



Miss Caroline M. Frayer, Dublin.
Granddaughter of
John Findlay
Wexford's first Printer and Publisher

April 1904.



NARRATIVE,

OF AN

Unfortunate Voyage

TO THE

COAST OF AFRICA,

IN THE

ANN GALLEY OF LONDON,

David Adam, Esq. Commander ;

WITH

REMARKS

ON THE

Slave-Trade.

BY THOMAS SMITH, ARBROATH.

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR.

1813.



PREFACE.

THE Editor of the following treatise is of opinion, that it will stimulate every one who reads it with attention, to a due admiration both of the goodness and condescension of Divine Providence, as manifested in a particular manner, in the occurrences related in the following narrative.

The Person whose youthful adventures, are here in some measure delineated, has it yet in his power to praise and adore that Omnipotent and over-ruling hand whose Providential care over him, was the efficient cause of his preservation amidst the perils and dangers, by which he was at these times surrounded; and although his hoary head is now languishing on the bed of distress, and the debilitated state of his body very considerable; yet, still he has abundant cause to extol and magnify that Beneficent Providence, that in every period of his life, has been his protector and deliverer; and, if he

is not wanting to himself, he will never leave him, nor forsake him.

This gentleman's case now, under consideration, ought to serve as a monitor to us all, and cause us lay our hands upon our hearts, and say, if we are not equally bound in duty, and gratitude, to love and obey that great Being, who hath hitherto given us more than either we could have expected or deserved.

The Providence and supreme intelligence of God are clearly demonstrated in the government of every thing that his hand hath made ; every soul that lives upon the face of the whole earth participates in the goodness of God, in as free and bountiful a manner, as if there were no other Being in existence, but itself. What cause of thankfulness ought this to be, to every one of us ; and, when we consider ourselves under the guardian-ship of that Almighty Being, whose presence extends to the most distant contingencies. Perhaps, upon a retrospective view of our own lives and conversations, since we commenced our

career in this world, of sin and sorrow, we may conclude that Mr. *Smith's* obligation to praise his Maker, is of infinitely greater magnitude, than our own, because the interposition of Providence, is more marvellous and more apparent in his favour, on account of the complicated nature of what he underwent during that voyage here alluded to; but if we entertain any opinion of this kind, we are guilty of a very egregious mistake, because for the very smallest of God's mercies, we ought to be thankful, for as long as we have breath in our bodies, we have more than we deserve, our very existence is more than we can compensate for, while we have life and the use of our reason; every thought, word, and deed ought to have a reference to his Divine Authority, because for all these we are accountable. The Editor here requests the reader to be merciful in his criticisms, and forgive any imperfections or inaccuracies that might have passed in the publication, as he has laboured under every disadvantage, as the Author was not in a situation to give him any assistance.——The Editor

only adds, that the rude and rustic state of the copy, and its badness every way made it almost impossible for him (a weak scholar) to compile or draw it up in a manner worthy the attention of any common reader.

A Voyage, &c.

IN the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty-two, the fourteenth day of August, I left Arbroath, the place of my nativity, with a resolution of visiting foreign climes, in the character and profession of a Seaman, I was then only in the twentieth year of my age; scarcely competent to take into consideration the various occurrences that would necessarily befall me; however, my Father being acquainted with the respectable Captain, *David Adam*, of this place, I was engaged to go along with him; and to receive all the encouragement that was in his power to give.

I first set sail from Dundee, on board of a vessel, *David Anderson*, master, intending to

join a convoy at that time lying at Burnt-island, (it being in time of war,) the DISPATCH Sloop of War, was appointed to protect the fleet, (which consisted of about twenty sail) from that place, to the River-Thames. The DISPATCH had under her charge at the same-time, a French prize which she had captured in the North-Seas, all which arrived safe, after a passage of about ten days. Here we received information from our Captain, where his own ship was lying; and, being at that place, I was immediately put on board, the ANN GALLEY, commanded by my ever to be lamented, good and worthy Captain, who procured for me, a protection to save me from the Press; and, on his coming on board next day, expressed his happiness to see me; and to convince me of his kindness, asked if I had got any money, and being answered in the negative, he put his hand into his pocket, and frankly presented me with twenty-seven Shillings, advising me to take good care of it.

We then began to make preparations for taking on board our cargo, which consisted of Brandy, Tobacco, and Tobacco-pipes; very

fine indeed, all of the Dutch-make; and also, Birmingham goods of various kinds, such as Muskets, Cutlasses, and other articles, to a very great amount. Thus we got loaded, and ready for that important voyage, about to be detailed, a ~~v~~^l ~~age~~ fatal indeed in its consequence, and by me never to be forgotten.

Our ship's company, consisted of twenty-eight men exclusive of officers, we carried twelve nine-Pounders, and two Swivels, only three of the hands and myself belonged to Arbroath, viz. *Francis Matthew*, *John Dingwall*, and *William Mill*; this *W. Mill* the Captain intended to get settled some where in business, he having been in that way before, but by some means or other, had been unsuccessful, and for that reason was leaving this country. The rest of the men were English and Foreigners. On Sunday the first day of November we dropped down the River-Thames, for the Downs, where we remained for some considerable time. A gale of wind came on here, which drove many of the fleet from their moorings; and, according to report, next morning three sail was

driven on shore, and five men lost. After the storm was over we weighed anchor and got under way, escorted by a Frigate of thirty-six guns, and immediately proceeded through the Bay of Biscay, where we encountered a dreadful storm, when our convoy sprung her mast, and our own pumps became choked---made a good deal of water, which occasioned very much hard labour. Soon after this, a signal was given by our convoy, to bear back for Plymouth-sound, where we got our pumps cleared and every thing put in order for our intended voyage. Eight days after this another signal was given for our immediate sailing, then the whole fleet got under way, and proceeded a second time to the Bay of Biscay, and a great sea coming on us here, our ship took a rolling, and the watch being called (being about twelve o'clock at night) and myself not yet sea footed, I fell with a crash upon the deck, when the Sailors called out a *Butcher*, for the *Bullock is fallen*, this caused me think seriously now of my foolishness in going to sea.

I remember one day as I was walking about

upon the deck, I saw something rolling about upon the face of the water which I thought resembled a Swallow, and the Captain at the time being on the quarter deck, I went and informed him, and said that I thought we were not far from land, when he immediately replied, "you are a fool, that is a flying fish; your Father never saw the like." This fish called the Dolphin pursues the other kinds, and sometimes they will fly on board of vessels when under way, but I have been told that they can fly no longer then their wings turn dry.

The Dolphin is an excellent fish, about the size of an ordinary Salmond. A great number of fish made their appearance here, and particularly those called Bottle-Nosed fish, Bensticks, and a number of others, of various kinds, some of which can neither be taken by fly nor grain, but the Dolphin may be taken by either.

By this time now we were gliding along the Atlantic Ocean, within what is called the Trade-winds. When we parted from our

convoy, as necessity required that we should proceed on a different direction.

On our passage as well as at all other times, our Captain's kindness to me was very conspicuous, for he came forward and learned me to make what the sailors call Gaskets, and told me plainly that if I took care and did well, he would do every thing for me that was necessary.

The most part of our ship's company as well as myself, while on our passage out were employed in making Gaskets, as we had occasion to use them as soon as we arrived on the coast of Africa; and on account of the heat of the country, the Captain desired the Doctor to draw blood of several of the ship's company, particularly those that had never been in warm climates before. By this time we were beginning to view a Foreign land; after a passage of only about thirty-six days. I remember that our Captain then asked me particularly "Well Tom, what think you of that country," when I returned for answer, "indeed Sir, I think the land appears to be exceeding

“ high, and as far as I see of it, there is a great
 “ abundance of wood.”

The firstpart ofthe landthat we arrived at, is called Cap-mount; I was very much surprised to see it, the Captain again addressed me one day saying, “ Well Tom, does not that
 “ country put you in mind of My Lord’s
 “ Park, in Scotland; I know that your Father
 “ never saw such Parks as these, but by and
 “ by, you will see a canoe with a parcel of
 “ blackmen almost naked come along side of
 “ us,” the word was no sooner spoken, than it was verified, by the appearance of twelve *black fellows* in their canoe, and nothing for clothing but a striped cloth wrapped about their naked bodies. I stood and wondered at the sight, and to hear them sing their songs, both when they came and returned, they transacted some business with our Captain and gave him Rice in return for what they received; the coulour of the Rice there is gray, and no ways resembling that of Carolina, they said to our Captain that the last Captain that they transacted with, was an honest trading man. He asked me at that time what I thought of

those people, when I told him "That I did
 " not think that I could live amongst them,
 " particularly the smell of them was so very
 " offensive," " what will you do then (said he,)
 " when we shall soon have three or four hund-
 " red of the same kind on board, and I think
 " if it be not your own fault you may get
 " yourself provided with a black wife."

