As a proof of this shall present the reader with an extract taken from the journal of the surgeon of a ship from New-York, on a voyage to the coast of Africa. "The commander of the vessel sent to acquaint the king, that he wanted a cargo of slaves. The king promised to furnish him, and in order to do it, set out, designing to surprize some town, and make all the people prisoners. Some time after the king sent him word, he had not yet met with the desired success: having attempted to break up two towns, but had been twice repulsed: but that he still hoped to procure the number of slaves. In this design he persisted, till he met his enemies in the field. A battle was fought that lasted three days. And the engagement was so bloody, that four thousand five hundred were slain upon the spot." This was only the trifling consequence that arose from the innocent attempt to purchase one cargo of slaves. But the harmless conduct of the gentlemen that carry on this trade, shews itself by a variety of effects amongst our fellow creatures in Africa, such as setting one party to fall upon another unawares, and carrying off men, women and children. Kings seizing upon their own people and giving them for the goods that are offered by the traders: Others

of the natives employing themselves, whenever the temptation is worth the trouble, to surprize and carry off their own countrymen, going at night without noise, and surrounding lone cottages, and draging away the defenceless family to the place of sale: Others stealing the little blacks whenever they can find them alone, on the road or in the fields. Our ships receive all that come, the question is only what they are worth; to alk how they came by them would equally affront the trading knowledge of both the honourable parties in the bargain. That these are the effects of the trade carried on by the Europeans on the coast of Africa, no one can deny: but should those who have not had the opportunity of being convinced of the truth, dispute the fact, or think it incredible, that Christian states should permit their subjects to be authors of such injustice, cruelty and barbarity, they may find all that is here advanced ready proved to their hands, by men of other nations as well as our own, who upon the spot were witnesses of the truth of what they wrote.\*

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<sup>\*</sup> See a Treatise entitled Thoughts upon Slavery, by the Reverend Mr. Wesley; and the unlawfulness of slavery sully proved, in Mr. Hargrave's argument in the case of James Sommerset a Negro.

The degree of guilt that these effests fix upon the causes of them, must be left to every humane and honest mind to determine. But guilt it certainly is, and that of the highest kind, whether it is tried by the rules of reason, justice or mercy. And instead of the numbers that commit it being any diminution of the crime; the guilt and the criminals must ever swell in the same proportion. And the greatness of the states that permit their subjects to steal, buy or enslave their fellow creatures, can plead nothing in extenuation of the punishment, when weighed in those scales in which all the nations of the earth are only as the dust in the balance. The first consideration is, the proportion of this trade that is carried on by our own nation. Mr. Anderson in his history of commerce says, "England supplies her American colonies with about an hundred thousand Negro slaves every year." That is, this number is taken on board our ships, but many die in the voyage, many in what is called seasoning, and many more destroy theniselves.

They that have known the joys that spring from freedom must count life in bondage a worth-less thing. They alas! have received no foretaste

of sweet peace within, to aleviate their bitter portion of human woe. They have found no Christian hand to point the mind's eye up to the pure fountain of immortal blis. No wonder that strangers to all future hope of joy sink into dispair, and rather than endure the tyranny of their enlightened masters, and wear out painful days and nights under the yoke of slavery, they with the presumption of heathens rush in darkness on a world unknown.

At whose hands shall their lives be required? To whom is all this chargeable? furely to those that are the occasion of it. It is the Buyers of slaves that send those disgraces to the human race, to the coast of Africa to spread war, horror and death amongst the wretched natives. And fo long as the colonies and plantations find purchasers, Bristol and Liverpool will find monsters that shall tear the children from the arms of their struggling mothers, and force away the daughter from the cries and tears of a father, whose worthless feebleness and age, denies him the privilege of slavery with his child; and whilst the support of his life is torn away for ever from his strong affections, behold the poor old man bowed to the earth with unutterable grief, and

