugar; suppose you were to lay aside Tea also? I have done so, and find many very considerable advantages by so doing. And as to your being but *one*, so may every one say. And as to your using but *a little*, would you admit of this plea on any other occasion? If a man told you that he *swore but little*, and *only told a few lies*, would you not reply, "Whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in *one point*, he is *guilty of all*?" Because he disregards the authority of the Legislator from whom the whole has its sanction. With regard to your paying for what you use, this is no excuse; for, many, who receive stolen goods pay for them; *but the Receiver is still as bad as the Thief*.

Never imagine that you can use these articles with a good conscience, while they are procured on the present plan. You cannot pray in faith for a blessing upon them; and whatsoever is not of faith is sin. You generously contribute towards the support of the Missionaries who preach the gospel in the Islands. You believe that Jesus Christ is, at least, the intentional Saviour of the negroes. O! do every thing you can to forward their comfort and salvation, here and hereafter; and expect your reward in the kingdom of your heavenly Father.

F I N I S.