We now in going a little farther down the coast, came to a place called *Pitinenny* and different other places lying to the wind-ward of us, *Mr. Wallace* our first mate was now going on shore for the purpose of transacting business, I became desirous to accompany him in the long boat, and by his application to the Captain I was permitted to do so, when we procured at this time articles of different kinds, such as Brandy, &c. and about a dozen of the natives were just ready at hand to carry every thing we had away to the boat, which was lying not far distant; *Mr. Wallace* and myself going along with them. We remained on shore about three days, before that we got our business finished, we here got some Rice again from them in barter, it was contained in

baskets, which are made of straw, about four feet long, and twelve inches broad; I could not sleep with any degree of satisfaction while on shore, on account of the great noise that was in the bush, which proceeded from Lizards and Snakes, and God knows what, but I soon began to be better acquainted with those things, after I had walked over some parts of this country. The black women here, use to wear a small pice of cloth round the middle of their bodies, and they had a fashion of using something like a tub, made out of solid wood, which they choped with a stick and called it Casade, and made use of it for food; indeed all the women that I had any opportunity of seeing, had a white stroke round their cheeks, which surprised me very much. Now as soon as we had got our business transacted, we returned again to our ship, taking our goods along with us; and going down a little farther, we came to a place, called St. Paul's-River, which we likewise entered by our boat, taking some Muskets and Cutlasses along with us: as it was in the night-

time, we did not know what might befall us. Here a canoe made its appearance and immediately hailed us; but we returned for answer, that if any of them attempted to board the vessel, we would certainly shoot them; so upon hearing that, they kept off at a distance, and at day-light we hauled our boat a ground, when a man appeared with a letter in his hand, saying that he was a true-treading man, but this was not the case, for he deceived us, for after getting a good deal of our goods he went away and never returned; so after we had waited for him until we could wait no longer, we returned, but before this we determined to carry off with us a black boy, that came in our way; but in that, we were disappointed, for a number of the same black fellows, being near at hand and seemed to understand our meaning, came down with Muskets in their hands, and set down upon the beech, and waited there until we were gone, giving us three cheers when we departed, and so that was all we received in return, for our goods from our true treading-man. While

we remained there in that river, I remember of seeing along the water side, a tree growing, and what we call Oisters sticking upon them, which attracted my attention very much, and so did the fish likewise that we caught, which were of an uncommon size, and very astonishing to behold in several respects. At this time we were now gliding away down the Guinea-coast a great way, when we arrived at a port where every thing of a barbarous nature presented itself to our view, the same as our Captain had before informed us. About mid-night we observed a canoe a little in head.——As our Captain had ordered us before to keep a good look out all night, which was done accordingly, we were then informed of the circumstance, and that the canoe man hailed us, calling out what ship, when he was answered by us, a London ship, a *London ship be a good ship*, said he, and on saying that, with his Paddle in his hand, he came paddling all the way along side of us, whereupon we immediately informed our Captain that the black man was

coming to board us, saying that to-morrow a war canoe would come off and take ship and kill all men; but after presenting him with some Tobacco and a bottle of Brandy, he returned back again and made for the shore. When he was gone, our Captain told us, he thought, the fellow was a great villian, and came entirely as a spy, and ordered us to keep a good look out all that night which was done without delay. All hands were then called upon to be ready. About eight o'clock in the morning, a long canoe made its appearance, with about forty or fifty men on board, as we supposed, making way for to board us: our Captain observing all this, said now my lads, see what these black scoundrels intend to do? He then commanded *George Brown*, the gunner, to load two of the stern guns, with combustibles to be read for our defence, and this was no sooner said, than the rascals gave us a volly of shot, which irritated us very much, but fortunately did no other injury than passing through our rigging, and renting some of our sails. Upon this our Captain immediately cried out to *Brown* if all was clear, and

being answered, all is ready, he called again, about ship, and ordered *Brown* to fire immediately, which was instantly obeyed, and the shot flew like thunder in every direction: upon seeing this they turned about their canoe and steered for the shore, but in the afternoon they again made their appearance, and about twelve or fourteen canoes in company with them, the men having cheekons hanging down their backs, and tied round their foreheads with the bark of trees. One of these canoes had a slave on board with his hands tied behind his back, and a girl about four years of age, which our Captain purchased from them; but he being aware of their intention, would not permit more of them to come on board of our ship, than two at a time, some of our men being properly placed, with swords and pistols in their hands, to defend them. This night was the first time that we began to make any transaction, in what is called the Slave Trade. This black fellow was the first Negro that our Captain purchased, and he called his name Adam, and a dreadful Adam

he turned out to be, as I shall have occasion to shew in the course of this narrative.

In the course of our sailing along this coast, we next touched at a place called Joath coast, where our Captain bartered a large quantity of Brandy, Tobacco, and different other articles, that we had on board, for which he received in return, ivory to a considerable extent, but our stay here was only a few days. We next arrived at what is called the Gold coast, or if you please you may call it Cap-coast-castle, where there is a very commodious place with a British Govenor, who one day invited our Captain to dinner, and acted towards him in a very friendly manner. This castle, contained a great number of soldiers. At that time the Guinea-company had their agents there, for the purpose of purchasing Negros, in order to have them ready against the time that their ships arrived. At this Gold-coast a little downward, there is a very fine port, called *Hanno-my-bow*, with a small village, where the houses being all wood, they are called Negro-hutts. Our Captain

was obliged to give a bond here, that none of the men that he purchased should be made slaves. The canoes that are common in this place, are very large, and carry about twelve men, besides one which they call a boatswain, or steersman; each of these men make use of what they call a paddle, for paddling with; and they are called freemen, and use a stripped cloth round their middle. The men and the women here marry together, the same as in other places, and to my great astonishment, I observed one man in particular, who had broken his marriage bond, and he and the woman were both sold to our Captain for slaves,--the man had a small log of wood fastened round about his arm, when he moved any way he had that to carry along with him. Canoes on this coast are made use of for landing goods, as well as for bringing Negros on board, after that they are purchased, and they will carry I think about thirty at one time, that is the ordinary kind of them. It often happens here, that on account of the sea running very high, that men will be some times obliged to stop on shore, and that for some

days, before that they can get back again to the ship which commonly lies at anchor, about three miles distant. These canoes are of a very curious construction, being all made out of solid wood, and fastened round about with hoops of iron, and they run extraordinary fast. In moving down the coast a little farther, we stopped for sometime at a Portigee settlement, where our Captain transacted business to a considerable extent, but here the fever of the country coming amongst us, unfortunately carried off *Mr. Wallace* our first mate, and from this circumstance alone, I think I may date the beginning of our sorrow; the death of this man was the more to be lamented, as he had been upon this coast before, and understood the nature of the Negroes, and how to manage them every way. Our next mate was a very fine man, but he knew little more about conducting that business than any other man in the ship. About this time, I was taken badly with the distress that was prevailing, and had continued for sometime amongst our ship's company; at that time I had given over all thoughts

of ever seeing my native country. I believed myself to be upon the road to that unseen world, from whence there is none returns ; but the Lord was graciously pleased to spair my life, by adding thereto many days and years, which agreeable to the course of nature, and the frail state of my body, leaves me no room to doubt, but the day of reckoning is *near at hand*. About this time the heat of the country became so very intense, that I thought many times of the wells in Scotland, but to no purpose, for not a drop of water was to be got here although it had been to save one's life ; and indeed there was a few of our men that actually died, for want of that article. When a person dies on board of a ship here, their hammock is rolled round about them, with a bag of sand made fast to it, in order to sink the body ; then they are thrown immediately into the sea, and no more of them, only the burial office for the dead is read over them, according to the form of the church of England.

I come now, to give you a particular ac-

count of what may be called the master-piece of our misfortunes; having procured about one hundred and forty four slaves, we got them all on board, and chained them all in pairs, that is two of them together : our Captain ordered *Mr. Martin*, the mate, how to manage them, and to place a guard on the Barak-heada, which is about sixteen feet high, full of iron pikes, and fast on the main-deck with a door on the starboard side, and an iron chain upon it, to prevent any of them getting through. Our Captain about this time was intending to go on shore, but before that he went away, we had the misfortune to loss one of our anchors, in a great gale of wind, which caused the ship draw much water at the cabin windows; this being the case, and the sailors all employed sweepin for our anchor. None remained but our captain, doctor, mate and myself. I was ordered to go forward with a Cutlass in my hand, to keep watch for a short time, for fear of any thing happening, and upon doing this, the black fellow *Adam*, not being chained like the rest, went forward and informed them all to come up immediate-

ly, and take the ship, as the sailors were all pulling our anchor. On hearing that I instantly informed the doctor, what was going on, and that the Negros seemed to be in great agitation. To be sure the doctor lost no time in communicating this to the captain, but in the meantime, *Adam* was cunning enough to address the captain, by saying, no me captain, no me; however the captain gave him a great blow upon the head, and gave orders immediately to put him in chains, the same as the rest of his country men.

The day following our captain set off for the shore, (thinking all was right) but before he went away, he gave proper orders to every one to do his duty, and the men to obey their officers ; he also, desired *Mr. Martin* to cause centinals to be properly placed, to prevent all disturbances, or any irregularity that might happen in future ; but *Mr. Martin* paid no attention to these things, nor yet regarded the orders that his master had given him, although that the doctor had often reminded

him of his duty, in that respect, because he was allways apprehensive of danger.