his expiring cries ascend to Heaven's high throng in bitter accusations against the robbers of all his comforts! And if we follow the surviving victims cross the Western ocean to America, where shall we find the tender pity that can draw the angels falling tear, to blot out the record of your accusing spirit in the world's great court of justice. Shall we hope to find this generous humanity in the colonies? Where is the ground in the plantations that does not bear witness of the cruel tyranny exercised upon those that have been enslaved by violence, whose love of liberty and their country is as great as ever was felt in English breasts? How inconsistent is it, that the sons of liberty in America, should be the authors of the most abject slavery. And hold their fellow creatures in chains of bondage, at the moment they themselves are crying aloud for the liberty of laws that abhor every idea of flavery! O but the colonies exclaim, that the work of the plantations could not be done by white people, and if Negro slaves were not to be procured the business of the plantations would be at a stand, the whole trade dependent upon them would be lost, and the interest of the planters destroyed! And therefore you give encouragement, and reward all the arts of wickedness and violence to make men slaves, because it is necessary to your interest -- your conveniency requires it. Was interest and conveniency to be the rule of right, I know no argument that would not conclude as strongly for your paying taxes whether you would or no, because it was the interest—the conveniency of those that laid them upon you. The whole spirit of the laws of the plantations, for the government of the slaves you make, proves the severity with which you rule them, and you say it is necessary to keep them in obedience. But there is not a single plea that you can use in support of those laws, that may not be used with as much justice against yourselves. The whole language of the colonies at this day, teaches us to think it a virtue to resist the power that would illegally deprive you of your property. You make men flaves, and then contend for the reasonableness of your laws for punishing their resistance as the greatest crime. Therefore that very conduct which you make a crime of the deepest dye for a black-man to commit, you hold up as the highest virtue in yourselves to imitate. It is by the actions of men, not their words, that we are taught to know them; and he that makes a slave, or buys a slave, and keeps him such, let him fpeak.

speak as loudly as he will for liberty, he himself is the author of the worst degree of tyranny. You, the colonies, that are the cause of setting brother to fight against brother in Africa, look back to the just awards of providence recorded in the history of ages past, and fear least your sons in America, should be witnesses of a punishment fuited to their father's crime. Are you taught to believe that HE who rules above is a respector of persons?. And that the CREATOR of all things is not the common father of mankind? If this is taught and believed in America, then your conduct is consistent with your creed, and you may be expected to go on in making riches and flaves, and rule the tyrants of your fellow creatures, and chastise their love of liberty with the iron hand of power. But if you believe it true, that HE who made you has said, "Thou shalt neither vex a stranger nor oppress him. If thou afflict them in any wife, and they cry at all unto me, I will furely hear their cry, and my wrath shall wax hot, and I will kill you with the fword." If you believe this, then you may think it your highest interest to allow that liberty you yourselves would wish to enjoy, and no longer enslave the sons of Africa, least your sons in America should be visited with the tyranny their fathers shewed.

SHALL we now follow the course of the setting sun, till his indignant beams dart down upon the blushing East, where new scenes of guilt and woe are painted by the rapacious hands of British subjects, who bid defiance to every rule of natural justice, and in the face of Heaven violate all the laws of humanity. Unfortunately for the countries of the East, and for the cause of truth, that the evidence of the facts have chiefly come through the hands of the interested, the accused, or the guilty themselves; and have been rendered so voluminous, as to make it a matter of no small difficulty to draw any plain and clear conclusion from them. But certain it is, that the English subjects were first received as merchants into the countries of the East, and allowed by the princes the privilege of trading with their subjects, and thus they continued till they were greatly increased in number, wealth and power; and as occasion offered, they joined themselves to the disaffected natives, till by intrigue and violence they acquired an influence over the prince who had received them into his dominions. Soon after this they began to trade in war, and when the numbers with which they were joined, added to the ability of superior skill in commanding, rendered the strongest side doubt-