At this time, the mate was ordered to cause two of the men stand centry, but he neglected to get this done; the rest of the hands were all at dinner, it being the first Sunday of May. *George Becathie*, a black man, who was greatly esteemed by the captain, and could speak the English language, as well as that of his own country, told the boatswain that he had a quarrel with him, and he meant to revenge it; so he was just as good as his word, for previous to this, the villian had been plotting with the slaves, and given them necessary information against us, and how we were provide, both for arms and amunition; so the next day when we were all at dinner, (the plot being conserted) a Negro boy that we had on board, catched hold of the cooks hatchet, and went with it in his hand, away unnoticed through the Barakheada door in among the slaves; and then the fatal catastrophe instantly began; for on one of the guns they laid their irons, and opened the forelock of them, which set a num-

ber of them loose upon us at once. However before that this awful affair took place, some ideas were entertained, that they intended some thing like a raising, and this being the case, we were in a manner half prepared. As soon as they made their appearance, the sailors started forward with billets of wood in their hands, and beat down almost every one of them that made their appearance; and a dreadful havock this was indeed. The consternation that prevailed throughout the ship, is beyond my weak abilities to describe.— In the midst of this affray, I myself was knocked down and my head smashed in different places, and likewise bruised in sundry parts of my body. In this situation I lay until taken up as a wounded man, and carried behind, and there remained for some time, with the rest of my companions, in the same predicament; in the midst of this confusion, the sailors were obliged to have recourse to firing, upon their antagonists, which they did, but still kept the *Barahcadda* fast, with the chains on the door, and about ten or twelve of them was shot dead upon the spot, which

made them desist a little, but it was only for a short time, for they soon renewed their efforts again, and by finding their way down below, they loosed every one of the remaining slaves from their irons, and so the conflict became more alarming than ever, for they now rushed forward with the most impetuous ferocity upon the boatswain's mess, who saved their lives, by climbing between the two masts, as nothing could save them but coming behind Barakheada to join the rest of the crew, as the Negros by this time had the command of the fore part of the ship. Our magazine of powder being upon the fore hatchway, we were much alarmed, in case they should have blown it up; but providentially they made no use of it in firing, but still the conflict continued to be tremendous, and to such an extent, that we had no alternative but leave the ship, otherwise be butchered every one of us without exception; so we thus abandoned our ship, carrying all our wounded men away with us, in the boat. I had almost here forgot a circumstance respecting the poor fellow our cooper; this man in order to save his life,

took a very hazardous method to make his escape, for he found some means or other, to hand himself up on the lower-yard, and there remained in the most perilous situation for some considerable time, and the black rascals throwing billets of wood at him, and he calling all the time for mercy; this being the poor fellow's situation and seeing his life in danger, we in-
 deavoured to make a desperate effort to try to save him; we therefore ventured back again with the boat along side of the ship, calling out to him to throw himself into the water, which he immediately did without the least hesitation, whereupon he was instantly caught hold of, and hauled up into the boat, and thus finally delivered from impending destruction. Some of the Negros had thrown themselves over board, and was holding only by the main chains, when one of our men (*Richard Dick*) cut their heads in pieces, and down they fell into the deep, and never more appeared; then the remainder got off the main chains, and rushing behind, threw the bolts of their irons, billets of wood, and every thing they could get among us, doing every thing in their power to molest us, to the utmost of

their power, which caused us retaliate for self preservation, otherwise the consequence might have been fatal; however, soon after this was over, we observed them cut the cable of the ship, and away she run off in her own accord along with the current; and in a short time after they all turned mad, and threw every article over board, the vessel still dragging away with the violence of the waves. At this time there was not a vessel to be seen, but one Brig that belonged to the Brazils, on board of which we put all our wounded men, and the rest of the crew, went again in pursuit of the ship, thinking to recover her, but in that enterprize all our efforts were rendered abortive. This was the total loss of the excellent ship, the ANN GALLEY, commanded by *David Adam, Esq.*

This fatal and unfortunate catastrophe, might (in my opinion) have been prevented, if our Captain had not unfortunately been at that time on shore, for when he was present his very countenance had a great impression on the Negroes, for they at all times feared him.

While we remained on board of the Portuguese's vessel above mentioned, we were attended by a black doctor, with a crucifix round about his neck. I told him one day that I was very badly, and I could not lift up one of my arms, when he immediately ordered me to put my feet among warm water, as hot as I could bear it; same time taking a little blood from me. Whither this was an experiment or not I cannot tell, but if it was intended for a cure, it had no effect, for I could not say that I was any better of all his prescriptions. We remained a considerable time on board of this vessel, but ten of our men being not at all satisfied, found means to get possession of the long-boat, and set off with it, determined once more to through their dependance upon the good providence of God. All the provisions we set out with was only three bottles of water, and a few rolles of bread; when we had sailed about sixty miles, we had the good luck to fall in with two English vessels that belonged to Liverpool, the first that we chanced to hail, was the *EASTER*, Captain *Grmishee*, however, at the first sight they did not seem very

willing to mind us; but when we told them that we belonged to Captain *Adam*, and was overcome by the Negroes, and was obliged to abandon our ship, for the preservation of our lives, they listened to our explanation, and received us on board, giving us all the accomodation that they could afford.

This being a vessel in the same trade with ourselves, they had a great number of slaves on board. When the poor fellows saw us and our heads mangled in such a manner, they looked at us, and wondred indeed very much, but their Captain took care and ordered them all below immediately, shutting the grattans upon them, and there remained. The Doctor of this vessel dressed my wounds, but disapproved very much of the way and manner that I had been used; and said that the fellow who dressed me, formerly was an ignorant black beast.

About this time Captain *Adam* came on board; of this ship, when the mate and all the rest of the men, were ordered to appear be-

fore him, upon the star-board side; he then came forward himself accompanied by Captain *Grimshee*, and took hold of the mate by the shoulder, saying, "You cowardly scoundrel how could you give away my ship, though I had given the charge of her to the boy *Tom Smith*, he would have done better than you; let me never see your face again in England, you cowardly dog."

The Captain then ordered me to go on board another vessel, which was then lying at some distance, saying to me at the same time, "*Tom*, we shall not yet go home to our own country." But for my own part, I had no expectation of ever seeing my own place again. Here my good Captain and I parted asunder, and I do not remember of ever seeing him more; for, he immediately went on shore, and was unfortunately taken ill with a violent fever, and died the second day. It was said that the grief and sorrow for the loss of his ship, became so insupportable, that he expired under the greatest perturbation of mind. This happened just a few days after him and I parted,

for, the mate came on board of the ship where I was, and told me, saying " Your Captain is no more! He died yesterday morning, you have now lost your master, and his wife is a widow!" The Doctor was still along with him, and I believe remained in attendance until the moment that his soul was called upon to appear in that invisible world, the inhabitants of which never more return.

Indeed I had great reason to lament the death of my good Captain, for taking every circumstance into consideration, I may say, I have lost a Father, rather than a master. These things made me more sorrowful, than what my feeble powers are able to describe. After all this the Doctor himself only survived but a very short time, for after his coming again on board, of the ship where I was stationed, he was taken badly with a disorder that soon proved mortal, and carried him off to that country, where all his fore-fathers have gone before him.

Thus died both our Captain and Doctor, two gentlemen who I long lamented; and to

this day, the remembrance of them is not, or ever will be altogether defaced from my recollection.

By this time, I was on board of a vessel, called the *Squirrel*, but I may more properly term her *Hell*; for such treatment as we received, was never, perhaps heard of before; for, although Capt. *Adam* told the master of this vessel, that there was not a ship's company upon the coast, that experienced better treatment than his own men had done. And true it was, for we received plenty of grog every day, and all other necessaries that could tend to make us comfortable.

To give any thing like a narrative of the distress, hardships and cruelties that I underwent, while on board of this ship; and what I saw inflicted on others is almost beyond the power of language to describe. It is to be observed, that the Negroes as soon as they are taken on board of any of the ships, in this trade, they are all circumcised; and, still to add more to the misery of these poor wretch-

ed creatures, they are loaded with heavy shackles of iron, and every ten are chained together, fast by the necks, hands and feet, and marked with a burnt-iron on the right-hip. This is cruelty in the extreme ! Yet, it is only an introduction to what is to follow ; for every morning as soon as the Mate gets breakfast over, he immediately calls for sentinels ; then six men goes with all possible speed to the main-mast, close by the Barak-heada, the Doctor and Carpenters, then the Captain immediately opens the grattans, and orders the Slaves to come up ; when he then looks if all the bolts of their irons are fast ; the Sentinels at same time loading their muskets, and making ready to fire, in purpose to shew the Negroes what danger they are then in. They all then come forward from the star-board, and wash their hands and faces in the best manner they possibly can, according to their situation. About this time, the cook is employed making up their breakfast ; which consists of horse-beans boiled pretty thick, and put into a vessel, called a crust, some thing similar to a bucket, with-

out lugs. The Black Women use broad sticks, which they turn round, licking them with their fingers, and calling out *Suffie, suffie Grand*; then a man with a cat and nine tails, gives them a scourge, which makes them cry out, *Cush, cush*. When they go forward again, there is another man placed at the door of the barakheada, with a cudgel in his hand, the chain being slackened, to let the cruse pass through to the Slaves: then they all fall down, ten in number, around the cruse, and they have no other spoons but their fingers: when all is over, the Doctor then holds up a cat in his hand, when the whole company give three cheers, which is all they have for their grace. I have seen some of them so backward, that they would not eat, or hardly could be made to do anything else; on that account, they were sure to receive a proper drubbing.

These poor Negroes are completely naked, having nothing about them, but their heavy chains, and a little rope-yarn rolled round their middle, on purpose to hold their pipe

and tobacco. The women all keep the barakheada, and sit down in uniformity; but none of them are chained after they lie down on their backs on the deck, which was covered over with some thing like a tarpalion. They very often used to employ their time, with playing with shells and beads of a white colour, such as I have seen hanging at their watches. They likewise carry on 'a kind of gambling among themselves, for tobacco, as they are very fond of that article; and, they have a quantity of it allowed each of them every week. At noon, they all move round to a certain part of the ship, where they are served with a quantity of water, to be used a little before they go to supper, which is served up for them, before six o'clock in the evening. Their supper is commonly made of Rice, manufactured into a things like round balls. As soon as the supper is over, the drum beats, and then all the company stand near the gunnel of the ship, moving backwards and forwards, then down they all lie to what is called *Napy, napy*; then the carpenter inspects all their irons, to see if they

were all fast, and the deck was washed and the watch called out, and an officer placed on the quarter-deck, and two man placed forward, and two by-aft the stern, an officer called look out, take care, when an answer was returned all is well; then this was repeated every five minutes, throughout the whole night.

The Negroes on board of this ship lie all on wood, as is customary with what is called, *Pupie Tub*, which they had for private use; and when any one had occasion to use this Tub, all the rest upon the chain, ten in number, went along with them; and if the ship happened to be rolling very much, they would all tumble over together, to the great annoyance and disturbance of all the rest; and, on that account they would some times fall a beating and blowing one another, to that degree, that the men upon the deck were obliged to enterpose; which they did by calling down *Banna banna*; that is to be quiet, but it many time, had very little effect. Every morning this Tub was taken out and emptied; scuttles

were provided on each side of the ship for that purpose ; and when it happened to be a time of rain, they were taken down below ; if not they were tied up to the shrouds and dried, every morning,

While we remained upon this coast, the master of each room, went down and called out, if they were all well, and if any of them was dead, they were immediately brought up to the deck, and in the presence of all the Negroes, the dead corps was thrown out at a gun-port, into the depth of the sea, as the most effectual method to get clear of it ; yet singular it is, the dead body will continue to float about for a considerable time after, upon the face of the water, without appearing to sink, as is common in all other cases ; this it will often do within perhaps a few yards of the ship, and many time continue until it be torn to pieces by Sharks, which makes the very blood flow red upon the face of the water ; and the rest of the slaves seeing this, they will often cry out, *Yam yam, Grame grame.*

I remember one time that Capt. *Chadwick,*

purchased a Negro, that could talk English, as well as the language of his own country, for whom he paid a very high price, but the fellow was exceeding useful, for when walking the deck upon the night-time, he would observe and hear what the slaves was saying, and communicate the same to the mate, so that it was always known what they were doing, and what was going on among them; he was likewise very useful for informing the Doctor what their complaints consisted of, and what they wanted any other way. One time when he was walking upon the deck, as was usual, he heard a whole chain of them, saying to one another, that they would rise and take the ship, and carry her off to their own country; so the very next day the whole chain was brought upon deck and punished, till the blood sprung from different parts of their bodies; which caused them instantly develop the secret, and declare who it was that first contrived such a transaction. And two of them being found out as the ring-leaders, they were taken and fastened to the ring-bolts of the deck, and punished in such a dreadful manner, that next morning they were both

found dead in their apartments. For after flogging them upon the deck, the Doctor cut some parts of their flesh and filled the places again with Gummies and paper, then they were again put down below to their old residence, and upon the night, they were heard to cry for *Water water*, but their cries were all in vain, for no water was allowed to be given them, and so it happened that next morning it was found that they had both bidden an everlasting farewell to this world, and all the cruelties that the inventions of men could inflict. After the death of these two unfortunate creatures, all the rest of the Negroes was brought upon deck, for the purpose of witnessing the cruel usage that was yet to be performed : their bodies were made fast to the cat-head, and there ordered to remain, until the Sharks either devoured or carried off almost every particle of their bodies; however this proceeding was disapproved of by the Captain, for he gave the mate a very severe reprimand for his conduct, as it was wholly at his instigation that such a thing was performed.

When all this was over, the ship's crew was ordered every one of them to attend to their respective employment ; some for sentinels, and others to clean and set every thing to order, again in the ship : some was a good deal of their time employed in cleansing the different apartments, where the Negroes resided, and for that purpose we had what we called scrapers, with a grind-stone for sharpening them upon ; and after the rooms were all cleansed, these scrapers were handed to me, with a cat and nine tails, with which I made them call out, *Curry, curry grand* ; and some times, *Yarry, yarry* ; signifying that they were not well.

It was very strange that no nails of any kind could be left upon the deck, nor any where else, for fear of the Slaves getting at them, and using them for the purpose of opening their irons.

The treatment that the White-Men received here, was very indifferent, several ways ; and particularly with respect to victuals. Our allowance of bread was very inconsiderable, and our flesh was half a pound per day, with

a small quantity of flour, which was good for nothing, as to any kind of sustenance ; and, indeed, if we had not bartered with the Negroes for some of their articles of food, we would have run the risk of being starved. Our bread was served out always unpon Sunday ; and I believe, that if this rule had not been punctually observed, we would have lost sight of the Sabbath-day altogether. I have often seen that before Thursday-night few of the ship's company would have had so much as one morsel of their allowance remaining ; for my own part, I have often made use of the Indian-corn, to satisfy my hunger, when no other thing was in my power to get.

There was no fish to be found here, but only certain kind, called Cat-fish, and there was even a difficulty in catching any of these ; often in so doing, these Sharks would snap them from us, and away with them they go, and then our labour was all in vain. We had a moorancer on the out-side of the vessel, which we fastened our long-boat to, where we used to throw our spirits, and other goods into the sea, which was commonly in casks :

There were always some Black-men on shore at times like these, for to wait upon them.

It happened one day, that our moorance gave way, and our boat rushed into the surge, by which means, we lost three of our men, viz. *Thomas Gransby*, *James Mill*, and the boatswain. There was one of our hands of a very singular principle, whom we called *Jenkins*. When we returned back to the ship, he was asked what he thought, when he was driving along the face of the deep, with the violence of the waves ? His reply was, damn his eyes, he had mind of nothing, but what would become to-day of his share of the pudding. When the sea rises high, as it often does in this place, it is impossible to have any communication with the ship, or any word from her. The mate is obliged, when he has any word to send to the captain, to put his letter into a bottle, hard corked ; and when a signal is made from the ship, it is thrown into the water, and a Black-man upon the shore takes notice of it, until it arrives at the ship ; and so this is the common way of car-

rying on any communication between the ship, and those on the land.

As our allowance of victuals on board of this vessel, was scarcely sufficient to sustain us, we tried a method to make our bread larger, and serve longer, by putting it among water, but this experiment did not answer well, for it turned to be rather hurtful, and a short time after, we were all taken badly with the scurvy, which we imputed wholly to this mode of living, and I myself was very much affected with this disorder in my mouth, and six other of my companions the same way, and it arrived at such a height at last, that the very smell of it was like to ruin us all. But in order to remove this dreadful malady; the Doctor took us every morning before the windlass, and then took a small piece of a stick, with a rag round it, and anointed every part of the body, that was affected, but the cruelty of this experiment was beyond all description, or any thing that I had ever before endured. The Doctor at that time said, he did not think that any of us would ever crack a biscuit again with our teeth in our

lives. But yet after all this by the good providence of God, I was not very long in getting better ; yet in a short time after, many of our men were again afflicted with another grievous disorder in their legs, and that to such a degree, that not one of them, I believe could have made any assistance to themselves, although the ship had been going to the bottom.

I remember very well, that the doctor said to me, one day, that he intended to try an experiment upon some of us ; which he afterwards did, upon a man whose name was *William Jones* : he fixed him to the ring-bolts of the deck, and opened his leg, and drew out one of the sinews with a pin, and twisted it once or twice round about ; and in a very short time, he was as well as ever he was in his life.

I have seen the mate, (I may call him a monster!) cause six or seven at one time, whip one another upon the deck, with cats in their hands, to that extent, that they would at

last have fallen down, and called out to take their lives, for they could walk no longer. The cruel usage that was inflicted upon these creatures, on board of this ship, (and it was mostly the same in the Liverpool vessels) was beyond all description. The lives of their own people were not much regarded, provided the lives of the Slaves were preserved, for the sake of their own advantage.

I remember of hearing of one particular act of cruelty that was inflicted upon one of the men, who had given an offence to some of the officers, he actually loaded a musket and fired at him, and lodged the contents in one of the poor fellow's shoulders ; and, the wound was so great, that one might have put his hand into it ; and for a long time after, the man could do nothing, but scrape caddis to the doctor, all the way to the West-Indies. The man told me himself, that as soon as he arrived in England, he would do every thing in his power to get him punished ; but I told him, that it was next to an impossibility for him to affect such a thing ; and, true it was, for the hard-hearted fellow left the ship in the

West-Indiēs, and I believe, they never saw one another again.

It was common on board of this ship, that the crew were obliged every night, to scrape and rub the deck with broken bricks, and forced to perform that task upon their knees ; and bricks were all that we had to rest our heads upon, when we went to rest ; and to add still more to our calamities, we were beset on all hands with vermin to a very considerable extent.

The number of Slaves on board of this vessel, amounted to four hundred and fifty ; indeed they were all generally very unwilling to leave their own native land ; and, it was no wonder, if they knew any thing of the treatment they were about to receive. They were bound down with irons, and crushed on all hands, almost unto death, and all for the purpose of maintaing due subordination, as it is called, and preserving the peace and safety of every one on board.

St. Thomas-Island was the first land that we touched at, after our arrival in the West-

Indies, it is a place with a fortification consisting of forty guns, here we landed about forty of our slaves, and eight of our men along with them, of whom I myself was one, this was a very necessary precaution, for the purpose of preventing the danger of any thing happening that was hurtful until they were delivered. On this Island there is a small neat town, at which we remained for some time, when our ship underwent some repair. This town is wholly inhabited by Roman Catholics, and that of the stricest sort. Here our Captain went on shore, and procured a house for some of our slaves, who at that time were become very weak and sickly; for which reason, a woman was procured for to attend them. At the end of this town there is a very fine River, to which our Captain ordered us to resort for water, but the very first day that we did so, a gentleman in a house near the place, looked out at a window and requested us, to tell our master that it was not the custom of that place, to allow a white man to work, when I immediately replied, that I could not venture to tell him such a thing; he then added, that he would do it himself, as the Captain was to

dine with him next day; so after that time, we were never allowed to carry any water ourselves, but only to go along with the slaves upon any occasion of this kind, when it was necessary for them to do it. During my short stay in this place, I have seen seven or eight at a time upon their knees, praying to their different objects of worship, and when they had done, would rise up, make a bow, go away and say nothing, and when it happened to be in the night time, a wax candle was burning to give them light. One time I had the fortune to meet with a man, that could talk some English, I had observed him before standing with some others, and his head uncovered, and looking remarkably serious, I asked him one day, what was meant by all these performances, when he answered me, very distinctly, that they were praying, and giving thanks to the holy Trinity, for being preserved from the evils of the day, as well as for protection through the night. He then asked me, saying, do you that call yourselves Protestants, do any thing of this kind; I re-

plied, scarcely; he answered me again, you be a bad sort of people.