doubtful, the prince's fears then seconded their demands of wealth. With this object in their view, they have been employed by turns both by the prince that possessed and him that aspired to the throne. But which ever side they took, their motive was the same. Gain was their object—for this they fought—for this they negociated. At the commencement of the late war in Europe, this mode of acquiring eastern treasure was improved into a regular system, and ever fince has been carried on with almost equal honour to the invention and conduct of the various commanders in India. The prince that found nothing but money could keep him on his throne, was induced to give these bold intruders one half of his riches to bribe them to protect the other. When this was done, they remained his friends or foes as suited their future interest best. And when the treasures of the prince failed to gratify them with present wealth, for their aid or forbearance, they then did not think their interest safe, unless they were intrusted with collecting the revenue that was to reward them. And when their avarice had exhausted the ability of the subjects, then the strangers were to be pleased with the territoriel possession. And when their thirst of gain had drained this fountain, and art and violence could

no longer find new funds of wealth, a more effectual way was devised to obtain it from the people, by engrosing the supplies of life; then indeed the natives were cured of their stubbornness. When the English had got possession of their salt, beetle-nut, tobacco and rice, the half starved Indian was forced from home with hunger, and to bring in his trembling hand what rapine had left him to offer, for just so much food as he was allowed to have for it. And Bengal bore witness of their bad pennyworths by its expiring thousands. But here the pangs of humanity arrest my thoughts, and in the anguish of my soul I draw the curtain before these British performers of Indian tragedy.

The next scene presents us with their appearance on the English stage. Here we are told that the revolutions of states are not to be tried by the rules of school morality. At present they stand acquitted and possess their honest fortunes and their bonours, and the government of their country has become their protectors, and approved their conduct by opening its treasury to receive a division of the glorious acquisition.

Rome was made the scourge of cruel Carthage, but her unbounded avarice transfered the guilt and

and treasure to herself, and she in her turn felt the punishment she inslicted. With the tide of foreign wealth, luxury slowed into their country: and though learning and the sciences were cultivated and flourished among them, yet they became degenerate and corrupt, and vice encreased with their wealth and empire. The example of the state introduced the insatiable desire of riches among the people; and this was followed with the decay of probity, and the love of their country was changed into faction and private interest, till by degrees *Roman* greatness was levelled with the ground:

And we are not left in the dark to form vague conjectures of the confequences of the conduct, of any of those societies into which the inhabitants of the earth have been divided. Every page of the sacred and common history of mankind, bears testimony of the infinite wisdom and justice of the great Governor of the world. Wherever we turn our inquiries after the whole race of Adam, we find the people of every nation rising in every step to power, greatness, and duration, by temperance, virtue and public justice: as luxury, vice, and violence accompany every stage of their decline. And this proportioned with such evident exactness, that

that the history of every country is continually faying to the thinking mind, THE HAND THAT governs us is divine. And whenever we see public injustice and oppression, pass authorised under the sanction of a state, we must expect the decay and distress of that state, with the same degree of certainty as we look for harvest from the seed time, unless we wrap ourselves up in total darkness and unbelief of all that has passed on earth. As sure as there is a God, he must delight in virtue, and as surely does he reward it: and vice and injustice must be his abhorrence. With individuals indeed, many are the instances of prosperity and pomp attending the rich robber to his grave. And what the world calls misfortune and affliction, as often befals Heaven's first favourites and the best of men, for these give mankind occasion to exert their hidden strength, and throw out into practice virtues that shun the day and lay concealed in prosperous ease: and a life of sorrow often ends in the most exalted bliss. But the combined measures of communities and states, not extending beyond an earthly duration, must on earth receive their reward. All the power of the Roman empire, could not preserve itself from the effects of its own injustice and oppression. And we see Italy,

the garden of the earth, and the centre of that most powerful state, turned into the dwelling place of poverty and slavery, to vindicate the honour of the divine government, that mankind might stand in awe of Him that reigns above. And the feat of that empire remains at this day a monument to teach surrounding nations wisdom and mercy. The plain rules of right and wrong, given to mankind by the world's great Legislator are still in force. Injustice, oppresfion and tyranny change not their nature by passing under the sanction of a Roman or a Britilb senate. The crime is the same, and the punishment annexed to it, whether it is committed under the light of the riling or the setting sun. The state that authorises the plundering of Affia, and publicly honours the robper, and receives the spoil into its treasury; must be as guilty as the state that did the same at Carthage. And to permit the people of Africa to be enslaved, and ruled with the rod of tyranny in America, must appear the same to the judge of all the earth at this day, as the same actions did when the Roman power was as great as that of Britain. Every plea of ignorance is cut off by an hundred examples before us, of which that of Rome bears but its fingle