About this time eight of our men happened to be in a bad state of health, occasioned by their drinking, what is called palm-wine, and one of them in particular, perhaps more forward than the rest, fell a sacrifice to his own folly, next morning after partaking of that article. It fell to my lot to be the person appointed, to carry the news to the Doctor, that he was dead; whereupon, it was immediately ordered that *Richard Dick*, the deceased person should be immediately interred, in the common way and manner; but the Portugee's people would not allow us, to lay down any of our dead, near their burying ground, saying, that their burying place was not to be given to Hereticks; however, we put the dead corps upon a plank of wood, and a few of our men and myself, in our jolly-boat, sailed over the ferry to the opposite side, where we set to work, in the most solemn manner, for upon taking the dead body on shore, the mate proceeded to read the burial office over it, the same as is done to departed members of

the church of England, after the interment was over, we returned back to our respective stations. In the course of eight days after this ; again, another of our company died suddenly that alarmed us very much; and upon informing the doctor of this circumstance, he ordered us, immediately to go and perform the same service to the departed body, as on the former occasion ; but the man that was appointed to perform the ceremony upon this occasion, declared plainly, that he was not the person that could do it ; for this very good reason, that he could not read ; upon which the Doctor instantly turned to me, and asked if I could read any, but adding at the same time, as you are a Scottish man, perhaps you do not understand the book of Common Prayer ; to which I replied, that I was very well acquainted with that book, and understood pretty well how to perform the burial office ; well said he let me see if you can turn up that particular part of the book, as a proof whereby I may know, that what you say is truth ; this was indeed attended with some difficulty ; but at last, I happened to turn to the proper part of the book, which after I had

shewn him; he ordered me to proceed immediately to do the same service to the deceased as we had done on the former occasion. After that we arrived at the other side of the river, I took hold of the dead corps by the head, to assist in carrying to the place of interment; but as I was very weak at that time, I unfortunately lost hold of it, which caused my companion cry out, *blast you, cannot you hold fast!* so with some difficulty we got the corps carried along the beach to the grave, which was ready prepared, to receive it; and when every thing was ready, I ordered my companion to take notice and as soon, as I pronounced the words, *Dust to dust, Ashes to ashes*, to let a handful of sand fall immediately down upon the dead body, as a true memorial that, man is dust, and to dust he must return. After we returned from the performance of this ceremony, I remember, when talking with my companion, he said to me, that it was his opinion that if the parents of the deceased, had known what I had immediately done, to his lifeless body, they would undoubtedly thank me, in the most grateful manner; I returned for answer, that all that I had done, or could

do, might perhaps be satisfactory to his friends, and an honor to the memory of the deceased, but no way intended to influence the eternal destiny of the soul.——There is a sort of flies, to be met with in this part of the world, that will sting you even through all your clothes, and leave the wound visible behind them; but yet the Doctor commonly applied a kind of ointment to the wound, which had a remarkable effect, in removing the sore in a little time, that nothing was soon to be seen. Indeed, with respect to clothes; for my own part, I had no room to boast about any thing of the kind, for I had lost them all upon a former occasion, and had then scarcely so much as decency required.

The reader may take notice here, that I am not ashamed to say, that it was in consequence of my intermiddling with the clerical office, (as mentioned respecting the burying of the dead men) that I obtained the character of Bishop.

Our worthy Captain whose philanthropy

was all ways very conspicuous to all his brethren of mankind, and especially to his crew; and even the Slaves, when under his immediate control, went on shore here merely for the purpose of providing necessaries for daily sustenance, and among other things of various kinds fit for food, there is an article called Callavinces which was considered as a good ingredient, for the Negroes : it was similar to what in this country, is called Tares, this I confess is very coarse eating, and indeed, as much so as any thing that I know of, commonly used on these occasions. The article of bread, made use of on this island, is called Casade, very unplesant to the taste.

Here two men and myself, along with the Doctor, were left on board for some short time, to watch and see what might happen, and when lying one time upon the platform, each of us with a cutlass in our possession, about ten o'clock, I heard some disturbance among the Negroes, which I did not like; upon this I called out to my companions, but they seemed to give themselves little trouble about it, and one of them answered me, what

can they do; nevertheless for my own part I was determined to take care, and keep a proper look out; and so when walking about as usual, keeping my eye still upon the door, thinking that they would no doubt, make an attempt to ruin us; and what I had experienced upon a former melaucholy occasion, made me the more apprehensive of danger; and so it happend that, at twelve o'clock at night, they all with one accord commenced a violent attack upon the door of their apartment, and the Doctor being at some distance, we immediately rushed down stairs, calling out to him to save his life if possible, as the other lad was almost butchered already; we then called out to the Portugee-guards, to come to our assistance, which they immediately did, and very fortunately rescued us, from our impending ruin; and likewise assisted us to the utmost of their power in getting them all again properly secured, but soon after this affair, we procured a new set of irons, (or shackles) and made them all fast again, and in such a manner that we had nothing of that kind, to be alarmed about in future. Now

every part of this ship was crouded to the full, and not less than forty girls remained in the cabin, where the Captain resided, but he took very good care at all times to be upon his guard, for he never lay down to rest without having a loaded pistol below his head; but the poor creatures had no where to repose themselves but just upon the deck, and their only bolsters or pillows were nothing other but the common kind of bricks. On this part of our passage, we happened to be calmed, and continued in that situation for about ten days, without making any motion at all: and we were now become very scarce of provisions, no more was allowed us, but only as much as was deemed sufficient to support nature, and to keep us from starving. This was productive of very great murmuring among all parties: the Negroes as well as others began to be very importunate, but for sometime nothing could be got, that could fully alleviate this calamity, although that fishes were daily to be seen flying around us, not very far distant; but after the wind began to blow a little stronger, we were not long in getting our

wants in a great measure supplied. It is impossible for me, to give any thing like an accurate detail of all the disasters and hardships that we encountered on this hazardous, and disagreeable passage; for I may say, that we were in a great measure destitute respecting both meat and clothing; and to crown all, we were attacked with a kind of vermin, which contributed not a little to render us still very unhappy; but yet it was so far fortunate for us, that before we arrived at the place of our destination, these cattle all ceased to make their appearance, but calamities of some sort or other, never altogether forsook us, for as soon as we were relieved from one grievance, another of some kind or other succeeded, for it was not long when we were again afflicted with what is called the small-pox; and this was again followed by a disorder that affected the eyes in a very considerable degree, and this prevailed over the whole ship's company; another man and myself only escaped; this was a trial of a very severe nature, for when the Doctor was dressing them, their crying out was very disagreeable to

others, and it continued with them for a considerable time, the mate himself (and a cruel fellow he was) was so very particularly afflicted with this malady, that there was a necessity, for carrying him on shore, and lodging him in the hospital in *Jamaica*. From this part of the coast we directed our course for *Barbadoes*, and the first thing here that attracted my attention, was the way and manner, that the people are supplied with water, there is a tub full of water, and that is opened at some particular times, which causes the people assemble in great numbers, and that to a much greater extent then ever I saw in this country; and every one of them calling out water, water.

Our Captain when on shore here, made a purchase of a quantity of provisions which we were very much in want of. We stopped two days on this island, and so proceeded again for *Jamaica*, which required ten days, before that we could reach the east-end of that island, and from it we steered away to the *Kingston-side*, as it was there that we intended to transact our business, that being

the part of the island, where the Slaves were to be delivered, and as soon as this was the case, they were immediately relieved from their irons; and furnished with a piece of red flannel every one of them; it was then tied round their body, and that was all that they had allowed them for to cover their nakedness.

At such time as the Slaves on board were mustered, before they were landed, out of four hundred and fifty which we set out with, we now only numbered four hundred and five. The deficiency of forty-five in the course of our passage, might be owing to different casualties, which perhaps could neither be foreseen nor prevented. At this time several gentlemen came on board of our vessel upon the occasion, and purchased some of the best looking girls, and took them away with them,---what they intended by such a procedure as this, was more than I can fully explain. The whole of this ship's crew left her here merely (I believe) on account of bad usage; a black-guard ship she was indeed; and as this was the case few of them (as far as I know) ever received any wages, except

those that intered into his Majesty's service; these were obliged to be paid every farthing, in consequence of orders from their respective officers. I think I was three days on shore at the time that the Nègroes were landed, and in the delivering of them, care was taken to keep the men and the women separate, and also to keep them as clean as possible, and to prevent them from being disfigured with dust, and for that purpose we put up some large sails, to screen them from being tarnished, that they might appear in good order, clean and fit for the market. It was very common when any gentleman came to make a purchase, that he would enquire at some of the crew if they could shew them a good one; and if any of the Negroes knew of that, they were so fond to get away that they would fall a dancing and crying out *Gig gig*, to let it appear that they were every way sound, and no impediment about them. I remember that the Captain addressed me one day saying "Smith, I am the man that has brought you from the gates of death, and if you will continue with me I will give you

forty shillings per month ; from the very first day that you entered on board the *Squirrel* ;” but I answered him, that I would not do so, as I was not very fond of making such bargains as these, “so that is all my thanks said he, for what I have hitherto done for you ; and, you may go be d——d for you shall never get a shilling more from me in your life ;” upon this, I immediately left the ship intending never to see her more, and I do not remember of having so much as one sixpence of money about me, and in truth scarcely a pocket to hold it in. The only object that claimed my attention now, was to see what I could do for myself, in the way of my profession, and very fortunately I happened one day to fall in with a *Francis Mathew*, an old acquaintance who advised me, to call at a place in Portugal-street, for one Captain ***** , which I did accordingly, and there found the said gentleman, who very kindly invited me to dinner, which invitation I very freely complied with, and so in the course of our conversation, he asked if I had got any situation, or any

sort of employment, and if not, he would make me very welcome to go along with him; this was very good of the gentleman indeed; but it was a proposal that did not altogether please me; but a little after this when I was walking along the street, merely for my own amusement, I was accosted unexpectedly by a seafaring man, what ship I belonged to, when I gave him for answer, no ship at all Sir; and the fellow's master being in company with him, he asked if I would go along with him, when I replied, I have no objections; so upon this we went immediately into a tavern, and soon settled the business. This gentleman's name was *John Vanhold*, a person of unexceptionable character; I now told him, that I would wish him to give me his line for my wages, specifying the particulars of our agreement, in order to prevent mistakes in future, to this he readily agreed, and settled my wages to be thirty-seven Shilling per month; observing at the same time, that he thought I was very much in want of clothes, my jacket and trousers being all torn to pieces: this was a very just observation, for I was almost destitute of every article neces-

sary for the maintaining of common decency, but upon the compleating of this agreement, I became soon provided of every thing requisite for a person of my station and employment.

The ship that I was now to enter on board of, was a very fine vessel, and one of those called Sugar-draggers, or Islanders, which carries the flag of the Island. Our principal trade, was to Port-pirie, and *St. Antonio* where this *John Vanhold* belonged to. These places are all on the north-side of this island. While I remained on board of this vessel, we were all very happy one with another, and the way of trade that we were employed in, was every way agreable; it consisted chiefly in carrying goods of various sorts to different parts of this island, and we commonly touched at *Kings-ton* every two weeks. The crew of this ship consisted of the Captain and four men and a boy; and I was never more happy in my life than I was on board of this ship, for the Captain was a very excellent man, superior indeed, to many of his profession. I have often talked with him about frost and snow,

as being very common in my country, at some seasons of the year, but he knew nothing about these things, and was surprised to hear me, and told me that he never saw a hail stone in his life. When ships intend to proceed to Europe, it is necessary for them to assemble at this port, for providing themselves with provisions and other articles necessary for the voyage. This port is called *St. Antonio*, where there are a large fortification, with forty guns mounted, and at all times a party of soldiers stationed round it. I was informed that Major *Gardyne* of Middleton, had the command there at that time, but I never had the happiness to see him. When we took our departure from this place, (which was in the month of February) we were attacked with a dreadful storm, which drove us almost on shore among the rocks. We here lost our cable, and was in danger ourselves of being lost, but as we all could swim, we had no other thing in view at the time but to try and save our lives, by throwing ourselves into the water, and endeavour to get to land, if Providence should see it expedient to sup-

port us; but better things were provided than either we expected or deserved; for the people on shore, observing our distress, sent some Negroes to our assistance; and, so it came to pass, that we all escaped safe to land. Our Captain at this time, shewed every mark of respect to us all; for he invited us to a tavern and entertained us plentifully both with meat and drink, where, we likewise stopped all night; but not altogether so well accommodated as we could have wished, for we had nothing to cover us, but a parcel of old sails, and it happened to be a very extraordinary night of wind: I do not think that ever I experienced its equal in any part of my travels. By this time, the ship that we had so lately abandoned, was driven a great way on shore; and I believe, sold by the Captain for a very small sum; in consequence of which, I was paid every farthing that was due me; and after all this, I carried him on my back through a river, in order to facilitate him on his journey towards his own place. Indeed, I was very much affected when we parted, for the honest man cried like a child, and said,

“ *Thomas*, you see what great hardships has
 “ been ordained for us to undergo ; and if I
 “ was you, I would direct my course towards
 “ my own native country ; and, may the
 “ blessing of God ever attend you.”

I was at this time, about sixty miles from
Kingston, the place that I intended to go to,
 and I saw no other way that I could do, but
 to travel that journey on foot.

The day that I left *St. Antonio*, when going
 near the shore, I observed three run-away
 Negroes, who had been that instant caught ;
 one of them was a well looking boy. I asked
 him how long he had been in the bush ?
 He answered me in very good English, that
 he had eaten his Christmas dinner there ;
 meanwhile, a Negro-man passing by with
 two oxen in his custody, found means to get
 them both apprehended, and carried to the
 wharf, a place where they ship the sugar,
 when both their hands were tied a cross the
 top of a beam, and thirty-six pound weight
 fastened to every foot, and whipped to such
 a degree, that the flesh was torn from sundry

parts of their bodies. The number of stripes they received were thirty-nine.

Whilst employed in looking about me, I observed a Negro coming to his master, to whom he had given some offence, who called out to him, " Damu you, I will rattan your back for you," in the meantime, gave him a blow, which caused the poor Negro exclaim *Masse Bucker !* I took notice here, of one Slave some thing different from the rest : his colour was yellow. I happened to fall in with him, as I was passing a stone-quarry, when the poor fellow came running and caught hold of my hand, saying, *Asco, asco*, knocking his fingers at the same time, and again calling out, *Working, working too much* ; that was, working much, and getting little for it, not even the necessaries of life." To which I replied, " Hard indeed my lad, very hard."

At this time I commenced my journey for *Kingston*, and had only proceeded a little way, when I had the good fortune to fall in with a man of the name of *William Kippen*,

a native of Glasgow, going the same way, so this person and I went on our journey together; and, were informed by the way, if sailors in that situation, could give a satisfactory account of themselves, they were entitled to twenty-four hours provisions for nothing. We stopped first at a gentleman's house, who likewise belonged to Glasgow, the same as my companion. The unmerited kindness of Providence, is all ways conspicuous; as provision is laid up for all those who sincerely do their duty, and prosecute the best end, by the properest means; for this gentleman kept us both one night, and entertained us with every thing that was necessary for such an occasion, and would have nothing for it; and all merely because that *Kippen* was lately arrived from Glasgow, and could give him an account of all his friends, and some other circumstances relating to that quarter.

After having stopped one night with the before mentioned gentleman, the next morning by six o'clock, we again set out upon our journey, but we were soon thrown into a consternation, about the difficulty of finding the

proper road; whereupon, we became very doubtful, whether it would be advisable to proceed on our way, or turn back; we were likewise, now very much alarmed, as nothing was to be heard, but the roaring of Wolves and Snakes; but yet, by nine in the morning the case altered considerably for the better, and every thing seemed to present itself in a more endearing manner.

The first human being who presented us in view, was a Black-boy walking along the road, carrying with him two Rats tied together with the bark of trees. I asked him how far we had to go to a planter's, when he answered me, about half a mile; we enquired likewise, what he intended to do with these Rats he was taking so good care of. "Indeed
 " master, (said he,) I am going to give them
 " some meat; this kind are very scarce in
 " this place. This happened to on a Sunday, or what is called Negroes Holy-Day. In the prosecution of this journey, we arrived at the gentleman's plantation, before mentioned, who, upon seeing us, came out immediately,

and asked what place we belonged to ; where we had come from ; and, where we were going. We returned him for answer, that we came last from *St. Antonio*, “ Very well, (said he, as you are rather too late in coming to partake of our breakfast, you may walk in to the Cook’s-room, and in a little time, I will order you some refreshment.” So we were, as he said, entertained in a very elegant manner both with meat and drink. After taking our leave of this gentleman in the most polite manner, we again renewed our journey, and it was not long until we arrived at another Plantation, not very far from a small town, about seven miles from the water-side ; which we entered, about six o’clock in the evening ; and, here we were obliged to pay for every thing we called for ; but, as I happened to be in possession of some cash at that time, we were enabled to clear our way, and leave the place with some degree of honour, for I had about thirty dollars in my pocket, which I had lately received from my old Captain, *John Vanhold*.

Again pursuing our journey, the first house

that we came to, we stopped there for refreshment, it was kept by an old woman, who used us very comfortably every way ; and, after breakfast, we remained for a little time, and regaled ourselves with what she called *Brista-Beer* ; but, happening to make rather free with that article, we soon chanced to fall asleep, which brought all the people in the house about our ears, calling out, that the sailors had got themselves intoxicated : but, after recovering from this lethargy, we resolved to take a cruise through the town, merely to gratify our curiosity ; and in so doing, we observed a number of sailors and soldiers, among whom was a Black-boy, inclining to push his way to the water-side ; the very place we had in view ; so he conducted us to a spot, where we procured a canoe, and proceeded immediately over the water to *Kingston*, where we stopped for that night, and the next day taking a turn through the city, the first object of any consequence, that came under our observation, (and it surprised us very much,) were Chedwick's Negroes still remaining on his hand, not disposed

of, although some months had elapsed since I left him, and them at that time in his possession.

There were no fewer than five houses here engaged in the Slave-trade, and the whole of of them seemed to be over-stocked. Indeed, it is a true saying, that there are difficulties in all trades. This circumstance put me in mind of the Sail-cloth in Arbroath, which some times cannot be disposed of, for any money.

At this port, there was a very large vessel belonging to *Bristol*, full of Slaves, two hundred in number; the most crowded ship that ever I saw in my life. She was obliged to leave that place, and go down to *Havanna*, still intending to dispose upon her cargo; but, what her success was there, I cannot say.

Now, in order to prosecute the intention that I still had at heart, and had previously concerted for getting to my own country, I one day visited what is called the Watering-

place, where there are water-pipes made use of, the same as in some parts of this kingdom. Here also, I found a vessel, called *The Ann Castle*, *Pomenta Anderson*, master. I went one day on board of her, and enquired if they had got any use for hands, to which they replied, that they just now wanted two; upon this, my companion, who had all along accompanied me, and I went on board without any reluctance or ceremony, and concluded an agreement with the master, for forty shillings per month, and entered to work at that instant.