single testimony to the immutability of divine justice, in the government of the world. And for the British state to authorise and persist in the commission of the same crimes, is to insure the same punishment with a certainty as indubitable, as if it had already taken place. Unless we can suppose a greater degree of obedience to the everlasting rules of justice, was required of heathen nations, than is now to be expected from those to whom the Almighty, at an inestimable expence, has been pleased to reveal his purer laws. But if we believe it to be His great design, to give nothing in vain, then we must conclude, a suitable regard is required of those nations to whom he has given the highest knowledge of his will. And so far as the maxims of Christianity are superior to the finest system of heathen morality, so far ought the justice and and mercy of a Christian state, to exceed that of the most enlightened heathen nation. And as the divine law annexes blessings as the fure reward of obedience, with equal certainty must disobedience draw its unavoidable consequences after it. The best known histories from Moses's time to the present, give sufficient grounds to believe, that public calamities must sooner or later be the sure reward of national disobedience

to the laws of the Almighty. And tyranny and oppression in states always seem to have been followed by plagues for their punishment, ever since Israel was enslaved by the Egyptians. "They made their hearts as an adamant stone, least they should hear the law, and the words which the Lord of hosts hath sent in his spirit by the prophets: therefore came a great wrath from the Lord of host." And the government of any nation, that authorises crimes to be committed by its subjects, on the people of other nations, sets itself in opposition to the Governor and the Judge of all the earth, and bids defiance to the laws of the Most High—Laws too plainly made known to be misunderstood, too frequently executed upon the offenders against them, to make either the crime or the punishment admit of the smallest degree of doubt or uncertainty. And we must utterly disbelieve the testimony of all history, or totally mistake its highest meaning if we do not believe, where injustice, oppression and cruelty are allowed and approved by the standing measures of a state, that it must become weak, divided and at length enflaved, as the natural consequence of its own guilt, and the sure effect of divine justice. The merciful care of the Creator is over all his works works. He is the father of all the children of men; and to whatever people or nation he has given wisdom, strength and power, he will not allow them to enrich themselves by the oppression and slavery of their fellow creatures in any other part of the earth. His commands not only require the obedience of individuals, but are equally binding on the conduct of nations. His laws are as universal as his empire.

Wide as the world is his command,
Vast as eternity his love;
Firm as a rock his truth must stand,
When rolling years shall cease to move.

If more justice and mercy can be expected from the people of one nation than another, it must be from those he has most favoured with the clearest discovery of his will. But notwithstanding earthly states must on earth receive their doom,—the reward of their measures, yet he ever waits to be gracious, and old age is unknown to the body politic. The state that is virtuous will be ever young. A nation that is governed by a manly and an honest policy, and whose measures spring from justice, must be united and at peace with itself, and prosper under the divine protection. The world's great Lawgiver will ever smile on his obedient sons, and that which he delights in must be happy.

FINIS.

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Character from the Monthly Review.

of all others the most dissipations of our own times, is a talk of all others the most dissipations. The Historian, in this case, hyrried away by his passions, or missed by an information which he fancies to be just, frequently retails siction for truth, and becomes the panegyrist of a faction. The monuments on which he builds his narration are the productions of writers, who have no other view but to defend,

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fend, or condemn, the measures of administration, or of the people. It is only, perhaps, after some ages have rolled away, and after party prejudices are lost, that the events of the present reign will be recorded with sidelity and exactness: and that history, while it shall bestow its approbation on those worthy patriots and statesmen who have acted from public and constitutional views, shall censure, with candour and impartiality, those corrupt ministers who have

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the last treaty of Peace, conclude thus:

The same good sense and spirit which appear in this extract are to be found, in general, in the performance before us; and we cannot close this article without remarking, that it is perhaps, on the whole, the most valuable of those political compositions which have lately been offered to the public."