This vessel's cargo consisted of Log-wood and some other articles of considerable value; she was at that time, just about sailing for Europe; and, the particular place of her destination was *Amsterdam*. We took our departure from *Jamaica*, the beginning of March, and only arrived at our intended port the tenth of June following. During this long and tedious passage, we encountered several great difficulties, and particularly one storm of a very tremendous sort, before that ever we cleared the Western-Ocean.

Our ship for some time lay under a mizzen-top-sail, and only one man upon the deck; no hands could be spared for cooking, nor for any other purpose whatever; our allowance of victuals was very inconsiderable indeed; and even not of the very best kind: it consisted chiefly of raw flesh, and but a very small quantity of it. Our allowance of bread was just in the same proportion.

This storm continued for nine days, and if it had not been that I experienced some thing of the kind before, I could not have believed that ever there was a vessel built that could have remained above the water: her cook-house was driven down by the violence of the weather; and several other thing entirely destroyed; but, a little after the storm abated, we fortunately fell in with a *Virginian* brig, (and a providential circumstance it was,) with whom our Captain bartered a spar-yard for some rice and pork, by which means we were relieved; but I may more properly say, saved from perishing of hunger; a calamity of the most excruciating nature. The pork that we received was of the very worst

kind, what they call slabing pork ; we boiled it among rice : and taking it all together, it turned out a substantial morsel.

Here the interposition of Providence was surely very conspicuous in my preservation, and deliverance, as on many former occasions equally the same ; and, to the leatest period of my life, it does become me to express my grateful acknowledgements to that great Bing from whom we receive life, breath and every thing requisite for our well-being both here and hereafter.

At another time, in the course of this passage, it came to pass, one day, that another extraordinary deliverance was exhibited by the goodness of God, in saving me from going down to the land of forgetfulness. I being on the lee-yard of the mizzen top-sail, on duty, and a thoughtless fellow along with me reefing the sail, he happened to loss hold of the mizzen-braces, and the sail flew back with such a degree of violence, that it carried me completely over the yard, away with the horse ; and surely, by nothing than less a

miracle, I was saved by catching hold of the rope-end with my right-hand, and so recovered myself again, from what might have been deemed inevitable dissolution. The Captain and crew calling out, to hold fast by the horse then lying under me; thinking at the same time that it was impossible that my life could be saved, by any means whatever.

This was another exhibition of the care, and watchfulness of Divine Providence over me for good, for which (among many more of the same sort) I am in duty bound to render the tribute of my grateful heart, as long as I retain the power of recollection, to that great Being who I hope (in this time of my adversity) will never leave me, nor forsake me. After this misfortune had befallen me, it was a considerable time before I was recovered, I may say from a state of insensibility; all on board, acknowledged that they had never witnessed a more miraculous deliverance. About this time we had been a considerable time on our passage, and so we began to consider ourselves at no great distance from land, upon this hypothesis, we sounded seventy

fathoms, but no bottom could be found as yet; nor any land to be seen; and the vessel that we first observed, after a very long course of sailing was one that belonged to *Dublin*, bound to *Norway*, the master of which hailed us; asked what ship, and how long we had been at sea? We returned for answer, thirteen weeks; he than called again saying, you are undoubtedly by this time greatly in want of provisions: our Captain returned his most grateful thanks; at same time informing him, how our wants were very seasonably supplied a little before, from an American brig: we required him likewise, to give his opinion, how long it might be before we could reach the land? "Not long," said he, "probably by to-morrow." A true prophet he was; for, to our unspeakable joy, next day by two o'clock, we arrived within sight of our native country; and with all possible speed, proceeded up the Channel, steering by the Downs, where we soon arrived, at the Texel.

At this time, a Dutch pilot soon came on board of our ship, wearing three pair of breeches ; however, he could be of little service to us, as he could not speak the English Language. Soon after this, our ship grounded; and, every thing that we had occasion for, was safely got on shore. We were now under the disagreeable necessity of unloading the vessel, otherwise, it was not in our power to carry her up to *Amsterdam*.

As soon as we went on shore at *Amsterdam*, the women approached us, calling out, at the same time, that “ the English sailors “ want shoes.” After settling every thing that we had to do belonging to the ship, we were then all paid off, by a person calling himself a Jew, to the uttermost fathing.

I remember very well, that after I had received payment of what was due me, my pockets were pressed down to such a degree, with the very weight of the sil-

ver, (as it was all paid in hard cash,) that I could hardly walk ; but yet, although the cash was heavy and burdensome, it was only for a short time ; for I soon found out a method to get clear of it. I had shoes, jackets, and every other necessary article of clothing to provide ; all which was done, as soon as conveniency would permit.

Although I had nothing to do here of any importance, yet I remained a few weeks in this large city, amusing myself, with going about viewing all the principal places of amusement ; also, the most noted and elegant buildings, and among others, I inspected the Sadtholder's palace, which indeed, is one of the most beautiful fabrics that ever I beheld with my eyes : consisting of blue and white marble, interspersed throughout the building, in a very regular and uniform manner.

Another principal object that attracted my attention, while here, was a globe of

the world, within a round circle, with the sun, moon, and stars. Their names were engraven on brass.

The people in this country, make a very genteel appearance, both men and women, and their dresses are clean and neat in every respect. Their houses also, are kept clean, and comfortable.

In going about in this place putting off my time, merely for my own amusement, I had the curiosity to visit what is called Jews'-street, or Jews'-quarter; and in my opinion this is the most elegant part of the whole city; and no person is permitted to reside in it, but those of the Jews profession. The gates are shut every night by ten o'clock, and opened again by six in the morning. Among the numerous objects that attracted my notice, was a man and a woman, both of the Jews' religion, whose chief employment were, to go about the streets with a long wheel barrow selling boiled livers, and lights; I think they went their course twice a week, for the pur-

pose of furnishing the inhabitants with food for their dogs.

This was the only part of the world that ever I was in, where I thought I had any thing to fear from bad company ; I mean those fellows commonly called silver coopers, they are a band of rascals, who make a trade of going about enticing simple people or strangers (who happen to be scarce of money) by some means or other, to plunge themselves into debt, and then if they cannot clear their way, or give them satisfaction, they are immediately arrested, incarcerated ; and after all sent out to the *Indies* without further ceremony ; I myself was certainly in a very great danger from these abandoned miscreants ; but by the intervention of the Almighty, I was soon enabled to effect my escape, without receiving the smallest injury, in defiance to all the machinations they were ever master of. I now began to take my situation into consideration, but yet at a loss to know what method would be most eligible to facilitate my departure, and to find for myself a pro-

per conveyance to my native land. Notwithstanding, the many difficulties that I had hitherto undergone, I had reason to say that good fortune had not yet altogether forsaken me, for in looking round me one day, with some degree of anxiety, I fell in with a gentleman that belonged to this country, and just setting out for *Amsterdam*, who was at some pains instructing me how, and in what particular manner I could best effect my escape. At last, I thought it expedient to take the opportunity of the night, when all were at rest; this I did, by escaping the watch-man at the end of the street.

At this time, I fortunately happened to fall in with a gentleman, who was mate of a large West-India man; he accompanied me all the way to the shipping-port. In the course of this journey, we arrived at a large town, fourteen miles from *Rotterdam*, where we met with a stage-coach, which carried us to that city, by eight o'clock, in the evening, the same day that

we set out, (it being Saturday.) On Monday following, went down to Scottish-dykes, the place where the Scots vessels lie. We enquired at a Captain here, when he intended to sail for Britain?——Whither he would admit of any passengers taking passage with him or not?——He replied, “ I am amind to sail to-night ; and as to
 “ passengers, I have not the least objec-
 “ tion.” My companion and I, at this time parted, and I do not recollect of ever seeing him more.

This vessel sailed, (at the time mentioned by the Captain,) for Perth ; and, after a passage of six days, we arrived safe in the River of Tay ; when the Master said, that he would set me on shore at the Ferry, if I though it necessary ; at the same time, enquired if I had any money to support me on my way to my own place ; and when I answered in the negative, he presented me with some biscuit and cheese ; saying, “ That
 “ will probably support you, untill you ar-
 “ rive at Arbroath, the place of your na-
 “ tivity.”

As soon as I arrived at my long-looked for, and anxiously desired native Town, there was a respectably lady who sent for me the next morning to breakfast; at same time she very kindly gave me a five shillings note, which was, indeed, acceptable, as by that means I became master of some cash. After this, I was examined, respecting the loss of the *Ann Galley*, and every other particular respecting her, as near as I could remember. This was done by a Bailie Kyd, and Alexander Graham, Esqrs. A few days after my examination, I received from the above-mentioned gentlemen, six pounds twelve shillings sterling, which enabled me to enter into wedlock soon after, by marrying a woman of this place, with whom I lived a good number of years peaceably, comfortably, and honestly; so, here I finish my Narrative, by rendering thanks, obedience, and gratitude to the Best of Beings for my preservation, and restoration to my native land.

They that in ships with courage bold,
 O'er swelling waves their trade purse,
 Do God's amazing works behold,
 And in the deep his wonders view.

Sometimes the ships, tost up to heav'n,
 On tops of mountain waves appear,
 Then down the steep abyss are driven,
 Whilst ev'ry soul dissolves with fear.

They reel and stagger to and fro,
 Like men with fumes of wine oppress'd ;
 Nor do the skilful seaman know,
 Which way to steer, what course is best



REMARKS
ON THE
SLAVE-TRADE.

BEFORE I proceed to bring forward my promised remarks upon that nefarious business of the Slave-trade; I think it proper to inform the reader, that it has been long in contemplation with me, to publish my sentiments upon that subject, as well as to give a rehearsal of the most prominent occurrences of that voyage, of which I have been attempting to delineate.

It is now a good number of years since two strange gentlemen, called upon me (se-

perately) at my own house, and requested me to give them all the information in my power respecting that business, of buying and selling of Slaves; and the enormities that were perpetrated in the prosecution of that business.

It is a truth generally known in this country that Mr. *Wilberforce*, a member of the House of Commons, about that very time, distinguished himself in a particular manner, by bringing forward a motion for the purpose of abolishing that trade altogether; and he was strenuously supported by some other honourable members, who all conjoined in soliciting the legislature for a total and final abolition of this very unnatural piece of commerce; and all the information that could be procured respecting that savage, cruel, and brutal practice, was required to give energy to the arguments brought forward by these gentlemen, for to bring about such a desirable end, irrefutable evidence upon the enormity of this practice, was certainly the most effectual method to prevail upon the government to condescend to a full and compleat abolition of that disgraceful and villanous

trade of making human creatures, articles of merchandize, and degrading any of the race of *Adam*, to a state of abasement equal to the most insignificant article made use of in commerce.

Indeed, I wish to deliver my sentiments upon this subject, and on every other occasion, without the least reluctance or reservation whatever.

It is impossible for me, however, to give any thing like a distinct account of the cruelties that the Negroes are obliged to undergo, during their passage, from the coast of Africa to the West-Indies; for, as soon as any of the Europeans get a Negro in return for his money, he is no longer considered a human being. The Captain crowds his vessel with these poor Negroes until she can hold no more; and indeed, his only aim is, how he may get them disposed of, to the best advantage. If they have any diseases, the surgeon is instantly called, to exercise his skill; not so much for their comfort and happiness, as to patch up their disorders, that no symp-

toms of it may appear upon them, when they are exposed for sale in the West-India market ; it being no uncommon thing to see a great number of these wretched beings, in a very short time after they are landed, break out all together, with what they call the *yaws*, which have only been repelled by the force of medicine alone ; and, especially if they have drunk any of the Cane-liquor in the boiling-house, which is very efficacious in throwing the venom completely out.

Guinea Captains are often so regardless of humanity, that the number of Slaves that they have on board their ships, have scarcely liberty for the common motion of their bodies ; and, are hardly able to enjoy a respite of the change of posture ; for in many of the vessels they are made to lie, during the whole time they are brought up to air on the deck, stretched at all their length, side by side, with their arms extended over each others necks, the pain of this posture the exhalations from their bodies, and the closeness of the air altogether renders the wretched prisoners so impatient, under this state of con-

finement, as to cause strong struggles among themselves; which occasion severe treatment from their masters, under the plea of their rebellious disposition.

In keeping the Female Negroes separate from the Male, is a very necessary arrangement, which one might have been induced at first hearing to applaud, if some particular circumstances did not quickly remove all causes of approbation, for though kept apart from those of their own country, and complexion they are subject to the wanton and unrestrained licentiousness of the crew, and it will be found upon enquiry that a voyage from the coast of Guinea across the Atlantic, can exhibit scenes of debauchery which the most glaring histories of Negroes customs will hardly surpass.

The diseases which are contracted by the sailors, from this promiscuous intercourse, are such as tend to lessen their number, very considerably; and with regard to those who do not absolutely fall victims to them, their habits of body are so notoriously corrupted, that even in cases of necessity, for men a War

will not press the sailors of a Guinea-trader, for fear of the contagion which the crew of a single Guinea ship might spread almost through a whole fleet,

However, extraordinary it may appear to some persons that know nothing about these things; yet, true it is that sometimes these poor creatures will make attempts to starve themselves to death, although this is considered as a great crime, and never fails to receive exemplary punishment.

After considering these few forgoing particulars, it will not probably surprise you, after such a history of an African voyage, to hear that numbers perish, before they arrive at their destined place of sale; nor will it be any way beyond the truth to be told that (as far as I have been informed) that of 90,000 Slaves, it is calculated that some thousands are destroyed by their being so much crowded and confined, and at the same time treated with so much rigour and severity.

But these are not all the destructive consequences, which accompany the Slave-trade;

the loss of lives which it occasions is not confined to Negroes only, but includes a greater number annually of English sailors than is commonly imagined. This consideration may perhaps bring the matter nearer home, and help to impress in some degree the minds of those who are careless of the miseries of Blacks, and give no ear to any calamity, but those that their own country experience.

It is well known both at Bristol and Liverpool, how difficult a task it is to procure sailors, for a Guinea voyage; and, how many arts are practiced to intangle them into so disagreeable and dangerous a trade. The method adopted is as follows,---viz. There is at Bristol a house which is called the Guinea-house, where sailors are permitted and even encouraged to run into debt, and when it is imagined that they are so far involved as to be unable to pay, they are immediately arrested and thrown into prison; in this situation the Guinea Captain requests to see them, and at the first sight he appears to pity them in their distress; and proposes paying their debts, on condition of their going to Guinea with

him, and I know that such means as these, are made use of in other places the same as at Bristol, and what is called the common cause of getting seamen. I think the nature of the Slave-trade requires a fuller complement of seamen, then ships of equal burden employed in other branches of commerce: but I believe the Guinea ships upon the whole do not require near so many hands to navigate them, after they have delivered their Slaves, and are returning home, as when they continue on the African coast, and on their way to the West-Indies. Now it is a truth, that the pay of the sailors cannot be demanded unless they go the whole voyage out, and home again; and the wages of all absenter, go into the Captain's pocket, who thus gains a profit by the loss of his crew. The dangers of the seas, and the risks on the coast of Africa, from climates and other accidents, are sufficient excuses to stop all inquiries which might be made after those who are amissing. Indeed, such is the nature of the Slave-trade, this nefarious and abominable traffic, that the

Captains of these vessels think themselves fortunate in escaping with life, and health after four voyages; and it is no great wonder that a trade which thus in its nature and constitution, sets every man concerned therein against his fellow creatures, why should it not be attended with its own peculiar risk, and have to contend with difficulties of its own creating?

This traffic in human flesh, this triumph of avarice over every principle of Religion, virtue or honour, having called forth the most animated eloquence of the Senator and the tenderest effusions of the Poet, I hope my Readers will not be displeased if I insert in this place, a Poem written by the amiable Poet COWPER, whose Philanthropy appears always equal to his genius. It is called the Negro's Complaint, and is as follows:

- “ FORCED from home and all its pleasures,
“ Afric's coast I left forlorn,
“ To increase a stranger's treasures,
“ O'er the raging billows borne;
“ Men from England bought and sold me,
“ Paid my price in paltry gold;
“ But, though theirs they have inroll'd me,
“ Minds are never to be sold.
“ Still in thought as free as ever,
“ What are England's rights, I ask,
“ Me from my delights to sever,
“ Me to torture, me to task?
“ Fleecy locks and black complexion

- " Cannot forget Nature's claim ;
 " Skins may differ, but affection
 " Dwells in black and white the same.
 " Why did all-creating Nature
 " Make the plant, for which we toil ?
 " Sighs must fan it, tears must water,
 " Sweat of ours must dress the soil,
 " Think, ye masters, iron-hearted,
 " Lolling at your jovial boards,
 " Think, how many backs have smarted
 " For the sweets your cane affords.
 " Is there, as you sometimes tell us,
 " Is there one, who rules on high ;
 " Has he bid you buy and sell us,
 " Speaking from his throne, the sky ?
 " Ask him, if your knotted scourges,
 " Fetters, blood-extorting screws,
 " Are the means, which duty urges
 " Agents of his will to use ?
 " Hark ! he answers. Wild tornadoes,
 " Strewing yonder sea with wrecks,
 " Wasting towns, plantations, meadows,
 " Are the voice with which he speaks,
 " He, forseeing what vexations

- " Afric's sons should undergo,
 " Fix'd their tyrants habitations
 " Where his whirlwinds answer--No.
 " By our blood in Afric wasted,
 " Ere our necks received the chain ;
 " By the miseries, which we tasted
 " Crossing, in your barks, the main ;
 " By our sufferings, since you brought us
 " To the man-degrading mart,
 " All sustained by patience, taught us
 " Only by a broken heart.
 " Deem our nation brutes no longer,
 " Till some reason you shall find
 " Worthier of regard, and stronger,
 " Than the colour of our kind.
 " Slaves of gold, whose sordid dealings
 " Tarnish all your bosted powers,
 " Prove that you have human feelings,
 " Ere you proudly question ours."

To which I shall add an extract from a poem written by Mr. Roscoe of Liverpool, well known for his exertions in the abolition.

" OFFSPRING of Love divine, Humanity !
 To whom, his eldest born, th' Eternal gave

Dominion o'er the heart, and taught to touch
 Its varied stops in sweetest unison ;
 And strike the string that from a kindred breast
 Responsive vibrates ! from the noisy haunts
 Of mercantile confusion, where thy voice
 Is heard not ; from the meretricious glare
 Of crowded theatres, where in thy place
 Sits Sensibility, with watry eye,
 Dropping o'er fancied woes her useless tear ;--
 Come thou and weep with me substantial ills ;
 And execrate the wrongs, that Afric's sons,
 Torn from their natal shore, and doom'd to bear
 The yoke of servitude in foreign climes,
 Sustain. Nor vainly let our sorrows flow,
 Nor let the strong emotion rise in vain ;
 But may the kind contagion widely spread,
 Till in its flame the unrelenting heart
 Of avarice melt in softest sympathy----
 And one bright blaze of universal love
 In grateful incense rises up to Heaven !"

" Form'd with the same capacity of pain,
 The same desire of pleasure and of ease,
 Why feels not man for man ! when nature
 shrinks



